LARISA LEISIÖ

Morphosyntactic Convergence and Integration in Finland Russian

University of Tampere
Tampere 2001

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Моим родителям,
Людмиле Александровне и Геннадию Ивановичу
Афониным

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This research has developed slowly. In the beginning, the aim was to consider codeswitching in the data on the basis of ethnomethodological conversation analysis and theories on codeswitching. Fascinating papers by Peter Auer inspired me to research in this direction. For me, that part of the process was interesting and full of discoveries. My acquaintance with the data greatly advanced through profound detailed analyses of interactional episodes. However, I did not finish this process but, for many reasons, changed the topic. I am indebted to Professor Peter Auer, a patient reader of a great amount of text, for his support and critics. He also encouraged me to find a new direction with more specific aims.

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CONTENTS

1. PRELIMINARIES

1.1. General

The purpose of the present research is to investigate the mechanisms of the linguistic processes of convergence and integration in the contact situation of Russian in Finland and to examine the character of inter-relations of social, linguistic and pragmatic factors influential in these two processes. In the course of the analysis, I outline socio-linguistic profiles of the groups of Finland Russians under consideration. This description will form a by-purpose of the research.

In the present research convergence is understood as a process of contact languages converging, becoming more similar in structure. Convergence is triggered and accelerated by structurally similar points of the languages in contact. In the setting under consideration, convergence is investigated in Russian syntactic structures that become closer to those of Finnish and Swedish. The structures under consideration were chosen to represent various spheres of syntax, concerning the categorisation of a verbal form, word order, and the assignment of a grammatical case. As a starting point for convergence, the structures have similarities with corresponding Finnish and Swedish structures.

Another salient process under way in the diaspora setting is integration of other-language material in the host language syntax. Considering integration processes, I investigate morphosyntactic integration of the other-language lexical material in Russian and, in particular, the gender affiliation of the other-language nouns. As regards their content and components, integration and convergence are contrastive processes, the former conforming the other-language lexical material to the host language structure and the latter expanding the host language's similarity to the other-language. Nevertheless, the result of both processes is the host language's approach to the other-language. Both processes are important in language contacts, and especially in the type of contact represented by the data, short-term and full of dramatic changes. This contact type is recurrent in the modern world. That is why I hope the evidence presented in the present research will be found to be methodologically significant.

The starting point of the present research is that language contact-induced change is a process the course and results of which are determined by an interplay of social, linguistic and interactional factors. To examine these factors and their relationship, I combine linguistic with social, interactional and qualitative analyses.

The main body of the present research is based upon four case studies. Four different syntactic structures, three of which illustrate the process of convergence and one the process of integration, demand different theoretical and methodological approaches. That is why, in each case study, I start with a theoretical section, where I present a comparative analysis of the use of the constructions under consideration, account for their development in diachrony and construct hypotheses. The data are then analysed quantitatively and qualitatively.

The theoretical sections, which may seem to be rather heavy-going, have grown from a need to get to the bottom of a particular structure and to provide a comparison between corresponding structures in two, and sometimes three languages. Additionally, all the topics under consideration have a profound and far-reaching research background, which one cannot overlook when starting a new investigation.

The term "morphosyntactic" in the title reflects a conventional restriction. Language is a system where the elements of all levels interact with each other, and "it is not always easy to determine where syntax begins and where morphology or phonology ends" (Hock and Joseph 1996: 189). This is shown in the present research, in many points of which syntactic phenomena are linked to non-syntactic phenomena.

1.1.2. The speakers

The data are tape-recorded interactions, mostly research interviews with speakers whose Russian can be considered native, and who were born or have lived in Finland for most of their lives. Apart from Russian, the informants speak Finnish, or Swedish (the second official language of Finland), or both.

Some of the speakers retain features of a Northern Russian dialect in their Russian speech. Their forefathers originated in a territory usually referred to as the Kostroma—Jaroslavl' regions. These speakers came from Russian-speaking villages on the Karelian Isthmus, in the south-eastern part of Finland, which has belonged to the Soviet Union since 1944. Inhabitants of the Karelian Isthmus, including those of the Isthmus' Russian villages, were evacuated during the wars 1939-44.

The data were considered as two separate corpora. Speakers of the above mentioned dialect formed the dialect corpus. The other speakers formed the non-dialect corpus[1]. A considerable part of them are immigrants who came to Finland in the years of revolutions and Civil War in Russia (in the 1910-1920s), the rest are the offspring of Russian families who had lived in Finland before the October Revolution of 1917, in the times of the Grand Duchy of Finland when it was autonomous within the Russian Empire. The social background of the speakers will be presented in detail in Section 1.3.

The present research is restricted to the consideration of the speech of so-called "Old Finland Russians", i.e., those who themselves or whose forefathers came to Finland before World War II. Russian-speakers who have come to Finland from the (former) Soviet Union since the 1970s are not considered here. This restriction is based on the fact that, by their social background, the Old Finland Russians differ greatly from the newcomers, with whom they rarely have connections.

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[1] The names of the corpora 'dialect' and 'non-dialect' are working terms, a kind of shorthand for the differentiation between the two corpora. The speakers of the dialect corpus will be also referred to as 'Kyyrölä speakers'.

1.1.3. Organisation of the study

In the following sections of this introductory chapter I will describe the socio-history of Russians in Finland and summarise the most relevant socio-linguistic factors for the linguistic contacts.

The topics of the case studies are as follows; (1) the past participle constructions in Kyyrölä Russian; this topic concerns the dialect corpus only, while the other three cases concern both corpora, (2) the word order in the noun phrases with the genitive of personal possessor, (3) the Russian genitive and the Finnish partitive of subject and object, and (4) integration of other-language nouns, in particular, gender assignment.

The chapter on past participle constructions concerns the possibility of their convergence to the Finnish perfect. In Finnish, the perfect is expressed with a periphrastic construction of the copula 'to be' and the past participle, passive or active, and the meaning of the Finnish perfect can, roughly speaking, be equated to the Indo-European perfect category. In Northern Russian dialects, the construction of copula verb and past participle resembles a perfect category. The dialect speakers retain this construction as a part of their forefathers' maternal variety. The main point of the study is to examine the meanings of the past participle constructions in the interaction.

The second case study considers the word order of genitive noun phrases of personal possession. In Finnish and Swedish noun phrases, the genitive rigidly preposes the head, whereas in Russian the unmarked position of the genitive modifier is post-head and the position of pre-head genitive is marked. In the theoretical part, I compare the use of the genitive modifier in noun phrases in the three languages and account for the semantics of the Russian genitive which tends to appear in a marked, pre-head, position. As in all the other case studies, the use of the construction under consideration in each corpus and the comparison between the corpora are subjected to quantitative analysis. In the qualitative analysis I expose the use of the marked word order for pragmatic purposes in the course of interaction, and also demonstrate an unmarked use of the pre-head genitive.

The topic of the third case study is the Russian genitive and the Finnish partitive of subject and object in comparison. In the data analysis I examine a hypothesis of convergence of the genitive towards the Finnish partitive in these syntactic positions. In the results of my theoretical analysis, I try to formulate a common denominator for these two cases in the two languages in subject and object positions. Of all four case studies, the theoretical part is especially significant in this one, since the topics of the partitive in Finnish and the genitive in Russian have been extensively discussed, both separately and in comparison, a fact that is difficult to circumvent in contact research. In the empirical part of the chapter, I demonstrate the meanings of the genitive of subject and object in the data and relate them to the sociolinguistic background of the speakers.

In the last case study, I discuss integration of other-language nouns and, in particular, their gender assignment in Russian morphosyntax. Nouns appeared to be the most commonly switched other-language elements in the data. Introduced in Russian syntactic context, the other-language noun should often demonstrate

gender assignment. In the theoretical part, I outline the Russian category of gender and survey historical and non-standard gender affiliation, then I discuss the notions of language alternation and loan, and take into account an up-to-date study of gender affiliation in language contact situations. In the data analysis, I first account for the inter-language gender assignment, considering the possibilities of change of gender affiliation of Russian nouns in the contact situation. Further, I investigate the gender assignment of other-language nouns, identify gender assignment patterns, and demonstrate that the social background of the speaker, the moment of interaction and the linguistic properties of the other-language item are relevant for the choice of a particular pattern. I also examine the loans in the data, established through being or having being recurrently used in Finland Russian. Generalising, I rank the relevance of the three groups of factors, social, linguistic and interactional in the speakers' choice of integration and gender assignment patterns and connect the status of loans to the category of a diaspora language group.

The topics studied represent morphosyntactic phenomena of different types, word order, grammatical case of the subject and object, participle structure in predicate role, and the gender affiliation of other-language nouns. Of the four case studies, three include processes that can be categorised as linguistic convergence.

1.2. Methodology

In the separate theoretical sections opening each case study, I aim at non-reduced descriptions of the constructions under consideration, discussing their historical development and linguistic meanings, their use in different varieties and, if corresponding material is available, the changes of meanings dependent on the situational contexts of use.

In the data investigation I combine quantitative and qualitative analysis. The main point is the qualitative analysis, which aims at highlighting the meanings of linguistic structures. Social-content analysis is utilised to the extent that the linguistic expressions under consideration are connected to the individual and group socio-linguistic background of the speaker who uses them. Depending on the constructions, their meanings are more or less interaction-prompted. At relevant points, I apply elements of ethnomethodological conversation analysis. The need of this approach depends on the construction under consideration. Some linguistic structures allow interpretive variation to a greater extent than others.

In the following, I briefly review the basic principles of conversation analysis.

1.2.1. Conversation analysis

Conversation analysis (CA) was developed by sociologists and linguists like Harvey Sacks, John Heritage, J. Maxwell Atkinson, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson on the grounds of ethnomethodology, introduced by Harold Garfinkel (1967). The starting point of ethnomethodology is that the activities of the participants of an interaction are interpretive for them. The considerations of CA researchers are based on evidence of the participants' analysis. The main as-

sumption of conversation analysis is that speech interaction is socially organised and based on systematic and recurrent structures.

The basic mechanism of conversation is *turn-taking*, i.e., conversation develops and evolves turn-by-turn. Further, speech interaction is based on intersubjectivity (Garfinkel, after Schutz [1962]), i.e., the participants construct interaction through linked actions aiming at achieving common ground. In the structure of conversation, sequences of two adjacent utterances can be distinguished, produced by different speakers, and ordered and constructed as first part and second part, so that the first part requires a particular type of second part (Heritage 1984: 246). Troubles in interaction are handled through *repair organisation* where a speaker addresses a point or structure in the (mostly immediately) preceding part of the interaction, localising it as a trouble-source (mis- or non-comprehension, non-hearing, etc.). The repair may be initiated by the speaker of the trouble-source (*self-initiated repair*) or by the recipient of a trouble-source (*other-initiated repair*). The repair can be provided by a speaker (*self-repair*) or by a recipient (*other-repair*). The *preference organisation* is a systematic feature of speech interaction, and is specifically related to repair organisation and adjacency pairs where the second pair part may be preferred or dispreferred; for instance, in a repair sequence, self-repair is preferred (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977). The preference is not a psychological property of an individual, but a structural feature analysable for participants. The important corollary of the principles of CA is that the conversational meaning is not expressed by a speaker to be caught by the recipient(s), but it is a product of the joint efforts of the participants in the conversation. Every communicative action is contextualised, i.e., it can be understood only within all its contexts. On the other hand, the communicative action forms the immediate context for the next action. Prototypically, communicative action covers an utterance whose linguistic elements participate in the meaning construction. The grammatical categories linguistic elements belong to, may reinforce or refute their scientific interpretation in natural (occurring in a non-construed context) use.

1.2.2. Terms and techniques

Concerning the contact languages, I use the terms of *subordinate* and *superordinate* language. By the subordinate language I mean a language spoken by a group which is socially, politically, culturally, etc. in a minor position compared to the other group, whose language is superordinate. These terms are also used by Carmen Silva-Corvalán (1986); Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 116) talked about subordinate and dominant populations in the contact situation. In the case of Finland Russians the subordinate language is a minority language, Russian, and the superordinate one is a majority language, Finnish (or in some cases Swedish), but this correlation is not necessary in other contact situations.

Concerning informants' daily language practice I talk about *habitual* and *non-habitual* speakers. The former speak Russian habitually in the home or/and the intimate informal circles, and the latter do not. The notion of habitual language user seems to have been coined in Dorian (1978).

I also exploit the notion of *entrenchment*, introduced by Ronald Langacker (1987: 59-60) within the framework of cognitive grammar. Every occurrence of the use of linguistic elements or their combinations raises the degree of entrenchment; long periods of non-use lower the entrenchment. Highly entrenched (combinations of) linguistic elements are produced in speech automatically, so that no "constructive effort" is required for their reproduction (ibid.: 57). The notion of entrenchment is very enlightening in the analysis of the language of the subordinate language group, and, I assume, it also can be used outside the cognitive-grammar framework.

1.2.3. Previous research on diaspora Russians

Diaspora Russian groups, mainly in English-speaking countries, have attracted a considerable amount of attention on the part of researchers. American Russian in colloquial form and in the immigrant press was discussed by Morton Benson (1957 and 1960). Interference in the semantics, the phonetics and prosody of American Russian was studied by David Andrews (1997 and references there). Australian Russian and its interference with English was considered in a doctoral dissertation and subsequent papers by Ludmila Kouzmin (1973, 1982 and 1988). In his doctoral dissertation, Mark Garner (1985) compared Russian and Swedish communities in Melbourne, Australia in the framework of the theory of the ecology of language.

Juha Janhunen (1987) published an article on Harbin Russians. N. I. Golubeva-Monatkina (e.g., 1993, 1994, and 1995) studied the native speech of French Russians of the first wave of emigration and their descendants. L. M. Granovskaja (1995) wrote about the Russian of first-wave-emigrant literature. Ekaterina Protasova (1996; Protassova forthcoming) made an experiment-based study of recent German Russian-speaking emigrants. Earlier this same researcher published her observations on Russian speech in Finland (Protasova 1994). Linguistically the most interesting are investigations by Maria Polinsky (1994, 1995 and 1997) on American Russian in a typological framework.

1.3. Historical background

1.3.1. Old Finland within Russia (1710-1809)

In the Northern War (1700-1721), Sweden ceded the Karelian Isthmus and Ladoga Karelia to the north of it (the southeastern corner of Finland), to Russia. Russian troops, who were the first to invade the territory, were followed by military vendors who supplied the army with victuals. They regularly engaged in trade with the local population, especially after the local merchants of Finnish and Swedish origin had moved away from the South-West Karelian Isthmus towns to the countryside and continued their trading there. There were three towns on the newly-taken territory, Vyborg, the largest, Käkisalmi and Sortavala. In 1743, after the war of 1741-1743, Sweden was defeated and had to sign a peace treaty in Turku, according to which Russia gained further territories to the

west, including the towns of Hamina, Lappeenranta and Savonlinna. These territories, together with the Karelian Isthmus including the towns of Vyborg and Käkisalmi, and Ladoga Karelia including the town of Sortavala annexed earlier, together came to be called later Old Finland (Appendix, Map 1). There local governing principles were laid down according to Swedish law. In 1743 the law in Sweden was subjected to some changes, so that, peculiar as it may seem, the government in the areas annexed before the war of 1741-1743 differed from that in the areas annexed after the war. (Paaskoski 1998: 96-97.)

Historically, Old Finland had been multicultural. While the rural areas were mostly Finnish-speaking, the population of the towns consisted mainly of Germans, Swedes, Russians and Finns. The position of German was especially strong in Vyborg. In the course of the 1700s the German-speaking population of Vyborg increased. The system of government having come from Sweden, the language of local government was also Swedish at the beginning of the 1700s. In the second part of the 1700s, German ousted Swedish in the government offices. As the language of the authorities, Russian took over the ascendant position only at the end of the 1790s and the beginning of the 1800s. (Paaskoski 1998: 108-109.)

There were a few Russian merchants who bought a trading licence and burgher status from the administrative courts of the towns. However, most of the Russian merchants practised their trade illegally. For instance, in 1741 there were 106 Russian merchants in Vyborg, but less than 10 of them had a trading permit. To put a stop to illegal business, the local authorities confiscated the goods of those merchants who traded without a licence and expelled them from the city.

Many Russian merchants came to Finland from the districts of the so-called Nordic trade waterway (actually, the waterway which the Baltic Finnic population had used ever since the Neolithic age), from the vicinities of Novgorod, Vologda, Kostroma, and Jaroslavl'. Geographico-linguistically these regions belong to the Northern Russian dialect area. The merchants came mostly through St. Petersburg, where they established their permanent offices.

Some of those merchants were resident in Finland. However, they were not very close to the local Finnish or Swedish populations because of cultural, linguistic and religious differences. Exogamy between Russians on the one hand, and Finns and Finland Swedes on the other, did not take place. Many merchants returned to Russia after Old Finland was joined to autonomous Finland in 1811. Only a few remained, of whom some moved to other Finnish cities. (Ranta 1985.) Many Russian civil servants automatically gained Finnish citizenship, and those of them who could speak Swedish also retained their positions (Jussila 1985: 204).

Many high-ranking civil servants of Old Finland were Baltic Germans, who had received their education in Tartu or St. Petersburg. Even though they spoke Swedish, they had German as their native language. In autonomous Finland, having retained their position or having acquired a new one, they promoted Finnish as the language of government. In the 1800s, Finnish won its position as the language of government both in the Old Finland territories and the other parts of autonomous Finland. (Klinge 1980: 58-75.)

1.3.2. Autonomous Finland (1809-1917)

Russian merchants in autonomous Finland

In 1809, as a result of the Finnish War of 1807-1809, Finland was annexed to Russia, and in 1811, Old Finland was reunited with the Grand Duchy of Finland, formed under the protectorate of the Russian Empire. Russian authorities in St. Petersburg, the Russian capital, determined the foreign and defence policy. However, Finland had its own government, the Senate, and also its own currency and administration. The formal head of the Senate, the Governor-general, was the personal representative of the Tsar. Trading and owning real estate were allowed only to permanent residents of Finland. Of non-Finnish citizens, only noblemen had the right to practise trade in Finland, as well as to own real estate. Other Russian citizens had to seek permission to settle in Finland. In the statutes accepted in the 1870s the trade restriction was relaxed. The property restriction persisted up to 1891, when the Finnish Senate accepted a statute according to which those of non-noble birth also had the right to own real estate in Finland.

Usually Russians exercised some small forms of trading such as retailing groceries, bakeries, keeping fruit-and-vegetable stores, ice-cream and sweet stores (Baschmakoff 1994[2]: 3). A considerable number of them was in Helsinki, the capital, and on the Karelian Isthmus. For instance, in 1850 half of the bourgeoisie in Helsinki were Russian merchants, who at best paid more than half of the trade taxes of the city. There were also Russian contractors and gardeners. Among Finland Russians, there were large-scale entrepreneurs and traders, too. In the 1870s this social group began to assimilate with Finland Swedes (ibid.). With the exception of this group, exogamy between the Russians and the Finns / Finland Swedes was uncommon (Lampinen 1984: 97).

In 1900, there were about 6,000 citizens in Finland having Russian as their mother tongue. They formed about 0.22% of the population. As for Russian citizens (whose mother tongue was not necessarily Russian), their number was largest in the cities of Helsinki and Vyborg, 5,304 and 5,350 respectively (Turpeinen 1985: 27). Russian merchants and civil servants resided permanently in autonomous Finland, while factory workers, soldiers, and travellers tended to be temporary residents.

The Russian military in Finland

The Russian military forces in Finland numbered about 12,000 men (1812-1854), this rising to 50,000 during the Crimean War (1854-56), after which it returned to the pre-war level (Närhi 1985). Starting from 1858, soldiers who were discharged after full-time service in Finland were granted the right to reside in Finland with their families (Harviainen 1991: 58). Some retired Russian soldiers did take up residence in Helsinki and became merchants (Lampinen 1984: 97). Nevertheless, the Jews and their families took advantage of this right to a much higher degree. Through the exercise of this right the Jewish minority in Finland started to form.

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[2] I refer to the pages of the manuscript written in Finnish (the publication is Hungarian translation).

The native language of most of them was not Russian but Yiddish.

At the beginning of the 1900s, there was a dramatic increase in the number of Russian troops in Finland. The reasons for this were the Russification policy of Imperial Russia, World War I, and the top Russian authorities' fear of social instability. In August 1917, there were about 125,000 Russian troops in Finland. After 1917, when Finland was internationally accepted as an independent country, Finland sent most of the common soldiers back to Russia, whereas Russian officers were not obliged to leave Finland, and many of them stayed in the country with their families. (Närhi 1985.)

Summer residents on the Karelian Isthmus

There also was a category of Russian population which should be classified as permanently seasonal. These were the owners of summer residences on the Karelian Isthmus. Their number grew intensely after the railway link between Helsinki and St. Petersburg was completed in 1870. In 1913 non-Finnish citizens owned 775 lots and about 54,000 hectares of land. At its maximum, the number of Isthmus summer-residents was 100,000. Typically summer dwellers came from St. Petersburg. The healthy pine-scented air and sandy shores attracted families with children. Such families typically lived on the Isthmus all the year round, and the father, who usually worked in an office in St. Petersburg, came for the weekends. Cultural life was lively and full of vitality. Many Russian artists, writers, painters, journalists and poets had their summer-cottages and houses on the Isthmus. These homes became local cultural centres, one of the most famous being Penates in Kuokkala, where the painter Ilja Repin lived.

The Russian summer residents in autonomous Finland, however, brought both benefits and disadvantages. On the one hand, as customers of Finnish merchants and producers, they brought economic profits to the Finnish population of the Isthmus. On the other hand, Russians' proprietorship on the Isthmus became for Finland a factor of national insecurity. In her turn, the Russian Empire tried increasingly to encroach onto the Isthmus through the proliferation of individual Russian ownership, especially from the beginning of the 1900s onwards, when this territory was considered strategically important. Blown up by political forces, the mutual discontent between Russian residents and Finnish population grew. The situation was especially acute in the last six years before the October Revolution of 1917.

After Finland became independent and the border between Finland and Russia was closed (1918), a number of summer residents stayed on at their summer places and acquired emigrant status. In 1918, Russians owned more than 10,000 summer-houses on the Isthmus and almost 54,000 hectares of land in lots and estates (Nevalainen 1999: 335[3]). Many houses were left derelict, however, and were confiscated by the state in the beginning of the 1920s. (Hämäläinen 1985: 121-124.)

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[3] At this point, Nevalainen (1999: 335, endnote 7) refers to Hämäläinen (1974: 9-10, 230 and 232).

Raivola Russians

On the Isthmus there were two rural Russian groups. One of them, the Kyyrölä Russians, will be discussed below. The other one was the Raivola Russians. In the Isthmus village of Raivola, Pjotr Saltykoff set up a foundry in 1800, and two years later he transported about 600 serfs as workers from the Orël government (according to the traditional geographico-linguistic division, a zone of southern Russian dialects). Raivola Russians remained Russian citizens. With serfdom having been abolished in 1861, Raivola Russians acquired 220 lots, which formed a Russian part of the village, the so-called 'Lower-Raivola' (*Ala-Raivola)*, while the Finnish population of the village lived in 'Upper-Raivola' (*Ylä-Raivola*) (Balašov 1998, 1: 122). In the 1870s, the foundry was closed down. Raivola Russians searched for other employment. Many became engaged in the summer tourist business, renting houses, selling milk and working as seasonal servants. In Raivola there also was some small industry: an electric power station, a mill and a sawmill, all founded by the Russian merchant Ilja Galkin of Kyyrölä village. Later there was a box factory established by Zorin. (Balašov, op. cit.) Some Raivola Russians, mostly men, worked seasonally elsewhere. Since they remained Russian citizens, Raivola Russians did not have political connections to Finland. St. Petersburg was the nearest potential large employer for them. (Leinonen 1991: 41; 1992: 6.)

After their deportation to the Isthmus, although being involved in the industrial production, the Raivola Russians remained a focussed[4] peasant community. They were serfs and belonged to their owner. Their diffusion as a community rapidly progressed after the foundry, which had employed them, was closed down. Nevertheless, Raivola continued to be a place where a large Russian-speaking group remained as residents. In 1881, an Orthodox Church was built there. In the times of high summer-house activity a circle of famous Russian artists was set up there (Mirolybov & Mirolybov 1981: 68). In this village there also was one of the largest church choirs in the area, which flourished until the evacuation in 1939.

The speech of those very few Raivola Russians represented in the data sample is non-standard, but not dialectal (Leinonen 1991: 41-42). I will consider the speech of Raivola Russians within the non-dialect corpus and, when presenting extracts from Raivola speech samples, I specifically mention the speaker's background.

1.3.3. Independent Finland (since 1917)

'Russian' refugees: figures, ethnicity, status and attitude

The October Revolution in Russia (1917) resulted in a tremendous flood of emigrants streaming from the country in all directions. Being a neighbouring state, Finland became the terminal or transit place for a great number of refugees — great in relation to the small size of the country and its population, but far smaller

[4] Concerning the term *focussed* see subchapter *Speech community status.*

than in many other countries[5]. Many Russian refugees travelled onwards from Finland to other European countries. There had been a Russian population in Finland before the October Revolution. Typically, only those emigrants who had some connections to Finland stayed in this country, while others went on to Europe (Baschmakoff 1994: 3). The peak number of refugees (including eastern Karelians) was reached in 1922 — as many as 33,500 (Haimila 1998). In the period 1917-1922 a total of 42,000 refugees came to Finland from Russia, 16,000 of them being Russians. The number of the refugees who arrived in the period 1923-1939 was below 2,000, of these 360 were Russians (Nevalainen 1999: 35).

Those who have often been accounted for as "Russians" in Finland were not ethnically homogeneous. Many "Russians" were Baltic Germans, Swedes, Czechs, Ukrainians, Poles and Jews, and they identified themselves as such. Nevertheless, they shared a cultural background, a home country and its loss, as well as a language, which was a second or third native language for some of them.

Many owners of the summer-houses just remained at their summer places. In the first years of the spread of emigration, Finland's border state position attracted to the country politically orientated Russians, who developed plans to overthrow Soviet Russia. With their hopes of a successful revolt having vanished, most of these people moved from Finland to central Europe.

In 1920 emigrants had to apply for renewal of their visas every six months and then once a year. They were also restricted in travelling. Those were, nevertheless, relatively short-term difficulties, significantly alleviated in 1930 (Nevalainen 1999: 86). The threat of emigrants' political activity and the actual practice of such activity by some of them was one of the reasons for the suspicious attitude of the Finnish authorities towards Russian emigrants. Inherited from the long period of oppression, the anti-Russian feelings among the local population were intensified in the 1920s and especially during the general nationalistic fervour of the 1930s. All the Russian-speakers were identified as Russians and perceived as threatening and suspicious persons. Such an attitude stepped up the pressure to assimilate. (Horn 1995: 189.)

Immediately after Finland became independent, Russians who had lived in Finland in the period of autonomy applied for Finnish citizenship, in an attempt to stabilise their status politically. In the years 1918-23 1,584, in 1924-1930 762, in 1931-1935 902, 1936-140 1,082, and in 1941-1943 589 Russians acquired Finnish citizenship, so that in the period 1918-1943 4,919 Russians became Fin-

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[5] In the period between 1917 and 1938, 4-4.5 million people left Russia (Višnevskij and Zajončkovskaja 1992: 8). Concerning the numbers of Russian refugees in the world and in Finland, Marjo Haimila (1998: 257, Appendix Table 1) cites two sources. The first is *Kansainliiton pääsihteerin muistio Venäjän pakolaiskysymyksessä 17.8.21.* ('The memorandum of 17.8.21 by the Secretary General of the League of Nations concerning the refugees from Russia'), and the second source is Simpson 1939. According to the first source, at the beginning of the 1920s there were 1.46 million Russian refugees in the world, of whom 25,000 were in Finland. According to the second source, the number of refugees was between 800,000 and 911,000, with 19,000 – 20,000 of them living in Finland.

nish citizens (Nevalainen 1999: 90). In the first years of their exile, Russian emigrants were not especially interested in applying for Finnish citizenship. The situation started to change in the 1930s, when a part of the emigrants adapted themselves to the new country. But the process of citizenship application was complicated and expensive. The Russians resident from the times of the Finnish autonomy formed the majority of those who succeeded in acquiring Finnish citizenship. (Nevalainen 1999: 89-90.)

Associations. Social care and self-care

First, many emigrants felt that their stay in Finland as temporary and cherished hopes of a return to Russia when law and order were restored there. Of the Russians who had lived in Finland from autonomy times many kept their distance from the Russian emigrants. On the other hand, many autonomy Russians gave emigrants substantial material help, and those who had enterprises of their own employed Russian emigrants. From autonomy times, there had been Russian organisations in Finland, the largest of them being the Russian Charity Society (*Russkoe Blagotvoritel'noe Obščestvo*, founded in 1872) and the Finnish division of the Russian Red Cross. After the October Revolution, many emigrant organisations grew up in the world outside the former Russian Empire, some of them having been evacuated from Bolševist Russia and continuing their work abroad. One such organisation was *Zemgor (Ob"edinenie Zemskih i Gorodskih dejatelej* 'The Association of Country and Town Statesmen'*),* which subsidized and helped to arrange emigrants' education, supported kindergartens and asylums, and organised job agencies, one of them in Vyborg. Finnish emigrants were also aided by the Finnish State Centre of Refugee Support (*Valtion Pakolaisavustuskesus*), which worked in co-operation with Russian emigrant organisations. (Baschmakoff & Leinonen 1990: 41.)

In 1918 autonomy Russians formed the Russian Merchant Association of Helsinki (*Russkoe kupečeskoe Obščestvo v Gel'singforse*). In the 1920s emigrants registered the Russian Colony in Finland (*Russkaja kolonija v Finljandii*) and the Special Committee for Russians' Affairs in Finland. On the Karelian Isthmus, where there were many Russians, the emigrants formed a number of smaller committees to help those in the worst need. (Nevalainen 1999: 104; Horn 1995: 190-91.) There were numerous aged Russian emigrants without means, as well as orphans and one-parent children. To take care of them, asylums were set up, run almost completely on a charity basis, at the beginning of the 1920s state support being granted only occasionally (Nevalainen 1999: 119). There were orphanages and old people's homes in Helsinki, Vyborg and other places on the Karelian Isthmus. Many asylums, founded in response to the urgent need, were short-term. In the 1920-30s there were in all 11 emigrant asylums, which were partially financed by the Centre for Refugee Support. From the beginning of the 1930s asylums also started to receive some support from communes (ibid. 122). The Russian Charity Society maintained an old people's home and an orphanage in Helsinki. These institutions continued after the Second World War, when the number of children decreased from about 60 to 20 while the number of elderly

inmates of asylums increased to about 70. The old people's home *Helena* still functioned in the 1990s. (Nevalainen 1999: 119-121.)

Earning money. Non-standard of living

In the situation of general industrial crisis and unemployment, many Russian emigrants had additional difficulties in finding work because of their lack of competence in the local languages and because of potential employers' suspicious attitudes towards Russians, as well as, in the 1920s, the need for a trade permit. In Helsinki and Vyborg there were employment agencies, the agency in Vyborg being founded by *Zemgor*. Many Russian emigrants found work at enterprises owned by Finnish citizens with a Russian background. There were several large factories in Helsinki and Vyborg where Russians were employed. Among all emigrants, Russians proved themselves the most inventive in searching for sources of income. They organised small workshops, firms, dressmaker's shops and stores, the decoy founder being a person of Russian or Jewish origin with a permanent residence permit. They worked as dancers and musicians in the cinemas and restaurants, they cleaned shoes, sewed clothes, made paper flowers, rolled cigarettes for sale, performed tricks in the market-places, etc. Owners of the Isthmus' summer-houses cultivated vegetables for their own needs and for sale (Nevalainen 1999: 146). In the most cases, the work of the emigrants did not match their education.

To survive, emigrants tried to stick together. Social networks of Russian emigrants were tight in a literal sense: often several families lived in one small flat and kept joint households, since it was cheaper, and because it was difficult to get apartments.

Cultural activity

Despite the economic difficulties, emigrants developed intense and diverse cultural activities. To collect money for those in distress, the Russian Colony in 1918 started organising programmatic parties, which became traditional. The parties often included the performances of Russian artistic celebrities from other European countries. The profit from ticket sales went to charity, as well as to the educational and cultural support of emigrants. In Helsinki and Vyborg there were several Russian clubs and circles. Activity could be found in every cultural branch: there were choirs, dramatic and operatic companies, and even philosophical writing circles. The younger generation of Russian emigrants was united in scout troops and Christian organisations. Sports activities were also popular, practised individually and in a few collective sports clubs. (Nevalainen 1999: 257-259; Leinonen 1992; Baschmakoff and Leinonen 1990; Leinonen 1987; Mirolybov and Mirolybov 1981.) Between 1918-1927 there were twelve Russian newspapers published in Finland. Most of them had nothing to do with the Finnish reality, but focussed their activity on the criticism of contemporary Russia under the Bolševiks' power and discussed the order acceptable in the future Russia after the Bolševiks (Suomela 1995). In the 1930s, no Russian daily newspapers were published. Of several Russian journals, none outlived the 1940s. (Leinonen 1987: 67-68.)

After World War II a lot of Russian cultural associations were dissolved under suspicion of political activity. Instead, the Russian Cultural-Democratic Union (*Russkij kul'turno-demokratičeskij Sojuz v Finljandii*) was founded in 1944, to replace the Russian Colony. This organisation was, even though officially non-political, closely connected to the Soviet Union from the very beginning. That is why many Russians did not want to join it. (Horn 1995: 191.) Those few cultural organisations which were not dissolved after the wars decreased in size, and their activity subsided.

In 1994, the Forum of the Russian-speakers in Finland (*Forum russkojazyčnogo naselenija Finljandii)* was established in Helsinki "in order to coordinate activities and policies of the Russian-speaking population of Finland" (Horn 1995: 191). Now most of its members are emigrants of the post-war period, Soviet Russian speakers.

Schools

In the Autonomy period, Russian schools, mostly maintained by the Russian Ministry of Public Education, often through Orthodox congregations, had developed in the places where there had been a thriving Russian community. The control and funding of these schools had been organised through the Advisory Committee of the Office of the Governor-general. (Nevalainen 1999: 168.) In the independent Finland, the schools of the autonomy period were closed down and their property was forfeited to the Finnish State offices. On application, part of the schools got their property back and continued to operate. Due to the lack of means, some old schools were merged. With the supporting and organising sources dried up, the state of Russian-language public education was chaotic. First, facing the necessity, some parents organised small home schools here and there and taught their own children and those in the neighbourhood. In the 1920s the Finnish division of *Zemgor* was founded (although its first stages were disturbed by rivalry and disagreement between its members, who represented conflicting political alignments), and it took over the organisation of Russian education in Finland. In 1923-24 there were 22 Russian educational institutions in Finland, from elementary to high schools, with 1,260 pupils. Some of the schools were boarding schools, where children lived during the school year. Russian schools were situated primarily in Helsinki and on the Isthmus. The school syllabus was the same as in pre-revolutionary Russia, with the innovation of lessons in Finnish language, usually one lesson a week. At the end of the 1920s many of the schools were closed down, the reasons being the dearth of financial support, greatly varying quality of teaching and lack of didactic material. Many teachers packed up and moved abroad.

Having graduated from a Russian school, one could not apply for Finnish universities without additional exams in the state languages, Finnish or Swedish. Since Finnish was taught for one or two lessons a week, it was practically impossible to acquire the necessary written skills (colloquial Finnish was easier, since Russian children learned it, when playing with neighbouring Finnish children). Many Russian school students went on to universities in Estonia, France, the then Czechoslovakia, the former Yugoslavia, Belgium, etc. Having graduated from

universities, many left for Central Europe, but some returned to Finland. (Nevalainen 1999: 167-171, Leinonen 1991: 44-45, Baschmakoff and Leinonen 1990: 73-83.)

From the beginning of the 1930s the number of pupils in Russian schools gradually decreased. A tendency towards assimilation grew as the hope of return to Russia diminished. Even on the Karelian Isthmus, with its traditionally large number of Russian inhabitants, far-sighted and wealthy Russian parents sent their children to Finnish and Swedish schools. In 1935 on the Karelian Isthmus there was one primary and one high school where Russian was the language of instruction, in Terijoki and in Vyborg, respectively. After the wars and the evacuation from the Karelian Isthmus, only two schools were left with Russian as the language of instruction, both in Helsinki. Those were the Russian elementary school (the so-called Tabunov school, founded in autonomy times and named after its founder) and the Russian Lyceum, which actually provided secondary school education. Finally these two schools were closed down because of the shortage of pupils. The Tabunov School was closed in the 1950s. The primary school, which served as the basis for the Russian Lyceum was closed down in 1961, having only 4 pupils (compared to 400 pupils in 1918) (Baschmakoff and Leinonen 1990: 74). On the basis of this Lyceum the so-called New Russian School (later Finnish-Russian School) was founded in 1955, the Russian Cultural-Democratic Union being its official supporter and guarantor. Functioning nowadays, this school tries to educate pupils in two languages to an equal degree, so that many subjects are taught in Russian and in Finnish by Russian and Finnish native teachers. In connection with this school, there is a kindergarten, where the work is organised on the same principle of linguistic balance. Of the pupils, most are Finns. There are also pupils of other than Finnish nationality, Russians among them.

Religion

Having found themselves in exile, Russians consolidated their religious affiliation. For them the Orthodox Church became an effective vehicle of social consolidation. Emigrants established a strong religious organisation, with hundreds of congregations, monasteries, with broad educational, research and charity activity. Especially at the beginning of the emigration period, the Orthodox congregations functioned as the centres of cultural and social work.

The Orthodox Church is and has been the second state church in Finland, living side by side with the majority Protestant, Lutheran Church. At the moment Finland's independence, a fifth of Finland's Orthodox followers were Russian-speaking, forming the majority in the urban parishes and on the Karelian Isthmus. The main part of the Finnish Orthodox followers lived in rural parishes in the provinces of Kuopio, Vyborg and especially the Karelian regions on the north-western banks of Lake Ladoga (so called *Laatokan Karjala*) (Nevalainen 1999: 174). Since 1918 the Orthodox Church in Finland has been independent of Moscow. To indicate their independence from the Moscow church, which followed the Julian calendar, the Finnish Orthodox Church wanted to shift to the new, Gregorian, calendar. This was attempted, but some members of the church

were against this innovation, among them Russian newcomers — emigrants were given the right to join the church after a year's stay in Finland. From the end of 1917 two calendars existed side by side in the church services, and the calendar problem consumed much time and energy. At last the state intervened to resolve this disagreement. The Finnish Orthodox Synod took an official decision valid for all the Finland Orthodox congregations, to follow the new calendar starting from the autumn of 1921. The Council of State (*valtioneuvosto*) ratified this decision. However, those congregations where Russians were in the majority — and such were most urban congregations and congregations in general on the Karelian Isthmus still in the 1920-1930s — followed the old calendar. On the Isthmus, the state officials took a hand in the matter expelling several emigrants and fining some others for "public disturbance" (Nevalainen 1999: 175). The resistance to the new calendar in the congregations weakened when, at the end of the 1920s, two private congregations were established to follow the old calendar. One was in Vyborg and the other in Helsinki. At their largest, when added together, they totalled 1500-2000 members, of whom many were emigrants. Not only in these two old style congregations, but also in all the others with the Russians forming the majority, the church services were held in Church Slavonic and Russian. After 1925 the Finnish Orthodox Synod tried to arrange Finnish-language services in western Finland congregations at least once a month. (Nevalainen 1999: 176-177.) After the wars both old style congregations — Vyborg's congregation having moved to Helsinki —continued activities in Russian, numerically decreasing all the time. In the other Orthodox congregations, which followed the new calendar, the services and the other activities were held in Finnish during the post-war years. (Nevalainen 1999: 176-178, Baschmakoff & Leinonen 1990: 56-58.)

Language maintenance. Assimilation. Language shift

In the period between 1918-1939, language maintenance was favoured among Russian-speaking emigrants, first of all because of the fact that many refugees spoke neither Finnish nor Swedish. But there were also other factors favouring maintenance: the recent loss of homeland, organisations and forms of activities brought from Imperial Russia, the worldwide spread of Russian emigration and connections to emigrant organisations in other countries, as well as the Orthodox Church with its broad cultural and charity activities. Another important factor was the need to stick together for material and moral support in the face of poor living conditions and the suspicious attitude of the local officials and population. Fairly large groups of emigrants worked at a few large enterprises in Helsinki and on the Isthmus. This also promoted group consolidation. An important factor of language maintenance was the option for Russian-language school education in Finland. Nevertheless, Russian-speaking emigrants greatly varied in their background, so that they formed various groups, members of which had close ties to each other while connections between the groups were tenuous. In many cases a group's external and internal contradictions and disagreements have led to the group's dissolution. The negative attitude to Russians was the result of a very long history of the two countries' development side-by-side. In independent Finland people had fresh memories of the recent Russification policy of the Russian

Empire. Thus, the deep-rooted experience of a dangerous neighbour, the great number of Russians, their language, which was easily associated with communist ideas, and — in the first years of emigration — their lack of interest in the country where they stayed, all this rendered the Russians *personae non gratae* for the Finnish population and prejudiced Finns' attitudes against Russians at all levels of social life. In consequence, despite the compulsory temporary consolidation on the native language principle, many Russian speakers strove, often unconsciously, to assimilate into the local population as quickly as possible, which led ultimately in the second generation to loss of language.

The tendencies of assimilation were strong among autonomy Russians. On the other hand, the Revolution did not endanger the position of those who were bi- and trilingual and were involved in business connections to the local population before independence times — for instance, merchants. Already in autonomous Finland, they established their position in society. In their business, they used Finnish, Swedish and Russian, while speaking Russian in private. Their life continued the same way in Independent Finland. This stability gave a feeling of inner security. Strong self-confidence helped them to retain Russian for generations after the Revolution. Many autonomy Russians were in the same associations with emigrants and also had other connections with the latter. These new networks and active Russian-language cultural life, old and new Russian associations — all this promoted language maintenance.

On the other hand, clearly outlined already in the end of 1920s and beginning of the 1930s, assimilation tendencies sharpened and strengthened in the Winter War (1939-1940), in the Continuation War (1941-1944) and the post-war period. In the period of the wars the Russians tried to restrict their native language only to very intimate circles, so as not to irritate Finnish speakers in their midst. As a result of the Winter War and the Continuation War Finland ceded the Karelian Isthmus to the Soviet Union. Due to the evacuation, the Isthmus Russians were transported to other regions of the country, losing their connections and contact with each other. Children, especially those born in the post-war period, grew up in Finnish and Swedish-speaking social environments, and they spoke Russian only at home (given that both parents were Russians).

Many Russians participated in the wars, defending Finland against the Soviet Union. In the wars Russian bilinguals worked in radio propaganda and as translators and interpreters in the negotiations. After the war, many bilingual Russians were engaged in the work of the war-indemnity industry commission. At the same time, Finnish-Soviet trade started to develop, and Russian-speaking bilinguals were needed there, too. Many Russians, usually those born in Finland in the 1930s and later, obtained good positions due to their native competence in Russian, Finnish and often Swedish. In their families, the possibilities of bilingualism in Russian and one or both of the local languages were appreciated, and children often followed their parents in trying to acquire balanced bi- and trilingual skills. Nevertheless, such families were often mixed, and the family language was Finnish or Swedish. Russian as a native language was transmitted to the third generation by grandparents ('third' counting from independence times).

Some of the younger generation of Finland Russian families loyal to the Soviet system studied in Moscow, and some found spouses in the Soviet Union.

Russian language continues in Finland, since it renews itself all the time through newcomers, whose migration to Finland, starting in the 1970s, has intensified over time. But it is unreasonable to speak about "language survival", since the new Russians, with a Soviet background, do not share the Old Finland Russians' common values and goals (Baschmakoff 1994: 2) and, speaking contemporary varieties of Russian, also differ linguistically from Old Finland Russians.

1.3.4. The Kyyrölä Russians

Origin

There were four Russian-speaking villages on the Karelian Isthmus, which before World War II formed the south-eastern part of Finland. The villages were situated along the main road from Vyborg to St. Petersburg, about 50 kilometres from Vyborg to the Southeast. Of these villages, Kyyrölä was the largest one, so that the inhabitants of all the four villages are referred to as Kyyrölä Russians[6]. The Finnish name of the village of Kyyrölä remained from the times of Swedish rule and referred to the name of the church administrator of those times, Kyrö.

The history of the Kyyrölä Russians in Finland goes back over 280 years. The ancestors of the Kyyrölä Russians were the serfs of Earl Tšernyšev. Vyborg and its surroundings having been conquered by the Russian army in the 1710s, Tšernyšev was appointed to the position of commandant of the Vyborg region and was handed some territories in this region. He had his serfs transported from his estates in the Jaroslavl', Kostroma or Moscow governments to certain villages of his newly acquired lands, which had been abandoned by the Karelians. No documents have been found for more precise identification of the place of origin of Kyyrölä Russians in Russia[7]. (Appendix, Maps 1, 2a and 2b.)

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[6] The villages had two names, one in Finnish and one in Russian. The names were as follows, *Sudenoja (*Russian *Razvoz), Kangaspelto (*Russian *Kanki* or *Novaja derevnja* 'New village'), *Parkkila (*Russian *Parkino)* and *Kyyrölä (*Russian *Krasnoe selo* 'beautiful village', lit. 'red village', 'red' in its original meaning of 'beautiful'). Thus, Russian names were not translations, but in two cases, *Kanki* and *Parkino,* morphonologically adopted Finnish names, and the other two Russian names, *Krasnoe selo* and *Razvoz,* had no relation to the Finnish ones.

[7] Concerning the origin of Kyyrölä Russians, in several sources of the 1870s cited by Benita von Pruschewsky (1962: 201-202), three options are mentioned. They are the Moscow government, the Moscow and Jaroslavl' governments, and the Jaroslavl' government. Different sources also give different figures of transported peasants, 20 families in one group of sources and 180 persons in the other. The Russians inhabited the villages between 1711 and the beginning of the 1720s (ibid.). The fourth village, *Sudenoja (Razvoz),* was inhabited later (but before the 1740s). A precise origin of Kyyrölä Russians has been mentioned — but not documented, in a newspaper article (Borodulin 1958), according to which 20 families were brought from the village of Súda (near the town of Čerepovec) of Jaroslavl's government, in the present a small town administratively belonging to the Čerepovec region of Vologda. According to

Occupation. Contacts outside the community

Agriculture was traditionally the main occupation of the Kyyrölä Russians. From their home places, they also brought handcraft skills with them. They were especially skilful at pottery. Nevertheless, in the 1700s serfdom restricted Kyyrölä Russians from supplementing their incomes with handcrafts. Their serfdom ended in 1811, when Old Finland was joined to the Grand Duchy of Finland, and the Kyyrölä Russians became Finnish citizens. Kyyrölä men were skilful at construction-related handicrafts and seasonally practised them in St. Petersburg, Vyborg, and in the rural districts of the Isthmus. The pottery from Kyyrölä villages was famous all over Finland. Merchants from neighbouring Finnish villages bought Kyyrölä pottery and then went on to sell it throughout Finland. There was not much clay soil in Kyyrölä villages, and therefore, since 1900 the Finnish villages provided the clay. In all, including clay digging and delivery, firewood supplying, and the sale of pottery, the Kyyrölä pottery industry employed many people from surrounding villages. In 1935, the Kyyrölä Pottery Industry Association (*Kyyrölän Saviteollisuusyhdistys*) was founded to stop speculation on prices. The Association developed common prices, organised exhibitions and professional courses, and promoted pottery in all possible ways. (Sarkanen & Repo 1952: 181-185; Karste-Liikkanen 1968: 197-204.) In addition to pottery, there was also some other industry in Kyyrölä villages, although without such extensive export. At the end of the 1800s there were two sawmills in the Russian villages. Kyyrölä Russians ran bakeries not only in Kyyrölä villages, but in some Finnish villages as well. Kyyrölä merchants, for instance the merchant and manufacturer Gratscheff, were the first to start up shops in the neighbouring Muolaa and Äyräpää communes in the 1860s. (Sarkanen & Repo 1952: 188.)

The contacts with the surrounding Finnish-speaking population could not but promote Finnish competence among the male population of Kyyrölä. Since women used to stay at home with the children and to participate in the home industry and agriculture, they were usually not competent in Finnish. In his description of the Russian villages, the Finnish writer and architect Ahrenberg (1887[8]) mentioned that of the Kyyrölä inhabitants, at least the males could speak Finnish.

Kyyrölä Russians kept up their connections to the surrounding Russian population, too, although not assimilating to it. After the construction of the railway between Riihimäki and St. Petersburg (1870), the Russian summer inhabitants of the surroundings participated in the religious life of Kyyrölä (Florovsky 1873/1993). In the times of Finland's autonomy, St. Petersburg was an important source of employment. In the summer many Kyyrölä men worked as painters (Katajala 1997: 181). Women served as maids and nurses in Russian households in the neighbouring Russian summer-houses and in Vyborg.

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the same source, a little later, in 1723, 9 peasant families were brought from the Kostroma government. The author of the article did not mention the source of his information more exactly than "three books, found in 1947 in the Finnish town of Kotka".

8 Ahrenberg (1887: 201-209) is cited according to Leinonen (1993: 2).

From the very beginning of their life on the Isthmus, the Kyyrölä Russians had been a typical peasant community, rather homogeneous and introvert. This peasant economy reinforced the inner-group stability. Pottery and other handcrafts practised by Kyyrölä Russians did not change the type of economy, since the *mode of production* remained peasant[9].

Civic and other social activity. School

The Kyyrölä Russians were active in the social and political life of their province. The communal division being established in Finland in the 1860s, Kyyrölä villages were a part of the Muolaa commune. In 1889 Kyyrölä Russians, i.e., inhabitants of the four Russian villages with Kyyrölä as a centre, applied for permission to form the commune of Kyyrölä. In 1890 the governor of Vyborg province granted permission. The Kyyrölä commune existed up to 1932, when it was merged with the Muolaa commune. In the 1920s on the initiative of the villagers, Kyyrölä became a judicial district; a courthouse, including court procedure rooms, a judge's apartment and a hostelry, was built (Sarkanen & Repo, cit. op. 325).

Thus, Kyyrölä Russians were socially active Finnish citizens, taking good care of commune affairs and participating in commune politics alongside the other, Finnish, communes. The minutes of commune administration meetings were kept in Russian, since most of the authorised personnel were Russians. Finnish language became obligatory for commune administration in 1923.

The number of Finnish-speaking inhabitants in the Russian villages remained insignificant throughout the entire history of the four villages. The first Finnish-speaking people moved to the village of Kyyrölä as late as 1870. In 1880 the total number of Kyyrölä inhabitants was 1,048, including 30 native Finnish speakers (18 males and 12 females). In 1910, the number of inhabitants being 1,686, there were only two Finnish speakers and one Swedish speaker (all of them males). In 1930, the number of inhabitants was 2,039, of which 90 were Finnish speakers (63 males and 27 females). (Sarkanen and Repo 1952: 85, 93 and 263.)

Even in 1922-24, when the Finnish-speaking population in Kyyrölä increased, only one of them was authorised in the commune. Finnish-speaking villagers were not particularly interested in participating in the communal institutions, which was explained by the low taxation in the commune (ibid.: 264). There were no nationality-based disagreements between Kyyrölä Russians and Kyyrölä Finns, neither between Kyyrölä Russians and Finns from surrounding villages.

A school was started in Kyyrölä at the beginning of the 1800s. The language of instruction was Russian. As a Finnish patriot, Ahrenberg (op. cit.) felt uneasy about the Kyyrölä children learning only Russian history and geography. At least in the 1890s there were two teachers in Kyyrölä public school, one Russian-speaking and the other Finnish-speaking. The latter taught Finnish. The teaching of Finnish was cancelled during the years of oppression (the period of Russification policy started in 1899). At the beginning of the 1900s there were 3 elemen-

[9] Connection between community type and mode of production is discussed in Howe 1991.

tary schools in the Kyyrölä commune: in the villages of Kyyrölä, Kangaspelto and Parkkila. Lessons in Finnish, a couple of hours a week, were included in the curriculum not earlier than in 1920. At the beginning of the 1930s the entire school syllabus started to be taught in Finnish. At first, the teaching of Russian for two lessons a week was retained in the curriculum, but afterwards it was dropped altogether from the syllabus (Uschanoff 1993: 112).

In the village of Kyyrölä, a private Finnish school was founded in 1920. A few years later it was taken over by the commune. (Sarkanen & Repo 1952: 239-240.)

In regard to its activities and organisations, the Kyyrölä commune was similar to the neighbouring Finnish communes. In 1897 the Kyyrölä young people's association was founded. Fire protection used to receive a lot of attention in the Kyyrölä villages, and in 1910 the voluntary fire brigade was established. The fire brigade was developed briskly, training was active, and modern equipment was acquired. (Sarkanen & Repo 1952: 264-266, 337.) The fire brigade's anniversary was yearly celebrated on 9th July, the Day of the Holy Virgin of Tihvin, whose icon was in the Kyyrölä church. This day was one of the greatest holidays in the Russian villages and the only one which is still today celebrated every year in the town of Hämeenlinna. This celebration gathers all the Kyyrölä Russians who are still able to come.

The Holy Day of the Holy Virgin of Tihvin was combined with the secular holiday, that of the voluntary fire brigade. This combination can be considered as an expression of the symbiosis of, on the one hand, extrovert sociability with its links to the Finnish-speaking surroundings and, on the other hand, the Kyyrölä-Russian internal religious and traditional life. Devout Orthodox followers, the Kyyrölä Russians systematically attended church and celebrated religious holidays, as well as those related to human-life and the yearly cycle. Their piety was not sectarian-esoteric or severely strict, but full of life and joy. Nowadays old Kyyrölä Russians warmly and in detail recollect the traditional rituals of whole-day feasts in their villages. (see Harjula, Leinonen and Ovchinnikova 1993.)

Finland having gained her independence (1917), Kyyrölä Russians retained their economic and social ties on the Finnish side and lost those in Russia. Finnish became increasingly necessary at all levels of life. Administrative matters outside the community were conducted in Finnish. Since the beginning of the 1930s school education was entirely in Finnish. The military used Finnish. Conscripted Kyyrölä men, illiterate in Finnish, attended a short-term Finnish elementary school in the army. Despite their long-term Finnish citizenship and the administratively instructed Finnisation of the 1920-1930s, Kyyrölä Russians retained their strong group identity and clung to their Russian origin. The last Kyyrölä priest, Alexander Kasanko, notes that Kyyrölä Russians, at least males, spoke Finnish fluently (Sarkanen & Repo 1952: 318). They used to travel throughout Finland for work and to sell pottery. They were interested in internal politics, read Finnish newspapers, served in the Finnish army, and practised the same things as Finns.

Evacuation and the post-war period

In the days preceding the Winter War, the entire Kyyrölä commune volunteered to join civil defence. Together with other Finns on the Karelian Isthmus, Kyyrölä Russians prepared clothes and food for reservists. Many Kyyrölä men participated in the wars against the Soviet Union, 47 of them are registered as heroically fallen in the wars. (Sarkanen & Repo 1952: 378, 538-539.)

In the Winter War (30.10.1939-13.3.1940) the Kyyrölä Russians were evacuated to the island of Kimito in south-western Finland, to three communes with a predominantly Finland Swedish population. (The reason for such a choice apparently was the opinion of the authorities that, for Russian-speakers, Swedish would be easier than Finnish.) In the late autumn of 1941 many Kyyrölä Russians returned to restore their home place, where 90% of all the buildings were destroyed. In June 1941, with the Continuation War starting, they were forced to undergo a new evacuation, to the area of Hämeenlinna, to the city and villages around it. (Sarkanen & Repo 1952: 410-419, 442.) The war having ended, many Kyyrölä Russians left their place of evacuation and, in search of work, dispersed around the country. (Appendix, Map 3.)

The town of Hämeenlinna and its surroundings was for a long time the largest centre of Kyyrölä Russians. It is in this town that the Day of Icon of the Holy Virgin of Tihvin and the Day of the Kyyrölä voluntary fire brigade were celebrated. There also is a large group of Kyyrölä Russians in Järvenpää (near Helsinki). In the evacuation, the last Kyyrölä monolinguals had to learn Finnish. Many children whose families lived in the Swedish-speaking archipelago attended Swedish schools and became trilingual. Once escalated because of the wars and evacuation, language shift has been speedy. Most of the younger generation born in the 1930s and later took Finnish spouses. With the loss of their place of residence, of an administrative-economic unit of their own, and of their traditional way of life, geographic diffusion of Kyyrölä Russians, as well as the low social status of the Russian language (a factor that grew acute because of the wars) accelerated language shift among Kyyrölä Russians. This language shift is now close to completion.

As long as the oldest generation survived, with females almost monolingual in Russian, children born in Kyyrölä-Russian—Finnish exogamic families were exposed to Russian, since, according to Russian tradition, the grandparents actively helped with childcare. But Kyyrölä parents in exogamic marriages spoke Finnish to their children. Even though some speakers of Kyyrölä Russian can still be found among the Kyyrölä descendants born at the latest in the early 1950s, peers born from the 1930s onwards usually speak Finnish.

The Kyyrölä Russian community has become history. The (former) Kyyrölä Russians pay tribute to their past by travelling to their native places on the Karelian Isthmus and participating in the Kyyrölä traditional summer feast of Tihvin's Holy Virgin's Icon. Second and third generation Kyyrölä Russians also participate in these activities. For them language is not so important as the native roots of the Isthmus and Orthodox religion.

Language

In the times of Old Finland (up to 1811), serfdom limited Kyyrölä Russians' mobility and contacts with the surrounding population. Such connections became constant in autonomous Finland. The types of contact formed through these connections can be considered as adstrate[10] (Veenker 1967: 16-17). Before Finland's independence, the contacts between Finnish-speakers and Kyyrölä Russians were systematic, but not too intensive. They did not linguistically involve all Kyyrölä Russians, but only a part of them. Although a considerable part of the population could speak Finnish, there was no pervasive competence in Finnish in the Kyyrölä villages, since fluency in Finnish was not a necessity in Kyyrölä, because of the opportunities of using Russian in administrative matters, because of the large proportion of the Russian population on the Karelian Isthmus, and because of economic connections in the direction of St. Petersburg. School education was in Russian. Economic and administrative co-operation with the surrounding Finnish population was based on equality, and the Kyyrölä Russians were not subjected to any cultural pressure. In a way the contacts with Russians on the Isthmus and St. Petersburg served for Kyyrölä Russians as a counterbalance to Finnish contacts. In view of the large typological distance between Finnish and Russian, structural borrowing was hardly possible, while a moderate amount of borrowing of non-basic vocabulary was to be expected.[11]

The contacts between Kyyrölä Russian and other Russian apparently led to some levelling (Trudgill 1986: 98ff), i.e., mitigating or diminishing salient dialect features toward the Russian-language variety spoken by the Russian (summer) population of the Karelian Isthmus. On the other hand, standard Russian did not apply pressure on the dialect variety as much as it did in Russia, since Finnish, Swedish and — on the Isthmus — German, being widely used, formed a counterbalance to this standardising pressure. Thus, a decisively important factor in vertical (standard/dialect)[12] interference was missing, and dialect-levelling tendencies were not strong.

In Independent Finland, the contacts between Finnish and Kyyrölä Russian intensified. Remaining adstratic, the type of contact entered a new phase. Finnish acquired the position of a compulsory official language (the second official language being Swedish). The military used Finnish. Russian in Kyyrölä villages lost institutional support. There was no institutionally realised bilingual programme in school education; the monolingual education in Russian, provided up to the middle 1920s, was equally non-realistic as the monolingual education in Finnish, started at the beginning of the 1930s. Economic alliances with the Finnish-speaking population became closer. Cultural pressure and intense contact

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[10] Adstrate is a type of contact, in which the speakers of two languages neighbour, partially intermingle, nevertheless retaining their languages. In each language group there are bilinguals.

[11] Considerations on contact consequences are based on the tentative borrowing probability scale developed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 72-76).

[12] The terms of vertical and horizontal interference are discussed in, for instance, Auer & di Luzio (1988).

can provide the necessary social context required for structural changes, if the contact is relatively long. In the case of the Kyyrölä Russians, this period was too short (16-20 years) to produce considerable effects on the language system. Additionally, in independent Finland (after 1917), Kyyrölä Russians were also frequently in contact with Russians who lived outside their community because of the large number of Russian speakers on the Karelian Isthmus. This way, the levelling of the dialect features apparently continued.

In assessment of the linguistic consequences of the contacts, the specific dialect variety of Kyyrölä Russian should be taken into account. A northern Russian dialect spoken in Kyyrölä villages, had some features — which are considered to have originated in Baltic-Finnic substrate in Northern Russian (Veenker 1967, Kiparsky 1969) — directly or indirectly shared with Finnish. These features form a sphere of structural convergence (closeness of constructions) between Finnish and Kyyrölä Russian. Thus, the above conclusion about borrowing from Finnish to Kyyrölä Russian as limited to vocabulary should be revised for the points of closeness between Kyyrölä Russian and Finnish; at these points structural changes towards Finnish could be expected.

Because of the evacuation, the Kyyrölä Russians lost their land as the basis of their traditional way of life, including economic ties, life-cycle expressions in Orthodox rituals, and social associations. The process of language shift got under way.

Speech community status

Gumperz (1962/1968: 463) defines speech community as "a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication"[13].

Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) coined the concepts of *diffuse* and *focussed*, applied to a social group and its language. These concepts, actually rather intuitive ones, were originally metaphors drawn "from cinema projection and focussing on a screen" (ibid.: 115).

> Both 'languages' and 'groups' may become more highly focussed in the sense that the behaviour of members of a group may become more alike. … 'Focussing' will imply greater regularity in the linguistic code, less variability; 'diffusion' the converse. …The density and multiplexity of social networks have been found to correlate with the degree of focussing around a set of linguistic norms. (ibid.: 116)

Gumperz' speech community combined with defining concepts of *focussed* and *diffuse* are, I believe, useful instruments in discussion of the social setting of the language contact situation and will be used in the course of this research.

In their history, Kyyrölä Russians constituted a speech community, a focussed one up to 1918, when the diffusion started. Nevertheless, even after 1918, although in a lesser degree than earlier, the Kyyrölä community remained focussed. Kyyrölä Russians had a strong group identity. Their Orthodox religion was a weighty factor which kept them together and kept them apart from the sur-

[13] Another relevant discussion on the concept of 'speech community' can be found in Dorian (1982).

rounding Finnish population, the latter being predominantly Lutheran. Agriculture as an important occupation of the Kyyrölä Russians and the lack of exogamic marriages also reinforced group consolidation. At the same time, being conscious of their roots, Kyyrölä Russians distinguished themselves from the surrounding Russian speakers. Marriages with non-Kyyrölä Russians took place, but not often: in the interviews, recollecting the past, Kyyrölä Russians mentioned particularly if this or that person had not originated from Kyyrölä. Social networks within the community were tight and unique in comparison to the networks that connected the community to the outer world.

The speakers of the corpus I call here 'non-dialect' never constituted a speech community. Nevertheless, these Russian speakers shared three factors: their values, their language of mutual communication, and the loss of their cultural mother country (Baschmakoff 1994: 1). These three factors consolidate the speakers of non-dialect corpus into a language group. Within this group, there are smaller communities, tightly networked.

The Kyyrölä Russians still retain northern dialect features in their speech. They are conscious of speaking a marginal variety, which contrasts with the standard variety, while the speakers of the non-dialect group are mostly conscious of speaking a variety that has sometimes been standard. Many of them mentioned that contemporary Russian differed from what they spoke, but that the new features in contemporary Russian were nothing to admire.

The Orthodox religion had been a strong identity-building factor for Finland Russians. In the 1950s this religion was still associated with the Russian language. Now the service in Orthodox churches is basically in Finnish, and Russian- and Church-Slavonic-language worship is marginal, not only because of the lack of resources, but also because there are almost no monolingual Old Finland Russians left, and Russian-speaking bilingual Orthodox followers participate in Finnish-language church services.

1.4. The data

General

The data of the present research are open-ended research interviews with the speakers of Russian who were born or have lived for the most of their lives in Finland. The presupposed language for the interviews was Russian. In the most of occurrences, the interviewers were Finnish researchers with a high proficiency in Russian. A few interviews were conducted by a native Russian-speaking researcher. Most of the interviews were undertaken in 1986-87 and 1988-92.

The interviewing was conducted within two research projects. The projects were initiated and directed by Marja Leinonen. The basic purpose of the first project, which included the tape recordings of the interviews made in 1986-87, was to investigate features of pre-revolutionary Russian and interference in Finland Russian. The University of Tampere financed the project. Following the aims of the study, the researchers tried to find those fluent Russian speakers who

had had minimal contact with Soviet Russian (see Leinonen, 1987: 83-4 and Leinonen 1992: 3).

The purpose of the second project, financed by the Academy of Finland, was the investigation of the historico-cultural background of the Old Finland Russians (Baschmakoff & Leinonen 1990) and in particular, of Kyyrölä Russians.

In addition to the data of the two projects described above I collected new tape-recorded data in the years 1997-1998. Of these tape-recordings, I included in the present research the tape-recordered sample of ten informants. I contacted those Kyyrölä speakers who had already been tape-recorded before, and met the same speakers a few times. As a result, in addition to the material collected from the six new speakers (of them five were Kyyrölä speakers), I complemented the data of four Kyyrölä speakers interviewed within the second project with newly made tape recordings. These were group informal sessions without a prescibed scenario. Nevertheless, I tried to keep the Kyyrölä past in focus, in order for the data to be comparable with the data collected earlier. The other reason for keeping to this topic was that it seemed to inspire people to speak Russian. I also participated in Kyyrölä Russians' homeland trips and the feast of the Icon of the Holy Virgin of Tihvin. This experience was useful for the context analysis as well as for the better perception of the interactions.

Interview setting

Arranged by appointment and conducted in the informants' homes, the interviews were informal, although in the first project a questionnaire was completed in order to structure the content of the interviews. The questionnaire could be optionally given to the informants. The language of the questionnaire was Finnish since the researchers considered the informants to be literate in Finnish rather than in Russian. The questions concerned the socio-linguistic biography of the informant, date and place of birth, family and family language, schooling, the language of education, self-assessment of present competence in Russian and other languages, and the use of Russian and other languages. Interviewers sometimes gave the questionnaire to the informants at the beginning of the interview to help them in outlining the following conversation. The questionnaire-led agenda was not adhered to very closely.

The major part of the interviews consisted of the interviewee's storytelling interspersed with short turns by the interviewer in the form of questions, indications of understanding etc. Sometimes there were two or three interviewees, friends or relatives, present. They participated in the conversation, one at a time taking the storyteller's role. The duration of one interview varied from twenty minutes to three hours.

The oldest informants, who were born in the end of 1890s—beginning of the 1900s, were socialised in pre-revolutionary Russia. The rest were socialised in Finland. Although many of the informants were not ethnic Russians, Russian is (one of) their native language(s).

Previous research on Finland Russian

Benita von Pruschewsky (von Pruschewsky 1962) wrote a survey on the speech of Kyyrölä Russians. Her paper is based on the data she collected in 1949 for her thesis for the degree of Master of Arts. Von Pruschewsky's data were not tape-recorded but hand-written in pen.[14]

The studies mentioned below have used the tape-recording described above as data.

A paper by Eliisa Kauppila and Marja Leinonen (1992), based on the interviews with Kyyrölä Russians, is concerned with the attrition of dialect features among Kyyrölä Russians in comparison with the status quo documented in von Pruschewsky 1962.

On the basis of the first interview collection (1986-1987), a survey of the historical-cultural background of Old Finland Russians and of general linguistic characteristics of old-norm and interference features in the recorded speech was made by Leinonen (1987, 1991 and 1992). In a paper published in 1994 (Leinonen 1994a), Leinonen provided a case study on code switching in a Kyyrölä interview within Poplack's (1980) framework. A detailed report on the socio-cultural life of Finland Russians in 1917-1939, based on the tape-recorded data and unpublished manuscipts, was drawn up by Natalia Baschmakoff and Marja Leinonen (1990). The political and cultural life of Russian emigrants in Finland was also elucidated in Leinonen (1994b). A book completed and edited by Tiina Harjula, Marja Leinonen and Olga Ovchinnikova (1993) included surveys of the history and the traditional culture of Kyyrölä Russians, as well as folklore publications.

In my Licentiate thesis (Leisiö 1994), I described phonetic, grammatical and lexical features in a sample of 39 Finland Russian speakers, distinguished by the variety of Russian they spoke and generation. Later, I investigated the use of the particle *to¾e* 'also, too' in a sample of Finland Russian speakers in comparison to the use of this particle in Contemporary Standard Russian (Leisiö 1995). In Leisiö 1996a, I researched the conversational meanings of code switching within the conversation-analytical framework, and in Leisiö 1998b and 1999a code switching as a pragmatic device in reported speech. In Leisiö 1997 and 1998d, I analysed the social factors effective in the contact situation of Kyyrölä Russians, applying a theoretical framework developed by Sarah Thomason and Terence Kaufman (1988). In Leisiö 1998a, 1996b and 1999b, I discussed syntactic patterns of code switching which are typical for the data. In Leisiö 1999c and Leisiö 2000, I analysed the word order in the constructions with the genitive of possession. In Leisiö 1998c and 1999b I investigated the agreement categories of the other-language elements in language alternation. In Leisiö 1999d I surveyed the Finnish partitive and the Russian genitive of subject and object.

[14] The data and the MA thesis by von Pruschewsky have both disappeared. Only the extracts presented in von Pruschewsky (1962) exist.

The data sample of the present research: figures

The data collected within the first project mentioned above include 79 tape-recording sessions, of which four are conversations without an interviewer, where one of the participants carries the tape-recorder. Of these 79 sessions there are seven with Kyyrölä Russians and the rest with the Finland Russians of other background. The average duration of one session was 40 minutes (nevertheless, several sessions lasted about two hours while some others 20 minutes). The whole duration of the first recordings was over 50 hours. The number of speakers tape-recorded is 112, of these 13 are Kyyrölä Russians. All these data were analysed in the present research.

From the data collected within the second project, all the 21 sessions with Kyyrölä speakers (29 persons) and 8 sessions with non-Kyyrölä speakers (12 persons) were analysed. On the whole, of the data of the second period of the tape-recording, the present research considered the speech of 41 speakers. The average duration of one session is 2 hours. The duration is about 58 hours.

My data collection included six new speakers (five of them are Kyyrölä speakers) and the new material from the four Kyyrölä speakers already recorded earlier. The duration of this sample is 12 hours.

In all, the data sample of the present research comprises the tape-recording of 159 speakers, of whom 47 are Kyyrölä speakers (the dialect corpus) and 112 non-Kyyrölä speakers (the non-dialect corpus).[15]

The figures of speakers differentiated by gender and year of birth are shown in Table 1.

	Corpus			
	dialect		non-dialect	
Year of birth:	f	m	f	m
1892-1909	11		37	
	9	2	30	7
1910-1929	23		52	
	11	12	33	19
1930-1959	12		11	
	10	2	6	5
1960-	1		12	
	1	-	6	6
Corpus total	47		112	
	31	16	75	37
TOTAL	159			

Table 1. The speakers. Explanations: 'f' stands for 'female' and 'm' for 'male'. The extreme left column shows the year of birth. In the columns representing the figures of the two corpora, the whole number of persons born in a particular period is shown

[15] Raivola speakers were considered within the non-dialect corpus. Where exemplifying the data analysis with extracts by Raivola speakers, I indicated the speakers' background.

first, and the gender distinctions below. For instance, there are 23 persons born between 1910 and 1929, of them 11 females and 12 males.

It is easy to note at first glance that (1) there are twice as many females (106) than males (53) (apparently common socio-statistics in most investigations of this type, where gender is not a variable under consideration), and (2) there are only a few persons from the younger generation. The latter reflects the fact that there are few third generation Russian speakers among old Finland Russians' descendants.

In every one of the four case studies, only relevant material is accounted for in the analysis, data sessions which do not include structures under consideration being omitted. This is the reason why the samples of informants whose speech is considered in different case studies overlap but do not coincide.

1.5. Conventions

Transliterations

I decided not to use the Cyrillic aphabet in order to faciliate access to the dissertation for those who can not read Cyrillics. The Cyrillic alphabet is transliterated in line with the system of the International Organization for Standartization (ISO). It is listed below alongside the Cyrillic alphabet:

Cyrillic	ISO	Cyrillic	ISO
Аа	a	Пп	p
Бб	b	Рр	r
Вв	v	Сс	s
Гг	g	Тт	t
Дд	d	Уу	u
Ее	e	Фф	f
Ёё	ë	Хх	h
Жж	ž	Цц	c
Зз	z	Чч	č
Ии	i	Шш	š
Йй	j	Щщ	šč
Кк	k	Ъъ	"
Лл	l	Ыы	y
Мм	m	Ьь	'
Нн	n	Ээ	è*
Оо	o	Юю	ju
		Яя	ja

* In ISO there is a point over 'e' and not an accent

More conventional is the system of the British Standards Institution (BSI). Nevertheless, I preferred the ISO system because the BSI system would look too heavy, due to its 'ch', 'shch', 'sh', 'ts' and etc. For the sake of consistency, I also used the ISO system for transliterating proper names and titles of sources.

The transliteration of examples is mostly adjusted to Russian written norms, but sometimes special features of pronunciation are shown.

(.)	micropause (shorter than 0.2 sec)
(1.0)	measured pause (1 sec)
[	overlap of two turns
°on°	a sequence pronounced in more silent voice than the surroundings
>on<	pronounced faster than the surroundings
<on>	pronounced slower than the surroundings
ska-	incomplete word
(?--)	inaudible sequence
hhh	laugh (since transliterations are in italics, laugh strings are in normal face; the italics for laugh are used in the normal-faced translations)
=	one turn is immediately followed by the next one (latching)

Punctuation marks indicate intonation:

?	A question mark indicates a rising intonation
.	A period indicates a falling, final intonation.
!	An exclamation mark indicates a strong falling.
,	A comma indicates an intonation of continuation (weak rising)
;	A semicolon indicates an even final contour
/	A sharp rise at the non-end of an intonation unit
\	A sharp fall at the non-end of an intonation unit
:	A colon indicates an attenuation of the preceding sound
Sname	surname
Pname	place name
1nameM/F	male/female first name
Mo	mother
D	daughter
IR	interviewer
H	husband
W	wife

Underlined syllables bear sentence stress. A string in UPPER CASE is said louder (or more emphatically) than its surrounding. Appearing together with Russian, Finnish is **in bold face**. Swedish is additionally indicated with another font**.** Strings other than English are written in *italic*.

Translation principles

In all the examples, English and Finnish translations and Finnish paraphrases are mine unless another author is mentioned. The translations were checked by native speakers.

The author's remarks and explanations are in double brackets. I mostly gloss only points relevant to the discussion. Unmarked forms (nominative, singular,

indicative) are not glossed. An exception can be made where it is necessary to make the fact of the use of an unmarked form especially salient. Categories which coincide in translated language and English are mostly shown on the form (for instance, the plural form of the nouns).

Interviewers. Abbreviations

The interviewers were as follows:

IR_{f1}	a Finnish final-year female student of Russian
IR_{f2}	a Finnish young female with university-level education in Russian
IR_{f3}	a female middle-aged Finnish researcher of Russian
IR_{f4}	a female middle-aged Finland Russian researcher of Russian literature
IR_{f5}	a young female researcher in folklore, monolingual Russian
IR_{f6}	a young female Russian researcher of Russian, adult bilingual
IR_{f7}	a young Finnish female with university-level education in Russian
IR_{f8}	a Finnish female student of Russian
IR_{m1}	a middle-aged male Finnish researcher of Russian
IR_{m2}	a middle-aged Finland Swedish male researcher of Russian
IR_{m3}	a young male Finnish researcher of Russian

Informants are indicated according to their gender (F, M) and the year of birth, e.g., F1923. If there is a need to distinguish the dialect corpus from the non-dialect one, the former is specifically marked; otherwise a non-dialect speaker is in question. In the sections where the dialect corpus is in focus, dialect speakers are not marked, while the extracts from the non-dialect corpus, if presented, are indicated 'non-dial.' In each corpus, the persons of the same gender and year of birth are distinguished by the letter index, e.g., M1910a and M1910b for two male persons both born in 1910. Indexing is provided for each corpus separately.

Abbreviations:

3.Inf	the third infinitive (Finnish)
3Sg	the third person singular
ABE	abessive
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADE	adessive
ALL	allative
coll.	colloquial
cond	conditional mood
CSR	Contemporary Standard Russian
DAT	dative
def	definite article
ELA	elative

fem	feminine
GEN	genitive
idf	indefinite article
ILL	illative
imp	imperative mood
inf	infinitive
INS	instrumental
ipf	imperfect
ipfve	imperfective aspect
itr	intransitive
LOC	locative
masc	masculine
NEG	verb of negation (Finnish)
neut	neuter
NOM	nominative
non-pst	non-past
NP	noun phrase
PA	possessive adjective
PAR	partitive
pass	passive (verb form in Finnish)
pf	perfect
pfve	perfective aspect
Pl	plural
PP	prepositional phrase
PPA	participle past active
PPP	participle past passive*
pres	present
pron	pronoun
PRT	particle
PRTc	conditional particle
PRTn	negative-polarity particle (e.g., Finnish *-kAAn*, Russian negative particle *ne*, emphasising negative particle *ni*)
PRTq	interrogative particle
pst	past
Px	possessive suffix
Px1Sg	possessive suffix of the first person singular
QP	quantifier phrase
refl	reflexive (suffix, in Russian)
Sg	singular
st	stem
sup	supine (Swedish form in perfect)
tr	transitive
VP	verb phrase

* In Russian, 'PPA' also indicates *ši*-participle (like *ušedši* '[when] having gone'), discussed in Chapter 2. By 'PPP' the short form of the passive is

marked. The full form is additionally indicated, 'ppp.full'. In glossing, 'ppa' and 'ppp', in lower case, are used.

Marking Finnish inflectional suffixes, I use upper case to indicate hyperphonemes which have morphonological variants. For instance, the suffix of the past participle passive is indicated as -*TU*. At the surface level it can appear in the forms -*ttu, -tu, -tty* and -*ty,* regulated by vowel harmony and consonant gradation rules.

'Ru' is an abbreviation for Russian, 'Sw' for Swedish, and 'Fi' for Finnish. Within the quotations of other authors, I provide comments of my own in square brackets.

2. PAST PARTICIPLE CONSTRUCTIONS IN KYYRÖLÄ RUSSIAN

2.1. Theoretical part

In this chapter, I shall consider the predicate use of past participle constructions in the speech of Kyyrölä Russians. The main points of investigation are active constructions, which consist of the auxiliary (which is not used in the non-past and is often dropped in the past tense) and the active past participle-like form with the marker *-ši.* On account of their properties, these constructions have been regarded as close to the category of the perfect. The predicate use of past participle constructions is characteristic of Russian, especially northern and western dialects, which is why the empirical analysis of this study is based on the dialect corpus only. The starting point is the hypothesis that under the influence of a corresponding category in Finnish, the participle constructions in diaspora dialectal speech have come to be used as a perfect. The main focus is on the qualitative analysis, in which the constructions are investigated in the context of use.

In the theoretical part I shall survey the category of the perfect in general, the perfect category in Finnish and in Swedish, and the participle constructions in CSR and Russian dialects. In the empirical part of the chapter, I will analyse the meanings of the constructions in interaction and provide the figures of their use in the data.

2.1.2. The category of the perfect

Bernard Comrie (1976: 52) considers the perfect to be a specific form of aspect which "indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation" and specifies four types of perfect in English (ibid. 56-60):

(1)

> The perfect of result where a present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation ('Bill has gone to America').
> The experiential perfect which "indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present" ('Bill has been to America').
> The perfect of a persistent situation describing a situation which "started in the past but continues (persists) into the present" ('I've shopped there for years').
> The perfect of the recent past indicating the present relevance of a past situation ('Bill has just [this minute] arrived').[1]

Instead of Comrie's *types,* Dahl (1985: 133) proposes talking about *the uses* of the perfect category. These uses are connected to each other and often overlap. In particular, the perfect of result and the perfect of the recent past both involve a point of reference which is different from the point of event (ibid.)

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[1] In McCawley (1971) the uses of the English perfect are identified as follows: the 'universal perfect' (Comrie's 'perfect of a persistent situation'), the stative ('perfect of result'), the existential ('experiential'), and the hot news perfect ('perfect of recent past').

Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994: 54, henceforth BPP)[2] label the meaning of a particular group of grammatical morphemes with the term *'anterior'*: "An anterior signals that the situation occurs prior to reference time and is relevant to the situation at reference time." (cf. Comrie's perfect of the recent past and perfect of result). Anterior may be marked for the past or future tenses. Anterior related senses are the experiential, anterior continuing, and evidential. The *experiential* signals a situation in which "certain qualities or knowledge are attributable to the agent due to past experiences" (BPP: 62). In a situation signalled by *anterior continuing*, "a past action continues into present time" (ibid.). These two account for Comrie's experiential perfect and perfect of persistent situation, respectively.

With the *evidential*, the speaker indicates a situation based on the speaker's direct or indirect evidence (BPP: 95). There are not many languages in the world in which evidential sense is grammaticised. In most languages in which the perfect is a distinctive category, evidential sense is attached to the perfect and supported by contexts of use and lexical elements with evidential meaning.

The *resultatives* imply the presence of a direct result. They are considered to be distinct meaning labels: "... the resultative points to the state resulting from the action while the anterior points to the action itself." (BPP: 65.) Resultatives are lexically restricted, their sources being verbs which signal a change of some kind. The nature of the result is defined by the meaning of the verb. Resultatives are valence-changing: "The subject in a resultative construction often corresponds to the direct object of a non-resultative sentence" (Bybee and Dahl 1989: 69; cf. also Nedjalkov and Jahontov 1988 and Comrie 1976: 86[3]).

The perfect is connected to the categories of voice and diathesis. The resultative, as it is described above, cannot have a direct object; in other words, it cannot be transitive. The periphrastic passive can express perfective meaning, accounting for the action and its result (Keenan 1985, Comrie 1981, Siewierska 1988).

According to Jerzy Kurylowicz (1964: 56-61), the IE perfect is closely related to the mediopassive, and it developed from a verbal form which denoted a state

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[2] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994: 2) develop the notion of the grammatical morpheme (gram). Grams are "close-class elements whose class membership is determined by some unique grammatical behaviour, such as position of occurrence, co-occurrence restrictions, or other distinctive interactions with other linguistic elements." Following Lloyd Anderson (1982), these authors treat grams "as covering one or more 'uses' or functions. --- Each use is characterized by one or more **meaning labels**. In our framework, meaning labels are names for the conceptual content of the uses. They are not features of a componential analysis: they are designed so that most often a single meaning label will exhaustively characterize a single use, although in some cases it takes two or more meaning labels from different semantic domains to characterize a single use." Grams have "semantic content of their own which contributes to the formation of the conceptual system of the language." (BPP: 44-46.)

[3] The *type* of the perfect of result as defined by Comrie (1976: 52, 56) seems to exceed both the resultative use of perfect in accord with Dahl (1985) and the gram of the resultative introduced by Bybee et al. (1994); Comrie's example 'I have had a bath', defined by the author as the perfect of result, does not denote a state which persists at reference time and, thus, is a use of the perfect, or, aligning with BPP's terminology, a sense of the anterior gram, while the perfect of result in the quotation above, 'Bill has gone to America', can be considered as a sense of the resultative gram.

resulting from a preceding action. In line with Kurylowicz, Bybee and Dahl (1989, see also BPP 1994: 68-69) assume that the perfect developed from the resultative *via* a grammaticalisation process. In this process (1) a shift from lexical restriction to lexical generalisation occurs, and (2) agreement between subject/object and participle disappears. The participle ceased to be a modifier of either the subject or the object, and this fact became grammatically expressed in the lack of agreement. Three directions of further development of the perfect are frequently attested to: (1) the evidential marker, (2) the past or perfective marker, (3) or the marker of remotedness distinctions (Bybee & Dahl 1989: 73).

2.1.2. The perfect in Finnish

Structure

In Finnish, the tenses are the present, the imperfect, perfect and pluperfect. Both perfect and pluperfect are periphrastic, expressed with an auxiliary *olla* 'to be' and the past participle, active or passive (Penttilä 1957: 613-617, Karlsson 1983: 133-135, Larjavaara 1990: 222-229). The Finnish perfect has many features of the prototypical Indo-European perfect.

Finnish has two past participles, passive (-*TU*) and active (-*nUT*). The active participle in the perfect construction agrees with the grammatical subject in number and the auxiliary does in number and person:

(2)

(Minä)	*ole-n*	*teh-nyt*	*veneen.*
(I)	be.1Sg	do.ppa	boat.ACC.
Lapse-t	*ova-t*	*pala-nnee-t*	*matka-lta.*
Children	be.3Pl	return.ppa.Pl	trip.ABL

The passive perfect construction in general does not agree with any nominal element. The auxiliary is in the form of the third person singular. This construction is considered to be subjectless. Semantic objects expressed with nouns are in the accusative[4]. Non-agreement between the plural subject and singular auxiliary is seen in (3)b:

(3)

(a) *Vene on jo teh-ty*
boat be.3Sg already do.ppp.Sg
'The boat has already been made.'
(b) *Venee-t on jo teh-ty.*
boats be.3Sg already do.ppp.Sg
'The boats already have been made.'
(c) *Minu-t on pidäte-tty.*
I.ACC be.3Sg arrest.ppp
'I have been arrested.'

---

[4] Only personal pronouns have retained the *t*-accusative, cf. (3)c. The accusative is in the form of the nominative for the plural nouns always and for the singular nouns governed by passive verb forms (cf. ex. [2]) and imperative verb forms of 1st and 2nd person. The objects in plural, as well as singular noun objects are in so-called nominative-like accusative form. In example (2), the accusative is genitive-like.

In some cases the predicate in the resultative meaning agrees with the object of the action. The object thus becomes a grammatical subject. The latter is usually focussed[5] and often has a human referent. The following example is from "The Unknown Soldier" by Väinö Linna, quoted in Volodin (1988: 473):

(4)

(Lammio huusi)	*"Olette pidätetty!"*
	be.2Pl arrest.ppp
(Lammio cried):	"(You) are arrested!"

In (4), the utterance is performative (Austin 1962/1992: 4-11): the action that is expressed is, at least partially, done through saying. This performative character implies actionality of the PPP construction here. The utterance is addressed to the semantic object of the action, and this person is expressed in the form of the verb *olla* 'to be', the second plural person *olette*.

Clauses with agreement between the predicate and semantic object are rather rare, and they convey stative meaning. For instance, they collocate with the adverb 'still', which emphasises the state. In stative meaning the predicate cannot be expressed with a perfect, cf. (5)a, but only with the collocation of the copula and predicative, both agreeing with the subject (5)b:

(5)

(a) * *Minut on vieläkin pidätetty.*
* I.ACC be.3Sg still arrest.ppp
(b) *Minä ole-n vieläkin pidätetty.*
I be.1Sg still arrest.ppp.
'I am still arrested.'

The meaning of the Finnish perfect

In the imperfect (6)b, the reference point coincides with the point of event and in the present (6)a, with the point of event and the moment of speech.

(6)

(a) *Juna lähtee*
Train depart.3Sg

---

[5] Here, 'focussed' means that an element is emphasised prosodically (pronounced more saliently than its surroundings), and with other means indicated as prominent in the discourse. This treatment covers the *focus* as it has been formulated by John Myhill (1992: 21-24). This researcher has developed the notion of *focus construction* based on the 'discourse file' metaphor (Givón 1989) and the terms *given* and *new* (Chafe 1976). Having just been mentioned, an entity is included in the most active discourse file. Activation is relaxed by non-mention of the entity for a period of time. A maximally activated entity is *given*. An entity which has not recently been mentioned, or probably has not been mentioned at all, is *new*. "In a focus construction, the entire sentence is highly activated, except for one constituent, which is focussed." The focussed constituent is "lower in activation than the rest of the clause" (Myhill 1992: 23-24). Within the conversation-analytical approach, the researcher should consider a certain element focussed on the basis of the participants' interpretations. The conditions for the focussing may be prepared in the preceding turn. The speaker shows with prosodic (e.g., stress and tempo) and morphosyntactic (e.g., syntactic structure and word order) means that a certain item is focussed. The recipients often confirm the focussing with back-chanelling turns.

'The train is departing.'
(b) *Juna läht-i*
Train depart.ipf.3Sg
'The train departed.'

The distinctive feature of the perfect and pluperfect is that the point of reference follows the moment of the event. In the perfect (7)a the point of reference coincides with, and in the pluperfect (7)b precedes the moment of speech.

(7)
(a) *Juna on lähtenyt.*
Train be.3Sg depart.ppa.
'The train has departed.'
(b) *Juna oli lähtenyt*.
Train be.ipf.3Sg depart.ppa.
'The train had departed.'

Thus, it can be concluded that the tense of the auxiliary signals the point of reference. Expressed in the perfect, the event is actual to the present moment, and the precise moment of event in time is non-defined.

The perfect and pluperfect often signal events, the occurrence of which is judged on the basis of the present (in perfect) and past (in pluperfect) evidence. As has been noted by scholars (Wiik 1976: 135-162; Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 246-251, Lyytikäinen 1997: 8-11, Ikola 1964: 105-106) the Finnish perfect and pluperfect are often used evidentially, indicating inferential (Seppänen 1997: 14), and reported (Helasvuo 1991: 83-85, Kuiri 1984: 225-232) evidence. The pluperfect is mostly used in narrative type of discourse.

Working on her data within a conversation-analytical framework, Eeva-Leena Seppänen (1997) demonstrated that the meaning of the Finnish perfect depends on the verb semantics and ultimately emerges from the context of use, including the linear syntactic surroundings and the interactional position of the utterance. Seppänen also showed that, in the conversational meaning of the perfect, a few of Dahl's uses (Comrie's types) of perfect often coincide. In particular, Seppänen's conversational data support the assumption made by Dahl (1985: 133-134) that resultative use overlaps with the perfect of the recent past and the experiential use of perfect.

The history

As Osmo Ikola (1950, 1960) has demonstrated, the category of the perfect is relatively young in Finnish. In old written Finnish as well as in some cases in contemporary Finnish dialects, the imperfect has been used in the function of the perfect/the pluperfect (Ikola 1960: 365). This phenomenon is a relic of the former state of the language, without a perfect or pluperfect as a part of the tense system. In Karelian, Lydian, Votian and Vepsian (languages which have been in long and close contact with Russian), the imperfect often replaces the perfect/pluperfect. Disagreeing with Serebrennikov (1958), who suggested Scandinavian influence for Finnish and German influence for Estonian, Ikola assumes the source of the Baltic-Finnic perfect to be the Baltic languages. All the Baltic-Finnic languages have a periphrastic perfect. That is why it would be reasonable to suppose that

this category started evolving in Proto-Baltic-Finnic. Still, according to Ikola, it could not have occurred too early, because of the very fact that the Baltic-Finnic languages have a copula.

The development of the separate Baltic-Finnic languages began in the first centuries of the Common Era. The formation of the perfect was still under way at that time. Its development originated from the structure 'copula + past participle active', the participle being derived from intransitive perfective verbs. Thus this construction originally indicated the state of the subject (Ikola 1950: 87 and further references there). According to Ikola, the difference between the imperfect, perfect and pluperfect tenses crystallised as late as the period of development of written Finnish (the 1500s), apparently not without influence from Swedish. In the first Finnish translation of the Old Testament (the early 1500s) the perfect, when used, often indicates a state. The source verbs of such perfects are intransitives which signal state, for instance, past participle actives *kuivua>kuivunut* 'dry$_{itr}$inf>dry.ppa'*, kauhistua>kauhistunut* 'terrify$_{itr}$inf>terrify.ppa'*, kuolla> kuollut* 'die$_{itr}$inf>die.ppa', etc. These forms of the past participle active can be treated as predicatives.

Thus the perfect in Finnish started to develop from stative and resultative meanings, and in later stages was influenced by the Swedish perfect, although the categories of the perfect in the two languages do differ.

2.1.3. The Swedish perfect and resultative

The Swedish perfect is formed from the auxiliary *ha* 'to have' and the so-called supine form of the verb. The supine form is used only in the perfect and pluperfect (Anward 1981: 48).

Apart from the perfect construction '*ha* + supine', there is also another, '*vara* (to be) + past participle', which has a resultative and stative meaning. As in English, in Swedish there is only one form of the past participle. Thus the participle *per se* does not capture voice differences. The subject of the *vara*-resultative is interpreted as the semantic subject for intransitives and as the semantic object for transitives (Dahl 1985: 134). In the following, the resultative construction in (8)a, formed from the intransitive verb, exemplifies an active construction, while the construction in 8(c), formed from the transitive verb, is passive:

(8)

(a) *Han är bortrest*
He is away-gone
(b) *Han har rest bort*
He has gone away.
(Dahl 1985: 134)
(c) *Helsingfors är grundat på 1500-talet.*
Helsinki be.pres found.ppp on the 1500s.
'Helsinki was founded in the 1500s.'
(Saari & Nyström 1979: 39)

According to Dahl (1985: 134), (8)a is a resultative construction and in (8)b the perfect is used resultatively, the focus being more on the event than on the state.

The state-indicating adverbial, *fortfarande* 'still', can collocate with the verb in (9)a while such a collocation is hardly acceptable in (9)b:

(9)

(a) *Han är fortfarande bortrest*
He is still away-gone
(b) *??Han har fortfarande rest bort*
He has still gone away.
(Dahl 1985: 134.)

2.1.4. The Swedish and Finnish perfect in comparison

In many occurrences, the Swedish perfect corresponds to the Finnish perfect:

(10)

Swedish:
Familjen har hyrt bostad i Stockholm.
Family have rent.sup apartment in Stockholm.
Finnish:
Perhe on vuokrannut asunnon Tukholmasta.
Family is rent.ppa apartment.ACC Stockholm.ELA.
'The family has rented an apartment in Stockholm.'

As in Finnish, the perfect is used in Swedish with a quotative meaning:

(11)

Vittnet har lämnat lokalen klockan två.
The witness (says that he) has left the premises at two o'clock.
(Dahl 1985: 153)

In general, the meaning domains of the perfect and pluperfect in Finnish and Swedish coincide to a considerable extent. However, there are differences in usage. In Finnish, both perfect and imperfect are possible in a situation in which the event occurred is relevant and the moment of event is not specified. In Swedish, only the perfect is normally admissible. This is exemplified in (12):

(12)

Finnish	Swedish
(a) *Oletko jo lukenut lehden?/Luitko jo lehden?*	*Har du redan läst tidningen?*
be.2Sg.PRTq already read.ppa newspaper.ACC /	Have you.Sg already
read.ipf.2Sg.PRTq already newspaper.ACC	read.sup newspaper.def?
Have you already read the newspaper?	
(b) *Katso mitä olen ostanut!/ Katso mitä ostin!*	*Titta vad jag har köpt!*
look.imp what be.1Sg buy.ppa/	look.imp what I have
look.imp what buy.ipf.1Sg	buy.sup
'Look what I have bought!'	

(Saari & Nyström 1979: 38-39)

In (13)a and (13)b the result of the situation persists in the present. In Finnish both the perfect and imperfect can be used. In Swedish, the perfect can alternate with the resultative, expressed by the copula and predicative. In (13)c the result of the action no longer exist. Both languages use the imperfect.

(13)

Finnish	Swedish
(a) *Helsinki perustettiin/on perustettu 1500-luvulla.*	*Helsingfors har grundats/är grundat på 1500-talet.*
Helsinki found.pass.ipf/be.3Sg found.ppp 1500s.ADE	Helsinki have found.sup.refl/be.pres found.ppp on 1500s.def
'Helsinki was founded in the 1500s.'	
(b) *Nykyinen kirkko rakennettiin / on rakennettu 1700-luvulla.*	*Den nuvarande kyrkan har byggts/är byggd på 1700-talet*
Present church build.pass.ipf/ be.3Sg build.ppp 1700s.ADE	The present church.def have build.sup/be.pres build.ppp on 1700s.def
'The present church was built in the 1700s.'	
(c) *Tänne rakennettiin ensimmäinen kirkko 1200-luvulla.*	*Den första kyrkan byggdes här på 1200-talet.*
To-here build.pass.ipf first church 1200s.ADE	The first church.def build.ipf.refl here on 1200s.def
'The first church was built here in the 1200s.'	
(The church does not exist in the present.)	
(Saari & Nyström 1979: 38-39)	

In (14), the temporal adverbials indicate the past time of the occurrences of the event. The situation signalled by the verb precedes the refence point. Both languages use the imperfect (compare with [12]).

(14)

Luitko jo aamulla lehden?	*Läste du tidningen redan i morse?*
read.ipf.2Sg.PRTq already morning.ADE newspaper.ACC	read.ipf you.Sg newspaper.def already in morning
'Have you already read the newspaper this morning?'	
Katso mitä ostin eilen!	*Titta vad ja köpte igår!*
look.imp what buy.ipf.1Sg yesterday	look.imp what I buy.ipf yesterday
'Look what I bought yesterday!'	

Nevertheless, in Swedish the temporal adverbial pointing to the past can sometimes collocate with the perfect (Dahl 1985: 138). This is possible in the cases in which the temporal adverbial contains new information, which has not been considered earlier. Such an adverbial is focal; it contains the main information of the utterance and, as a corollary, bears full stress and appears in a non-initial position:

(15)

Ja har mött din bror igår
'(lit.) I have met your brother yesterday.'
Jag har besökt England i january nittonhundrafyrtiotvå.
'(lit.) I have visited England in January, nineteen forty-two'
(Dahl 1985: 137-138)

Swedish *vara*-resultative construction, as in (8)a, can be compared with the Finnish congruent participle construction, like (5)b.

2.1.5. Russian constructions comparable to the perfect

Standard Contemporary Russian

The tense system of Contemporary Standard Russian includes present, past and future, and the aspect system perfective and imperfective[6]. The meaning of the perfect can be associated with the construction of the auxiliary *byt'* 'to be' (in an appropriate tense and mood form) and the short form of the past participle passive with the marker *-n/-t* (PPP construction). The copula is not used in the present. Knjazev (1988: 343 ff.) noted that participles may be of two diathesis types, subjective and objective. The sources of non-passive (subjective) constructions are intransitives, mostly reflexive verbs:

(16)
Rana vospalena.
$\text{wound}_{\text{fem}}$ inflame.ppp.fem
'The wound is inflamed'
vospalit'-sja inflame.inf.refl, 'to become inflamed'
(ibid.: 343)

The production of the *-n/-t*-participle is semantically constrained, and the participle cannot be derived from most reflexive verbs nor from imperfective non-terminative verbs such as *ljubit'* 'to love' and *hvalit'* 'to praise' (ibid.: 347-48). A typical source of the passive voice constructions is transitive perfective verbs. The object is affected in the result of the action (Timberlake 1976: 547). While subjective PPP constructions always have resultative meaning, objective constructions can be both resultative and actional (Knjazev 1988: 356). By actional, the author seems to have in mind Comrie's "perfect of the recent past".

The actional perfect can collocate with adverbials of limited duration (like *v tri dnja* 'within three days', *za čas* 'within an hour') (Knjazev 1988: 350-51). In (17)a the passive PPP construction is resultative, whereas in (17)b actional. The constructions in question are in bold face:

(17)
(a) *Nedavno pojmali mirnogo čerkesa, vystrelivšego v soldata. On opravdyvalsja tem, čto ruž'e ego sliškom dolgo* ***bylo zarjaže-n-o****.*
gun_{neut} his too long be.pst.neut load.ppp.neut
(Puškin, cited by Knjazev 1988: 350, ex. 21)
'Not long ago they caught a non-militant Čerkes, who had fired at a soldier. He tried to account for it by saying that his gun had been loaded too long.'
(b) *Vse steny, bojnicy, kryši, balkon minareta i daže kupol mečeti v ščitannye sekundy* ***byli zapolne-n-y*** *soldatami i kazakami.*
be.pst.Pl occupy.ppp.Pl soldiers.INS and cossacks.INS
'Within a few seconds all the walls, loop-holes, roofs, minaret balconies and even the dome of the mosque had been occupied by soldiers and cossacks.'
(Vasiljev, cited by Knjazev 1988: 351, ex. 23)

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[6] The aspect and past tense of Russian verbs have been investigated by Hannu Tommola (1984, 1986a, 1986b, and 2000). Considering the notion of perfective meaning as applied for Russian verb, Tommola (1993) made a few interesting observations on the perfect meaning in Old Russian.

In (17)b, the agent can be expressed in the instrumental case. Resultatives collocate with adverbials of unlimited duration such as *vsë ešče* 'still', *dolgo* 'for a long time' (cf. [17]a), whereas actionals do not. For instance, **sliškom dolgo zarjadit'* 'too long to load$_{pfve}$' is impossible. At the same time, the source verb of the resultative passive PPP construction can collocate with the non-limited duration adverbial.

The actional passive is often used in 'hot news' statements:

(18)

Tol'ko čto končilos' zasedanie pedagogičeskogo soveta.
Ves' klass ***isključe-n.***
whole class$_{masc}$ expel.ppp.masc
'The meeting of the school council has just come to an end. The whole class has been expelled.' (Kaverin, cited in Knjazev 1988: 355, ex. 40)

Sometimes the resultative or actional interpretation can be disambiguated only by the broader context (ibid.: 362-363). Consider the following examples, of which (19)a is resultative and (19)b actional:

(19)

(a) *My dvaždy prošli mimo levogo bašennogo kryla zamka. ---*
V pervyj raz okn-a byl-i ***zakry-t-y****.*
window.Pl were close.ppp.Pl
'We twice passed by the left tower wing of the castle. The first time the windows were shut'
(b) *Rita noč'ju zatejala ssoru: trebovala zakryt' okno. --- Tak prepiralis' dolgo, i Rita, razumeetsja, vzjala verh:*
okn-o byl-o ***zakryt-o***
window$_{neut}$ was.neut. close.ppp.neut
'At night Rita began a quarrel insisting that the window should be shut. They carried on for a long time and it was Rita who had the upper hand: the window was shut (past pass.) — they shut the window.'
(Kaverin, cited in Knjazev 1988: 344)

As shown in the examples above, the copula (used only in the past tense) and the participle agree with the grammatical subject in number and gender.

At the beginning of his paper, Knjazev (1988: 344) compared the resultative and actional without dealing with the difference between statives and resultatives. Nevertheless, this difference should be taken into account in the present research, in which languages which include the category of the perfect are involved. In Knjazev's examples, constructions accounted for as resultatives always have a stative meaning.

Krasil'nikova (1973: 187, 193-94), who studied colloquial Russian speech, concluded that in casual colloquial speech, PPP constructions with a prominent passive meaning and expression of the agent in the instrumental are very unusual, and the PPP constructions are mostly used in a stative meaning.

Russian dialects

In regional Russian dialects participle constructions are used more widely than in CSR and they vary in frequency of use, meaning and forms. In particular groups of dialects, the past participle passive can be produced almost without constraint

and is used in passive and active diatheses. In other groups, the active pair part of the PPP construction is the *ši* form.

Diachronically, the *ši* form is the petrification of an old form of the short active feminine participle (Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1982: 410). This form is indeclinable, whereas the past participle active of the CSR has the declination of an adjective. In the present research this form will be called a 'participle'[7]. Henceforth I refer to the *ši* participle construction as the 'PPA construction'.

The *ši* participle is not used in CSR, but it is retained in the dialects and may be occasionally heard in non-standard Russian in predicative and adverbial functions.

In addition to participles, there is also an indeclinable gerund in Russian, used in adverbial functions. The formation of this gerund, the past participle active and passive, and the *ši* participle is illustrated below:

	Contemporary Standard Russian			
			Dialects	
Infinitive	Gerund: adverbial modifier	past participle active: adjectival modifier	past participle passive: Predicat(iv)e	*ši* participle: adverbial modifier, predicat(iv)e
svaza-t' 'to bind'	*svjaza-v* '(when) having bound'	*svjaza-vš-ij*.masc, *svjaza-vš-aja*.fem, *svjaza-vš-ee*.neut, *svjaza-vš-ie*.PL bind.ppa	*svjaza-n(-/n-yj)*.masc *svjaza-n(a/n-aja)*.fem *svjaza-n(o/n-oe)*.neut *svjaza-n(y/n-ye)*.Pl bind.ppp.(short/full)	*svjaza-vši* bind.ppa
vzja-t' 'to take'	*vzja-v* 'having taken'	*vzja-vš-ij*.masc, *vzja-vš-aja*.fem, *vzja-vš-ee*.neut, *vzja-vš-ie*.PL take.ppa	*vzja-t(-yj)*.masc *vzja-ta(-ja)*.fem *vzja-to(-e)*.neut *vzja-ty(e)*.Pl take.ppp.short(full)	*vzja-vši* take.ppa

Table 2. The gerund, past participle active and passive (short form) and *ši* participle in CSR and dialects.

In CSR the full form of the past participle passive (*vzja-t-yj)* is not used as a predicate, whereas in the dialects such use is possible (Nemčenko 1971).
In the following, the options for PPP constructions in Russian dialects are presented according to Trubinskij (1988: 390, 400). The clauses (20)a-f were constructed by Trubinskij according to models from dialect speech. Extract (20)g has really taken place. The ppp can agree with the semantic object, as in (20)a-c. Sometimes there is no agreement, as in (20)d-e. In non-agreement, the semantic object can be in the nominative, as in (20)d, or in the accusative, as in (20)e. The

[7] Kuz'mina (1993: 142) called this form a 'participle'. It is sometimes called a 'gerund' (Trubinskij e.g. 1988), since there is an indeclinable form of gerund in Russian, which is used in adverbial constructions. I suppose that 'participle' is a more plausible appellation, since this form is parallel to the past participle passive, the short form of which does not decline either, although it has distinct gender forms.

source of the PPP constructions is not restricted to perfective transitive verbs, as it is in CSR, but constructions can be derived from intransitive verbs, too, see (20)f. The semantic agent is mostly human. If the agent is expressed, it is typically in the prepositional phrase *u* + Ag_{GEN} 'by/at somebody', as in (20)f-g:

(20)

The past participle passive agrees with the grammatical subject:
(a) *Pol pomy-t*
$floor_{masc}$ wash.ppp.masc
'The floor is washed.'
(b) *Lavka pomy-t-a*
$bench_{fem}$ wash.ppp.fem
'The bench is washed'
(c) *Poly pomy-t-y*
floors wash.ppp.Pl
'The floors are washed.'
Past participle passive does not agree with the grammatical subject:
(d) Semantic object is in the nominative:
pol / lavka / poly pomy-t-o / pomy-t
$floor_{masc}$ / $bench_{fem}$ /floors wash.ppp.neut / wash.ppp.masc
(e) Semantic object is in the accusative:
Kalitku zakry-t-o
$wicket_{fem}$ACC lock.ppp.neut.
'The wicket(-gate) is locked.'
The agent is expressed by the prepositional phrase:
(f) Intransitive reflective verb as a source:
U syna ***žene-n-o-s'***
at son.GEN marry.ppp.neut.refl
'The son has married.'
(g) Transitive verb as a source:
A musor-to zdes' u zabora u ej verno ***vysypa-n*** *a to u kovo ž?*
This $garbage_{masc}$ by the fence must have-been-spilt.ppp.masc by her, who else if not her? (Novgorod)
(Trubinskij 1988: 390, 400)

In western and northern Russian dialects passive (marker *-n-/-t-*) and active (marker *-ši*) past participle constructions are systematically used (Filin 1948: 26). As early as the 1850s Russian linguists compared the predicate use of the participle constructions in western and northern Russian dialects to the perfect in other IE languages (Kuz'mina 1993: 147-8). In many cases, the past participle passive does not agree with the grammatical subject, but is used in the masculine or in the neuter form[8].

The prototypical meaning of Russian dialect constructions in question is reported to be resultative (e.g., Trubinskij 1988). The *ši* participles are formed either from intransitive perfective verbs or from transitive verbs which are used in the construction intransitively.

The degree of use of the perfect-like participle constructions decreases from north-west to south-east (Kuz'mina 1971: 118-20 and map 1 in the appendix of

[8] Along with non-agreeing constructions agreeing ones do occur. To the best of my knowledge, the reason for this alternative use has never been researched.

this source). There is no clear border between the territories with regular and irregular use of the participle constructions, especially in South Russian dialects where, in territories to the east and west of the border, the frequency of use is reported to be approximately the same (Kuz'mina 1993: 143)[9].

Concerning the supposed places of origin of the Kyyrölä Russians, Jaroslavl'-Kostroma surroundings, the regular use of *-ši* constructions produced from intransitive verbs, like *devuška uehavši* 'the girl away-drive.ppa', was reported only from the territories to the west of Jaroslavl', in the upper reaches of the Volga. In PPP constructions used on the assumed original territory of the Kyyrölä Russians the predicate agrees with the grammatical subject. The researchers found the use of non-agreeing PPP constructions derived from transitive verbs only in a small part of this area. (Kuz'mina & Nemčenko 1971: maps 1, 3 & 4 of the appendix.)

In colloquial Russian the agent in the instrumental is not usually used, and the agent-possessor (possessor in a broader sense) is often indicated in the prepositional phrase *u* + GEN (Krasil'nikova 1973: 188). In the dialects with systematic use of the past participle constructions the agent—non-possessor is also expressed by the prepositional phrase.

Using a syntactic experiment, Alan Timberlake (1976) demonstrated that the agent expressed by a prepositional phrase acts like a subject: it controls more syntactic variables than the agent expressed by the instrumental. Thus, the passive constructions with the prepositional pphrase of the agent are not as passive as the passive constructions with the instrumental of the agent.

2.1.6. Language contact

Substrate

Wolfgang Veenker (1967: 107, 228-229), referring to preceding authors, cautiously assumes that the predicative use of the PPP and PPA constructions is a result of a Finno-Ugrian substrate in Russian northern dialects. Veenker did not discuss the meaning of the perfect and pluperfect, the whole chapter dealing with substratic features in morphology, and not syntax. Of the sources mentioned by Veenker, in particular, Toporov and Trubačev (1962: 250) suggest that the Finno-Ugrian perfect has influenced the Russian dialects and the Latvian and Lithuanian languages (Veenker 1967: 229). Nevertheless, taking into account Ikola's conclusion concerning the late date of formation of the Finnish perfect, this hypothesis does not seem to be watertight. The viewpoint expressed by Toporov and Trubačev is far from being generally accepted. For instance, Potebnja (1958: 132) supposes that the predicate participle in Russian dialects is a relic of the Balto-Slavic linguistic unity.

On the other hand, the expression of the predicate with a past participle construction has a clear areal character; that is why searching for a single source is

[9] The term 'frequency' should be accepted with caution, if at all, since it is assessed in the result of the analysis of various published, archival and field-work dialect materials, which differed by type and time of collecting, between the 1850s and 1960s (see Kuz'mina 1971: 5-7, 28-29 and 117-118).

probably the wrong direction for investigation. The adstratic contacts and two-way influence of the neighbouring and contacting languages seem to be more important. Contacts such as this have consistently and for a long time involved only some groups of western and northern Russian dialects. To return to the present data on the homeland area of the dialect group under consideration, such contacts could hardly have been supposed, at least, at the beginning of the 1700s, the time of the departure to the Karelian Isthmus.

Nevertheless, the adstratic contact of Kyyrölä Russians with Finnish population was more than 200 years long, and could have inspired the converging of similar structures.

Another diaspora in the adstratic contact

On the northwestern coast of the strait between Lake Peipsi and Lake Pskov in East Estonia, there is the village of Mehikoorma inhabited by Russians who migrated there in the 1700s from the Novgorod-Pskov dialectal area (Mürkhein 1970). As was reported above, even in the territory of systematic use of past participle constructions, which includes Novgorod-Pskov area, PPA constructions are typically formed from intransitive verbs, and transitive PPA constructions are rare. According to Kuz'mina (1974), Mehikoorma Russians use transitive PPA constructions that in number exceed transitive PPA constructions in the contemporary Novgorod-Pskov dialect group. The researcher considered this phenomenon to be the influence of Estonian, which has the perfect as a grammatical category.

The contact-preceding use of the past participle constructions as predicates in Kyyrölä Russian and Mehikooorma Russian differs, non-systematic in the former and systematic in the latter. The characteristics of contact of the two communities with Finno-Ugrian languages differ, too. An important difference is that the Mehikoorma Russians have always lived with Estonians in the same village.

The information on Mehikoorma Russian, insufficient as it is, shows a possible direction of contact-induced change and provides a basis for comparison with Kyyrölä Russian.

Hypothesis

Having considered the available dialect data of the 1800s and 1900s, Kuz'mina (1993) outlines the territories in which the participle constructions have been used systematically. These territories do not include the area identified as the possible homeland of the Kyyrölä Russians. The latter had left their homeland in the 18th century, at which time the same non-regularity should be assumed, since we do not have other data.

Nevertheless, the internal linguistic basis for the development of the perfect can be assumed, since Kyyrölä Russians did use past participle constructions as predicates, although non-systematically. Finnish has the category of the perfect, which is of the same periphrastic structure as past participle predicates in Russian. The development of the Kyyrölä Russian past participle constructions toward the category of the perfect could occur in adstratic, first casual and then more intense, contact with Finnish.

The past participle constructions found in the dialect corpus will be examined with regard to their 'perfectivity', i.e., accountability as a category of perfect. The empirical investigation will cover three levels: the frequency of use of these constructions as predicates, the range of verbs that are used as sources for participle formation, and the conversational meaning of the participle constructions.

The main point of the present investigation is a qualitative analysis, i.e., analysing the meaning of the participle constructions in the context of use. For the present data this seems to be the only possible approach to obtain results of any value, since the speech samples are of varying length and the number of speakers is statistically insignificant.

2.2. Data analysis[10]

The category of the perfect includes the passive and active voice. Broadly speaking, in the former the position of the grammatical subject is occupied by the semantic object and in the latter the grammatical subject is a semantic actor. Additionally, the perfect can be expressed with an impersonal construction. To see if there are any tendencies towards the development of the perfect category in the data, I shall examine the PPP constructions, the past tense constructions in the context where perfect meaning can be supposed, and PPA constructions.

2.2.1. The constructions with the past participle passive

In the following I shall exemplify the use of PPP constructions in the dialect corpus to find out whether their meaning can be equated with that of the category of the perfect. In CSR, only the short PPP is used in the predicative function, whereas the modifying function is reserved for the full form of the PPP. In the Kyyrölä data, the past participle passive in both predicative and modifying function can be either full or short. As mentioned above, similar use has been observed in other Russian dialects (Nemčenko 1971: 284-285). The PPP constructions are used in resultative and stative meaning, and the form of the PPP mostly agrees with the grammatical subject (nevertheless, see below).

The expression of the agent in PPP construction

As in Russian colloquial speech generally, in the present data the agent — the possessor in a broad sense, i.e. a possessor personally involved in the action, is mostly expressed by the prepositional phrase *u* 'at/by' + GEN. There are only two occurences of the agent in the instrumental case. One of them is cited below:

(21)
F1929a and IR_{f5}

(a) (Immediately before this extract, F talked about the school in Kyyrölä, using *l*-marked past tense verb forms; in the extract, she returns to the earlier days)

[10] The material from the publication by Benita von Pruschewsky (1962) and from the MA thesis Tuomela (1981) has also been analysed.

01 *Potom parkišnye ljudi,*
then the people of Parkino,
02 *kotory byli tut privezëny Černyševym i ètim,*
which were here bring.ppp.Pl by Č.INS((Sname)) and this.INS
03 *oni byli privezëny iz Moskvy. sentral'naja gubernatskaja;*
they were bring.ppp.Pl from Moscow. central governmental;
04 *èto ja uznala;*
this I found out.
'Inhabitants had been brought to Parkino by Černyšev from Moscow region, the central government'. I have found this out.'

(b)
01 *Pervaja cerkov' byla postroena v tysjača sem'sot dvadcat' pjatom godu.*
The first.fem $church_{fem}$ was.fem build.ppp.fem in 1725.
02 *Ona sgorela.*
It_{fem} burnt.fem down.
03 *Drugaja byla postroena v tysjača vosem'sot tretjem.*
Another-one.fem was.fem build.ppp.fem in 1803.

(c)
01 *i potom èta sem'ja razošlas' deduška umer,*
and then this family split grandfather died,
02 *u djadi bylo ot ženy dadeno zemlja*
at uncle.GEN was.neut from wife.GEN give.ppp.neut $land_{fem}$
03 *i dom už byl mnogo godov vystroënoj,*
and $house_{masc}$ already was many years build.ppp.masc.full
'The uncle had got a plot of land, inherited by his wife; a house had already been for many years built there.'
04 *one*[11] *otdelilis'.*
they separated to live of their own.

In (21)a the agent of the PPP construction is in the instrumental (line 02). In (21)b there is no surface indication of the agent. In (21)c the beneficiary is expressed by the prepositional phrase *u djadi* 'at/by uncle' (line 02). In (21)a and (21)b the grammatical subject predicated by PPP construction is the topic of narration.

In (21)a the PPP construction has pluperfect meaning; the action signalled by the PPP constructions (lines 01-03) precedes the reference point indicated in the next clause (line 04) which is predicated by the verb in the past tense.

In (21)b the surface order of the clauses corresponds to the real temporal order of events. The first church was built, then it burnt down, and after that a second church was built. The first and third events are signalled with PPP constructions (lines 01 and 03) and the second one (line 02), which took place between the first and the third event, is referred to with the past *l*-form of the verb. In PPP constructions the semantic agent is not expressed. The position of the grammatical subject in the PPP constructions correlates with the narrative prominence of the element 'church'. Thus, the use of the PPP constructions is not always relevant for the indication of the order of events in real time, but its purpose is the promotion of the semantic object to the position of grammatical subject.

[11] *One* is the dialectal pronunciation for *oni.*

In (21)c the speaker tells the interviewer how their large family, which was composed of several generations of relatives living under the same roof, became separated. She mentions the circumstances which led to the separation; namely, their grandfather died, and the uncle and his wife had a separate plot of land, which had been inherited by his wife and on which a house had already been built. The pronunciation of the unstressed final /o/ in *dadeno* (line 02) is non-reduced. Such non-reduced pronunciation of /o/ in the unstressed position, called *ókanje,* is a feature of northern Russian dialects also characteristic of the Kyyrolä variety. Due to this pronunciation the neuter form of *dadeno* is audibly distinct from the feminine form *dadena*. The auxiliary *býlo* is also neuter. The PPP construction *bylo dadeno* 'was.neut give.ppp.neut' does not agree in gender with the feminine subject *zemlja*. The clause is existential. The referent of *zemlja* is predicated as existing in the uncle's possession. The source of possession is expressed by the prepositional phrase *ot ženy* 'from [his] wife'. In addition to this extract, the lack of agreement between the grammatical subject and the predicate PPP construction was observed in the dialect corpus in a few cases, all of them in existential clauses. The form of the PPP was masculine or neuter.

The PPP construction *[dom] byl vystroënoj* '[the house] was build.ppp.full' ([21]c, line 03) signals a state which had started before the reference point and had lasted up to the reference point. The duration is indicated by the adverbial *mnogo godov* 'many years'. The PPP constructions signal the situations that led up to an event referred to by the past *l*-form (line 01), the splitting up of the family. In (21)c the meaning of the PPP constructions can be equated with that of the prototypical pluperfect.

In Knjazev's terms 'actional-resultative[/stative]' (Section 2.1.5.), in (21)a and (21)b the PPP constructions are actional. In (21)c the construction with the participle *dadeno* 'give.ppp.neut.' is ambiguous and can be treated as either actional or stative, and the second construction *byl vystroënoj* 'was.masc build.ppp.masc.full' (line 03) is stative.

The PPP construction in flashback

In the following extract, the PPP construction indicates the event preceding the reference point:

(22)

F1916 and IR_{f4}

01 F *u nas byla lošad'* ee *hudaja,*
at us was.fem $horse_{fem}$ *ee* bad.fem,

02 *lošad' byla v armiju vz'ata,*
$horse_{fem}$ was in army.ACC take.ppp.fem
'The horse we had was bad, our own horse had been taken into the army.'

03 IR *da,*
yes,

04 F *naša, horošaja lošad',*
our, good horse.

05 *a papa tol'ko kupil što osen'ju, pašnju vspahat';*
PRT father just bought 'cause in the autumn, to plough the field;
'Father had bought it [the bad horse] in order to plough the field in the autumn.'

In the extract, the speaker digresses from the main topic of the narrative, evacuation, to explain why the family had a bad horse at the time of evacuation (lines 02-05). In this explanatory sequence, the micro-topic is the contrast between the two horses. The grammatical subjects, 'horse', in lines 01 and 02 have different referents. In evacuation, the family had a weak horse, whereas their previous, good, horse had been taken for the army. The similar grammatical function of the 'horses' in lines 01 and 02 emphasises a contrast between their referents. The old, good horse is prominently referred to in the right-cleft noun phrase with prosodically focussed modifiers, *naša, horošaja lošad'* 'our, good horse' (line 04) as contrasted to the 'horse' in line 01. The PPP construction *byla vz'ata* promotes the topically important item to the position of the grammatical subject (line 02). This PPP construction also indicates a flashback from the reference point, the time of evacuation. The flashback stretch includes an event signalled by the past *l*-form of the verb, the father's buying of the horse (line 05). This event precedes the reference point indicated in the main line of the narrative (line 01). The object of the *l*-form (line 05) '[bad] horse' is ellipted. It has been mentioned in the narrative sequence (line 01). Thus, the pluperfect meaning, which is relevant in the flashback sequence (lines 02, 04-05), is indicated by the PPP construction (line 02) and by the past *l*-form (line 05). The promotion of the semantic object to the syntactic-subject position is the most important discourse function of the PPP construction. If such a promotion is not required (line 05) the *l*-form is used.

The participle construction reiterated in the past tense

Sometimes for pragmatic purposes the speaker immediately reiterates the PPP construction with the active past verb form of the personal or indefinite personal construction. This is illustrated in the following two extracts, (23) and (24).

(23)

F 1916 and IR_{f4}

01 F	*---i ètot sunduk tuda opustili, i zaryli*	
	--- and this chest to there down-put.pst.3Pl, and dig.pst.3Pl	
02	*i soldaty stojali i smotreli kak my zaryvali.*	
	and soldiers stood ((around)) and watched how we were digging it in.	
03 IR	*nu da;*	
	well yeah,	
04 F	--- *potomu što*[12] *kogda my vtoroe meždu vojny,*	
	--- since when we for the second time between the wars,	
05 IR	*da,*	
	yeah,	
06 F	*byli ètot sunduk byl obgorelyj;*	
	were ((there)) this $chest_{masc}$ was.masc burnt.masc;	
07	*znachit tam do požara byl vynjat,*	
	so there before the fire was.masc off-take.ppp.masc	
	'thus, it ((the chest)) had been taken off there before the fire'	
08	*esli raz vo vremja požara on uže* ehm *obgorel.*	
	if in time of fire it_{masc} already *ehm* burn.pst.3Sg.masc round	

[12] This conjunction is written *čto* and pronounced *što.* I indicate the pronunciation, since some speakers (in the non-dialect corpus) pronounced *čto,* following old norms.

09 IR *nu da;*
well yeah;
10 F *značit finny ego srazu že vynjali,*
so Finns it.ACC straight away took out,
11 *što im prigodnoe navernoe -*
what they need apparently -
12 IR *možet i vzjali, da,*
probably took, yes,
13 F *vzjali a što* ehm - *neprigodnoe tam ostalos';*
took and what *ehm* - needless there remained;
'They apparently took what they needed and left what they did not need.'
14 *tak što èto èto byli finny kotorye naši*
so that it was Finns who ours
'Thus it were Finns, who were on our side[, who had taken the chest].'
15 *potomu što oni smotreli kak my zaryvali;*
because they watched how we were digging [it] in
'because they watched us digging the chest in.'
16 *a obraza u nas ostalis' na stenah;*
PRT icons at us remained on walls;
'and the icons we had had remained on the walls [in the house].'

In (23) the speaker reports the following story. Before evacuation, the family put part of their property into a chest and buried it in the ground. Soldiers looked at them digging (lines 01-02). Having returned to their home between the wars (lines 04 and 06), the family found that the house was partially burnt down. They dug the chest out of the earth. The chest appeared to be burnt on the outside (line 06). The construction *byl obgorelyj* 'was burnt (on the outside)' (line 06) signals the state of the chest in the time of reference, i.e., at the moment when, between the wars, the family came back. The form *obgorelyj* is a verb-derived adjective in its full form (RG I: 558-559).

In the next syntacto-prosodic unit (lines 07-08), the speaker signals the inferred situation with the PPP construction (line 07). The inference is indicated by the inferential adverbial *značit* (lit.) '(this) means'. The inferred event, signalled by the PPP construction (line 07), temporally precedes the event signalled by the past *l*-form (line 08), the argumentative part of the sentence. This PPP construction is actional and has a meaning typical for the pluperfect. The main topic of this micro-story, is the grammatical subject of the clauses of lines 06, 07 and 08. The ellipsis of the focal item, 'the chest', in the PPP construction is possible through this item's keeping the same syntactic position as in the preceding clause (line 06), that of the grammatical subject. Thus the promotion of the semantic object to subject position is the main reason for the use of the PPP construction.

In the next stretch (lines 10-11 and 13-14), the speaker focuses on the inferred situation. The events of this sequence are signalled by the past *l*-forms of the verbs. In this sequence the speaker indicates the agent of the action (line 10), emphasising it at the end of the sequence (line 14).

The PPP construction is used to indicate the start of the deviation from the main line of the narration to revert to the reference-point preceding event and to focus the semantic object of the event. In the continuation of the deviation se-

quence, the focus having being shifted onto the activity of the semantic agent, the past verb forms (*vynjali* line 10, *vzjali* line 13) are used.

In (24), the speaker refers to the events preceding reference time with PPP and PPA constructions.

(24)

M1922a and IR_{m3}

01	IR	*a vy našli vaš: (.) byvšij dom tam?*
		PRT did you find your (.) former house there?
02	M	*našo:l no tam ničego už ne bylo ostavši.*
		I found it but there nothing.GEN already PRTn was.neut leave.ppa.
03	IR	*ničego,*
		nothing,
04	M	*da: v zimnjuju vojnu vsë sožžóno.*
		yes in the winter war $everything_{neut}$ burn.ppp.neut
05	IR	*razrušen dom,*
		the $house_{masc}$ destroy.ppp.masc
06	M	*sožgli jego, finny.*
		burnt.Pl it, the Finns.
07		*ne priznat' bylo mesta.*
		it was impossible to recognise the place.

The reference point is the moment of the visit to the village. The stative PPA construction 'was not left' (line 02) indicates the state of the house at the moment of the visit. As the explanation of this state, in lines 04 and 06 the speaker signals the event preceding the referent point. The PPP construction 'burn.ppp' (line 04) focuses the action and its object 'all'. In the affirmation check, the interviewer paraphrases the PPP construction (line 05). In response, developing this flashback, the speaker focuses the agent of this action; he signals the same event with the past *l*-form *sožgli* 'burnt.Pl', topicalising the agent 'Finns' in the right-cleft structure (line 06). Then the speaker returns to the point of reference, the moment of his visit to the village, 'it was impossible to recognise the place' (line 07). In the flashback, signalling the same action, the PPP construction and the personal *l*-form serve the purposes of the focussing, respectively, the semantic object and agent.

Conclusion

To sum up, PPP constructions are used in Kyyrölä Russian in the situations in which the semantic object is topical or focussed for other pragmatic reasons. PPP constructions are often used in the look-back. They indicate an event that precedes the reference point in the past. This meaning is typical for the pluperfect. Nevertheless, focussing the semantic agent, the speakers use the personal *l*-form in the same flashback sequence, sometimes signalling with it the same event as with the PPP construction. Thus the emphasising of the semantic agent or object is the most important pragmatic motivation for the choice of the PPP construction.

In the actional PPP constructions the pure agent is not usually expressed. The agent-possessor is expressed in the *u*+GEN prepositional phrase. This same kind of expression is characteristic of Russian colloquial speech.

PPA constructions do not form a voice contrast to the active verbal constructions. That is why their use can unambiguously be considered within the tense-aspect system. In the following, I will account for the PPA constructions quantitatively and qualitatively.

2.2.2. Quantitative and semantic analysis of the PPA constructions

There were 41 speakers whose individual use of PPA construction tokens has been accounted for. There were 16 male speakers. In the case of eight of these male interviewees, the interview (or interaction session) lasted half an hour. For five speakers, the interactions lasted about an hour. For the other three, the interactions lasted more than one and a half hours. Of the 25 females, one talked 5 hours altogether (during more than one interaction), four talked about two hours, twelve talked about an hour, six half an hour, and the time for the last two interactions cannot be ascertained (transcribed data from Tuomela 1981). The data from von Pruschewsky (1962) was not included in Table 3.

In the table below, the numbers of PPA tokens used by the women and the men, with the age of the informants, are indicated.

Year of birth	Women	Number of tokens used by women	Men	Number of tokens used by men	Sum total of tokens
1900-09	7	5	3	6	11
1910-19	6	28	3	2	30
1920-29	5	32	8	25	57
1930-39	5	21	-	-	21
1940-46	2	-	2	-	-
Total	25	86	16	33	119

Table 3. The number of PPA tokens, grouped according to gender and date of birth of the informants

Out of the 41 speakers (25 women and 16 men), there were 13 (6 women and 7 men), who did not use the PPA constructions during the interaction(s) analysed. A total of 119 tokens of PPA constructions were used. Women used the construction 86 times and men 33 times. Most of the tokens had a copula in the past tense. The following speakers did not use the PPA construction at all: four speakers born in the 1900s, two speakers born in the 1910s, three speakers born in the 1930s and all four speakers born in the 1940s.

A survey of lexics and semantics of the source verbs

There were 132 cases of the use (tokens) of *ši* forms produced from 44 verbs (types). Few forms were used frequently, while others were used only once or twice[13]. There are four forms which were used at least 10 times. The source verbs

[13] Trubinskij (1967: 88) obtained similar results after recording perfect constructions in the speech of elderly women in ordinary interaction in the Pskov region (the territory of the

were often verbs of motion or verbs signalling an acquisition of intellectual property (such as 'to learn, 'to get acquainted with'). The following verb sources were the most frequently used:

1. *ostat'sja* 'to remain, to survive' (20 tokens)
2. *umeret'* 'to die' (17 tokens)
3. *priehat'* 'to arrive (by vehicle)' (15 tokens)
4. *rodit'sja* 'to be born' (refl. verb) (10 tokens)
5. *sgoret'* 'to burn down'(7 tokens)
6. *uehat'* 'to go away (in a vehicle)' (5 tokens)
7. *zarasti* 'to become overgrown (with grass)' (4 tokens)
8. *vyehat'* 'to go out (of/to, by a vehicle)' (4 tokens)
9. *prijti* 'to come (on foot)'; abstract meaning 'to come' about a time or happening (3 tokens)
10. *ustat'* 'to get tired' (3 tokens)

Most of the verbs are perfective intransitive, and they signal a punctual action that initiates a new state of the subject[14]. This meaning is prototypical for the resultative.

Most of the verbs could be translated into English by the construction 'to get/to become + past participle'. There are, however, constructions formed from imperfective verbs and from perfective verbs that do not imply a change of state.

The meanings of the source verbs can be generalised as follows:

a. change of physical state/obtaining a physical property (*ustat'* 'to get tired')
b. change of position in space (verbs of motion)
c. change of social state (*ženit'sja* 'to get married', *zapisat'sja* 'to register (oneself) with an organisation')
d. change in state of existence (*končit'sja* 'to end', *načat'sja* 'to start')
e. change in mutual state of multiple subjects (*peremešat'sja* 'to get mixed')
f. obtaining intellectual property (*naučit'sja* 'to learn')
g. change in reciprocal state (*poznakomit'sja* 'to get acquainted')

The PPA of the verb *vyskazat'sja*$_{pfve}$ 'to express oneself; to have one's say', which signals intensive punctual action, was used once. This PPA can form neither resultative (because the action does not initiate a state) nor experiential. It has, thus, only a potential to be an anterior proper, "the perfect of the recent past". In addition to perfective verbs, the sources for *ši* participle were imperfective verbs *rabotat'* 'to work' and *slyšat'* 'to hear'. These verbs have a potentially experiential meaning: having worked or having heard something, one obtains an experience of working and hearing.

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regular use of the perfect): a small group of verbs was very productive whereas others were met only once or twice.

[14] In other words, these verbs indicate an achievement situation (as noted by Vendler 1967: 102-107) initiating a state (ibid. 112).

The subject of PPA constructions is mostly non-volitional, typically a beneficiary or an experiencer. The action of obtaining a property points to the personal referent of the grammatical subject as a beneficiary. The border between a property and a state is often vague (cf. Vendler 1967: 108). The subject being a person, the action is often possible to treat as a property acquisition. For example, *obrasti* 'to become covered with hair' signals acquisition of a property attributed to an animated subject, whereas *zarasti* 'to become overgrown (with grass)' with an inanimate subject signals an action which initiates a new state.

Voice characteristics of PPA constructions

In the present data there is only one instance of a passive subject[15]:

(25)
(a) F (45 years old; from von Pruschewsky 1962; transcription original)

u	*našijeh-to*	*dom*	*užé*	*postroivši,*	*i*	*klef*	*jes',*	*kakža.*
at	ours.GEN	house	already	build.ppa,	and	cow shed	is,	PRT.
	-PRT							

'Our folk have already built the house, and there is a cow shed, of course.'
(b) Finnish:
Meidän väellämme on talo jo rakennettu ja navettakin on, mitenkäs muuten.
our folk.ADE.Px1PL is house already build.ppp and cow-shed-also is, how else.

The grammatical status of the noun *dom* 'house' is unclear; its grammatical form can be interpreted as accusative or nominative, and, being indeclinable, the PPA *postroivši* does not show an explicit agreement or lack of agreement with the noun *dom.* By its meaning, the PPA construction is resultative: the speaker accounts for the present existence of the house as an achieved result. The following co-ordinate existential clause 'and there is a cow shed' supports the treatment of the PPA construction as signalling a state. Referred to in the prepositional phrase *u našieh-to* 'at/by ours', the item 'ours' indicates the syncretic agent- beneficiary[16], common for both situations. Timberlake (1976) demonstrated that the expression of agent in the prepositional phrase *u + GEN* has more subject properties than the instrumental case of the agent. Thus this prepositional phrase can be treated as a subject[17].

In the Finnish translation (25)b, the passive perfect is used, which indicates a state and thus, can be treated as the collocation of copula and predicative expressed with PPP. The Finnish adessive *väe-llä* corresponds to the Russian agentive-possessive prepositional phrase.

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[15] As I mentioned in Chapter I, in all the examples, English and Finnish translations and Finnish paraphrases are mine if another author is not mentioned. The translations were checked by native speakers.

[16] In Trubinskij (1988: 400) this type of participle construction has been called the 'secondary possessive'.

[17] Sobolev (1998: 85) claims that the prepositional phrase in Russian dialectal PPP-constructions is indirect object (*dopolnenie),* since, according to this author, it is "thoroughly identical" to the expression of the semantic agent in the instrumental. Sobolev does not account for the results obtained in Timberlake (1976).

PPA constructions used as the passive voice have not been reported in the territory from which the Kyyrölä forefathers originated. Nevertheless, according to Kuz'mina (1993: 144), such constructions may occur sporadically in any dialect whatsoever. There were no more occurrences of them in the present data.

In von Pruschewsky's data, another speaker uses the same participle in an intransitive subjective construction:

(26)

(a) F, 68 years old

01 *s'p'erva kak prijehafši byli, i nikovo počti ne bylo.*
first as come.ppa were, and nobody.GEN almost PRTn was.neut.

02 *teper', tuta už f's'e postróifši.*
now, here already all.Pl build.ppa.

03 *ja f's'o s rob'atam i stróilasa.*
I all.neut(=all the time) with children and built.fem-refl.
'When we arrived there was almost nobody here. Now all have built their houses here.
'When building my house, I had all the time the children to care about.'

(b) Finnish

01 *ensin kun olimme tulleet, täällä ei ollut ketään.*
first when were.1Pl come.ppa.Pl, here NEG be.PPA no-one.PAR

02 *nyt kaikki ovat jo rakentaneet tänne.*
now all are already build.ppa.Pl here.ALL

03 *minä kun rakensin, olin koko ajan lasteni kanssa.*
I when build.ipf.1Sg was.1Sg all the time children.GEN.Px1Sg with

In (26)a, there are two PPA constructions. Predicating temporal clausal adverbial, the PPA construction *priehafši byli* 'come.ppa were' (line 01) signals the result of an action which precedes the moment in the past, in which the state signalled by the predicate of the main clause *byli* 'were' took place. The PPA *postroifši* (line 02) is intransitive active and indicates the result. The source of this PPA apparently is the reflexive verb *postroit'sja,* which is used by the speaker in line 03, and not the standard transitive verb *postroit'.* In the Finnish translation (26)b, the pluperfect (line 01) and perfect (line 02) are used. In Finnish too, in the perfect with a resultative meaning (line 02) a basically transitive verb *rakentaa* can be used without an object.

2.2.3. Qualitative analysis of the PPA constructions

Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 44) point out that the use, or the function, of the gram is analysable for the native speaker. In line with this viewpoint, I suppose that the context of use and interactional environment are decisive factors for the formation of the meaning of the PPA constructions. Applying the elements of ethnomethodological conversation analysis, I shall examine turns which include the PPA construction within the sequential organisation of the interaction. I do not consistently use conversation analysis, which is based on the *inductive* method. In line with this method, an interpretive re-categorisation of a construction should have been made. My purpose is not such re-categorisation but aligning the PPA constructions with the already developed category of perfect. Ex-

amining the use of the construction in the interaction, I shall exploit those meanings of perfect and related grams which have already been expounded in typological grammar. In the investigation of the meanings of the Finnish perfect, a conversation-analytic approach was applied by Eeva-Leena Seppänen (1997).

Question — answer adjacency pair

In the following extract the PPA-contruction is introduced in the answer.

(27)
(a) M1928a and IR_{mf5}
(M has just told IR about T., who had an unusual ability to stop bleeding)
IR *a vot šejčas T. ona v Finljandii? net?*
PRT_1 PRT_2 now T. she in Finland? or not?
'Does T. live in Finland now?'
M *net; ona už davnó: pomërši.*
no; she already long ago die.ppa.
'No, she died long ago.'
(b) Finnish
Hän on jo kauan sitten kuollut.
S/he is already long ago die.ppa.

M's narrative about T. preceding the extract was in the past. He used the past verb forms. IR's question is concerned with the present location of T. The options for a coherent answer are to confirm or deny T.'s presently being in Finland and to specify where she lives. M replies with negation word-clause and continues accounting for the present state of T. The source verb of the PPA construction, 'to die', signals the punctual action which results in an irreversible state (cf. Nedjalkov & Jahontov 1988: 4-5). Due to the semantics of the source verb, the resultative and stative meanings overlap in the PPA construction. The adverb *davno* can be used in two senses, 'long ago' and 'since long ago'. The former collocates with the past perfective verb form (corresponding to the English simple past), and the latter collocates with the present imperfective verb form (corresponding to the English perfect of persistent situation). Used in the PPA construction, the adverb has these two meanings simultaneously, referring to the moment when the state started and to the period during which the state has existed.

Thus, signalling the present state, the resultative/stative PPA construction provides coherence with the question that indicates the situation in the present. The use of the PPA construction makes it possible to indicate the duration of the state in time, pointing to the moment in the past where it started and connecting this to the present. In the Finnish translation (27)b the perfect construction signals a state, the start of which is indicated by the adverb *kauan sitten* 'long ago'.

From resultative to past anterior

In (28), referring to F's recent visit to the former Kyyrölä, the interviewer asks if F has found her house in the village. He uses the past form of the perfective transitive verb 'to find' (line 01).

(28)

F1929b and IR_{m3}

01 IR *a vy našlí vaš dom tam?*
PRT you find.Pl your house there?
'Did you find your house there? ((in the present Kyyrölä))'

02 F *net, u nas dom byl sgorévši.*
no, at us $house_{masc}$ was.masc down-burn.ppa.

03 *i vo vtorúju vojnú, tóže sgorél.*
and in the second, also down-burn.pst.masc
'No, our house had been burnt down. and in the second[18] war, it also was burnt down.'

The temporal-spatial framework for the answer is outlined in the question. It is F's recent visit to Kyyrölä. F answers with short *net* 'no', and specifies this accounting for the state of the house during her Kyyrölä visit (line 02). The PPA construction is resultative, signalling the state of the house as a result of the action of burning down, which precedes the reference point, the moment of the visit. Further, F tells the interviewer that the house was burnt down in the 'second war' (line 03) too. The adverb *tože* 'also, too' points to the action indicated by the predicate in the past form as a similar one to the preceding situation which is signalled by the PPA construction. The time of the event (line 03) is 'the second war'. The clause is joined to the preceding one with the coordinate conjunction *i* 'and', which also focuses the prosodically salient *vtoruju* 'second'. This prosodic accent implies 'the first war' as the time of the event signalled by the PPA construction. Thus, in the light of the utterance in line 03 the PPA construction (line 02) must be reanalysed as signalling the action which took place in 'the first war', precedingly to the 'second war', and should be considered as past anterior.

Signalling the state of the house at the reported moment (or point of reference, stipulated by the question), the PPA construction coheres to the question. Extending her answer, the speaker actualises a past anterior meaning of the PPA construction.

In extract (29), which took place later in the same interaction, the speaker used the past verb form in the answer, aligning to the past verb form in the question, and then shifted to use the past and present PPA constructions. F talked about her recent visit to Kyyrölä. The interviewer asked what had remained of the former Kyyrölä.

(29)

F1929b and IR_{m3}

01 IR *a što tam ostalas' voobščé?*
and what remained.neut there in general?

02 F *nu ostalos'a očen' nemnógo ostalosja. ostalosja -*
PRT remained.neut, very little remained.neut. remained.neut

03 eee *doktorskij dom ostalsja. potom ostalsja* eee *(.) svjaščenika dom,*
eeeh the doctor's $house_{masc}$ remained.masc. then *eeeh* (.) the priest's house,

[18] During World War II, there were two wars between the Soviet Union and Finland, the Winter War (1939-1940) and the Continuation War (1941-1944). By 'the second war', the speaker means the Continuation War.

04 [*tak po-finski skazat'* ***pappi[la,***
[to say in Finnish **priest's[house**
05 IR *[mhm* ***[pappila***
[mhm **[priest's house**
06 F *da:, potom byl ostavši* ***käräjätalo***.
yes, then was.masc remain.ppa **court-house**
'Yes, and **the court-house** was still there.'
07 IR *mhm*,
08 F *i: tam ostavši ešče, u nas nazyvalsja ètot kak by ska-*
and there remain.ppa also, at us called.masc-refl this how would s-
'And then, there has remained we used to call it how do you s-'
09 *vdol' dorogi, vdol' dorogi d- doma byli,*
along the road, there were houses along the road, ((etc.))

In the general answer (02) to IR's question, F repeats the past verb form used in the question (line 01). Starting the listing of the old buildings, she also uses this form (line 03). Then follows a metalinguistic side-sequence (line 04-05), where F introduces (line 04) and IR confirms (line 05) the Finnish equivalent for 'priest's house'. The doctor's house and the priest's house are mentioned in the answer. Then F commences a new turn-constructional unit[19], switching from the answer to the narrative. With a minimal response (line 07), the recipient indicates this shift. F changes the form of the predicate from the past verb form (lines 02-03) to the PPA construction (line 06). The PPA construction has a resultative-stative meaning, denoting the state of the building as a result of having survived in the war. The stative meaning is possible because of the semantics of the source verb. The reference point is the moment of F's recent visit to Kyyrölä, when she saw the houses in question. The past PPA construction (line 06) indicates a state that existed in the reference moment, as a result of the punctual action which preceded the reference point.

In lines 08-09, F recalls the part of the village which also survived in the war. In the predication, F drops the past auxiliary (line 08). The PPA construction changes from the past to the present, which can be treated as an indication of the shift of the reference point from the past time of the Kyyrölä visit to the present situation of the report. Nevertheless the speaker did not necessarily intend such a change. The auxiliary could be just ellipted, since it has been already used once (line 06)[20]. F does not call this part of the village by name, though she is about to introduce a local name used before the war, as the formula 'we used to call it' (line 08) shows. After a hesitation *ètot kak by ska-* (in the end of line 08), F describes the place as it was before the war: 'there were houses along the road' (line 09). The two clauses 'we used to call it' and 'there were houses along the road',

[19] On the notion of the turn-constructional unit, see Schegloff (1996: 53-126). Roughly, it is a unit which follows (potential) turn completion.

[20] For instance, in the the Finnish colloquial narrative data investigated by Helasvuo (1991) and Finnish dialectal data investigated by Kuiri (1984), the perfect varies with the pluperfect without reasons obvious to the researchers. According to Erkki Lyytikäinen (1997: 10) who analysed the uses of the Finnish perfect, varying between perfect and pluperfect points to different reference points, the perfect indicating the moment of the reporting situation and the pluperfect a situation in which the speaker heard the information now reported by him.

signal the events preceding the one signalled by the PPA construction. Thus, through dropping the auxiliary, the speaker aligns the tense order to the temporal order of the events.

To summarise, F uses the past verb form in the answer (lines 02-03). With the PPA construction in the past she starts a new turn-constructional unit (line 06). The PPA construction is resultative/stative. Aligning to the temporal order of the events, F changes the past PPA construction to the present one (line 08).

Russian-Swedish perfect

In (30), F1929b used a form of Swedish supine as perfect.

(30)
F1929b and IR_{m3}

01 IR	hhh *a vy eščë govorite po-švedski?*	
	'do you still speak Swedish?'	
02 F	*št- net ja (.) ja ja*	*[**glömt**.*
	wh- no I (.) I I	[**forget.sup**
	wh- no I	[**have forgotten.**
03 IR		*[zabyli?*
		[forgot.Pl
		'[have you?'
04 F	hhh	[hhh ***jag glömt nästan allt**.* hhh hhh
	hhh	[*hhh* **I forget.sup almost all** *hhh hhh*
	'*hhh*	[*hhh* **I have forgotten almost all.**'
05 IR		[hhh

Prior to the extract F told IR that immediately after evacuation she had lived in a Finland Swedish place, where she had spoken Swedish. In his question (line 01), IR returns to the present moment, asking about F's competence in Swedish. In her answer, F uses the Swedish supine. In Swedish this form is used in the perfect and can represent the perfect without the auxiliary verb *ha* 'to have' in relative clauses (Thorell 1982: 152). In the main clause the auxiliary should be used; in other words, the correct form of the predicate in line 02 is *har glömt.* The switch into Swedish can be interactionally interpreted as the demonstration by F of her competence in Swedish, as underlined contrast to her formulation of incompetence. This interpretation is consistent with what follows after extract (30). Namely, F tells IR that she speaks Swedish with customers when working as a weekend salesperson in a Finland Swedish place. The perfect form in the answer (line 02) establishes the coherence to IR's question (line 01) that signals the present situation. The perfect would be used in the same situation in Swedish and Finnish. Used without the auxiliary, the supine literally corresponds to the PPA construction *zabyvši.* The form is not a correct Swedish perfect, but an amalgam of the two forms of both languages.

In casual colloquial speech, the Swedish first-person singular pronoun *jag* sounds like the Russian first-person singular pronoun *ja,* /ja/ (line 04). This phonic similarity may be a linguistic trigger of the switch into Swedish. If the Russian pronoun is underlined, it can be supposed to control the auxiliary that is, consequently, dropped in the present. This extract demonstrates that the perfect

category of the other languages spoken by this speaker may be interspersed in Russian.

Resultative acquiring an evidential sense through the negotiations on meaning

In (31), negotiations about meaning lead to the implementation of the evidential sense to the resultative.

(31)

(F_1=F1928a and F_2=F1928b, and M1946, IR_{f6})

(Prior to this the time of reference was the past and the conversation concerned N.)

01 M	*ona eščë živa?? živa ona eščë?*
	'Is she still alive? Is she still alive?'
02 F_2	*a ja [ne znaju.*
	PRT I do [not know
03 F_1	*[ne::t,[[pómerši.*
	[no: [[die.ppa
	'no:, she has died.'
04 M	*[[ona (???)*
	[[she (???)
05 F_1	*pomerla [pomerla.*
	she died [died
06F_2	*[ona (ob??)*
	[she (??)
07M	*(??) Vítja Lapšín govoril što on byl u ej značit,*
	((1nameM+Sname)) said that he had been at her, well,
08	*na - ši- - devjanostoletii on byl*
	at her six- 90th birthday he was
09 F_1	*a:jj!!*
	ahh!!
10 F_2	*nu možet' - možet'*
	PRT perhaps- perhaps
11	*ja ne znaju, [umërši ona ili net.*
	I don't know [if she DIE.ppa or not.
12 M	[*možet teper'-to uže -*
	[perhaps now-PRT already -
13	*èto uže godov pat' tomu nazad*
	it already five years ago
14	*[bylo da*
	[was.neut yes
	'it was already five years ago.'
15 F_1	[*/da:: po-moemu ona už pomer- umërši.*
	[/yea::h to my mind she already di- DIE.ppa.
	'yes, I think she has already died.'
16 M	*da. možet' teper'-to uže*
	yes. perhaps now-PRT already

M asks if N is still alive (line 01). The point of reference is the present. F_2 answers that she does not know (02). F_1 overlaps with the answer of her own (line 03). Indicating result/state with the PPA construction, she provides the coherence to the reference point (the present) of the question. F_1 paraphrases her answer using the past verb form (line 05). The prosody of her turn, reiteration and the

past form signal the action as non-doubtful. M, who tried to say something (line 04) but did not get the floor, presents his evidence of the state of N, saying that his acquaintance was at N's 90th birthday party (lines 07-08). Thus M infers that N was alive at least then. M's turn exposes F_1's statement about N's being dead as somehow doubtful. F_1 responds with an exclamation of surprise (lines 09). In her response (lines 10-11), F_2 repeats her commitment to not knowing. The turn-initial 'perhaps' (line 10) seems to be responsive to a viewpoint inferred in M's turn about N's probably being alive. Continuing, she doubts the indirect evidence of N's having died. Using PPA construction (line 11), as it was in F_1's statement (line 03), F_2 ends her turn with negative alternative 'or not' (line 11). F_2's utterance is provided in subjectively epistemic modality (Lyons 1977: 797-799), and the PPA construction in line 11 acquires an evidential sense. Subsequently, M (lines 12-14) accepts F_1's preceding statement (lines 03 and 05) as possible, because the birthday party took place five years ago. F_1 recounts her statement more carefully, modulating it as subjectively epistemic with *po-moemu* 'to my mind' (line 15). This modulation conveys an evidential sense to the PPA construction. Interestingly enough, F_1 false-starts *pomer,* the form she used in line 03, immediately repairing it with the form of PPA construction used by F_2 *umërši*, with another prefix (line 11). This self-repair also shows that, in comparison to the earlier expressed (line 03), the sense of the PPA construction has changed, effected by the preceding negotiation between the participants.

To summarise, in F_1's answer (03), the situation is signalled by the resultative PPA construction, coherent with the present reference point of the question. As affirmation, F_1 continues signalling the same situation in the past (line 05). Later the situation is indirectly put in doubt by M's turn (07-08), and by F_2, who uses the PPA construction in an evidential sense (line 11). After M has accepted the possibility of N having died (lines 12-14), F_1 re-introduces her assertion as subjectively epistemic (line 15). In this extract, the shift from question-cohesive resultative in the response (line 03) to a resultative-evidential PPA construction (line 15) occurred as a result of the negotiation on meaning.

Evidential in a question

In the following extract the younger daughter (D) asks her mother if her sister has arrived (line 01).

(32)

(a) D=F1930, Mo=F1905a, and IR_{f1}

01 D	*a*	*Sonja,*	*prišëdši?*	*Sonja,*
	PRT	Sonja, ((1nameF))	come.ppa?	Sonja
	'Has Sonja come?'			
02 Mo	*da:=*			
	yes=			
03 D	*=prišla?*			
	= came.fem?			
04	*što ja, ne slyhala tol'ko, f- f- ètot, Toni tam begal po ulice.*			
	'cause I PRTn heard.fem only, this, Tony there was running outside.			
	'So, she has come. Because I did not hear her having come, but there was Tony running outside.'			

05 *ai prišla;*
ah, she came.fem;
06 Mo *prišla.*
she came.fem.
(b) Translation into Finnish
01 D *Onko Sonja tullut?*
be.3Sg.PRTq Sonja come.PPA? ((pf))
02 Mo *On.*
be.3Sg
03 D *Ai tuli, minä en nähnyt, Toni siinä vaan juoksi pihalla. Ai tuli.*
Oh came.3Sg, I NEG.1Sg see.ppa, but Tony there ran.3Sg yard.ADE. So came.3Sg

In her question, D signals the action of Sonja's coming with the PPA construction. On hearing Mo's positive response (02), D signals the same action with past verb form (line 03). The prosodic contour of D's utterance is rising, but she does not mean to ask again, since, without waiting for an answer, she continues with a new turn-constructional unit (line 04), where she re-treats this interrogative as the affirmation check (line 03) of inferential assertion. Since D's sister looks after Tony, her grandson, she should be in the same place as the boy. Having noticed Tony behind her mother's house, D assumed her sister to be there, too. D's turn ends in the affirmatively expressed past verb form *prišla* 'came.fem' (line 05). The inferential assertion in line 04 cues the PPA construction (line 01) as having an evidential sense. The shift from the PPA construction (line 01) to the past verb form (lines 03 and 05) manifests the change of the modality from inferentially epistemic to indicative. Mo repeats the past verb form in her affirmation (line 06).

The same situation would be spoken in Finnish with the same tense-mode sequence (32)b, perfect in the question (line 01) and imperfect in the affirmation.

PPA construction in the structure of storytelling. Flashback

The use of PPP construction in the flashback was demonstrated in extract (22). The PPA constructions were used in similar functions.

In (33) the PPA construction has the meaning of past anterior and is used by the speaker when she reverts from her story about the Russian Kyyrölä villages to the preceding time when the Karelian Isthmus belonged to Sweden.

(33)
F1929a and IR_{f2}
01 F *v derevne Kangaspelto bylo devjat' staryh domov posle švedof.*
in village of K. ((Pname)) was.neut nine old houses after the Swedes.
'In K. there were nine houses left from the Swedish time.'
02 IR *aha,*
yeah,
03 F *èti ljudi, byli umërši kogda byla* ***mustasurma,***
these people, were die.ppa when was.fem **plague,**
'those people had died during the epidemic of plague.'
04 *i v derevne byla ostavši tol'ko odna finskaja semja,*
and in the village was.fem remain.ppa only one Finnish $family_{fem}$,
'Only one Finnish family in the village survived,'

05 *verojatno ètë samyë ljudi kotory byli i pri našo vre- vremë Savonius.*
'apparently the same people that were in our times Savonius ((Sname))'

The reference point is the time when the Russians lived in K. (line 01). From this point F goes to the preceding past time and tells IR about the native Finnish inhabitants of the village (line 03-04) who had died during an outbreak of plague, from which only one family had survived. The construction *býli umërši* (line 03) has the meaning of the past anterior. The action indicated by this construction precedes the reference point of the narration. The next PPA construction *byla ostavši* (line 04) is resultative. It signals the state that had started before the reference point and took place in the reference point. The speaker indicates the return to the main line of narrative with the temporal adverbial 'in our times' (line 05).

In the following extract, the PPA construction in the flashback has both anterior and resultative meanings.

(34)

There are four participants; F1911a=F, F1917, F1907a and IR_{f2}

01 F *v škólu hodila; potom tol'ko četyre klassa koe- koe-[kak.*
I went to school then only four years so- so- [-so
02 IR [*aha!*
[oh!
03 F *tak što ja naučívši byla bukvy-to zaránee,*
so that I learn.ppa was.fem letters.ACC-PRT beforehand.
'it was so that I had learnt the letters before,'
04 *uže kak v starínke že vot èti byli kúbiki >i vsë (takoe u nas);< no:,*
'in the old fashion we had small cubes >things like that< well, ((etc.))'

F says that she only attended school for four years, and that she did not work hard at school (line 01). As an explanation, F reports having learnt to read and write before school (line 03-04). The action of getting to learn precedes the reference point. Thus the past PPA construction has an anterior meaning. The anterior meaning is also indicated by the temporal adverb *zaranee* 'before(hand)'. The construction moreover has a resultative meaning, signalling a state, which serves as background to the main line event[21].

In the Russian normative use, the reflexive verb *naučit'sja* is intransitive and it governs the dative and infinitive. The speaker uses the accusative of object, which is possible in non-standard monolingual Russian, too. The verb *naučit'sja* is used in the PPA construction as transitive, i.e., governs the direct object in the accusative. Using this accusative, this speaker may have in mind the government pattern of the Finnish semantic equivalent of the verb *naučit'sja*, *oppia:* this verb is transitive, and it governs the accusative or the partitive.

[21] Seppänen (1997: 8-9) demonstrates the use of the Finnish perfect as an argument for the previously expressed statement. The author defines the use of this perfect as experiential-resultative. In her example, the perfect of the verb *oppia* 'to learn, to get trained in doing so-emthing' is the semantic equivalent of the Russian source verb of the PPA construction in extract (34).

Story preface

According to Givón (1982: 122 and 130), a topic-switch and a flashback which deviate from the main line of narration often coincide, and the use of the anterior (pluperfect) is typical of these sequences. Seppänen (1997: 17-21) demonstrates that the Finnish perfect is often used in the initiation of storytelling. In her data, the perfect is typical in the initiation of a second story, i.e., a story responsive to another one, told earlier by another speaker. With the perfect, the speaker indicates his/her story as actual in the moment of the interaction and thus justifies its tellability[22].

In extract (35) PPA construction establishes the framework of the second story of the *same* speaker, who is the main narrator and, thus, need not strive for the floor. Immediately before the extract W completed the preceding story and took a short pause.

(35)
Spouses H=M1903, W=F1907b, and IR_{f2}
(After the end of the preceding topic and the pause)

01 W	*vot*	*sejčas*	*u menja*	*syn*	*is Kanady,*
	PRT	now	at me	son	from Canada,
	'now my son has come from Canada.'				
02 IR	*mm,*				
03 W	*priehači. oni byli tam tri dnja,*				
	come.ppa. they were there three days,				
04	*a ja i govorju mne by tak hotelos' Vyborg posmotret' by s"ezdit'*				
	and I say I would like to visit Vyborg so much ((etc.))				

The country name 'Canada' (line 01) is introduced very prominently, inviting the special attention of the recipient. The interviewer indicates this item with a back-channelling continuer (line 02). After that W completes the clause with a PPA construction and accounts for the duration of the visit to Canada with the *l*-past form (line 03). The PPA construction backgrounds the prosodically highlighted, foregrounded adverbial 'from Canada' (line 01), which projects another place to visit, Vyborg, the main topic of the following reported dialogue between I-protagonist[23] and her son. Indicating a resultant state, the actuality of which is indicated by the adverb *sejčas* 'now' (line 01), the PPA construction projects the present tense as the reference point of the subsequent reported dialogue. This dialogue starts in line 04 with the reported speech of I-protagonist.

The link between the two stories

In the following extract the PPA construction is the completion of one story and the preface to the next one. Daughter (D) tells the interviewer a story about a young girl forced into a relationship with a much older man. Completing the story, D says that the girl was very young and that her mother had already died.

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[22] The notion of 'tellability' is introduced in Sacks 1992: 12-13, 172-173.
[23] I-protagonist is 'I' in the reported situation.

(36)
D=F1930, Mo=F1905a, and IR_{fl}
(from the same interaction as extract 32)

01 D *i on eë prjamo nasil'no vrode što,*
and he straight by force her 'cause,
'He quite forced her, since'

02 *ona (.) taka molóden'ka byla! i eë uže mat',*
she (.) was.fem so young! and her mother,

03 *byla Nastasja umërši.*
was.fem Nastasja die.ppa.
'Nastasja ((1nameF)) had already died.'

04 *Nastasja umerla, tam na farme, i pohoronena-to*
Nastasja died.fem, there on the farm, and bury.ppp.fem-PRT
'Nastasja died there on the farm and she was buried.'

05 *to očen' takaa mogila.*
'so such a luxurious grave. ((etc.))'

The string in lines 02-03 constitutes the completion of the story. The PPA construction has a resultative meaning, indicating the state, that of the mother's being dead, which forms the background to the events of the story. The speaker insinuates that, were the mother alive, she could have protected her daughter and the dramatic events of the narrative would have been prevented. The mother being dead and the girl being young contribute to the causes of the events. Both circumstances are signalled in the clause initiated by the causal conjunction *što (čto)* 'because'[24] (01).

The resultative signals the situation from the viewpoint of what happened to the girl (lines 02-03). The same situation, N. having died, is signalled for a second time, with the past verb form modified by the local adverbial 'on the farm' (line 04). The local adverbial indicates the place where the punctual action *umerla* 'die.pst.fem' took place. The PPP construction *pohoronena* '(is/has been) buried' indicates the present state as a result of the preceding action. The construction prefaces the next microstory, a description of the grave, presented in the historical present.

Thus, the past resultative PPA construction is used in the argumentative completion of the story, indicating the background and causes of the events of the story. The present resultative-stative PPP construction forms the preface to the next story.

Shift from direct reported speech to authorial voice

In the following the past PPA construction (line 03) marks the shift from direct reported speech to authorial voice. The speaker inserts her authorial explanation into the direct reported speech. Extract (37) is from Tuomela (1981), with transcription simplified:

[24] The conjunction *čto* in dialectal speech has causal meaning (Kasatkin 1989: 144).

(37)

(a) F1913

(The background: F's husband worked with Soviet prisoners of war in a prisoner-of-war camp. When the war between the Soviet Union and Finland ended, the prisoners had to return to the Soviet Union, and they were anxious about their future.)

01 *no oné skazali, što my konéšno ty jédeš domój, jédeš k svojéj semjé,*
they said that we of course you.Sg go.2Sg home, go.2Sg to your family,

02 *a my poédem, my ne znaem kuda nas povjazút,*
and we go.1Pl, we PRTn know.1Pl where us.GEN/ACC transport.3Pl,
'They said, you are returning home, to your family, and we are leaving for - we do not know
where we will be transported to.'

03 *potomú što vojna eščë ne byla kónčivši s némcam*
because the war yet PRTn be.pst.fem end.ppa with Germans
'because the war with the Germans had not yet ended'

04 *i eščë im nado býlo voevat',*
and they still had to fight,

05 *kuda my ubúdem,*
where-to we go.1Pl
'where we will leave for,'

06 *tak što my i pósle ètovo my ničevó ne znaem žývy li èti plénnye*
so that we and after that we don't know anything whether those prisoners are alive

((etc.: F talks about the times after the war))

(b) Finnish translation of lines 02-04:

02 *Ja me lähdemme, emmekä tiedä vielä minne meidät viedään,*
And we leave.1Pl, NEG.1Pl.PRT know$_{st}$ yet where-to us.ACC bring.pass

03 *koska saksalaissota ei ollut vielä loppunut /ei vielä loppunut*
since German war NEG.3Sg be.ppa yet end.ppa /NEG.3Sg yet end.ppa

04 *ja heidän piti vielä mennä sotimaan.*
and they had still to go to the war.

Into the direct reported speech of the prisoners (lines 01-02 and 05) the speaker intersperses an authorial explanation (lines 03-04). In the direct reported speech the pronoun *my* 'we' (lines 01-02 and 05) refers to the prisoners, the pronoun *ty* 'you' refers to F's husband, and the report is expressed in the non-past tense. In the authorical explanation the 3rd person pronoun refers to the prisoners (line 04). At the same time the reference point shifts from the moment of narration to the past (lines 03-04). The negative past PPA construction *ne byla kónčivši* 'had not ended' signals the state established precedingly to the reference point. The construction is used to background events expressed in the reported speech. At the clausal level, the PPA construction predicates a causal subordinate unit, where the initial 'because' (line 03) marks argumentation. Having completed the direct reported speech (line 05), F continues her story in the authorial voice. The reference point shifts from the past to the moment-of-speech (line 06).

In Russian a negative particle is normally placed before the negated element at the same time outlining the scope of the negation. In the PPA construction of the extract above, the negative particle is positioned before the auxiliary. Were the *ši* participle only considered as a syntactically distinct element, a predicative, the negation would be placed immediately before it, *vojna eščë byla ne kónčivši* 'war

yet was.fem PRTn end.ppa'. The placement of the negative particle shows that the construction is considered by the speaker to be an entity. In combination with other factors, the position of the negative particle can provide evidence for grammaticalisation of the PPA construction.

In the Finnish translation, the pluperfect ([37]b, line 03) corresponds to the Russian past PPA construction ([37]a, line 03). The imperfect *ei loppunut* 'did not end.3Sg' is also permissible.

Let us compare the extract above to the preceding part of F's discourse, where she starts her story about the prisoners.

(38)

(a)

01 *on byl s rússkimi plénnymi*
he was ((working)) with Russian prisoners of war

02 *nahodílsja i evo óčen' ljubíli rússkije plénnye,*
stayed ((with them)) and the Russian prisoners liked him very much,

03 *kogda f Finljandii kónčilas' vojna i plénnyh otpravljali,*
when in Finland ended$_{pfve}$fem war and prisoners.GEN/ACC send.pst.PL,
'when the war had ended in Finland and the prisoners were being sent away'

04 *oné óčen' plakali...*
they wept.Pl a lot …

(b) The Finnish equivalent of line 03:
Colloquial version[25]:
Kun Suomessa loppui sota ja vankeja lähetettiin pois---
When in Finland end.ipf.3Sg the war and prisoners send.ipf.pass away ---
Written Standard:
Kun Suomessa oli loppunut sota ja vankeja lähetettiin pois---
When in Finland end.plpf.3Sg the war and prisoners send.ipf.pass away ---

The ending of the war is signalled by the past verb form ([38]a, line 03), embedded in a temporal 'when'-clause, 'when the war ended', (line 03). The situation took place in the past moment when the repatriation of the prisoners commenced. The order of reporting corresponds to the actual temporal order of events: the war ended, then the prisoners were repatriated. Thus the use of the past verb form is contextually consistent. In Finnish (38b) in the same context, both the pluperfect and the imperfect are possible.

Relative clause

There is a group of PPA constructions which predicate relative clauses, clausal classifiers by their semantics. This is the grammatical context where PPA construction is the most nominal by its nature.

(39)

(a) M 1925 and IR$_{f4}$

01 IR *vy naverno óčen' molodym - vzjali vas na vojnu,*
'You were probably very young - when you were called to the army,'

[25] "Normal", according to the characteristics of a native speaker.

02 M *ne:t vídite li, v to vrémja užé brali na vojnú teh*
'No: you see that time they took those to the war'
03 *kotorye byli rodivši, tysjača devjacot dvacat' pjatogo godu*
who were.Pl born.ppa, in 1925
who had been born in 1925
04 *značit, s načala godu rodivši;*
PRT, from beginning of year born.ppa;
'well born at the beginning of the year;'
05 IR *°da°*
°yeah°
06 M *tak kak ja rodilsja četvër- četyrnacatogo četvërtogo,*
since I was-born.masc-refl four- fourteenth fourth,
'Since I was born on the 14th of April'
07 *to menja vzjali v armiju;*
so me.ACC/GEN took.Pl to army;
'I was taken to the army.'

(b) Finnish
Silloin otettiin armeijaan niitä, jotka olivat syntyneet vuoden 1925 alussa.
then take.ipf.pass to the army those who be-born.plpf.3Pl in the beginning of 1925.
Koska minä olin syntynyt v 1925 minutkin otettiin armeijaan.
since I be-born.plpf.1Sg in 1925 me-too take.ipf.pass to the army.

(c) Finnish
Minä olen syntynyt vuonna 1924. Niinpä minutkin otettiin armeijaan.
I be-born.pf.1Sg in 1924. So me-too take.ipf.pass to the army.

In her assumption, IR introduces a new topic to elicit M's narrative (line 01). In his response (lines 02-04), M accounts for the basis of conscription in detail. He explains that all those born in the first half of 1925 were called up to the army at the same time. The past PPA construction is embedded in a clausal classifier (relative clause) of the main-clause object *teh* 'those.GEN/ACC' (lines 02-03). The construction has a past anterior meaning: the temporal adverbial '1925' indicates the moment of the action preceding the narrative time. Additionally, the construction also has resultative-stative meaning, indicating a classifying feature of the subject. The PPA constructions in lines 03-04 can be syntactically treated as nominal predicatives. In the next string (lines 06-07) M sets up a narrative. He formulates his own date of birth in a conditional clause, predicated by a past verb form (line 06). It seems that the past PPA construction would also have been possible here[26]. Nevertheless, this conditional clause differs from the preceding relative clause (lines 03-04). The latter follows the main clause, reversing the actual temporal order of events. The former precedes the main clause, and thus, its position corresponds to the order of events.

[26] An interesting gender peculiarity concerning the use of the construction *rodívši* 'be-born.PPA' (Russian verb *rodit'sja* 'to be born' is active intransitive reflexive) has been found in the data analysis. Many women use the form *rodívši* 'be-born.PPA' to denote their own birth, but there is only one man who applied this construction to his birth, although a few men do use this PPA-construction to refer to the birth of someone else, either man or a woman.

Used in a relative clause, the PPA construction can often be considered to be the collocation of the copula and the *ši* form predicative. In addition to modifying, the clause predicated by the *ši* form also has a causal meaning. In (39)a (lines 03-04) the young men were called up because they were born at the beginning of 1925. In Finnish, pluperfect and perfect would be used in the situation described in lines 03-04 in (39)b and in line 06 in (39)c.

Argumentation in story-completion: the experiential

There are two occurrences of the experiential use in the continuation of the story.

(40)

M 85 years old (extract from von Pruschewsky 1962, transcription original)
(Background: M is asking the priest to write a certificate to an old people's home where M wants to move from his son's house. In the following M backs up his request.)

01 *čto ni zdéla:š | fsë húdo |*
whatever I do | nothing is good |
02 *zímnja šapka ležýt | nel'zja |*
the winter hat is on the table | put off |
03 *trúpku kurit´ | nel'zja ||*
smoking a pipe | go out ||
04 *i* *ot žonóf* *nikogda* *ne slýšavši* *takóva ||*
even from the wives never PRTn hear.ppa such.GEN
'I've never heard such things even from my wives'

M explains his hardships (line 01-03) and completes this with an assessment (line 04), saying that he has to hear such things now that he has not heard even from either of his two wives. The negative PPA construction *ne slyšavši* 'PRTn hear.ppa' has an experiential sense, indicating that M has no experience of hearing such things. The emphasising particle *i* 'even' points to the referent 'wives' as the persons who enriched M with an especially wide range of varying auditive experiences which, nevertheless, has now been exceeded.

Before extract (41) takes place F characterised T.; according to F, T. is very shy and does not like to be the centre of attention. In extract (41) F backs up her characteristics by indicating her experience of working with T.

(41)

F1935 and IR_{f6}

ja *s nej* *rabótavši* *potomu* *znaju.*
I with her work.ppa therefore know.1Sg
'I worked with her therefore I know.'

The experientials in this extract and the preceding one are used in the completion of the story, where the speakers argue their previous statements. Experiential use of the perfect in argumentation in Finnish conversation is demonstrated in Seppänen (1997: 9).

2.4. Conclusions

General

The purpose of this chapter has been to investigate whether the use of participle constructions in the speech of the Kyyrölä Russians has changed in the direction of the category of perfect. Both PPP and PPA constructions were used in the homeland area from which the Kyyrölä Russians originated, although their use was not systematic. The Finnish perfect is structured in the same way as PPP and PPA constructions. The development of the category of the perfect could be launched by the Finnish perfect over a long time of adstratic contact between Kyyrölä Russian and Finnish. The participle constructions have been considered with regard to their number and meaning in the interaction.

The changes in the grammatical system have as their source the interactional needs of the speakers. Grammaticalisation starts at the interactional level. Having once used a participle construction in a perfect-equitable meaning, the bilingual speaker recounts the same meaning in a similar interactional context and gradually associates the other meanings of the perfect with participle constructions. Consequently the use of the participle constructions in particular meanings gradually infiltrates the linguistic system. Keeping this scenario in mind, I have investigated the conversational meaning of the constructions found in the data.

Traditional dialectology[27] aims at geographical glossing of linguistic features. In accordance with this aim, Russian dialect researchers[28] accounted for the lexical base of the verb in a lingua-geographic respect, i.e., they completed a list of the source verbs of PPA constructions and counted the number of tokens met in a particular territory. Semantic and structural analysis concentrated on various features of the source verb (its lexical meaning, valence etc.), without taking into account the context of use. In Russian dialects, participle constructions are reported to have typically a resultative meaning. However, the context of most examples in the research of Russian scholars has usually not been discussed. The meaning of participle constructions cannot be reliably verified in the published examples, the context of which is usually minimal, sometimes even less than a clause. Thus it is difficult to perceive what is understood by the resultative meaning in each particular case and to compare those published examples with the present data concerning the meaning of the participle constructions. Quantitative comparison is also problematic, since, when reported, the figures cover the number of all *ši* constructions ever met in the particular territory.

In the theoretical part, I have outlined another diaspora situation, with Mehikoorma Russian, where the participle constructions seem to have increased in the result of the language contact. The Mehikoorma Russians originated form the territories where the PPA constructions had been used more systematically than in the Kyyrölä Russians' homeland. The contact between Russians and Estonians in Mehikoorma was more intense than that between Finns and Kyyrölä Russians

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[27] The drawbacks of the traditional dialectological approach were pointed out by Labov (1972b), Trudgill (1974), and Milroy (1987: 2ff).

[28] See, e.g., Kuz'mina & Nemčenko 1971 and Trubinskij 1984, in which the quintessence of research on the Russian dialectal 'perfect' is presented.

on the Karelian Isthmus. Consequently, the results of these two contact situations differ, as far as any conclusions can be made based on the scanty information available on Mehikoorma Russian. In the latter, transitive PPA constructions had an anterior proper meaning. If systematically used, they might result in the formation of the category of perfect. In Kyyrölä Russian, transitive verbs are typically not used in participle constructions.

The past participle constructions in the data

PPP and PPA constructions signalled events which, having occurred before the reference point, provide explanation and argumentation for the events that occurred at the reference point. The participle constructions are typically used in sequences deviating from the main line of the narrative.

In relation to PPP constructions, it is difficult to judge unambiguously which one is the reason for their use, the indication of the precedence of the event (in the pluperfect) or the raising of the semantic object to the position of the grammatical subject. In the data analysis it was shown that, although PPP constructions often do have a meaning comparable to perfect and pluperfect, the principal function of these constructions is not the expression of tense-aspect categories, but focussing the semantic object, the state of which the PPP construction expresses. Sometimes the events expressed by the PPP constructions are recounted in the forms of the past tense of the active verb, in which case the semantic agent of the event is the focus.

While PPP constructions are also used in CSR and their pragmatic function can be, apart from tense-aspect, also voice-related, the PPA constructions are only used in non-standard speech and unambiguously for the indication of tense-aspect properties of the event. That is why not PPP but PPA constructions were the focus of the data analysis.

The PPA constructions of the data were investigated in relation to the number of tokens on the whole and per speaker, and concerning their meaning in the context of use. On the basis of the data analysis the following conclusions can be drawn.

I. According to the quantitative analysis, (1) people born in the 1920s and early 1930s use the PPA construction most often, (2) people born in the 1940s and later do not use the PPA constructions at all. The non-lexicalised use of the PPA construction presupposes a high competence in Russian, because the construction is optional, and it alternates with the Russian past form, and because the construction is structurally complex. Also, the development of the PPA construction presupposes a high competence in Finnish with its category of the perfect. Thus, together with other factors, an extended use of the PPA construction may serve as an indicator of balanced bilingualism. People born in the 1920s and early 1930s had the best chance of gaining a balanced competence in both languages. They were exposed to Russian as children when Russian had a broader sphere of use (before World War II in Kyyrölä), and they completed their schooling in Finnish or Swedish (the latter in evacuation to Swedish-speaking places). The use of the PPA construction is qualitatively rich in the speech of the informants born prior to the 1920s, too. In the Russian of the youngest speakers (born

in the 1940s and later), their (former) native language becomes an object of constant monitoring, which is expressed in frequent comments on competence. Tsitsipis (1989: 121) observes the same phenomenon among terminal speakers of Arvanítika (a variety of Albanian) in Greece. This uneasiness of speech because of self-monitoring and reduced competence in Russian seems to account for the lack of PPA constructions in the speech of the youngest informants. A reduction of optional devices of expression is one of the early symptoms of language loss (cf. Andersen 1982: 99).

II. The PPA constructions used in the data have a rather narrow lexical base. Most of the verb sources are intransitive, i.e. they do not allow a direct object in the accusative. One verb is transitive (extract 40) and another one is used as transitive (extract 34). A few verbs are used very often, and others are used only once or twice. Most of the source verbs have a semantic potential for resultative use, that is, they are telic achievement verbs and collocate with non-volitional subjects (experiencers). There is one passive resultative PPA construction of a transitive verb where the semantic object was found to be in the position of grammatical subject (extract 27). There are also two PPA constructions with experiential meaning (extracts 40 and 41).

III. The boundaries between the nominal and verbal status of the PPA construction are often fuzzy. Closeness to the nominal structure is natural for the embryo of the perfect category. The uniting of the copula and the predicative to the periphrastic verb gram is gradual and should be described as a continuum. Closest to the nominal pole are constructions embedded in a clausal modifier (relative clause) (extract 39).

IV. Participle constructions often serve as a cue to cohesion between adjacency-pair parts (question—answer), and between the parts of the narrative. In the narrative, the situations signalled in PPA constructions typically form a background or provide a condition or reason for the main line events. The PPA construction is used in story completion, story preface, or in a side-sequence in digressing from sequences of main-line narrative events. Both PPP and PPA constructions were observed in the flash-back sequences (extracts 22, 33 and 34). Among various kinds of shifts, the PPA construction can cue a shift from the voice of a character in the story to the authorial voice (extract 37). The constructions can also bridge a link between two stories when a summary-evaluation of a story is a preface to the next one (extract 36). A resultative-anterior PPA construction is often embedded in a causal or concessive subordinate clause. Conditional embedding is specifically related to resultative meaning in a digression string. In experiential use the PPA construction typically backs up a preceding story (extracts 40 and 41). These functions are also typical for the grammatical category of perfect and pluperfect. The evidential sense has appeared to be identifiable only through the context of use (cf. Seppänen 1997: 15). Consequently, this sense is also the most vulnerable to a change in the context. An evidential sense can emerge as a result of meaning negotiations (extract 31). Signalled in the general question (affirmation check), the evidential sense becomes discernible through the subsequent inferential assertion (extract 32).

As demonstrated throughout the data analysis, the meanings of the participle constructions are close to those of the Finnish perfect. In many other languages which have the category of the perfect, the latter also occurs in the same meanings. For instance, the use for "creating 'flashbacks' to a time earlier than that defined by the narrative time" (Dahl 1985: 138) is typical for perfect related categories, especially pluperfects. In a discussion concerning the tense-aspect-modal system in Creoles and in Early Biblical Hebrew, Givón (1982: 119, 126-7, 129-131) reports the use of the anterior in a 'flashback' function, in relative clauses, for reversing the actual temporal order of events, and for backgrounding narrative events in clausal complements and adverbials.

v. The use of the PPA construction in the speech of Kyyrölä Russians cannot be considered as grammaticised. Still, the analysis of the contexts of use has demonstrated a wide range of meanings expressed by the construction. The participle construction can have **anterior proper**, **experiential,** and **evidential** senses. The **resultative** and **anterior** uses often overlap[29]. The indicator of anterior meaning is prototypically a temporal adverbial which refers to a moment preceding the moment of the narrated events. In narrative the PPA construction is used like the anterior past (pluperfect) in languages which have a category of the perfect (Givón 1982). In the present data some similarities have also been attested between the use of the PPA construction and the use of the perfect in ordinary Finnish conversation (investigated in Seppänen 1997). In Kyyrölä Russian, the construction in question could be considered as converging to perfect category at the level of meaning.

[29] In a typological study, Dahl (1985: 133) mentions that such an overlap is frequent in his language sample.

3. WORD ORDER IN NOUN PHRASES WITH THE GENITIVE OF PERSONAL POSSESSOR*

3.1. Linguistic background

The topic of this chapter is the word order in genitive possession constructions in the non-dialect and dialect corpora. Generally, syntactic changes are observed to start at an intense stage of language contact. Nevertheless, changes involving word order may even start in the next to slightest type of language contact, "slightly more intense [than casual] contact", according to Sarah Grey Thomason and Terence Kaufman's (1988: 74) borrowing scale.

In the following I will assess the language-internal setting and will then analyse the constructions in question in both corpora and consider linguistic and social motivations of the word order phenomena observed.

3.1.1. Possession constructions in Russian

In Russian, on the level of the noun phrase, the possessor can be expressed with a possessive adjective and a genitive (*mamina.PA.fem šljapa*$_{fem}$ and.*šljapa*$_{fem}$ *mamy.GEN* 'mother's hat'). The third option is no overt marker of the possessor. This option is mostly reserved for inalienable (body-part) possession (Timberlake 1993: 875).

In CSR, the use of possessive adjectives (henceforth PA) is structurally and pragmatically restricted (Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Šmelev 1994 and references there). PAs are usually formed from nouns with personal reference. The use of a PA presupposes the speaker's familiarity with the PA's referent. This familiarity is often indicated in the shape of the source noun. The sources of possessive adjectives are mostly nouns ending in *-a*. The PA of *-a* final nouns is formed by joining the suffix *-in* to the stem[1]. As do adjectives in general, the PA agrees with the head noun in number, gender and case. The form of the singular masculine has zero ending in the nominative. In the other forms, the respective gender, case and numeric endings follow the suffix:

(42)

papa 'father$_{masc}$'		*djadja* 'uncle$_{masc}$'	
pap-in	*brat*	*djad-in-a*	*mašina*
father.PA.masc	brother$_{masc}$	uncle.PA.fem	car$_{fem}$
'father's brother'		'uncle's car'	
pap-in-omu /papin-u	*brat-u*	*djad-in-oj*	*mašine*
father.PA.masc.DAT	brother$_{masc}$DAT	uncle.PA.fem.DAT	car$_{fem}$DAT

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1 Feminine nouns with a final palatalised consonant also form PAs with the suffix *-in*. Nevertheless, these formations occur extremely rarely in modern Russian.

The endings of the dative and genitive of singular masculine and neuter PA forms have two options, short and long. The former is older, and the latter seems to be preferred in modern colloquial Russian. Both are normative.

Another PA suffix, *-ov,* is much less productive. For instance, familiar forms of first names easily produce the PA: *Saš-a* (the full form *Aleksandr*) > *Saš-in.* The PA from the full form, ?*Aleksandr-ov,* can be used for humoristic effect as an imitation of elevated old style and is not used in neutral style. The noun acceptable for PA formation should be non-modified. In CSR, the PA is especially often used to indicate *inalienable* possession.

The PA has a mixed, substantive-adjective, declension. Some of its case endings are identical with the correponding endings of adjective and some of those of noun (cf. the feminine and masculine dative forms of PA in extract [42] above).

Possessive adjective and genitive in diachrony

According to Trubetzkoy (1937/1987: 220), the possessive adjective in Old Church Slavonic was a productive form, which could be produced from every singular animated noun. The adjective was a general modifier of a single noun. The adnominal genitive was used only with modified heads. In Old Russian texts, too, an animate (usually singular specific) possessor was generally expressed with a possessive adjective. Both PA and genitive modifiers could be used either in pre-head or post-head position (Sannikov 1978: 154). Along with increasing use of the genitive of possession, its post-head position gradually became fixed (ibid.: 156). Until the 19th century, the genitive of the possessor had competed with the possessive adjective. In grammars from the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th century, the possessive adjective had been indicated as equal to the genitive or even as a preferable means of expressing the possessor (ibid.: 152).

Word order in noun phrases

In Russian, as in the Slavonic languages as a whole, word order within the clause is relatively free and "is determined primarily by the arrangement of given and new information" (Comrie and Corbett 1993: 12). Within noun phrases, the word order is more rigid. Adjectives are usually pre-nominal, genitives are post-nominal (Timberlake 1993: 860).

I suppose that in colloquial modern Russian, the genitive of a personal possessor is more flexible than other adnominal genitives and it can more easily change its position from post-head into pre-head in response to certain pragmatic requirements of the situation[2]. The change of position of the single non-agreeing modifier from post-head to pre-head in colloquial Russian speech has been discussed by Olga A. Lapteva (1976: 234). The genitive modifier belongs to this group. Lapteva defines the contiguous preposition of the genitive as a special model peculiar to colloquial Russian. Normally the pre-head position of the

[2] This hypothesis is based on my intuition as a native speaker (I was a permanent resident of Leningrad until the age of 29), and is supported by the examples from research on colloquial Russian speech which will be cited later.

modifier presupposes its agreement with the head. Being in pre-head position, a non-agreeing modifier draws the attention of the addressee. Thus, a non-agreeing modifier which contains the main information can be put in pre-head position for prominence. Because it conveys the main information of the utterance, this modifier always carries phrase stress, leaving the head unstressed.

Citing I. I. Kovtunova (1969), E. A. Zemskaja (1987: 150-51) points out that the most accented items in Russian colloquial speech tend to appear in the leftmost position of the syntagma. This tendency is observable at both sentential and phrasal levels. Neither Lapteva nor Zemskaja pay any attention to the semantic scope of the genitive which tends to take the pre-head position. This is understandable, because they discuss the most prominent model of inversion, which is supposed to affect the syntax of colloquial Russian overall: an item that conveys the main information of the prosodic group usually bears the main prosodic accent and tends to occupy the leftmost position in this group.

Zemskaja's (ibid.) examples with genitive inversion are as follows:

(43)

a) *Igorja* *mama* *skoro* *priedet.*
Igor'.GEN((1nameM)) mother soon come$_{pfve}$non-past.3Sg
'Igor's mother will come soon.'

b) *Brata* *žena* *interesno* *rasskazyvaet.*
brother.GEN wife interestingly narrate.3Sg
'The brother's wife narrates interestingly.'

c) *Èto* *Leny* *Ivanovoj* *dočka.*
this Lena.GEN Ivanova.GEN daughter
((1nameF SnameF))
'This is Lena Ivanova's daughter.'

All the genitives are kinship terms or personal names. Because the examples are not discussed in Zemskaja, genitive modifiers should be understood to be the most accented items, which also bear the main information of the sentence. This is not obvious, however, because the examples are decontextualised. Only in (43)c can the genitive be expected to be informationally and prosodically prominent. Without a context, the expected main information in (43)a is *priedet*, and in (43)b the expected informational centre is *interesno rasskazyvaet.* Still, the genitives are inverted, and this inversion does not seem to strike the ear of the author: Zemskaja has left the context of examples unexplained.

The examples in (43) support my hypothesis that the possessor with the specified personal referent is more likely to appear in pre-head position than other types of genitival modifier. This specificity has probably arisen from the egocentricity of the human mind, for which the personal specific possessor is the prototypical one (Taylor 1989: 192-3). A manifestation of this same, supposingly language universal, feature is the narrowing of the use of the possessive adjective to the scope of the familiar personal possessor.

The internal tendency of the Russian language towards a change of word order in the genitive construction is generally based on the pragmatically constrained flexibility of the position of the genitive. The genitive of the specific personal possessor is especially susceptible to inversion.

3.1.2. A comparison of the genitive in Swedish, Finnish and Russian: A hypothesis

In Swedish and other Scandinavian languages, there is an *s*-genitive, which is prototypically used to indicate personal possession and as a formal link between the parts of the compounds (Sw *barnsben* 'childhood', lit.'child's legs') (Haugen 1976: 294). In colloquial Swedish, the genitive is usually formed from nouns referring to the person[3] (Thorell 1982: 48). The genitive modifier always precedes the head. In addition to the genitive of the possessor[4], the adnominal genitive can be used in subjective, objective, local and temporal constructions (Amnell & Pinomaa, 1974: 83-104), as well as in a few descriptive meanings (Koptjevskaja-Tamm forthcoming, b).

In Finnish, phrase word order is rigid. The genitive modifier precedes the head (Vilkuna 1996: 33 and 181). The sphere of the use of the genitive modifier is wide (Penttilä, 1957: 331-333; Lehtinen 1963: 49), and it exceeds that in Russian and Swedish.

To estimate the range of possible interference, I compare the scale of the use of the genitive in Russian to that of Finnish and Swedish (Table 4). The starting point is Russian genitive phrases. They are translated into Finnish and Swedish. According to their meaning, the modifiers fall into three groups, I. partitive, rows 1-2; II. determiner, 3-7; and III. descriptive[5], 8-10.

Table 4. Genitive NPs in Russian and corresponding structures in Swedish and Finnish[6].

Russian genitive constructions are equated with corresponding Finnish and Swedish constructions. 'H+M' indicates that the head precedes the modifier, and they are distinct words; 'H#M' indicates that the head precedes the modifier, and they form a compound. 'H+PP' indicates that the head precedes the prepositional phrase and is modified by the latter. Grammatical meanings are subscripted, so that, for instance, M_{GEN} stands for the modifier in the genitive. Only the plural number is explicated; otherwise the form is singular. The following abbreviations and symbols are used: '#' link between bound morphemes and parts of compound in a single word; '+' in formulas, link between distinct words; 'def' definite article (Swedish); 'H' head; 'idf' indefinite article (Swedish); 'M' modifier; 'P' preposition; 'PP' prepositional phrase; 'Px' possessive suffix, 'st' stem.

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[3] It can be supposed that the use of the genitive in Finland Swedish has, under the influence of Finnish, been extended in comparison to its use in the Swedish spoken in Sweden. To the best of my knowledge, this hypothesis has not yet been verified.

[4] C. Lyons (1986) calls it the *determiner genitive.*

[5] Leonard Bloomfield (1961/1935, pp. 201-202) distinguishes *limiting* and *descriptive* classes of attribute. The class-meaning of descriptive attributes is generally "*qualitative* character of speciments". Limiting attributes have a class-meaning "*variable* character of speciments" and they fall into two sub-classes, determiners and numeratives. The genitive modifier is in the determiners' sub-class. The class-meaning of determiners is "*identificational* character of speciments".

[6] I omit temporal genitive ('a church of the 19th century') and local genitive ('streets of Leningrad').

General meaning	Specific meaning	Russian $H+M_{GEN.Sg/Pl}$	Swedish		Finnish	
		example	example	formalised	example	formalised
I par- ti tive	1. Part of the whole	*čast' goda*	*en del av året*	idf+H+PP	*osa vuotta/vuodesta* 'part of the year'	$H+M_{PAR/ELA}$
	2. Measure of an entity, amount of objects	*gruppa ljudej* *kilogramm hleba*	*en grupp (av) människor* *(en människ#o#grupp)* *ett kilo bröd*	idf+H+(P+)$M_{NOM.Pl}$ (idf+M_{st}#o#H) idf+H+M_{NOM}	*joukko ihmisiä* 'a group of people' (*ihmis#ryhmä*) *kilo leipää* 'kilogramm of bread'	$H+M_{PAR.Pl}$ (M_{st}#H) $H+M_{PAR}$
II deter- mi- ner	3. Possession a. alienable b., c. inalienable	a. *kniga sestry* b. *žena (moego) brata* c. *golos otca*	a. *min systers bok* b. *min brors hustru* c. *fars röst*	a.,b. poss.pron+M_{GEN}+H c. M_{GEN}+H	a. *siskoni kirja* 'my sister's book' b. *veljeni vaimo* 'my brother's wife' c. *isän ääni* 'father's voice'	M_{GEN}(# Px)+H
	4. Professional position, status limited by a particular sphere	*komandir polka*	*regemen#tet#s chef,* *regement#s#chef* (as the name of a profession)	$M_{def.GEN}$+H M_{GEN}#H	*rykmentin komentaja,* *rykmentinkomentaja* (as the name of a profession) 'commander of a/the regiment'	M_{GEN}+H M_{GEN}#H
	5. Subject of activity/ action	*vozvraščenie ptic*	*fåglar#na#s återkomst*	$M_{def.GEN.Pl}$+H	*lintujen paluu* 'the birds' returning'	$M_{GEN.Pl}$+H
	6. Object of activity/ actions	*profilaktika zabolevanij*	*förebyggande av sjukdomar, sjukdomars förebyggande*	H+PP $M_{GEN.Pl}$+H	*sairauksien ennaltaehkäisy* 'prophylaxis of diseases'	$M_{GEN.Pl}$+H
	7. Source	*rezul'taty poezdki*	*resultaten av resan,* *resa#n#s resultat*	$H_{def.Pl}$+PP $M_{def.GEN}$+H_{Pl}	*matkan tulokset* 'the results of travel'	M_{GEN}+H_{Pl}
III de- scrip- tive	8. Content	*dolina cvetov* *strana ozër*	*blomster#dalen,* *blomstr#en#s dal (poet.)* *sjöarnas land (poet.)*	M_{NOM}#H $M_{GEN.Pl}$+H	*kukka#laakso* 'the valley of flowers' *järvien maa* 'the land of lakes'	M_{NOM}#H $M_{GEN.Pl}$+H
	9. Period	*gorod detstva*	*barndoms#stad*	$M._{GEN}$#H	*lapsuuden kaupunki* 'the city of childhood'	M_{GEN}+H
	10. Quality	*čelovek porjadka*	*ordning#en#s man* *en man av ordning*	$M_{def.GEN}$+H H+PP	*järjestyksen mies* 'a man of order'	M_{GEN}+H

As can be seen in the table, the head precedes the modifier in all three languages in constuctions in which the modifier has a partitive meaning (ex. 1 and 2). In this sense, the Russian genitive corresponds to the Finnish partitive. In Swedish, the preposition *av* 'from' can be used, but is not always obligatory.

In Finnish and Swedish possessive constructions (ex. 3), the possessor is expressed by the genitive, and it is explicitly defined by a possessive pronoun (Swedish) or a possessive suffix (Finnish). If not defined (like *isän ääni* 'father's voice'), the referent should be unambiguous for all the participants of the situation. The subject of the activity/action is non-alternatively expressed in the genitive (ex. 5). In Swedish and Finnish, the limitating determiner (ex. 4) is expressed by the genitive as a distinct item or within the compound. The source and the object of activity (ex. 6 and 7) can be expressed in Swedish in the prepositional phrase or by the genitive. In Finnish the examples represent the genitive of the modifier as a distinct item, but in some other cases the modifier can be a part of a compound, *asia#n#tuntija* 'specialist', lit. 'case.GEN#expert'. The sphere of descriptive meaning (section III of the table) is on the whole peripheral for the adnominal genitive. In Finnish, and more so in Swedish, a compound is often the first alternative. Examples 8-10 are close to idioms.

To sum up, the influence of Finnish and Swedish on the word order of the Russian genitive construction is most clearly discernible in the sphere of the determiner genitive, and more specifically, the genitive of the possessor and the genitive of the subject.

Another factor, phonological and morphological, should also be taken into account. The final *-n* of the Russian possessive adjective (masculine singular form) is homophonous with the marker of the Finnish genitive (singular). Both the Russian PA and the Finnish genitive take pre-head position. The possessive adjective is closer to the noun category than adjectives usually are, because it has a mixed, adjective-substantive, declension. The expressional and categorial closeness between the Russian PA form and the Finnish genitive suggests that bilingual speakers will probably partially associate the possessive adjective with the category of the genitive and will re-analyse the pre-head position as being the position for the specific human possessor in the genitive.

Thus, certain features in both subordinate and superordinate language allow a hypothesis that, in this contact situation, the genitive of the specified personal possessor will tend to be fixed in the pre-head position.

3.2. Data analysis

3.2.1. Quantitative analysis

In this case study, I have analysed the speech of 51 speakers of the non-dialect corpus and that of 36 speakers of the dialect corpus (Kyyrölä Russians). The length of the interviews varied between 20 minutes and 3 hours. The average duration of an interview with non-dialectal speakers was *ca.* 45 minutes, and that of an interview with Kyyrölä Russians was *ca.* 70 minutes.

The hypothesis formulated at the end of section 3.1.2. is supported by the data analysis. As a rule, it is the genitive of the specific personal possessor, usually a

kinship term or proper name[7] that is susceptible to inversion. Henceforth the NPs with the genitive of the specific personal possessor will be referred to as 'genitive constructions'. Other types of genitive do not change their position.

The relationships indicated in the genitive constructions are not a good subject for statistical analysis. They do not occur frequently in spontaneous speech, since, as was mentioned earlier, an inalienable possessor does not always need an overt expression.

A data collection of Northern Russian dialects

For purposes of comparison with dialectal speech in Russia, I have analysed the reader *Severnorusskie govory* 'Northern Russian dialects' (see: NRD 1991), which contains a collection of texts and a tape of the speech of Northern Russian dialect speakers. The auditive supplement facilitated the assessment of the prosodic contours of the texts. The collection includes 45 texts, by separate speakers, published on 113 pages. Altogether there were only four constructions with the genitive of personal possessor, all of which were in inverted word order. In two of them the inverted word order was pragmatically motivated, according to Lapteva and Zemskaja (section 3.1.1.), and inversion was a cue to upgrading prominence. In this collection, there were four tokens of a possessive adjective.

The present data

Returning to the data, of the 51 speakers of the non-dialect corpus, there were 11 who did not use genitive constructions, and of the 36 speakers of the dialect corpus (Kyyrölä Russians) there were 8 non-users. The rest of the dialect speakers (28 persons) used 103 genitive constructions with personal possessor, 12 with standard and 91 with inverse word order. The non-dialect speakers (40 persons) altogether used 141 genitive constructions, 83 with standard and 58 with inverse word order. There was a total of 244 tokens of genitive constructions. Those in which both the head and modifier were kinship terms were especially susceptible to inversion.

In all, the non-dialect speakers used 46 possessive adjectives, of which 11 possessive adjectives were used by those 11 persons who did not use genitive constructions. There are 127 possessive adjectives in the dialect sample. The 8 persons who did not use genitive constructions produced 12 possessive adjectives. In both corpora, the PAs used by the non-users of the genitive constructions were not shown in Table 5, since the present topic concerns only the items related to genitive construction. Thus, of 173 tokens there were 23 (11+12) which were not shown in the table.

The figures are shown in Table 5.

[7] I took into account all the possessive genitive constructions with a genitive kinship term or proper name, and also genitive constructions in which the genitive refers to a specified person who is familar to the speaker, even though it is not a kinship term or personal name, like *rodstvennik našego svjaščennika* 'a relative of our clergyman'.

Structures: / Speakers:	HM	MH	HM+MH	PA
non-dial. 40	83	58	141	35
dial. 28	12	91	103	115
Sum total:	95	149	244	150

Table 5. Total numbers of genitive constructions and possessive adjectives for 40 non-dialect and 28 dialect speakers.
Those standard word order genitive constructions in which the head precedes the modifier are indicated by the initials 'HM', and the inverse word order genitive constructions by 'MH'. The column 'HM+MH' shows the total number of genitive constructions. 'PA' stays for 'possessive adjective'.

In the case of Kyyrölä speakers, it is possible to connect gender and age to language competence. I have grouped the Kyyrölä speakers according to gender and the year of birth, so that men and women born 1900-1924 and 1925-1946 form four groups. By grouping, I hoped to shed light on the relationship between competence in Russian and the use of inverse word order in genitive constructions.

The inverse genitive sometimes contains the main information of the utterance and is prosodically prominent. These genitives will be called *focussed*[8]. The pre-head position of a focussed genitive can be considered to upgrade the salience of the genitive. Genitive inversion as a cue to prominence is used in CSR. Nevertheless, in the data we cannot be sure whether inversion is used by the speaker as a cue to prominence if not all of the inverse genitives of the speaker are focussed. For those speakers who use only inverse genitive constructions, and the number of the latter is considerable, inverse word order can be assumed to be unmarked. Table 6 shows the number of standard and inverse genitive constructions in the dialect corpus.

[8] The notion of *focussing* was defined in section 2.1.2., footnote 5.

Speaker		Word order			Percentage	
birth	gender	HM	MH (M focussed)	HM+MH	HM%	MH%
1916	F	1	8 (1)	9	11	89
1911b	F	0	7 (1)	7	0	100
1912	F	0	5	5	0	100
1903	F	0	3	3	0	100
1905a	F	1	1	2	50	50
1914	F	1	0	1	100	0
1917	F	0	1	1	0	100
1921	F	0	1	1	0	100
1929a	F	2	9 (5)	11	18	82
1935b	F	0	11 (2)	11	0	100
1938	F	1	0	1	100	0
1929b	F	2	2 (1)	4	50	50
1930	F	1	8 (2)	9	11	89
1928b	F	0	1 (1)	1	0	100
1932	F	0	1	1	0	100
1944	F	0	1	1	0	100
1928a	F	0	3 (1)	3	0	100
1935a	F	0	6 (1)	6	0	100
1916a	M	0	1	1	0	100
1910b	M	0	5 (2)	5	0	100
1911	M	0	1 (1)	1	0	100
1917	M	0	1	1	0	100
1921	M	2	0	2	100	0
1922b	M	0	5 (3)	5	0	100
1925	M	1	5 (3)	6	17	83
1927	M	0	1	1	0	100
1928	M	0	2	2	0	100
1946	M	0	2	2	0	100

Table 6. Genitive constructions used by dialect speakers
Those persons who did not use the genitive constructions in question are excluded. The speech samples are ordered into four groups according to the gender and age of the speakers. In the gender subcolumn 'F' stands for female and 'M' for male. Constructions with focussed genitives are included in the number of inverse word order constructions (subcolumn MH), and additionally the number of focussed genitives is shown in parentheses[9]. Thus, if the speaker used 8 inverse genitive constructions and one of them is focussed, this is indicated as '8(1)'. 'HM+MH' indicates the total number of genitive constructions. In the last column the percentages of standard and inverse constructions are shown.

Of 103 genitive constructions of the dialect sample (Kyyrölä Russians), there were 91 with inverse and 12 with standard word order. The eight women born between 1900 and 1924 used 3 standard and 26 inverse genitive constructions. The ten women born between 1925 and 1940 used 6 standard and 42 inverse

[9] In a few cases, the focus was somehow fuzzy. Namely, it was difficult to decide about utterances like *ego brata deti* 'his brother's children', in which both constituents are accented and the context does not yield any clear decision indicators. In such rare unclear cases, I did not mark the genitive as focussed.

word order NPs. The six men born between 1900 and 1924 used 2 standard and 13 inverse NPs. The four men born between 1925 and 1940 used one standard and 10 inverse genitive constructions. Thus, neither gender nor date of birth of Kyyrölä Russians seems to correlate with the number of inverse word order genitive constructions.

In the case of the non-dialect speakers, the backgrounds and sociolinguistic biographies do not correlate with their date of birth and gender as straightforwardly as in the case of the Kyyrölä Russians[10].

I have assessed the language competence of each speaker, and related it to the number of inverse word order genitive constructions used by this speaker. A competence assessment is provided on the basis of *what* the person tells the interviewer about his/her linguistic background, as well as on the basis of *how* s/he talks (the amount and types of interference in Russian, the amount of switching to the other-language and the demonstrated competence in the switched language(s)). The proficiency assessed this way is not based on the variable studied. In Table 7, the use of genitive constructions by non-dialect speakers is presented.

[10] The linguistic competence of the non-dialect corpus speakers depends, among other factors, on the status (immigrants/citizens of Finland) and prosperity of their parents, on the language(s) spoken in the family and on where they have lived. Further, language competence depends on the speaker's own family, on the kind of work a speaker has done and the degree of social vitality, that is, participation in Russian/Finnish/Swedish cultural, political, and charitable organisations.

Speakers			Word order		HM+MH	Percentage	
Birth	gender	LC	HM	MH		HM%	MH%
1892	M	Ru=Sw=Fi	0	7 (2)	7	0	100
1896b	F	Ru	2	0	2	100	0
1896d	F	Ru=Sw	0	1	1	0	100
1897	F	Ru	1	0	1	100	0
1898a	F	Ru=Sw	3	0	3	100	0
1898b	F	Ru=Sw	4	0	4	100	0
1900b	F	Ru=Sw	4	1 (1)	5	80	20
1900a	F	Ru=Sw	0	3 (2)	3	0	100
1905a	F	Ru=Fi	5	1 (1)	6	83	17
1905c	F	Ru=Sw	3	2	5	60	40
1905b	F	Ru=Sw=Fi	2	4	6	33	67
1906	F	Ru=Sw=Fi	0	4 (1)	4	0	100
1907	M	Ru=Fi	5	0	5	100	0
1907c	F	Ru=Sw	6	2	8	75	25
1908a	F	Ru	1	0	1	100	0
1908b	F	Ru	1	0	1	100	0
1908c	F	Ru	2	1	3	67	33
1908	M	Ru=Fi	1	1 (1)	2	50	50
1910b	F	Ru=Sw	11	0	11	100	0
1912	M	Ru=Fi	1	1 (1)	2	50	50
1913a	F	Ru=Fi	4	1	5	80	20
1914b	F	Ru=Fi=Sw	0	2	2	0	100
1915b	F	Ru=Fi	1	1 (1)	2	50	50
1916d	M	Ru=Fi	6	0	6	100	0
1916b	F	Ru=Fi	0	1	1	0	100
1917	F	Ru	1	2 (1)	3	33	67
1918	M	Ru=Fi	2	0	2	100	0
1918b	F	Ru=Sw	4	3	7	57	43
1920d	F	Ru=Fi=Sw	1	0	1	100	0
1920a	M	Ru=Fi	2	0	2	100	0
1920a	F	Ru=Fi=Sw	0	2 (1)	2	0	100
1920b	F	Sw=Ru	0	1 (1)	1	0	100
1927b	F	Ru=Fi	0	8 (5)	8	0	100
1929	F	Ru=Fi	0	7 (1)	7	0	100
1936	F	Ru=Sw	1	1	2	50	50
1937b	M	Ru=Sw=Fi	1	0	1	100	0
1953	M	Fi	1	0	1	100	0
1965a	M	Fi	2	0	2	100	0
1967	F	Fi	3	0	3	100	0
1968b	M	Fi	2	1 (1)	3	67	33
TOTAL			83	58	141		

Table 7. Genitive constructions used by the non-dialect speakers.
The structure of Table 7 is the same as that of Table 6. Additionally, the language competence of the speakers is shown in the column LC (language competence). All persons speak at least some Finnish, even if this language is not marked as dominant or balanced with Russian. 'Ru' stands for Russian, 'Fi' for Finnish, and 'Sw' for Swedish. Balanced bilingualism is marked as Ru=Fi or Ru=Sw.

The non-dialect speakers use 58 inversely and 83 standardly ordered genitive constructions. As in the case of the dialect speakers, there is no direct correlation between the use of inverse word order and the language competence of the speakers. Constructions occurring frequently were the inverse genitive constructions of speakers F1927b (8 genitive constructions), F1929 (7 constructions), and M1892 (7 constructions). These speakers did not use standard word order constructions. They are balanced bilinguals, and all speak Russian well. Female informants F1927b and F1929 spoke Russian with their relatives. There was almost no interference in their speech. Informant M1892 claimed not to have spoken Russian at all for forty years; nevertheless, his daughter spoke Russian, apparently having learnt it from her father, since her mother was Swedish-speaking. He often switched to Swedish or Finnish, but easily reverted to Russian.

Thus, both dialect and non-dialect speakers used inverse word order genitive constructions, but it was the Kyyrölä Russians who used them pervasively. Out of 28 Kyyrölä speakers, 10 used at least five inverse genitive but no standard constructions. Of 40 non-dialect speakers, there were only 3 such persons.

Charts 1-3 below show the upgrading salience of the various figures characteristic of the two speech samples. Charts 1 and 2 demonstrate the percentage of MH and HM ordered genitive constructions in dialect and non-dialect speech samples, respectively. The percentages should be treated with caution, because the same percentage figure often refers to different absolute figures. Nevertheless, the percentage charts show that the tendency to use inverse word order constructions varied greatly between the two groups of speakers.

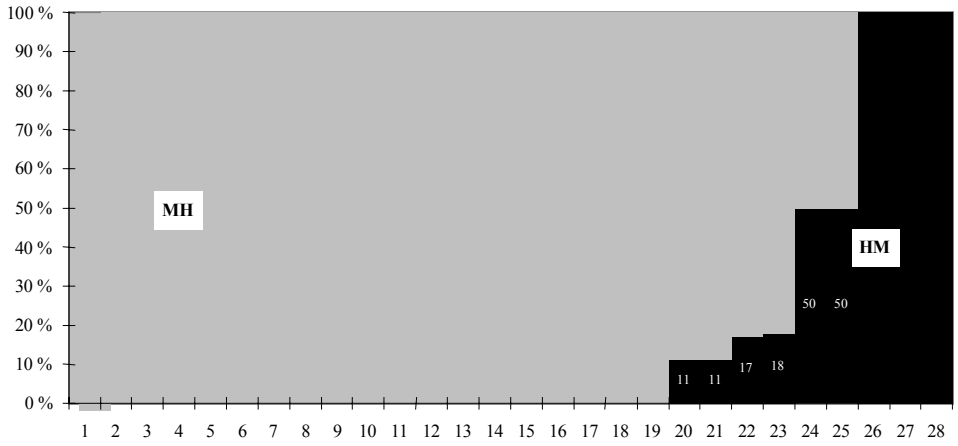

Chart 1. MH and HM ordered genitive constructions in dialect speech as percentages.
The Y axis indicates the percentage, and the X axis the speakers. The lightly shaded area shows inversely ordered constructions, and the dark area standardly ordered constructions.

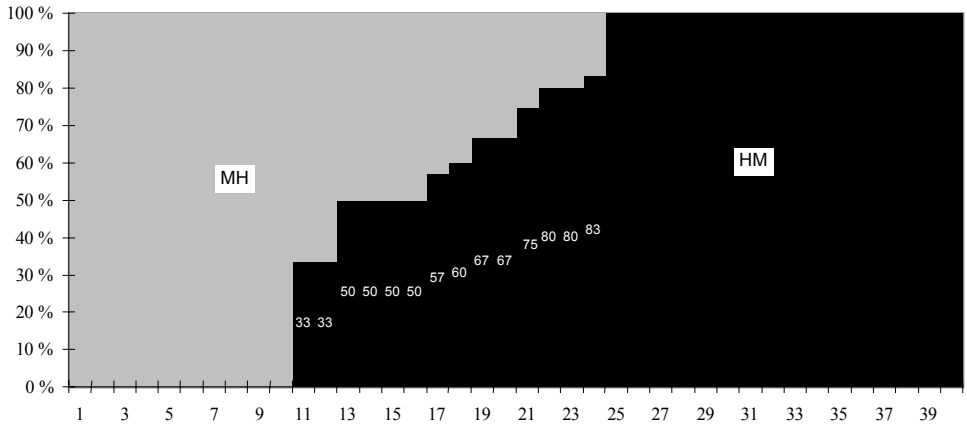

Chart 2. MH and HM ordered genitive constructions in non-dialect speech as percentages.
The Y axis indicates the percentage, and the X axis the speakers. The lightly shaded area shows inversely ordered constructions, and the dark area standardly ordered constructions.

In Kyyrölä speech (Chart 1), the lightly shaded area (inverse order constructions) dominates. Nineteen speakers used only inversely ordered genitive constructions. Four persons (steps 20-23) used both, but standard genitive constructions account for only 11%, 11%, 17 % and 18% of the total respectively. In the speech of two persons (steps 24-25) the numbers of inverse and standard genitive constructions were equal. In the speech of the next 3 persons (steps 26-28) only standard constructions were used.

In Chart 2, the lightly shaded area (inverse order constructions) is smaller than the dark area. Out of 40 speakers, 10 used inverse constructions only (steps 1-10). The next two speakers (steps 11-12) used both standard and inverse constructions, with the latter prevailing (67%). In the case of the next 12 persons (steps 13-24), the number of inverse constructions did not exceed the number of standard constructions. In the speech of the remaining 16 persons (steps 25-40), only standard constructions were used.

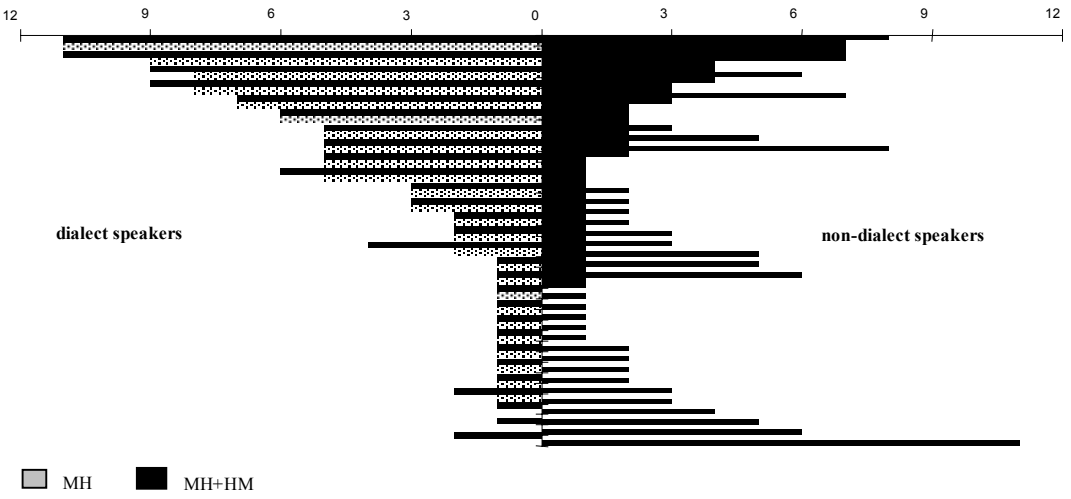

Chart 3. Number of MH ordered genitive constructions compared to total number of the genitive constructions in both corpora.

In Chart 3, the numbers of standard and inverse genitive constructions are compared between the two groups of speakers. One interval between two adjacent division points of the Y axis accounts for one speaker. There are two chains of division points, on the left (dialect speakers) and on the right (non-dialect speakers) of the Y axis. On the left-hand side, the intervals, or steps, are longer, because there are fewer Kyyrölä speakers than non-dialect speakers. The X axis shows the number of genitive constructions. The grey bars represent the number of inverse constructions. The black bars represent the number of genitive constructions as a whole. The genitive constructions of the dialect speakers are shown on the left and the genitive constructions of non-dialect speakers on the right of the Y axis. Every interval on the left or the right of the Y axis contains a black bar, since everyone used some genitive constructions, MH ordered, or HM ordered, or both. If there is also a grey bar within an interval, this means that the speaker in question used MH ordered constructions. The difference in the length of the black bar and the grey bar within the same interval shows the number of HM ordered constructions the speaker used. If the grey bar and the black bar within an interval are of the same length, then this speaker used MH ordered genitive constructions only.

The figures of MH constructions (grey bars) were arranged in descending order from top to bottom. Subordinately to this descending order, the figures of the total (black bars) were arranged in ascending order from top to bottom. As a result, from two intervals with an equal MH number, the interval with the smaller total number is higher on the Y axis.

On the left of the Y axis (Kyyrölä speakers), the grey bars (MH numbers) and the black bars (the total number of the genitive constructions) become shorter according to approximately the same pattern. This demonstrates that, in the dialect speech, the number of inverse genitive constructions is, by and large, close to the total number of constructions, and thus the inverse constructions are overwhelming in this corpus. On the right of the Y axis (non-dialect speakers), each stage of decrease of the grey bars is met by a wave of increase in black bars, and in the bottom section, many intervals have no grey bars at all. This picture re-

flects the fact that, in non-dialect speech, the HM ordered constructions to some degree outweigh the MH ordered genitive constructions.

To sum up, the charts demonstrate the percentage and absolute outnumbering of the inverse word order over the standard one in the dialect corpus and the opposite proportion in the non-dialect corpus.

3.2.2. Qualitative analysis

Conversational and syntactic context

In the following, I demonstrate conversational and syntactic contexts that seem to favour inverse genitive constructions.

In extract (44)[11], F_2 completes the story about her neighbour's daughter (line 01). Apparently supposing that F_3's mark of agreement (line 02) is all she wanted to say, F_1 introduces the second story (line 03), related to the preceding one. But F_3 has not yet finished her response and, overlapping with F_1's turn, continues with an assessment (line 04).

(44)

F_1=F1920a, her husband, F_3=F1949, and F_2=1916a, the mother of F_3

01 F_2 *i takaja horošen'kaja, i takaja veSËlen'kaja!*
and ((she is)) so sweet, and so cheerful!
02 F_3 *mhm;*
03 F_1 *a:* ee *naši kogda byli v Sto[kgol'me*,
and *er* ours when were in S[tockholm
04 F_3 *[nu konešno horošo; tol'ko spit.*
[of course ((that's)) fine; ((she)) just sleeps.
05 F_1 *da, v Stok/gol'me byli i (.) tam devočke dva mesjaca*
yes, in Stock/holm were and (.) there is a two month old girl.
'So, ours have been in Stockholm, and there was a two month old girl.'
06 F_3 *[o:!*
oh!
07 F_1 [*oni pojehali smotret' kak raz* ee*Martina* ee *dru\zej* *[devočku*;
[they went to look just *er* Martin.GEN *er* \friends.GEN [girl.ACC;
'they just went to look at Martin's \friends' daughter'
08 F_3 *[mhm*
09 F_1 *i - ona govorit što ej prosto strašno bylo eë na ruki brat';*
and she ((F_1's daughter)) says she was afraid even to take the baby in her arms
10 *potomu što ona UŽE uspela zabyt' kakov takoj malen'kij rebënok.*
Because she had ALREADY forgotten what such tiny babies look like.

F_1 repeats the orientation of the story[12] (1st half of line 05). Through introducing a little girl (2nd half of line 05) she demonstrates that, by its topic, her second story is related to the first one, told by F_2. F_3 indicates her alignment to the new

[11] This extract is taken from a tape-recorded conversation, and not from an interview. There was no interviewer present, and the tape-recording was provided by a participant.

[12] The notion of 'story orientation' is in line with Labov (1972a: 363, 364).

story (line 06). F_1 provides the background of the story (line 07), organising the information to be the most explicit and accessible to the recipients. Production problems, one short pause in line 05 and two hesitation markers in line 07, manifest the information-organising process. Explaining to the recipients who is the 'girl', the speaker determines this item with the chain of genitive modifiers:

(45)

a.

[[Martina	*druzej]NP1*	*devočku]NP2*
[[Martin.GEN	friends.GEN$^{H1]NP1=M2}$	girl.ACC^{H2}]^{NP2}

b.

ITEM:	INFORMATIONAL STATUS:
'Martin'	known, activated;
'friends'	new, non-activated;
'girl'	unknown for recipients, highly activated.

In (45)a, in the noun phrase 1 (NP1), 'Martin'.GEN modifies 'friends'.GEN. This noun phrase is the modifier of 'girl', the head in the noun phrase 2 (NP2). 'Martin' is known to the recipients and is activated through being mentioned by F_1 prior to the extract. 'Friends.GEN' is unknown to the recipients and non-activated. 'Girl' is activated, since it was just mentioned, but unknown, and needs defining. The degree of activation is shown in (45)b. The item 'friends'.GEN is prosodically the most prominent in the phrase. The focussed status of this item is emphasised by the minimal response of F_3 (line 08), introduced immediately after 'friends.GEN'. The inversion of this genitive is a cue for upgrading prominence. The determining modifier 'Martin.GEN' also precedes its head, although it is not focussed. Nevertheless, this inversion also seems to be based on pragmatic grounds: the recipients get better access to the new item when it is pre-determined by the known one. The determiner is required in the head-preceding position, especially because 'friends' is a relational term, and it is semantically incomplete without the indication of the possessor. Pre-determining a new item which is a relational term with the known activated term is a conversationally attractive action, especially in conversational structures whose main task is to provide an explanation.

From the point of view of linear syntactic organisation, the inversion of one genitive is apparently conducive to the inversion of another. The item 'girl' is modified by the endocentric genitive construction 'Martin.GEN friends.GEN' in NP2. As a result of the inverse word order in NP1, the modifier of NP2 is adjacent to its head. For components of the same structure, an adjacent position is apparently preferable to a distant one[13]. Thus, the inversion in (44) is based on the pragmatic requirements.

It also seems convenient for the speaker to start with the item most familiar to him/her and to determine with this item the next, less familiar one. This is especially noticeable when the speaker constructs multigenitive chains of kinship relations. In the data, the speaker often puts genitives in pre-head position when

[13] With the modifier 'Martin' following its head, 'friends', the possessor 'friends' and possessee 'girl' would be in the distant position: *druzej Martina devočku,* which is acceptable only as a refutation of *Martina devočku* (not the daughter of Martin but the daughter of friends of Martin).

reconstructing complicated kin relationships. The first genitive refers to the closest relative, and the genitive chain unfolds in order of increasing distance of kinship. In extract (46), F reconstructs complicated kin relationships. The chain is preceded with *značit tak što* 'it is so that', a pause and inhalation (line 04), which mark the following as an explanatory self-repair, the aim of which is to complete the proceding turn (line 01). In the genitive chain, F refers to her husband first (line 04) and then repairs this with the 'mother-in-law' (line 05). The closest relative, 'husband', comes to mind first, so that the subsequent kinship, 'mother-in-law', is next to 'husband' and based on 'husband'. Thus, this speech error manifests a tendency to refer to the closest item first. The next item in the chain, 'cousin.GEN', is based on 'mother-in-law' and refers to a more remote relation of the speaker. The final item, 'wife', the head of the genitive phrase, refers to the most remote connection. The chain is construed so that the next kinship term is based on the one before it.

(46)

dial. F1939b and IR_{m3}

01 F	*u menja byla gostja zdes';*	*u menja gos[ti-*
	I had a guest here;	she was vi[sit-
02 IR		*[vy priglasili ix?*
		[you have invited them, haven't you?
03 F	*da, priglašala.*	
	yes, I have.	
04	*èto byla značit tak što (.) ((inhales)) moeva*[14] *(.) /muža,*	
	she was that is so that (.) ((inhales)) my (.) /husband.GEN,	
05	*ali skazat' moej svekrovi,*	*dvojurodnovo brata žena.*
	or to say my mother-in-law.GEN,	cousin.GEN wife.
04-05	'she was my husband's or so to speak my mother-in-law's cousin's wife.'	

The linear order of the genitives reflects the order of the kin distance of their referents to the speaker. In other words, the possession relationships increase in alienability from left to right. The alienability of possession is related to the speaker and not to the referent of the syntactic possessor, the head of the multi-genitive chain, 'wife'.

So far, two participant-relevant tendencies have been noted that can lead to the inversion of the genitive modifier. Firstly, a genitive determiner, which is activated, can precede the head, which is new information, to provide easy access to the latter for the recipients. Secondly, the speaker advances towards distant kinship relations pre-determining them with a chain of genitives, which starts with the referent of the closest kin relation and develops in the direction of the increasing of the kin distance. The second tendency is linked to the first: the closest relative to the speaker is often the most easily accessible to the recipient(s).

In the data, the usual conversational context of the inverse word order genitive construction is a self-repair and explanatory side-sequence, as in extracts (44) and (46). These sequences are specially designed to upgrade the recipients' understanding. At the level of surface syntax, the inversion of one genitive in the genitive chain is conducive to the inversion of the other genitive(s).

[14] The form *moeva* with stressed final *-a* is a dialectal form for standard *moevo.*

Extract (47) demonstrates a *syntactic* context, wherein the inversion of the genitive is preferred. This is the syntactic structure of the relative clause, with the relative pronoun in the genitive.

(47)

F1906 (her husband and IR_{f3} are present)

on byl ženat na mm *(.) takaja Vasiljevoj,*
he was married to *mm* such.NOM Vasiljeva.LOC,

kotoroj	*otec*	*byl*	*russkij,*	*a mat'*	*švedka.*
which.fem.GEN	father	was.masc	Russian,	and mother	Swedish.

'he was married to a certain Vasiljeva ((SnameF)), whose father was a Russian and whose mother was Swedish.'

In the genitive construction *kotoroj otec* 'whose father', the genitive precedes the head. This inversion facilitates the contiguous position of the relative pronoun and its head, the proper name *Vasiljevoj*, in the main clause. The relative pronoun is a modifier in the two noun phrases, *Vasiljevoj kotoroj* 'Vasiljeva.LOC whose' and *kotoroj otec* 'whose father'. The head of the first noun phrase, *Vasiljevoj,* is coreferential with the relative pronoun and attracts the latter to a contiguous position (Haiman 1985: 239). There are a few occurrences in both the dialectal and non-dialectal corpora in which a relative pronoun in the genitive precedes its head.

Grammaticalisation

In the dialect corpus, there are speech samples in which the inverse genitive construction seems to be used in all conversational and syntactic contexts. In the following extract, four out of five of the genitive constructions (all in the inverse order) used by dial. F1912 are presented.

(48)

dial. F1912 and IR_{f1}

a.

no	*muža*	*papa*	*i*	*mama*
but	husband.GEN	father	and	mother

govorili horošo po-russki ---
spoke.Pl well Russian ---
'But my husband's father and mother spoke Russian well'

b.

no	*ja*	*ujehala*	*k*	*muža*	*sestre*	*v*	*P.*
PRT	I	went	to	husband.GEN	sister.DAT	to	P. ((Pname))

'I went to my husband's sister in P.'

c.

i togda ja byla v P., s synom,
and then I was in P. ((Pname)), with ((my)) son,
u muža sestry.
at husband.GEN sister.GEN
'Then my son and I stayed at my husband's sister's, in P.'

d.
--- *my rastili nemnoško zem- goda dva naverno,*
--- we grew straw- about two years,
s *muža ž- (.)* *mamoj,* *zemljaNIku,*
with husband.GEN mother.INS, STRAWberry,
i ja hodila letom prodavat'
and I went to sell it in summer
'For about two years my mother-in-law and I grew strawberries, and I sold them in the summer.'

In (48)a, the genitive is not salient, although the head is: the reference to 'father and mother' is contrasted to I-protagonist, who was earlier said not to speak Finnish (cf. the utterance-initial 'but' and emphasised *mama* 'mother'). In (48)b-d, the inversion occurs in the prepositional phrases. The preposition assigns the case to the head of the genitive construction. Usually the preposition is contiguous with the item to which it assigns the case. Only an agreeing modifier can intervene. In (48)b-d, genitives intervene between their heads and prepositions. Such a position of the genitive is highly marked, and this markedness has no pragmatic explanation.

In the corpus of non-dialect speech, there are 5 prepositional phrases in which the preposition assigns the case to the head of the inverse genitive construction (three of them by the speaker F1927b), and in all of these constructions the genitive is prosodically more prominent than the head. The genitives in extracts (48)b-d are not prominent.

In (48)c the head is in the genitive too. The prepositional phrase can be understood as 'at the sister's husband's', and the probability of ambiguity does not seem to exist for the speaker. Thus, the position of the pre-head genitive of the personal modifier is considered by this speaker to be unmarked.

Double genitive

A partial homophony between the Finnish genitive marker and the Russian possessive adjective marker triggers off a double genitive. In the data, there are three cases in which the Finnish genitive marker seems to apply to a Russian substantive, as in extract (49):

(49)
dial. F1930 (her mother and IR_{fl})
da voobšče vse govorjat što *\mater-i-**n**,* *veru* *nado.*
And generally all say that \mother.GEN_{Ru}**GEN_{Fi}** $religion_{fem}$ACC should be
'Everybody says that the \mother's faith should be chosen for the child.'

The modifier *materin* 'mother's' ends in *-in,* and thus it can be a non-agreeing possessive adjective (in the form of the masculine singular). The agreeing form should be in the feminine accusative: *materin-u*. Nevertheless, in the speech of this informant, all the other PAs agreed with their feminine heads. The form *materin* seems to be a double, Russian-Finnish, genitive. The Russian genitive form *mater-i* is joined with the Finnish genitive marker *-n* according to the following schema:

(50)

mat'	>	*mater-i*	>	*mater-i-**n***
mother.NOM		mother.GEN_{Ru}		mother.GEN_{Ru}**GEN_{Fi}**

Although the modifier is focussed, this focussing apparently is not the reason of the inversion of the genitive, because this speaker uses eight inverted genitive constructions, of which only two have a focussed genitive modifier. The pre-head position of the genitive is unmarked in Finnish. In the extract (49), the Finnish genitive marker, which is final in the word under consideration, shapes the form and thus determines the pre-head position of the modifier in the surface structure.

The homophony and overlap of the categorial meanings of the two suffixes increase the probability of the double genitive structures. The ease of replacement of one suffix with the other accelerates the change of the word order in the constructions under consideration.

3.3. Conclusions

3.3.1. Starting point: singular specific personal possessor; inalienable possession

In modern Russian, a genitive which refers to a specified personal possessor is most prone to change its position in response to pragmatic requirements. This phenomenon is at least partially due to the high ranking of specific personal possessors in the empathy hierarchy (DeLancey 1981). A genitive with a specific personal referent easily acquires focussed status, which is why it can take a marked, phrase initial, position as a cue to upgrading prominence. In addition to focussed position, there are other conversational and syntactic contexts favouring the inverse position of this genitive. The mobility of the specific personal genitive makes it especially susceptible to changing its position in a language contact situation where in the other-language the pre-head position of the genitive is rigid.

A specific personal possessor typically indicates inalienable possession. In many languages inalienable and alienable possession are expressed in different ways. Some European languages manifest structural opposition between an alienable and an inalienable kind of possession (Koptjevskaja-Tamm: forthcoming, a). The same evidence has been provided from languages spoken on other continents (Haiman 1985: 130-136). John Haiman (ibid.) and Johanna Nichols (1992: 116-23) point to the iconicity of possessive constructions, i.e., that the formal distance between possessor and possessee often corresponds to the conceptual distance between them. In modern Russian, the singular specific personal possessor is the only one which can be expressed with a possessive adjective. In addition to being singular, specific and personal, such a possessor is also familiar. Familiarity *per se* underlines close connection. The noun phrase with possessive adjective as a modifier indicates an inalienable possession. A possessive adjective agrees with its head and, thus, it can be considered to stay syntactically closer to the head than a non-agreeing modifier. As a general rule for the Russian noun phrase, the pre-head modifier can be considered as being closer to its head

than the post-head modifier, because the pre-head position is associated with an agreeing modifier.

Differing from other adjectives in its semantics and declension, the possessive adjective stays close to the category of noun and can be associated with the genitive of specific personal possessor. In contact situations with rigid genitive-head word order in the superordinate language, the inversion of the Russian genitive of personal possessor acquires an additional support in the pre-head position of the adjective. The partial homophony between the Finnish genitive marker *-n* and the marker of the Russian possessive adjective in masculine singular form *-in* contributes to analogy between the genitive and the category of possessive adjective. As a consequence of this contact, an increasing use of possessive adjectives in the contacting Russian can be expected.

3.3.2. Genitive of inalienable personal possession in the data

In the present data the inverse word order was observed in the genitive constructions of the personal possessor and not in the other types of genitive noun phrases. In some cases the inversion has pragmatic and syntactic motivations.

Self-repair and explanatory sequences form the usual conversational context of inversion. The pre-head position of the genitive of an activated item whose referent is unknown to the recipients serves as a cue of the focussing of this item. An inverse genitive modifier with the activated familiar referent provides easy access to the head, the new information.

Reconstructing a complicated kin relationship, the speaker often resorts to an inverse genitive chain which is iconic with the order of the kin distance of their referents to this speaker, starting with the closest kin relation and basing on this the next referent. The pre-head position of one genitive induces the inversion of other genitives. This strategy is also recipient-orientated: the closest relative to the speaker is often the most easily accessible to the recipient(s).

To sum up, the speaker uses the inverse genitive to upgrade the accessibility of the information delivered by the genitive phrase. This motivation also accounts for the speaker's constructing the kin chain from the nearest to the farthest kin term, in cognitively the most acceptable order.

A syntactic context very attractive for the inversion appears to be that with a relative pronoun in the genitive. The relative pronoun tends to occur contiguously with the co-referential head in the main clause and consequently, being a genitive modifier, the pronoun precedes its head in the relative clause. The model is as follows:

(51)

a. CSR, standard word order
X *Y* *kotorogo*
X Y which.GEN

b. Inversion
X *kotorogo* Y
X which.GEN Y
'X whose Y'
$[[X_{H1}\ which_{M1=M2}]_{NP1}\ Y_{H2}]_{NP2}$

In (51)b, H1 and M1 are the head and modifier of the noun phrase 1, and H2 and M2 those of the noun phrase 2. This contiguous position of the head and modifier in the noun phrase 1 is in line with the prediction of Haiman (1985: 239 and 253), according to whom relative pronouns will be attracted to the head noun phrase.

The pragmatic and syntactic motivations of the inversion which were noticed in the data can lead to the occasional inversion of the genitive in colloquial contemporary Russian, too. Pragmatic flexibility *per se* is system-shattering. Having appeared frequently enough, the inverse word order will lose its markedness and, consequently, its potential for serving as a pragmatic cue. The Finnish and Swedish patterns with rigid pre-head genitives are linguistically stronger than the Russian pattern of unmarked post-head genitive, amenable to pragmatic inversion. In some speech samples of the dialect corpus the pre-head genitive of the personal possessor has acquired an unmarked status, which means a tendency toward grammaticalisation of this position[15]. Fixation of the personal genitive in the pre-head position will follow. Grammaticalising of the pre-head genitive of personal possessor will lead to the grammatical division within the determining genitive on a semantic basis.

3.3.3. Differences between the two corpora

The speakers of the dialect corpus (Kyyrölä Russians) mainly use inverse constructions with the genitive of personal possessor. The situation in the non-dialect corpus, if can be generalised at all, is far from this stage. There are both extralinguistic and linguistic reasons for this inter-group difference.

During its comparatively long-term adstratic contact with Finnish, Kyyrölä Russian converged toward Finnish in overlapping points of grammar. An additional source for the inversion of the genitive of personal possessor can be found in an inherent dialect feature of Kyyrölä Russian. Namely, Kyyrölä Russians use many more possessive adjectives than non-dialect Russians (127 and 46). Narrow in CSR, the sphere of use of possessive adjectives has been much better retained in Russian dialects (Kuz'mina 1993: 39-43). Thus, the extensive use of possessive adjectives in Kyyrölä Russian is not a phenomenon of interference *per se*, although Finnish has perhaps reinforced this feature. The word order of the Finnish genitive constructions coincides with the word order of the Russian PA noun phrases. The possessive adjective can be associated with the genitive. The partial homophony between the Finnish genitive marker and the marker of the Russian possessive adjective in the form of masculine singular marker can trigger double genitive formations thus supporting the pattern of the inverse word order[16]. In some dialect samples, the inverse genitive of the personal possessor has been observed to have become unmarked and, thus, close to being grammaticalised.

---

[15] Word order can be considered to be a part of the grammaticalisation processes in the broad meaning of the term (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 50-51).

[16] This analogy affects the word order, but does not touch the gender agreement. As the data analysis has confirmed, in Kyyrölä Russian, the PA agrees with the head noun in number, gender and case.

In the non-dialect corpus, there also are three persons who frequently used inverse genitives of personal possessor and did not use standard word order constructions. These persons are balanced bilinguals (one of them is trilingual) with high proficiency in both, or in in all three, languages. Balanced bilingualism and the habitual use of the two languages can be supposed to be favourable conditions for convergence.

3.3.4. Similarities with Polish

A process similar to that under study can be found in émigré Polish. In most Slavonic languages, adnominal possession is expressed by a possessive adjective. Russian and Polish use genitive constructions.

As a particular example of syntactic interference through imitation, Ronald Sussex (1993: 1019-20) mentions "copies of English word order in structures like preposed possessives in émigré Polish: *mojej siostry tata* 'my sister's father' (standard Polish: *tata mojej siostry*)." (ibid.: 1020.) It is worth noticing that both the modifier and the head in the example are kin terms. On the other hand, in the same book, reviewing Poland Polish, Robert Rothstein (1993: 747) points out that "in spoken Polish genitive expressions of possession are sometimes preposed, especially when the noun refers to a person: *naszego kolegi siostra* 'our friend's sister'." Rothstein does not discuss the contexts of the inversions. Thus, what is in émigré Polish is indicated as interference, appears to be characteristic of Polish spoken in Poland. It seems that in Polish too, the word order in a possessive genitive construction with a specific personal possessor is more flexible than the word order in other genitive constructions. That is why in diaspora Polish the genitive of the specific personal possessor becomes relatively easily fixed in a pre-head position under the influence of the fixed pre-head order in the superordinate language.

Interestingly enough, the inverse genitive of the relative pronoun, formalised in (51), has received its grammatical expression in modern standard Polish, where the relative pronoun in the genitive always precedes its head, although in other cases, the unmarked position of the genitive, as in Russian, follows the head. Thus, in Polish, the splitting of the genitive position is a consequence of the requirements of linear syntactic structure.

3.3.5. Internal and external factors

Thus, the potential for change in the construction in question is present in the internal system of Russian, and this potential may be triggered by contact related factors. Previous research on language contact has shown that the changes in a subordinate language can be attributed not only to the influence of a superordinate language but, and in some types of language contact to a more considerable degree, also to the internal development of the subordinate language itself (Dorian 1978 & 1981; Silva-Corvalán 1986; Romaine 1989). In a consideration of the extension of the verb *estar* in Los Angeles Spanish, Carmen Silva-Corvalán (1986: 587) concludes that "language contact tends to accelerate internally motivated changes in the system of the less-used language." The results of the present research concur with this finding, and they support the hypothesis that

structures susceptible to pragmatic-semantic variation change first in a language contact situation.

On the other hand, language-internal motivation is not enough for the change, which is ultimately determined by the social factors. These are the type and length of the language contact, as well as the tightness of the networks within the subordinate speech community. If the speakers' group does not form a speech community, an individual's social history should be examined to explain 'interference' in the speech of this individual. Internal and external motivations do not necessarily exist in dichotomy relationship (cf. Dorian 1993), but undergo a complicated interplay before resulting in contact-induced changes.

4. THE RUSSIAN GENITIVE AND THE FINNISH PARTITIVE OF SUBJECT AND OBJECT

The use of the genitive in Russian and the partitive in Finnish as subject and object is the focus of this chapter, which consists of two parts. In the first, I will compare the use of the Finnish partitive and the Russian genitive as subject and object in synchrony and diachrony. I will also indicate differences between Standard Russian on the one hand and Russian dialects on the other. On the basis of this triangular comparison I will estimate the degree of overlap and the linguistic premises for further contact-induced convergence. In the second part of the chapter, I will analyse the genitive as subject and object in the dialect and non-dialect corpus.

Gustaf Renvall was the first to mention the parallelism between the expression of partiality in the Russian genitive and the Finnish partitive of object in his doctoral dissertation *De signi relationum nominalium in lingua Fennica* (1815). This is mentioned by Vahros (1959: 269), who compared the use of the Russian genitive and the Finnish partitive as cases of subject and object. In his paper, Vahros elucidated to some extent dialectal and diachronic use of the Russian genitive. Synchronic use of the Russian genitive and Finnish partitive as subject and object are also compared in the paper of Dahl and Karlsson (1976).

4.1. The Finnish partitive and the Russian genitive in contemporary standard use

4.1.1. The Finnish partitive and the Russian genitive assigned by external quantifier

The morphology of the Finnish partitive

The ending of the Finnish partitive is *-(t)A* in the singular and *-i-(t)A, -(j)A* in the plural (Karlsson 1983: 279, 282). In (52) the production of partitive is illustrated.

(52)

	NOM.Sg	PAR Sg	PAR Pl
askel	'step'	*askel-ta*	*askel-i-a*
lattia	'floor'	*lattia-a*	*lattio-i-ta*
vene	'boat'	*venet-tä*	*vene-i-tä*
suo	'swamp'	*suo-ta*	*so-i-ta*
kieli	'language, tongue'	*kiel-tä*	*kiel-i-ä*
muna	'egg'	*muna-a*	*mun-i-a*
mela	'paddle'	*mela-a*	*melo-j-a*
hylly	'shelf'	*hylly-ä*	*hylly-j-ä*

The variations in partitive markers are morphophonemic and have no bearing to the meaning.

The morphology of the Russian genitive

According to their declensional type, Russian nouns are formally divided into three *declension*s, which are shown in (53):

(53)

mama 'mother'
nož 'knife$_{masc}$'
dom 'house, building$_{masc}$'
pole 'field$_{neut}$'
vremja 'time$_{neut}$'
noč' 'night$_{fem}$'

	1. declension:	2. declension:	3. declension:*
NOM	*nož-ø, dom-ø, pol-e*	*mam-a*	*noč'-ø, vremj-a*
Sg.GEN	*nož-a, dom-a, polj-a*	*mam-y*	*noč-i, vremen-i*
Pl.GEN	*nož-ej, dom-ov, pol-ej*	*mam-ø*	*noč-ej, vremen-ø*

* In addition to feminines, The 3rd declension includes 11 neutral nouns ending in *-mja,* the neutral *ditja* 'child' and the masculine *put'* 'way'.

Additionally, certain 1st declension masculine nouns have a genitive singular *-u* form, a so-called second genitive, which is sometimes used in quantificational and certain other constructions. In the 1900s its use rapidly diminisheds (Comrie et al. 1996: 124-25). In CSR, although the second genitive seems to be lexicalised in certain prepositional expressions, even in these the variation of *-u* and *-a* forms often occurs, for instance *s golod-u* and *s golod-a* 'out of hunger' (Graudina et. al 1976: 122), *dlja vid-u* and *dlja vid-a* 'for form's sake, for the sake of appearances' (Molotkov 1978: 66).

In many cases the second genitive produces the effect of a colloquial style (Zemskaja 1987: 116), creating an atmosphere of intimacy. I suppose that this is the reason for the second genitive being the most persistent in the diminutive forms of the masculines:

(54)

Kon'jak 'cognac' > *kon'jač-ok.dim.>kon'jač-k-u/a.dim.GEN*
Usually used:
a) *Nalit' kon'jak-a.GEN?*
b) *Nalit' kon'jač-k-u.dim.GEN?*
'Would you like some cognac?'

In the formulae of the offer of some cognac, the *-a* genitive for the non-diminutive form, (54)a, and the *-u* genitive for the diminutive one, (54)b, are more to be expected.

In certain locative prepositional phrases, e.g., *íz domu* and *iz dóma,* the first and second genitives used to have semantic differences (Šanskaja 1979: 199), which are gradually becoming too subtle for the common contemporary speaker.

Comparative constructions

The Finnish partitive and Russian genitive originate from the ablative, the case of separation and differentiation, indicating that the referent does not participate in the situation signalled in the utterance. This ablative meaning is perceptible in

many ways in the contemporary use of these cases[1]. For instance, both cases are used in comparative constructions:

(55)

a. Finnish:
Liisa on Pekkaa vanhempi.
Lisa is Pekka.PAR older.

b. Russian:
Liza starše Peti.
Lisa older Pete.GEN.
'Lisa is older than Pete.'

In addition to Russian, *genetivus comparationis* is also used in other Slavic languages[2].

External overt quantification

Having inherently belonged to formal logic, the notion of *quantifier* is also exploited in formal semantics, within which it has been profoundly discussed (see, e.g., J. van Eijck 1994: 3423-29). According to Lyons (1977: 455), who is concerned with those quantifiers that combine with a noun phrase, "a quantifier tells us how many entities or how much substance is being referred to". This is the starting point for understanding the quantifier in the following discussion, in which the core meaning of the quantifier, 'how many', 'how much', is preserved, but, nevertheless, the quantifier is supposed to be wider in scope than merely the determiner of a noun phrase. Those cases will also be discussed in which quantificational meaning is interspersed in the prosody, or in word morphology.

In both languages there are elements which overtly quantify an NP. These lexical (i.e., expressed with lexical items) external quantifiers govern the NP assigning the partitive (Finnish) and genitive (Russian) to its head. Typical quantifiers are numerals. In addition to numerals, there are other lexical items or expressions that quantify the governee by assigning it the partitive/genitive and that measure parameters other than number, e.g., weight, volume, length, etc., or assess the amount imprecisely, in other words, open-quantify the amount of the referent, or indicate a part of the whole. Between the two languages there are some differences in the grammatical number of the governee. In Russian, the numerals which end 11-19 and numerals which end in five, six, seven, eight, nine and zero govern the genitive plural, numerals which end in two, three, and four govern the genitive singular, and the numerals which end in one govern the nominative singular. In Finnish the form *monta.*PAR (of *moni.*NOM) 'many' is used only with countable nouns and governs the partitive singular, while *paljon* 'much' governs the partitive plural of countable nouns and the partitive singular of uncountable nouns. Consider the following examples:

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[1] In some Finnish dialects, the elative is used, for instance, with verbs of striving and separation which govern the partitive in standard Finnish (Hakulinen 1979: 535).

[2] In Polish, the prepositional phrase *ot* 'from'+*GEN* expresses the ablative meaning (Vahros 1959: 270, fn. 5).

(56)

Russian	Finnish
a. dva/tri/četyre stula	*kaksi/kolme/neljä tuolia*
two/three/four chair.Sg.GEN*	two/three/four chair.Sg.PAR
b. pjat'/mnogo stuljev	*viisi/monta tuolia*
five /many (=much) chair.Pl.GEN	five/many chair.Sg.PAR
c. kuča stuljev	*paljon/kasa tuoleja*
a heap (of) chair.Pl.GEN	much/a heap (of) chair.Pl.PAR
d. mnogo/malo/litr/kaplja vody	*paljon/vähän/litra/tippa vettä*
much/little/litre/drop water.Sg.GEN	much/little/litre/drop water.Sg.PAR
e. kusok hleba	*pala leipää*
piece bread.Sg.GEN	piece bread.Sg.PAR 'a piece of bread'

* The singular form with the numerals *dva, tri,* and *četyre* 'two, three, four' originates from the old dual. In Finnish, the singular form with the numeral is assumed to have originated from the Proto-Uralic period (Vahros 1959: 270, fn. 4).

Being assigned an oblique case externally, both parts of the numeral-governed QP follow this new assignment, and the internal case assignment is relaxed:

(57)

Russian	Finnish
a. *dva noža, pjat' nožej*	*kaksi veistä, viisi veistä*
two.non-fem knife$_{masc}$Sg.GEN, five knife$_{masc}$Pl.GEN;	two knife.Sg.PAR, five knife.Sg.PAR
b. *lezvija dvuh/pjati nožej*	*kahden/viiden veitsen terät*
blades two.GEN/five.GEN knife.Pl.GEN	two.Sg.GEN/five.Sg.GEN knife.Sg.GEN blades

Thus, when modifying the NP (57)b, in both languages QPs appear in the genitive, singular in Finnish and plural in Russian.

*Finnish: Split NP (*vihaa on pyhääkin*)*

The quantification can be expressed at the clausal level. In this case the quantified element can be left-topicalised and thus, detached from the quantifier. Left-topicalisation, should apparently be considered to convey a quantifying feature:

(58)

Russian:
a. *Dekoracij vsego odna.*
decorations$_{fem}$GEN only one.fem
b. *Tetradej my kupili dve.*
notebooks$_{fem}$GEN we bought.Pl two.fem
(RG II: 241)
Finnish:
c. *Lavasteita on vain yksi.*
decorations.PAR is only one.
d. *Vihkoja ostimme kaksi.*
notebooks.PAR bought.1Pl two
Cf:
e. *Na scene byla odna dekoracija*.
On scene was.fem one.fem. decoration$_{fem}$

'There was one decoration on the scene.'
f. *My kupili dve tetradi.*
we bought.Pl two.fem notebook$_{fem}$GEN
'We bought two notebooks.'
g. *Näyttämöllä oli yksi lavaste.*
Scene.ADE was.3Sg one decoration.
h. *Ostimme kaksi vihkoa.*
bought.1Pl two notebook.Sg.PAR

The form of the left-topicalised quantified subject in (58)a and (58)c and object in (58)b and (58)d is the partitive plural (in Finnish) and the genitive plural (in Russian). In(58)a-d quantifiers are numerals, which are in the syntactic position of predicatives, together with the inversed word order. Without the inversion of the word order the subject is in the form of the nominative singular, (58)e and (58)g, and the object is in the genitive and the partitive singular, (58)f and (58)h.

In the following sentences, the adjectival forms agree with the left-cleft noun in number and case. As a type differing from that exemplified above, Hakulinen & Karlsson (1979: 99, 191-192) accounted for the sentences in (59):

(59)

a. *Kouluja on hyviä ja huonoja.*
Schools.PAR are good and bad.
b. *Vihaa on pyhääkin.*
Hatred.PAR can be saintly, too. /There is a saintly hatred, too.
c. *Mielipiteitä on kaikenkarvaisia.*
Opinions.PAR vary.
(Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 99)

The researchers consider the left-cleft noun and adjective to be a "split" subject NP, and for instance (59)a to be a transformation of the NP *hyviä ja huonoja kouluja* 'good.Pl.PAR and bad.Pl.PAR schools.PAR' (ibid.: 191).

Päivi Schot-Saikku (1993: 216) considers both sentences in (60)a "quantified", adverbial *kolme* 'three' being a mensural quantifier and adjectival phrase *vihreitäkin* 'green-too' a sortal one:

(60)

a. *Autoja on kolme/vihreitäkin*.
cars.PAR is three/green.Pl.PAR-too
'There are three/also green cars.'
b. *Kaloja on kirjaviakin.*
fishes.PAR is striped.Pl.PAR-too
'There are striped fishes, too./Fishes may be striped, too.'
(Schot-Saikku 1993: 216)
'There are green cars, too.'
c. **Autoja on vihreitä.*
cars.PAR is green.Pl.PAR
(Schot-Saikku 1993: 222)

Example (60)b can be treated in two ways. Treatment like 'Fishes may be striped, too' is possible for sortal-quantified sentences, but not for mensural-quantified ones (cf. *'Cars may be three'). Pointing to ungrammatical (60)c, Schot-Saikku (1993: 216, 222) concludes that the dislocation condition is a quantifier, in (60)b

the particle *-kin.* In (59)a and (59)c above, the adjectival phrases *hyviä ja huonoja* and *kaikenkarvaisia* mean more than one sort, and this meaning makes them sortifiers. Impossible is **Kouluja on hyviä* *'Schools.PAR is good.Pl.PAR', or **Mielipiteitä on yhdenlaisia* *'Opinions.PAR is same.Pl.PAR', without the particle *-kin.* Thus, in all the cases above the partitive is assigned by the explicit quantifier.

The Russian equivalents of Finnish sortal-quantified sentences do not have grammatically expressed quantificational features, both NP and AP being in the nominative:

(61)

a. *Školy byvajut horošie i plohie.*
schools happen-to-be.Pl good.Pl and bad.Pl
'There are good and bad chools.'
b. *Mnenija est' raznye.*
Opinions is different.Pl
'There are different opinions.'
c. *Mašiny byvajut/est' i zelenye.*
cars happen-to-be.3Pl/is PRT (=also) green.Pl
'There are green cars, too.'
d. *Byvajut/est' i zelenye mashiny.*
happen-to-be.3Pl/is PRT green.Pl cars
'There are green cars, too.'
b1) **Mašin byvaet i zelenyh.*
*Cars.GEN happen-to-be.3Sg PRT green.Pl.GEN

Summarising, in CSR a genitive-assigning quantifier should assess a quantitity (measure, number, volume, etc.), and not a sort or other quality. In Finnish, the range of partitive-assigning quantifiers is wider, including sortal and mensural quantifiers.

4.1.2. The Finnish partitive and the Russian genitive as object

In the following, I consider the meaning of the Finnish partitive and the Russian genitive as subject and object mostly in situations without explicit quantifiers.

The form of the object

In Russian the direct object can be in the accusative or genitive. Only *-a*-final nouns in the singular have a special form for the accusative. For other nouns in the singular form and for all nouns in plural form the accusative coincides with the nominative (for inanimates) or with the genitive (for animates).

(62)

Sg.NOM	Sg.ACC	Sg.GEN	Pl.NOM	Pl.ACC	Pl.GEN
rek-á 'river'	*rék-u*	*rek-í*	*rék-i*	*rék-i*	*rek-ø*
nož-ø 'knife'	*nož-ø*	*nož-á*	*nož-í*	*nož-í*	*nož-éj*
krot-ø 'mole'	*krot-á*	*krot-á*	*krot-ý*	*krot-óv*	*krot-óv*

The forms of the accusative and the genitive of personal pronouns coincide, too.

In Finnish the direct object can be in the accusative or partitive. In contemporary Finnish, the accusative is in the form of either the genitive (singular object), or the nominative (plural object)[3]. Only personal pronouns have the *-t*-accusative:

(63)

NOM (stem.Sg)	Pl.NOM	GEN	ACC	PAR
susi (sude-) 'wolf'	*sude-t*	*sude-n* (Sg)	—	*sut-ta* (Sg)
minä (minu-) 'I'		*minu-n*	*minu-t*	*minu-a*
	me 'we'	*meidä-n*	*meidä-t*	*mei-tä*

The object of passive verb forms and the infinitives of impersonal sentences, as well as the object of verb forms in the 1st and 2nd persons of the imperative are in the nominative form of the accusative. The partitive of the object does not automatically depend on the voice and modality of the verb.
In the following I will consistently use the term 'accusative' for both languages, pointing to a specific form of the accusative only if necessary. The subject may in Finnish be in the nominative or the partitive, and in Russian, in the nominative or the genitive.

General

Concerning the object role of the Finnish partitive, Helasvuo (1996: 22) suggests that the common denominator for its grammaticalisation processes is low transitivity, a notion which is captured on the scale of transitivity proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). These scholars assume that the transitivity of an utterance arises from the transitivity of the verb and of the individuation rank of agent and object. Concerning the hierarchy of individuation, the authors (ibid.: 253) cite characteristics of the object relevant to their study from the hierarchy of individuation proposed by Timberlake (1975), who investigated the use of the Russian genitive of object in negation.

I present the Hopper and Thompson (ibid.: 252) scale in Table 8, together with the hierarchy of individuation, which is quoted by the authors later in the same paper (ibid.: 253).

[3] Some scholars believe that the 'genitive' should be used for both cases, the genitive and the accusative, see, for instance, Shore 1992 and Nemvalts 1994.

TRANSITIVITY	High	Low
PARTICIPANTS	2 or more participants, Agent and Object	1 participant
KINESIS	action	non-action
ASPECT	telic	atelic
PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non-punctual
VOLITIONALITY	volitional	non-volitional
AFFIRMATION	affirmative	negative
MODE	realis	irrealis
AGENCY	high in potency	low in potency
AFFECTEDNESS OF OBJECT	object totally affected	object not affected
INDIVIDUATION OF OBJECT	object individuated:	object non-individuated:
	proper	common
	human, animate	inanimate
	concrete	abstract
	singular	plural
	count	mass
	referential, definite	non-referential

Table 8. The scale of transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252, 253)

In Finnish, the general rule is that in low-transitive situations the direct object is in the partitive and in high-transitive situations in the accusative. Inherently low-transitive verbs (in Finnish linguistics often called irresultative) usually govern the partitive of the direct object, and high-transitive verbs govern the accusative. The verbs which can signal both limited and unlimited situations govern the accusative in the former and the partitive in the latter (see, e.g., Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 184). Thus, the choice between partitive and accusative determines the aspect characteristics at the situation level, or, to apply the notion of open quantification, the partitive open-quantifies the situation concerning its aspect[4].

In Russian, the scope of the use of the genitive of both object and subject is very narrow and tends to decrease even more. The genitive cannot affect the transitivity at the situation level, but only indicates, in certain cases, open quantification of the referent, in other words, it indicates that only an uncertain part of the referent participates in the situation signalled in the utterance.

Discussing the Russian genitive, Jakobson (1936/1984: 72) generalises that "the G[enitive] in itself indicates only that the scope of its referent's involvement in the content of the utterance is less than that referent's entire extension." In a reformulation by Alan Timberlake (1975: 127, 133), the genitive open-quantifies the participation of the referent in the situation. Timberlake summarised the fea-

[4] I suppose that, for capturing the Finnish partitive, the terms 'low transitivity' and 'open quantification' are equally good, the former better accounting for the meaning at the situation level and the latter at the level of the referent of the noun phrase in the partitive. One can also use both terms, their variation depending on the level of the functioning of these cases (e.g., Larjavaara 1991). Concerning the Russian genitive, the term 'open quantification' is more appropriate. In the present research, both designations will be applied.

tures resistant to open quantification under a notion of individuation. "Individuation is the inverse of quantification: the more a participant is individuated, the less it can be quantified, and vice versa. So for the hierarchies discussed above, the more participant is individuated, the less it is appropriate to express the negative extent of participation by means of the genitive of negation" (Timberlake 1975: 127). The ranking of individuation completed by Timberlake was in part cited above (Table 8) and will be discussed later. Here, it is important to emphasise that quantification-resistant features are a corollary of the high transitivity of the situation.

The Finnish partitive of the object in negation

In Finnish the partitive of the object in negation is grammaticalised. Being the accusative in the affirmative situation, (64)a, the object is the partitive in the negation, (64)b:

(64)

a. *Näin pyrstötähden.*
I saw a/the comet.ACC
b. *En nähnyt pyrstötähteä/*pyrstötähden.*
I did not see the comet.PAR/*ACC

Semantic negation is enough for the partitive of negation to be used; the negation need not be expressed grammatically (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 182f). Negative treatment can be informed by negative-polarity items[5]. For instance, the adverbial *koskaan* in (65)a underlines zero-assumption of the situation and thus, determines the partitive of the object:

(65)

a. *Oletko koskaan rakentanut saunaa/*saunan?*
Have you ever built a sauna.PAR/*ACC
'Have you ever built a sauna?'
(Heinämäki 1984: 171)
b. Eikö oteta lepohetki?
NEG.3Sg-PRTq take$_{st}$pass break.ACC
'Let's take a break!'
c. *Tuskin kukaan on kuullut tästä mitään.*
Hardly anyone-PRTn has heard this.ELA anything.PAR-PRTn
'Hardly anyone has heard anything about this.'
(Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 182-183)
d. *Eiköhän joku ole kuullut tästä jotakin/*mitään*.
NEG.3Sg-PRTq someone be$_{st}$ hear.PPA [=has not PRTq someone heard] this.ELA something.PAR-PRT/*anything.PAR-PRTn
'Somebody presumably has heard something about this.'

In (65)a the negative-polarity adverb *koskaan* 'ever' indicates that there is no affirmative expectation. The partitive of the object is the only alternative. In (65)b

[5] Items that occur only in affirmative sentences or only in negative sentences can be called 'polarity-sensitive'. The former are affirmative-polarity items and the latter negative-polarity items (Dahl 1993: 920). The notion of 'polarity-sensitive' items was first introduced in Baker (1970).

the speaker assumes that a break will be taken. The object is in the accusative, the nominative form of which is determined by the passive form of the verb. In (65)c the negative-polarity items, the pronouns *kukaan* and *mitään,* and the adverb *tuskin* point to a negative assumption, whereas in (65)d, despite the formal negation *ei*, the affirmative-polarity pronouns *joku* and *jotakin* indicate a positive assumption.

The lack of positive assumption can also be expressed in the tense-aspect categories of the verb, which affect the treatment of the case:

(66)

a. *Näitkö pyrstötähden?*
Did you see (the) comet.ACC?
b. *Näitkö pyrstötähteä?*
Did you see (the) comet.PAR?
c. *Oletko nähnyt pyrstötähteä?*
Have you seen (a) comet.PAR?

In (66)a both participants, speaker and recipient, know about the comet, which was in the sky some time ago. The verb being in the imperfect and the object in the partitive (66)b, the speaker wants to know whether the recipient saw or did not see the comet for some period of the time the comet was in the sky. With the perfect form of the verb (66)c, the speaker indicates that s/he does not presuppose the recipient to have any knowledge of the comet, or s/he does not refer to any particular comet and wants to know whether the recipient has ever seen a comet.

The Russian genitive of the object in negation

In Russian, the direct object in negation can sometimes be in the genitive. The use of this genitive is regulated by various criteria, which have been discussed in many studies[6]. An interesting account of the genitive in negation can be found in Tomson[7] (1903). His publication is also important evidence of the use of the genitive at the beginning of the 1900s, whereafter the use of the genitive has progressively been ousted by the accusative. In CSR in many cases the use of the genitive is a matter of acceptability, and, although it is not ungrammatical, it is not preferred. The criteria of acceptability of the genitive are systematised by Timberlake (1975: 134) in the hierarchy of individuation, quoted below in full:

[6] An extended bibliography on the topic is given in Mustajoki 1985. The research by Mustajoki & Heino (1991) is an attempt to form a statistical profile of the genitive criteria. Their statistical analysis concentrates on written data in various styles.

[7] In this form, the name of the author is transliterated from the Russian.

MARKEDNESS FOR QUANTIFICATION IN NEGATION		High-individuated (GEN marked)	Low-individuated (GEN unmarked)
PARTICIPANT HIERARCHIES (individuation)	properness: abstractness: partitivity: animacy: number: definiteness: negation: focus: modifica-tion:	proper concrete count animate singular definite neutral topicalized modified	common abstract mass inanimate plural indefinite emphatic neutral unmodified
EVENT HIERARCHIES (scope or force of negation)	finiteness: aspect: mood: status: comple-ments: government: lexicon:	infinite perfective imperative, conditional interrogative secondary complements specification general transitive	finite imperfective indicative declarative no complements direct object perception-emotion, existence-possession
MORPHOLOGICAL HIERARCHY		2nd (*-a*) declension Sg	other declensions
STYLE		informal	formal

Table 9. The ranks of individuation according to Timberlake (1975: 134)

The proper, concrete, count, animate, singular, definite, topicalised and modified object is highly individuated, while the common, abstract, mass, inanimate, plural, indefinite, non-focal and unmodified object is low-ranked for individuation. In (67)b below, the uncountable divisible, i.e. mass, abstract, collective, or plural, object is in the accusative, and in (67)c the indivisible, i.e., singular count, the object is in the genitive. These alternatives are not preferred, whereas (67)a and (67)d are the most acceptable:

(67)

a. *Šokolada ne hočeš'?*
Chocolate.GEN PRTn want.2Sg?
'Do you want some chocolate?'
b. *Shokolad ne hočeš'?*
Chocolate.ACC PRTn want.2Sg?
(Examples from Timberlake 1975: 125)
c. *Konfetki ne hočeš'?*
Sweet.GEN PRTneg want.2Sg?
d *Konfetku ne hočeš'?*
Sweet.ACC PRTn want.2Sg?
'Do you want a sweet?'

In addition to the characteristics of the object, other factors are important. The genitive of negation is more marked (i.e., less liable to occur) if governed by an infinitive than governed by finite form, by a perfective than by an imperfective verb, in an imperative and conditional than in a declarative mood, and in an inter-

rogative rather than in a declarative sentence. The genitive is more marked in neutral style, and less marked in formal, old-fashioned, and emphatic style. Thus, the genitive of the negated object is more likely to occur in a marked than in an unmarked style.

Even the type of declension of the object raises the markedness of the genitive. Namely, the nouns of the 2nd declension singular are more inclined to appear in the accusative than the nouns of the other declensions. The 2nd declension comprises nouns ending in *-a,* which have a distinct accusative form, see (62).

All in all, the individuation rank of the situation "is ultimately a property of the relationship between the object participant and the event" (Timberlake 1975: 127). All the factors that raise the rank of individuation of the event raise the markedness of the genitive, actually making the genitive less feasible in language use.

Thus a complex hierarchy regulates the genitive of the object in negation. This hierarchy even includes the morphological constraint, which does not usually constrain syntactic rules. All this indicates that this genitive is in a stage of transition, according to Timberlake's viewpoint (1975: 132), towards "its total elimination (with the possible exception of lexicalized collocations)."

In Finnish, semantic negation which need not be expressed formally is a sufficient condition for the use of the partitive of object. In CSR both grammatical and semantic negation is necessary but not yet sufficent for the use of the genitive of the object. Even in expressions whose rank of individuality is otherwise low, the negation should be explicit, for instance, the verb phrase *ne videt' smysla* pervasively demonstrates the genitive in explicit negation. Mustajoki & Heino (1991: 129) reported that in their corpus, in all 18 occurrences the object were in the genitive[8]. Still, even in this verb phrase, the genitive is ungrammatical without explicit negation (fabricated examples):

(68)

Finnish	Russian
a. *On ne videl smysla v ètoj rabote.*	a´ *Hän ei nähnyt mitään mieltä tässä työssä.*
He PRTn saw sense.GEN in this job.	He NEG.3Sg see.ppa any.PAR sense.PAR in this job.
'He saw no sense in this job.'	
b. *On videl smysl v ètoj rabote.*	b´ *Hän näki tässä työssä merkityksen.*
He saw sense.ACC in this job.	He saw in this job. meaning.ACC
'He saw sense in this job.'	
c. **Edva li on videl smysla v ètoj rabote.*	c´ *Hän tuskin näki mitään mieltä tässä työssä.*
*Hardly he saw sense.GEN in this job.	He hardly saw any.PAR sense.PAR in this job.
d. *Edva li on videl smysl v etoj rabote.*	d´ **Hän tuskin näki tässä työssä merkityksen.*
Hardly he saw sense.ACC in this job.	*He hardly saw in this job meaning.ACC
'He hardly saw any sense in this job.'	

[8] The number of examples considered in their research is 2 722 (Mustajoki & Heino 1991: 6).

In negation the Finnish object is in the partitive in (68)a´, and the Russian divisible abstract object in the genitive in (68)a. In the affirmative (68)b and (68)b´ both languages use the accusative (although, according to native speakers, the Finnish example is somehow artificial and another construction would be used to express this meaning). Explicit negation is not an obligatory condition for the partitive of negation in Finnish (68)c´, whereas it is obligatory for the genitive in CSR, in which semantic negation is not enough, cf. (68)c. In Finnish, semantic negation blocks the use of the accusative of the object, cf. (68)d´.

Especially in connection with a condition of explicity of negation, discussed above, it is important to note that Russian and Finnish negations are of a different nature. In Russian, negation is a particle whose position is focus-determined, that is, the particle precedes the element which is actually included in the scope of negation. Finnish negation is a verb, although with a defective paradigm, which includes person and number forms of indicative and imperative moods in the present. The position of the Finnish negation is verb-determined. This difference between the two languages is made clear in the following examples:

(69)

a. *En*	*lukenut*	*kirjaa/*kirjan*	*päivässä,*	*vaan*	*kahdessa*
NEG.1.Sg	read.PPA	book.PAR/*ACC	day.INE,	but	two.INE

(The Finnish example is from Heinämäki 1984: 168)

b. *Ja*	*pročital*	*knigu/*knigi*	*ne*	*zá den',*	*a*	*zá dva.*
I	$\text{read}_{\text{pfve}}$	book.ACC/*GEN	not	in a day,	but	in two

'I did not read the book in one day, but in two'

'I' did read the book, but it took two days - not one. This *status quo* arises from the Russian positioning of the particle *ne*, which immediately precedes the adverbial in (69)b, indicating that the actual scope of negation does not include the object. That is why the genitive is not only dispreferred, but ungrammatical. In Finnish (69)a the object is non-alternatively in the partitive. Thus, in Finnish the semantic scope of negation does not influence the grammatical expression of negation, the latter always covering the whole verb phrase because of the negation's verbal properties.

Low-transitive verbs

In Finnish inherently low-transitive verbs unmarkedly govern the partitive. These are, for instance, verbs of emotion and attitude such as *vihata* 'to hate'*, ihailla* 'admire', *kunnioittaa* 'to respect'*, arvostaa* 'to appreciate'*, odottaa* 'to wait, to expect'*, kiittää* 'to thank', etc., and the verbs of perception *kuunnella* 'to listen to' and *katsoa* 'to look at'. But an appropriate adverbial can transitivise the situation, so that the case of the object changes from the partitive to the accusative:

(70)

a. *Manne kehui hevosta*
M. praised horse.PAR
'Manne praised the horse'
b. *Manne kehui hevosen maasta taivaaseen*
M. praised horse.ACC earth.ELA heaven.ILL
'Manne praised the horse from earth to heaven.'
c. *Lapsi odotti joulua*

child waited Christmas.PAR
'The child was looking forward to Christmas.'
d. *Lapsi odotti itsensä kipeäksi.*
child waited herself.ACC ill.TRA
'The child was so full of expectation that she made herself ill.'[9]
e. **Pirjo juoksi kenkiä/kengät*
*P. ran shoes.PAR/ACC
f. *Pirjo juoksi kengät hajalle.*
P. ran shoes.ACC pieces.ALL
'Pirjo ran the shoes to pieces.'
(Heinämäki 1984: 163-164)

Although the transitivising force of the adverbial could seem irresistible, it is worth noting that only sentences (70)a and (70)b can be considered to be semantically similar, in the sense that in these sentences the action signalled by the verb is the same. The accusative in (70)d is not an object of waiting, or anticipation, but the experiencer of the activity, 'child'. In this example the reflexive pronoun without the adverbial cannot be the object, cf. the following:

(71)
**Lapsi odotti itseään*
*'The child was waiting for itself.'

The situation in (70)e is also impossible. The object *kengät* 'shoes' in (70)f becomes feasible only because of the adverbial. The transitivity of the situations indicated in (70)d and (70)f is purposeless from the viewpoint of the inherent meaning of the verbs. What actually happened is that the child fell ill, and the shoes wore out; these are actions which are not the goals, but the by-products of eager waiting and running. The verb phrases consisting of the verb and the adverbial change their semantics in comparison with the unmodified verbs.

Verbs of striving and separation

As a residue of the ablative origin, some verbs of striving and separation govern the partitive in Finnish and the genitive in Russian. In the following, I will give a few Russian examples and their Finnish equivalents:

(72)

Russian (GEN of object)	English	Finnish
dobit'sja rešenija	a. to reach a decision	*saavuttaa ratkaisu.ACC*
kosnut'sja ruki	b. to touch the hand	*koskea kättä.PAR*
ždat' pomošči, priezda	c. to wait for help, arrival	*odottaa apua, tuloa.PAR*
prosit' soveta, deneg	d. to ask for advice, for money	*pyytää neuvoa, rahaa.PAR*
bojat'sja prostudy	e. to be afraid of the flu	*pelätä vilustumista.PAR*
izbegat' vzgljada	f. to avoid a glance	*välttää katsetta.PAR*

[9] The translation is from Heinämäki, who, in (70)d, chooses the feminine form for the reflexive pronoun *itsensä,* which can mean 'himself', 'herself', or 'itself'.

stydit'sja sosedej	g. to be ashamed of the neighbours	*hävetä naapureita.PAR (naapureiden edessä* 'neighbours.GEN in-front.INE')
lišat' doverija	h. to deprive (someone of) confidence	*riistää(joltakin) luottamus.ACC*
lišat'sja$_{refl}$ doverija	i. to lose trust	*menettää luottamus.ACC*
iskat' obščenija	j. to seek company	*etsiä seuraa.PAR*

(The Russian verb phrases are from Zolotova 1988: 351)

In CSR, with its lexicalised category of aspect, the genitive-governing verbs may be both perfective and imperfective[10]. Of the verbs above, (72)a-b are perfective, and (72)c-j imperfective. The change of aspect does not affect the case of the object. The verbs with the opposite aspect, if there are any, govern the genitive, too:

(73)

a. *lišit' doverija*
to deprive$_{pfve}$ (someone of) trust.GEN
b. *kasat'sja ruki*
to touch$_{ipfve}$ the hand GEN

In the Finnish examples of (72), the partitive of the object is a marker of low transitivity. The situations signalled in Finnish (72)a, h, and i are high-transitive, and that is why the case of the objects is the accusative.

The meaning of (72)g is ambiguous: either to be ashamed of the neighbours or to be ashamed in front of the neighbours. In the first option, the 'neighbours' is the object/source of the activity signalled by the verb, whereas in the second option the 'neighbours' is the witness of the activity the object/source of which is the speaker. This second option is non-standard both in Russian and Finnish. Apparently that is why the native speaker, when asked about the possibility of this meaning, first rejected it, but accepted it afterwards.

Finnish low-transitive verbs govern the object in the partitive, irrespective of the semantics of the object. In Russian low-transitive situations in which there is a choice between the genitive and the accusative, the solution is often determined by the semantics of the object. The lower the degree of individuation of the object, the more unmarked the genitive is. Abstract and mass NPs are low-individuated. Highly individuated objects of the same verbs often tend to be in the accusative, even if the verb is reflexive (which is shown by the final marker *-sja/-s'* < *sebja* 'oneself'):

(74)

Russian:
a. *ja bojus' prostudy/?prostudu*
I am afraid of (the) flu.GEN/?ACC
b. *ja bojus' ètu ženščinu/?ètoj ženščiny*
I am afraid of this.ACC woman.ACC/? this.GEN. woman.GEN

[10] The expression of aspect in Russian and Finnish was compared by Hannu Tommola (1986a, 1986b, and 1990).

Finnish:
c. *Pelkään vilustumista/*vilustumisen*
I am afraid of (the) flu.PAR/*ACC
d. *Pelkään tätä naista/*tämän naisen*
I am afraid of this.PAR woman.PAR /* this.ACC woman.ACC

For the abstract object, as in (74)a, the genitive is preferable, whereas for the object which refers to a singular human, as in (74)b, the accusative is an unmarked alternative in CSR. In the Finnish equivalents, the partitive is the only acceptable case for the object in both cases, (74)c and (74)d, while the accusative is ungrammatical.

In the same way, many other (inherently low-transitive) Russian verbs of striving and separating are sensitive to the semantics of the object. For instance, the verbs *ždat'* 'to wait, to expect', *prosit'* 'to ask', *žalet'* 'to pity', *trebovat'* 'to demand' also govern the accusative, if the referent is countable, definite, specified and, especially, human. Consider the following:

(75)
a. *ždat' priezda, mašinu*
to wait (for the) arrival.GEN, car.ACC
b. *žalet' vremeni, sestru*
to pity time.GEN, sister.ACC

The abstract nouns 'arrival' and 'time' are in the genitive, whereas the concrete singular 'car' and the personal 'sister' of *-a* declensional type are high-individuated and, thus, are assigned the accusative.

Those direct objects that are the least reluctant to appear in the genitive are abstract and material noun phrases. The alternation of the accusative-genitive can be meaningful. In the following, the definite object is in the accusative and the indefinite in the genitive:

(76)
a. *Petja prišel prosit' deneg*
P. came to ask (for some) money.Pl.GEN
b. *Pekka tuli pyytämään rahaa.*
P. came to ask (for some) money.Sg.PAR
c. *Petja prišel prosit' den'gi*
P. came to ask (for) money.Pl.ACC
'P. came to ask for the money'
d. *Pekka tuli pyytämään rahan/rahat.*
P. came to ask (for) the money.Sg.ACC/Pl.ACC

In (76)a and (76)b, the object is indefinite. P. asked for some sum of money. In (76)c and (76)d the referent of the object is definite, i.e., it is a precise sum of money, which is the shared knowledge of the participants. In (76)d, it is also presupposed that this sum of money will be given to P.

In line with the developmental tendency of CSR towards analyticity (Comrie, Stone & Polinsky 1996: 149), the range of verbs which govern the genitive has been narrowed with particular intensity since the October Revolution of 1917. Many verbs have changed the pattern of government, and now they govern

prepositional phrases, typically the verbs of striving *k* 'toward' + DAT, and verbs of separation *ot* 'from' + GEN, or the oblique case.

Transitivity at the situation level

With Finnish bi-aspectual verbs, i.e., those which can signal both a limited and an unlimited situation, the partitive of the object indicates low transitivity. In Russian this difference is expressed by the lexical aspect of the verb, and the case of a direct object cannot function as a marker of low transitivity at the situational level:

(77)

a. *Rakensin talon.*
built.1Sg house.ACC
b. *Ja postroil dom*.
I built$_{pfve}$masc house.ACC
'I built the house.'
c. *Rakensin taloa*.
built.1Sg house.PAR
d. *Ja stroil dom*.
I built$_{ipfve}$masc house.ACC
'I built/was building the house.'

In (77)a-b the situation is limited (or bound). The construction of the house has been completed, and the case of the object is the accusative. In (77)c-d, the situation is unlimited, in two possible senses; either the construction of the house is not complete, or the fact of completion/non-completion is irrelevant to the speech situation (Larjavaara 1991: 396). In other words, "the end point of the action is not in the focus" (Helasvuo 1996: 20). This is indicated by the partitive of the object in the Finnish examples. In the Russian examples, the aspect of the verb is perfective in (77)b and imperfective in (77)d. In both cases the object is in the accusative.

Open-quantified divisible object in high-transitive situation in Finnish and Russian

In Finnish, the situation being transitive, the object can still be in the partitive in certain cases. In these cases the partitive open-quantifies the referent's involvement in the situation. Divisible noun phrases have open-quantifiable referents. The accusative indicates the total involvement of the object.

In CSR in a much more restricted way, this kind of open quantification is also retained. Certain perfective verbs can govern the genitive, which open-quantifies the amount of referent involved in the situation:

(78)

(In the pairs [a] and [b], [c] and [d], [e] and [f], and [g] and [h] the first example is Russian and the second Finnish)

a. *On vypil vodu*
He drank.masc the water.ACC
b. *Hän joi veden*
He drank.3Sg the water.ACC
c. *On vypil vody*

He drank.masc (some) water.GEN
d. *Hän joi vettä*
He drank.3Sg (some) water.PAR
e. *Oni kupili knigi*
They bought.Pl books.ACC
f. *He ostivat kirjat.*
They bought.3Pl books.ACC
'They bought the books'
g. *Oni kupili knig*
They bought.Pl books.GEN
h. *He ostivat kirjoja.*
They bought.3Pl books.PAR
'They bought (some) books.'

In Russian (78)c and in Finnish (78)d, the genitive and the partitive respectively indicate that an indefinite amount of water was drunk, whereas the accusative in (78)a and (78)b means a definite portion of water. In (78)e and (78)f definite books are referred to, or the books as a title of goods on sale, in contrast, for instance, to food. In (78)g and (78)h the genitive/partitive object refers to an indefinite amount of books.

The Finnish partitive can open-quantify the object's referent, cf. (79)a below, and the situation as a whole, as in (79)c, while the Russian genitive can open-quantify only the object's referent, as in (79)b, and only in a situation signalled by the perfective verb, cf. (79)d:

(79)

Finnish:	Russian:
a. *Ostin olutta (ja lähdin kotiin.)*	b. *Ja kupil piva (i pošel domoj.)*
bought.1Sg (some) beer.PAR (and went home)	I bought$_{pfve}$ (some) beer.GEN (and went home)
'I bought some beer and went home.'	
c. *Ostin olutta (kun näin Pekan kaupassa.)*	d. *Ja pokupal pivo (kogda zametil v magazine Petju.)*
bought.1Sg beer.PAR (at the moment when I noticed Peter)	I bought$_{ipfve}$masc (some) beer.ACC (at the moment when I noticed Peter)
'I was buying beer at the moment when I noticed Peter in the shop.'	

(The Finnish example from Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979)

In (79)a-b the situation is limited. The partitive in (79)a and the genitive in (79)b open-quantify the amount of beer bought by P. In Russian (79)b the perfective verb is used. In (79)c-d the situation is unlimited, a parameter which is signalled by the partitive in Finnish (79)c and by the imperfective verbal aspect in Russian (79)d. The object in (79)d can only be in the accusative.

However, in CSR, some imperfective verbs can govern the genitive of open quantification, too. It seems that the imperfective verb governing the genitive can only signal a habitually recurring situation, and not a process. For instance, in the following (80)a the genitive is admissible along with the accusative:

(80)

Russian:

a. *K prihodu gostej ja obyčno pokupal piva/pivo.*
For the guests' arrival I usually bought$_{ipfve}$masc beer.GEN/beer.ACC

Finnish:
b. *Vieraita varten ostin tavallisesti olutta*
For the guests (I) usually bought.1Sg beer.PAR
c. *Vieraita varten ostin tavallisesti oluet (yhden erän)*
For the guests (I) usually bought.1Sg beer. Pl.ACC (one pack)
d. *Vieraita varten ostin tavallisesti oluen (vain yhden oluen yhteisesti kaikille)*
For the guests (I) usually bought.1Sg beer.ACC (only one beer for all the guests)

In (80)a the genitive indicates a certain amount of beer, whereas the accusative underlines beer as a type of drink, in contrast to other foods and drinks, whatever could be offered to the guests. In the Finnish variants, the partitive of the object in (80)b is the most unmarked. In (80)c, the referent is analysed as a countable entity, totally involved in the situation, and *oluet* 'beer'.Pl means the pack of beer which is usually bought each time. In (80)d, the accusative singular means that on every visit only one standard amount (say, a bottle of 0.5 l) of beer was bought.

In Finnish, the indivisible NP can also be in the partitive of partial involvement, while in CSR open quantification of this type is expressed by other means, typically verb morphology, cf.:

(81)
Finnish:
a. *Suutari korjasi laukkuani.*
Shoemaker repaired.3Sg bag.PAR.Px1Sg
Russian:
b. *Sapožnik pod-pravil/pod-remontiroval moj portfel'*
shoemaker a-bit-repaired$_{pfve}$masc my bag.ACC
(example from Vahros 1959: 274)

Both (81)a and (81)b mean that only a part of the bag was under repair. In the Finnish (81)a, this partiality is signalled by the partitive, while in the Russian equivalent (81)b, by the verbal prefix *pod-*. In CSR, verbs like 'to repair' do not govern the genitive at all, and the capacity of verbs to govern the genitive is severely restricted by their semantics, as well as by the semantics of the object.

The verbs which can govern the genitive signal taking, giving, getting, asking (the verbs with these meanings should be treated as low-transitive verbs of striving), and a group of concrete verbs which indicate changing the object's position in a broad sense (including the verbs of eating and drinking). Such verbs are, e.g., *brat'* to take', *dobyt'* and *dostat'* both 'to fetch', *polučit'* to get', *kupit'* 'to buy', *s"est'* 'to eat up', *glotnut'* 'to swallow', *vypit'* 'to drink up', *položit'* to put', *nasypat'* 'to pour (in)', *nalit'* to pour', *dat'* 'to give', *odolžit'* 'to borrow', *prosit'* 'to ask', and etc.

Finnish: transitivising adverbials

In Finnish, verb semantics can render the distinction between the partitive and accusative of the object irrelevant:

(82)
a. *Liisa lyhensi hameen.*
L. shortened skirt.ACC
'Liisa shortened the skirt.'

b. *Liisa lyhensi hametta.*
L. shortened skirt.PAR
'Liisa shortened the skirt.'
c. *Helen lyhensi hameen polven korkeudelle.*
Helen shortened skirt.ACC knee's length.ALL
'Helen shortened the skirt to knee length.'
(Examples from Heinämäki 1984: 154, 161)

The verb *lyhentää* 'to shorten, to make shorter' is bi-aspectual, i.e., it has a potential to express both limited and unlimited situations. In (82)a the limited situation is signalled. In (82)b the signalled situation can be both limited and unlimited, the former is synonymous with (82)a. This ambiguity of (82)b is possible because the semantics of the verb already contains the idea of the partial nature of the object's involvement, and the marking of this partial nature through the case of the object is optional. In (82)c the directional adverbial *polven korkeudelle* indicates the end point of the action and thus, eliminates the possibility of an explicit expression of open quantification. The object can only be in the accusative. In (82)b the situation can also be progressive, 'L. is in the process of shortening the skirt'. In this case, the partitive of the object open-quantifies the situation concerning the end-point of the latter.

To be able to govern the accusative, some Finnish verbs whose semantics do not provide the opportunity of an unambiguously transitive treatment, always need transitivising modification, for instance, a directional adverbial, as in (82)c above.

In examples (83)a, (83)c and (83)e below, the situation is not directional enough to achieve high transitivity, which is necessary for accusative assignment. Consequently, the object is in the partitive. The adverbial modifier, the phrase of destination, transitivises the situation in (83)b, (83)d, and (83)f. The accusative object aligns high transitivity at the situation level:

(83)
a. *Tiina heitti keihästä*
T. threw javelin.PAR
'Tiina threw the javelin.'
b. *Tiina heitti keihään metsään.*
T. threw javelin.ACC forest.ILL
'Tiina threw the javelin into the forest.'
c. *Yrjö nosti hattua.*
Y. lifted hat.PAR
'Yrjö raised his hat (when greeting).'
d. *Yrjö nosti hatun hyllylle.*
Y. lifted hat.ACC shelf.ILL
'Yrjö lifted the hat onto the shelf.'
e. *Tuuli muutti suuntaa.*
wind changed direction.PAR
'The wind changed direction.'
f. *Tuuli muutti suunnan pohjoiseen.*
wind changed direction.ACC north.ILL
'The wind changed its direction to the north.'
(examples and English translations from Heinämäki 1984: 160-61)

Russian:

g. *Jurij pri-podnjal/pri-snjal šljapu.*
J. a-bit-lifted/a-bit-off-took hat.ACC
'Yrjö raised his hat (in greeting).'
h. *Jurij snjal šljapu i položil ejo na polku.*
J. off-took the hat.ACC and put it on the shelf.
'Yrjö took his hat off and put it on the shelf.'

Both the directional adverbial and the case of the object are verb-external markers of the transitivity rank. In (83)g and (83)h, the Russian equivalents of (83)c and (83)d, the character of the movement is expressed with verbal prefixes, and does not affect the case of the object. In (83)g the slightness of the action is shown with the verbal prefix *pri-*. In both cases, the object is in the accusative, as it would also be in the Russian equivalents of all the other Finnish examples in (83).

In Finnish, if the verb signals to-and-fro action the partitive/accusative variation can be free to some extent:

(84)

Lainasin häneltä/hänelle kynää/kynän.
I borrowed him-from /him-to pen.PAR/ACC

Free variation of the cases is only possible if the situation is not progressive, like 'I was borrowing a pen from him [negotiating with him about borrowing a pen] when my bus came'. In the latter, only the partitive is permissible, which open-quantifies the situation. The action being limited, the partitive underlines that the referent was borrowed for a short time and then returned. Situationally, the accusative can mean that the borrowed pen was not returned.

Yli-Vakkuri (1986: 250-55) discussed the partitive of the object in polite requests (including request-questions), presenting examples from old Finnish, dialectal, and contemporary standard use. Below, examples from her research are quoted. The expressions (85)a and (85)d below are more acceptable than (85)b and (85)c; respect towards the archbishop is grammatically expressed by the partitive:

(85)

a. *Kutsukaa syytetty sisään.*
Ask.imp.2Pl the accused.ACC inside
b. *Kutsukaa arkkipiispa sisään.*
ask the archbiskop.ACC inside
c. *Kutsukaa syytettyä sisään.*
ask.imp.2Pl the accused.PAR inside
d. *Kutsukaa arkkipiispaa sisään.*
ask.imp.2Pl the archbiskop.PAR inside
(Yli-Vakkuri 1986: 254, ex. 17 & 18)

Researchers usually explain partitives like in (85)d as a specific impact of politeness and, with the verb 'to borrow' being in question, by an additional effect of the semantic meaning of to-and-fro movement. Yli-Vakkuri herself seems to share the viewpoint that the partitive is a pragmatic means of diminishing the pre-supposed action (ibid.: 255). I suppose that this use is based on the grammaticalised partitive in negation. Used in affirmative utterances, the partitive in-

dicates the situation as one whose successful completion is not presupposed, but is a possibility proffered for the recipient's consideration.

To generalise, the Finnish object is sensitive to transitivity rank. The partitive of the object can open-quantify the situation, serving as a marker of low transitivity, and in particular, unlimitedness. The situation being transitive, the partitive of the object open-quantifies a part, an amount and the duration of the referent's involvement in the situation. The case assigned by low-transitive verbs is partitive, and a transitivising adverbial invokes the accusative of an object. Thus, the case of the object aligns stronger-than-case factors which determine the transitivity—intransitivity of the situation. In a situation which can be both transitive (achieving a point of completion) and intransitive (irrelevant to the completion or incompletion), the case of the object marks aspectual difference. The partitive of the object in negation is related to existential open-quantification. The pragmatic extension of this partitive is its use in questions and polite requests.

Russian: a case of external quantification with the verb morphology

In Russian, the genitive of open quantification is assigned by verbs with the prefix *-na* in certain cases where this prefix indicates the top limit of the action's transition. Sometimes the formation of the *na*-prefixed verb with the top-limit meaning is accompanied by the addition of the reflexive postfix *-sja.* In Finnish equivalents, the meaning of top limit is conveyed by a lexical quantifier:

(86)

Russian	Finnish
a. *delat'*$_{ipfve}$ *gluposti.PL.ACC*	a′ *tehdä tyhmyyksiä.Pl.PAR*
b. *na-delat'*$_{pfve}$ *glupostej.Pl.GEN*	b′ *tehdä (ylettömästi) tyhmyyksiä.Pl.PAR*
c. *kupít'*$_{pfve}$ *knigi.ACC.Pl/knig.Pl.GEN*	c′ *ostaa kirjojaPl.PAR /kirjatPl.ACC*
d. *na-kupít'*$_{pfve}$ *knig.Pl.GEN*	d′ *ostaa yllin kyllin kirjoja.Pl.PAR*
e. *brosát'*$_{ipfve}$ *bumagu.ACC*	e′ *heittää paperia.PAR*
f. *na-brosát'*$_{pfve}$ *bumagi.GEN*	f′ *heittää ylettömästi paperia.PAR*
g. *est'*$_{ipfve}$ *ogurcy.ACC.Pl*	g′ *syödä kurkkuja.Pl.PAR*
h. *na-ést'-sja*$_{pfve}$ *ogurcov.Pl.GEN*	h′ *syödä yllin kyllin kurkkuja.Pl.PAR*

a. to do stupid things
b. to do a lot of stupid things
c. to buy books
d. to buy a lot of books
e. to throw paper
f. to throw a lot of paper
g. to eat cucumbers
h. to eat a lot of cucumbers

In Russian (86)a, (86)e and (86)g, the verb is imperfective, and the only possible case for the object is the accusative. In the Finnish equivalents (86)a′, (86)e′ and (86)g′, the object can only be in the partitive. In Russian (86)c the verb is perfective. The accusative is generally used for the object, but the genitive is also possible for the indefinite referent. In Finnish (86)c′, both the partitive and the accusative are used, the latter for a definite and the former for an indefinite referent. In the Russian examples (86)b, d, f, h the verb of top-limit action governs the genitive of the object.

The Russian prefix *na-* does not have a permanent quantifying meaning. The meaning of the prefix depends on the lexical meaning of the stem and can often be unambiguously identified only through the occurrence of the use of the *na-*verb. This prefix can function only as a perfectiviser, providing the verb with the meaning of the end point. For instance, the verbs *pisat'*$_{\text{ipfve}}$ and *na-pisat'*$_{\text{pfve}}$ 'to write' form an aspect-contrastive pair, cf. (87)a and b. The perfective *napisat'* does not govern the genitive, cf. (87)c. Through being joined with the prefix *-po,* perfective *po-na-pisat'* quantifies the object assigning the genitive*,* cf. (87)d. The accusative is not acceptable, cf. (87)e:

(87)

a. *On pisal pis'mo/pis'ma.*
He wrote$_{\text{ipfve}}$masc letter.ACC/letters.ACC
'He wrote letters.' (from time to time, or was in the process of writing letters/a letter)
b. *On napisal pis'mo/pis'ma.*
He wrote$_{\text{pfve}}$masc letter.ACC/letters.ACC
'He wrote the letters up.'
c. **On napisal pisem.*
*He wrote$_{\text{pfve}}$ letters.GEN
d. *On ponapisal (vsem) pisem.*
He *po*-wrote$_{\text{pfve}}$ (all.Pl.DAT) letters.GEN
'He wrote letters (to everybody).'
e. **On ponapisal pis'ma*
*He *po*-wrote$_{\text{pfve}}$ letters.ACC

Thus, in Russian, but not in Finnish, quantification can be explicated through the verb morphology. The quantifier-verb governs the genitive of the object.

4.1.3. The Finnish partitive and the Russian genitive as subject

The Finnish partitive of the subject in affirmation

In existential and some other low-transitivity situations[11], the divisible (abstract, mass, or plural) subject is in the partitive in Finnish.

The predicate of the existential clause is in the 3rd person singular, and does not agree with the subject in number and person. A typical existential clause has AVS, adverb—verb—subject, word order. In a non-existential intransitive clause, the unmarked word order is SV (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 301). Consider the following examples:

(88)

a. *Autotallissa*	*oli*	*vettä*
Garage.INE	was.3Sg	water.PAR
'There was water in the garage.'		
b. *Minulla*	*on*	*auto*
I.ADE	is.3Sg	car
'I have a car.'		

[11] I exclude from consideration situations with the partitive of experientier, like *minua masentaa* 'me.PAR depress.3Sg'.

(Hakulinen and Karlsson 1979: 95)
c. *Odottavia äitejä, varusmiehiä ja opiskelijoita käytti äänioikeuttaan Salossa maanantaina.*
pregnant.Pl.PAR mothers.PAR soldiers.PAR and students.PAR used.3Sg franchise.PAR.Px3 Salo.INE Monday.ESS
'On Monday pregnant mothers, soldiers and students went to the polls in Salo ((Pname)).'
d. *Pihalla leikkii lapsia.*
yard.ADE play.3Sg children.PAR
'Children are playing in the yard.'
e. *Pihalla lapset leikkivät piilosta.*
yard.ADE children play.3Pl hide-and-seek.PAR
' Children are playing hide-and-seek in the yard.'
f. **Pihalla lapsia leikkii piilosta.*
*yard.ADE children.PAR play.3Sg hide-and-seek.PAR
g. *Lavalla hymyilee missejä.*
Stage.ADE smile.3Sg misses.PAR
'The beauty queens are smiling on the stage.'
h. **Lavalla hymyilee missejä tuomareille.*
Stage.ADE smile.3.Sg misses.PAR judges.ALL
*'On the stage smile beauty queens to the judges.'
(Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 168)

Of the above examples, (88)a and (88)b represent typical existential situations[12]. In (88)b, the indivisible subject is in the nominative.

In (88)c, the verb is formally transitive and governs the object in the partitive, but the verbal phrase *käyttää äänioikeutta* is close to an idiom, and the situation is low in transitivity. The subject's referent is a non-specified (indefinite) multitude, which is open-quantified by the partitive. The use of the partitive can be restrained by, roughly speaking, adding specificity and transitivity features. The more transitive and more individualised the situation is, the less likely is the partitive of the subject. In (88)f, the verb governs the partitive and the verb phrase indicates a more specific activity than in (88)d, where the subject is in the partitive. In (88)g smiling can be considered an inherent, existential activity for those who compete for the title of Beauty Queen. In (88)h, the complement *tuomareille* 'to the judges' concretises the situation so that the partitive is impossible and the subject is in the nominative.

Hakulinen & Karlsson (1979: 168) also show that a subject in the partitive cannot take an indexical modifier (**Vuosi vuodelta enemmän näitä varusmiehiä käyttää äänioikeuttaan* 'Year after year more these.PAR soldiers.PAR use franchise.PAR.Px3 [go to the polls]') Prototypical verbs which can collocate with the subject in the partitive signal a generic activity or state, or a change in the form of existence (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 167-70). The hierarchy of individuation, proposed by Timberlake for the Russian genitive as an object in negation, is in general applicable to the Finnish subject in the partitive. Only a low-individuated, divisible (abstract, mass or plural) subject can be open-quantified.

[12] In (88)b the situation is, strictly speaking, that of possession, but grammatically it is similar to the existential.

A further criterion of the partitive of the subject is indefiniteness. The specified and definite subject, even if it is plural or a mass or abstract noun, cannot be in the partitive. Furthermore, transitivity features of the verb phrase superimpose their own constraint on the partitive of the subject. The position between specific and generic is also determined by the semantics of the collocation of the subject and the predicating verb phrase. Thus, in the same way as with the Russian genitive object in negation, the partitive subject in Finnish follows a hierarchy of individuation. Tables 8 and 9 above are combined and reorganised below:

THE CASE OF THE SUBJECT		NOM	PAR
SEMANTIC PROPERTIES OF THE SUBJECT NP		concrete	abstract
		count	mass
		singular	plural
		definite	indefinite
SEMANTIC PROPERTIES OF THE VERB		action	non-action
		telic	atelic
		punctual	non-punctual
		volitional	non-volitional
VERB PHRASE	VERBAL COMPLEMENTS	complements	no complements
SITUATION		specific	generic

Table 10. The conditions for the open-quantified subject

In this hierarchy, the level of the semantics of the subject is overridden by the transitivity of the verb, which is overridden by the characteristics of the verb phrase and the semantics of the subject-predicate collocation, in other words, the characteristics of the situation as a whole.

Some language-specific cases of external quantification

In the above discussion on the genitive object, I distinguished a group of verbs which are inherent quantifiers due to their semantics. There are those of them that collocate with the genitive of the subject. One of these is the verb *hvatat'* 'to be enough'. Its Finnish equivalent, *riittää,* is not a quantifier, and can collocate with the subject in the nominative:

(89)

a. Russian: *Porcii hvatit/hvataet na šest' čelovek.*
Portion.GEN suffices$_{pfve/ipfve}$3Sg on six persons.GEN
'The portion will do for six persons.'
b. Finnish: *Annos riittää kuudelle hengelle.*
Portion.NOM suffice.3Sg six. Sg.ALL person.ALL
c. Russian: *Deneg edva hvataet/hvatit na edu.*
money.Pl.GEN just suffice$_{ipfve/pfve}$3Sg on food.ACC
'The money is just enough to buy food.'
d. Finnish: *Rahat riittävät juuri ja juuri ruokaan. (NSS, 4: 717)*
money.Pl.NOM suffice.3Pl just food.ILL
'The money is just enough to buy food.'
e. Finnish: *Rahaa riittää (vielä) ruokaan*
money.Sg.PAR suffice.3Sg (still) food.ILL

'There is still enough money to buy food.'

In the Finnish examples (89)b and (89)d the subject is in the nominative, while in the Russian equivalents (89)a and (89)c it is in the genitive. In Finnish, the divisible subject can also be in the partitive (89)e.

In relation to the partitive option in (89)d, the judgment of native speakers was that the adverbial *juuri ja juuri* lit. 'just and just' suggests a definite sum of money, and that is why the partitive would not be admissible in this sentence. In (89)e, where there is no indication of a precise sum of money, the partitive is acceptable.

Perfective verbs with the top-limit prefix *na-* can also invoke the genitive of the subject. The source verb is often imperfective, and the prefix *na-* also operates as a perfectiviser:

(90)

Nakopilos' deneg.
cumulated$_{pfve}$neut.refl money.Pl.GEN
'There is money saved up.'

In the example above, the inherent meaning of the verb is the enlarging of quantity. The source verb is the transitive imperfective *kopit'*. The perfective reflexive is the result of adding the prefix *na-* and the reflexive postfix *-sja* to the stem: *kopit'*>*na-kopit'*>*nakopit'-sja* 'to cumulate$_{ipfve}$'>'*na*-cumulate$_{pfve}$'>'*na*-cumulate$_{pfve}$-*sja*' (lit. 'to accumulate oneself').

The verbs with the prefix *na-* indicating top-limit completion are typically those of motion, *na-letet'* '*na*-come by flying', *na-bežat'* '*na*-come by running', *na-ehat'* '*na*-come by driving', etc. The genitive of the subject can sometimes alternate with the nominative, the latter being an unmarked option for a subject with a human referent, as in the following:

(91)

K mestu proisšestvija nabežali ljubopytnye.
to place.DAT incident.GEN *na*-run.pst.Pl curious.Pl.NOM
'Lots of curious people ran over to where the incident took place.'
(example from Bivon 1992: 154)

Indicating a quantitative top limit, the expressions with quantifying *na*-prefixed verbs are often exclamatory, the intonation rising on the stressed syllable of the genitive, as in (92)a and (92)c:

(92)

Russian:
a. *Sornjakóv na-roslo!*
weed.Pl.GEN *na*-grow$_{pfve}$pst

Finnish:
b. *Onpas kasvanut rikkaruohoa!*
grow.pf.Sg-PRT weed.PAR!

'What a lot of weeds have grown!'

c. *Naródu na-bežalo!*
People.GEN *na*-run$_{pfve}$pst.neut

d. *Onpas juossut paikalle väkeä!*
run.pf.Sg-PRT place.ALL people.PAR

'What a lot of people have rushed here!'

e. *(kukkapenkkiin) on kasvanut rikkaruohoa*
(flower-bed.ILL) grow.pf weed.PAR
'Weeds have grown in the flower-bed.'

In Russian, rising intonation can be a means of open quantification. In the Finnish equivalents (92)b and (92)d, the subjects are in the partitive. There are features of emphatic indication of a top limit, namely the added particle *-pas* (it can also be in the form *-pa*), but the basic condition for the partitive of the subject is existential open quantification. The partitive can also be used without the emphatic *-pa(s)*, cf. (92)e.

The meaning of top limit can be expressed in Russian with intonation only:

(93)

Russian:	Finnish:
a. *Naródu!*	b. *Onpas väkeä!*
people.GEN	is-PRT people.PAR
What a lot of people!	

In Russian (93)a, the open-quantifying and, consequently, genitive-assigning part of the prosodic contour is its rising and openness; the pitch rises on the stressed vowel of the quantified item and does not fall at the end of the utterance. In the Finnish equivalent (93)b, too, the partitive of the subject marks open quantification of the referent, and the meaning of the top limit is mediated with exclamatory intonation (rise-fall on *onpas*) and the particle. In the examples above, the top limit concerns the quantity of the referent.

In the following exclamations, the partitive is used in Finnish, whereas in Russian the nominative (the Finnish examples from Yli-Vakkuri 1986: 270-72, ex. 52):

(94)

Finnish	Russian:
a. *No hyvät ihmiset sitä komeutta!*	e. *Kakaja krasota!*
Oh good people that.PAR beauty.PAR	what.NOM beauty.NOM
'Oh God, what beauty!'	
b. *Voi Liisaa!*	f. *Bednaja Liza!*
(about L., who is not a participant)	'Poor Liza!'
PRT Lisa.PAR	
'Poor Lisa!'	
c. *Voi Liisa!*	
(to the recipient who is the addressee)	
'Poor Lisa!'	
d. *Voi sinua!*	g. *Oh/Ah ty bednjažka!*
(to the recipient)	
PRT you.PAR	PRT you poor.dim
'Poor you!'	

The Finnish partitive indicates the top limit of quality (94)a, or the top limit of emphatic attitude towards quality (94)b-(94)d. In (94)b, the referent of the partitive is not a participant. In (94)c, L. is the addressee. Personal pronouns (94)d can be used in the exclamations only in the partitive. In roughly similar CSR situations (94)e-g, the exclaimed objects are in the nominative.

Thus, in an affirmative construction the Russian subject can be in the genitive only if there are explicit quantifiers in the utterance. The verb should have quantificative semantics, for instance, having the prefix *-na* in a quantifying meaning

(note that such *na*-prefixed verbs are always perfective). The subject being in the genitive, the predicate is in the singular 3rd person (present form) or neuter (past form).

In Russian, intonation can function as the external quantifier of a subject. The latter is in the genitive of top-limit open quantity. In Finnish, the function of external quantifier can be ascribed to the emphatic context. The partitive in exclamations indicates top-limit open quantity. Thus, the two languages demonstrate a similar principle, which has a language-specific expression.

The Russian genitive of the subject in negation

In CSR, the genitive of the subject is used in existential negative constructions in which the verb indicates a generic activity, and it is either inherently semantically empty (prototypically 'to be'), or has become semantically empty when collocated with a particular subject (Borščev & Partee 1998).

The nominative in the positive construction regularly changes to the genitive in the existential negative construction predicated by the verb *byt'* 'to be', whose negative form in the present has lexicalised in the word *net* 'no', and the verb *ne imet'sja*[13] '(there) is no', lit. 'PRTn have-refl'.

In the collocation with verbs of feeling and perception, the genitive and nominative of the subject have different meanings; the genitive points to non-existence, the nominative to the existence of the referent of the subject in the speaker's "perceptual field" (Padučeva 1997):

(95)

a. *Moroza ne čuvstvovalos'*
frost$_{masc}$GEN PRTn felt.neut
'No frost was felt/There was no frost.'
b. *Moroz ne čuvstvovalsja*.
frost$_{masc}$ PRTn felt.masc
'The frost was not felt.'
(Babby 1980: 59)

In (95)a the speaker stresses that there was no frost in some space perceived by him/her as the universe for this particular situation. The subject is in the genitive. In (95)b the frost existed in the perceptual field of the speaker, although not felt by him/her. The subject is in the nominative.

The relevance of the speaker's viewpoint to the treatment of meaning has apparently attracted researchers' attention to verbs of feeling and perception because their semantics emphasise the speaker's presence. As a matter of fact, in any instance of language use, it is not only the speaker who is present but - ultimately - the recipient(s), too, and, possibly, by-standers (listening non-recipients). Participants of the interaction (understood in a broad sense, e.g., writer and readers, etc.) normally accommodate their 'perceptual fields' to one another's, clarifying a field of shared knowledge. That is why a notion of the shared knowledge and the shared universe of the participants seems to me more

[13] The word *net* is a contraction of negative particle *ne* and *est'* 'be.non-pst.3.Sg'. Constructions with the verb *imet'sja* belong to formal written style.

appropriate than the 'perceptual field of the speaker'. Consider the following examples:

(96)

a. *Izmenenij ne nabljudalos'*
changes.GEN PRTn observe.pst.neut.
'There were no changes observed.'
b. *Izmenenija ne nabljudalis'.*
changes PRTn observe.pst.Pl.
'Changes were not observed.'
(Graudina et al. 1976: 39-40)
c. *Mamy net doma.*
mother.GEN no home.
'There is no mother at home.'
d. *Mama ne doma.*
mother PRTn home.
'Mother is not at home.'

In (96)a the shared knowledge (or the shared belief) is that there were no changes. In (96)b the assumption is that there were some changes, which were left unnoticed in the experiment. In (96)c the shared universe of the participants is the location *doma*, and in this universe mother does not exist. In (96)d the shared universe exceeds the location *doma* and the shared assumption is the existence of the mother in this extended universe. Thus, the alternation between the genitive and nominative of the subject also indicates the difference in viewpoint in other situations than that of perception.

In the same way the following examples can be accounted for:

(97)

a. *Knig ne vypuskaetsja.*
books.GEN PRTn publish3Pl.refl
'No books are being put on the market.'
b. *Progulki ne polučilos'.*
walk.GEN PRTn occur.pst.neut
'There was no walk.'
c. *Ni odnogo čeloveka ne prishlo.*
PRTn one.GEN man.GEN PRTn come.pst.neut
'Not a single man came.'
d. *U nih net detej*
at them no children.GEN
'They have no children.'
e. *U nego ne imeetsja sbereženij*
by him PRTn is.3Sg saving.Pl.GEN
'He has no savings.'
(Examples a-e from RG II: 429)
f. *Knigi ne vypuskajutsja*
books PRTn publish.3Pl.refl

g. *Progulka ne polučilas'*
$walk_{fem}$ PRTn occur.pst.fem
'The walk was unsuccessful.' or 'The walk failed.'
h. *Ni odin čelovek ne prišel*

PRTn one.masc man PRTn come.pst.masc
'Not a single man came.'

In (97)a no books are published. In (97)f certain books expected to be published are not yet published. In (97)b there was no walk at all, whereas in (97)g there was an unsuccessful one. In (97)c no definite persons are presupposed to have come but have not. Because of the human referent, the genitive is possible only because of the emphasising negative modifier *ni odnogo*. Optional treatment of (97)h is that those persons who had been expected to come did not arrive. Nevertheless, the existence presupposition is not necessary as an explanation of the nominative, which is generally preferred for a subject with a personal referent. In (97)d-e the genitive is the only option.

The pronoun *nikto* 'nobody' is stylistically neutral and refers to a person. As a genitive subject (*nikogo*), it is unmarked only with existential verbs:

(98)

a) *Nikogo ne prišlo.*
nobody.GEN PRTn come.pst.neut.
b) *Nikto ne prišel.*
nobody PRTn come.pst.masc
'Nobody came.'

In (98)b the nominative is unmarked. In (98)a the genitive is marked and can be used for humorous effect. The reason for the markedness of the genitive is that the verb *prijti* 'to come' signals a specific, non-existential activity.

Babby (1980) accounts for the genitive-nominative difference in terms of scope of negation and Theme-Rheme opposition. According to him, negated existential sentences (in which the subject is in the genitive) are entirely within the scope of negation, whereas in "negated declarative sentences" (with the nominative of the subject), the scope of negation includes only the verb phrase. Consider two of his examples (Babby 1980: 66-67, ex. 71a. and 72b.):

(99)

a. *V našem lesu ne rastet gribov.*
In our forest PRTn grow.3Sg mushrooms.GEN.
'There are no mushrooms growing in our forest.'
b. *Zdes' daže trava ne rosla.*
here even $\text{grass}_{\text{fem}}$ PRTn grow.pst.fem
'Even grass couldn't grow here.'

In (99)a the assumption is that mushrooms grow (which is a generic activity of the plants) in any forest, and that is why they should grow in 'our' forest, too. The location 'our forest' provides the viewpoint of consideration. Both the verb phrase and the noun phrase in the genitive are within the scope of negation. In (99)b the scope of negation includes only the verb phrase. The 'grass' is presupposed to exist.

In a reformulation of Babby by Borščev & Partee (1998), in the existential (99)a the location 'in our forest' is thematic, and both noun phrase and verb in *ne rastet gribov* 'PRTn grow.3Sg mushrooms.GEN' are rhematic, and that is why the unit *ne rastet gribov* forms the scope of negation. In 'declarative' sentences, such as (99)b, the noun phrase ('grass') is thematic, and, thus, its existence is presup-

posed and is outside the scope of negation. The scope of negation is the verb phrase *zdes' ne rosla* 'here PRTn grow.pst.fem', which is rhematic. Borščev & Partee propose a group of Axioms and Principles formulated in terms of semantic logic, and they correlate them with Babby's Theme-Rheme opposition and Topic-Focus opposition in the style of the Prague school.

To sum up, the conditions for the genitive of the subject in negation are as follows: the participants do not presuppose that the subject's referent exists; the situation signalled in the utterance is generic.

It is important to note that the genitives of object and subject in negation have decreased and their decrease continues in contemporary language use. In the near future the differences in meaning discussed above will not necessarily be any longer perceptible to ordinary speakers.

A bare nominative in CSR?

The nominativisation and analytic nature of CSR sometimes seem to be exaggerated by researchers. For instance, the tendency towards the shift of genitive to nominative has been found in the following case of the use of nominative (Širjaev 1995: 102):

(100)

a. *Ručka / u vas net / telefon zapisat'*
pen.NOM / by you no / phone to-down-write
'A pen, do you have one, to write down a phone number?'
b. CSR normative:
U vas net ručki, telefon zapisat'?
by you no pen.GEN, phone to down-write?

In (100)a, the subject is in the nominative, whereas the norms presuppose the genitive. Claimed to be a manifestation of the tendency of nominativisation, the nominative should, in my opinion, be accounted for as left-topicalised subject. It is left-cleft and prosodically detached from the rest of the sentence and forms a distinct syntactic-prosodic unit. Thus, the nominative does not violate grammatical norms.

The Finnish partitive of the subject in negation

In Finnish, the negated existential subject is usually in the partitive. As well as in the partitive case of the object, the negation should be semantic and need not be grammatically expressed. As always in the cases in which semantics and grammar are fused together, it is difficult to formulate clear-cut rules for the use of the subjective partitive without these being occasionally violated in language practice.

As in Russian, the condition of the partitive subject in negation in Finnish is a lack of existence presupposition of the subject's referent:

(101)

Finnish:	Russian:
a. *Avain ei ole naulassa.*	b. *Ključ ne na gvozde.*
key NEG.3Sg be$_{st}$ nail.INE	key PRTn on nail

'The key is not on the nail.' (presupposition: there is a key somewhere else)

c. *Naulassa ei ole avain.*
nail.INE NEG.3Sg be$_{st}$ key

d. *Na gvozde ne ključ.*
on nail PRTn key

'It is not the key on the nail.' (presupposition: there is something on the nail, but not the key)

e. *Avainta ei ole naulassa.*
key.PAR NEG.3Sg be$_{st}$ nail.INE

f. *Ključa net na gvozde*.
key.GEN no on nail

'There is no key on the nail (either).' (presupposition: there is no key anywhere else, either)

g. *Naulassa ei ole avainta.*
nail.INE NEG.3Sg be$_{st}$ key.PAR.

h. *Na gvozde net ključa.*
on nail no key.GEN

'There is no key on the nail.' (presupposition: there is nothing else on the nail)

(The Finnish examples are from Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 171)

The difference between (100)a-b and (100)e-f on the one hand, and (100)c-d and (100)g-h on the other is that in the former the universe assumed in the utterance is wider than that signalled by the adverbial location, while in the latter the universe does not extend beyond this location. In (100)a-b, the 'key' exists outside the location indicated by the prepositional phrase 'on the nail'. In (100)c-d, existence of a referent constrastive to that of the subject is implicated in the location. The 'key' here is the class 'keys', contrasted to another class represented by 'non-key' which is on the nail. In (100)a-d, the subject is in the nominative. In (100)e-f there is no existence presupposition of 'key' either within, or outside the location 'on the nail'. In (100)g-h the universe of the utterance is restricted to 'on the nail', and in this universe no entity exists. In (100)e-h the subject is in the partitive/genitive. Thus, the Finnish partitives and Russian genitives in the paired examples have similar meaning.

In a typical existential situation (102)a below, the partitive in negation indicates the lack of existence presupposition:

(102)

a. *Säkissä ei ole saappaita*.
sack.INE NEG.3Sg be$_{st}$ boots.PAR
'There are no boots in the sack.'

b. *Säkissä on saappaat*.
sack.INE is.3Sg boots.NOM
'There are the boots in the sack.'

c. *Säkissä on saappaita*.
sack.INE is boots.PAR
'There are (some) boots in the sack.'
(Huumo 1999: 1)

In (102)b the definite subject is in the nominative, and in (102)c the open-quantified subject is in the partitive. The difference between the subjects is not retained in (102)a, which is the negation of both (102)c and (102)b.

In Finnish the partitive of the subject is possible in a negated situation that accounts for the form of existence of the referent of the subject and, thus, can be considered generic. The partitive of the subject is not used if the situation signalled by the negative construction is specific:

(103)

a. *Rappukäytävässä hoilaa humalainen/humalaisia*.
stairway.INE yell.3Sg drunk.NOM/drunks.PAR
'There is a drunk/There are drunks yelling in the stairway.'
b. ?*Rappukäytävässä ei hoilaa humalaista*.
? stairway.INE NEG.3Sg $yell_{st}$ drunk.PAR
c. *Rappukäytävässä ei hoilaa humalainen/humalaisia*.
stairway.INE NEG.3Sg $yell_{st}$ drunk.NOM/drunks.PAR
'There is not any drunk/There are no drunks yelling in the stairway.'
(Finnish examples from Huumo 1999: 2)

In the affirmative (103)a, the nominative singular indicates a referent totally involved in the situation, whereas the partitive plural indicates an open quantity of drunks. A negation of the situation does not result in a partitive of the subject, cf. (103)b, since the activity *hoilata* 'to yell' is specific and it cannot be considered a mode of existence of the drunk. According to Huumo, the nominative in (103)c sounds emphatic and a contrastive reading is possible, such as 'it was not the drunk but X[=somebody else]', whereas in the affirmative sentence (103)a there is no emphasis. The plural partitive of the subject in the negation open-quantifies the quantity of the referents, in the same way as the plural partitive in the affirmative construction. The situation (103)c cannot apparently be considered existential, which is why the partitive of open-quantification is retained. Huumo (1999) suggests that, in negation, the partitive of divisible referent indicates open quantification, and only the partitive of indivisible subject is due to the lack of existence presuppositon.

The treatment of the situation calls for all the elements of the sentence, including the semantics of collocation of the subject and predicate and the adverbials:

(104)

a. *?Nurmikolla ei loikannut sammakkoa.*
lawn.ADE NEG.3Sg leap.PPA frog.PAR
No frog leapt on the lawn.
b. *Taikurin hatusta ei loikannut sammakkoa.*
magician.GEN hat.ELA NEG.3Sg leap.PPA frog.PAR
no frog leapt out of the magician's hat.
c. *Taikurin hatusta sammakko ei loikannut*.
magician.GEN hat.ELA frog NEG.3Sg leap.PPA
The frog did not leap out of the magician's hat.
(Huumo 1999: 3 & 4)

In (104)a the situation is specific, and the partitive does not seem appropriate. In (104)b the partitive can be used, since because of the introduction of the directional adverbial *taikurin hatusta.*ELA 'magician's hat-in-from' the situation becomes existential, namely, that of appearing, or being conjured into being. The unmarked word order in the existential clause is VS. That is why in the SV-ordered (104)c, which is otherwise the same as (104)b, the subject is in the nominative.

Although in Russian the range of verbs which collocate with the genitive subject in the negation is much narrower than in Finnish, the constraints on the genitive/partitive of the subject in negation are very close in both languages. As was

demonstrated above, in both languages the last level of constraint for the genitive/partitive is the situation as a whole, including the semantics of the collocation of the verb and the subject noun phrase, the location/direction adverbial and the word order.

A comparison of the existential subject in Finnish and in Russian

To summarise the comparison between Finnish and Russian subjects, I will discuss the following examples:

(105)

Finnish:	Russian:	
a. *Jauhot on pöydällä* Flours.NOM is table.ADE	a′ *Muka na stole.* Flour on table.NOM	The flour is on the table.
b. Pöydällä on jauhoja. Table-on is flour.PAR	b′ *Na stole muka.* On table flour.NOM	There is flour on the table.
c. *Pöydällä ei ole jauhoja*. Table-on NEG.3Sg be$_{st}$ flour.PAR	c′ *Na stole net muki*. On table no flour.GEN	There is no flour on the table.
d. *Kadulla on auto*. Street.ADE is a/the car.NOM	d′ *Na ulice mašina.* On street car.NOM	There is a car in the street.
e. *Kadulla ei ole autoa*. Street.ADE NEG.3Sg be$_{st}$ car.PAR	e′ *Na ulice net mašiny.* On street no car.GEN	There is no car in the street.
f. *Pihalla leikkii lapsia*. Yard.ADE play.3Sg children.PAR	f′ *Vo dvore igrajut deti*. In yard play.3Pl children.NOM	There are children playing in the yard.
g. *Pihalla ei leiki lapsia*.PAR Yard.ADE NEG.3Sg play$_{st}$ children.PAR	g′ *Vo dvore ne igrajut deti* In yard PRTn play.3Pl children.NOM	There are no children playing in the yard.
h. *Pihalla leikkii lapsi.* Yard.ADE plays child.	h′ *Vo dvore igraet rebenok.* In yard play.3Sg child	There is a child playing in the yard.
i. *Pihalla ei leiki lapsi.* Yard.ADE NEG.3Sg play$_{st}$ child.	i′ *Vo dvore ne igrajet rebenok.* In yard PRTn play.3Sg child	There is no child playing in the yard./The child is not playing in the yard.
j. **Pihalla ei leiki lasta.* Yard.ADE NEG.3Sg play$_{st}$ child.PAR	j′ **Vo dvore ne igrajet rebenka.* *In yard PRTn play.3Sg child.GEN	There is not a child playing in the yard.
k. *Lapsi ei leiki pihalla.* Child NEG.3Sg play$_{st}$ yard.ADE	k′ *Rebenok ne igrajet vo dvore.* Child PRTn play.3Sg in yard.	The child does not play in the yard.
l. *Pihalla ei leiki yhtään lasta* Yard.ADE NEG.3Sg play$_{st}$ single.PAR.PRTn child.PAR	l′ *?Vo dvore ne igraet ni odnogo rebenka* ?In yard PRTn play.3Sg PRTn single.GEN child.PAR	There is not a single child playing in the yard.

m. *Pihalla ei leiki yksikään lapsi*	m´ *Vo dvore ne igraet ni odin rebenok*	There is not a single child playing in the yard.
Yard.ADE NEG.3Sg $play_{st}$ single.NOM.PRTn child	In yard PRTn play.3Sg PRTn single.NOM child.NOM	

The difference between (105)a-a´and (105)b-b´ is that in the former the subject's referent is definite and in the latter indefinite. In Finnish this difference is expressed by the different cases, a definite subject being in the nominative but an indefinite being in the partitive, and by the word order. In Russian the word order is the only indicator of this difference; as in Finnish, the definite subject is clause-initial, whereas the indefinite subject follows the predicative, both the definite and the indefinite subject being in the nominative. In the negation of (105)a-a´and (105)b-b´, the Finnish partitive (105)c and the Russian genitive (105)c´ are used. In both languages in (105)d-d´, the indivisible singular subject of an affirmative existential clause is in the nominative and in the negation of this situation, (105)e-e´, it is in the Finnish partitive and the Russian genitive. In Finnish (105)f, the partitive of the indefinite plural subject open-quantifies the referent. In Russian (105)f´, the subject is in the nominative. In the negation, (105)g, the Finnish subject is in the partitive, which indicates the indefiniteness of the referent in the same way as the partitive does in the affirmative (105)f. In Russian (105)g´ the plural subject is in the nominative, since the verb 'to play' is not generic enough for the use of the genitive. Situation (105)g-g´ apparently cannot be considered existential (cf. (103)c above). The affirmative clause with the subject in the singular (105)h-h´ seems to be easily negated by applying a simple operator of negation. But the result, situation (105)i-i´ with the nominative subject, is marked in both languages. In Finnish, (105)i underlines an implicit contrast, such as 'it is not a child who plays in the yard but a grown-up'. In Russian, there is no such implication (which is only possible if the negative particle immediately precedes the subject), but the word order is marked, and the sentence sounds affective. The version of (105)i-i´ with the partitive/genitive of the singular subject is inadmissible, cf. (105)j-j´. In the SVA ordered negation (105)k-k´, a certain child is not in the yard, and s/he is implied to be elsewhere. The negation of the situation (105)h-h´ is the most natural with the introduction of an emphasising negative quantifier, which renders the partitive of subject feasible in Finnish (105)l, the other option being the nominative of the subject, (105)m. In Russian (105)l´, even modified with the emphasising negative quantifier, the genitive of the subject, if conceivable at all, sounds humorous. The nominative is the preferred alternative, (105)m´. The nominative subject is also an option in Finnish, cf. (105)m.

The individuation hierarchy by Timberlake holds good for the genitive of the subject in negation in Russian, and - as I have indicated in the examples and discussion above - for the partitive of the subject in affirmation and negation in Finnish. The less individuated the subject is and the more generic (less individuated) the situation is, the more possible is the genitive/partitive in negation. Still, the Russian genitive of the subject in negation is more constrained than the Finnish partitive. A prominent difference is that throughout the history of Russian, the

use of the genitive has been declining, whereas in Finnish, no decline has been observed in the use of the partitive.

4.2. The Finnish partitive and Russian genitive in diachrony. The genitive in Russian dialects.

In what follows, I will account for the diachronic development of the Finnish partitive and the Russian genitive and the use of the latter in the Russian dialects.

4.2.1. The development of the Finnish partitive

In the Uralic proto-language, there were three grammatical cases, the nominative, the accusative, and the genitive, and three local cases, the lative, the locative and the separative (Korhonen 1991: 166). The partitive case has developed from the Proto-Uralic separative. The expansion of the partitive started in the Proto-Finno-Volgaic[14] period in connection with certain verbs that indicated some kind of separation with specific types of objects, namely those which are easy to quantify (Itkonen 1972: 185-187)[15]. In the Proto-Finno-Sámi, the partitive was interpreted as a part of the whole. From this basis the meaning of open quantification started to develop. A further step was an interpretation of the partitive on the clausal level. The partitive of open quantification expanded its sphere to cover the situation on the whole. According to Larjavaara (1991), the partitive as a marker of imperfective aspect started developing in the past tense clauses, in which the action was terminated but did not cover the entire object. Thus, the partitive expressed the partial quantification of the object. Further, the partitive began to be used in the progressive clauses and consequently has become a marker of imperfectivity of the aspect in a broad sense, including inherently low-transitive verbs, and the marker of object under the scope of negation (Helasvuo 1996: 19, Itkonen 1972: 188). The object was supposedly the first syntactic position for the partitive, after which it was extended to the nominal predicate and the subjects of existential clauses.[16]

The partitive of negation was grammaticalised quite late in Baltic Finnic, early Proto-Finnic or at the latest middle Proto-Finnic (Larjavaara 1991: 398). Ac-

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[14] Proto-Finno-Volgaic estimated as spoken between 1500 and 500 BC branched off into Proto-Volgaic and Proto-Finno-Sámi. The latter branched off into Proto-Sámi and Proto-Finnic, as estimated, in the end of the 1st century AD (Hajdú 1985: 173, picture 1).

[15] Erkki Itkonen assumes that, at the beginning of its development, the partitive was an object of some verbs with a specific meaning. He describes the semantics of these verbs as "'einen Teil von etwas nehmen od. nehmen wollen' (also 'nehmen', 'essen', 'wünschen' usw.) sowie anderseits ein tatsächliches oder bildliches Vermeiden, ein Sich-Zurückziehen von jemandem ('fliehen', 'fürchten', 'sich vor jmdm schämen')." (Itkonen 1972: 186). As one possibility, Itkonen suggests that the partitive could be used with certain object types for marking aspectual differences of the verbs (ibid.: 187).

[16] Based on a sample of conversational data, although a very small amount, Helasvuo (1996: 9) supposes that this hypothetical order of development correlates with the relative frequencies of the partitive in these syntactic positions, i.e., the object is the most frequent and the subject is the least frequent. Even if these relative frequencies mirror the real *status quo*, it is still unclear why they should correlate with the order of the historical development of these syntactic roles.

cording to Karl Kont (1963), the Finnic partitive as a partial object and an object in the negative clause is due to Baltic influence. Lars-Gunnar Larsson (1981: 216-17) assumes the effect of the Baltic genitive on the Finnic partitive in all the fields in which these two cases are functionally parallel. Another viewpoint is that the original Finnic development of the partitive in negation gained support from the Baltic languages (Larjavaaara 1991). The grammaticalisation of the partitive of the object and existential subject in negation is a consequence of the grammatical meaning of the partitive as a marker of open quantification.

4.2.2. The development of the Russian genitive

The Russian genitive of the object in affirmation

In Proto-Indo-European the genitive and the ablative were distinct cases. Gradually, the genitive took over the ablative functions. This fact is responsible for the genitive use with verbs of striving and separating. In Balto-Slavonic[17] they merged into one case, and the genitive as a syncretic case was passed down to Proto-Slavonic (Schenker 1993: 85). In Proto-Slavonic, the unmarked case of the direct object was the accusative. Nevertheless, the genitive could also appear in this position in certain marked environments. For instance, the nominative and accusative singular endings of masculine *ŏ*- and *ŭ*- stems merged together, and, consequently, the genitive replaced the accusative of the male personal singular object, thus retaining a distinction between the subject and the direct object.

According to Tomson (1908), in Proto-Indo-European material nouns were used in the genitive, being the object of certain verbs. Those verbs signalled actions which were able to affect an open-quantified entity. This use was retained in the Slavonic and Baltic languages. In Proto-Slavonic, the genitive of the direct object was used as a marker of open quantification of the object's referent: *nalija vody* 'he poured some water', as an object of negated verbs, substantives and supines. (Schenker 1993: 108.)

Also later, in Old Church Slavonic[18], supines more or less systematically governed the genitive. Along with a change of the supine into an infinitive, the case of the direct object has changed into the accusative. Nevertheless, for instance, in Ukrainian, the genitive has been preserved and extended as the normal case for the infinitive object (Vecherka 1963: 211, fn. 52).

In Old Church Slavonic, the genitive continued to be assigned by some verbs of perception, separation, striving, and touching in a broad sense. With certain transitive verbs, both perfectives and imperfectives, the genitive of divisible objects open-quantified the referent. This use continued later, in Eastern Slavic and

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[17] Balto-Slavonic and Proto-Slavonic are reconstructions. The Slavs are the last Indo-European group to appear in written documents. The first mention of the Slavs was in documents of the sixth century AD. The first Slavonic text is from the 9th century, the time where the dialect differentiation of Proto-Slavonic had already been completed (Schenker 1993: 61-62, 114).

[18] Old Church Slavonic is the language of the earliest Slavonic texts. In Russian literature the first period is called 'Old Slavonic'. In the early period of distinct Slavonic dialects this language, based on a southern Slavonic dialect, functioned as a *lingua Franca* among the Slavs (JAZ 1990: 491-92).

in Old Russian (examples in Krys'ko 1997: 199-200)[19]. In Old Church Slavonic the verbs which signalled a kind of distribution, or top limit of completion governed the genitive (Vecherka 1963: 211-14).

These usages have their roots in the syncretic, genitive-ablative, nature of this case (Vaillant 1977: 79-80). In some of the meanings listed above the genitive sometimes alternated with the accusative, a prepositional phrase or an oblique case. In Old Church Slavonic the use of the genitive of separation and quantification was less frequent than in other Slavonic languages (Miklosich 1868-1874, IV: 487).

In Eastern Slavonic the genitive was retained for the same situations in which it was used in the earlier stages of language development. The genitive of the object indicated a part of the whole, the part which was involved (effected/affected[20]) in the situation:

(106)

urezaša emu nosa i obe ruce
cut him.DAT nose.GEN and both hands.ACC
'They cut off a part of his nose and both hands.'
(Krys'ko 1997:160, citing the First Novgorod Chronicle)

In the example above the genitive indicates partiality of the referent; both hands were totally cut, while the nose was cut off only partially (usually the nostrils). Already in the 1200s the grammatical marking of partial involvement of the object began to disappear, and the accusative came into use in the same context (Krys'ko 1997: 161).

Among the verbs of perception, the objective genitive was used with the verb *slušati* 'to listen to', and the accusative with the verb *slyšati* 'to hear'. A similar pair was formed by the verbs *s"motriti*+GEN 'to look at', *videti*+ACC 'to see', the former governing mostly the genitive and the latter governing the accusative. (Krys'ko 1997: 171-74.) Note that a corresponding contrast exists in modern Finnish between the verbs *kuunnella* 'to listen to', which governs the partitive, and *kuulla* 'to hear', governing the accusative, as well as *katsoa* 'to look', governing the partitive, and *nähdä* 'to see', governing the accusative.

In Eastern Slavonic the genitive was used more or less consistently as the object case with verbs of striving, separating, and mental activity (Krys'ko 1997: 183-94). Nevertheless, verbs whose meaning combined the semantics of striving with the semantics of resultativeness could also govern the accusative. For instance, the perfective verb *dobyti* governed both the accusative and the genitive of object, whereas its imperfective pair-part *dobyvati* governed the genitive only (ibid. 185). The genitive was also used with some verbs of affection, *žalovati* 'to feel a pity for smth/smb', *plakati* 'to cry over smth/smb', and a group of verbs

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[19] Krys'ko characterises the genitive of the open-quantified object as "developing in Middle Old Russian" (1400-1600). Nevertheless, the same meaning was observed in Old Church Slavonic texts (Vecherka 1963, Vaillant 1977, V: 74-75). Among Slavonic languages of the early period, the most frequent use of the genitive of separation and quantification was in Northern Slavic languages (Miklosich 1868-1874: 487).

[20] The object is affected if it is not changed in the course of action/activity, whereas the effected object is changed (including a change from non-existence to existence) by the action. This distinction is used by Dahl and Karlsson (1976). See also Lord 1982, Hopper 1986.

concerned with taking care (as *s"motriti* 'to take care of', also 'guarding', 'following [the rules]'). The genitive of the object was often used in negation. (Krys'ko 1997: 191-93, 197; examples from texts of the 1000-1300s.) Towards the 1600s the use of the accusative with the verbs of perception increased. Some verbs of striving and separation changed the pattern of government and started to govern another case or prepositional phrase. (ibid.: 202-206, 214-215.)

The genitive was a marker of the temporary involvement of the object in the situation. Probably the first time this use was documented was in a guidebook of Russian from the 1600s (Sørensen 1961: 31):

(107)

Požaluj, daj mnê svoego nožič'ka na poderža(n)e.
Please, give me your.masc.GEN knife$_{masc}$GEN for [temporary] holding

The utterance above is a polite request, where the genitive can be treated as a merged marker of temporary affect and politeness.

Igor Vahros (1959: 274) cited the following examples from Lomonosov's Grammar (*Rossijskaja grammatika* 1755):

(108)

a. *Pokaži svoej knigi*
Show.imp own.fem.GEN book$_{fem}$GEN
b. *Pokaži svoju knigu*
Show.imp your.femACC book$_{fem}$ACC

According to Lomonosov, the genitive in (108)a makes the request smoother than that in (108)b. I share the opinion expressed by Vahros (ibid.) that the genitive also indicated the temporary effect.

The genitive of temporary affect and the genitive of politeness are characterised by Tomson (1908: 295) as common in colloquial Russian at the beginning of the 1900s, although educated people neglected the genitive under the pressure of norms prescribed by the grammars. Tomson (ibid.) gives examples of use:

(109)

a. *Daj mne (svoego) nožika (na vremja).*
give.imp me (own.GEN.masc) knife$_{dim.masc}$GEN (temporarily)
b. *On daval mne svoego nožika (dal mne nožik).*
He gave$_{ipfve}$masc me own.masc.GEN knife$_{dim.masc}$GEN (gave$_{pfve}$ me knife$_{dim.masc}$ACC)
c. *Odolži mne svoego pera, svoej knigi, palki.*
lend.imp me own.masc.GEN pen$_{masc}$GEN, own.fem.GEN book$_{fem}$GEN, cane$_{fem}$-GEN
d. *Pozvol'te mne vaših časov.*
let.imp.Pl me (have) your.Pl.GEN watch.Pl.GEN

In (109)a, (109)c and (109)d the genitive is used in a request for temporary use, thus containing the meaning of politeness and temporary effect. In (109)b the imperfective verb in indicative mood governs the genitive whereas the perfective verb governs the accusative.

The comment made by Tomson concerning the difference between use and reflection on use is of interest. He mentions that, although using the genitive in casual speech, when asked about the possibility of using the genitive as above,

educated Russian people on first consideration rejected such use as inappropriate (ibid.: 296).

In the beginning of the 1900s, as well as in CSR, the genitive of object was the marker of the open quantification of the referent only with some perfective verbs. Tomson's (1908: 291) examples from the beginning of 1900s do not show much difference compared with CSR:

(110)

a. *privozili nožej, ložek, knig, seledok*
they used to bring$_{ipfve}$ knives.GEN, spoons.GEN, books.GEN, herrings.GEN
b. *prinosi pirožkov*
bring$_{ipfve}$imp pies.GEN
c. *sobrali vlastej*
(they) gathered.Pl authorities.GEN
d. *kupi svečej*
buy.imp candles.GEN

In all Tomson's examples the object has a concrete plural referent, the genitive indicating quantitative indefiniteness. Expressions (110)a and (110)b are marked in CSR, since verbs which govern the genitive are imperfective.

The genitive of object was used with many verbs of perception, feeling and mental activity. Tomson (1908) points to the perfective—imperfective distinction as sometimes determining the case of the object, the perfective governing the accusative, as in (111)b, (111)d and (111)f, and the imperfective governing the genitive, as in (111)a, (111)c and (111)e:

(111)

a. *on iščet slučaja, kvartiry*
he search$_{ipfve}$3Sg chance.GEN, flat.GEN
b. *on otyskal kvartiru brata*
he found$_{pfve}$masc (his) brother's flat.ACC
c. *on prosit pozvolenija, poščady*
he ask$_{ipfve}$3Sg (for) permission.GEN, oblivion.GEN
d. *on isprosil dostup*
he asked$_{pfve}$masc (applied for and received) admission.ACC
e. *ždal slučaja*
(he) waited$_{ipfve}$masc (for a) chance.GEN
f. *vyždal slučaj*
(he) waited$_{pfve}$masc (for a) chance.ACC (i.e., he waited till at last he got the chance)

According to the author, the genitive indicates the lack of concreteness or definity of both the verb and its object. In the beginning of the 1900s this meaning had already become obscure to speakers, since the accusative forced the genitive out (ibid.: 298). This genitive can be treated as an alignment with the low transitivity of the situation.

The Russian genitive of the object in negation

The genitive of the object in negation was not only common in Slavic, but also in the Baltic languages, in Ancient Greek and in Proto-Germanic languages (see references in Vecherka 1963: 204). Tomson (1908: 300-301) pointed out that the

use of the genitive of the object in negation (semantic, and not necessarily grammatical) had already existed in Proto-Indo-European, although it has been retained only in the Baltic and Slavonic languages. In Old Church Slavonic the genitive of the object in negation was an unmarked choice. The accusative, although possible, always had some additional motivations. For instance, the accusative was used in utterances in which the negation was formal and not semantic (cf. the accusative in analogous situations in modern Finnish, (65)b), or in which the object was not included in the scope of negation. Later, in the early Western and Eastern Slavonic languages the genitive of negation was even more frequent. (Vecherka 1963: 204-09.)

On the basis of an analysis of Russian Grammars, Timberlake (1975: 138, e.n. 29) assumes that the loss of the genitive of negation started approximately in the middle of the 1750s. As late as in the 1800s, a semantic negation was sufficient for the use of the genitive of the object, without a grammatically expressed negation (Peškovskij 1956: 298).

At the beginning of the 1900s, Tomson (1903: 207) reported that in the contemporary written Russian language the genitive was almost without exception governed by the negated transitive verb in personal form, and consequently, the nuances of the differences in meaning between the accusative and genitive were lost. In colloquial speech, the variation between the genitive and the accusative of the negated object was functional. In his analysis of the factors determining the choice between the genitive and accusative, Tomson defines the parameters which were later developed and generalised into an individuation hierarchy by Timberlake. Tomson (ibid. 231) concludes that the conditions for the accusative of object were a concrete and definite referent and a concrete meaning of the verb. Thus, the factors which had made the accusative option admissible at the beginning of the 20th century were defined 70 years later as the factors which made the genitive option unacceptable. This development reveals a tendency towards the elimination of the genitive of negation.

The Russian genitive of subject

In Old Church Slavonic the genitive of the subject was to some extent used with negative forms of the verb *byti* 'to be', although not as often as in other Slavic languages (Vecherka 1963: 201-203). In affirmative constructions, the existential subject was in the nominative[21].

The genitive of the subject in affirmative existential clauses is considered to be a comparatively recent phenomenon in Slavic languages. It has become widespread in Byelorussian (Karsky 1912: 17). In the period 1000-1300 this genitive was used in East Slavonic as an open-quantifier of a divisible existential subject. This use was retained in Old Russian in the 1400s-1600s (Georgieva 1978: 235, 242-43). In the 1700s this open-quantifying genitive was still unmarked even in written language:

(112)

a. From a literal source of the 1700s (cited by Švedova 1964: 313)
Pošel nemalyj sneg, kotorogo bespreryvno šlo 29 časov.

[21] According to Vecherka (1963: 203), there is only one example of the genitive of subject with the affirmative 'to be' as a predicate in the Church Slavonic texts of New Testament.

started.masc large snow$_{masc}$, which.masc.GEN continuously came.neut 29 hours
'A snowfall started, which continued without stopping for 29 hours.'
b. Translation into (modern) Finnish:
Alkoi sataa runsaasti lunta, jota satoi taukoamatta 29 tuntia.
started to fall abundantly snow.PAR, which.PAR snow.ipf.3Sg pause.ABE 29 hours.

In CSR the use of the genitive in the situation (112)a is inconceivable, whereas in contemporary Finnish the partitive of subject is used, cf. (112)b.

During the 1800s, the range of verbs which could collocate with the genitive of the subject narrowed. Mostly the predicates of the genitive of the subject were the modal verbs *trebovat'sja, ponadobit'sja,* 'to be needed', and the adverbs *nadobno, nužno* 'necessary'. Of non-modal predicates verb *byt', byvat'* 'to be' was mostly used. The most genitive-favouring subject was the substantivised pronoun *vsë* 'all, everything, whatever':

(113)

vsego bylo
all.GEN was.neut
'There was everything.'
u nego hlebca v ruke est'
at him bread.GEN in hand.LOC is
'He has some bread in his hand.'
(from the literature of the 2nd half of the 1800s, cited by Švedova 1964: 315)

According to Švedova (ibid.: 318), in the 1800s the affirmative constructions with the subject in the genitive were marked and in *belles-lettres* imitated colloquial speech, in which the genitive open-quantifying low-individuated subject was not rare at the beginning of the 1900s (Tomson 1908). Now the genitive of subject is used in Russian dialects.

The semantics of the predicating verbs which could collocate with the genitive of subject of negation were wider in the Russian of the 1800s than it is in CSR. Consider the two following extracts from Russian literature of the middle of the 1800s:

(114)

a.— *A general-to proehal.*
— PRT general-PRT rode.masc.
'The general has ridden past, you know'
— *Kakoj general? Nikakogo generala ne proezžalo.*
— what general? no-one.masc.GEN general$_{masc}$GEN PRTn past-roded.neut
'What general? There were no generals passing by.'
b. translation into contemporary Finnish:
Mikä kenraali? Ei mitään kenraalia ole ajanut ohi
what general? NEG.3Sg what-ever.GEN-PRT general.PAR be$_{st}$ ride.ppa by
c. *Russkih molodyh ljudej, krome Pirožkova, ne žilo v pansione.*
Russian.Pl.GEN young.Pl.GEN men.GEN, except P.GEN PRTn lived.neut in the boarding house.
'Except P., there were no other Russian young men staying in the boarding house.'
(*belles-lettres* of the 1800s, quoted in Švedova 1964: 309)

In CSR, the constraint on the genitive in (114)a and (114)c is the personal referent of the subject and the non-generic situations signalled by the VPs *proezžat'* 'to ride past' and *žit' v pansione* 'to stay in the boarding house'. In (114)a, the emphasising negative modifier *nikakogo* 'nobody'.GEN favours the genitive. In an expression of the same situation, the partitive is used in contemporary Finnish, (114)b.

4.2.3. The Russian dialects[22]

The genitive of the object

Russian dialects have retained many aspects of the use of the genitive of the object and subject that have dissappeared in CSR. In all Russian dialects, the verbs that govern the genitive of the object are not so severely restricted semantically as they are in CSR. Imperfective verbs can also govern the genitive of the object. An especially wide range of genitive-governing imperfectives was observed in the northern and bordering intermediate Russian dialects:

(115)

a. *pokupala travy sebe*
bought$_{ipfve}$fem grass.GEN for oneself
'(A female person) used to buy herbs to cure herself.'
b. *kak soldaty iz topora kaši varili*
how soldiers from axe.GEN porridge.GEN cooked$_{ipfve}$Pl
'(a story) how soldiers cooked porridge from an axe.'
c. *pošli domika iskat' i my našli domik*
(we) went.Pl (for) house$_{dim}$GEN to search and we found.Pl the house$_{dim}$ACC
'We went to search for the house and we found it.'
(Kuz'mina 1993: 30-32)

Of the above examples, (115)a was recorded in the Moscow region, (115)b in Vologda region, and (115)c in the Jaroslavl' region. The imperfective verbs signal a habitual situation, in (115)a, and a process, in (115)b-c, all these situations being low in transitivity. The genitive of the object is a marker of low transitivity. In (115)a-b the genitive open-quantifies the divisible referent. This is especially salient in 115(c), in which the imperfective low-transitive verb 'to search' governs the genitive of the indivisible object, while the conjugated perfective predicate 'to find' governs the accusative of the object with the same referent.

In the dialects, the genitive of the object is used as a marker of the temporary involvement of the referent. In interrogation, the 'polite' genitive indicates a lack of existential assumption:

(116)

a. *daj rublika*
give.imp ruble$_{dim}$GEN
(Brjansk region, Southern dialects)

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[22] In Russian dialects, data for investigation of the genitive of object and subject have never been consistently collected nor ever included in the questionnaires for systematic inquiry. (For further details, see Kuz'mina 1993: 28.)

'Can you give me a ruble, please?'
b. *Ja u vas voz'mu lesenki na časok*
I at you take.1Sg ladder$_{dim}$GEN for hour$_{dim}$
'May I take the ladder for an hour?'
(Novgorod region, North-western dialects)
c. *Ljusja, čemodančika vzjala?* (Arhangel'sk region, Northern dialects)
(The question is addressed to the veterinarian and concerns the case in which she keeps her tools)
L. ((1nameF)), case$_{dim}$GEN took.fem?
'Ljusja, have you taken the case?'
(Kuz'mina 1993: 31-32)

In (116)a above the genitive indicates a lack of positive assumption, i.e., the speaker politely demonstrates that s/he does not necessarily expect to get the money. Probably, the genitive indicates that the speaker is going to return the ruble in the future. In (116)b the genitive marks temporary use and a polite indication of the lack of expectation that the ladder would be given. In (116)c, the genitive shows that the speaker does not have any expectations concerning the case and, thus, would not be disappointed if the case had not been taken. In all examples the genitive increases the politeness of the request and in (116)a-b also indicates a temporary effect. The diminutive form of the objects is also a marker of politeness.

In the following example, the genitive signals the temporary affectedness of the referent:

(117)
Mamen'ka, pokačaj ty zybki-to!
Mother, roll.imp you.Sg cradle.GEN-PRT!
Mother, roll the cradle, please!
(Karelia; from Kuz'mina 1993: 33)

The temporary affectedness is also marked on the verb, with the prefix *po-kačat* 'to a-bit—roll'.

The genitive of politeness, demonsrated in (116)a-c, is semantically the same as the genitive of the object in negation. In the dialectal use, grammatical negation is not necessary and semantic negation provides a sufficient basis for the genitive of the object:

(118)
pohoronit' materi nekomu dak
to bury mother.GEN nobody.DAT PRT
'There is nobody to bury the mother.'
(Karelia; from Kuz'mina 1993: 34)

In the example above the negation is expressed by the negation-sensitive pronoun *nekomu* 'nobody', lit. 'not-any.DAT', which has no nominative form. This pronoun being a semantic subject, the predicate can only be in the infinitive form. The negative particle is not needed either. Only the semantic subject is in the scope of negation. Although the constructions with *nekomu* are negative by their semantics, their negation is insufficient from a grammatical point of view, and,

thus, in CSR the genitive of the negated object cannot be used. The genitive of semantic negation is retained in Northern and North-western Russian dialects.

In northern and western Russian dialects many verbs of perception, feeling, striving and achievement govern the genitive. Among them there are the verbs *smotret'* 'to look$_{ipfve}$', *posmotret'* 'to get a look$_{pfve}$', *slušat'* 'to listen to$_{ipfve}$', *poslušat'* 'to listen to for some time$_{pfve}$', *znat'* 'to know$_{ipfve}$', *ljubit'* 'to love$_{ipfve}$', *žalet'* to pity$_{ipfve}$', *iskat'* 'to search for$_{ipfve}$':

(119)

a. *pogljadi moej kvartiry*
look.imp my.GEN flat.GEN
'Have a look at my flat!'
b. *požalel devuški*
pitied.masc girl.GEN.
'He pitied the girl.'
c. *Ja gribov ljublju*
I mushrooms.GEN love.1Sg
'I like mushrooms.'
(North-western dialectal zone; Kuz'mina 1993: 32-33)

In (119)a, governed by the verb of perception, the genitive indicates the partial effect of the action; the recipient is supposed to look at a part of the flat. In (119)b-c the genitive is governed by low-transitive verbs of feeling.

The speakers, however, seem to sense some pressure from the standard language. In (120), the speaker immediately repairs the genitive of the object with the accusative:

(120)

Drov tjaželo zagotovljat', drova.
firewood.Pl.GEN hard to lay-in$_{ipfve}$, firewood.Pl.ACC
'It is hard for me to lay in firewood.'
(Kuz'mina 1993: 31)

As was demonstrated in (119)a, dialects have retained the genitive of the partial involvement of the indivisible object:

(121)

a. *vot teper' ja kažnoj gazetki pročitaju.*
PRT now I every.fem.GEN newspaper$_{dim\cdot fem}$GEN read$_{pfve}$1Sg.
'Now I have time to peep at every newspaper.'
b. *s igolkoj byt' ušivat' meška*
with needle to be to take-in$_{ipfve}$ sack.GEN
'One needs a needle to take in the sack.'
(Northern dialect zone; Kuz'mina 1993: 33)

In (121), the genitive indicates partial affectedness of the referent. In (121)a the speaker means that s/he does not read all of the newspapers but only some part of each of them. In (121)b only a part of a sack is to be taken in by sewing.

Comparing the dialect materials of the 1960s to those from the end of the 1800s to the beginning of the 1900s, Kuz'mina (1993: 36-37) concludes that the

territory of use of the genitive of the object has narrowed in a direction going from southeast to northwest and from east to west.

To sum up, many aspects of the use of the genitive of object that have been lost in CSR are retained in the Northern and North-western dialects. In particular, the genitive is used in the following situations in the dialects:

1. the genitive of the object in semantic negation, in interrogation in which the genitive indicates the lack of an existence presupposition;
2. the genitive of temporary affectedness of the object;
3. the genitive of partial involvement of the indivisible and divisible referent in the situation;
5. the genitive governed by low-transitive verbs, typically imperfective ones and, in particular, verbs of perception, feeling, searching, striving and mental activity.

The genitive of the subject

The genitive of the subject in affirmative constructions is reported to be in use in northwestern, northern and bordering intermediate dialects (Kuz'mina & Nemchenko 1976). The Jaroslavl' and Kostroma regions belong to the area with a regular use of the genitive of subject (Kuz'mina 1993: 109). Consider the following examples:

(122)

a. *K nam vsjakih edet*
to us all.Pl.GEN come.
'People of all kinds come to our place.'
b. *Gostej priehalo, cim potcevat'*
guests.GEN came.neut, what.INS to entertain
'Guests.GEN have come. What we have to put on the table?'
c. *Uehali narodu*
went.Pl away people.GEN
'People have left (this) place.'
d. *A otca-to u tebja est'?*
PRT father.GEN-PRT at you is
'Do you have a father?'
e. *Sem'ji-to est' (u nego)?*
family.GEN-PRT is (at him)
'Does he have a family?'
(Northern and North-western Russian dialects, Kuz'mina & Nemčenko 1976: 221, 222, 226)

In (122)a-c the genitive open-quantifies the quantity of the referents involved in the situation. In all these examples the objects have personal referents. In (122)c the object is a collective noun (note the *-u* form of the genitive). In interrogation, (122)d-e, the genitive indicates a lack of existential assumption. In CSR, for the genitive to be feasible the negation should be explicit. CSR versions of (122)e are as follows:

(123)

a. *Sem'ji-to net u nego?*
family.GEN-PRT no at him?
'He does not have a family, does he?'

b. *Sem'ja-to est' u nego?*
family.NOM-PRT is at him?
'He has a family, does not he?'

In (123)a, the negative predicate *net* makes the genitive obligatory. Without explicit negation the construction takes the nominative of the object.

In affirmative constructions, the genitive of the subject open-quantifies the referent. The verbs collocating with the genitive of the subject have a wide range of semantic meaning:

(124)

a. *Tam muzyki igrae.*
there music.GEN play.3Sg
'There plays some music there.'
b. *Mužikov-to pogibli, molodež' pogibli.*
Male.Pl.GEN-PRT parished$_{pfve}$Pl, youth.NOM parished$_{pfve}$Pl
'Men died, young people died.'
c. *Nahodilos' takih ljudej.*
found$_{ipfve}$neut such.Pl.GEN people.Pl.GEN.
'There were such people.'
(Northern and North-western dialects; Kuz'mina & Nemčenko 1976: 221-222)

In (124)a the genitive of the subject 'music' indicates the indefiniteness of the referent. In (124)b-c, the genitive open-quantifies the referents concerning their number. In (124)a and (124)c the predicate is expressed with the singular verb form. In (124)b the plural form of the predicate is the realisation of semantic agreement with the divisible subject noun phrase (see Chapter 5). The plural subject *mužikov* is in the genitive, whereas the subject of the coordinated clause, the collective noun *molodež',* is in the nominative. Thus, at least in contemporary dialectal use, the genitive of the subject is not consistent.

A conservative influence in the adstratic language contact?

As has been shown, the objective and subjective use of the Finnish partitive and the Russian genitive have much in common and the overlapping areas of their use were historically much wider. A broad overlap can still be found between Russian dialects, especially Northern and North-Western ones, and Finnish.

Veenker (1967: 128-29) assumes that the partitive meaning of the genitive of the object is originally Slavonic, whereas the genitive of the subject in Russian and especially in the northern dialects of Russian has been retained under the conservative influence of a Finno-Ugrian substrate.

For the genitive of the object in negation, Veenker excludes the possibility of Finno-Ugrian influence, since this genitive had been used in Slavic and Baltic languages since very early times. Veenker (ibid.: 130) refers to Kont (1963), who assumes the Baltic influence on Baltic-Finnic partitive in negation.

I agree with Veenker that the conservative influence of the Baltic Finnic partitive in the use of the genitive of the object and subject in North-western and Northern Russian dialects took place. Nevertheless, a more important and undoubted influence has occurred through *adstratic* language contact between speakers of Russian and speakers of the neighbouring Baltic Finnic languages. From whatever source it originates, the far

extended overlap in the use of the genitive and partitive has been an important factor in supporting the conservative influence.

4.3. Summary. Hypotheses

The first stages of the development of the Finnish partitive and the Russian genitive are similar. Due to their ablative origin, both cases have been used as a marker of partial quantification and as the object of verbs with the meaning of lacking and separating. In both languages the marking of partial quantification was responsible for the use of the genitive/partitive as an object of inherently low-transitive verbs. The use of the partitive/genitive of the object in negation has been more or less systematic not only in Proto-Slavic, but also in the Baltic languages, which are often proposed as the putative source of the partitive of the object in negation in Finnish.

Throughout the history of Russian the use of the genitive of the subject and object has decreased, this process having been especially rapid since the beginning of the 1900s. In the most general terms, this decrease is a corollary of the drift of Russian from an inflectional toward an analytic system. In Russian dialects, however, the use of the genitive of object and subject is more widespread than in CSR.

In contemporary language use, the Finnish partitive and Russian genitive are both used in situations of explicit quantification. The quantifiers which govern the partitive and genitive in Finnish and in Russian respectively overlap, but do not coincide. In Russian, the quantification of the subject/object is expressed by verb morphology.

According to Jakobson (1936/1984: 72-73), the basic meaning of the genitive is the indication of non-total involvement of the referent in the situation. To a considerable degree, this definition seems to hold good for the general meaning of the Finnish partitive.

Indicating the limited scope of involvement, the genitive is contrasted with the accusative and nominative, cases which indicate the total involvement of the referent. Jakobson compares this opposition of genitive vs. accusative and nominative to the verbal aspect correlation, "the mark of which is the designation of the scope of the action" (ibid.: 72). Limited scope of action is marked with the imperfective aspect. In Finnish, the similarity of the case of the object and verbal aspect is 'materialised' in the sense that the partitive marks the limitation and the accusative the totality of the referent's involvement.

In CSR, the unmarked case of the direct object is the accusative. The opposition genitive—accusative is marginal. In negation the accusative of the object is unmarked, whereas the genitive is marked and tightly constrained by individuation conditions that are dispersed at various levels of the situation expressed, as was shown in the individuation-rank hierarchy for the genitive of object in negation proposed by Timberlake. Many factors can raise the individuation rank, which renders the genitive of the object dispreferred or even ungrammatical. In affirmation, with certain perfective verbs indicating the situation of taking, getting, eating and drinking (off), etc., the genitive of divisible objects open-quantifies the involvement of the referent in the situation. Additionally, several

verbs of striving and separation can still govern the genitive of the object. This genitive, however, has become more and more constrained by the semantics of the objects, which are mostly material nouns. As has been shown above, Timberlake's individuation hierarchy can be applied to affirmative situations, too, in relation to the individuation of the object. Being non-referential, abstract NPs are the least individuated. Next are the material NPs. They are followed by plural NPs, which demonstrate a considerable elevation in individuation rank compared to the preceding two semantic types.

Østen Dahl and Fred Karlsson (1976) compare the contemporary use of the Finnish partitive and Russian genitive of object and subject. According to these authors (ibid. 43) the choice between the partitive and accusative of the object is determined by the following criteria; negative/affirmative sentence (1), perfective/imperfective aspect (2), and total/non-total multitude (3). These criteria function at three different linguistic levels. The first criterion overrides the second and third ones, with the second criterion overriding the third. In slightly different terms, the functioning of these criteria was demonstrated and described above. On the second level, the partitive marks low transitivity, and on the third level, it marks the degree of the object's involvement in the situation.

The partitive is a cornerstone of the Finnish object. Some researchers (Leino 1982; Heinämäki 1984) consider the partitive to be an unmarked case of the direct object. Inherently low-transitive verbs govern the partitive of their object. Finnish bi-aspectual verbs can govern both the accusative and the partitive. The partitive of the object open-quantifies the degree of the referent's involvement in the situation, and the situation in the whole, indicating that the situation is low in transitivity. The partitive open-quantifies the divisible subject signalling indefiniteness of the referent's quantity/measure involved into the situation. In contrast, the accusative of the object signals limited situation, and the object's total involvement in the situation. The partitive of the object and the existential subject in negation are grammaticalised.

In Finnish, the partitive of the divisible subject is used in existential and some other low-transitive situations. In CSR, in affirmation without explicit quantification, the subject can only be in the nominative. In negation, the genitive of the subject is used in existential situations in which the existence of a referent is not pre-supposed. In the same situation the partitive of the subject is used in Finnish negation, but the use of the Finnish partitive is not yet so constrained as the genitive in Russian. Firstly, the range of meanings of the verbs that can collocate with the case in question is much broader in Finnish than in Russian. Secondly, semantic negation is a sufficient basis for the use of the Finnish partitive, but it is not adequate for the genitive in Russian, in which a grammatically expressed negation is also required for the genitive of the object /subject to come into consideration.

Hypotheses

Especially because of the broad field of convergence, which was still much wider during the diachronic development, the use of the Finnish partitive of the subject and object can affect the use of the Russian genitive in the kind of language contact where Finnish is the superordinate language. The Finnish partitive of object,

being grammaticalised in negation, can become a source for the grammaticalisation of the Russian genitive of negation under conducive and appropriate social circumstances. The Finnish partitive of the divisible subject can also invoke the genitive of the existential subject in affirmation in Russian. The use of the genitive of subject in negation is likely to increase in contact-influenced Russian. The Finnish partitive of low transitivity at the situational level can become a model for the same use of the Russian genitive in a low-transitive situation. The latter hypothesis, nevertheless, presupposes the aspectual difference in Russian verbs to be ignored by the speakers. This seems feasible in intense long-term contacts with a very contact-affected, but still socially very vital subordinate language. The situation under consideration does not fit this pattern of characteristics.

For the Kyyrölä speakers a more profound prediction for the partitive can be presumed, since these speakers have a dialect background, in which the dialectal use of the genitive had also historically been more far reaching than the use of the genitive in the normative variety. Additionally, their contact with the Finnish population has gone on for longer than that of the non-dialect Russians.

4.4. Data analysis

In what follows, I will analyse the use of the partitive of the subject and object in the data.

4.4.1. Statistics

In the data 29 non-dialectal speakers[23] and 37 dialectal speakers use at least one genitive in the constructions under investigation. In the following this sample will be considered. Table 11 shows the number of speakers in each corpus who use each particular structure. Table 12 accounts for the absolute numbers and percentage of the tokens of the genitive of subject and object in each corpus. The sum of the tokens of a particular structure in both corpora is taken to be 100%.

Syntactic structures with GEN	Speakers	
	29 non-dial.	37 dial.
object in negation	13	14
object in affirmation*	14	15
subject	7	26

Table 11. Users of the genitive of the subject and object in both corpora

Corpora	Subj.	%	Obj. in affirmation	%	Obj. in negation	%
Non-dial.	10	12	20	32	13	35
Dial.	72	88	42	68	24	65
total	82	100	62	100	37	100

Table 12. Tokens of the genitive of the subject and object in both corpora
* Interrogation is considered within affirmation

[23] Of 46 non-dialectal speakers whose speech samples were considered for this research, only 29 used subject or object in the genitive once or more than once.

The syntactic structures in which the genitive is accounted for are the genitive of the object in negative constructions, the genitive of the object in affirmative constructions, and the genitive of the subject in both negative and affirmative constructions. Considered together, Tables 11 and 12 show that, of the 29 speakers of the non-dialect corpus, 13 speakers use 13 tokens of the genitive of the object in negation, 14 speakers use 20 tokens of the genitive of the object in affirmation, and 7 speakers use 10 tokens of the subject in the genitive. Of the 37 speakers of the dialect corpus, 14 speakers use 24 tokens of the genitive object in negation, 15 speakers use 42 tokens of the genitive object in affirmation, and 26 speakers use 72 tokens of the genitive subject.

The figures of genitive tokens are compared in Table 12. In both corpora together the use of the genitive in a particular structure is taken as 100%. In both corpora together there are 82 tokens of the genitive of the subject, of them 88% (72 tokens) in the dialect corpus. Of the 62 tokens of the genitive of the object in affirmation, 68% (42 tokens) are used by the dialect speakers. Of the 37 tokens of the genitive of the object in negation, 65% (24 tokens) occur in the dialect corpus. The dialect corpus outnumbers the non-dialect corpus in all constructions. The difference between the two corpora is largest in the use of the genitive of the subject.

In the dialect corpus, all the occurrences of the subject in the genitive are in non-negative clauses. In the non-dialect corpus there is one utterance with negated subject and one interrogative utterance without explicit negation. In this case, as has been shown above, the genitive is not used in CSR. Of course, in both corpora there are existential utterances with the negation word *net,* in which the genitive of the subject has no other options. These constructions are not taken into consideration, since they do not show a syntactic change.

4.4.2. The genitive of subject in the non-dialect corpus

In the non-dialect corpus, 7 speakers use the genitive of the subject in a total of 10 occurrences. The subject is expressed 7 times with plural nouns, once with an abstract noun (*pol'z-y.GEN, pol'za.NOM* 'advantage'), once with a pronoun (*vse-go.GEN, vsë.NOM* 'all; everything'), and once with a collective noun (*černik-i.GEN, černika.NOM* 'bilberry').

Negation and interrogation

The only occurrence of the genitive in negation is the following:

(125)

a. M1912 (his wife and IR_{fl})
Zdes' takih slov ne upotrebljaetsja.
here such.Pl.GEN words.GEN PRTn use.3Sg-refl
'Such words are not used here.'

b. CSR:
Zdes' takie slova ne upotrebljajutsja.
here such.Pl words PRTn use.3Pl-refl

The speaker uses the genitive in (125)a, a possible but marked option in CSR. The clause is in the passive voice. The source of the reflexive *sja*-verb is the transitive *upotrebljat'* 'to use'. In negative existential situations predicated by *sja*-verb, the semantic subject can be in the genitive. The subject's referent belongs to the shared knowledge of the participants and is highly activated (cf. the demonstrative pronoun *takih* 'such'.Pl.GEN), the speaker having discussed 'such words' referred to in the extract in the immediately preceding part of the interaction. Definiteness and activation raise the individuation rank of the subject NP. In CSR (125)b, the nominative is the unmarked case of this NP.

Continuing, this speaker uses the genitive and immediately repairs it with the nominative:

(126)

a. M1912
daže takih slov, s trudom, takie slova, s trudom, nahodilis' v dikselene[24]
even such.Pl.GEN words.GEN, with difficulty, such.Pl.NOM words.NOM, with difficulty, found.Pl-refl in (the dictionary)
'It was even difficult to find such words in the dictionary.'
b. Finnish
Sellaisia sanoja oli jopa vaikea löytää sanakirjasta
such.Pl.PAR words.PAR was.3Sg even difficult to find dictionary.ELA

The verb *nahodilis'* 'find.pst.Pl-refl' has a passive meaning. The speaker introduces the semantic subject in the genitive and immediately repairs it with the nominative, (126)a. This self-repair demonstrates that the case choice is well within the speaker's control. This self-repair also reveals that the speaker does not consider the genitive of the subject conventional.

In the Finnish equivalent (126)b the partitive is used. The orientation on a Finnish pattern in (126)a is quite conceivable, especially taking into account the immediate self-repair.

In the non-dialect corpus, there is one occurrence of the genitive of the existential subject in interrogation:

(127)

a. F=F1909 (F1922 and IR_{fl} are present)
(The background: the husband of F1922 is Catholic. F was once asked if there are other Catholics in the town, in addition to F1922's husband. In the extract, addressing F1922, F quotes the question)
/slušaj meždu pročim, kto-to u menja sprosil, es' li, es' li katolikov krome tvoego muža.
Listen by the way, somebody at me asked.masc is PRTq is PRTq Catholics.GEN except your husband
'Listen, by the way somebody has asked me if there are other Catholics besides your husband.'
b. Finnish
---onko (muita) katolilaisia miehesi lisäksi.
---is-PRTq (other.Pl.PAR) Catholics.PAR husband.GEN.Px2Sg addition.TRA
c. CSR

[24] The source of this word is apparently French *un dictionnaire* 'dictionary' (the informant speaks good French).

est' li esče katoliki, krome tvoego muža?
is if else Catholics.NOM, except your husband?
'Are there other Catholics besides your husband?'

In CSR (127)c, in the positive form of a reported question, the nominative will be used. The Russian verb 'to be' has the only present form, *est'* (3Sg), which is only used in existential clauses and does not agree with any NP. Two Finnish patterns can invoke the genitive of the subject in (127)a; first, the pattern of the partitive of the divisible subject in an existential clause as a marker of open quantification, and second, the partitive of the object/existential subject in an interrogation without existence presupposition of the referent. The second model mentioned seems to be applied in the extract. The speaker apparently had no presupposition about the existence of the Catholics in the place where she lived, since she was very surprised to hear the answer of F1922 that there *were* other Catholics, too.

Epistemic and deontic modality

A 3rd generation informant uses two genitives of the subject. The first one has an abstract referent, and the second refers to persons.

(128)
a. M1962 (his mother and IR_{fl})
konečno možet byt' - po- pol'zy v ètom - v ètoj oblasti ot russkogo.
of course can be - advantage.GEN in this.masc - in this.fem $sphere_{fem}$ from Russian.
'Of course there can be advantage of Russian in this sphere.'
b. Finnish
Tällä alalla voi venäjästä olla hyötyä
this.ADE sphere.ADE can Russian.ELA be advantage.PAR
c. CSR
--- možet byt' pol'za ---
--- can be advantage.NOM ---

(129)
a. M1962 (his mother and IR_{fl})
ona peredala što vot, n- nužno budet statistov
she said.fem that PRT, n- need.neut will supers.GEN
'she said that (some) supers would be needed.'
b. Finnish
Hän sanoi, että tarvitaan statisteja
she said.3Sg that need.pass supers.PAR
c. CSR
--- nužny budut statisty ---
need will super.Pl.NOM

In (128)a, the abstract noun is used in the epistemically modalised existential affirmative construction. The indivisible low-individuated subject NP and the epistemic modality irresistibly invoke the partitive of the subject in Finnish (128)b (see, e.g., Siro 1964: 77). The speaker apparently follows the Finnish pattern using the genitive, whereas in CSR (128)c the nominative would be used. In (129)a the deontic modal word *nužno* 'need.neut.' is used impersonally. In

CSR, this predicate governs the accusative or the genitive in impersonal constructions, depending on the semantics of the object (RG II, 326). Animate referents are preferably used in personal constructions, as in (129)c. In a personal construction this modal verb agrees with the grammatical subject in number and gender; *nužen statist* 'need.masc super$_{masc}$', *nužny statisty* 'need.Pl super.Pl'. In Finnish (129)b, the partitive open-quantifies the number of referents. In both extracts, (128)a and (129)a, the speaker hesitates before producing the genitive forms. This hesitation can be treated as doubt concerning the choice of case.

As with all the other non-dialect speakers, this one also uses the subject in the nominative in existential clauses, e.g.:

(130)

a. M1962

--- sprosili što est' li lica kotorye govorjat po-russki

(they) asked.Pl is PRTq persons who speak Russian

'They asked if there were any people there who could speak Russian'

b. Finnish

kysyttiin olisiko henkilöitä, jotka puhuivat venäjää

ask.pass.ipf be.cond.3Sg-PRTq persons.PAR, who.Pl spoke.3Pl Russian.PAR

In the Finnish equivalent (130)b, the partitive would be used, indicating a lack of existence presupposition.

Low individuation

A typical universal quantifier (see Allwood—Andersson—Dahl 1979: 62; Lyons 1977: 150), the pronoun 'all' is the most sensitive to open-quantification. At the end of the 1800s this pronoun often appeared in the genitive of the subject in affirmation (see [113]), though otherwise the genitive began to be ousted by the nominative.

In the following, with the pronoun *vsego* 'all, everything'.GEN, the speaker means all the possible goods on sale in the shop, thus, a qualitatively and quantitatively indefinite multitude. The genitive open-quantifies the referents:

(131)

F1905b (IR$_{f3}$)

--- torgoval značit; nu kak v to vremja značit bylo vsego, i muka, i kofe i — čto tam ešče prodavalos' v ètom

--- ((he)) sold.masc so; PRT how in that time there was everything.GEN, and flour.NOM and coffe and — what.NOM else sold.neut-refl in that ((shop))

'He was a tradesman; at that time there used to be all kinds of goods in one and the same shop, flour, coffee, and whatever.'

Specifying what particularly was on sale in the shop, the speaker uses the nominative for 'coffee' and 'flour' which seem to be treated as indivisible indicating the titles of products of sale.

The speaker F1904 (Raivola) uses two genitives of the subject. In the following, she tells the interviewer that there were some Finns in her native place (132)a, and their number increased (132)b:

(132)

F1904 (IR$_{f1}$)

a. *ih bylo.*
they.GEN was.neut
'There were a few of them.'
b. *potom ih uveličivalos'.*
then they.GEN increased.neut-refl
'their number increased.'
Finnish:
c. *heitä oli.*
they.PAR was.3Sg
d. *sitten heitä tuli lisää.*
then they.PAR came.3Sg more.

The existential predicates, including qualitative and quantitative changing of existence, invoke open quantification of the subject. These are the situations in (132)a-b, in which the subject is in the genitive. In the Finnish equivalents (132)c and (132)d, the partitive of the subject is used. In CSR the nominative of the subject would theoretically be possible in (132)a, *oni byli*, but not in (132)b, **oni uveličivalis'* (which signals 'them' enlarging in size). In practice, CSR speakers prefer to introduce an explicit quantifier in both cases, for instance, *ih bylo neskol'ko semej* 'there were a few (families) of them', *ih količestvo uveličivalos'* 'their number increased'. In (132)a-b, the genitives are possibly affected by the Finnish pattern, cf. (132)c-d.

As to this and the preceding extracts, it should be borne in mind that the genitives used by the speakers were still appropriate at the beginning of the 1900s. This fact does not rule out the possibility of the influence of the Finnish pattern, which supported those existing in the Russian of the beginning of the 1900s.

Discourse structure

The following extract shows that the source of the genitive of the subject can be found in the discourse structure:

(133)
a. F1902
u staryh /est' millionov,
u molodyh \net millionov.
at (the) olds is millions.GEN
at (the) youngs no millions.GEN
'The old have millions, and the young do not have millions.'
b. Finnish
Vanhoilla on miljoonia, nuorilla ei ole miljoonia.
(the) olds.ADE is millions.PAR
(the) youngs.ADE NEG.3Sg be$_{st}$ millions.PAR

In extract (133)a the contrast between two clauses is expressed by the intonation, the word order and the lexics. The rise on the protasis (/*est'*) demonstrates a movement towards the apodosis, where the intonation falls on the predicate (\net). The protasis covers the affirmative clause, and the apodosis the negative clause. In the latter the genitive is the only conceivable form for the subject. From the viewpoint of the discourse, the most important is the second part of this contrastive pair, since after this extract the speaker will tell a story about a young man

who *does not* have millions. The genitive of the subject of the protasis clause anticipates the genitive of the apodosis. The constrastive parallellism of the two parts of the utterance is emphasised through the lexical and syntactic similarity of the clauses. The partitive would be used in Finnish (133)b. Thus, the Finnish pattern supports the use of the genitives.

Language alternation

The following two extracts show how the patterns of the subject quantification in the two languages work side by side, yet without intermingling. Being used as existential subjects, the Finnish insertions are in the partitive, whereas the Russian subjects are in the nominative, (134)a. (Extracts [134] and [135] below are not reflected in the statistics as the use of the genitive of the subject.)

(134)

a. F1949 (table talk without an interviewer; F and her mother are at the friends' of the latter, a married couple)

i u nih očen' vkusnyje jajca potomu shto u nih, ***ei-kidutettuja kanoja***

at them very tasty.Pl.NOM eggs.NOM because at them, **non-torture.ppp.Pl.PAR hens.PAR**

'They have very tasty eggs, since they do not torture their hens'.

b. Finnish

heillä on maukkaita kananmunia, koska heillä on vapaita kanoja.

they.ADE is tasty.Pl.PAR eggs.PAR, since they.ADE is free.Pl.PAR hens.PAR

(135)

a. F1920e (IR_{f1})

i on hm *značit god on učilsja tam,* ***pisteitä*** *potom ostalis'.*

and he *hm* PRT a year he studied.masc there, **points**.**PAR** then left.Pl

'And he studied there a year, so that this year has been taken into account in his later studies.'

b. Finnish

*Vuoden hän opiskeli siellä, ja sitten jäi pisteitä. /*jäivät pisteitä*

a year he studied there, and then left.3Sg points.PAR/*left.3Pl points.Pl.PAR

In (134)a the speaker uses the nominative subject in the existential main clause. For 'non-tortured hens', she inserts the Finnish item in the partitive, which is the subject of a subordinate existential clause. In the Finnish equivalent (134)b, the partitive of the subject would be used in both the main clause and the subordinate one.

In (135)a the Finnish insertion *pisteitä* is used in the partitive plural form. The Russian predicate *ostalis'* is in the plural, representing a semantic agreement; collective nouns and expressions which refer to a multitude in the singular form can collocate with plural verb forms (for more on semantic agreement see Chapter 5). In Finnish, in which only grammatical agreement is possible, the partitive of a semantic subject would collocate with the singular form of the verb, (135)b. In (134)a and (135)a, the Finnish pattern of open quantification works only for the Finnish items of the clause, whereas the clause in general obeys Russian grammar rules.

Thus, concerning the case of the subject, the grammars of Finnish and Russian function separately, although with slight uncontradictory incursions into each

other. Expressed in Finnish, subjects of an existential construction grammatically demonstrate open quantification, whereas Russian existential subjects are in the nominative.

4.4.3. The genitive of the subject in the dialect corpus

Compared to the non-dialect corpus, the situation is very different in the dialect corpus, where 72 occurrences of the genitive of the subject were found. The semantics of the NP seems to determine the choice between the nominative and genitive. The semantic types of the genitive of the subject in the dialect corpus are accounted for in Table 13.

SUBJECT		OCCURRENCES IN NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGE
	*vsego, vsjakogo, raznogo**	21 (ab. 29%)
	abstract NP (substantivised adjective/pron)	7 (ab. 10%)
	mass NP	3 (ab.4%)
	plural NP	41 (ab. 57%)
		total 72 (100%)
PREDICATE:	a form of *byt'* 'to be', *byvat'*, 'to be able to occur, to happen habitually'.	62 (ab. 86%)

Table 13. Semantic types of genitive subject in the dialect corpus
* Substantivised pronouns 'everything', 'of all kinds', 'of various kinds'

The clauses with the genitive of the subject are typically existential. As abstract entities and because of their inherent quantification features (Lyons 1977, II: 454) the substantivised pronouns *vsë, vsjakoe, raznoe* are the most appropriate for quantification. No wonder that they are used 21 times in the genitive. Mass and abstract NPs are not very frequent, about 14% together. In more than half (57%) of all the occurrences the subject is a plural NP. The typical content of the utterance with the genitive of existential plural subject is the affirmation of the existence of the subjects' referents.

In 62 (86%) occurrences, the predicate is the verbs *byt', byvat'* 'to be', 'to be-habitually' in existential meaning. Of the rest, most verbs signal an activity close to existential. There were 21 instances of the collocation of verbs *byt'* and *byvat'*, realised in the forms *bylo* 'was'.neut., *byvalo* 'was-habitually'.neut., and *est'* 'is' with the genitive of typical subject forms, the substantivised pronouns *vsego/vsjakogo/raznogo,* used by 16 different speakers. Of these 21 occurrences, the existential subject in the genitive precedes the verb in ten cases and in eleven follows it. Irrespective of word order, the subject is always prosodically prominent. The genitive NPs indicate a quantitatively or qualitatively indefinite multitude or variety, for instance, an abundance of various events of life, a great variety of relationships, a multitude of material things, etc. Several times these expressions were observed in the intermediate or final generalisation of a life story.

The genitive self-repaired

In the following the speaker immediately repaired the genitive with the nominative.

(136)

F1905 (IR_{f1})

i priezžali vsegda finnov; - finny;
and came.Pl always Finns.GEN; - Finns.NOM;
'There used to come Finns.'

The predicate is in the plural verb form, which semantically agrees with the subject in the genitive, the latter being immediately repaired by the nominative plural. The speaker received primary education in the Russian school in Kyyrölä and thus is acquainted with the norms. The self-repair of the genitive with the nominative shows the orientation in the normative use (cf. also [126], [128] and [129] above).

The genitive in the answer: affirming existence

In the following extract the informant answers an existential question.

(137)

M1922b (IR_{f6})

IR *a tam byli kakie-nibud' mosty kotoryje on stroil?*
PRT there were some bridges which.ACC he built.masc
'Were there any bridges which he had built?'

M *bylo, bylo. i malen'kih i bol'shih.*
was.neut. was.neut. and small.Pl.GEN and large.Pl.GEN
'Yes, there were both small and large ones.'

In the interviewer's question the main point of interrogation 'bridges' is in the nominative plural. In the question-answer adjacency pair the grammatical closeness between the pair-parts is interactionally preferred. In the answer the subject in the nominative would be expected from an interactional viewpoint. Nevertheless, in his response, affirming the existence of the referent under interrogation, the speaker does not repeat the grammatical scheme of the question, but uses the verb in the neutral singular form, *bylo,* and the subject in the genitive plural, marking existential open-quantification with this case.

The response is divided into two prosodic parts. The first prosodic group is the affirmation of existence, expressed by the neutral form of the verb *byt'* 'to be'. The second prosodic group is the existential noun phrase, which consists of two conjunct modifiers in the genitive. The head 'bridges' is dropped, since it is highly activated through being the focus of the interviewer's question. The modifying adjectives *malen'kih* and *bol'ših* in the genitive plural form follow the forms of the dropped head in case and number. This extract demonstrates that the use of the genitive of the subject is not a matter of chance, but has a strong semantic pattern as its basis, which outweighs interactional preferences.

Numerical vs. sortal quantification

In the following extract, the speaker concludes the story about belief in spirits:

(138)

M1921 (IR_{f2})

01 M *i sejčas možet byt' est', ljudej*
and now perhaps is, people.Pl.GEN
02 *kotory somnevajuca*
who doubt.3Pl
03 *ètim ve:rjat vsjakiem,*
these.DAT believe.3Pl various.Pl.DAT,
04 *lešiem i: i ètim,*
wood-goblins.DAT these.DAT,
05 IR *mm,*
06 M *i domovym i vsem;*
and brownies.DAT and all those.DAT;
07 *èto mnogo est' takih, ljudej.*
there is many such.Pl.GEN, people.Pl.GEN
08 *to daže i: - i finny est' takie.*
even and Finns is such.NOM.Pl
'Nowadays, too, there are such people who believe in superstitious forces, like wood-goblins, brownies and suchlike. There are many such people. Even among Finns.'

The genitive of the subject *ljudej* 'people'.GEN (line 01) open-quantifies the referent. Further, the speaker characterises the superstitious people (lines 02-06). Paraphrasing the beginning of his turn (line 01), he introduces the explicit indefinite quantifier *mnogo* 'many, plenty of', which assigns the noun phrase the genitive plural (line 07). M adds that there are such (superstitious) Finns, too (line 08). 'Finns' is in the nominative. The construction he uses can be treated as a sortifier, cf. (61). In sortally quantifying structures the genitive of open quantification is not used in CSR nor in earlier varieties of Russian or the dialects. In Finnish, the partitive is used with sortal quantifiers, and the Finnish equivalent of the line 08 is *suomalaisiakin on sellaisia* 'Finns.PAR-PRT is like-that.Pl.PAR'.

The genitive in open-quantified construction (line 01) is supported by the use of the Finnish partitive and the Russian dialectal use of the genitive. The Finnish partitive in the open-sortified construction has no analogy with the use of the Russian genitive. Consequently, the speaker uses the nominative and not the genitive in this construction(line 08).

Explicit open quantification?

In addition to the existential 'to be', other verbs which collocate with the genitive subject are, for instance, *priehat'* 'to come by vehicle', *sobrat'sja* 'to gather-refl', and *sidet'* 'to sit'. In the following extract, the genitive of a personal pronoun is used with the verb *sidet'* 'to sit':

(139)
a. F1903 (her husband and IR_{m1})
(F describing the journey of evacuation in an ox wagon)
nas tak plotno sidelo
we.GEN so tightly sat.neut
'We sat so tightly there.'
b. Finnish:
meitä istui niin tiiviisti
we.PAR sat.3Sg so tightly

Just before the extract, the speaker said that her mother had rubbed her skin with a piece of soap that was in her pocket. In (139)a, F explains why this happened; the passengers in the wagon were sitting too close to each other. The semantic subject of the situation is expressed with the pronoun *nas* in the genitive. The genitive signals a large indefinite number of referents. In addition to indicating the circumstances of sitting, the occasional meaning of the adverb *plotno* can be identical to that of quantifier *mnogo* 'many':

(140)

nas tak mnogo sidelo
us.GEN so many sat
'There were so many us sitting there'

Modified by the adverbial *plotno* 'tightly', the verbal phrase functions like a quantifier, collocating with the genitive of the subject. Even in non-standard Russian, where this adverbial may function as an explicit quantifier, the quantification would hardly be acceptable given the highly individuated personal pronoun 'we' and the non-existential activity signalled by the verb 'to sit'. In the corresponding Finnish construction the partitive of the subject would be used, the adverb *tiiviisti* 'tightly' being realised as a quantifier, (139)b.

4.4.4. The genitive of the object in the non-dialect corpus

In the non-dialect corpus, 14 speakers used 20 tokens of the genitive of the object in the non-negative constructions. This is 32% of the occurrences of this genitive in both corpora. In 13 of the 20 occurrences, the genitive is governed by imperfective verbs.

Semantic negation and low-transitivity of the situation

In most cases one and only one explanation of the use of the genitive does not seem adequate, and there are several genitive-inducing factors. The same is true concerning the patterns the speaker aligns with when using the genitive; they can often be found in both Russian and Finnish:

(141)

a. F1898a (IR_{f1})

(The speaker has a multilingual background; she received her secondary education at a Swedish school in Sweden, and lived a few years in London. Except for Russian, she speaks three other languages, Swedish, Finnish and English. During the last three decades preceding the interview F mostly spoke Finnish and Russian.)

no	*tam*	*koeshno,*	*raboty*	*trudno*	*bylo*	*dostat'*
but	there	of course,	job.GEN	difficult	was.neut	to get

'But there, of course, it was difficult to get a job.'

b. Finnish:

siellä oli vaikea saada työtä
there was.3Sg difficult to get job.PAR

c. Swedish:

där var det svårt att få arbete

there was difficult to get job

The predicate *bylo trudno dostat'* 'was difficult to get' in (141)a underlines the semantic negation, and the genitive of the object *raboty* 'job'.GEN can signal the lack of the existence of the referent, as in 'it was impossible to get any job'. Another meaning of the genitive is the indication of the indefiniteness of the referent, 'whatever job'. In these two meanings the genitive was used in Russian at the beginning of the 1900s.

The pattern of the other languages can be assumed to support the use of the genitive. In the Finnish equivalent (141)b, the partititive of the object is used due to semantic negation. The verb *dostat'* to 'fetch' used by the speaker can be assumed to be a lexical calque from the Finnish *saada* and Swedish *att få*, cf. (141)c, used in this context, whereas in Russian, the verb *najti* is more expected to collocate with the object *rabota*. This lexical calque can cause calquing of the grammatical pattern.

In two cases, the verb *iskat'* governed the genitive of the object. In (142), the object is the abstract noun *raboty* 'job'.GEN, and in (143), the indivisible noun *mesta* 'place'.GEN.

(142)

F1910b (IR_{fl})

ja stala iskat' raboty.

I began.fem to search job.GEN

'I began to search a job'.

(143)

M1920a (IR_{fl})

oni iskali takogo - bol'šogo mesta, gde možno bylo horošo podvizat'sja

they $searched_{ipfve}$Pl such.GEN - large.GEN place.GEN, where able was.neut. well to settle

'They were searching for a large place where they could get along well.'

The factor responsible for the use of the genitive is the semantics of striving and low transitivity of the verb *iskat'* 'to search for'. The indivisibility and indefiniteness of the object's referent is also important for case choice. In Old Russian this verb governed the genitive, which started to vary with the accusative at a very early stage (Krys'ko 1997: 185-86). It was still possible to find the genitive at the beginning of 1900s (ibid.: 210-11), at least in some Russian classics, since in the written language the genitive was more persistent than in colloquial speech. In Finnish, the low-transitive verb *etsiä* 'to search for, to seek' can only govern the partititive. Thus, in this case, the Finnish pattern of the partitive of low transitivity coincides with the old Russian pattern. The genitive can be invoked by either.

Since the object is indivisible in (143), its individuation rank is higher than that of divisible referent. Thus, comparing with the genitive in (142), this genitive of the object would be more marked in CSR. The Finnish pattern was apparently more influential for this speaker. His social background also supports this conclusion. Although living in a Russian-speaking environment, this speaker graduated from a Finnish school, whereas the speaker in (142) studied in a Russian school on the Karelian Isthmus.

Open quantification of the referent

In the following, the perfective verbs *prodali* 'sell$_{pfve}$'pst.Pl and *vzjali* 'take$_{p-fve}$'pst.Pl governed the genitive of a plural object, *veščej* 'things'.GEN:

(144)

F1918a (IR$_{f1}$)

---[skazali] čtoby vzjali na dva dnja s soboj hm – *nužnyh veščej, teplyh ili što-nibud'*

---[they said] in-order took.Pl for two days with oneself *hm* - needy.Pl.GEN things.GEN warm.Pl.GEN or something

'We were told to take warm clothes with us enough for two days and things like that.'

The genitive governed by the perfective verb open-quantifies the indefinite divisible referent. The use of the genitive could be additionally stimulated by the adverbial *na dva dnja* 'for two days [need]', which acquires a quantifying meaning in this context. The conjoint object, pronoun *što-nibud'* 'something'.Sg, is in the accusative. In this extract the use of the genitive is consistent with that in CSR.

The Raivola speaker F1904 uses the genitive of the object *drov* 'firewood'.Pl.GEN, assigned by imperfective verb *pokupat'* 'to buy' (145). In (146), the imperfective verb *kušat'* governs the genitive of the pronoun *vsë* 'everything':

(145)

F1904 (IR$_{f1}$)

a my dolžny byli drov.GEN pokupat'

and we obliged were firewood.Pl.GEN to buy$_{ipfve}$

'We had to buy firewood.'

(146)

F1913b (IR$_{f3}$)

značit	*možno*	*vsego*	*uže*	*kušat'*
so	can	everything.GEN	already	to eat$_{ipfve}$

'So one can already eat everything (after the Lent fasting).'

In (145) and (146), the genitives open-quantify the referent of the divisible object. The universal quantifier *vsë* and the divisible noun *drova*, which has only the plural form, are the least constrained for open quantification. The genitives have apparently been inspired by the old Russian patterns. In the Finnish equivalents, the partitive of the object is used, due to the low-transitivity of the situation as a whole and the divisible referent of the object. Thus, the other-language pattern supports the use of the genitive.

Finnish pattern: the partitive as a marker of low transitivity

In the following I will discuss extracts based on the Finnish pattern. Consider the following extracts and their Finnish equivalents:

(147)

a. M1965a (IR$_{f3}$)

russkie ponimajut ukrainskogo jazyka

Russians understand.3Pl Ukrainian.GEN language.GEN

'Russians understand Ukrainian.'

b. Finnish
Venäläiset ymmärtävät ukrainaa.
Russians understand.3Pl Ukrainian.PAR
c. CSR
Russkie ponimajut ukrainskij jazyk.
Russians understand.3Pl Ukrainian.ACC language.ACC

(148)

a. M1965a (IR_{f3})
Ja ne hotel by byt' v J. i hhh *učit'sja, russkogo jazyka*
I PRTn like.pst.masc PRTc to be in J. ((Pname)) and *hhh* to $learn_{ipfve}$-refl, Russian.GEN language.GEN
'I should not like to live in J. and *hhh* to study Russian there.'
b. Finnish:
En haluaisi asua J:ssa ja opiskella venäjää
I should not like to live J.INE and to study Russian.PAR
c. CSR:
učit'sja russkomu jazyku
to $study_{ipfve}$-refl Russian.DAT language.DAT

(149)

a. M1965a (IR_{f3})
Oni eë poverili.
they her.GEN $believe_{pfve}$pst.Pl
'They believed her.'
b. Finnish:
He uskoivat häntä
they believed.3Pl her.PAR
c. CSR:
oni ej poverili
they her.DAT believe.pst.Pl

All three extracts are from the same interaction. The genitive is governed by the verbs 'to $understand_{ipfve}$' (147)a, 'to $study_{ipfve}$'-refl (148)a and 'to $believe_{pfve}$' (149)a. In CSR (147)c, (148)c and (149)c, the genitive is not an option. In (148)c and (149)c, the verbs govern the dative. In (147)c the accusative is the only option, since the verb is imperfective. In the Finnish equivalents (147)b, (148)b and (149)b, the verbs are inherently low-transitive and exclusively govern the partitive. The genitive in the extract (148)a is statistically accounted for as the object in negation. Nevertheless, I assume that, in these three extracts, the speaker follows the pattern of the partitive government of the Finnish equivalent and that is the reason why he uses the genitive, irrespective of the modality of the sentence. Through calquing of the patterns of government of the concrete Finnish verbs for their Russian equivalents the speaker applies the pattern of a low-transitivity partitive. The Finnish partitive of the object in negation (148)b can be a supporting pattern for the genitive use. Nevertheless, this speaker does not consistently use the genitive of the object in negation.

In the same way, another third-generation speaker applies Finnish patterns:

(150)

a. M1968 (IR_{f1})
naučilis' russkogo jazyka
(they) $learnt_{pfve}$Pl-refl Russian.GEN language.GEN

'They learnt Russian.'
b. Finnish:
he oppivat venäjää
they learnt.3Pl Russian.PAR
c. CSR:
oni naučilis' russkomu jazyku
they learnt.Pl Russian.DAT language.DAT

(151)
a. M1968 (IR_{fl})
idët[25] *učit'sja russkogo jazyka*
(one) goes to $study_{ipfve}$ Russian.GEN language.GEN
'(If one) goes there to study Russian---'
b. Finnish:
lähtee opiskelemaan venäjää.
(one) goes.3Sg study.3inf.ILL Russian.PAR

(152)
a. M1968 (IR_{fl})
to ja budu tol'ko russkomu učit'sja;
then I will only Russian.DAT to $study_{ipfve}$
b. Finnish
sitten opiskelen vain venäjää
then I study.1Sg only Russian.PAR

The speaker uses the genitive of the object in (150)a and (151)a. In CSR the perfective *naučit'sja* 'to learn' and imperfective *učit'sja* 'to study' govern the dative, cf. (150)c. In the Finnish (150)b, the telic verb *oppia* can govern the partitive or the accusative. The partitive open-quantifies the involvement of the abstract referent. In (151)b the low-transitive frequentative verb *opiskella* 'to study' exclusively governs the partitive of the object. In his use of the genitive, the speaker follows the Finnish patterns of partitive use. In the same interaction, the same speaker uses the normative dative with the verb *učit'sja,* (152)a. This variation reveals that the speaker does not have stable patterns of usage.

In the extracts (153)a, (154) and (155) below, the use of the genitive is also based on the calquing of the Finnish patterns of government:

(153)
a. F1918a (IR_{fl})
takie one hm *(.) očen' pomogajut čeloveka*
such [people] they *hm* (.) very help.3Pl man.GEN
'Such people help one much'
b. Finnish
he auttavat ihmistä
they help.3Pl man.PAR
c. CSR
oni pomogajut čeloveku
they help.3Pl the man.DAT

(154)

[25] This verb is a semantic calque of the Finnish *mennä,* which means 'to go' irrespective of the mode of moving. In Russian, the verb *ehat'* 'to drive' should be used here, because the speaker means travelling abroad.

M1920b (IR_{f4})
on vsegda pomogal russkih
he always helped Russians.GEN.
'He used to help Russians.'

(155)
M1920b (IR_{f4})
moj nož značit vas bol'še ne pomožet
my knife PRT you.GEN more PRTn help.3Sg
'My knife will not help you any more.'

According to the norms, the Russian verb *pomogat'* 'to help' governs the dative, (153)c. The Finnish equivalent verb *auttaa* 'to help' governs the partitive, (153)b. Both speakers, F1918a and M1920b, always use the genitive with the verb *pomogat'*. As was the case with extract (148)a, extract (155) is statistically accounted for as the genitive in negation, but the source for the use of this genitive is the same as in the affirmative (154), namely, the Finnish pattern of government of the low-transitive verb *auttaa* 'to help'. It is important to note that the speakers grew up in a Finnish speaking environment and habitually spoke both languages, Finnish having taken yet more prominence (Finnish at school and at work, and Finnish spouse).

Speaker M1920b does not consistently use the genitive of the object in negation, while often applies the pattern of government of the Finnish low-transitive equivalent verb:

(156)
a. M1920b (IR_{f4})
--- štoby on napominal togo parovoza
--- in-order it resembled.masc that.masc.GEN $locomotive_{masc}$GEN
((The idea was to construct a locomotive)) 'so that it would resemble that ((historical)) locomotive'
b. Finnish
(jotta se) muistuttaisi sitä veturia
(in order it) resemble.cond.3Sg that.PAR locomotive.PAR
c. CSR
napominal tot parovoz
resembled.masc that.ACC locomotive.ACC

(157)
a. M1920b
tam trebovali tože odin raz poezda
there (they) demanded.Pl also once train.GEN
'Once they needed a train there.'
b. Finnish
he vaativat/tarvitsivat junaa
they demanded/needed.3Pl train.PAR
c. CSR
trebovali poezd
they demanded.Pl train.ACC
(Im) byl nužen poezd
(They.DAT) was.masc needy.masc $train_{masc}$
'They needed a train'

In CSR (156)c the accusative of the object is the only option. With the verb *trebovat'*, the genitive can be the case of the divisible, typically abstract, noun, *trebovali vnimanija* '(they) demanded attention.GEN', but the indivisible singular object is in the accusative, as it is in (157)c. The speaker uses the genitive apparently aligning with the partitive government of the Finnish equivalent verbs, cf. (156)b and (157)b.

The genitive of the negated object in the non-dialect corpus

In the non-dialect corpus, 13 informants use 13 genitives of the object in negation, the latter completing 35% of the total number of the genitives of the negated object.

In the following extract the highly activated definite object is in the genitive:

(158)

a. F1918a (IR_{f1})
no pervyj raz ja ne dopolnjala[26] *ètoj bumagi; brosila*
but first time I PRTn filled.fem this. fem.GEN $paper_{fem}$GEN, threw.fem away.
'During the first time I did not fill this form in but just threw it away.'

b. Finnish
mutta ensimmäisellä kerralla en täyttänyt tätä paperia, heitin vaan pois.
but first time NEG.1Sg fill.ppa this.PAR paper.PAR, threw.1Sg but away.

The speaker talks about a form she got twice, and which she left blank after receiving it for the first time, (158)a. The form, mentioned just before the extract, is thus highly activated and definite, which is also demonstrated by the modifying pronoun *ètoj* 'this'.fem.GEN. The accusative would be used in CSR. The model for the speaker's genitive is apparently the Finnish partitive of the object in negation, cf. (158)b. Nevertheless, this speaker also uses the accusative in negation, cf.:

(159)

F1918a (IR_{f1})
ja ne pomnju ètot mesjac
I PRTn remember.1Sg this.masc.ACC $month_{masc}$ACC
'I do not remember this month.'

In the following M invites the interviewer to taste some cakes that are on the coffee table in front of them:

(160)

M1904 (IR_{f3})
vy ne kušaete vot ètih samyh
you PRTn eat.2Pl PRT these.Pl.GEN very.Pl.GEN
'Help yourself please with these cakes'

M1904 introduces only the adjectival modifiers in the genitive plural form. He drops the head noun, apparently replacing it with a gesture or gaze and the demonstrative particle *vot*. The definite referent would invoke the accusative in

[26] In CSR the verb *zapolnjat'* 'to fill in' is used.

CSR. At the beginning of the 1900s the genitive would in this case have been highly probable.

In the following extract, the definite referent is in the genitive:

(161)

a. M1962 (his mother and IR_{fl})
ja ne bral ètih kursov
I PRTn took.masc these.GEN courses.GEN
'I did not take these courses.'

b Finnish:
en ottanut näitä kursseja
NEG.1Sg take.ppa these.PAR courses.PAR

c CSR:
Ja ne pošel na èti kursy.
I PRTn went.masc on these.ACC courses.ACC

The old Russian usage, with its wider use of the genitive in negation, may have been acquired by the young speaker from his parents. Nevertheless, it is clear that Finnish patterns in general are much more effective in the case of the younger generation, who do not habitually speak Russian. In (160)a, the use of the grammatical pattern can be assumed to be supported by lexical calquing. Namely, the expression *vzjat' kurs(y)* is not used in CSR, cf. (160)c, and it may be a calque of Finnish *ottaa kurssi* 'to take/choose a course'. This collocation does not contradict Russian grammar, since the verb *vzjat'* is transitive. The habitual Russian collocations *projti kurs* and *končit' kurs* 'to pass/finish a course' can also support the use of *vzjat' kurs*. This lexical calque favours calquing of the grammatical pattern.

In the following extract, the speaker tells the interviewer, a young Finnish researcher, about the siege of Leningrad during World War II:

(162)

a. 14F1907 (IR_{fl})
on- značit nemcy, ne mogli vzjat' Leningrad.
the(y)- PRT Germans, PRTn were-able.Pl to capture Leningrad.ACC.
'The Germans could not capture Leningrad.'

b. 14F1907 (IR_{fl})
--- i Leningrada ne mogli vzjat'.
---and Leningrad.GEN PRTn were-able.Pl to capture.
'So they could not capture Leningrad.'

c. CSR (from Mustajoki and Heino 1991: 104)
Moskvy im ne vzjat'
Moscow.GEN they.DAT PRTn to take
'They will not succeed in capturing Moscow.'

Starting her explanation (162)a, the speaker uses the accusative of the object in negation. Completing the explanation with emphasised recounting of the main point (162)b, she expresses the object in the genitive. The object precedes the verb, which is a marked word order. The object is a proper noun, whose individuation rank is high and which is unlikely to appear in the genitive in CSR. On the other hand, the expression with the genitive is emphatic. In an emphatic context even highly individuated nouns can appear in the genitive, at least in written

speech, cf. extract (162)c from a newspaper article (Mustajoki & Heino 1991: 104, quoting *Sputnik* 1981-1982, see ibid. 8).

Summary

For the use of the genitive of the object in affirmation, two patterns were observed in the non-dialect corpus. Firstly, there are the genitives which open-quantify the divisible object. This use can be accounted for as being an application of the old norms, which is supported by the Finnish partitive of the divisible object with limited involvement in the situation. Often the Finnish equivalent verb also governs the partitive, so that the patterns of both languages coincide. Secondly, the genitive is sometimes used as a result of the application of the pattern of government of low-transitive equivalent verbs. The latter can only govern the partitive of the object.

Most of the occurrences of the genitive of the object in negation in the non-dialect corpus must be considered marginal but not ungrammatical in CSR. Nevertheless, the Finnish partititive of the object in negation could not be excluded as a supporting pattern. Although containing the negation, the examples (148)a and (155), discussed above, represent the calquing of the pattern of government of the Finnish equivalent verb.

4.4.5 The genitive of object in the dialect corpus

In the dialect corpus there are 42 tokens of the non-negative constructions of the genitive, used by 15 speakers. This number of tokens is 68% of the total in both corpora.

Open quantification of the referent

Some occurrences of the use of the genitive are entirely acceptable in CSR, too:

(163)
a. F1903 (her husband and IR_{m1} are present)
ja ej poslala salfetoček
I she.DAT $sent_{pfve}$fem napkins.GEN
'I sent her some napkins.'

b. Finnish
lähetin hänelle lautasliinoja
sent.1Sg she.ALL napkins.PAR

In (163)a, the perfective verb *poslala* governs the object in the genitive plural, which indicates the indefinite quantity of the referent. In Finnish (163)b the partitive of the object is required.

In the following extract, speaker F1905b uses the object in the genitive at the introduction of the construction and the accusative in the reiteration:

(164)
a. F1911b (F's husband and IR_{f1} are present)
(The speaker recalls how villagers brandished their fists at them when she and her sister were taking water from the well during their evacuation trip.)

----*a vot nam tak kulaka pokazali* ----
---and PRT we.DAT so fist.GEN showed$_{pfve}$Pl---
'They brandished their fists at us.'

b Finnish:
---*ja meille näytettiin nyrkkiä/*nyrkki*
---and we.DAT showed.pass fist.PAR/*ACC

c. CSR:
---*a nam kulak/*kulaka pokazali*
---and we.DAT fist.ACC/*GEN showed.Pl

d. F1911b
bylo žarko, leto bylo. kulak pokazali
it was hot, it was summer. fist.ACC showed$_{pfve}$Pl
'It was hot. It was summer time. And they brandished their fists.'

The meaning of the genitive seems to be open-quantification of the object's involvement, i.e., only a part of the fist was brandished. This kind of open quantification is not expressed grammatically in CSR, cf. (164)c. The genitive of the object is used in this meaning in the north-western dialects (cf. extract 121).

In Finnish (164)b, the equivalent verb *näyttää* 'to show' governs the partitive in this situation, in which showing a fist is a visual symbol of warning. The accusative would mean that the fist was shown in its entirety, for instance, during a medical examination. In extract (164)a, the old-fashioned/dialectal type of open quantification is apparently supported by the Finnish pattern.

Completing this episode with (164)d, this speaker specifies the circumstances of the story and recounts the main point of the story. She uses the same verb phrase changing the case of the object to the accusative, *kulak pokazali* 'fist.ACC showed.Pl'. A reason for the change of case may be metalinguistic self-repair, or free variation between genitive and accusative.

Low-transitive verbs; the individuation rank of the object

Amongst the imperfective verbs recorded in the data as governing the genitive there are those that signal an inherently low transitive abstract situation, like *iskat'* 'to search', *sprašivat'* 'to ask', *prosit'* 'to request', *vspominat'* 'to recall', as well as those with a concrete meaning, e.g., *vozit' (kirpičej, sena)* 'to drive (bricks, hay)' and *vybirat'* 'to choose'. In most cases the genitive can be treated as a marker of open quantification of an object. Sometimes the semantics of the verb and object together contribute to the meaning of the case of the object.

In the following, the genitive is governed by imperfective verbs:

(165)

a M1922b (IR_{f6})
tudy kirpičej vozili
to-there bricks.GEN brought$_{ipfve}$Pl
'they used to take bricks there.'

b. Finnish:
sinne kuljetettiin tiiliä
there-to brought.pass bricks.PAR

c. CSR:
tuda kirpiči vozili
to-there bricks.ACC brought$_{ipfve}$Pl

(166)
a. F1917 (two female friends of F and IR_{f2})
(F describes the process of putting up evacuee families)
i togda i togda one značit brali ètih, vybirali ètih semej
and then and then they well took$_{ipfve}$Pl these.GEN, chose$_{ipfve}$Pl these.GEN families.GEN
skol'ko on možet vzjat'.
how many he [householder] can.3Sg take.
'And then they chose families, as many as they could put up.'
b Finnish:
he valitsivat näitä perheitä
they chose.3Pl these.PAR families.PAR
kukin (sen mukaan) kuinka monta pystyi majoittamaan.
each as many as that one could put up.
c CSR:
Oni vybirali sem'i/kto skol'ko semej
they chose$_{ipfve}$Pl families.ACC/who how many families.GEN
možet poselit'
can put up

In (165)a, in which a habitual action is signalled, the genitive open-quantifies the referent. In (166)a the speaker recounts an episode in which the inhabitants of a Finnish village chose evacuated families for billeting. The imperfective verb signals an unlimited distributive activity, without emphasising its progressive character. In the Finnish equivalents (165)b and (166)b the partitive is the only option. This partitive signals an unlimited action. In CSR (165)c the accusative and in (166)c the accusative or the quantifier phrase would be used. In (165)a and (166)a the genitive of the object can be treated as open-quantifying the referent. In this case, the use of the genitive accords with an earlier Russian pattern; the genitive of the open-quantified referent was used with imperfective verbs in earlier varieties of Russian and is retained in the dialects. Another possible treatment is the genitive of an unlimited situation as a result of following the Finnish pattern of the partitive use. The genitive of open quantification seems to be more probable, since these two informants habitually speak Russian (although they habitually speak Finnish, too), nor do they violate either the verbal aspect or other categories of verb in their speech.

In the following extract, the choice between the genitive and the accusative is determined by the semantics of the objects:

(167)
M1910a (IR_{f7})
ja pojehal iskat' raboty i takže i ètot, žiloe pomeščenie
I went.masc to search job.GEN and also and this, living.ACC lodging.ACC
'I went to search for a job and a flat.'

The low-transitive verb *iskat'* 'to search' has two conjoined objects, *raboty* 'job.GEN' and the noun phrase *žiloe pomeščenie* 'a living.ACC lodging.ACC'. Both objects are indefinite. The divisible object is in the genitive and the indivisible concrete one in the accusative. In CSR both objects would be in the accusative. The Finnish equivalent verb *etsiä* governs the partitive.

In the following, the general quantifier is in the genitive, and in the next clause, the plural objects 'beds' and 'blankets' are in the accusative:

(168)

a. F1907b (her husband and IR_{fl} are present)
èti davali vsego. i krovati prinosili i odejaly prinosili
These $gave_{ipfve}$Pl everything.GEN and beds.ACC $brought_{ipfve}$Pl and blankets.ACC brought.Pl
'These (people) gave us everything, they brought beds and blankets'

b Finnish:
Nämä antoivat kaikkea. toivat sänkyjä ja peittoja.
These gave.3Pl everything.PAR brought.3Pl beds.PAR and blankets.PAR

Both verbs in (168)a *davat'* and *prinosit'* are imperfective. Of the direct objects, the pronoun *vsego* 'everything' is in the genitive, but the nouns with plural countable referents *krovati* 'beds' and *odejaly* 'blankets' (*-y* substandard ending for Std *odejal-a*) in the accusative. Similar in their grammatical position, the objects differ in their individuation rank, the substantivised pronoun *vsë,* as universal quantifier, having the lowest rank. In the Finnish equivalent (168)b the partitive of the objects signals that the situation is not limited.

Of occurrences of the object expressed with the pronoun *vsë* 'everything, all', the following situation is fairly typical:

(169)

a. F1911b (her husband and IR_{fl})
vsego my ispytali
everything.GEN we $experienced_{pfve}$Pl
'We have gone through everything.'

b. Finnish:
Olemme kokeneet kaikkea/kaiken
experience.pf.1Pl everything.PAR/ACC

In (169)a the perfective verb governs the genitive of the object *vsego*. In CSR, the verb *ispytat'* 'to experience' cannot govern the genitive, but only the accusative of the object. In the Finnish equivalent (169)b, the partitive of the object has the same meaning as the Russian genitive in (169)a, both open-quantifying a divisible referent of the object. The accusative is also possible, (169)b. The expression with the accusative sounds emphatic, indicating that 'we' have experienced every conceivable kind of hardship, since the accusative indicates the totality of the object's involvement.

The Finnish pattern

In the dialect corpus, there were also a few occurrences in which low-transitive verbs governed the genitive, following the partitive government of the Finnish equivalent verb. In the following, the referent of the genitive is not a semantic object, but an addressee:

(170)

a. F1929b (IR_{m3})
ja poprosila avtobusa, on- oni teper' edut novoj dorogoj,
I asked.fem bus.GEN, they now drive.3Pl new.INS road.INS,

a ja poprosila čtoby oni proehali ètoj staroj dorogoj.
and I asked.fem in-order they drove.Pl this.INS old.INS road.INS
'I asked the driver to take the former route, since now they take a new one.'

b. Finnish:
pyysin bussia (=kuljettajaa) ajamaan vanhaa tietä
asked.1Sg bus.PAR drive.3inf.ILL old.PAR road.PAR
'I asked the bus(= the driver) to take the former route.'

c. Finnish:
pyysin kuljettajalta lupaa/luvan
asked.1Sg driver.ABL permission.PAR/ACC

d. CSR
Ja poprosila avtobus poehat' ...
I asked.fem bus.ACC to drive …

e. CSR
Ja poprosila voditelja/u voditelja
I asked.fem driver.ACC(=GEN)/at driver.GEN

Saying 'I asked the bus', the speaker means the driver and the passengers of the bus, (170)a. In Finnish (170)b, the verb *pyytää* 'to ask' normally governs the partitive. If both object and addressee are expressed, the object is in the partitive and the addressee in the ablative, (170)c. The Finnish verb *pyytää* 'to ask' can govern the accusative of a semantic and grammatical object expressed by an indivisible NP where the requested item is granted. A semantic addressee, in the syntactic position of an object, can only be in the partitive. In CSR there are two options for the expression of addressee, the accusative, (179)d, and the prepositional phrase u + GEN, (179)e. The prepositional phrase can be only used with animate nouns. Expressing the addressee in the genitive, the speaker apparently follows the Finnish pattern.

In the following extracts, the genitive of the object also results from calquing the partitive government of the Finnish equivalents:

(171)

a. F1944 (her sister and IR_{f1} are present)
ètogo jazyka uvažajut
this.GEN language.GEN respect.3Pl
'They respect this language (=the competence in this language)'

b Finnish:
tätä kieltä arvostetaan
this.PAR language.PAR respect.pass

c CSR:
ètot jazyk uvažajut
this.ACC language.ACC respect.3Pl

(172)

a. M1928c (spouses and IR_{f7} are present)
--- potomu čto oni govorjat čisto i horosho --- russkogo jazyka
--- since they speak.3Pl correctly and well --- Russian.GEN language.GEN

b. Finnish
he puhuvat venäjää
they speak.3Pl Russian.PAR

c. CSR

oni govorjat po-russki/na russkom (jazyke)
they speak Russian$_{adverb}$/on Russian.LOC (language.LOC)

In extracts (171)a and (172)a above, the genitives are markers of the low transitivity of the construction as a whole, according to the pattern of their Finnish equivalents (171)b and (172)b. In CSR (171)c the accusative of the object is used. In CSR (172)c the accusative is not an option. The verb 'to speak' collocates with the adverb (preferably) and prepositional phrase.

Lack of existential assumption

In the following, the genitive signals possible negation of the referent's involvement:

(173)
a. M1925 (IR$_{f8}$)
bylo trudno dostat' roboty[27].
was.neut difficult to get work.GEN
'It was difficult to get work'
b. Finnish:
oli vaikea saada työtä.
was.3Sg difficult to get job.PAR
c. CSR:
bylo trudno najti rabotu
was.neut. difficult to find job.ACC

(174)
a. F1946 (her sister and IR$_{f1}$)
(The topic: It is difficult to get authentic clothes from the post-war times for performances)
ètoj odëži[28] *očen' trudno polučit' taka čtoby byla by (.)* ***alkuperäinen***
this.fem.GEN cloth$_{fem}$GEN very difficult to get such that was.fem PRTc (.) **authentic**
'It is difficult to find such clothes that are authentic'
b. Finnish:
Tätä vaatetta on vaikea saada, niin, että se olisi alkuperäinen.
this.PAR cloth.PAR is difficult to get, so that it be.cond.3Sg original.
this.PAR cloth.PAR is difficult to get original.ESS
c. CSR:
takuju odeždu trudno dostat'
such.ACC cloth.ACC difficult to fetch

In the extract (173)a the speaker characterises the situation in the last years immediately before World War II, when it was difficult to get work. In (174)a another speaker accounts for the rarity of the authentic clothes of the 1940s and 1950s. The indefinite divisible referents of the objects favour open and negative quantification. In both (173)a and (174)a the predicate '(was) difficult' affords the possibilty of the negative treatment of the object's involvement in the situation.

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[27] In *robóty,* the *-o-* of the first syllable reflects the dialectal pronounciation.
[28] *Odëža* is non-standard for *odežda.*

The speakers mark this meaning with the genitive of the object, whereas in CSR (173)c and (174)c the accusative is the only option. The speakers follow the Finnish pattern of the partitive object, cf. (173)b and (174)b.

In the following, the genitive of the object is used in interrogation:

(175)

a. F1935a (table talk; two female friends, IR_{f6} and her 4-year-old daughter)
(F puts a request to the little girl who is making a sandwich, and at the same time proffers a plate of cucumber slices)
na hleb položiš' ogurca?
on bread put.2Sg cucumber.GEN?
'Would you put a slice of cucumber on the bread?'

b Finnish
laitatko kurkkua leivän päälle?
put.2Sg-PRTq cucumber.PAR bread.GEN on.ALL?

As well as the partitive in Finnish (175)b, in (175)a the genitive indicates a lack of existence presupposition of the referent's involvement. In this meaning the genitive of the object is also used in interrogation in contemporary Russian dialects (cf. [116]). Nevertheless, another treatment of the genitive is also acceptable. The genitive probably open-quantifies the amount of cucumber, the referent of which is treated as divisible. In Finnish, 'cucumber' can be used as divisible or indivisible, depending on the situation. Russian dialects permit divisible treatment for many products of agriculture and nature where CSR would not. In both treatments of the genitive in (175)a the parallel Finnish pattern has a supportive effect.

The genitive of the negated object

In the dialect corpus, there are 24 occurrences of the genitive of the object in negation, used by 14 speakers. This number accounts for 65% of the use of the genitive of negation in both corpora. All 14 speakers also use the accusative of the object in negation.

In the dialect corpus, as well as in Russian dialects in general, the verb *umet'* 'to master, to be able' governs the accusative in affirmation and the genitive in negation:

(176)

M1925 (IR_{f4})

one	*ne umeli*	*jazyka*
they	PRTn mastered.Pl	language.GEN

'they could not speak the language'

In Russian, the verb *umet'* 'to master, to be able' usually collocates with the infinitive (SS: 620), but it can also govern the accusative of certain pronouns, the demonstrative *èto* 'this', *takoe* 'such' and the interrogative *čto* 'what', in affirmation and the genitive or accusative of this pronouns in negation:

(177)

Oni èto umejut.
They this.ACC master.3Pl
'They are able to do this.'
'They master this.'

Čto oni umejut?
What.ACC they master.3Pl?
Oni ètogo/èto ne umejut.
They this.GEN/ACC PRTn master.3Pl
'They are not able to do this.'

In the 1800s, at least in non-standard speech, the verb *umet'* could govern the genitive and accusative of noun objects (Dal' 1882/1955, IV). The Finnish equivalent verb *osata* can govern the infinitive and the partitive or the accusative of an object NP. The choice between these two cases depends on the semantics of the object, though the accusative can be considered as an option only in affirmation. As with many other extracts, (176) demonstrates that, because of the overlap of Finnish and Russian dialect patterns of use, the source of a particular occurrence of the genitive can hardly be precisely distinguished. The patterns of the two languages reinforce each other, resulting in the use of the genitive.

In both the dialectal and in the non-dialectal corpus, the imperfective verb *učit'sja* 'to study' and its perfective counterpart *naučit'sja* 'to learn' often govern the genitive of the negated object and the accusative in the affirmative construction:

(178)
a. F1932 (her two daughters and IR_{f1} are present)
[one] ne hotjat učit'sja russkogo jazyka
[they] PRTn want.3Pl to study-refl Russian.GEN language.GEN
'They do not want to learn Russian.'
b. Finnish:
he eivät halua opiskella venäjää
they NEG.3Pl $want_{st}$ to study Russian.PAR
c. CSR:
oni ne hotjat učit'sja russkomu jazyku.
they PRTn want.3Pl to study-refl Russian.DAT language.DAT

Consider a similar occurrence in the non-dialect corpus:

(179)
a. non-dial F1927b (IR_{f3})
oni nikogda by finskogo kak sleduet ne naučilis'
they never PRTc Finnish.GEN as should PRTn learned.Pl-refl
'They would never have learned Finnish well.'
b. Finnish:
he eivät olisi koskaan oppineet suomea
they NEG.3Pl be.cond.st never learn.ppa.Pl Finnish.PAR
c. CSR:
--- oni ne naučilis' by/oni naučilis' by finskomu
they PRTn learned.Pl-refl PRTc/oni learned.Pl-refl PRTc Finnish.DAT

In (178)a the infinitive *učit'sja* 'to study' governs the genitive. In CSR, the perfective *učit'sja*, (178)c, and the perfective *naučit'sja*, 179(c), govern the dative.

The object of the Finnish equivalents (178)b and (179)b is in the partitive. The Finnish *opiskella* and *opetella* 'to study', which are equivalents of the Russian imperfective *učit'sja,* govern the partitive. The Finnish verb *oppia* 'to learn', the equivalent of the Russian perfective *naučit'sja,* can govern either the partitive or the accusative.

Both Russian verbs are reflexive and, like most of the reflexive verbs, normatively are intransitive, governing the dative, cf. (178)c and (179)c. The pattern of government of these verbs, as they are used in the corpus, is accusative in the affirmative and genitive in the negative constructions. In the speech of dial. F1932 the verb *učit'sja* 'to learn$_{ipfve}$-refl' governs the accusative in affirmation. For the non-dialect speaker, who is a balanced Russian-Finnish bilingual, we can only assume the application of this pattern, since she uses the verb *naučit'sja* only in negation. The perfective *naučit'sja* also governs the accusative in affirmation in the speech of another Kyyrölä speaker (Section 2.2.3, extract 34).

Historically the Russian reflexive imperfective verb *učitsja* governed the accusative as an alternative to the dative. Krys'ko (1997: 325-332) has found occurrences of its use up to the 1800s, the latest examples being in folklore texts. These verbs can occasionally govern the accusative in contemporary non-standard Russian.

Thus, in the above extracts (178)a and (179)a, the pattern according to which the accusative in the affirmation corresponds to the genitive in the negation is based on older Russian norms and supported by Finnish usage.[29]

Low individuation

The object in the genitive is often a mass NP and, thus, low individuated:

(180)
F1904a (her son and IR$_{f2}$ are present)
--- *ne eli ničego mjasnogo*
--- PRTn ate.Pl anything.GEN meaty.GEN
'We did not use to eat anything of the meat [during Lent]'

In (180) pronoun 'nothing' and the adjectivised noun 'meaty' are in the genitive. In CSR too, the use of the genitive in negation is quite usual for an object with material reference.

In the following, the plural object, which was recently referred to and is thus activated in the discourse, is in the genitive:

(181)
M1925 (IR$_{f4}$)
ja daže ne mogu skazat' takih slov.
I even PRTn can.1Sg to say such.Pl.GEN words.GEN
'I cannot even pronounce such words.'

The genitive usage of (181) would be marginal in CSR, but still grammatical. A similar usage was observed in the non-dialect corpus, cf. (125).

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[29] Note that the use of the genitive assigned by the verbs 'to study-refl' and 'to learn-refl' in affirmation, observed in the data of the third-generation speaker M1968 in extracts (150)-(152), is the result of following the Finnish pattern of the partitive in a low-transitive situation.

Partial alignment with the Finnish pattern of government

In the speech production of F1935b, the verb *vladet'* 'to own', which, used with the object referring to a language, means 'to master', governs the accusative in the affirmation and the genitive in negation. In CSR this verb governs the instrumental. The Finnish equivalents, the verbs *osata* and *hallita* 'to govern', mostly govern the partitive and sometimes, in affirmative constructions, also the accusative.

In the case of a complete alignment with the Finnish pattern, the government of this verb would presumably change according to the following scheme:

(182)

	CSR:	Finnish:	Contact Russian:
affirm.	*vladet' russkim* master.inf Russian.INS	*hallita venäjä /venäjää* master.inf Russian.ACC/PAR	*vladet' russkij* master.inf Russian.ACC
negat.	*ne vladet' russkim* PRTn master.inf Russian.INS	*ei hallita venäjää* NEG master.inf Russian.PAR	*ne vladet' russkogo* PRTn master.inf Russian.GEN

Nevertheless, this scheme is not consistently fulfilled in the speech of F1935b, who uses different patterns of government of this verb. In affirmation, the object is once in the instrumental, (185) below, and three times in the accusative, one of them (183)a below, while in negation, once in the instrumental and three times in the genitive, (184)a:

(183)

a. F1935b (IR_{f6})
Accusative in affirmation:
nu on horosho vladel russkij jazyk
PRT he well mastered.masc Russian.ACC language.ACC
'He spoke Russian well.'

b. Finnish:
Hän hallitsi hyvin venäjän/venäjää
he governed.3Sg well Russian.ACC/PAR

(184)

a. F1935b (IR_{f6})
Genitive of negation
ved' russkogo jazyka oni ne vladejut.
PRT Russian.GEN language.GEN they PRTn govern.3Pl
'They do not speak Russian, you know.'

b. Finnish
he eivät osaa/hallitse venäjää
they NEG.3Pl $govern_{st}$ Russian.PAR

(185)

F1935b (IR_{f6}).
Instrumental in affirmation:
--- tam interesno što deti vnučki daže-t' vladejut russkim jazykom
--- there interesting that children grandchildren even-PRT master Russian.INS language.INS

'In this family the children and even the grandchildren speak Russian.'

In Finnish (183)b the partitive of the object is usually used. The accusative of the object emphasises the highest degree of competence. In the negation (184)b the partitive is the only option for the object. The use of the accusative and genitive in (183)a and (184)a are based on the Finnish pattern, whereas the instrumental (185) obeys the Russian norms. In the speech of F1935b, the use of the genitive/accusative option outnumbers that of the instrumental.

With the same verb, *vladet'* 'to master', speaker M1928c uses the genitive in the negation (186) and the instrumental in affirmation (187):

(186)
M1928c (a married couple, who are friends of the speaker, and IR_{f2} are present)
soveršenno ne vladeet russkogo jazyka
absolutly PRTn master.3Sg Russian.GEN language.GEN
'He cannot speak Russian at all.'

(187)
M1928c
[ona] vladeet jazykami
[she] master.3Sg languages.INS
'She can speak (different) languages.'

The genitive in (186) can be considered to be a realisation of the Finnish partitive of negation in the speaker's Russian, but he does not follow the Finnish partitive pattern in the affirmation, cf. (187).

Grammaticalisation

In F1935b's speech (see extracts 183-185), the following genitive also seems to have been invoked by the Finnish pattern:

(188)
F1935b (IR_{f6})
sestry eščo ne uvidala, ne pozvonela[30] *ne sprašyvala.*
sister.GEN yet PRTn saw_{pfve}fem, PRTn $rang_{pfve}$fem PRTn asked.fem
'I have not seen my sister yet, neither have I phoned [her] nor asked.'

During the preceding meeting with the interviewer, F had promised to ask her sister about possible interviewing. In (188), referring to this promise, F said she had not yet met her sister. Thus, the situation signalled in the extract is specific and belongs to the sphere of the shared knowledge of the participants. All verbs are perfective. The specific personal object *sestry* 'sister.GEN', in the genitive, has a high individuation rank. In this context, the genitive of the object would not be used in CSR.

In this speaker's data, the genitive of negated object is overwhelming with verbs that can govern the accusative (as an option) in affirmation. Such usage promotes the assumption that the genitive of the object in negation tends to become grammaticalised in the speech of this informant.

The same tendency is also manifest in the speech of informant F1929a. The following extracts are from a fairytale:

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[30] The form *pozvonela* is dialectal. The CSR form is *pozvonila.*

(189)
F1929a (IR_{f5})
a.
01 --- *on vzjal ètot larčik.*
--- he took$_{pfve}$masc this.masc.ACC chest$_{masc}$ACC
02 *togda princ skazal emu - stupaj domoj!*
'Then Prince said to him - go home!'
03 *tol'ko ne otkryvaj ètogo zolotogo larčika,*
But PRTn open.imp.2Sg this.masc.GEN gold.masc.GEN chest$_{masc}$GEN,
04 *pokuda ty ne pridëš' domoj.*
till you PRTn come.2Sg home.
'But do not open this gold chest
until you get home.'
b.
Mužik poel i ne mogot[31] *sobrat' larčika.*
The man ate$_{pfve}$masc and cannot assemble the chest.GEN
'Having eaten the man could not reassemble the chest.'

Larčik 'little chest' is the central item in the story and is highly activated. It is an object of the imperative verb form in (189)a, line 03. The imperative mood does not favour the genitive of the object in CSR (Table 9). The object is concrete, definite, focal, modified, and its individuation grade is therefore high. All this determines the high markedness of the genitive from the viewpoint of CSR.

A little later in the same story, the same item, *larčik,* reappears as an object under negation, in (189)b, and it is in the genitive, too. The genitive is not governed by a finite form of verb but by the infinitive of a perfective verb. This context increases the markedness of the genitive of the object. But the genitive does not seem to be marked for this speaker who, more or less systematically, uses direct negated objects, even high-individuated, specified and activated ones, in the genitive. Thus, the grammaticalisation of the genitive of negation can legitimately be assumed.

All in all, there are, in the dialect corpus, four speakers, F1935a, F1929a, and two sisters F1944 and F1946, who use the genitive of negation unmarkedly.

4.5. Conclusions

Linguistic and extra-linguistic factors favouring the use of the genitive

The hypothesis about the convergence of the genitive of subject and object toward the Finish partitive was based on linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. These factors were discussed in the theoretical part and will be summarised now.

In general, a rather broad overlap between the Finnish partitive and the Russian genitive in meanings related to open-quantification of referent constitutes a strong linguistic factor that can accelerate the use of the genitive of the object and subject. Both the Russian genitive and the Finnish partitive have an ablative origin. Basically, in both languages open quantification of the divisible referent can be expressed grammatically, with the partitive (Finnish) and genitive (Rus-

[31] *Mogot* is a dialectal form *pro* the standard *možet.*

sian) of object and subject. The Finnish partitive has a much wider sphere of use than the genitive in CSR. Throughout its history the sphere of the Russian genitive has been narrowing. Some of the diachronic genitives of subject and object, marginal in CSR, are retained in Russian dialects, especially those of the north and north-west.

The use of the Russian genitive of subject and object is regulated on the basis of a semantically, syntactically and morphologically based hierarchy and thus, is not easily conceptualisible. The more or less clear-cut rules of use, and especially, the grammaticalised meanings of the Finnish partitive have a great potential for invoking a wider use of the Russian genitive of the subject and object in contact Russian.

Certain low-transitive Russian verbs can govern both the genitive (of low-individuated objects) and the accusative, depending on the object's semantics. These verbs are especially prone to alter their pattern of government to an exclusively genitive one. When a pattern in the subordinate language has an option that coincides with a non-alternative pattern in the superordinate language, it tends to drop its other options.

Many speakers in both corpora acquired their variety of Russian at the beginning of the 20th century, when the genitive of negation and open-quantified involvement of the referent was used more often than in CSR. The Kyyrölä Russian variety developed from a northern Russian dialect of the 1700s. After having settled down on the Karelian Isthmus, Kyyrölä Russian developed in contacts with, on the one side, Finnish and, on the other side, a non-standard variety of Russian spoken on the Isthmus. Due to their dialectal background, the Kyyrölä speakers originally had a wider basis for expanding the use of the genitive than the non-dialect speakers.

Results of the data analysis

In the use of the genitive of subject and object the open quantification of the referent is the most frequently observed meaning of the genitive in both corpora. In the data, the area of overlap between the languages broadened in the sphere of the open quantification of the referent. The use of the genitive can be estimated to have increased at least to the level of the 19th century. This is typical in the speech of habitual Russian speakers of the data, the semantics of the referent has the primary role in determining the choice between the accusative/nominative and genitive. This is consistent with the inherent Russian meaning of the genitive of object and subject, that of open-quantified or negative involvement of the referent in the situation.

In both corpora there are occurrences of the genitive of the object with perfective and imperfective verbs. In many cases, the use of the genitive, typical as it is in earlier Russian, is supported by the contemporary partitive use in the equivalent Finnish situation (extracts [142] and [143]). The possibility of open quantification depends on the degree of individuation of the referent (extract [167]). The more individuated the latter, the less viable the open quantification. The pronominal quantifiers *ves', raznyj, vsjakij* 'all, various, of all kinds' are most sensitive to open quantification. Being in the subject or object position, they often spark off the use of the genitive.

Speakers in the dialect corpus use the genitive of the subject and object more frequently than speakers in the non-dialect corpus. Especially salient is the overwhelming use of the genitive of the subject (72 tokens in the dialect corpus vs. 10 tokens in the non-dialect corpus). The genitive of the subject gains strong support from dialect usage. In the dialect Russian under consideration, the use of the genitive of (open-quantified) subject can be supposed to be broadened during the period of adstratic contact with Finnish. In the dialect data, the genitive used in non-negative constructions marked numerical open quantification. The meaning of the genitive did not exceed this type of open quantification to indicate, for instance, sortal quantification, marked in Finnish by the partitive (cf. extract [138]).

Of the patterns of Finnish partitive use, that of negation seems to be the most influential. Two reasons for this can be suggested. First, the partitive of the object in negation is grammaticalised in Finnish. Second, the genitive of object in negation was unmarked in the early history of Russian, and, in CSR, although rarely used, this genitive is not ungrammatical. In the data, the genitive of the subject (extract [127]a) and object (extract [175]) was used in interrogation as a marker of the lack of existence presupposition of the referent. The genitive of the object was used in formally non-negative utterances, in which, nevertheless, the negative involvement of the object's referents in the situation was in question (extracts [141], [173] and [174]).

The Kyyrölä Russians used the genitive of the object in negation more often than the non-dialect Russians. In the dialect corpus, four speakers used this genitive more or less systematically. The sisters F1944 and F1946 spoke Russian only with their mother and otherwise sporadically, e.g., when meeting their mother's Kyyrölä peers. The other two speakers, F1929a and F1935b, did, however, speak Russian habitually. With respect to these two speakers, we can envisage a tendency of the grammaticalisation of the genitive in negation. I suggest the following factors as being important for the development of this tendency: (1) a dialect variety in which the genitive of open and negative quantification has always been more popular than in the normative variety; (2) the long-term background of Kyyrölä Russians' contact with Finnish; (3) in the lives of these particular speakers, both Finnish speaking and Russian speaking environments are stable, so that both languages are habitually used; (4) these speakers have not received their school education in Russian and, consequently, they do not experience norm pressure.

Identification of the semantics of Russian and Finnish verbs often resulted in the identification of the patterns of government. Speakers sometimes used the genitive of the object and, consequently, equated the pattern of government of the Russian verb with the partitive government of the Finnish equivalent verb. This mechanism was applied by non-first generation speakers, who had received their education in Finnish. All of these speakers habitually spoke Finnish, and some of them both Russian and Finnish. This mechanism was clearly identifiable in cases in which the Russian verb takes an object neither in the accusative nor in the genitive (e.g., extract [147]). Sometimes the same verb once followed normative Russian pattern of government and in another occurence governed the genitive in accord with the government of the Finnish equivalent (cf. extracts [151] and [152]). One speaker in the dialect corpus changed the pattern of gov-

ernment from instrumental to genitive only in negation (extracts [186] and [187]). Speaker F1935b, who systematically used the genitive of the object in negation, changed the pattern of government of a verb from instrumental to genitive-accusative (extracts [183]-[185]).

In theory, a speaker who frequently applies to Russian verbs the patterns of government of the Finnish low-transitive equivalent verbs can generalise the genitive government for Russian low-transitive verbs (for instance, the verbs *ždat',* Fi *odottaa* 'to wait', *blagodarit',* Fi *kiittää* 'to thank'). Nevertheless, no such change was observed. In Russian, the aspect of the situation is expressed as a lexical verbal category. Copying of the Finnish partitive as a marker of the low transitivity of a situation would have presupposed the destruction of the category of lexical aspect. Nevertheless, this category was not changed or reduced in the speech of the most of the informants.

5. INTEGRATION OF OTHER-LANGUAGE NOUNS: GENDER ASSIGNMENT

In this chapter, I will discuss the category of gender in the data, and particularly, the patterns of gender assignment to the other-language nouns. The data contain other-language material which is interspersed in Russian-language speech, the overwhelming majority of which consists of single nouns. Gender belongs to the inherent characteristics of the Russian noun, whereas Finnish lacks linguistic gender. In Swedish the category of gender differs from that in Russian. Used in a Russian syntactic context, other-language nouns should often demonstrate gender.

The chapter is constructed as follows. First, the terminology is introduced. Secondly, the gender assignment in the three languages under consideration is accounted for. Further, a survey of recent research is begun by outlining the interactional approach to language alternation and by accounting for the distinction between language alternation and loan. Then, recent research on inter-linguistic gender assignment is presented. I next follow on with the data analysis, first surveying intra-linguistic (Russian-internal) gender assignment and, after that, inter-linguistic gender assignment in both corpora. Finally, the results obtained in the data analysis are discussed.

5.1. Theoretical background

Agreement: basic terminology

As a syntactic feature, gender assignment should be considered as an inherent part of agreement relationships. The rise of gender as an agreement category is described in Ibrahim (1973, Chapter IV and further references there).

Agreement is a "systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another" (Steele 1978: 610)[1]. Working within the framework of Generalised Phrase Structure Grammar, Gazdar et al. (1985) developed functional terminology for the description of agreement. Although without following the above-mentioned framework, I apply Gazdar et

[1] A very near definition of agreement is given in Crystal (1980/1996: 13), who defined agreement as "a formal relationship between elements, whereby a form of one word requires a corresponding form of another." Although developed more than 20 years ago, Steele's definition has not been superceded. It is applied, for instance, by Corbett (1994: 55) as a starting point for his discussion on agreement.
The following definition is given in Christian Lehmann (1993: 722): "Kongruenz ist eine bestimmte Art von Übereinstimmung zweier sprachlicher Zeichen in einer grammatischen Kategorie." And more precisely: "Eine *Kongruenzkategorie* ist eine solche sekundäre grammatische Kategorie, in welcher ein Syntagma mit einem anderen kongruiert." (ibid.). In the Academic Grammar of Russian (RG II: 20), the categories of gender, number and case are mentioned as agreement categories. Agreement is accounted for as "weak relationships". The elements which are in the relationship of agreement are called *the main word* and *the dependent word*. Between these two, an *attributive connection* is postulated.

al.'s terminology, as has been done, for instance, in Corbett (1994). The terminology is as follows.

The element which determines the agreement is called the *controller*. The element whose form is determined by the agreement is the *target*. The features determined by the controller are *agreement categories*. Controller, targets and the relationship between them specify the *domain* of agreement. The domains of agreement are gender, number, person, and case[2]. *Concord* is considered synonymous with agreement (Corbett 1994).

Prototypically the other-language (Finnish or Swedish) item participates in the agreement relationships as a controller, and it assigns agreement categories to the target. In the following, I will account for the domain of gender, the occurrences where the other-language noun assigns a gender to Russian targets. The targets are adjectival modifier, personal pronoun as anaphora, relative pronoun, and the verb in the past tense.

5.1.2. A grammatical background

Semantic and grammatical agreement in Russian

Russian has a three-gender pattern, feminine, masculine and neuter. Gender is an inherent feature of nouns.

Russian, like Slavonic languages in general, demonstrates a split in agreement between semantic and grammatical features (Corbett 1983). The form of the target is determined by the meaning of the controller in semantic agreement, and by the form of the controller in grammatical agreement. In relation to gender, semantic agreement is usually required by nouns with human reference. Corbett (1983: 9-11) proposes the following hierarchy of agreement:

(190)

1. attributive modifier
2. predicate
3. relative pronoun
4. personal pronoun

Given a controller with a human reference, the likelihood of semantic agreement for the targets listed above will increase from 1 to 4. Thus, if semantic agreement is possible for the predicate, it will also be possible for relative and personal pronouns. For instance, the Russian noun *vrač* 'doctor' is grammatically masculine. But, when appearing in the nominative and referring to a female person, this noun always controls a feminine personal pronoun, very often controls a feminine relative pronoun, often controls a feminine verb and less often, a feminine attribute adjective:

(191)

Vrač 'doctor$_{masc}$'

4. *Vrač raskladyvaet na stole instrumenty. Potom ona vstaët,…*

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[2] Case is a questionable category of agreement, because case is not directional; it is imposed on the controller and on the target at the same time (Corbett 1994: 56).

the doctor arranges the tools on the table. then she gets up, …

3. *Vrač, kotoraja*
The doctor who.fem
2. *Vrač prišla*
Doctor came.fem
1. *Naš/naša vrač*
Our.masc/our.fem doctor

Table 14 accounts for gender criteria in contemporary Russian.

CONTROLLER	Noun NOM.Sg	Feminine	Masculine		Neuter*
	criterion of agreement	Grammatical	Semantic	Grammatical	Grammatical
		-a, -ja	Physiol. gender (human ref.)	*(-C, -j)ø*[3]	*-o, -e, -(m)ja*
		*ø (/ž/, /š/, /č/, /šč/, /C'/)***		*ø (/ž/, /š/, /č/, /šč/, /C'/)*	
TARGET	Adjectival modifier	*-aja* *sinj-aja čašk-a* blue cup	*-oj, -ij, -yj* *sin-ij šar-ø* blue ball		*-oe, -ee* *sin-ee mor-e* blue see
	Numerals 'one' & 'two'	*odn-a, dv-e*	*odin-ø, dv-a*		*odn-o, dv-a*
	Personal pronoun	*on-a*	*on*		*on-o*
	Relative pronoun	*kotor-aja*	*kotor-yj*		*kotor-oe*
	pst verb, PPP and the short form of Adj***	*-(l)a* *mama uš-la* mother went-off.fem *rož' sžat-a* Rye reap.ppp.fem 'Rye is reaped'	*-(l)ø* *papa ušë-l* father went-off.masc *nož sloman* knife break.ppp.masc 'The knife is broken'		*-(l)o* *vzoš-l-o* *solnc-e* the sun_{neut} rose.neut

Table 14. Criteria for gender assignment in Russian
C=consonant, C'=palatalised consonant, Adjl=adjectival (modifier), Adj=adjective
'ø'=zero morphological ending, whereas in the parentheses the final consonant is indicated.

* The only neuter with human reference is *ditja* 'child'

** In the orthography, feminine nouns with final affricates *-ž, -š, -č* and *-šč* take the palatal sign, whereas the masculine nouns do not. Compare: *vrač* '$doctor_{masc}$', *doč'* '$daughter_{fem}$'.

*** In CSR, the short form of adjectives is only used predicatively.

[3] Augmentative (*-išče*) and diminutive (*-iško*) forms of masculine nouns are also declined according to the masculine pattern: *dom dom-iško, dom-išče* 'house', 'small/humble house', 'huge house'.

Adjectival modifiers include adjectives, pronouns which have the adjectival form (e.g., *vsjak-ij, -aja, -oe* 'every, whatever'), and the full past and present participles passive and active (past participle active *ušedš-ij, -aja, -ee* 'gone-away', present participle passive *upravljaem-yj*, *-aja,- oe* 'being controlled', present participle active *razrušajušč-ij, -aja, -ee* 'destroying'.)

For the numeral *dva* 'two', agreement in gender is restricted to the nominative case. There is a distinction only between feminine and non-feminine, and not between masculine and neuter. The form of the noun which collocates with *dva* is considered to go back to dual forms (RG II: 78), and it more or less coincides with the genitive singular (see, nevertheless, Corbett 1983: 225).

Generally speaking, grammatical gender criteria are as follows:

— Final *–a, -ja* indicates feminine.

— Final *-o, -e* indicates neuter.

— Final hard consonant indicates masculine.

The gender of nouns with human reference is semantically based. The predicate and the predicative target end in *-a* (feminine), *-ø* (masculine), and *-o* (neuter). Adjectival modifiers end in *-aja* (feminine)*, -oj(-ij)* (masculine)*,* and *-oe(-ee)* (neuter).

Animate nouns with a non-human reference usually assign gender according to their morphological shape. In the speech situation where the physiological gender of the referent is relevant, it is expressed grammatically or lexically, e.g. *djatel* 'woodpecker$_{masc}$', *samka djatla*, 'hen woodpecker' (lit. hen of woodpecker). Farm-animals have different names for male and female. For some animals, the female nomination can be formed with the special 'feminine' suffix, e.g., *lev— l'vica* 'lion'—'lioness'*, zajac— zajčiha*[4] 'hare'—'doe hare'.

In nouns referring to a human on the basis of an inherent feature, for instance kinship, grammatical gender criteria tend to correspond with semantic ones, e.g., *mama* 'mother'*, tëšča, svekrov'* 'mother-in-law', all feminine, on a semantic and grammatical basis. The nouns with male reference ending in *-a,* like *papa* 'father' and *djadja* 'uncle', have acquired this ending in child language (see Fasmer, I and III, these title words).

Nouns of common gender ending in *-a* (*nerjaha* 'sloven', *skrjaga* 'miser', *sirota* 'orphan', *zanuda* 'bore', *kollega* 'collegue', *brodjaga* 'a non-social person without a job and a place to stay') have human reference, and thus, assign gender in alignment with the physiological gender of the referent. The gender of these nouns vacillates to some extent (see Comrie, Stone and Polinsky 1996: 112-113).

Irrespective of their grammatical gender, nouns which denote the social and professional characteristics of a person can control feminine forms when referring to a female. In the conflict between natural and grammatical criteria, grammatical gender was favoured in nineteenth-century usage. The encroachment of natural gender criteria is a more recent phenomenon (Comrie, Stone and Polinsky 1996: 243).

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[4] In colloquial, and especially in colloquial non-standard speech, the feminine can be produced from almost any masculine noun: *vrač>vračiha* 'doctor'*,* 'she-doctor', *djatel>djatliha* 'woodpecker', 'hen woodpecker'*, storož>storožiha* 'guardian', 'she-guardian'.

Of nouns with final palatalised consonants and affricates, some are masculine and others are feminine. The roots of the gender allocation of these nouns are to be found in the history of the language. The difference between feminine and masculine is explicit in the declension, e.g., *rož'-ø, rž-i*.GEN 'rye$_{fem}$', *nož-ø, nož-a*.GEN 'knife$_{masc}$'.

The gender category is not always explicated morphologically. Consider Table 15.

GENDER NUMBERR	C A S E					
	NOM	GEN	ACC*	DAT	INS	LOC
masc	*bel-yj dym*	*bel-ogo dym-a*	*bel-yj dym*	*bel-omu dym-u*	*bel-ym dym-om*	*bel-om dym-e*
neut	*bel-oe pol-e*	*bel-ogo pol-ja*	*bel-oe pol-e*	*bel-omu pol-ju*	*bel-ym pol-em*	*bel-om pol-e*
fem	*bel-aja kryš-a*	*bel-oj kryš-i*	*bel-uju kryš-u*	*bel-oj kryš-e*	*bel-oj kryš-ej*	*bel-oj kryš-e*
pl	*bel-ye dym-y*	*bel-yh dym-ov*	*bel-ye dym-y*	*bel-ym dym-am*	*bel-ymi dym-ami*	*bel-yh dym-ah*
pl	*bel-ye kryš-y*	*bel-yh kryš-ø*	*bel-ye kryš-i*	*bel-ym kryš-am*	*bel-ymi kryš-ami*	*bel-yh kryš-ah*

Table 15. Gender distinction in declension. Examples
belyj dym white.masc smoke$_{masc}$
beloe pole white.neut. field$_{neut}$
belaja kryša white.fem roof$_{fem}$
* For the consonant-ending masculine and neuter, the accusative of inanimate nouns coincides with the nominative, and the accusative of animate nouns coincides with the genitive.

In plural forms, gender distinction is neutralised, in both targets and controllers. In the oblique cases singular, the distinction between the masculine and neuter is neutralised, and only the distinction between the feminine and non-feminine is preserved. This is schematised in the following table.

Gender	NOM (ACC*) Sg.	other cases Sg.	Pl
fem.	+	+	—
masc.	+	—	—
neut.	+	—	—

Table 16. Gender distinction in declension. Generalisation.
In the table, the presentation is simplified, but precise enough for the topic under consideration '+' means that the gender distinction is present, '-' means that the gender distinction is lacking.

* The accusative form which coincides with the nominative is accounted for in this column. Otherwise it coincides with the genitive and is accounted for in the next column to the right.

As Roman Jakobson (1959/1971) points out, in the hierarchy of markedness, feminine is the most marked for case forms and masculine is the most unmarked.

All the substantivised forms are allocated to the neuter. Neuter is also the gender of predicates in impersonal clauses. Thus, the neuter is the unmarked gender of caseless forms. The category of gender is less marked than the category of plural. Illustrating the weakness of the neuter allocation of nouns, Comrie, Stone and Polinsky (1996) quote the statistics in Mučnik (1963: 55), according to which "of the 33,952 nouns in the modern dictionaries examined, 15,600 (46 %) were found to be masculine, 13,884 (41 per cent) feminine, but only 4,468 (13 per cent) neuter."

Indeclinability and gender vacillation in Russian

In Russian, there is a class of so-called indeclinable nouns (loan words and acronyms) which should be gender-allocated in contexts where the controller usually assigns gender. According to the oldest tradition of borrowing, foreign nouns were declined, and if necessary, were morphologically adapted, so that they fitted into one of the Russian declension types (Černyšev 1914-15: 116-117). The habit of not declining foreign loans started in the first half of the nineteenth century in upper class circles, who were conscious of the foreign origin of these words. Still, there were only a few indeclinable nouns during that period. The growth of indeclinability of nouns intensified during the Soviet period, and is considered to be one aspect of the general growth of the analyticity observed in the Russian of the 20th century. Indeclinable loans ending in *-o* fit the shape of the neuter in Russian and thus, can be declined, e.g., *depó* 'depot', *phóto* 'photo', *bjuró* 'bureau', *pal'tó* 'overcoat' (cf. the declinable Russian nouns *vinó* 'wine', *kol'có* 'finger-ring'). The non-declension of these loans is a convention. (Comrie et al. 1996: 117-18.) Weinreich (1953/1967: 46) points out that in particular circumstances speakers manifest a conscious effort to retain the morphology of the source language for transferred words. The motivation for this practice is "a desire to display the learning associated with the source language, or the prestige of the source language itself". This accounts for the practice of not declining foreign loans in Russian.

In the 1800s and at the beginning of the 1900s many inanimate indeclinable loans, masculine (*pal'tó* 'overcoat', *ragú* 'ragout') and feminine (*šossé* 'highway') became neuter. The period of vacillation was in the 1920s and early 1930s[5] (Comrie et al. 1996: 108-109). I assume that an increase in the non-declension of neuter-shaped loans was the reason for the conventional change of unmarked gender allocation of indeclinable nouns from masculine to neuter.

Thus, in CSR, indeclinable nouns are unmarkedly neuter. Marked cases are as follows. Indeclinable nouns with animate non-personal reference are, in a gender-irrelevant context, allocated to the masculine. The same holds for loans referring to animals. If the sex of the animal is unknown, the noun usually assigns the masculine. Some indeclinable nouns are allocated to the gender of their hypernym, i.e., *kol'rábi* 'kohlrabi$_{fem}$' according to the hypernym *kapusta* 'cabbage$_{fem}$'. Nouns with human reference follow the physiological gender of their referent, e.g., *msje* 'mister$_{masc}$', *madam* 'madame$_{fem}$', *proteže* 'protege' (Fr.), the latter being masculine or feminine, according to the physiological gender of its referent. Those loans that end in a consonant, both palatalised and non-palatalised, are declined, if they do not refer to a female person, e.g., *u molodogo mistera Džonsona* 'at young.masc.GEN mister$_{masc}$GEN Johnson.GEN', but *u molodoj missis Džonson* 'at young.fem.GEN missis Johnson'. Many of the loans ending in a palatalised consonant are allocated to the masculine, e.g., *rojal'* 'grand-piano', *portfel'* 'briefcase', and they are declined. Nevertheless, some, whose gender vacillated between masculine and feminine in the nineteenth century, have become stabilised as feminines, for instance, *vuál'* 'veil', *duél'* 'duel', *kadríl'* 'quadrille' (Comrie et al. 1996: 107-108).

Gender assignment, declension and morphological integration in non-standard Russian[6]

In non-standard Russian, foreign loans are declined and morphologically integrated to a much greater degree than in CSR. For instance, although indeclinable in CSR, loans ending in *-o* are declined by some speakers, "though more commonly in the country than in the towns" (Comrie et al. 1996: 118). The difference between standard and non-standard Russian speech is also observable in the degree of morphological integration of loans. In the early 1800s and before that, the form of the loan word was morphologically adapted to correspond to one of the Russian declension classes, and this practice has been continued in non-standard Russian speech (ibid.: 119). In the dialects, the general tendency is to allocate the borrowings with a final combination of consonant and sonant to the feminine by adding *-a: socializm-a, mehanizm-a, kadr-a, litr-a,* in CSR *socializm, kadr,* and *litr* (Comrie et al. 1996: 109 with the reference to Seliščev 1939: 77).

The weakness of the neuter gender, shown by the statistics cited above, is manifest also by the fact that, although neutral in standard speech, many loans acquire other genders in non-standard varieties. Feminine assignment is especially frequent. Some nouns neutral in CSR sometimes assign feminine to their target in non-standard varieties. Most of these nouns end in an unstressed *-o,*

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[5] Without going into detail, it should just be mentioned that for some nouns the period of vacillation was much longer, see Comrie et al. (1996: 108-109).

[6] 'Non-standard' also covers dialect speech.

pronounced as /a/, for instance, *povidlo*$_{neut}$ > *povidla*$_{fem}$ 'jam'). The re-allocation of these neuters to the feminine is considered to be the result of *ákanje*[7] (Comrie et al. 1996: 109). Such an assignment appears in the nominative and accusative, in which cases the noun has the same form. Nouns with a stressed final *-o* very rarely assign the feminine (Zemskaja and Kitajgorodskaja 1981: 72).

In the dialectal speech, there are also tendencies to allocate the neuter (in CSR) nouns to the masculine or feminine (Kasatkin 1989: 82). The feminine allocation is characteristic of the dialects to the south-east of Moscow, and the masculine allocation is non-localised. The feminisation of the neuter in the dialects was reported, for instance, by Grinkova (1929: 95-96), for a group of villages in the Voronež region, and accounted for by the researcher to be a consequence of *akanje* (ibid.: 95).

Nevertheless, the declension of the adjectival modifier which is feminine in the nominative and accusative, is often aligned with non-feminine forms in the oblique cases:

(192)

NOM *bol'šaja seló* 'big.fem village$_{neut}$'
GEN *bol'šogo.*masc *selá*
DAT *bol'šomu.*masc *selú*
ACC *bol'šuju.*fem *seló*
INS *bol'šim.*masc *selóm*
LOC *o bol'šom.*masc *selé*
(Kasatkin 1989: 82)

In dialect speech, according to Kasatkin (1989: 82), there is no deviation from true gender in the declension morphology of the noun, but only in the morphology of the agreeing modifier. Only the gender allocation in particular case forms is in question, and not the declension pattern.

I assume that the tendency towards neuter-feminine change differs in its mechanisms from the neuter-masculine change tendency, although the basis of both tendencies is the same, the weak categorisation value of the neuter.

The category of gender in Finnish and Swedish

Finnish lacks gender distinction, either grammatical or semantic. In this language, there are only two personal pronouns of the 3rd person singular, *hän* for human and *se* for non-human. In colloquial Finnish, *se* is often used to refer to humans. Both pronouns can refer to either male or female.

In Swedish, personal pronouns show a physiological gender distinction, *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she'. There are two grammatical genders, neutrum (neuter) and utrum (common). The category of gender is manifested in the articles, indefinite *en* (common) and *ett* (neuter), and definite *den* (common) and *det* (neuter). Gender also differs in the singular anaphoric and demonstrative pronouns, which are *den* and *det*:

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[7] *Ákanje,* the term formed of the verb *akat'* lit. 'to point /a/', means the merging of /a/ and /o/ into a low back unrounded vowel in unstressed syllables after non-palatalised consonants.

(193)

en pojke (indef.), *den pojke-n* (def.) 'a/this boy'
ett hus, det hus-et 'a/this house'.

In modern Swedish, the distinction between common and neuter is obscure. (Amnell & Pinomaa 1974: 29.) Nevertheless, in gender distribution, a reflection of animate (*en*) and inanimate *(ett)* reference can be traced. For instance, most nouns referring to human beings, plants, animals and, in gross, concrete objects unmarkedly belong to the common, although a few of them are neuter (*ett barn* 'a child'*, ett fruntimmer* 'a female person', *ett vittne* 'witness'*, ett djur* 'animal', *ett får* 'a sheep', *ett lamm* 'lamb'*, ett träd* 'a tree' etc.). Many material nouns and several types of abstract nouns are neuters. Other parts of speech when substantivised acquire the neuter gender, e.g., *ett läsande* 'reader$_{neut}$', *ett gående* 'walking$_{neut}$', *ett påstående* 'statement$_{neut}$', *ett anförande* 'lead$_{neut}$'. substantivised participles which refer to persons are common, e.g., *en studerande* 'a student'*, en handlande* 'tradesmen'. (ibid.: 30-31.)

A reflection of the physiological gender distinction is to some extent preserved for animate common nouns. Animate nouns with a final *–a* have female reference. Although some nouns with a final phoneme other than *-a* can refer to female, there are no nouns with a final *-a* with male references. Always in addressing formulas and sometimes also in other contexts, the target of definite nouns with male referents takes the *-e* ending instead of the usual *-a*:

(194)

a. *den unga flicka-n*	the young girl
b. *den gamla häst-en*	the old horse
c. *den gamla/gamle man-nen*	the old man
d. *den unga/unge pojke-n*	the young boy
In addressing:	
e. *unga fröken*	young girl
f. *unge prins Erik*	young Prince Erik
g. *unge man*	Young man
h. *bäste Erik*	dear Erik

In a non-addressing context, the traditional *-e* ending attribute form can vary with the grammatical *-a* ending ([194]c and [194]d), while in addressing, only *e*-ending attributes are used.

Thus, gender categories in Swedish and Russian have some common features. Neuter has parallels with the Russian neuter gender. In both languages, a final *-a* by and large is characteristic of the feminine.

5.1.3. Recent study on language alternation and gender assignment

A concept of language/code alternation

In talking to each other, multilingual persons can use items of all the languages they are competent in, and often they do behave this way. Such multilingual behaviour could not but attract the attention of linguistics, which had for a long time restricted itself to monolingual grammatically correct expressions.

Language alternation has apparently become the most prominent topic among language-contact phenomena, having inspired a great amount of research[8]. The most frequently used term for this phenomenon is *code switching*. Elucidating the history of the concept of 'switching code', Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998) shows that the term 'code-switching', which is conventionally used in bilingual studies, does not correspond to its original sense. Namely, when mentioning "switching code" in connection with the problem of deciphering the phonemic pattern of a language, Jakobson, Fant and Halle (1952:11-12) emphasised that a language *has* a code and not that a language *is* a code. In this matter they followed Fano (1950), who discovered that the same speaker has frequency patterns stationary in time. By *code* Fano meant a kind of a cue in applying which the listener distinguishes the speech of various speakers whose code is already known to him/her. Therefore, switching code is reasonable only in a situation of interaction.

Code switching was first approached interactionally by Peter Auer (1981, 1984, developed in 1988, 1992, 1995, 1998), who considered bilingual practices within the framework of ethnomethodological conversation analysis. He captures the interpretive language alternation with the notion of *code-alternation,* defined as "a relationship of contiguous juxtaposition of semiotic systems, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign are in a position to interpret this juxtaposition as such" (Auer 1995: 116). The main point in code-alternation is that it is interpretive for the participants of the situation. Code-alternation is one of contextualisation cues, i.e., "devices such as intonation, rhythm, gesture or posture which are used in the situated production and interpretation of language" (ibid. 123). Code-alternation can cue a change in some feature of conversation, e.g., topic, participant constellation (i.e., the choice of the speaker, main recipient and etc.), activity type, etc. This type of code-alternation is called *discourse-related.* Another type is code-alternation which emphasises the participants' preferences[9] for one or the other language. This type is *participant-related.* Code-alternation which covers a particular turn-internal structure (often a single word) is called *insertion.* Code-alternation which is attached to a particular point of interaction, serving as a suggestion to change the language of the conversation, is called by Auer *code-switching.* Switches to the other language and back can occur several times during a turn, so that it is difficult to say which language is in question. Each particular switch may have a conversational meaning. Additionally, through keeping the language choice open speakers can also indicate their preferences. That is why turn-internal type code-switching is often both discourse- and participant-related. The meanings of conversationally relevant insertions can be found in the course of a sequential analysis. The instantiations of language alternation which are not relevant in the interaction were called *linguis-*

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[8] Descriptions of different approaches can be found in textbooks on bilingualism, e.g., Romaine 1989/1993, Beardsmore 1986, Appel & Muysken 1987.

[9] Auer (1995: 125) points out that "the term 'preference' must not be understood as a psychological disposition of the speaker, but rather in the more technical, conversation-analytic sense of an interactionally visible structure."

tic insertions[10]. A linguist can identify them and account for their foreign origin, but their foreign provenance is irrelevant to the speakers. Interactionally approached, code-alternation is consistent with the original meaning of *code* (Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998).

Applying Auer's terminology in the analysis of grammatical structures, I will call all instantiations of alternative language use, both relevant and irrelevant for participants, *language alternation* in a broad sense. Code-alternation is included in this notion, and the instances of code-alternation can be distinguished broadly in the course of sequential analysis. *Language-alternation*[11] *in a narrow sense* covers those occurrences in which the meaning of other-language use cannot be interactionally accounted for and thus, is relevant for the researcher, but not for the participants. Only instances of structurally restricted language alternation, called *insertions,* are pertinent for the topic of this chapter. *Insertion* can be conversationally (discourse- or participant-) relevant, thus constituting code-alternation, or conversationally irrelevant, being a part of language-alternation.

Language alternation and loan

The problem of distinguishing between a loan and an instantiation of language alternation is relevant to the present research, since during the borrowing process a foreign item is often integrated phonologically and morphologically, and the question of its gender assignment shifts from syntax to morphology and from the inter-linguistic to the intra-linguistic sphere. Some aspects of the relationship between loan and language alternation (traditionally, code switching) are discussed below.

This problem became acute, when, studying the structural side of the alternation between languages, researchers found it necessary to distinguish their topic of research from the product of borrowing, which belongs to the host language. In an extensive discussion on the relationships between loan and 'code-switching'[12], Andersson (1993), Boyd (1993), and Boyd, Andersson and Thorell (1991), along with Lauttamus (1990, 1991, 1992) and Filppula (1991), proposed a continuum between 'code-switching' and loan, whereas Hasselmo (1974) and Poplack with associates (e.g., Poplack 1980, Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood 1987, Sankoff, Poplack & Vanniarajan 1990) proposed a dichotomy. In addition to Hasselmo (1974: 144), Poplack (1980: 584-85) also suggests identifying 'code-switching' according to the type of integration at the phonological, morphological and syntactic levels. According to Poplack, if all these three levels manifest integration, then the item should be considered a borrowing.

Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh (1986: 2, fn. 3) accepted phonological criteria for their distinction *borrowing — 'code switching'*. This viewpoint is accepted by Helena Halmari (1997:17-18), who considers English material in Finnish

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[10] The early Auer (1984: 26-28) called the latter *linguist trasfer* whereas the former *participant transfer.* Later Auer changed the term *transfer* to the term *insertion,* since transfer has an "unfortunate association with a certain theory of second language acquisition" (Auer 1995: 133, note 6).

[11] Note the hyphen.

[12] The term of code-switching used in this discussion does not correspond to that within the framework described above. I indicate this with single quotation marks.

(American Finnish) within a GB framework. As an example of phonological integration, Halmari provides the hypothetical form /lantspoksi/ from English 'lunchbox' (ibid.: 239, note 2). Still, as she herself points out, the final /i/ of /lantspoksi/ "may be a part of morphological assimilation as well". I suppose that by 'phonological', Hasselmo and Poplack mean less prominent changes in accord with the recipient language phonology, than those demonstrated in Halmari's example. For instance, Poplack considers phonologically integrated items to be code-switching, "rendered with a 'foreign accent'" (Poplack 1980: 585). In his doctoral thesis, Nils Hasselmo (1961: 53-54)[13] indicated that first generation American-Swedish speakers, when switching, still used a Swedish phonic pattern. Hasselmo called this phenomenon "ragged switching". Transformation of 'lunchbox' into /lantspoksi/ demonstrates a much more purposeful integration than "foreign accent", or the Finnish "phonic pattern". The added final *-i* demonstrates the readiness of the item to take Finnish suffixes. Therefore, the form should be accounted for as morphologically integrated.

Carol Myers-Scotton (1993: 168), according to whom "few CS [code switching] studies even consider comparing borrowing and CS as an issue", distinguishes cultural vs. core borrowings. The former "represent objects or concepts new to the ML [Matrix Language] culture" (ibid: 169). The latter "meet no real lexical needs and may be largely or entirely redundant" (ibid). Still, in my opinion, it is not always possible for researchers to estimate what the language community "really" needs to borrow from another language. The distinction between cultural borrowings and core borrowings is not always clear, since, as Myers-Scotton herself notes (ibid.: fn. 4), "some languages use their own resources to come up with lexemes for new objects/concepts and produce paraphrases or calques." Cultural-borrowing forms "are best characterized as at the categorical end of any continuum of B [borrowing]" (ibid.: 171.) The closeness to this "categorical end" is defined in terms of the form's relative frequency (Myers-Scotton 1993: 172). According to Myers-Scotton, core borrowings are related to 'code switching', whereas cultural borrowings are not (ibid.: 13).

Characterising an established loan, Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood (1987: 37) add recurrence in the speech of an individual and dispersion in the community to the structure-based criteria of loan expressed earlier by Poplack. If the structural-level based criteria are satisfied, but not those of recurrence and dispersion, *nonce borrowing* is in question, the morphological and syntactic role of which "is equivalent to that of established loanwords" (ibid.).

The continuum between loan and 'code-switching' (language alternation) seems to be a more realistic viewpoint than a dichotomy. Although insisting on dichotomy, Poplack Wheeler and Westwood (1987) suggest statistically accountable recurrence and dispersion as criteria for loans. This suggestion underlines the continuum between borrowing and code switching, since the dichotomy could hardly be verified statistically. To some extent, grammar can be considered independent. Calling word-internally integrated items *nonce borrowings*, Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood (1987: 37) state that "the morphological and syntactic role of nonce borrowing is equivalent to that of established loanwords".

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[13] The reference to the Hasselmo's doctoral dissertation is according to Clyne (1967: 17).

I support the opinion that *borrowing* is a sociolinguistic phenomenon. I share the viewpoint of Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood cited above that recurrence and dispersion should be included in the characteristics of a(n) (established) loan. Morphonological integration does not always end with accepting an item within the system of the recipient language, i.e., establishing the loan, although it is a step in that direction. A morphonologically integrated item can be accounted for as a loan if speakers in a speech community do not disclose its foreign provenance in any context. A reliable indicator is the use of the item by monolinguals, if there are any. It seems nevertheless, that the dynamism of the life of a bilingual society can upset the stability of established loans. To be used in a dispersed way in a speech community, an item need not necessarily be morphonologically integrated. I suppose nevertheless, that in a community where such non-integrated items are frequently used by members, the notion of loan *per se* becomes problematic, and we are probably dealing with an *alloy*, where "lexical, syntactic and prosodic materials from both varieties are *fused* into an amalgam" (Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998: 37, 40).

Inter-linguistic gender assignment

On the basis of a considerable number of bilingual studies available in his time, Weinreich (1953/1967: 45) formulates the following general criteria for gender assignment to borrowings. Animate beings receive gender according to their sex. Concerning inanimate nouns, the gender may depend on the morphonological shape of the borrowing or on the word it replaces. According to this author, in some cases the basis of gender assignment is the greater productiveness of one of the genders. Namely, masculine is reported to be the most productive in American Norwegian, American Lithuanian, and American Portuguese, as against feminine in American German and in American Yiddish. It is important to remember in this context that the main point of interest for Weinreich was the patterns of morphological integration of the other-language nouns, the case where the morphonological shape of the other-language noun was aligned with a noun shape within the recipient language, and the other-language noun assigned the same gender as the recipient language nouns of the same shape. The nativisation of the morphonological shape of the other-language noun is sometimes equated with the gender assignment. For instance, Beardsmore (1971: 141) writes:

> According to Weinreich (1968: 46), *the choice of gender* would appear to depend not on the structures of the languages in contact, but rather on individual psychological and socio-cultural factors prevailing in the contact situation."

Actually Weinreich (1953/1967[=Weinreich 1968]: 46) says the following:

> Thus, *a choice* is often made by the speaker *between integrating and not integrating* the transferred words — a choice which seems even more clear-cut in the matter of grammar than in sounds. -- The choice itself would appear to depend not on the structures of the languages in contact, but rather on individual psychological and socio-cultural factors prevailing in the contact situation. [In both quotations, the italics are my own.]

Thus, what Weinreich is talking about is the degree of morphological integration of the inserted item, and not the choice of gender *per se,* although the latter is the consequence of the former.

Assigned by first generation German immigrants in USA (Sachs 1953), England (Hennig 1963), and also demonstrated in German newspapers in Canada and Australia (Wacker 1965), the gender follows the German cognate[14]. Clyne (1967: 42-47) reports the same tendency among first generation Australian Germans.

In their discussion on the Arabic-French code-switching in the speech of Moroccan bilinguals, Bentahila and Davies (1983: 327-28) report the same strategy. Both Arabic and French have a gender category. In the occurrences of inter-linguistic gender assignment, an Arabic target (adjective and pronoun) corresponds to the Arabic noun with the same meaning while the French noun, the controller, belongs to another gender. The authors suppose that this strategy is evidence of the dominance of Arabic for the speakers in question (ibid. 328).

Baetens Beardsmore (1971) considers gender assignment of Flemish nouns in the spoken French of Brussels. According to the author, gender assignment depends on the degree of acculturation and correlates with the amount of interference in the language system of a speaker. For instance, some bilingual speakers with a considerable interference show variations in gender assignment for the same word. In gender assignment, the following criteria have been observed:

a) alignment on the physiological gender of the referents (in the case of animate nouns)
b) reflection of the historical transfer of gender patterns
c) alignment on the phonetic shape of similar words in the host language (phonological and homophonic patterns)
d) inclusion in the gender group of foreign imports in French.

The author concludes that,

> although socio-cultural factors do play a part in determining the gender of loanwords, internal linguistic features and the structures of the languages in contact play an equal if not far greater role in the choice of gender, both on the individual and the group levels.
> (ibid.: 158).

Thus, in gender assignment, language structure is stated as more determining than the speaker factor.

According to Correa-Zoli (1973), in American Italian the unmarked gender assignment demonstrated by English nouns is masculine. The criteria for deviation from the masculine gender are as follows: (a) natural gender, (b) phonological shape (as a result of phonic adaptation), (c) partial homophony with the native word, (d) semantic association with the replaced word, (e) placement within a semantic class (ibid.: 125). Sometimes one criterion reinforces another, for instance if the words from different languages are partially homophonic and close in meaning. As we see, the criteria of gender assignment are similar to those formulated by Weinreich and Beardsmore (quoted above). Correa-Zoli, like Beardsmore, considers both morphologically adapted ("loanwords") and non-adapted ("switches") other-language nouns (ibid.: 124) without discussing the differences between them.

Shana Poplack, Alicia Pousada and David Sankoff (henceforth 'Poplack et al.') (1982) investigated inter-linguistic gender assignment in two corpora, Puerto-Rican Spanish in New York City and Montreal French. Compared to the preced-

[14] Clyne (1967: 15) referred to these studies.

ing studies, this one is a step forward, since the researchers account for the syntactic nature of gender category, calling the targets of gender agreement (French and Spanish adjectives, pronouns, and verbs) 'gender carriers'.

The criteria discovered in previous studies also determine gender assignment in the corpora considered by Poplack et al., namely (1) physiological sex of animate referent, (2) identification of the loanword with a class of forms in the host language requiring a certain gender (*phonological* pattern), (3) association with the gender of the semantic equivalent in the host language, i.e., Puerto-Rican Spanish *el libro* > *el book* (*analogical* pattern), (4) association with the gender of a host language homophone (English *color* and Spanish *color*), (5) identification of the suffix of an inserted noun with the host suffix which requires a particular gender, i.e., English *-ment* with Spanish *-miento,* French *-ment* (ibid.: 4).

The researchers presented the figures and percentages for the application of particular gender assignment criteria which are physiological, phonological, analogical, homophonic, and those of suffix analogy. As in all the preceding research mentioned above, the physiological criteria in Poplack et al.'s samples were overriding. The effect of the analogical criteria was considerable in both samples. The phonological criteria are much more common in the Spanish than in the French sample. The differences could be due to the fact that word-ending-based gender distinction is much more well-defined in Spanish than in French, and "partially due to the greater tendency of French to leave English borrowing phonologically unintegrated" (ibid.: 18). The researchers confirmed a tendency, indicated in previous studies (e.g. Haden and Joliat 1940, see also the studies mentioned above), to favour masculine gender assignment over feminine (Poplack et al.: 23-24). Although masculine assignment outweighs feminine, the latter is more frequent among integrated nouns (ibid.: 19, Table 5).

All the nouns under consideration are called "borrowed", including "any single noun which can be etymologically identified as having entered the language via English." (ibid.: 9). According to this definition, the difference between word-internal (phonological and morphological) and word-external (syntactic) integration is ignored[15]. Nevertheless, in their analysis, Poplack et al. specify the distinction between morphologically integrated and syntactically integrated nouns. Concerning phonological criteria, (phonologically and morphologically) integrated and unintegrated nouns are distinctly presented (ibid.: 16, Table 3). For the Puerto Rican sample, the researchers compared patterns of gender assignment between different generations of speakers.

The authors claim that "any differences in gender assignment which do emerge are language-specific, and not due to social or stylistic differences" (ibid.: 9). In the results of the analysis, the researchers found "an overwhelming regu-

[15] The authors also seem to ignore the fact of integration in the research they refer to. For instance, Poplack et al. quote Correa-Zoli, who (1973: 125-26) explains the feminine of *la norsa (*< 'nurse'), *la pinta* (< 'paint') and *la siera* (<'sweater') as the result of applying three different patterns in each case. Objecting to this treatment, Poplack et al. (1982: 6) claim that since all these nouns end in *-a* they are feminines due to their phonological shape. These researchers thus ignore the fact that these nouns did not have final *-a* in the source language (English), and that they have acquired the final *-a* as a result of the application of gender assignment patterns. Thus, they are morphologically (and phonologically) integrated in response to an Italian gender pattern.

larity in gender assignment among all members of both samples", which demonstrates "that well-defined criteria applying to native nouns also apply rigorously to borrowed material: words of English origin take on specific native grammatical functions" (ibid.: 27). The same conclusion was drawn in Beardsmore (quoted above).

Gender assignment in diaspora Russians

In his research on American Russian speech, Morton Benson (1960: 167)[16] reports that American Russian "loan nouns generally fall into the grammatical structure of SR [Standard Russian] and are regularly declined." Masculine gender assignment prevails through the applying of phonological criteria: "Since most English words end in a consonant, the great majority of AR [American Russian] are masculine. Only rarely is the feminine ending /-a/ added to an Anglicism: /kára/ (cf. /kar/) 'car', /fárma/ 'farm', /kórna/ 'corn' (on foot)" (ibid.: 168.) Benson connected this *-a* addition to analogical criteria, since these English loans have a feminine equivalent in Russian, *mašina* 'car'*, ferma* 'farm', and *mozol'* 'corn'. The forms homophonous with borrowings in CSR are used with changed or added meaning, e.g., *familija* is 'family name' in CSR and 'family' in American Russian.

In addition to Morton Benson, in her study of Russian in Australia, Ludmila Kouzmin (1973: 90) also reports "a strong tendency to assign the majority of English nouns to the masculine gender, a preference for the productive declension, conjugation and word-formation patterns."

In German Russian, the tendency of masculine assignment has also been observed (Protassova forthcoming), cf. *ausland* abroad', *angebot*, *privat* (Germ. *Ausland, Angebot, Private*). The masculine is assigned according to a phonological pattern. The author also exemplifies a case of retention of the German gender; in German Russian, *štelle* is feminine according to the feminine *die Stelle* 'place'. As vacillation, the author mentions *ajs,* treated as a neutrum according to the Russian *moroženoe*$_{neut}$ and German *das Eis*$_{neut}$, or masculine, aligning the final consonant *-s* as a marker of the Russian masculine gender. Sometimes, irrespective of the presence or lack of gender manifestation, the final *-e* is added; *ajse.* (Protassova, forthcoming: 15-17.)

The change of intra-linguistic gender assignment

In a language contact situation, the possibility of intra-linguistic gender vacillation should be taken into account. Beardsmore (1971: 141) points out that "the fact that a contact situation exists may already suffice to cause disorders which may be directly connected with interference or may be an extension of an internal development."

An interesting case of contact-induced change of gender category was documented by Gumperz and Wilson (1971), who investigated the trilingual situation in the Indian village of Kupwar. The researchers (ibid.: 155-156) report that the language of Kannada, with semantic gender, has affected the gender of the two

[16] The informants were native Russian speakers representing both old and new waves of immigration (ibid.: 163). The author did not specify, but his study apparently covered only first generation American Russians.

other languages, Marathi and Urdu. Marathi and Urdu have semantic and grammatical gender criteria. Kupwar Marathi and Kupwar Urdu have enlarged their unmarked category, neuter in the former and masculine in the latter, to account for the inanimate nouns, whereas animate nouns are gender-allocated on the semantic basis. Thus the gender in these two languages has changed from grammatical-and-semantic to semantic to resemble Kannada gender category.

5.2. Data analysis

5.2.1. Intra-linguistic gender assignment

The analysis of a Russian Northern dialect sample

To draw a comparison in the degree of vacillation between a monolingual Russian dialect and the contact Russian, I have analysed gender assignment of the nouns in the reader *Severnorusskie govory* ' Northern Russian dialects' (NRD 1991)[17]. In all the texts of the reader, caseless (predicates of impersonal clauses etc.) and substantivised controllers are allocated to the neuter. Material, abstract, and collective *-o* and *-e* final nouns are neuter, which agrees with their normative gender allocation; for instance, *vinogradjë* 'a totality of grapes' (*vinograd* 'grapes'), *platovje* 'many dresses' (*platje* 'a frock'), *pívo* 'beer'*, žíto* 'corn', *molokó* 'milk'. The indivisible nouns encountered in NRD data, which are neuter in CSR, were neuter, too; *sólnyško* the 'sun.dim'*, mésto* 'place'*, délo* 'matter'*, plátje* 'frock'*, ózero* 'lake'*, oknó* 'window'*, kol'có* ring'*, léto* 'summer'*, pis'mó* 'letter'*, serdce* 'heart'*, sólnce* the 'sun', and *živótnoe* 'animal'. Two deviations were observed for concrete nouns. In one case a female speaker from the Arhangel'sk region (NRD: 50) allocated *plátje* 'frock$_{neut}$' to the neuter, and in the following occurrence of this noun to the masculine. In the second case a female speaker from the Vologda region (ibid. 97) allocated *poléno* 'a stick of fire wood' to the feminine.

Thus, the impression from this material is that the gender does not vacillate much, and that the neuter allocation accords with CSR. This text collection seems to have been completed to characterise dialect phonology, and an important criterion in text selection for this publication apparently was the quality of the tape recording, so that representativeness of grammatical features is incidental. If we, nevertheless, take the observed neuter allocation, which is close to normative, as a more or less general feature of modern northern Russian dialect speech, overall literacy can be offered as an explanation for this feature.

Gender in Finland Russian as reported in previous research

Benita von Pruschewsky (1962: 214-15) reports that the neuter has disappeared in Kyyrölä Russian, forced out by the masculine. Nevertheless, she admits that there are occurrences of neuter adjectival agreement, (195)a. This author also indicates the vacillation between the neuter and masculine allocation, (195)b and (195)c:

[17] See subchapter 3.2.1 for a description of this collection.

(195)

a. *platjo novojo, pal'to ženskoje.*
dress$_{neut}$ new.neut, overcoat$_{neut}$ female.neut
b. *moj odejalo krasivoe*
my.masc quilt$_{neut}$ beautiful.neut
c. *mojo odejalo krasivoj*
my.masc quilt$_{neut}$ beautiful.masc

Kauppila and Leinonen (1992: 161) mention the "inconsistency" of neuter agreement in Kyyrölä speech. Accounting for the old Russian features in the non-dialect data, Marja Leinonen (1992: 21-22) reports that some informants use the old variants *zala, fil'ma, sanatorija,* and *seminarija,* all of which are feminine according to their morphological shape, "instead of contemporary masculine forms *zal, fil'm, sanatorij, seminarij*"[18] 'hall, film, sanatorium, seminary'. This researcher also mentions that some informants use the nouns *rojal'* 'grand piano' and *taksi* 'taxi' as feminines[19].

Intra-linguistic gender assignment observed in the present research

Most speakers preserve the category of gender. In the non-dialect speech, there is only one case where the gender allocation pattern has clearly been disrupted. Namely, a third generation speaker (M1968)[20] manifests pervasive masculine gender allocation:

(196)

M1968 (IR$_{fl}$)

a. *mat' --- on*
mother$_{fem}$ --- he$_{masc}$
b. *vokal'nyj gruppa*
vocal.masc group$_{fem}$
c. *tjaželyj muzyka*
hard.masc music$_{fem}$
d. *matematika byl*
mathematics$_{fem}$ was.masc
e. *takoj kniga*
such.masc book$_{fem}$
f. *na samom*[21] *škole*

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[18] In relation to the noun *seminarija* 'seminary' the case is actually *vice versa*: the feminine *seminarija* is the form contemporarily used, whereas the masculine is the older form.

[19] In my opinion, the feminine affiliation of *taksi* is based on other reasons than old norms, since this noun earlier assigned the masculine (Comrie et al. 1996: 108 and 110). One explanation for the feminine affiliation may be the popularity of this gender in non-standard Russian (see above).

[20] His father is a Russian, and the young man has 'home Russian' as his background, but to a lesser extent than the other informants. At the time of the interview he was studying in the 12th class at the Finnish-Russian school, where teaching is partly in Russian. Before school, he had attended a kindergarten, where the language used was partly (c. 50% of the time) Russian. Thus, although his family background is Russian, he is a learner; his language skill is in a transitional stage.

[21] In Finnish, *sama* 'the same' is phonologically and partially semantically close to the Russian pronoun *samyj* 'very'. The meaning of 'the same' can be expressed by the Russian *tot že sa-*

on the same.masc.LOC school$_{fem}$LOC

g. *v našej škole*
in our.fem.LOC school$_{fem}$LOC

In (196)a, the noun *mat'* 'mother' assigns the masculine, the palatal consonant being associated with the final consonant characteristic of the grammatical masculine. Nevertheless, in (196)b-e, the *-a* final inanimates which are normatively feminine are used with the masculine of the adjectival modifier. In (196)f, in which a pronoun is in the masculine locative, the question seems to have been about the morphology of declension, and not gender allocation. In (196)g, the agreeing pronoun is in the correct form of the feminine locative. This vacillation in gender indicates the lack of entrenchment of this category. Cumulatively considered, vacillation in forms and categories is evidence of a lack of habitual use of Russian.

In the speech of another third generation speaker, an *-a* final noun with masculine human reference once assigned the feminine.

(197)

F1967 (IR$_{fl}$)

--- *storona moej papy oni s- vse finny byli;*

--- side my.GEN.fem father$_{masc}$GEN they all Finns were;

'As for my father's relatives, they all were Finns'.

This speaker exhibited characteristically unremitting control over her speech, very careful language use, including the avoidance of the other-language material and a virtual absence of 'non-grammatical' elements. One of these rare elements is in the above extract. The noun *papy* 'father'.GEN is in a syntactically peripheral position, being a modifier. Thus, the physiological gender of the referent is not as prominent as were it in the position of the subject or object. What seems to be at work here is a preference for formal, grammatical, criteria for gender assignment over semantic criteria. A similar occurrence was also found in the speech of a dialect informant, dial. F1932. As a trace of the influence of the Finnish language, this tendency can be generalised as characteristic of a contact situation where the superordinate language has neither a semantic nor a grammatical gender category, and has a synthetic structure with transparent morphology which unambiguously expresses grammatical meaning. That is why in the subordinate language semantic bases for linguistic expressions can yield to grammatical bases.

It should be pointed out that in the above examples the semantic gender of nouns is not at stake. What is affected is the *syntactic* gender assignment, where the controller assigns the gender to the target. Gender assignment on a grammatical basis has appeared to be characteristic of Finnish learners of Russian. Namely, one of the interviewers (a young Finnish female final year undergraduate in Russian) assigned the feminine to the targets of *-a*-final masculine controllers more than once, even when the controller was in the nominative case and, thus, in a syntactically prominent position.

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myj lit. 'that PRT very'. The use of *samyj* in the meaning of 'the same' should be classified as homophony-based lexical interference.

Further, in the sample of speaker F1967, some nouns with a final palatal consonant, which are feminine in CSR, assign masculine to their targets:

(198)

F1967 (IR_{f1})
a. *byl, takoj model'.*
(There) was such.masc a $model_{fem}$
b. *ètot osen'*
this.masc $autumn_{fem}$

Nevertheless, the declension of these words is correct and accords with the feminine type. For instance, the speaker used the correct form of the instrumental, *osenju* 'in the autumn'. Thus, the syntactic (occasional) assignment of gender has changed, but not the inherent gender allocation of the noun (and subsequently, neither declension class). The noun *osen'* 'autumn$_{fem}$' belongs to the common Slavonic lexicon (Fasmer III: 158), and its gender has not vacillated in recent history, whereas the noun *model'* is a loan word, which entered Russian at the beginning of the 1700s from French (Fasmer II: 636). The source, the French noun *modéle*, is masculine. In Russian, the noun *model'* stabilised as feminine in the 20th century. Earlier, in the 1800s, the gender of this noun vacillated between masculine and feminine (Comrie et al. 1996: 108). Nevertheless, in the dictionary by Dal', based on colloquial rural speech, *model'* was feminine (Dal' 1881/1955, II: 337). This fact is in line with the tendency of feminine assignment mentioned above to be characteristic of non-standard speech.

An occurrence of the old masculine assignment has been observed in the sample of a second generation speaker, IR_{f4}, who, as a researcher of Russian literature, speaks this language at work and in the family, and who also habitually speaks Finnish, Swedish and has a near-native competence in French.

(199)

takoj tehničeskij detal'
such.masc a technical.masc $detail_{fem}$

The masculine gender has been retained by the speaker not only because of the old norm, but also because of her proficiency in French.

The feminine tendency, indicated as characteristic of non-standard speech, has been observed in the dialect corpus in the speech of several second generation Kyyrölä Russians (born from the late 1920s onwards):

(200)

dial. F1928a (her mother and IR_{f1})
Takaa vokzal
such.fem $station_{masc}$

I speculate that a feminine tendency for *-l* final nouns results from phonetic interference, since [l] in the production of the second generation Kyyrölä speakers is alveolar, and not dental velarised, as in CSR (see Leisiö 1994: 71 and 1998d: 175). Thus, it approaches the Russian palatalised [l']. Nouns with final palatalised [l'] are often feminine, not only in non-standard speech, but also in CSR (cf. the discussed above *-l'* final *model'*).

In the speech of habitual Russian speakers of the non-dialect corpus the neuter allocation did not deviate from the normative one, and vacillation between the neuter and masculine was observed only in the samples of some non-habitual speakers. The situation was different in the Kyyrölä corpus, in which the vacillation between the neuter and the masculine had been characteristic due to the dialectal basis of this variety. In this corpus, some vacillation was observed in the samples of habitual speakers, too. Speaker dial. F1929a uses the noun *ozero* 'lake' once as a masculine and in the rest of its occurrences as a neuter. Speaker dial. M1925 generally allocates the noun *mesto* 'place' to the neuter, although once to the masculine. Speaker F1905 uses *mesto* 'place' as a masculine. The same speaker, although using the masculine form *kofij* (masc. due to final *-j*) 'coffee', allocates it to the neuter:

(201)
dial. F1905 (her daughter F1928a and IR_{fl})
a. *malen'koj mesto*.
small.masc $place_{neut}$
b. *Popjëte kofiju-to? ---- ili novoe svarju*
Drink.2Pl $coffee_{masc}$GEN-PRT? ---- or new.neut ((coffee)) boil.1Sg
'Would you like some coffee ((of that having remained from the recently made coffee))? or I will make some new.'

The younger daughter of this speaker, F1930, allocates the noun *mesto* to the neuter. In her speech, the nouns *derevo* '$tree_{neut}$' and *voskresenje* '$Sunday_{neut}$' are masculines, e.g., *čërnoj derevo* 'a black.masc $tree_{neut}$'.

For all the speakers, even those who often use masculines instead of neuters, the neuter is always the form of the impersonal predicate (like: *bylo veselo* '[it] was.neut merry.neut [time, atmosphere, life, etc.]'). Abstract nouns neuter in CSR, e.g., *vremja* 'time', *pčelovodstvo* 'beekeeping', *poddanstvo* 'citizenship', also retain neuter allocation.

5.2.2. Inter-linguistic gender assignment

In the following, I will consider the occurrences of inter-linguistic gender agreement in which a Finnish/Swedish controller assigns a gender to Russian targets which are the adjectival modifier, the anaphoric personal pronoun, the relative pronoun, and the past verb form. In the data analysis, I will reveal and exemplify the styles and patterns of Finnish-Russian and Finnish-Swedish gender assignment (Finnish/Swedish controller and Russian target) and discuss the word-internal integration in both corpora. The main stress will be put on the qualitative rather than the quantitative side. I will demonstrate how the integration style and patterns vary depending on social, linguistic, and situational factors.

Language alternation in the data: a general account

In the data, *participant-related insertions* are usually observed. The other-language sequences are short. Typically they cover a word, mostly a noun or a noun phrase. The other-language items are often marked as participants' competence-related, that is, preceded by a pause, hesitation, interjection, or other production problem marker. In more technical conversation-analytic terms, such

marking forms a *self-repair-initiation*. Marking may also follow the insertion. According to Auer (1981: 97-98), retrospective marking orients towards a foreign provenance of the other-language item to a greater degree than prospective marking. Language-alternation is one of the most prominent linguistic phenomena and as such is controlled by the participants to a greater degree than, for instance, the structural side of their speech. Sometimes the other-language item, either flagged for its foreign provenance or not, is subsequently translated, *repaired*, by the same speaker (*self-repair*).

A pervasive marking of the other-language items as stigmatised and undesirable is expected in a socio-linguistic interview setting. Russian was the presupposed language-of-interaction, and therefore, it was especially prestigious to sustain a monolingual Russian style. Still, as is usual in a diaspora situation, speakers interspersed other-language items in their speech. One objective reason for this is that there are a lot of items in reality that can be more appropriately referred to with Finnish or Swedish nouns than with Russian ones.

Explicit and implicit style of integration

Even when flagging the other-language items for their foreign provenance, speakers often integrate them in Russian morphosyntax. I introduce the term of *style of integration*, to refer to the way the speaker treats the insertion[22]. Two styles are observed in the data, *explicit* and *implicit.* Within *explicit,* or *word-internal,* integration, the form of the inserted item is affected phonologically and morphologically, so that it fits some gender-declension pattern in the host language (Russian). The integration is *explicitly* manifested in the form of the item. *Implicit* integration is demonstrated *word-externally,* through the words that are in syntactic connection with the inserted item. Within the topic under consideration, those cases are considered where the categories ascribed to the inserted controller are demonstrated with the target of agreement. Ascription of the host language's grammatical categories, in particular, gender, to the other-language controller is considered to be the result of the application of a *gender assignment pattern.*

Explicitly integrated items do not belong to syntactic phenomena. Nevertheless, their status and degree of integration can change, and this variability is a phenomenon characteristic of the speech community in question. That is why the explicitly integrated items are also taken into consideration.

'Established loans' in the present data

Established loans are necessary for a community when a part of that community's speakers is monolingual. The borrowing process can be supposed to be reversed in a community in which most of the speakers do not use Russian habitually. Generally in Finland Russian groups, the number of 'established loans' has apparently decreased in the last three decades. For the non-dialect speech community, the number of loans was probably at its greatest in the 1930s, since at that time there was a great number of recently arrived monolingual immigrants who did

[22] I do not discuss here occurrences in which speakers fail to integrate the other-language item at all.

not speak Finnish nor Swedish and who were in the process of organising their new lives and relationships in society. The 'loans' of those times, no longer used, were, for instance, the feminine noun *hjura* <Sw. *hyra* 'rent' and verb *lótat'* < Sw. *lotta* Fi *lotota* 'to do Lotto'.[23]

Only two nouns are common to both corpora and thus can be counted as established loans. They are *kílo.neut.* 'kilogramme' and *kaka.fem* 'filled cake'. The source of the latter is the Swedish *kaka* and/or the Finnish *kakku.* The Finnish source is the most probable in the case of the dialect speakers and Swedish in the case of the non-dialect speakers. Nevertheless, there is a case where the same speaker varies the treatment of this item (this will be discussed later). The noun *kílo* (Fi. *kilo)* is short for 'kilogramme'. In contemporary Russian, there is the indeclinable noun *kiló*, for 'kilogramme', with stress on the second syllable. In its meaning and form, the Finland Russian noun coincides with the Finnish noun and is almost homophonic with the noun used in CSR, the only difference being the position of the stress. The stress is on the first syllable in the Finland Russian word, because of the stable placement of word stress on the first syllable in Finnish. The second generation speaker F1920a did not decline this noun, *desjat' kílo* 'ten kilogrammes.GEN', while the third generation speaker F1949 did, *kíl-a.*Pl. The Finland Russian loan has come into use on its own, without any influence from the CSR word *kiló*, and apparently earlier than the latter, which was coined in the first years after the Revolution[24]. Another noun that is used recurrently, although not declined, is *mämmi,* a name of a specifically Finnish Eastern dish made of rye meal[25]. It assigns the feminine, as demonstrated on the targets *byla* 'was.fem.' and *staren'kaja* 'old.dim.fem'. This word in Finland Russian fits Myers-Scotton's "cultural loan", since there is no such dish either in Russian or in Swedish tradition. Therefore, Finland Swedes have borrowed the word from Finnish in the form of *memma.* Ending in *-a,* this Finland Swedish word would be feminine in Russian speech, and this is a possible source of the feminine assignment of *mämmi,* if we accept that the Swedish word was used first (very possibly in Helsinki Russian), and afterwards was gradually replaced by Finnish *mämmi,* but the feminine gender was retained. Another possible source of the feminine assignment could be the Russian *káša* 'porridge'.fem, since *mämmi* can be associated with porridge. In the non-dialect data, no other commonly used loans were observed.

In the Kyyrölä data, there were a few insertions that were explicitly integrated and recurrently used by at least two speakers. These insertions apparently had the status of established loans in Kyyrölä Russian. The modes of their use can be generalised as follows. They are unmarkedly used typically by speakers born up to the early 1920s. In the speech of informants born in the late 1920s and thereafter, these items sometimes occur flagged for their foreign provenance, non-

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[23] An informant who reported these loans accounted for them as a historical phenomenon.

[24] The CSR form *kiló* had, and probably has, alternatives in non-standard speech. For instance, in the Jaroslavl' *gubernija* the form *kila* (for *kilo)* was recorded (Seliščev 1939: 68-69). In this form, the stress was apparently on the first syllable, and the word was declined.

[25] The following explanation is from the Finnish-English General dictionary (FEGD: 543): "dish made [in Finland] of rye meal [which is mixed with water to a thick consistency, then malted or sweetened by heating it over a slow fire, flavoured, baked in the oven usually in birch-bark baskets, and served with cream; it is eaten chiefly at Easter]."

integrated or explicitly integrated to a varying degree. This process of re-affiliation of established loans indicates an overall bilingualism among the diaspora community, and the weakening and partial loss of networks in which the loans would have a potential for recurrence. In the following I will list some of these (former) loans, indicate their origin, and give some examples of their use. Some non-nominative case forms observed in the data are also included in the table.

	Finland Russian	**Origin**	**English**
1.	*rája, ráji*.GEN	*raja*	border
2.	*torpúška* (diminutive)	*torppa*	tenant farmer's cottage
3.	*kókka, kókku*.ACC, *kokki*.Pl	*kokko*	fire
4.	*pahatékii*.PL (*pahatekija*)	*pahantekijä*	evildoer
5.	*lúpa, lúpe*.DAT	*lupa*	permission, permit, visa
6.	*pítaja, pítaji*.GEN	*pitäjä*	parish
7.	*kápina, kápiny*.GEN	*kapina*	revolt[26]
8.	*kápa, kápu*.ACC	*kappa*	about half quarts; half a peck
9.	*mark(k)in-a, -e*.LOC	*markkinat*	fair
10.	*ruzutíppy*.Pl *tippy*	*ruusutipat*.Pl (*tippa*.Sg)	rose drops
11.	*láta, láty*.GEN	*lato*	barn
12.	*kélki*.Pl (*kélka*.Sg)	*kelkka*	sledge
13.	*túbakki*.Pl	*tupakaiset, tupakat* (Karelian Isthmus)	the feast of betrothal
14.	*létti*.Pl	*letto*	quagmire
15.	/jévest/: *jévestu*.GEN, éves, éväs	*eväs*	provisions
16.	*linéjnyj*	*linja-auto*	bus
17.	*kási*	*kassi*	bag
18.	*tálkom*.INS (adv., cf. *peškom* 'by foot')	*talkoo(lla)*	(with) volunteers' help
19.	*kílo*	*kilo*	kilogram(me)
20.	*káka*	*kakku*	filled cake

Table 17. Established loans in Kyyrölä Russian

The criterion for accepting a noun as a (former) 'established loan' was the use of this noun by at least two speakers occuring in two different interactions. Nevertheless, in a couple of cases I included the items mentioned by only one informant, namely when these items were presented as a name for an object or event which has now fallen out of use in the community (*kapa, tubakki, lata)*.

The modes of adaptation demonstrated in the loans manifest linguistic borrowing tendencies that can be expected in the case of some other diaspora Russians too. Nouns with final *-a* prevail (12 of the total of 20). No need to say, they are all feminine. Ten of them have final *-a, -ä* in the original Finnish form, and

[26] *Kapina* was used as the reference to the October Revolution, but it can also refer to the Finnish Civil War (1918). These two revolts are connected in time and content. These two references may be meant in the nomination *kapina.*

the loaned forms end in *-a* as well. In one case (*lato<lata*) an *-o* final original noun has changed into *-a*-final in the adaptation process. This transformation is in line with an observed tendency in non-standard Russian to change the CSR neuters with non-stressed final *-o* into *-a* final feminines. The noun *kelki* is used in the plural form, apparently according to the Russian *pluralia tantum* noun *sánki* 'sledge'. But this loan is also used in the singular form, *kelk-a.* The noun *tubakki* is in a plural form which was formed with the Russian plural morpheme *-i* as a grammatical calque of the dialectal Finnish *tubakat.*Pl.

The linguistic processes of borrowing are illustrated in the following. The loan *talkom*[27] (No 18) is the instrumental form lexicalised as an adverbial. The ending *-om/em* is that of the instrumental for the singular form of the neuter and consonant final masculine. In Russian, there are lexicalised or half-lexicalised forms of instrumental like this, *pešk-om* 'by foot'*, tajk-om* 'secretly'*, šag-om* 'at a walking pace'*, hor-om* 'in chorus'. Of these four forms, only the last two have nominatives in the contemporary language, the nouns *hor* 'chorus' and *šag* 'step'. The Finnish noun *talkoo(t)* is often used in the adessive of the plural, *talko-i-lla,* and indicates a way of working, thus, having an adverbial meaning. In borrowing, the final long vowel is turned into a short one and re-analysed as a part of the case ending of the instrumental, the latter being a functional correlate of the Finnish adessive. These linguistic processes, their surface manifestations and generalisation are schematised below.

Surface manifestation	Particular linguistic process	Generalisation
talkoo>talko	$V_{long}>V_{short}$	Phonological adaptation
talko-i-lla> talko-ø-m	$ADE_{Fi}>INS_{Ru}$	Functional substitution of cases
talko-m>talk-om	$V_{stem}>V_{case}$	Morphological restructuring

Table 18. Word-internal integration considered at three various levels

As regards social and conversational aspects of use, some speakers do not mark the loans for their foreign provenance, others manifest hesitation and may substitute the loans with the Russian equivalents. The women used the insertions fluently more often than the men. For instance, the loan *kapina* was used by all the women unmarkedly, whereas the only male user, M1917, hesitated before the production of this item and thereafter introduced the Russian equivalent for *kapina, revoljucija.* Situational variations were also observed. Informant F1929a used the phonologically integrated noun *pitaja* fluently and declined it according to the Russian pattern when talking to a Finnish interviewer, whereas in another occurrence, speaking with a monolingual Russian interviewer, she hesitated and pronounced this word in its Finnish shape, *pitäjä.* She marked the item retrospectively as a repairable through saying that she did not know the Russian

[27] In the old forms and in some dialects of Russian there is the noun *tolóka (toloká),* which means 'bee', a peasant commune gathering for voluntary work. The Finnish noun *talkoot* has the same meaning. The Finnish noun *talkoot* and Russian *toloka* have a common origin in the Baltic languages. (Fasmer IV:73, SKES IV: 1211-12).

equivalent. Different speakers (women only) integrated the loan based on the Finnish *eväs* in different ways, but all instantiations of its use were unmarked.

The loaned form for 'bus', *linejnyj,* is that of the Russian masculine adjective, and is formed from the first part of the Finnish compound *linja-auto,* the 'bus', lit. 'line-car' (a car which follows a certain route).

The nouns obsolete in both Kyyrölä Russian and modern Finnish were introduced fluently, without marking for foreign provenance, and were not varied in their degree of integration. These nouns are fossilised in the form in which they were sometimes used, *tubakki, letti,* and *kapa*. (*Letti* was used as a name of a concrete geographical object close to Kyyrölä village.) The speakers presented these nouns as a nomination for the objects that are not in use at the present time.

The most important feature is the vacillation of some nouns in the degree of integration, e.g., *markkina* and *markina,* which demonstrates the instability of the group as Russian-speaking and a lack of stable networks, that would function in Russian.

Integration patterns

The following patterns of gender assignment were found in the data, (1) analogical, (2) phonological, with (2a) its homophonic subpattern and (2b) a subpattern of suffix analogy, (3) a loanword pattern, and (4) a physiological pattern. All these patterns, although referred to by researchers with a variety of terms, have been reported to be applied by bilinguals of other language pairs. I use the names for the patterns according to Poplack et al. (1982). A loanword pattern was not observed in Poplack et al.'s data, and, thus, this term is introduced here.

I will show how these patterns function in Finland Russian, and how they vary, affected by social, linguistic, and conversational factors, in the speech of different informants and even in different parts of the discourse of the same speaker.

These patterns are connected to styles of integration. The explicit style, based on the phonological pattern, has a manifestation in the morphology of the other-language items. In the implicit style of integration, the patterns have a manifestation in syntax, assigning gender category to the target.

Physiological pattern

The physiological pattern is, as expressed by Poplack et al. (1982), a "knockout factor". In the data, it was applied to all those cases in which the other-language noun refers to a person. In (202) and (204) below, insertions with male referents are masculine, and in (203) the insertion with a female referent is feminine.

(202)
M1935 (his mother, his Finnish wife and IR_{f3})
takoj ***snadi kundi***
such.masc **little lad**

(203)
F1910b (IR_{f1})
pervaja ***seurakuntasisar***
the first.fem **congregation nurse**

(204)
dial. F1904b
johtaja *byl* ---
the director was.masc ---

In the following extract, the other-language item is prospectively and retrospectively marked for its foreign provenance:

(205)
F1917 (IR_{fl})
01 F *vot ja otdala knižku, u menja byla (0.8) mat' (.) moej (2.0)*
I gave the book, I had as a guest (0.8) the mother (.) of my.fem (2.0)
02 F ***miniä***. *[to u-*
daughter-in-law. [so
03 IR *[mm,*
04 *zabyvaeš' slova uže [russkie.*
one forgets already [Russian words
05 IR [*mm,*
06 F ((coughs)) *i ona načala vspominat' pro staryj Valaam.*
and she told me her recollections of old Valamo ((a monastery)).
07 IR *mm,*

The insertion (line 02) is preceded by a hesitation pause (line 01). The speaker also marks the insertion afterwards: in line 04, she accounts for her vocabulary competence as being on the decline and, in line 06, gives a hesitating cough. The interviewer intersperses a minimal response (line 03 and 05), encouraging the speaker to continue the story. In spite of the marking and prosodic detaching of the insertion from its modifier with a pause, the speaker adequately integrates the insertion within the Russian grammar, assigning it to the feminine (line 01, 'my'). The physiological pattern gender assignment is applied. Thus, the marking of the insertion as stigmatised does not prevent it from being integrated syntactically.

In the data, there are only two nouns of animate non-personal referents that are involved in the gender-assignment.

(206)
F1973 (a family talk without an interviewer)
a. *takoj* ***labradori***
such.masc **labrador**
b. ***kultainen noutaja*** *èto byla*
golden retriever it was.fem

The sex of the dogs was irrelevant in the context of use. The insertions were not marked (if we exclude the consideration of *takoj* 'such', ambiguous as a marker). In (206)a, the masculine seems to be the result of the application of the loanword pattern and (206)b phonological pattern, since the Finnish *noutaja* is *-a* final. In CSR, gender assignment of the races of animals is the same, e.g., *táksa*[28] is a feminine and *ter'ér* masculine (Graudina et al. 1976: 78).

[28] *Taksa* is a phonologically and morphologically integrated form from Germ. *Dachs (hund), Teckel*> Ru *taks*> *taksa. (*Fasmer 1950-1958/1996, IV: 13)

Analogical pattern

Within the *analogical* pattern, the item aligns with the gender of the Russian semantic equivalent or hypernym. The domain of agreement is actually formed by the Russian equivalent which is a controller of agreement, and the target.

In the following extract, gender is assigned according to the Russian hypernym, which is the feminine.

(207)

F1916c (IR_{f4})

ona	*živet ---*	*v*	*tak-oj*	*malen'k-oj*	***yksiö.***
she	lives. ---	in	such.fem.LOC	a small.fem.LOC	**bed-sitter.**

Ru *kvartir-a* 'flat.fem'

The Russian noun *kvartir-a* 'flat' is feminine. According to this, the Finnish *yksiö* assigns feminine to its modifiers, the locative forms of the pronoun *takoj* and the adjective *malen'koj*. The application of an analogical pattern is unambiguous here. If the speaker followed the phonological pattern, the Finnish noun would be neuter, because of its final *-ö.*

In the following extract, the Finnish noun *asia* assigns neuter to its modifier *kakoe* (the nominative form), in accordance with the gender of the Russian equivalent *delo.*

(208)

F1898a (IR_{f1})

(In a story F reports the direct speech of protagonist I)

Kak-oe	*u vas,*	*tak skazat'*	***asia****?*
What.neut	at you,	so to speak	**matter**?

'What is the matter?'

Ru *del-o* 'matter $_{neut}$'.

The Russian word for 'matter' is *delo,* which is neuter. The modifier *kakoe* 'what', which follows the controller in case and gender, is in the neuter form. Therefore, the controller is neuter. If the speaker applied the phonological pattern, the noun would assign the feminine, due to the final *-a.* Although the insertion is discourse-related, thus belonging to code-alternation, it is preceded with a phrase which can be considered a self-repair-initiation marker, *tak skazat'* 'so to speak'[29]. Like extract (205), this extract indicates a tendency towards *grammatically* smooth language alternation, despite its *interactionally* manifest lack of smoothness.

A specific feature of the Finnish language is its transparently structured compounds, in which the last component is a hypernym of the compound. Inserted into Russian speech, Finnish compounds often assign gender analogically, aligning with the gender of the equivalent of the head. In the following, the gender (feminine) is assigned according to the Russian equivalent of the head of the Finnish compound, 'school'.

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[29] The insertion has a discourse-related meaning, being the last and topically prominent item in the reported speech of protagonist I. The other-language raises the saliency of the term.

(209)
M1911a (IR_{fl})
kansakoulu *togda byla*
people-school then was.fem
'There was then a primary school[30].'

The application of the analogical pattern is especially transparent in cases in which the other-language noun is immediately repaired with the Russian equivalent, as in the following:

(210)
F1910b (IR_{fl})
kilpailu *kakoje-to. sorevnovanie kakoje-to durackoje.*
competition some.neut. $competition_{neut}$ some.neut fool.neut
'This is a kind of a competition. A kind of a foolish competition.'

The Finnish insertion, as well as the following Russian equivalent, assings the neuter.

There is evidence in the data, that the form of the Russian word sometimes determines gender assignment, although the word *per se* is momentarily forgotten. Replacing a suddenly missed Russian item, the other-language equivalent seems to be flagged in a different way than a more pre-planned insertion can be expected to be flagged. In the following, the speaker reiterates the predicate *byl* and pauses twice, before and after the reiteration. The last pause lasts two seconds. This all indicates attempts to recall the word. After a long pause, she introduces the Finnish *naula* 'nail' (line 01). Although not recalling the Russian equivalent, she, nevertheless, allocates the Finnish noun to the masculine, the correct gender of the Russian word *gvozd'*. Thus, the *form* of the word is preserved in the long-term memory. Continuing with a metalinguistic sequence, the speaker recalls the word and returns to the main topic of the story.

(211)
F1917 (IR_{fl})
01 F *ključ vešali vsegda, u dveri, naverhu (.) byl* ee *byl (2.0)* ***naula***.
the key used to be left, by the door, above (.) there was.masc *ehm* was.masc (2.0) **a nail**.
02 IR *mm,*
F *°kak èto po-russki?°*
°what is it in Russian?°
IR *da, kak že-hh* ***naula*** *po-russki* hhh-*da nu*-hhh
yes, what is the Russian for **nail** *hhh*
F *gvozd'!*
$nail_{masc}$!
IR *mm,*
F *i na ètot gvozd' vešali vsegda ključ.*
and the key used to be left on this nail.

[30] The name of *kansakoulu,* 'primary school', was in use up to the end of the 1960s when the name *peruskoulu,* 'comprehensive school', was introduced to account for all schools of obligatory education in Finland. Thus, the term *kansakoulu* shows a cultural specificity of the period the speaker is talking about, and as such it has no analogues in Russian, although it has a clearly distinguishable hypernym.

IR *mm*,

F1917 was a descendant of an old Russian merchant family in Vyborg. She had graduated from the Swedish high school in Vyborg. A habitual speaker of Russian, she also spoke Finnish and Swedish.

Another speaker, M1928 (dialect corpus), when telling the interviewer an episode from his childhood, suddenly forgot the Russian for 'sock':

(212)

dial. M1928a (IR_{f5})

01 M *moja mama vot pozabyl v suk-to v sučok*
my mother ((used to put)) PRT ((I)) have forgotten in the $bough_{masc}$-PRT, $bough_{dim.masc}$

02 IR *v nosok!*
in the $sock_{masc}$!

The Finnish for 'sock' is *sukka,* and the Russian *nosok.* In Russian, *suk* is a 'bough' and *suč-ok* (diminutive form of *suk*) is a 'twig'. As we see above, the speaker contaminates the Finnish and Russian noun for 'sock', joining the first part of the Finnish noun and final morpheme of the Russian one. This contamination has become possible due to the entrenchment of the Russian *sučok,* the stem of which resembles the Finnish noun *sukka* and the final morpheme coincides with the missed Russian *nosok.* As can be judged from the interviewer's turn (line 02), she, a Russian monolingual, has guessed the missed noun due to the correct morphological form introduced by the speaker.

The analogical pattern is often followed by informants who habitually speak much Russian in their everyday lives. Although the examples above are unambiguous, the problem with ascribing this pattern is that the researcher cannot be always sure that his/her equivalent coincides with the equivalent of the speaker.

Phonological pattern

The *phonological* pattern is based on the phonological similarities between Russian noun endings requiring a particular gender and the final phonemes of inserted Finnish or Swedish nouns. Within this pattern, if ending in a consonant, the inserted noun is allocated to the masculine gender. The inserted nouns with the final vowel *-a* or *-ä* are allocated to the feminine. On the basis of the final *-o,-ö,-e,* an insertion is allocated to the neuter, in analogy with the Russian neuter ending *-o/-e*. Consider the following example.

(213)

F1924 (a table talk without an interviewer)

tam	*vsegda*	*èta*	***seisova pöytä***	*byvajet*
there	always	this.fem	**standing table**	is

'There is always a buffet there.'

In the noun phrase *èta seisova pöytä,* the head *pöytä* 'table' assigns the feminine to the modifier *èta* 'this'. The final phoneme of the head noun *-ä* of *pöytä* is reanalysed as the Russian feminine ending of the nominative *-ja*. This analogy is supported by the final *-a* of the Finnish present active participle *seiso-va,* which, according to Russian grammar, should agree with the head in number, gender

and case. The Russian equivalent for 'buffet' is *švedskij stol*, lit. 'Swedish table$_{masc}$'.

Two dialect speakers, F1928a and F1907b, allocated the Finnish noun *hotelli* 'hotel' to the feminine. The equivalent in CSR is the feminine *gostinica.* There is also a French loan, *otel',* which is allocated to the masculine. In the gender assignment demonstrated by the speakers, the gender pattern is apparently analogical, due to association with the Russian nouns ending in the palatalised /l'/, which are mostly feminine.

The application of the phonological pattern by the speaker does not mean that s/he does not know the equivalent or hypernym. In (214)a, the speaker introduces the Finnish word for 'model house', preceding it with Russian *pervyj dom* 'the first.masc house$_{masc}$'. In (214)b, she reiterates the Finnish insertion:

(214)
F1920e (IR$_{fl}$)
a.

èto	*takoj*	*byl*	hm	*pervyj*	*dom,*	***mallitalo***
it	such.masc	was.masc	*hm*	first.masc	house$_{masc}$,	**prototype house**

'It was a model house.'
b.

èto	*potomu čto*	*èto*	*bylo*	***mallitalo,---***
this	because	it	was.neut	**a prototype house,---**

Fi *mallitalo* 'prototype house'.

The Russian word for 'house', *dom,* is masculine. Although introducing the Russian equivalent for the Finnish *mallitalo,* the speaker is not apparently satisfied with it, which is indicated by the voiced pause *hm,* (214)a. Later on, reintroducing the Finnish compound in (214)b, the speaker does not allocate it to the masculine, according to the Russian *dom* 'house$_{masc}$', but to the neuter gender, due to the final *-o* of the Finnish *talo.*

In the following extract, Finnish *flunssa* 'flu' is allocated to the feminine gender due to its final *-a.*

(215)
dial. F1904b and IR$_{fl}$

a u menja	*takaja*	*bol'šaja*	***flunssa,***	*byla.*
PRT by me such.fem		large.fem	**flu**,	was.fem

The Russian equivalent for 'the flu' is *gripp$_{masc}$* (<Fr. *grippe*), and an old word *influénca$_{fem}$* (< Ital. *influenza*) (Lëhin & Petrov 1954: 194, 284; Fasmer I: 459[31]). Of the two options, analogical and phonological, the latter is more putative, since the Russian equivalent *influénca$_{fem}$* is not very transparent for this dialect speaker.

Sometimes the last vowel of a Finnish noun is reanalysed as an ending of a particular Russian case, and the respective gender is assigned to the target of the agreement. In the discourse of speaker F1904 (non-dial., Raivola), the Finnish *mökki* 'summer cottage' assigns the feminine to the numeral 'two': *dve mökki* 'two.fem cottages'. The final *-i* in *mökki* is reanalysed as a marker of the genitive

[31] In Fasmer (1950-58/1996, I: 459), the word is written as *grip,* with one final *-p.*

of the feminine singular[32], cf. *dáča* 'summer cottage$_{fem}$', *dve dáč-i* 'two.fem cottage$_{fem}$Sg.GEN'.

In the following, speaker F1902a reanalyses the final *-u* of the Finnish noun *kinkku* 'ham' as the feminine form of the accusative singular:

(216)
F1902a (IR$_{fl}$)

cel'nu-ju	***kinkku***
whole.fem.ACC	**ham**
cf.:	
kaša	*káš-u*
porridge$_{fem}$NOM	porridge$_{fem}$ACC

Compared to those cases in which the last phoneme is associated with a gender marker in the nominative, reanalysis of the final vowel as a (non-nominative) case-gender marker is a further step towards explicit integration, since it presupposes the declension of the insertion. The Russian equivalents of the Finnish *kinkku* 'ham' are the masculine *okorok* and the feminine *vetčina*.

In the following, the same speaker reanalysed the final *-i* of *tontti* as a feminine ending of the genitive singular.

(217)
F1902a (IR$_{fl}$)

dve ***tontti***	
two.fem **plot**	
'two plots'	
cf.	
dač-a	*dve dač-i*
cottage$_{fem}$	two.fem cottage.Sg.GEN

Another speaker, who speaks both Swedish and Finnish (Swedish in the family), allocated the insertion *tont* (<Sw. *en tomt* 'plot') to the masculine and declined this noun:

(218)
M1892 (IR$_{m2}$)

èto dva tonta, semnadcatyj i devjatnadcatyj	
there are two.masc plot.GEN 17th.masc and 19th.masc	

The form *tonta* is in the genitive singular, cf. *dom* 'house$_{masc}$' — *doma*.Sg.GEN.

Homophonic subpattern

This subpattern is realised if the auditive shape of the other-language noun is close to the Russian equivalent. In the data, the homophones of the two languages often had similar final vowels (prototypically *-a*) and were semantically close. Because all the three factors act simultaneously in the same direction, the

[32] Alternatively, an analogical pattern can be suggested. The Russian equivalent(s) for Finnish *mökki, dača*, is feminine. Nevertheless, I suggest a phonological treatment, since the final vowel is conspicuous, whereas we cannot know whether the speaker orientated towards any Russian equivalent. In my opinion, from two equal alternatives, that explicated at the surface level should be preferred.

result is predictable. For instance, a dialect speaker M1928c used the Finnish nouns *putkimiina* 'tubular mine' and *latumiina* 'track mine' are allocated to the feminine. The hypernym of these nouns *miina* is almost homophonic to the Russian noun with the same meaning *mina* 'mine$_{fem}$'.

The Swedish for 'school', *en skola,* resembles the Russian equivalent *škola,* which is feminine. In the result of the application of the homophonic pattern, this Swedish insertion and all compounds ending in *-skola* were allocated to feminine. For instance, *flickskola* 'girl-school' (F1917) was allocated to the feminine.

The auditive shape of the Finnish *nimi* 'name' is close to its Russian equivalent, *ímja,* which is neuter. This Finnish insertion was allocated to the neuter (dial. F1907b).

Auditive similarity between the two forms easily gives rise to morphological and phonological adaptation. For instance, the dialect speaker F1930 assigned feminine to the Finnish noun *kortti* 'card' and to the compound *tupakkakortti* 'tobacco coupon' (a card given to smokers in the post-war years to buy rationed tobacco), and later on, the same speaker produced the form *kórtočka,* a mixture of the Finnish *kortti* and the Russian *kartočka.* In Russian the equivalent of Finnish *kortti* is feminine *kárta* or the diminutive *kártočka,* feminine too. The Finnish and Russian nouns are phonologically close.

Subpattern of suffix analogy

If the suffix is similar to the Russian suffix, the other-language noun assigns gender, with a great degree of probability, on the basis of suffix analogy. As Indo-European languages, Russian and Swedish have some similar suffixes[33]. In the following extract, the Swedish noun *ett regiment* 'regiment' is analysed as a stem *regi-* and a suffix *-ment,* the latter being identified with the Russian loan suffix *-ment* (cf. *komple-ment, monu-ment, assorti-ment* etc.)

(219)
F1900b (IR$_{fl}$)
celyj ***regimént****!*
the whole.masc **regiment**!
Sw. *regiment* /rejiment/, or /regiment/
(two variants of pronounciation are possible.)

Later the same speaker uses the integrated form in the plural: *èti regiménty* 'these regiments'. As illustrated in the extract above, the suffix analogy strongly prompts the noun to be to be integrated explicitly.

[33] Of course, Finnish also has borrowings in which Indo-European suffixes can be distinguished, or rather, analysable for a non-professional speaker with an Indo-European language ear. Such words are entering the language all the time, for instance, *assistentti* (NSS 1) 'assistant' (as a position), cf. Ru. *assisténт*, *stuertti* (Nahkola 1999: 196, endnote 2) 'steward', cf. Ru. *stjuard* (stress is not fixed yet) (BTS 1998). In colloquial Finnish these often acquire a more Finnish morphology (see Nahkola 1999). Some such words were borrowed a long time ago, e.g., *lääkäri* (< Sw. *läkare*) 'doctor', cf. obsolete in contemporary CSR *lékar'*.

The loanword pattern

The existence of indeclinable nouns with their non-marked gender assignment in Russian is a potential model for inserting other-language material into diaspora Russian. Within the *loanword* pattern, the inserted noun is treated as an indeclinable loanword and thus assigns the masculine (most probably) or the neuter. Most of the interviewees acquired their Russian as it was spoken at the beginning of the 20th century, when loanwords typically took the masculine gender (Comrie, Stone and Polinsky 1996: 108-110). Although some speakers have had opportunities to become acquainted with CSR *via* radio, television, their work, education and social relationships, this does not necessarily mean that they follow the innovations of the Soviet period. These innovations are unpopular, especially among older speakers.

In both of the following extracts, the loanword pattern is applied, and the Finnish words *kätilöopisto* and *muisto* are allocated to the masculine. Within the phonological pattern, the words would be allocated to the neuter, due to their final *-o*.

(220)
F1914b (IR_{f3})

tam byl ***kätilöopisto***.
there was.masc **midwife college**
'There was a midwife college there.'

(221)
F1902c (IR_{f1})

vot	*takoj*	***muisto***	*èto.*
PRT	such.masc	**souvenir**	this.

'This is a kind of souvenir.'

Allocation to an unmarked loanword gender is a marker of foreign provenance, especially in the case of nouns which can be allocated to another gender phonologically. Thus, loanword gender assignment emphasises foreign affiliation of the insertion.

Ambiguity in ascribing a pattern

As has already been demonstrated for the homophonic pattern, it is often difficult to say what particular pattern is applied. For instance, words with a final consonant can be allocated to the masculine gender according to the phonological and loanword pattern. Sometimes the gender can be masculine due to both the loanword and the analogical pattern, as in the following extract.

(222)
F1920b (IR_{f1})

èto	*ostalsja*	*kak govoritsja*	*moj*	*(.)* ***kauppakieli***.
it	left.masc	so they-say	my.masc	(.) **shopping-language**

'Finnish has been my shopping language so to speak.'

The speaker flags the foreign provenance of the insertion with a preceding short pause. It can be supposed that the application of the loanword pattern is a marker of foreign provenance, too. Nevertheless, shortly before this moment the speaker

used the Russian equivalent for 'language', *jazyk,* which is masculine. 'Language' is also a hypernym of the Finnish compound *kauppakieli* 'shopping language'. Therefore, the application of an analogical pattern can also be considered.

I assume that the overlap in the patterns does not question their existence as a theoretical basis for consideration of gender assignment. Conversely, it seems that frequent overlap of, for instance, an analogical and phonological pattern is able to reinforce the applicability of the latter. I assume that in the analysis of the data, for a few pattern-candidates of equal standing, the most explicit on the surface can be taken as the most probable.

Stability in gender assignment

Sometimes the gender and the shape of an insertion seem to be prescribed by the usage background of this insertion, if this usage is firmly entrenched in the community. In the following, the speaker uses one of the established loanwords:

(223)
F1928a (IR_{fl}, F's mother and sister are present)
01 IR *net ne spešite; sadites' požalujsta;*
don't hurry, sit down please
02 F *snesu moju* ***kauppaka****- hhh* ***kauppakasi****; ja tol'ko što s raboty prišla --*
I carry my.fem **shopping**- *hhh* **shopping-bag**; I just came from work ---
'I will carry my shopping bag home. I am on my way back from the work.'

With a false start and a burst of laughter, she indicates the foreign provenance of the item. Nevertheless the word is phonetically integrated and allocated to feminine, according to the gender of the Russian hypernym *sumka* 'bag' (line 02). In comparison with the Finnish noun *kassi,* the Russian loan lacks the geminate and the *i*-preceding consonant is pronounced by the speaker palatalised, thus, /kassi/>/kas'i/. The first part of the compound *kauppakassi*, *kauppa-,* is not phonologically changed. Phonologically integrated, it would have been degeminated, *kauppa>kaupa.* The noun *kási* belongs to the established loans, but the compound *kauppakassi* does not.

Uriel Weinreich (1953/1967: 60-61 fn. 111) referred to Petrovici, Møller and Racovita, who reported that bilinguals "recognise many of the oldest and best assimilated loanwords" as other-language items. Extract (223) supports that conclusion. While recognising the 'foreignness' of the word, the speaker still preserved the gender allocation and the phonologically integrated shape, reflecting a history of usage of this word in Kyyrölä Russian. For the researcher, such cases can serve as a hint for identifying (former) established loans in a diaspora community.

Variation in integration style and gender-assignment pattern: An interplay of social and linguistic factors

Treatment of insertions varied depending on the speaker's sociolinguistic background, the shape of the insertion and sometimes even on interactional meaning of the stretch into which the insertion was introduced. Factors determining the degree of integration and the pattern of gender assignment will be discussed in the following.

The ending *-a* is grammatically salient, since the *-a* type declension has the most distinctive forms in the singular paradigm. Inanimate *-a* final nouns are feminine. Consequently, the other-language *-a/-ä* final nouns are structurally the most amenable to application of the phonological pattern and further explicit integration.

In the following, it is demonstrated that different speakers in two similar situations treat the *-a* final insertion differently. In (224), the speaker answers the question (written in Finnish): 'Has Russian been an advantage or a disadvantage for you in Finland?'[34]

(224)
The question (written in Finnish):
Onko venäjästä ollut Teille Suomessa hyötyä/haittaa?
'Has Russian been an advantage or disadvantage for you in Finland?'
Finnish *hyöty* 'profit, benefit'
haitta 'trouble, disadvantage'
word-internal integration:
haitta > hajt-a, -y.GEN
F1920d (F's husband and IR_{f3})
***hyöty-ä** bylo mnogo, **hajt-y** nikogda nikakoj.*
advantage.PAR was.neut much, **disadvantage$_{fem}$GEN**never none.fem.GEN
'There were many advantages and no disadvantages.'

The speaker's turn is the second part of the *question-answer* adjacency pair. The first pair part provides strong expectation concerning the form and often the contents of the second pair part (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). The question, although in a written form, is formulated in Finnish. Still, the answer is expected to be given in Russian, the language of interaction. From the interactional viewpoint, this is a kind of contradiction. The speaker succeeds in smoothing it out by quoting the focal items of the question in the original language and thus establishing a linguistic coherence between the question and the answer. Additionally, the language of interaction is not violated.

In her answer the speaker integrates the Finnish *haitta* 'disadvantage' explicitly; geminate *-tt-* is reduced into one consonant, *-t-,* and the final *-a* is reanalysed as the Russian morphological ending of *-a* final feminine. Consequently, the integrated insertion is given the appropriate genitive ending *-y: hait-a.NOM — hait-y.GEN.* Another insertion, the Finnish *hyöty* 'advantage', is integrated syntactically, in the implicit style. This syntactic integration is demonstrated by the Finnish partitive case, which is functionally similar to the Russian genitive, which would be used in this syntactic construction, *pol'zy bylo mnogo* 'advantage.GEN was.neut much'. What determines the different treatment of these two insertions is their morphonological shape. The explicitly integrated item ends in *-a,* and thus fits the Russian *-a*-declension type. The other noun, *hyöty*, ends in /y/ and, thus, does not fit into any Russian declension type.

Speaker F1920d spoke Russian in the family and Finnish with colleagues at work, in which she had actively used her Russian competence and her bilingual

[34] A questionnaire completed in Finnish was sometimes given to the interviewee. The answers were supposed to be formulated in Russian. Finnish questions of the questionnaire often triggered off insertions.

skills. She had started working late, only after her children had grown up enough not to need her care. In the interview, this speaker interspersed very few Finnish words. Speaker M1935 had used mostly Finnish and Swedish outside the home in his childhood. The language of his own family was Finnish, although he used a lot of Russian at work.

In the following, speaker M1935 responds to the same question about advantages and disadvantages:

(225)

M1935 (his mother, his wife, and IR_{f3})

01 M	*konešno, s russkogo jazyka byla pol'-* ehm-ehm ***hyötyä,***	
	of course, from Russian was.fem adva- *-ehm-ehm* **advantage.PAR,**	
02	*ili èto,* ***hyötyä*** *°kak èto*	*[skazat'°?*
	or that, **advantage.PAR**	[to say this°
	°how	
03 Mo		[*mh*
04 M	*pribyl', net.*	*POL'[za;*
	PROfit, no.	adVA[Ntage;
05 W		*[pol'za, da.*
		[advantage, right.
06 M	*pol'za. vo::t, nikakogo* ee ***haitta*** *ne bylo.*	
	advantage. so, any.nonfem.GEN *er* **disadvantage** was not there.	
07	*°a* ***haitta*** *kak?°*	
	°what is **'disadvantage'**? °	

((the conversation continues with a metalinguistic discussion))

In line 01, the speaker starts the answer, providing the predicate in the feminine *byla* 'was' and half of the subject, Russian *pol'za* 'advantage$_{fem}$', but interrupts himself and quotes the Finnish *hyötyä* 'advantage.PAR' in the same form as it stands in the question. The Finnish form does not fit in the Russian syntactic context, being in the partitive. With this incongruity, the speaker emphasises that the other-language insertion is not appropriate. He follows with a metalinguistic sequence, pointing to the other-language term as repairable (line 02). With a continuer (line 03), the speaker's mother gives him a chance for the self-repair that follows (line 04). M's Finnish wife (line 05) ratifies the repair. M repeats the Russian item (line 06). Continuing his turn (line 06), he introduces the second focal item of the question, *haitta,* in the nominative, preceding it with a short hesitation marker, *er* (line 06). The Finnish-language insertion *haitta* assigns the genitive and non-feminine to its modifier, the Russian pronoun *nikakogo*. In gender assignment the loanword pattern is applied. This treatment emphasises the foreign provenance of the insertion, especially because it is *-a* final and thus favours internal integration. Thus, with hesitation, applying the loanword pattern and providing the insertion in the form of the nominative, the speaker points to it as a metalinguistic repairable item. He follows with the formulation of the metalinguistic self-repair initiation (line 07). For a while the conversation continues with a metalinguistic discussion (from line 07 onwards).

Answering the same question in the questionnaire and addressing the same interviewer in (224) and (225), the speakers morphosyntactically treat the insertions in quite a different way. Speaker F1920d integrates one syntactically and the other morphologically, and the insertions cue the coherence between the

question—answer adjacency-pair parts. The integration style of the insertions is determined by their morphonological shape and their syntactic position. Speaker M1935 concentrates on the metalinguistic side of the question, exposing the insertions as problematic. The insertions' foreign provenance is also demonstrated in syntax. Note that it is not his incompetence in Russian that is in question (cf. the correct Russian item false-started in line 01 in extract [225]), but his uneasiness in relation to his competence and his concentration on the metalinguistic side of the interaction.

The different linguistic behaviour of the speakers, demonstrated in (224) and (225), with the application of the different gender assignment patterns being a part of it, is a manifestation and a result of the different status of Russian for these two speakers. F1920d is a habitual speaker of Russian, whereas M1935 is not.

Further evidence for social and linguistic constraints was attested in the variation between the application of the analogical and loanword pattern. Other-language compounds, the head component of which has a transparent Russian equivalent, are usually allocated to the same gender as this equivalent. Finnish *koulu* (Ru. *škóla*$_{fem}$) and *kieli* 'language' (Ru. *jazýk*$_{masc}$) have transparent equivalents, which is why the compounds ending in *koulu* and *kieli* are normally allocated to the feminine and masculine respectively. Nevertheless, in the following, a third generation speaker allocates the head of the NP *teknillinen korkeakoulu* 'University of technology' to the non-feminine, apparently applying the loanword pattern:

(226)
M1962 (his mother and IR$_{fl}$ are present)
učus' v ètom - ***Teknillinen korkeakoulu***
I study in that.masc - **Technical high school**
'I study at the University of technology.'

With the pronominal modifier 'that' and a short pause, the speaker flags the other-language stretch as undesirable. Applying the loanword pattern, the speaker marks the insertion for its foreign provenance. Such strong metalinguistic orientation is characteristic of non-habitual Russian speakers.

Linguistic factors in gender assignment

The effect of the structure of the noun on the degree of integration has already been demonstrated in extract (224). In the following, there is further evidence that tendencies in morphosyntactic integration are autonomous within the grammar to a certain extent. During the table talk between old friends (without the interviewer), the speaker refers to an 'ulster' twice with a Swedish noun, which is declined, and twice with a Finnish noun 'ulsteri', which is not declined. These references are made within the same turn.

(227)
F1914a (a table talk between friends, two women and a married couple)
a.
nigde net normal'nyh ***ul'steri;*** *ni* ***ul'steri*** *netu---*
nowhere no normal.Pl.GEN **overcoat**, PRTn **overcoat** no---
There are no normal overcoats, there are neither overcoats ---'

b.
u Kuusinen *byl* ***tvidul'ster*** *takoj*
at Kuusinen's* was.masc **tweed-overcoat** such.masc
'At Kuusinen's there was one tweed overcoat.'

c.
*ne mogu ---najti normal'nogo, čelovečeskogo **ul'stera**.*
PRTn can.1Sg ---to find normal.nonfem.GEN, human.nonfem.GEN **over-coat**.nonfem.GEN
'I cannot find a normal acceptable overcoat.'
* *Kuusinen* is a Finnish surname, the name of a chain of clothes' shops.
'Ulster', a type of overcoat:
Sw *en ulster*
Fi *ulsteri*

Both Finnish and Swedish insertions are phonologically adapted: in the forms /ul'ster/ and /ul'steri/, the Russian palatalised /l'/ has replaced Finnish and Swedish /l/. The final *-i* of the Finnish *ulsteri* does not fit any Russian singular declension pattern. Used for plural reference in (227)a, this noun is implicitly integrated, demonstrating genitive plural assignment through the forms of the modifiers. In (227)b, for singular reference, the Swedish *ulster* is used, which fits the declension of masculine nouns with a final hard consonant. The explicit style of integration is applied to this insertion. In (227)c, the Swedish insertion is in the Russian genitive case. The inappropriateness of the declension for the plural reference, (227)a, can be accounted for by a suggestion expressed by Shoji Azuma (1993: 1090, en. 2), that "a noun stem and its plural marker are retrieved as one unit from the mental lexicon without parsing." This provides a psycholinguistic basis for the linguistic behaviour demonstrated in (227)a, where, for the plural referent, the speaker introduces the Finnish insertion which is unambiguously indeclinable by its phonetic shape. Had she used the Swedish insertion *ulster*, the latter should have been declined for the plural and thus, would have completely lost its foreign origin. This decision has appeared to be inappropriate for the trilingual speaker, who is sensitive to the origin of the insertions, even when using them smoothly.

The final *-a* is a strong factor to evoke phonologically based feminine assignment too. In the following, F1927a, a balanced bilingual who uses Russian and Finnish both in the family and at work, allocates a Finnish *-a* final insertion to the feminine:

(228)
1927a (IR_{f3})
*Èto kakaja-to - **puhevika**.* hhh *defekt, reči v obščem.*
This some.fem, **speech-defect**. *hhh* $defect_{masc}$, of speech in general
'This is a kind of defect of speech.'

The insertion is pro- and retrospectively marked for its foreign provenance. The prospective markers are the pronoun *kakaja-to.fem* followed by a short pause. The retrospective markers are uneasy laughter (self-repair self-initiation) and a Russian equivalent (self-repair). Given the flagging of the insertion, the application of the loanword pattern, with masculine assignment, could have been ex-

pected. Nevertheless, the insertion is allocated to the feminine, in accordance with its final *-a*.

In the speech of balanced bilinguals, the noun insertions ending in a consonant and in *-a* often assigned the gender according to the phonological pattern. Final consonant promted the masculine and the final *-a* the feminine assignment.

Conversationally relevant variation

In the following extract, the degree of integration is different in the first introduction and the re-appearance of the other-language item:

(229)
F1910b (IR_{fl})
01 *est' tam **silakka** kakoj-to takoj;*
is there **herring** some.masc such.masc;
02 > *tak vy znaete,* hmm <
> so you know *hmm* <
03 *kogda ja ètu **sílakku** odnu štučku polučila, ---*
when I this.fem.ACC $herring_{fem}$ACC one piece got ---
'There is such a herring, as you know. So, when I got one of these herrings'

The speaker recounts that in the 1920s she suffered from hunger, so that having got hold of some herring, she ate this herring up to the last bone. She deviates from her narrative to emphasise the name of the food for the interviewer (lines 01-02). Another purpose of this side-sequence is the metalinguistic legalisation of the insertion. Completing the side-sequence, the speaker addresses the interviewer (line 02) and returns to the main line of the narrative. First introduced in the side sequence, the Finnish *silakka* is retrospectively marked for its foreign provenance with the adjectival pronouns 'some' and 'such' (line 01). They modify the Finnish insertion that assigns the masculine to them. This masculine shows that the loanword pattern has been applied. Returning to the narrative, the speaker integrates the Finnish word explicitly, putting it into the Russian accusative of the feminine *a*-declension (line 03). Thus, the loanword pattern is applied in the side-sequence with a metalinguistic meaning and the explicitly styled phonological pattern is applied in main line of the narrative.

In the following extract, integration is sensitive to participant constellation, the speaker's managing the recipients' addressee hierarchy. This dialect speaker used the maximum amount of language alternation in the data.

The speaker talks about the kinds of cakes her mother made in the old days in the actual presence of her mother. As a main character of her daughter's story, the mother is a knowing recipient. The speaker basically addresses her story to the interviewer, but she also systematically addresses her mother for affirmation. The change of the style of language alternation cues the switch of addressee. The informant uses more Finnish when addressing the interviewer. Addressing her mother, she, if alternating at all, mostly uses explicitly integrated single items.

(230)
Fi *kakku*'cake'
Finland Russian $kaka_{fem}$ 'filled cake' (Sw *en kaka*)
Ru $tort_{masc}$ 'filled cake', Fi *täytekakku* 'layer cake'

F1930 dial. (her mother and IR_{fl} are present)

01 *i potom* *ty delala* *tort* *vsëgda;*
and then you made.fem filled-cake$_{masc}$ always;
'And then you used to make a filled cake.'

02 *u tebja* *vsëgda* *byl* ***täytekakku***
at you always was.masc **filled-cake**
'You used to have a filled cake ready ((for the party))'

03 *kak,* *teper' skažem* ***täytekakku*** *a togda* *tort nazyvalsja.*
how, now call.1Pl **filled-cake** PRT then filled-cake$_{masc}$ called.masc-refl
'We call it a '**filled cake**' now, but it used to be called a 'filled cake' in those times.'

(11 lines omitted)

15 *i vot* *èta* ***kaka*** *očen' byla*
and PRT this.fem **filled-cake**$_{fem}$ very was.fem
'This filled cake was very tasty.'

16 *kak ona* ***pöydälle tuo*** *tak* ***nätisti*** *vsë dak,*
how she **table.ALL bring.3Sg** so **beautifully** everything PRT,
'Mother used to cover the table so beautifully.'

17 *my-to* ***lapset kun, piirakat*** *nam* *uže nadojeli*
we-PRT **children since**, **pies** we.DAT already bored.Pl
'We, children, were fed up with pies.'

18 *kak (.)* *kažno voskresenje* ***piirakat rahka-*** *da vot tako.*
'cause (.) every Sunday **pies quark-** and PRT such.
'Since we ate pies, quark pies and others, every Sunday.'

19 *a* ***kakku*** *už ona byla* ***vähän erikoisempi.***
and **cake** PRT it$_{fem}$ was.fem **little more special**.
'But a filled cake, it was more special.'

20 *ne vremë** *bylo* ***kaku*** *tak tort* *delat'* *pravda?*
PRTn time was **filled-cake$_{fem}$ACC** so filled-cake$_{masc}$ to make true?
'There was no need to make a filled cake for every occasion, isn't this true?'

* dial. form for CSR *vremja* 'time'.

Addressing the mother, F uses the Russian *tort* for 'filled cake' (line 01). The noun is masculine. In line 02, although the mother is addressed with the personal pronoun 2Sg and, thus, seems to remain as the main addressed recipient, the change of the principal addressee from the mother to the interviewer is being prepared. The speaker underlines this change by introducing the Finnish for 'filled cake'. Through using insertion in the language of the interviewer the speaker emphasises addressing the interviewer in particular. This Finnish insertion assigns the masculine to the copula verb 'was' (line 02), on the basis of the analogical pattern. The following metalinguistic side-sequence (line 03), in which the speaker provides the bilingual equivalents for 'filled cake', is also addressed to the interviewer.

In line 15 the speaker uses the borrowed form, *kaka,* which is feminine. From line 16 to line 19 she continues addressing the interviewer in particular. In this sequence there are a considerable number of Finnish items. In line 19 the speaker uses the Finnish for 'filled cake', *kakku.* This insertion controls the feminine per-

sonal pronoun *ona* and is, thus, allocated to the feminine. The feminine allocation accords with that of the borrowed form for 'filled cake', $kaka_{fem}$. In line 20 the speaker introduces this borrowed form and follows on with its Russian equivalent, *tort*. In this line, F addresses her mother for affirmation. The mother is the principal addressee. The change in addressee hierarchy was prepared in line 19, in which the feminine gender assignment of the Finnish noun *kakku* projects the Finland Russian feminine-shaped *kaka*.

Thus, the Finnish equivalent indicates that the interviewer is primarily addressed, whereas the Russian equivalent, the established loan, and the application of the analogical pattern of gender assignment point to the mother as an addressee.

The frequent use of code-alternation in the interview setting reveals a strong entrenchment of the alternating strategies. Only the speakers who habitually alternate languages can use gender patterns as a cue for contextualisation.

Statistics

In the following, I will demonstrate and discuss the statistics of gender assignment in the data.

The following table shows the number of assignment for each of the three genders for Finnish and Swedish insertions by 51 non-dialect and 32 dialect speakers.

	tokens	types	% types	fem	% fem	masc	% masc	non-fem	% non-fem	neut	% neut	vac	% vac
n-dial	185	175	100	61	34.9	72	41.1	11	6.3	29	16.6	2	1.1
dial	211	199	100	99	49.7	64	32.2	7	3.5	27	13.6	2	1
total	396	374	100	160	42.8	136	36.4	18	4.8	56	15	4	1

Table 19. Gender assignment of the other-language items in the two corpora
The abbreviation 'vac' stands for vacillation. Vacillation means that the same noun assigns a different gender in different occurrences in the same speaker production. Occurences of vacillation were between the masculine and the feminine and between the masculine and the neuter. 'Non-fem' means that the gender was assigned to the target in the non-nominative case, in which there is no distinction between masculine and neuter. The numbers have been counted separately for each corpus and for the two corpora together. The column 'tokens' (second from the left) shows the number of occurrences of gender-assigning other-language nouns in the data under consideration. Column 'types' shows the number of types of gender-assigning nouns (the same other-language nouns used by the same speaker are counted as one). The number of occurrences (types) of all the three genders is taken to be 100%. The percent-

age is also counted for each gender in particular. Each column showing the number of types is followed by the column showing the same number as a percentage.

The instantiations of gender assignment in the dialect corpus outnumbered those in the non-dialect corpus. Generally, the dialect speakers alternated languages more often than non-dialect speakers did.

In the non-dialect sample (51 speakers), the gender of the other-language nouns was manifest for 185 tokens, of which 175 different types. Of these types, there were 61 feminine assignments (34.9%), 72 masculine assignments (41.1%), 11 non-feminine assignments (6.3%), 29 neuter assignments (16.6%) and 2 cases of vacillation (1.1%), one between masculine and feminine and one between masculine and neuter. In the dialect corpus (32 speakers), there were 211 tokens of gender assignment of other-language nouns, of them 199 types. Of the latter, there were 99 feminine (49.7%), 64 masculine (32.2%), 7 non-feminine (3.5%), 27 neuter (13.6%), and 2 occurrences of vacillation (1%).

In the non-dialect corpus, the masculine assignment is more frequent than the feminine: the masculine outnumbers the feminine by 11 (the non-feminines are not included in the masculine). In the dialect corpus, rather a strong preference was observed for feminine over masculine gender assignment. Feminine assignment dominated by 35. On the whole in the data, there were 374 gender assignments (types), and feminine assignment exceeded masculine by 24, feminine constituting 42.8% and masculine 36.4%. Non-feminine constituted 4.8% of cases and neuter 15%.

The following table accounts for nouns with human reference (36) that were gender-allocated according to the physiological pattern. As is seen from the table, the number of male referents exceeded that of feminine referents.

Corpus	human ref.		non-human ref.	
	fem	masc	fem	masc
non-dial.	7	22	54	50
dial.	0	7	99	57
total	7	29	153	107

Table 20. Insertions with a human reference compared to those with a non-human reference.

If those nouns with human referents are excluded from the total, the outnumbering of feminine assignment in the data rises to 46 cases.

The phonological pattern can be unambiguously identified in the case of feminine assignment (final *-a/ä*). Phonologically based feminine gender assignment is shown in the table below. Explicitly integrated nouns are included too, as well as phonological-and-analogical feminines, i.e., the *-a/ä* final other-language nouns which have a feminine Russian equivalent.

Corpus	fem	phon. fem
non-dial	61 (100%)	23 (37.7%)
dial	99 (100%)	53 (53.5%)
total	160 (100%)	76 (47.5%)

Table 21. Feminine assignment on the basis of the phonological pattern.

Dialect speakers demonstrate the feminine assignment phonologically more frequently (53.5% of all the dialect feminine assignments) than non-dialect speakers (37.7% of all the non-dialect feminine assignment). Nevertheless, the total of non-phonological feminine assignment is considerable in both dialect (46 cases) and non-dialect (38 cases) corpora.

Gender-allocated Swedish nouns occurred only in the non-dialect corpus, in which Finnish items are still much more frequent. The following table shows the gender total for Swedish words found in the non-dialect corpus.

number of types	fem	masc	neut
39 (10 hum.)	11(1 hum.)	25 (9 hum.)	3

Table 22. Assignment of gender of Swedish nouns (occurred only in the non-dialect corpus)

Thus, from 39 instantiations of gender assignment, 11 are feminine, 25 masculine and 3 neuter. In all there are 10 nouns with human reference, 9 of them masculine.

In the following, I compare the totals obtained in the present analysis to those presented by Kouzmin[35] in her dissertation (1973: 90), based on her Australian Russian data. She does not mention non-feminine assignment at all (this means that all the masculine- and neuter-assigning English nouns are in the nominative). For my data, I counted the non-feminine and masculine together.

Australian Russian			Finland Russian					
			non-dial		dial.		total	
Gender	numb.	%	numb.	%	numb.	%	numb.	%
masc.	98	84	83*	47.4	71*	35.7	154	41.2
fem.	12	10	61	34.9	99	49.7	160	42.8
vac. (f/m	6	5	2	1.1	2	1	4	1
neut.	1	0.85	29	16.6	27	13.6	56	15
total	117	100	175	100	199	100	374	100

Table 23. Comparison of gender assignment in Australian Russian (based on Kouzmin 1973: 90) and the present data.
* Summary of non-feminines and masculines (non-dial. 72+11=83, dial. 64+7=71).

Kouzmin does not take into consideration at all the criterion I call 'loanword pattern'. Five nouns in her sample had human reference and were allocated to the masculine according to the physiological pattern (Kouzmin 1973: 91). The feminine assignment was made on a physiological (4 cases) and analogical basis. Some of the nouns allocated to the feminine also received a feminine ending, for instance, 'wife' [vájfa], 'girl' [g'örla], 'teenager' [t'inédžerka] 'brush' [braška], cf. Russian *ščëtka* 'brush', etc. (ibid. 92).

[35] The informants of Kouzmin are Russian migrants of the second (1945) and third (after 1974) waves.

The linguistic structure affects to some extent the proportions of the gender affiliation to the other-language nouns. The more popular the phonological pattern among the speakers of the subordinate language group, the stronger the effect of the linguistic structure of the superordinate language. Kouzmin (ibid.: 94) considers the phonological pattern to be decisive in the gender assignment demonstrated by her informants. Since the most of the English nouns end in a consonant, the application of the phonological pattern results in the pervasive masculine assignment. In the corpora of the present study this pattern is not so influential, although it is more characteristic of dialect than of non-dialect speakers. The qualitative analysis of the present data shows that the structure of languages in contact is not decisive, and that other factors, in particular, socio-cultural background of speakers, are at least as important.

5.3. Findings and discussion

Intra-linguistic gender assignment

Concerning the intra-linguistic gender assignment of the data, it should be concluded that the category of gender was retained by the most of the speakers. The deviations from standard Russian gender assignment, which were observed in the production of the dialect speakers, continue the non-standard preference for feminine and the Northern dialect tendency to allocate normatively neuter nouns to the masculine.

In the speech of a third generation Finnish-dominant informant, the gender of the Russian nouns demonstrated a tendency of the overall change for the masculine. This was the only data sample in which the category of gender can be considered seriously disrupted. In two other samples, there were two occurrences where *-a* final masculines in oblique cases assigned feminine to their modifiers.

In Finnish, there is no grammatical or semantic gender category. The morphological marker at the end of a Finnish word is the most important factor in assigning grammatical categories. Changes of the gender category observed in the data enable for predictions. In the contact between Finnish and Russian with superordinate Finnish, the Russian structural gender criterion, namely, the morphological ending, may oust the semantic criterion. The ignoring of the semantic criterion is to be first expected in a syntactically peripheral position of the noun.

To generalise, for Russian in contact with a genderless synthetic language, the first change will be the defeat of the semantic gender in semantic—grammatical competition, since grammatical criteria are more salient, and they are always the most weighty factors in the categorisation of the superordinate language. The last step of the final attrition of the category of gender will result in a masculine form (as the least marked one) of the targets. Ojanen (1985: 152) reported masculine to be the form of the Russian borrowed adjectives in Karelian. This evidence can be considered to support the prediction expressed above.

Thus, in the contact between a semantic-grammatical gender system and a (superordinate) genderless system, the gender-related results differ from those observed in the contact between a semantic-grammatical gender system and a (superordinate) semantic system. In the latter, the type of contacts reported by

Gumperz and Wilson (1971), the grammatical criteria of gender assignment disappeared while semantic criteria were retained.

Gender-assignment patterns

The general constraint on language alternation in the present data is provided by type of interaction, the socio-linguistic interview. Language alternation does not seem to be a habitual linguistic practice among non-dialectal Finland Russians.

The analysis has shown that, even when marked for their foreign provenance, the insertions are usually adequately integrated into the Russian syntax. Thus, the introduction of the insertions is grammatically smooth.

Four general patterns of gender assignment in Finland Russian have been identified; analogical, phonological (with its subpatterns of homophony and the suffixal analogy), physiological, and a loanword pattern.

All the patterns of gender assignment in the data have stemmed from those applied in Russian generally. Physiological pattern is consistently followed in Russian. The phonological pattern equates the form of the other-language noun with the form of a Russian noun. The analogical pattern is used in CSR for indeclinable nouns with a distinguishable hypernym. In the data, loans whose shape cannot be associated with any Russian declension pattern, are allocated to the masculine, while in CSR the unmarked allocation is neuter. The assignment of the masculine to the loanwords is the consequence of the unmarkedness of this gender (Jakobson 1959/1971). The loanword-pattern application in the data mainly results in masculine allocation.

The phonological pattern is the closest to word-internal integration, especially where the last vowel is reanalysed as not only a gender, but as a case-gender ending. Such re-analysing can be treated as a first step toward a word-internal integration. Nevertheless, it may be that the second step will never take place. As was already stated, the need for explicit integration is socially constrained.

As a result of application of the phonological pattern, explicit integration can take place. The data show that phonologically gendered insertion can evoke an explicit style of integration in the case declension of the singular. The same speaker would not necessarily decline the same insertion for the plural. Gender assignment according by suffixal analogy is the passport into the fully fledged Russian declension system, including declension for plural forms.

On the ambiguity of patterning

The problem about the analogical pattern is that the researcher cannot always be sure whether his/her equivalent coincides with that of the speaker. Trying to cope with this problem, Poplack et al. (1982) introduce a translatability scale for nouns, relating to how easily the equivalent or hypernym of the noun can be found in the host language. I assume that the problem still persists, since its roots are non-equivalence of the agent of translation; *who* can easily or less easily translate the item? Weighing the possibility of translation, Clyne (1967: 45) takes into account the social background of the informant. Here, we encounter the divergency of diaspora communities. Poplack et al. (1982), whose speakers are Puerto Ricans in New York City and Montreal Frenchmen, groups that can be considered to form stable communities, can cope with linguistic problems with a

better conscience than those researchers whose data are extracted from comparatively recently evolved immigrant communities.

It is clear that in reality there are many cases where the pattern candidates overlap and a pattern cannot be unambiguously identified. The masculine and the neuter assignment is often ambiguous, providing opportunities for phonological and loanword treatment at the same time. What is feminine by the phonological pattern is sometimes feminine by the analogical pattern too - hence, ambiguous into the bargain. Such cases of pattern overlap can be disambiguated for the speakers that show the preference for one or another pattern.

Pattern-determining factors

The choice of pattern depends on social, situational, and linguistic factors. These factors form a certain hierarchy.

Of the *linguistic* factors, three are the most significant. Two of them are semantic, human reference and a transparent Russian equivalent. The former, actually the overriding factor, always evokes a physiological pattern. The latter is significant for the analogical pattern. Nevertheless, as has been mentioned above in connection with Poplack et al.'s translatability scale, this transparency should be handled carefully. The third powerful linguistic factor determining gender pattern is the phonological shape of the insertion. In particular, noun insertions with a final *-a/-ä* often evoke the feminine gender based on the phonological pattern.

Under *social* factors, I include the linguistic background of the speaker, his/her present use of Russian and competence in Russian and other languages. In the data analysis, *social* factors have appeared to constrain the effect of linguistic factors. People who use Russian habitually are sensitive to linguistic factors. Where possible they apply phonological and analogical patterns. The application of an analogical pattern, generally speaking, demonstrates that Russian vocabulary is entrenched. The speakers who use Russian more often than the other language(s) seem to prefer this pattern. But the use of the phonological pattern does not necessarily demonstrate a lexical gap. Phonological pattern is favoured by those speakers who use both Russian and other languages to a balanced degree in their everyday life. The speakers with a strong Russian background use the analogical pattern even if the Russian equivalent is signalled as suddenly forgotten, revealing that structural memory is much deeper than the surface, lexical one.

Speakers who do not use Russian habitually apply the loanword pattern and assign the masculine to the insertions which could be allocated to the feminine within a phonological or analogical pattern. The loanword pattern is often related to the flagging of the insertion as repairable and can be considered as a cue for a metalinguistic self-repair initiation.

For some speakers, the choice of integration pattern is affected by the *interactional* factors, which are participant constellation and conversational context. The interaction-relevant variation of the degree of adaptation and pattern of gender assignment, together with a smooth, non-flagged introduction of the insertions reveals that language alternation is a habitual linguistic practice for the speaker.

In regulating the style of integration and the pattern of gender assignment, social factors override the structural and interactional factors, while these last two interplay.

Differences between the two corpora

In the dialect corpus, the feminine gender assignment of insertions is more frequent than the masculine assignment. In the non-dialect corpus, the masculine outnumbers the feminine to some extent. Of the feminine insertions, 53.7% in the dialect corpus and 37.7% in the non-dialect corpus are allocated phonologically.

Kyyrölä speakers are more inclined than non-dialect speakers to integrate insertions explicitly, either adapting the shape of the other-language word to correspond to one of the Russian declension types or using the insertion in the other-language morphosyntactic form which is functionally appropriate in this particular syntactic context. Dialect Russians, especially women, more than non-dialect Russians tend to use the insertions smoothly. These characteristics of the dialect corpus are connected to the preference reported earlier for the feminine gender assignment and the declension of the loanwords observed in non-standard Russian. Additionally, Kyyrölä Russians lived a few decades in increasing bilinguality still retaining the focussed status of their group, which fostered the habitual language alternation.

Dialect speakers alternate languages more frequently than non-dialect Russians. The interactionally relevant variation, observed in the dialect corpus, would apparently be more frequent in informal interaction among Kyyrölä speakers. Still, the development of language alternation as an unmarked choice is constrained by language shift in the dialect community, where many of the second-generation speakers prefer Finnish in informal peer conversation.

An almost complete lack of 'established loans' (recurrent by the speakers) in the data has been treated as evidence of the linguistic instability, precisely speaking, the state of language shift, in which the dialectal and non-dialectal speakers live today. A more or less stable status for the loans is possible in a community in which there are monolingual members and which has stable networks with Russian as a language-of-interaction. The process of the *re-affiliation* of earlier established loans is especially salient in the Kyyrölä corpus, where those born from the late 1920s onward pronounce them closer to their Finnish shape or/and mark them for foreign provenance. This re-affiliation is a consequence of the community's acquiring total bilingualism and of the lack of networks to keep the loans recurrent. The variation in the degree of integration has been found in some cases to be interactionally relevant.

In the 1920s-40s most Russian immigrants were incompetent in the local languages. It was necessary for them to borrow and adapt lexical items from the local languages. The period of the widespread use of these borrowings was comparatively short, and it was curtailed by the war 1939-1944. After the war most of these Russians had already acquired competence in Finnish, and the notion of established loan started to lose its meaning.

Comparison with other research

The non-frequency of word-internal integration of the nouns is characteristic of Finland Russian speakers, especially of non-dialectal speakers, in comparison with American Russians (Benson 1960) and Australian Russians (Kouzmin 1973). I assume that the reason is the different background of the immigrant communities in these English-speaking countries from that of the Old Finland Russians, in particular, the longer period of residence in Finland of the latter. It seems that the deeper the bilingual roots of a speakers' group, the less the speakers need a word-internal adaptation of the other-language words. Another reason for the difference mentioned is linguistic. Many English nouns end in a consonant, and they are thus more liable to receive additional final morphemes than Finnish nouns, which by and large end in a vowel. It can be also observed that, in American and Australian Russian, the typical feminine morphemes are often added to nouns with feminine human reference.

According to Poplack et al. (1982: 9), "any differences in gender assignment which do emerge are language-specific, and not due to social or stylistic differences." This is in line with Beardsmore (1971: 158), who concludes that, although socio-cultural factors play a part in gender assignment, internal features of the languages are more important. Conversely, Weinreich (1953/1967) points out that the choice of whether to integrate a foreign item or not, is dependent on individual psychological and socio-cultural factors. Thus, the researchers considered the sphere of gender assignment to be a field of competing influential factors, linguistic vs. socio-cultural. One of these factors was supposed to get an overall victory. I am convinced that the conclusions cited above are correct for the particular data analysed in each particular study. Namely, the communities considered by Poplack et al. and by Beardsmore are comparatively stable. In his turn, Weinreich drew his conclusions from studies most of which were based on data from short-term immigrant communities. Short-term communities are often unstable and diffuse. For this type of communities the social factor is the most important one.

6. CONCLUSIONS

General

In the present research, I have investigated the processes of linguistic convergence and integration in a situation of language contact. Observed in the data, these processes occur in the subordinate language, within *borrowing* from Finnish or Swedish into Russian.

Most of the speakers under consideration are *first generation* Finland Russians, who have lived in Finland for most of their lives. They acquired Russian as the first language in a situation in which Russian was used in most spheres of life. Many of the first-generation speakers are adult bilinguals.

Non-first generation Finland Russians are represented to a much smaller degree in the data. Non-first generation speakers can be defined as those who are child bilinguals, and who have grown up in the other-language environment with its own niche for both (or all three) languages, of which the use of Russian was reduced to intimate circles. First generation speakers were the main object of the interviewing, which fact partially accounts for the small number of non-first generation speakers. Nevertheless, the proportion between the first and non-first generation speakers of the data also reflects the *status quo*: there are few Old Russian speakers of non-first generation. Reduction in number of non-first generation speakers is characteristic of the situation of language shift. The most part of the non-first generation speakers of the data professionally used Russian. In addition to them, there are many non-first generation Russians outside the interview setting who speak very little Russian or do not speak this language at all. As a rule, non-first generation Russians do not speak Russian with their peers, but only with the first generation speakers, — up to the moment in which they switch to speak another language, just abandoning their Russian before this language could be disrupted by the other-language influence.

Considering such a diffuse language group as the Old Finland Russians are, the researcher can hardly appeal to the ordinarily numbered generation, since the "generation" includes speakers of entirely different social backgrounds, and indeed, different ages. Nevertheless, the difference between first and non-first generation speakers is functional, since it reflects the circumstances of language acquisition. Additionally to this distinction, I have emphasised the difference between *habitual* and *non-habitual* speakers, and of the latter, especially those who acquired their Russian from the 1940s onwards. Habitual speakers use Russian consistently in an informal sphere of life.

The changes which have been considered in the present research can mostly "be restricted to new functions (or functional restrictions) and new orderings that cause little or no typological disruption" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 74). Such changes are characteristic of the situation of "slightly more intense contact" than the least intense one in Thomason and Kaufman's (ibid.: 73-75) tentative borrowing scale. The situation under consideration is an intense dramatic contact with powerful cultural pressures. On the other hand, the period of this contact as intense is very short, not exceeding three generations. The first generation Fin-

land Russians are adult bilinguals, and their Russian is deeply entrenched. Language transmission from the older to the younger generation has been imperfect. In the situation of language shift (from Russian to Finnish and Swedish) the processes of borrowing cannot reach far. The subordinate language becomes abandoned without being notably changed in the contact.

Finland and Russia are neighbours with differing political systems and social customs and attitudes. The relationship between these two countries has always been dependant on the political streams. The travelling to Russia facilitated in the 1970s. Since 1980s Russian mass media sources have been available in Finland. The number of Russian speakers in Finland progressively increases at an expense of living-standard migration from Russia. In large cities teaching of Russian as a mother tongue is organised at school. A small part of Old Finland Russians — those who use Russian professionally — take an advantage of these sources to develop their language, which acquires CSR features. Many of these people brought their spouses from Russia. Their bilingual children already fall within the group of new Russian migrants in Finland.

The corpora: social background and language change

At the present time both dialect and non-dialect groups of speakers are diffuse. The speakers of the non-dialect corpus have never formed a focussed community, although they had focussed subgroups. These speakers represent urban culture. Like their ancestors, they live and work in urban environment. This considerably contributes to the characteristics of their group as diffuse.

In the non-dialect corpus the speech of the non-first generation strikingly differed from that of the first generation at the level of pragmatics: intonation, the use of discourse particles, formulaic expressions (calquing of Finnish and Swedish ones), etc. Finnish intonation has been observed in the speech of those born in 1960s and later. In the speech of the non-first generation speakers and non-habitual first generation speakers, changes have been observed in the sphere of semantics and word-building. Syntactic changes have occurred in the sphere of verb government, the case of verbal modifiers, subcategorisation, the use of connectives and conjunctions and subordinate-clause linkage. It is notable that the changes in the first generation speech mostly differ from those in the non-first generation speech. This indicates a weak impact of natural language transmission from one generation to the next.

The Kyyrölä Russians formed a focussed language community for a long time. During this period, there were both bilinguals and monolinguals in this community. Bilinguals introduced innovations in Kyyrölä Russian. Some of these innovations came into use due to the close-knit networks within the community.

The 200-year-long development of this focussed social group that was in the adstratic-type contact with the Finnish population led to a slight structural convergence, but did not set up interference of thoroughly new features, since the social reasons for pervasive bilingualism did not come to a head until 1918. Then two decades followed during which the contact intensified dramatically. The focussed status of the community was, however, retained. The diffusion of the community started during the wars 1939-1944.

The speakers of the dialect corpus are descendants of peasants and they have themselves lived in a tightly networked *rural* community. For this reason they have retained the worldview characteristic of Russian peasant society: collective aid in disasters (fires, wars), collective working on communal objects (canals, roads, etc.) and collective agricultural and sacral rituals, and resultantly, collective responsibility for all spheres of life in the commune. Although having left their communal past on the Karelian Isthmus, Kyyrölä Russians have retained their rural worldview and self-consciousness of being a part of the whole of rural community, *obščina*. Their language is a part of this rural worldview. Even those who were born in the second half of the 1930s and socialised in the evacuation share this worldview.

In the dialect corpus, language competence correlates with the age of the speaker. The older generation Kyyrölä people who got their education in Russian school in Kyyrölä show minor changes in their Russian. The younger generation, most of them illiterate in Russian, studied partially in Kyyrölä school in Finnish, and finished their education in Finnish or Swedish school in the evacuation. The minor changes observed in the speech the older generation can be considered to be extension of the dialectal features. In the speech of younger generation, these changes go further and develop, revealing their double, Russian-dialectal and Finnish, roots.

Remarkably, the dialect features, in particular characteristic north-dialectal speech rhythm, come through stronger in the speech of the younger generation than in the speech of the older one. This succession of language features from the older generation to the younger one is a corollary of the recent focussed status of the Kyyrölä speech group. The options that haven not been transmitted are thus weaker in Finnish surroundings. The transmitted features are supported by the Finnish patterns. This can be considered as an indirect evidence of Finno-Ugrian substrate in northern Russian dialects.

Convergence processes

The present research has provided evidence that the partial similarity of structures of two languages can lead to further convergence of these structures in the subordinate language towards the superordinate language(s). Of the two corpora, it was the dialect corpus in which convergence toward Finnish was, all in all, indisputable. The reasons for this inter-group difference were identified as linguistic and social. The linguistic aspect is a greater overlap between dialect Kyyrölä Russian and Finnish than that between non-dialect Russian and Finnish. The social reasons are (1) a long-term adstratic-type contact and (2) the focussed status of the dialect community during this period.

The processes of convergence have been illustrated by three linguistic structures: participle construction, the word order of the noun phrases of personal possession, and the genitive of subject and object.

Participle constructions used as predicates have been investigated as regards their meaning, semantics and quantity. The use of participle constructions is a dialectal feature in the Kyyrölä Russian. The structure of the participle constructions coincides with that of the Finnish perfect. The speakers of the dialect corpus use the participle constructions in senses of the category of perfect and in the

interactional contexts that can be equated with those in which the Finnish perfect is used. Of the two participle constructions, passive and active, the latter, PPA constructions, have been considered more precisely. The Kyyrölä Russians born in the 1920s and early 1930s who had the best opportunity to become balanced bilinguals used the PPA constructions most often. This result correlates with a consideration that the use of participle constructions as predicates complicates the language structure and presupposes the high competence in both languages, Russian and Finnish.

The formation of PPA constructions was lexically restricted, and they were mostly intransitive. The convergence does not, thus, exceed the interactional level. This situation has been compared to more intense, Russian-Estonian, contact in the village of Mehikoorma, where a tendency of grammaticalisation of participle construction was earlier reported.

In the noun phrases of personal possession, the word order has been observed to converge towards the rigid modifier-head order characteristics of Finnish and Swedish. This convergence was more apparent in the dialect than in the non-dialect corpus. The convergence has occurred through two mechanisms. The first one is based on a language-internal feature. Namely, for pragmatic purposes, the post-head modifier can in colloquial Russian speech change its position to pre-head. Such use, called *pragmatic inferencing* was indicated by Hopper and Traugott (1993: 63-93) as a source for language internal change: through frequent use marked options lose their markedness and become unmarked. This bleaching has not occurred in colloquial Russian. In the Finland Russian data, the marked word order has gained support from the unmarkedly same-ordered pattern in Finnish and Swedish thus losing its markedness.

The second source of the inverse word order in the constructions under consideration was the closeness between the genitive of personal referent and possessive adjective. The Russian possessive adjective refers to a human, precedes its head, and it is more close to the noun than other adjectives. Additionally, the phonological closeness of the markers of Finnish genitive modifier and Russian possessive adjective can trigger the use of the Finnish genitive marker with a Russian noun. A case has been observed in which the final *-in* of the Russian masculine singular possessive adjective is reanalysed as the Finnish genitive marker in analogy with the *-n* of the Finnish genitive. The practices of language alternation contribute to this reanalysis and to the unmarked use of the inverse word order.

In the non-dialect corpus, standard word order (post-head modifier) was slightly more frequent than the inverse one (pre-head modifier). In the dialect corpus, inverse word order decisively outnumbered the standard word order. This difference between the corpora was based on two linguistic characteristics of the dialect corpus; the dialect speakers used the possessive adjective and alternate languages more frequently than the non-dialect speakers.

All languages have drift, which accounts for language-internal motivations of change (Sapir 1921: 150, Lakoff 1972: 179, Hopper & Traugott 1993: 95-96). Documented in the deep history of language as well as in the recent development, the drift of Russian from flexional to analytic structure has induced competition between semantic and grammatical criteria in syntax. The points at

which this drift takes place are volatile and, thus, susceptible to external influence in the situation of language contact. The genitive of subject and object is one of such points. Diachronic changes in Russian manifest a tendency of ousting this genitive by the other grammatical means. The overlap between the spheres of use of the Russian genitive and the Finnish partitive was greater in earlier varieties of Russian and in Russian dialects than in CSR.

The Russian genitive of object open-quantifies the divisible referent, in other words, indicates that some part of the referent did not participate in the situation signalled by the utterance. The use of this genitive is strongly constrained in CSR. In the data, these constraints have been loosened at least to the use of the 19th century. Additionally, in the data certain low-transitive verbs that govern the other case or prepositional phrase in CSR have retained the genitive government. Both genitives have been supported by the Finnish patterns of the partitive government.

The genitive of the subject of open quantification is only retained in Russian dialects. The use of this genitive was frequent in the dialect corpus. The sources have been suggested to be the Russian dialectal use as well as the Finnish partitive of the existential open-quantified subject. The use of the genitive of the subject was not extended to the meanings which are expressed by the partitive of subject in Finnish but not by the genitive in any variety of Russian.

Constrained by a complicated hierarchy of semantic-pragmatic-morphological conditions, the genitive of the object in negation is on its way to being ousted by the accusative in CSR. The transitional state of the genitive of the object in negation provide the basis for change at this structural point in the contact situation. The Finnish partitive in negation is grammaticalised. This clear-cut Finnish pattern prompts the convergence of the Finland Russian object case towards the genitive. The tendencies of grammaticalisation of the genitive of the object in negation have been found in the dialect corpus. In both corpora, the genitive in both subject and object positions has been observed in interrogation. The Finnish pattern of the partitive in negation supports this use.

The use of the genitive of the object in affirmation spreads through semantic-lexical calquing. The use of the genitive as a result of calquing of the partitive government of the equivalent Finnish verb has been observed in both dialect and non-dialect corpora. This pattern is used by the speakers of the non-first generation, many of whom do not use Russian habitually. The entrenchment of other-language patterns in their speech leads to grammatical calquing. Recurrent calquing of the pattern of government can result in a new pattern of government in Russian, the genitive as an object of the low-transitive verbs. Nevertheless, a fully fledged realisation of this pattern would presuppose attrition of the Russian aspect category, which however has not been observed in the data.

Gender assignment

The Russian category of gender has no similarities in Finnish and only minor ones in Swedish. In this sense, the consideration of the gender category forms a contrast to the preceding three constructions which has an internal basis for convergence. The tendency towards the loss of gender has been found in one speech sample only, that of a young third generation speaker.

As well as in the convergence process, language-internal volatility reinforces the potential for change. The neuter assignment is unstable in non-standard (including dialectal) monolingual Russian. Instability in this gender has increased in the dialect corpus.

Several examples have shown that the gender assignment criteria can in the Finnish environment be simplified from semantic-and-grammatical to grammatical. In the first place, semantic gender assignment is at stake for the nouns of the most morphologically salient declension, in oblique cases in a peripheral syntactic position.

Integration processes

The choice of the integration pattern of other-language nouns has been demonstrated to correlate with the social background of an individual. In particular, habitual speakers of Russian usually integrate the other-language material smoothly, whereas non-habitual speakers more often emphasise the insertions as metalinguistically problematic and apply the loanword pattern as a cue of the foreign provenance of the insertion. Adult bilinguals often use the analogical pattern. Those speakers who use Russian and the other-language habitually prefer the phonological pattern.

The degree of integration depends on social factors at an individual and group level. The dialect speakers use more established loans than the non-dialect speakers. Established loans shed light on the recent past of the dialect community as a focussed language group with a number of monolinguals. Second generation Kyyrölä Russians sometimes re-affiliate established loans to their other-language sources. As has been concluded, through this re-affiliation, established loans begin to disappear after the community has become bilingual and after language diffusion has started.

Social constraints on integration patterns and gender assignment override linguistic and interactional ones. Linguistic constraints are the shape of the insertion and its semantic equivalent in the host language. In rare cases, integration patterns have been observed to depend on the conversational meaning of the insertion. I have proposed that the speakers who vary the integration patterns for conversationally relevant purposes habitually alternate languages.

Of the two groups, the dialect speakers more often integrate other-language material explicitly, either adapting the shape of the other-language word to correspond to one of the Russian declension types or using the insertion in the other-language morphosyntactic form functionally equivalent to the Russian one which would be supposed to be used in this particular context. This parallel use of bilingual morphosyntactic tools was observed to a larger extent in the dialect than in the non-dialect corpus. Such use can be considered to be a cue of convergence.

At volatile points where in CSR semantic criteria tend to oust the grammatical criteria, in Finland Russian the direction is opposite, i.e., grammatical criteria prevail over semantic criteria. A general prediction might be that, in contact with an agglutinative superordinate L_2, the drift of a flexional subordinate L_1 toward analyticity can be halted and turned in the opposite direction.

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The process of convergence is expressed in increasing structural analogy with the other-language patterns. In contrast, integration involves morphosyntactic adapting of the other-language lexical material in the Russian structure. The processes of convergence and integration are contrastive and related. In the data under consideration neither process is strong, due to the social reasons outlined above, which resulted in language shift. I hope that the details, observations and conclusions drawn up in this research of the disappearance of the Old Finland Russians' mother tongue will contribute to the study of similar situations which involve Russian and other languages. With the increase of population mobility, similar situations may well increase in the modern world.

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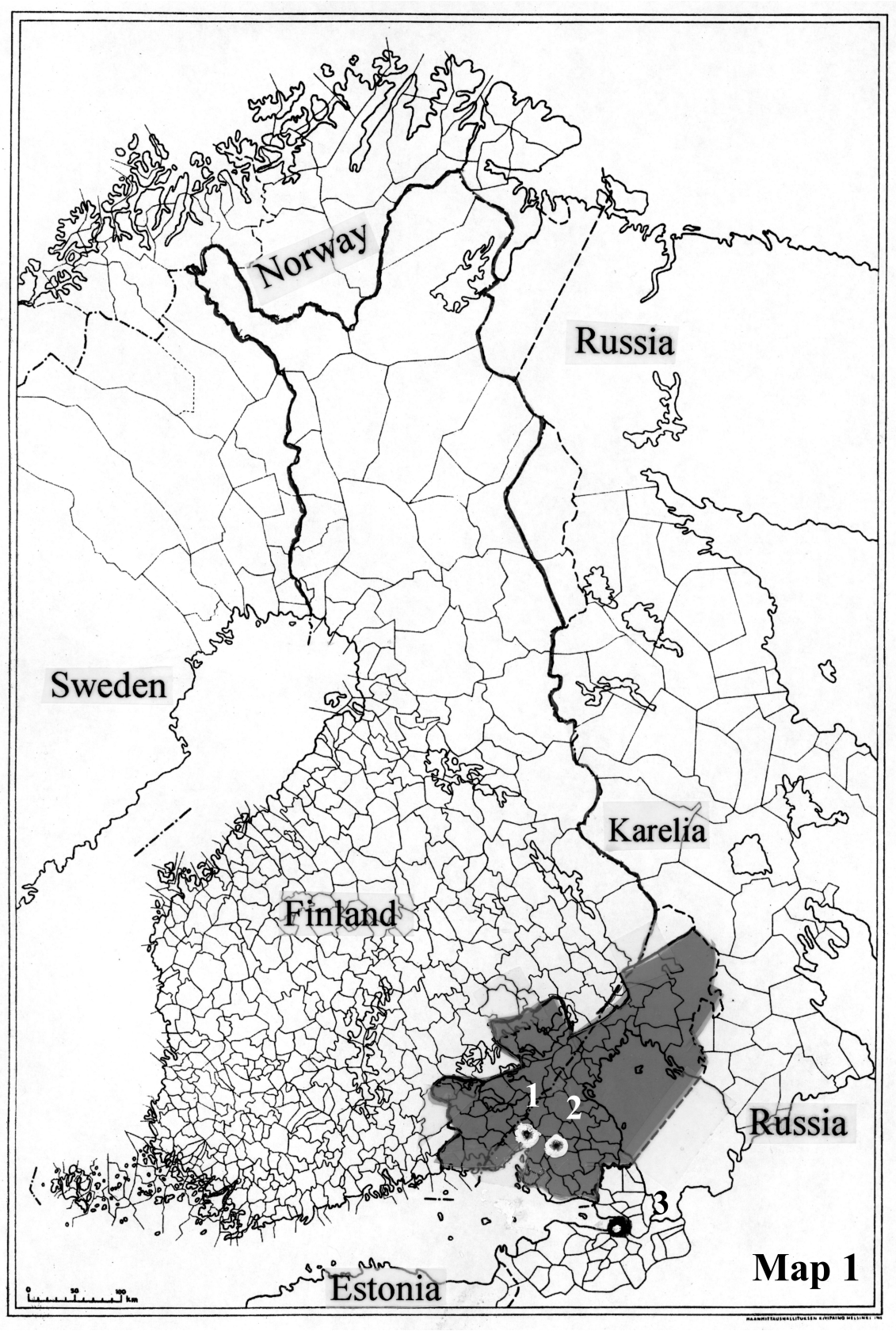
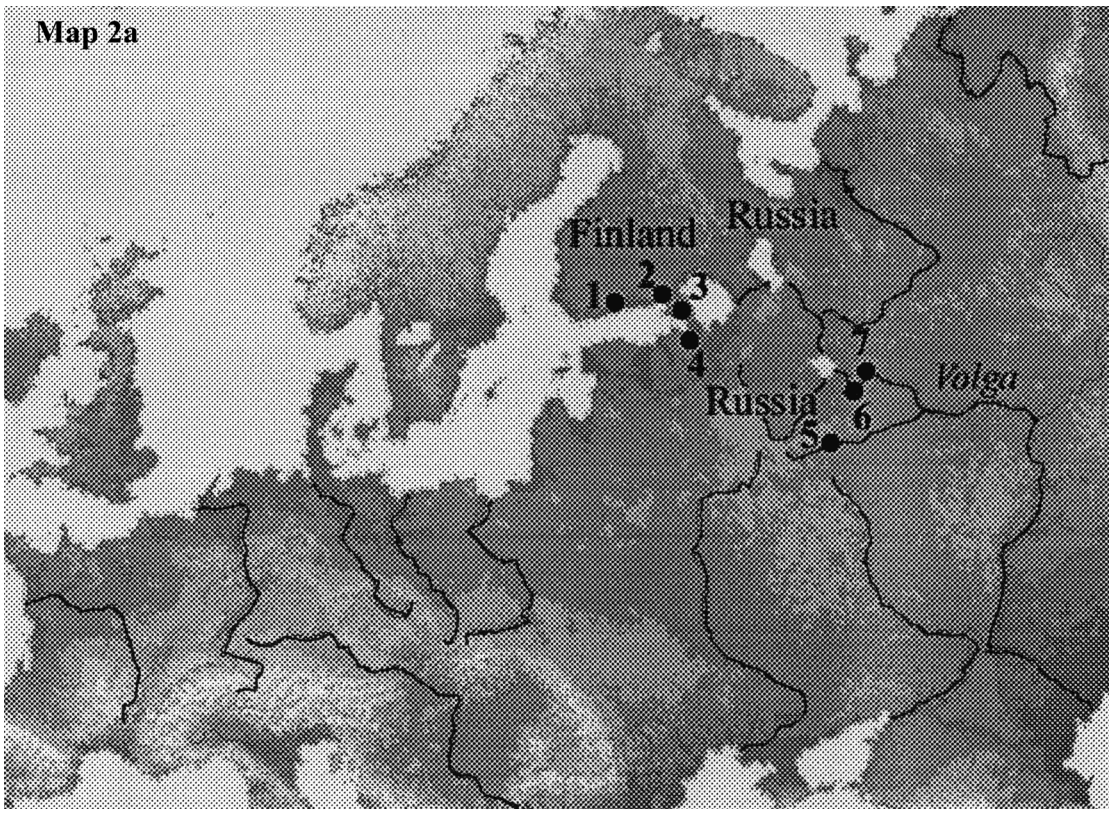
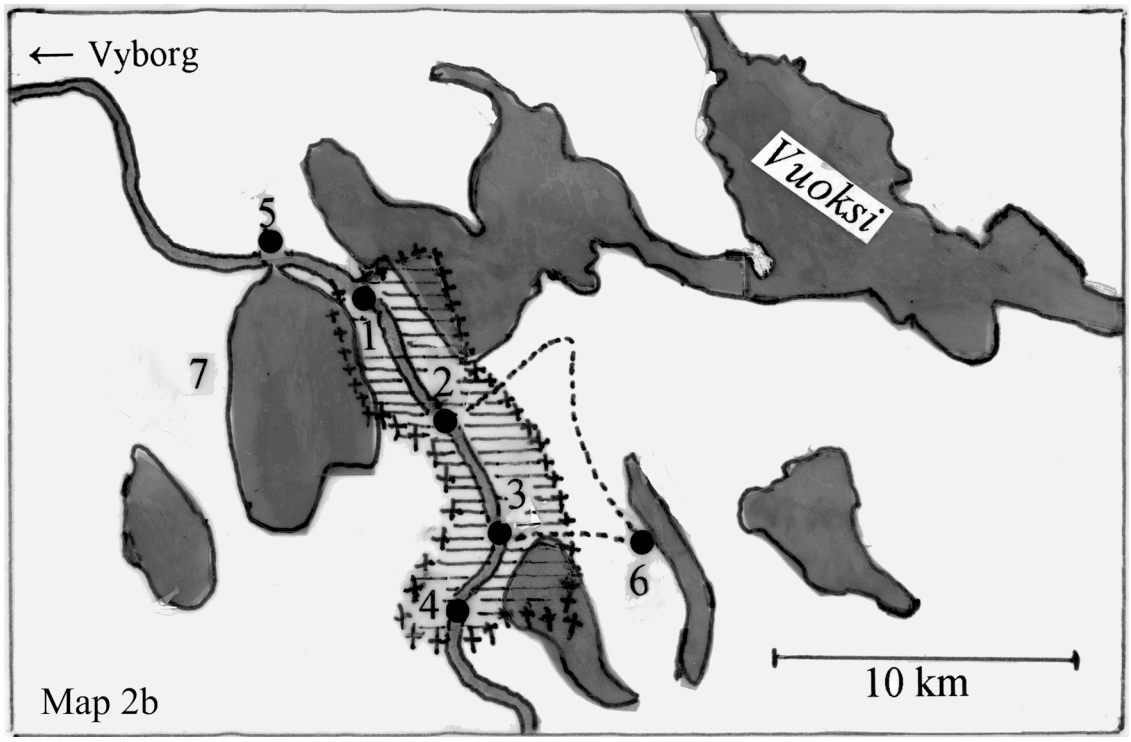
Appendix



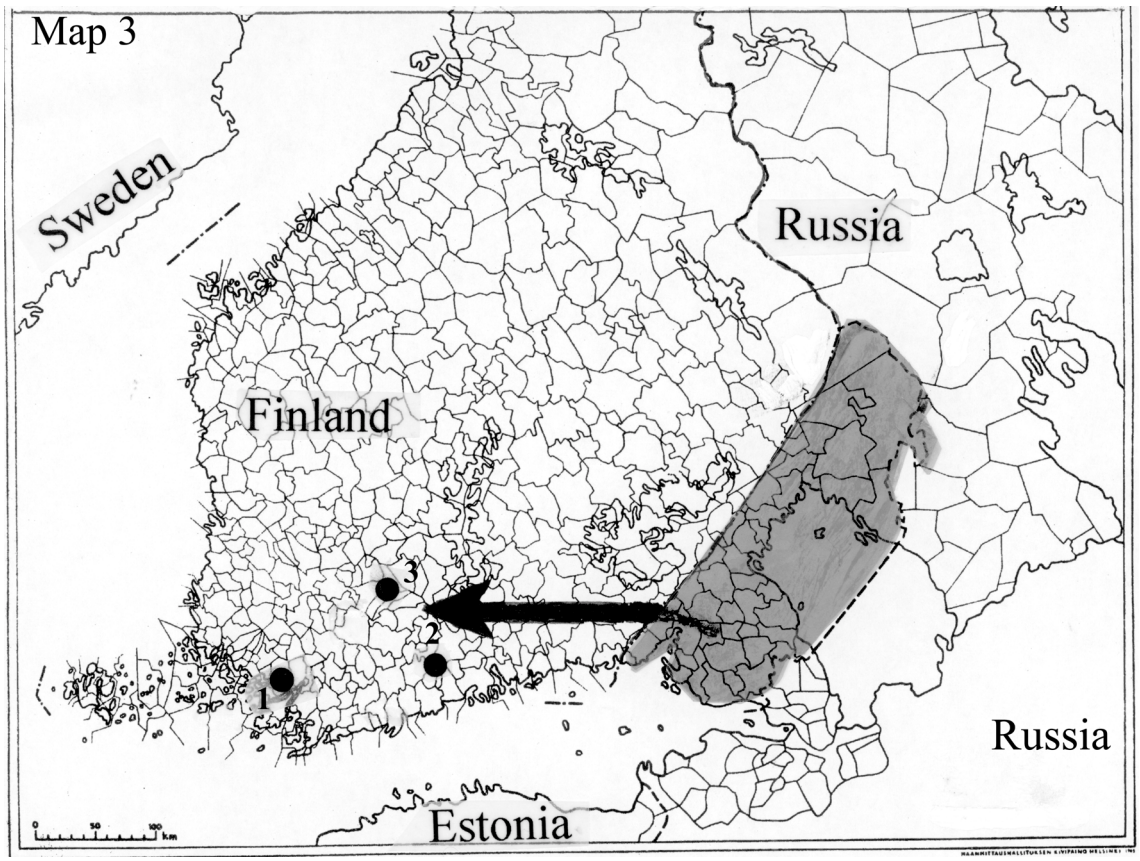
Map 1. The Finnish and Karelian area annexed by Russia from Sweden in the 1700s, and called Old Finland by historians.
1 = Vyborg; 2 = Kyyrölä; 3 = St. Petersburg.



Map 2a. Places mentioned in the text concerning the Kyyrölä Russians. The lighter the colour, the higher the mountains. 1=Helsinki; 2=Vyborg; 3=Kyyrölä; 4=St. Petersburg; 5=Moscow; 6=Jaroslavl'; 7=Kostroma.



Map 2b. The Kyyrölä donated estate (+ + +) in the parish of Muolaa (according to a Russian map from 1797, Sarkanen & Repo 1952: 31). The four Russian villages, *Kangaspelto* (1), *Sudenoja* (2), *Kyyrölä* (3) and *Parkkila* (4), are along the main road (▬) from St. Petersburg to Vyborg to the east of the Lake Muolaa (7). Outside Kyyrölä estate are the village of Old Muolaa (5) and the central village of Muolaa (6), to which minor roads (---) lead.



Map 3. Territory ceded to the Soviet Union as a result of the wars 1939-1945. The main settlements of the Kyyrölä Russians after the evacuation from the Karelian Isthmus.
1 = Kimito (Finnish Kemiö); 2 = Järvenpää; 3 = Hämeenlinna.