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RUSSIAN COMPLEX VERBALIZATION

Whereas in Germanic, verbalization generally involves one morpheme between the lexical base and the inflection, **Slavic verbalization may involve up to four functional morphemes** with unclear semantics. Russian verbs generally consist of a lexical stem, which can be simple (1a) or derived (1b), and the so-called thematic suffix (here, *-i-*). Derived verbs may include the suffix *-ow-* (surfacing as [ov] or [u] in function of the following segment), compatible with native (2a) or borrowed (2b) stems. The suffix *-ow-* can also be preceded by another suffix (the native *-stv-* (3a) or the borrowed *-ir-* (3b) and *-iz-* (3c)), or by a **suffixal complex**: *-fic-ir-* (3d) or *-iz-ir-* (3e). Suffixal complexes like (3) are found across Slavic.

(1) a. granʲ-i-tʲ [grəˈnʲitʲ]
facet-TH-INF
'to facet'

b. gran-ič-i-tʲ [grʌˈnʲit͡ɕitʲ]
facet-NMZ/DIM-TH-INF
'to border'

(2) a. vek-ov-a-tʲ [vʲikʌˈvatʲ]
era/age/lifetime/century-OW-TH-INF
'to spend a lifetime'

b. pak-ov-a-tʲ [pəkʌˈvatʲ]
pack-OW-TH-INF
'to pack'

(3) a. bed-stv-ov-a-tʲ [ˈbʲetstvəvətʲ]
trouble-STV-OW-TH-INF
'to live in poverty'

b. mark-ir-ov-a-tʲ [mʌrˈkʲirəvətʲ]
mark-IR-OW-TH-INF
'to mark'

c. steril-iz-ov-a-tʲ [stʲirʲilʲizʌˈvatʲ]
sterile-IZ-OW-TH-INF
'to sterilize'

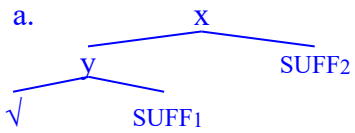
d. radio-fic-ir-ov-a-tʲ [ˌrədʲəfʲiˈt͡sirəvətʲ]
radio-FIC-IR-OW-TH-INF
'to supply with radio'

e. improv-iz-ir-ov-a-tʲ [imprəvʲiˈzʲirəvətʲ]
CRAN-IZ-IR-OW-TH-INF
'to improvize'

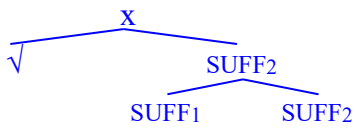
While the suffix *-ow-* has been treated as a verbalizer, a semantically vacuous thematic suffix or a root, and the Germanic equivalent of suffix *-ir-* has been called a "loan verb marker", no previous generative research has, to my knowledge, examined the full range of facts.

I will argue for the hypothesis that affixes can form constituents to the exclusion of the lexical stem, as in (4b), and show that it can account not only for the semantic contribution (or lack thereof) of the various components of such suffixal complexes, but also for their accentuation.

(4) a.



b.



Among facts to be considered: the biaspectuality of verbs in *-ow-*, the availability of doublets, the varying accentual dominance of *-ow-*, loan event nouns in *-acij-*, and the (non)obligatory (in)transitivity of verbs formed with various suffixal complexes.