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### THE *-m(V)* NOMINAL DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES IN ERZYA-MORDVIN

**Abstract.** This paper discusses the Erzya-Mordvin *-m(V)* nominal derivational suffixes. There are more than one nominal suffix in present-day Erzya that contains this consonant: 1) The *-mo*, *-ma*, *-me* deverbal noun suffix that is still productive and frequent. This suffix was already present in the first written records of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and has been very productive and active since then. It usually produces nouns abstract in meaning (*nomen actionis*), and as almost any kind of abstract noun can be formed with it, the semantic categories of the suffix are manifold. At the same time, a number of concrete nouns (*nomen instrumenti*) also fall within this word group. 2) The complex *-lma*, *-lmo* nominal suffix that developed from the suffix discussed above. Initially, it was probably produced through a shift of morpheme boundaries: first, frequentative verbs were formed from adjectives with the addition of *-l*, then these were transformed into nouns. It is not a productive suffix anymore, but it used to be one at the beginning of Mordvin literacy. Present-day language reformers create new words from adjectives and verbs with the help of this suffix. 3) The suffix *-mo* has become obscured, unproductive and rare and can only be traced in few adjectives. The same suffix is present in two of the pronouns as well. 4) The most crucial section of the paper is about the *-m(V)* nominal suffix that has also become obscured, unproductive and infrequent. This suffix is virtually non-existent in the Mordvin literature of the topic. Here, 37 words are discussed. In some of these, the presence of the suffix is provable through examples from the related languages, while in others, certain etymological considerations lead us to think that it is there. Most of the base words contained by this small dataset are nouns, but there are a couple of verbal stems accompanied by this suffix as well. The denominal suffix has become completely obscured now, and the deverbal suffix has also become less frequent, having been gradually replaced by the *-ma/-mo/-me* that is added to words in a transparent way.

**Keywords:** Erzya, nominal derivational suffixes, obscured and unproductive suffix.

1. The system of Mordvin derivational suffixes is similar to those of the other Finno-Ugric languages: deverbal and denominal verb and noun suffixes are the traditional categories within it. Elements of the remarkably rich set of derivational suffixes are classifiable into these four groups.

Part of the suffixes still has transparent meanings (for example the *-č̣i* and *-ks* elements or the diminutives); the past existence of certain suffixes,

however, is only traceable through etymological methods. The Mordvin language (among others) has quite a lot of such obscured suffixes, e.g. *-v*, *-r/-r'*, *-l/-l'*: *umbrav* 'garden sorrel', *čičav* 'flea'; *keńeće* 'elbow', *čejeť* 'mouse'; *šejel'* 'hedghehog', *meńel'* 'sky, heaven', *numolo* 'rabbit' etc.

Another way of classification is according to productivity. Obscured suffixes have become entirely unproductive by now and they are not used in word formation processes. In present-day Mordvin, the here discussed *-ma*, *-mo*, *-me* and *-ks* suffixes are very productive, together with suffixes having been/being evolved from independent words (e.g. *-či*, *-pel'*). Productivity is a changing phenomenon throughout the history of a language. The *-či* element hardly ever occurred in a suffixal function two or three hundred years ago, while *-lma/-lmo*, for instance, was a highly frequent suffix at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but has become much less common by now.

Frequency is also an often mentioned notion in connection with derivational suffixes. Productivity and frequency are not necessarily interrelated features in a suffix: it happens that a suffix that is not productive anymore occurs very frequently in a given corpus, while another one that is productive at present is rare in the same body of texts. The *-kš* suffix is an example for the latter case in Mordvin: it is productive in principle (*avakš* 'female' < *ava* 'woman, lady; mother', *at'akš* 'rooster, cock' < *at'a* 'old man'), but its frequency indices are low. However, it is generally true that these two features are closely related to each other in a given period of linguistic history. The *-ń*, *-j* and *-v* adjectival suffixes are very productive and frequent at the present time (it is an interesting observation that the latter one is still transparent, productive and frequent as an adjectival suffix, but it has become obscured, unproductive and rare as a nominal suffix), or further similar examples are the diminutives (*-ka*, *-ke*, *-ńe*, *-ńe*), and the *-ks* and *-či* suffixes.

According to their origin, nominal suffixes can be grouped into the following categories. The earliest layer is formed by the suffixes that had evolved before the Mordvin language started its separate course of life (in the Uralic/Finno-Ugric/Finno-Permic/Finno-Volgaic periods). The predominantly complex suffixes that evolved after Mordvin had become an individual language belong to another category, like e.g. *-vt*. There are also some newer suffixes that have been transformed for example from participles (Moksha *-f*). Even more recent are the complex suffixes (*-kaj*, *-lma*) and elements adapted from Russian (*-ka*, *-skoj*). The latest are the suffixes that have evolved by way of grammaticalization during the past century, and the ones that are currently going through this process (about the chronological layers of suffixes, see Zaicz 1988 : 401–402; Мосин 1989 : 42–60, 67–87; 2001 : 90–94; Сааринен 1999 : 3–5).

This paper studies the Erzya nominal suffixes containing the nasal consonant *-m*. The present-day Erzya language has more than one of such suffixes: a) the still productive and frequent *-mo*, *-ma*, *-me* deverbal noun suffix (nomen actionis and nomen instrumenti); b) the complex nominal suffix *-lma*, *-lmo* that has evolved of the above suffix; c) the *-mo* adjectival suffix that has already become obscured, unproductive and infrequent; d) the *-m(V)* nominal suffix that has also become obscured, unproductive and rare.

These suffixes have not been discussed in an equal proportion in the literature of the topic. Up to this point, descriptive aspects have been preferred and deverbal noun suffixes have been the most studied. Obscured suffixes are hardly ever mentioned. This is why this study lays the emphasis on etymological analysis, and after a brief overview of the still productive *-ma*, *-mo*, *-me* and *-lma*, *-lmo* suffixes, the discussion is continued with a detailed description of the obscured nominal and adjectival suffixes.

2. All of the suffixes discussed here are of common origin (and are identical with the *\*m* verbal suffix, cf. МайТИНСКАЯ 1974 : 369). The Fin. *-ma/-mä* (*elämä* 'life' < *elä-* 'to live', *kuolema* 'death' < *kuole-* 'to die'); *-in* (*avain* 'key' < *avaa-* 'to open, to unlock'), *-mus/-mys* (*vaatimus* 'requirement' < *vaati-* 'to require') is the continuation of the *\*-m* deverbal noun suffix. It is also present in the Finnic languages; the Sami *-m* (*borrâm* 'food' < *borrât* 'to eat', *ællem* 'life' < *ællet* 'to live'), the Mari *-m*, *-mə*, *-mâ*, *-mö*, Udm. *-(e)m*, Zyr. *-(g)m*, *-(e)m*, Man. *-m*, Kh. *-m*, Hun. *-m* (*áalom* 'dream', *villám* 'lightning'), and the Samoyedic equivalents also belong here.

The deverbal suffix also exists in various infinitive, participial and gerundial forms in several languages, e.g. in Finnish, the *-ma/-mä* occurs in a type 3 infinitive form, in the participium passivum (*minun tekemäni ruoka* 'the dinner made by me') and in the *-minen* suffix that used to be a type 4 infinitive form, only it has been transformed into an abstract nominal suffix by now (*eläminen* 'living, life'). — The Mordvin infinitivus-nominativus (*-mo*, *-me*), infinitivus-illativus (*-ms*), infinitivus-ablativus (*-modo*), participium praesens passivum (*-ma*) and the type 1 gerund form (*-msto*, *-mste*) also contain this element.

In Finnish, the *\*-m* denominal noun suffix appears in the *-ma/-mä* (*rantama* 'coastal region, coast' < *ranta* 'coast'), *-mo* (*ohimo* 'temple') and the *-mus/-mys* (*pyhimys* 'saint' < *pyhä* 'saint'), *-n* (*sydän* 'heart'), *-in* (*sierain* 'nostril') suffixes. It is also preserved in Sami (*-m*), Finnic languages, Mari (*-m*, *-ma*, *-mə*, *-mâ*), Komi (Zyrian), Udmurt, Mansi, Khanty (*-m* in all of them) and in Hungarian, too (*-m*: *alom* 'litter', *sulyom* 'water-chestnut', *izom* 'muscle', *orom* 'summit', *tetem* 'cadaver'; *-v*: *szív* 'heart', *ó/ó*: *apó* 'old man', *odó* > *odú* 'hollow, den'), and in Samoyedic languages.

In present-day Finnish, besides the *-ma* element (*kuuma* 'hot', *muutama* 'a few, some'), the *\*-m* denominal adjective suffix also occurs in the *-n* suffix (*hapan* 'sour', *lämmin* 'warm' — their genitive stems are *happama-* and *lämpimä-*), in the present tense form of the superlative (*suurin* : *suurimma-*), in the suffixes of the expressions *ensimmäinen* 'first' and *jälkimmäinen* 'latter', and in the *-mainen* adjectival suffix (*alamainen* 'humble, obedient', *sikamainen* 'pork'). It also appears in Mari (*-mše*), Udmurt (*-(i)m*, *-(j)m*), Khanty (*-m*) and Hungarian (e.g. in words *keserű* 'bitter', *savanyú* 'sour'), furthermore in Samoyedic languages (on the etymology of these suffixes, see: Lehtisalo 1936 : 82—110; A. Kövesi 1965 : 212—232; Серебрянников 1967 : 70, 77—78; МайТИНСКАЯ 1974 : 344—345; Hakulinen 1979 : 130—132; 169—170, 193—195, 197—199, 210—212; Сааринен 1999 : 3—4).

Thus, it is clear from all this that the *\*-m* suffix has got a variety of continuations in the present of the language family. These exist on either in their original forms or combined with other suffixes, filling several different functions. The rest of the paper discusses the Erzya-Mordvin representatives of this suffix group (data from the Russian literature on the topic is

provided in Cyrillic letters, while Paasonen and the Finnish and Hungarian linguists are cited in Roman letters).

### 3. The *-мо, -ма, -ме*<sup>1</sup> deverbial noun suffix

The first linguist to organize the Mordvin suffixes into some kind of a system was M. E. Jevsevjev (Евсевьев 1963 [1934] : 36–44). In his brief overview, he categorizes this suffix as a deverbial noun suffix, providing as many as nine examples for it, without a grouping of any kind (Евсевьев 1963 [1934] : 42): *кустима* 'лестница [staircase]<sup>2</sup> < *кустя-* 'поднимать [to go up]', *вешкума* 'свисток [whistle, pipe]' < *вешка-* 'свистеть [to whistle]' etc. In his Erzya grammatical paper, D. V. Bubrigh only mentions *кустемат* 'лестница [Plur.]' as an example (Бубрих 1947 : 45). A. P. Feoktistov touches upon this suffix in connection with the *-мо, -ме* infinitive. He establishes that the infinitive and this nominal suffix coincide in form, the reason for which must be their common origin (Феоктистов 1966 : 192).

В. А. Serebrennikov (Серебрянников 1967 : 70) and К. Е. Majtinskaja (Майтинская 1974 : 344–345) discuss the *-ма, -мо* deverbial noun suffix from an etymological point of view. The former gives eight Erzya and four Moksha examples (*изнямо* 'победа [victory]' < *изня-* 'победить [to win]', *кочкамо* 'выборы [choice, election]' < *кочка-* 'выбирать [to choose]' etc.), while the latter mentions only two words (*вачкодема* 'удар [blow, punch]' < *вачкоде-* 'ударить [to hit]', *прамо* 'падение [fall]' < *пра-* 'падать [to fall]') again in an enumerative manner, without semantic analysis.

In D. V. Cygankin and S. Z. Devajev's Erzya and Moksha comparative grammatical essay (Цыганкин, Деваев 1975 : 92), there are two main categories distinguished: words naming the means, object, result or the intensity of an action (*пивцема* 'цеп [thrasher]', *нардамо* 'полотенце [towel]', *сускомо* 'кусок [bite]', *ведьме* 'повод [leash]'), and nouns referring to some kind of an action (action nouns, *nomen actionis*): *якямо* 'ходьба [walking]', *морамо* 'пение [singing]', *анокстамо* 'подготовка [making, preparation]'.<sup>3</sup>

The Mordvin suffixes have been the most thoroughly investigated by the doyen of Mordvin linguists: D. V. Cygankin. He provides a detailed description of the *-мо/-ма/-ме* deverbial suffix in his doctoral thesis (Цыганкин 1977), in the chapter about word formation of his comprehensive handbook "Грамматика мордовских языков" (1980), in the shortened Erzya version of the same (ЭК 2000), in his monograph on suffixes (Цыганкин 1981), in his university course book (Цыганкин 2006) and in some of his articles (Цыганкин 1976; 1992). He establishes that this remarkably productive and frequent suffix can be added to almost any verb. He arranges the derived words into two semantic groups: words denoting abstract nouns and words referring to concrete objects, tools.<sup>3</sup> He provides two dozens of examples, e.g.

<sup>1</sup> After verbal stems containing *-e* or *-o* the *-ма* variant is used; after verbs with a palatal consonant the *-ме* form is added.

<sup>2</sup> Further on, besides the original (Russian, Hungarian or Finnish) meaning, the English meaning of each word is given as well, in favour of the readers.

<sup>3</sup> According to Cygankin's observation (ЭК 124), in the case of words with concrete meaning, the original syllabic structure changes, while in words with abstract meaning, the CVCV structure is preserved: *лисьма* 'исток, ключ, колодец [well, spring]' ~ *лисема* 'выход [coming out]' (< *лисе-* 'выйти, выходить [to come out]'); *видьме* 'семя [seed]' ~ *видема* 'сев [sowing]' (< *виде-* 'сеять [to sow]') etc.

*налксема* 'игра [game, toy]' < *налксе-* 'играть [to play]', *касома* 'рост [growth, increase]' < *касо-* 'расти [to grow]'; *видьме* 'семя [seed]' < *виде-* 'сеять [to sow]' (Цыганкин 1976 : 91–92; 1977 : 331–332; 1981 : 41–42; 1992 : 114; 2006 : 34–35; Грамматика мордовских языков 1980 : 105–106; ЭК 36). Lipatov, Matjushkin and Mosin create and describe the same two groups in the Mordvin lexicological handbook (Липатов, Матюшкин, Мосин 1983 : 121).

I. N. Rjabov considers this suffix an important example for deverbal transposition (Рябов 2000а : 280; 2002 : 59). The nouns having been formed from verbs in this way carry a new meaning, but they differ from real nouns in the fact that they refer to the process of an action. Rjabov describes this kind of derivation as very productive and frequent, since he found more than 500 examples for it in the Erzya-Russian comprehensive dictionary (ЭРВ 1993). — In certain cases, as a result of semantic transposition, the abstract meaning is transformed into a concrete, objective/objectified meaning. Deverbal names for actions can develop into nouns denoting concrete objects, e.g. *андома* 'кормление [nurturing, feeding]' > 'корыто для кормления скота [a bowl or trough serving for the feeding of domestic animals]', *вадема* 'мазание [smearing, painting]' > 'мазь [glaze, polish]', *вцема* 'ведение [leading, carrying]' > 'повод (ремень уды) [lunging-rein]; застежка мужской рубашки [buckle on a men's shirt]', *инздема* 'ошкуривание [planing, trimming]' > 'струг, ручной инструмент для строгания [plane]' (Рябов 2000б : 10–11; 2000в : 168–169).

As far as the foreign (non-Mordvin) linguists are concerned, in his grammatical overview, József Erdődi (1968 : 217) classifies the *-ma/-mo* element as one of the most frequent deverbal noun suffixes and he gives six examples for it: *lovnoma* 'reading' (*lovnoms* 'to read'), *ramamo* 'buying, purchase' (*ramams* 'to buy') etc. In his chrestomathy, László Keresztes (1990 : 67) discusses the suffixes only in an enumerative manner and considers the *-ma*, *-mo/-me* elements to be abstract nominal suffixes (*valgoma* 'perching, slope', *eřamo* 'life') and suffixes referring to instruments and tools (*izamo* 'harrow', *šulgamo* 'clasp, fastener, buckle'). Gábor Zaicz (1998 : 202–204) lists the most important suffixes briefly in his comprehensive paper, and among them, he mentions the *-ma*, *-mo*, *-me* deverbal suffix that is also classified as *nomina actionis* and *instrumenti*, e.g. *lovn-* 'reads' > *lovnoma* '(act of) reading', *iza-* 'harrows' > *izamo* 'harrow'.<sup>4</sup>

In his Finnish comprehensive book, Raija Bartens (1999 : 106) regards the *-mo/-ma* suffix as the most frequent deverbal suffix and he also distinguishes between abstract and concrete nouns, depending on the argument structure of the base verb: *palamo* 'suudelma, suuteleminen [kiss, kissing]' < *pala-* 'suudella [to kiss]'; *izamo* 'äes [harrow]' < *iza-* 'äestää [to harrow, to drag]'. Edit Mészáros analyzes the *-mo/-ma/-me* nominal suffix in her course book. According to her description, this suffix denotes the action itself, or the result of the action (Mészáros 1998 : 59). She separates the *-mo/-ma* progressive passive participle suffix from the former one (although she notes that their origin is common): *eřamo tarka* 'dwelling place' (< *eřa-* 'to live', *tarka* 'place'), *udoma tarka* 'bed, resting-place' (< *udo-* 'to sleep'), *mikšněma kudo* 'department store, shop' (< *mikšnie-* 'to sell', *kudo* 'house'). This can go through nominalization as well: *večkema* 'lover' (*večke-* 'to love').

<sup>4</sup> Alo Raun, however, does not mention these suffixes in his earlier comprehensive article (1988 : 108).

This suffix is highly productive and very frequent. 2452 Erzya words of the Mordvin reverse dictionary (Луутонен, Мосин, Шанкина 2004)<sup>5</sup> contain this suffix (*-ма*: 1368, *-ме*: 25, *-мо*: 1059). As a basis for comparison: *-(в)кс*: 1688, *чи*: 397 Erzya data. The suffix began to be really productive in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the consolidation of the Russian state power enhanced the development of socio-cultural life and economy and brought a number of new abstract notions in the language (for details, see Шеянова 1989 : 72–73; 1990 : 224–225).

The suffix first and foremost creates nouns abstract in meaning, and almost any kind of abstract notion can be formed with it. This is why its semantic categories are manifold. Here are some examples: *бажамо* 'will, wish' < *бажа-* 'to want, to wish', *васодема* 'meeting, encounter' < *васоде-* 'to meet', *кенярдома* 'joy, happiness' < *кенярдо-* 'to be glad', *кортамо* 'speech; conversation' < *корта-* 'to speak, to talk', *кулома* 'death' < *куло-* 'to die', *молема* 'walking' < *моле-* 'to go, to move', *морамо* 'singing' < *мора-* 'to sing', *нумема* 'harvesting, reaping' < *нуме-* 'to reap', *пиземе* 'rain' < *пизе-* 'to rain', *сокамо* 'ploughing' < *сока-* 'to plough', *удома* 'sleeping; dream' < *удо-* 'to sleep', *эрямо* 'life, existence' < *эря-* 'to live'.

The productivity of the suffix is well demonstrated by the fact that it can be added to Russian(-origin) verbs as well: *дружамо*, *отвечамо*, *спорямо*, *цветямо* etc. There are a lot of similar words in present-day dictionaries as well: *гипнотизирувамо*, *идеализирувамо*, *конкретизирувамо*, *массажироввамо*, *организувамо*, *рационализирувамо*, *реализувамо*, *систематизирувамо*, *стандартизирувамо*, *стерилизувамо*, *субсидирувамо*, *философствовамо*, *характеризирувамо*, *централизувамо* etc.

In addition to abstract nouns, nouns concrete in meaning can also be formed with the help of this suffix, e.g. *ацамо* 'made bed; cover, dinner-service' < *аца-* 'to make the bed; to lay the table'; *ведьме* 'leash' < *ветя-* 'to lead, to carry'; *лисьма* 'well' < *лисе-* 'to come out; to creep forth'; *нардамo* 'towel' < *нарда-* 'to wipe'; *оршамo* 'clothing, garment' < *орша-* 'to get dressed'; *панжомo* 'lock, latch' < *панжо-* 'to open'; *чалгамo* 'stair case, step (of ladder)' < *чалга-* 'to step up' (for details about this suffix, see Цыганкин 1976 : 91–92; 1981 : 41–42; Грамматика мордовских языков 1980 : 105–106; Мосин 1996 : 124–125; Bartens 1999 : 106; ЭК 36).

#### 4. The *-лма*, *-лмо* suffix

The classification of this suffix is not clear-cut in the literature: it is regarded both as a deverbal and/or a denominal noun suffix. In his book on the abstract nominal suffixes of the Uralic languages, Oscar Lazar (1975 : 206) calls the expressions formed with the *-лма/-лмо* suffix „pseudo-deverbal derivatives”, because the *-л-* verbal suffix and the *-ма/-мо* nominal suffix are merged into this derivative cluster. These — according to his examples, at least — usually express degree or quantity: *кувака* 'long' > *кувалгадомс* 'to lengthen, to get longer' ~ *кувалмо* 'length, extent', *стака*

<sup>5</sup> The vocabulary of ten books (the dictionaries of Ahlqvist, Damaskin, Abramov, Jenő Juhász and Paasonen, the comprehensive Erzya- and Mokhsa-Russian dictionaries, the Finnish-Erzya dictionary and two 2002 spelling dictionaries) has been processed during the creation of the reverse dictionary. The dictionary comprises 81 964 words (51% of these are Erzya, 49% are Moksha words).

'heavy, weighty; difficult' > *stalgadoms* 'to get tired' ~ *stalmo* 'heaviness, weight, burden', *ečke* 'thick' > *ečkelma* 'thickness', *pokš* 'great, big, large' > *pokšolma* 'size'.

The evolution of the suffix is explained with a shift of the morpheme boundaries by Cygankin as well. As a first step, *-л* suffixed frequentative verb forms were derived from adjectives: *кува-ка* 'длинный [long]' > *кувалгадо-* 'удлиниться [to lengthen, to stretch]', *стака* 'тяжёлый [heavy]' > *стакалгадо-* 'отяжелеть [to grow heavy]', *покиш* 'большой [big]' > *покшолгадо-* 'вырасти, увеличиться [to grow larger, to swell]', *тусто* 'густой [thick, dense]' > *тустолгадо-* 'загустеть [to thicken]', *эчке* 'толстый [thick, bulky]' > *эчкелгадо-* 'толстеть [to thicken]'. After this, the stem-final *-л* consonant and the *-ма*, *-мо* suffix merged into a new suffix: *кувал-мо* > *кува-лмо* 'длина [length]', *сталмо* 'тяжесть [weight]', *покшолма* 'размер; величина [size]', *тустолма* 'густость [concentrate]', *эчкелма* 'толщина [thickness, bulk]' (Цыганкин 1976 : 92; 1977 : 332; 1981 : 42; Грамматика мордовских языков 1980 : 106; ЭК 37).

In her course book, Edit Mészáros writes about this suffix as well: she regards this infrequent and unproductive suffix as denominal. From a descriptive point of view, she gives the suffix in a *-лма*, *-олма*; *-лмо* form (Mészáros 1998 : 102).

The *-лма*, *-лмо* is not a productive suffix anymore, but at the beginning of Mordvin literacy, around the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was very fruitful. It had evolved from adjectival stems. Nazarova's examples from that period are like the following (mainly from Damaskin's dictionary): *шождылма* 'лёгкость [lightness]', *псилма* 'горячесть [heat]', *тустолма* 'густота [thickness, denseness]', *томбалмо* 'глубина [depth]', *стувтулма* 'забвение [forgetfulness]', *сиядулма* 'зависть [envy]', *пижелма* 'зелень [greenness]' (Назарова 1999 : 109–110).

Mosin (Мосин 1999 : 80–81) considers the resurrection of this suffix possible and on the analogy of *кувалмо* and *сталмо*, he proposes the creation of adjective-based nouns like the following: *ашола* 'беловатый [whitish]' > *ашолма* 'бель, белизна [whiteness]', *ине* 'великий [big]' > *инелма* 'известность, слава [fame, glory]', *коськела* 'суховатый [a bit dry]' > *коськелма* 'твердь', *ожола* 'желтоватый [yellowish]' > *ожолма* 'желтизна [yellowness]', *пижела* 'зеленоватый [greenish]' > *пижелма* 'зелень [greenness]', *покшолма* 'большеватый [a bit big]' > *покшолма* 'величина [bigness]', *сэтьме* 'тихий [quiet]' > *сэтьмелма* 'мир [peace]'. From these, the *инелма* and *коськелма* expressions can already be found in Bible translations. The creation of deverbal nouns is also possible in the same manner: *кирде* 'держать [to hold]' > *кирделма* 'поддержка [support, help]', *невте-* 'указать, показать [to show]' > *невтелма* 'спектакль [presentation, recital, production]', *чачо-* 'родиться [to be born]' > *чачолма* 'урожай [crop, fruit]', *чачто-* 'родить [to bear]' > *чачтолма* 'рождаемость [number of births]'. — Thus, this suffix can be deverbal, denominal and deadjectival alike.

## 5. The obscured and unproductive *-мV* adjectival suffix

Serebrennikov classifies the *-мо*, *-ма* adjectival suffix as one that has become unproductive and very rare (Серебренников 1967 : 77–78). His examples are: *чанамо* 'кислый [sour]', *якшамо* 'холодный [cold]'. Majtinskaja

(Майтинская 1974 : 344) also includes *сэтьме* 'тихий [quiet]' besides *чапамо* in the example material.

Cygankin and Devajev only mention the *чапамо* and *якшамо* adjectives (Цыганкин, Деваев 1975 : 95). According to Bajuškin (Баюшкин 1975 : 70), the unproductive *-мо*, *-ма*, *-ме* suffix is used to form adjectives denoting a feature or quality. Its existence can only be proven through comparative analysis, with the help of the related languages, cf. *ламбамо* 'сладкий [sweet]' ~ *ламба-ськавтомс* 'насладить [to sweeten]'; *якшамо* ~ *якша-втомс* 'похолодать [to cool down]' ~ Est. *jaha* 'cold'.

The "Грамматика мордовских языков" (1980 : 112) applies the same principle, identifying the adjectival suffix through a comparison with verbs: *чапамо* ~ *чапавтомс* 'квасить, заквасить [to sour, to pickle]', *якшамо* ~ *якшавтомс*. The handbook also classifies the *истямо* 'такой [such, of this kind]' and *кодамо* 'какой [what kind of]' pronominal forms into this category (similarly: Мосин, Липатов, Матюшкин 1983 : 126).

Let us take a closer look at the words appearing in the literature of the topic.<sup>6</sup>

*ла м б а м о* 'сладость; сладкий, пресный' (ЭРВ 329) 'édes; édesség' (EMSz 196); 'makea' (ESS 83); 'пресный; сладость / süss, ungesäuert, frisch; Süsse' (MdWb 1006). Its Moksha form is *ламбама* (МРВ 323). Veršinin (ЭСМЯ 197) regards it as a descriptive word (the ЭТВ (90) relates it to the Kola Sami *ляби* 'достаток' expression, which is hardly acceptable for semantic and phonetic considerations). The word contains the *-мо* suffix, which is supported by other members of the word group: *ламбавкс* 'закваска (для браги, кваса)' (ЭРВ); 'подслащённый затор для пива, браги и кваса / angesüsste Maische für Bier, Dünnbier u. Kwass' (MdWb); *ламбакиш* 'при-торный'; *ламбавтомс* 'запарить солодовое тесто (для кваса браги)'; *ламбаськавтомс* 'подсластить'; *ламбаськадомс* 'сделаться сладким'.

*с э т ь м е* 'тихий, безмолвный; спокойный; смирный; слабый; тишина' (ЭРВ 634); 'csend; csendes, nyugodt, békés, szelíd, jámbor' (EMSz 352); 'hiljainen, rauhallinen; hiljaisuus, rauhallisuus' (ESS 163); 'смирный; скромный; сдержанный / still, ruhig, sanft, mild; bescheiden, zurückhaltend' (MdWb 2100). The Moksha variant is *сятяв* (МРВ 699). According to Veršinin (ЭСМЯ 401, 420), it is a descriptive word. Paasonen classifies it under the Moksha *šät'av* 'id.' that is his main entry. This suggests the existence of the *set'-/šüt'* passive root. In this case, the Moksha *-av* and the Erzya *-me* can be considered suffixes. The noun *set'ks* 'успокоение, спокойствие / Beruhigung, Ruhe' supports this analysis.

*ч а п а м о* 'кислый; горький; горькая' (ЭРВ 738); 'savanyú, keserú; keserúség' (EMSz 420); 'happamuus; hapán' (ESS 189); 'кислый; горький,

<sup>6</sup> The entries are structured as follows. The entry-word is the present-day standard Erzya form. The meanings are given in Russian (based on the Erzya–Russian comprehensive dictionary (ЭРВ)), in Hungarian (based on Edit Mészáros' Erzya-Mordvin–Hungarian dictionary (EMSz)), in Finnish (based on the Erzya–Finnish pocket dictionary (ESS)), and in Russian and German (based on Paasonen's comprehensive dialectal dictionary (MdWb)). — These are followed by etymological information about the given word. In addition to the Uralic (UEW) and Finnish etymological dictionaries (SSA), László Keresztes' etymological glossary (MdKons), the Žyrian etymological dictionary (КЭСК), Veršinin's more or less trustworthy and new Mordvin etymological dictionary (ЭСМЯ) and the earlier published dictionaries of Cygankin and Mosin (ЭТВ) were used as information sources.



едкий; горечь / sauer; bitter, scharf; Bitterkeit' (MdWb 210). Its Moksha form is *шанама* (MPB 853). It is probably of Finno-Ugric origin, in so far as the Fin. *hapan*, Est. *hape*, Md. *čapamo*, Mari *čapâ*, and the Kh. *čëγ-*, Man. *sāw-*, Hun. *savanyú* expressions are related (UEW 54). The SSA (1 : 140) reconstructs a \*šappa-/tšappa- base form in the Finno-Volgaic branch. The Mordvin *-мо* is a denominal noun suffix, which is supported by derived words like *чанакс* 'тесто', *чанавтомс* 'квасить'. For further information, see MdKons 153; ЭТВ 210; ЭСМЯ 486.

*я к ш а м о* 'холодный, морозный; холод, мороз, стужа' (ЭРВ 801); 'hideg, fagyos; hideg, fagy' (EMSz 468); 'pakkanen, kylmä' (ESS 204); 'холодный; холод, мороз / kalt; Kälte, Frost' (MdWb 488). Its Moksha form is *якишам* 'холод', *якишамма* 'холодный' (MPB 917). It is of Finno-Volgaic origin: \**jakša* 'kühl, kalt; kalt werden' > Est. *jahe*, Sam. *juoskos*, ?Mari *ükše-*. This word group may be the velar variant of the FU origin \**jäkšä* 'kühl, kalt; kalt werden' (cf. Fin. *jähty-*, Sam. *jiksem*, Md. *ekše/jäšä*, Mari *ükše-*, Kh. *jöγli*) (UEW 90, 630). The Erzya *-мо* is a nominal suffix. See furthermore MdKons 43; ЭТВ 230; ЭСМЯ 524.

The *-мо* pronominal suffix is similar:

*и с т я м о* 'такой, подобный' (ЭРВ 218); 'ilyen, olyan' (EMSz 129); 'sellainen, tällainen' (ESS 59); *ištamo* 'такой, подобный / solcher, ein solcher' (MdWb 348). Its Moksha form is: *стама* (MPB 665). Its base word is *истя* 'так, таким образом' that is also the base for *истяк* 'бесплатно; просто так; так же', *истякак* 'и так, и без того', *истяня* 'так, таким образом'; *истяшка* 'такого размера' etc. — according to Veršinin, all of these go back to a primitive *i/e* demonstrative particle (ЭСМЯ 89), and Paasonen also classifies them under the *e-* pronominal root. It is possible that it belongs to the word group of the Uralic origin \**e-* 'dieser' (cf. Fin. *e-*: *että, ensi*, Hun. *ez* etc.), but the UEW (67) only includes the *e'te* 'dieser' and *e'se* 'jener' forms. Regardless of all this, *-мо* is nevertheless a suffix according to the evidence of other words from the word group. The ЭТВ (54) suggests that the *-стя* element is an ablative suffix, which is much less acceptable.

*к о д а м о* 'какой' (ЭРВ 274); 'milyen, melyik, amilyen' (EMSz 169); 'minkäläinen, millainen' (ESS 71). The Moksha form is *кодама* (MPB 265). Other members of the word group are: *кода* 'как', *кодашка* 'какой', *кодаяк* 'как-нибудь', and *ков* 'куда', *кона* 'который', *косо* 'где'. Its root is the Uralic *ko-* that is present in all the related languages, cf. Fin. *ku-* (*kuka, kussa* etc.), Hun. *ho-* (*hol, hová, hogy*) etc. The *-da* element is a suffix (Ableitungssuffixe), cf. Sam. *-tti*, Mari *-dâ, -do*, Permic *-d*, Kh. *-ti, -tâ* (< \**tâ*); the *-мо* morpheme is a pronominal element (Pronominalsuffixe), cf. Permic *-m*, Nen. *-m*, Kam. *-m* (UEW 191). See also MdKons 63; ЭТВ 74; ЭСМЯ 152.

## 6. The obscured, unproductive and infrequent *-m(V)* nominal suffix

To my knowledge, Mosin (Мосин 1989 : 42, 46) is the only one of the Mordvin linguists who mentions this obscured suffix that is the continuation of the primitive \**m*. His examples are: *удем(е)* 'marrow', *эзем* 'bench', *сюлгам(о)* 'brooch, clasp'. In Gábor Zaicz's historical overview of the suffixes (1988 : 401), only one Moksha example is included: *limä* 'Kette, Aufzug' < FV \**loŋema* 'Webkette'.

However, if we examine the Mordvin vocabulary more carefully, this suffix seems to be present in much more words. I found 37 words during my investigation that more or less surely contain this suffix. I set up three categories among them: some of them unambiguously contain a suffix, another group is susceptible to contain one according to certain etymological considerations; while the words belonging to the third set are of unknown origin and as such, the presence or absence of a suffix cannot be proven in them. Suffixes from the primitive vocabulary belong to several different chronological layers: some of them have already existed in the Uralic/Finno-Ugric period, others were added to the words in question in the transitory periods (Finno-Permic, Finno-Volgaic), and still others only appeared when the Mordvin language has started on its own way. The discussion below considers these categories one after the other.

The majority of the words in the analyzed set of vocabulary are nouns, but — in so far as my etymological inferences prove to be true — there are some suffixes that are added to verbal stems (furthermore, in some cases, the UEW provides a verbal noun as a starting point). The denominal suffix has become completely obscured and the deverbal one has also become less frequent. The latter has been replaced by *-ma/-mo/-me* that joins the stem (ending in a vowel) transparently, according to different phonotactic rules.

**a) Words probably containing primitive suffixes, based on data from related languages**

*анксема* 'пропорушь' (ЭРВ 50); '(jég)lék' (EMSz 41); 'avanto' (ESS 7); *aŋkšima* 'пропорушь / Wuhne, Eisloch' (MdWb 45). Its Moksha form is: *аньце-ма* (MPB 39). The UEW (11) derives it from the Finno-Ugric \**aŋa-* 'lösen, öffnen, aufmachen', cf. Fin. *avaa-*, *avanto*, Kh. *aŋə-*, Man. *ǰŋk-*, Hun. *old*. According to the UEW, the Mordvin *-ś* is a deverbal verb suffix, while the *-ma* is a deverbal noun suffix. The SSA (1 : 92) relates these words to each other only hypothetically and leaves the Hungarian verb out. See furthermore MdKons 34; ЭСМЯ 17; the ЭТВ 13 considers it to be of Turkic origin.

*качамо* 'дым' (ЭРВ 241); 'füst' (EMSz 145); 'savu' (ESS 65); *katšamo* 'дым / Rauch' (MdWb 560). Its Moksha form is *качам* 'дым', *качама* 'дымный' (MPB 238). The UEW (641) classifies it as of FV (?FP) origin (\**kačke* 'Rauch, Brandgeruch, Geruch, Gestank'), cf. Fin. *katku*, Est. *katk*, ?Komi. *kočjs*. The UEW considers the *-mo* element as a suffix. The SSA (1 : 328) includes the Mordvin word here only hypothetically. See also MdKons 51; ЭТВ 63; ЭСМЯ 116.

*койма* 'лопата' (ЭРВ 276); 'lapát; ásó' (EMSz 171); 'lapio' (ESS 71); *kojme* 'лопата / Spaten' (MdWb 820). Its Moksha form is *кайма* (MPB 217). Raasonen very prudently talks about a possible Turkic origin (comparing the word to a Yakut expression), but the original word is a primitive one, cf. FP (?U) \**kojwa-* 'graben, schöpfen' > ?Fin. *kaiva-*, NS *goai'vo*, Mari *koe-*, ?Nen. *šīwa* etc. (UEW 170). The UEW classifies the Mordvin *-me* element as a deverbal noun suffix. See furthermore MdKons 63; ЭТВ 75; ЭСМЯ 155.

*лашмо* 'ложбина, долина, лощина' (ЭРВ 333); 'völgy; horpadás, mélyedés' (EMSz 200); 'laakso' (ESS 84); *lašmo* 'лощина, овраг, долина / Senke, Talschlucht, Vertiefung, Grube' (MdWb 1030). Its Moksha form is

*лашма* (MPB 3304). It may be related to *лушмо* (*лушма, ложмо*) 'лощина, ложбина; проточина' (ЭРВ 353); 'лощинка, долинка / (kleine) Vertiefung, Höhlung, Niederung, Senke, kleines Tal' (MdWb 1079) and to *лужом* 'лощина / kleine Vertiefung (auf dem Felde), niedrige Stelle, Niederung, Senke' (ЭРВ 353; MdWb 1090). — The SSA (2 : 95) connects the Md. *ložmo*, Komi *lažmjd* 'alava (paikka), matala (vesi; rakennus)' forms (see also ЭТВ 91) to the Fin. *lotma* 'notko, laakso, painanne / Talsenke, Nidereung', but only hypothetically for phonetic doubts. Veršinin (ЭСМЯ 203) also includes here the Mari *ложем* 'долина, ложбина' and (hypothetically) the Udm. *лазег* 'мелкий, неглубокий', Komi *лажмыд* 'отлогий, пологий, невысокий, неглубокий' words as well. — In view of its phonetic form and meaning, the word *лужа* 'долина, лощина / kleines Tal, Niederung, Senke' (MdWb 1088) is also close to the above word group, but this is a Russian loan, cf. *лужа*.

*п и н е м е* 'овёс' (ЭРВ 481); 'zab, abrakzab' (EMSz 286); 'kaura' (ESS 121); *пи́нете* 'овёс / Hafer' (MdWb 1673). Its Moksha form is *пинем* (RMS 331). It is of Finno-Permic origin: \**pänz* 'Hafer' > Komi *panol, panov*. The Mordvin word contains a denominal noun suffix (UEW 726).

*п у я р м о* 'желудок птицы' (ЭРВ 531); 'zúza' (EMSz 310); 'kuru (linnun)' (ESS 136); *пу́гато* 'зоб; пупок / Kropf; Vogelmagen' (MdWb 1830). Its Moksha form is *пярма* (MPB 558). The UEW (378) considers it Uralic, taking \**pijra* 'Tiermagen, Kropf' > Fin. *piira*, NS *birram*, Nen. *piríci* etc. to be its base word; the SSA (2 : 356), however, finds the Mordvin word very problematic because of phonetic reasons, and is uncertain about its connection to this word group. If the Mordvin word is still a member of the group, *-мо* is a nominal suffix (see also ЭТВ 155; ЭСМЯ 385).

*с е я м а* 'трутовник; трутник' [taplógomba, tapló] (ЭРВ 576 *се́й*, 582); *šeme, šejeme, šem, šejme, šeje, šejim, šimä, šijimä* 'трут / Feuerschwamm, Zunder' (MdWb 2134). Its Moksha equivalent is *сяям* (MPB 700). The word is of Finno-Volgaic origin and its reconstructed base form is \**šäke* 'Zunder', cf. Fin. *säen*, Kar. *säen* (Keresztes includes here the Finnish word only hypothetically, MdKons 136). See furthermore UEW 771; ЭСМЯ 398.

*с ю л г а м о* 'сюлгамо (особый вид женской нагрудной застёжки)' (ЭРВ 636); 'melltü, csat' (EMSz 353); 'solki, rintaneula' (ESS 163); *šulgamo* 'нагрудная застёжка / Brustspange, Schnalle' (MdWb 2192). Its Moksha form is *сюлгам* (MPB 687). It is of Finno-Volgaic or Finno-Permic origin and its base form is \**šolke* 'Schnalle, Spange' > Fin. *solki*, NS *čulgum*, Mari *šolkama*, ??Udm., Komi *šul*. There is a denominal noun suffix in the Mari, Sami and Mordvin words (UEW 774). See also MdKons 148; ЭТВ 175; ЭСМЯ 422.

*у д е м* 'мозг' (ЭРВ 690); 'veló' (EMSz 393); 'aivot; ydin' (ESS 177); *удем(е)* 'мозг; костный мозг / Gehirn; Mark' (MdWb 2435). The word goes back to a Finno-Ugric base word: \**widz(-mz)* 'Knochenmark, Gehirn' > Fin. *ydin*, NS *âdâ*, Mari *vim*, Udm. *vijjm*, Komi *vem*, Kh. *weləm*, Man. *wäləm*, Hun. *veló*. The Mordvin word contains a denominal noun suffix (UEW 572). See furthermore MdKons 179; ЭСМЯ 457.

*у т о м* 'амбар' (ЭРВ 701); 'aitta' (ESS 180); *утом, утомо* 'csúr, pajta, hombár, magtár' (EMSz 400); *utomо* 'амбар / Speicher, Vorratshaus' (MdWb 2492). Its Moksha form is *утом* (MPB 790). According to the UEW (605), it is a derivative of the Finno-Volgaic \**ajta* 'auf Pfählen stehendes Vorratshaus', cf. Fin. *aitta*, Est. *ait* (see also ЭТВ 199). The SSA (1 : 61) refuses this analysis because of phonetic reasons (the Finnish word is considered to be

of Baltic origin). — If the etymology applied in the UEW is correct, *-m(o)* is a denominal noun suffix (and this is very likely even if it does not belong to the Baltic word group). Keresztes reconstructs a Proto-Mordvin *\*ōtama/ ?votama* form, and he relates it hypothetically to the Fin. *otta-* 'vesz' verb (MdKons 180) — in which case *-mo* would be a deverbal suffix. See also ЭСМЯ 466).

*э з е м* 'лавка, скамейка' (ЭРВ 771); 'pad, lóca; ülés; ülőhely; szék' (EMSz 448); 'penkki' (ESS 198); *ežem* 'место; скамейка у стены в морд. избе; задняя скамейка / Platz, Stelle; wandfeste Bank in der mordw. Stube; Hinterbank' (MdWb 393). Its Moksha form is *эзем* (MPB 897). It is of Uralic origin. The UEW (18) takes it to be the derivative of the *\*aše-* 'stellen, setzen, legen' verb, cf. Fin. *asema, asu, asu-, ase-, asetta-*, Est. *ase, asu, asu-, asenda-*, Nen. *ηæso-, ηiši* (see furthermore ЭТВ 221), which means that the Mordvin word contains a deverbal suffix. For details, see MdKons 39; ЭСМЯ 513; SSA 1 : 85.

## b) Words that are likely to be suffixes

*а т я м at'am* 'гром / Donner' (MdWb 87). This word does not exist in the Erzya standard; Paasonen only collected an Erzya form from a mixed dialect, in village Naskaftim of the Penza Area. The Moksha form is *атям* (MPB 48), while in the Erzya standard, the *пурьгине* 'thunder-clap' exists (ЭРВ 529). It is probably a *-m* suffixed derivative of the word *атя* 'old man' (for the semantic connection, see Fin. *ukko* '(old) man' > *ukkonen* '1. little old man, 2. thunder-clap, lightning').

*б у л д о м* 'нарос; набалдавшник' (ЭРВ 93); 'kinövés, bütyök, dudor (fán)' (EMSz 63); 'pahka' (ESS 20). Paasonen only mentions the Moksha *puldām* 'кусочек, ком, глыба, мяч / Stückchen, Klumpen, Kloss, Ball' form (MdWb 1832). The present-day Moksha standard form is *булдом* (MPB 73). He connects this to *полда* 'лодыга сустав / Knöchel; Gelenk' (MdWb 1732), hypothesizing the presence of the *-m* suffix. Cf. also ЭСМЯ 34.

*в а р м а* 'ветер' (ЭРВ 108); 'szél' (EMSz 73); 'tuuli' (ESS 24), 'ветер / Wind' (MdWb 2544). The Moksha form is *варма* (MPB 92). The ЭТВ (26) categorizes it as Finno-Volgaic, and compares it to the Estonian *varm* 'brisk, smart'. This is semantically implausible (cf. SSA 3 : 411: Fin. *varma*, Est. *varm, varmas*, only with Finnic equivalents). In Veršinin's opinion, there is a *-ma* suffix in the word (ЭСМЯ 41), and he tries to prove his statement with the help of the Sami *вырант* 'порыв ветра'. He also mentions a possible connection with the Mari *мардеж* 'wind' and the Fin. *myrsky* 'storm', but these cannot belong together for phonetic reasons.

*в е д ь м е* 'конец или обрывок нитки; завязка, тесьма, лента, верёвка, бечёвка; лямка' (ЭРВ 117); 'vég, fonáltöredék, foszlány; kantárszár, vezetőszár, póráz' (EMSz 80); 'hihna, remmi' (ESS 26); *vedme* 'нитка, верёвка; конец, обрывок нитки; повод / Faden, Schnur; Fadenende, Stück Faden; Halfterkette, Halfterstrick' (MdWb 2634). Its Moksha form is *вядьме* (MPB 133). Veršinin suggests the presence of the *-me* suffix in the word, but he does not support his statement in any way (ЭСМЯ 45). Paasonen takes it to be a derivative of *vet'a-* 'вести, править / führen, leiten, lenken', which means that he also hypothesizes (implicitly) that the word contains a (deverbal) suffix.

*в е л и м а* 'непоседа' (ЭРВ 120). It is possible to be a derivative of the verb *веля-* 'to spin, to circle' (ЭСМЯ 46), which would mean that the word includes a deverbal noun suffix.

*и д е м е id'eme* 'рождённый ребёнок / geborenes Kind (Bed. unsicher)' (MdWb 439). This word only appears in Paasonen's work and with an uncertain meaning. In all probability, it can be traced back to the Moksha *идь* 'child' (MdWb 353, МРВ 200); if so, there is a(n) *-(e)me* suffix in it.

*к а ш т о м (о)* 'русская печь' (ЭРВ 242); 'kályha, tűzhely, kemence' (EMSz 146); 'uuni' (ESS 65); *kaštom(o)* 'печь, хлебная печь / Ofen, Backofen' (MdWb 645). The word is of unknown origin. At the end of the entry, Paasonen refers the reader to *kašamo* 'дым / Rauch' (560) and *kaš : kaš-lango* 'верх печи / Raum auf dem Ofen'. If there is a connection between the words, the presence of some kind of a denominal suffix (cluster) is possible.

*к е р ь м е* 'связка, пучок' (ЭРВ 257); 'csomó, köteg, nyaláb, kéve' (EMSz 158); 'kimppu, nippu' (ESS 68); *keime* 'пучок / umbundenes Bündel, Garbe' (MdWb 727). Its Moksha form is *кярьме* (МРВ 315). The word *кире* 'ball, coil' may be related to it, which would qualify *-ме* as a suffix (cf. ЭСМЯ 135). The ЭТВ reconstructs the *керь-* root for the word and compares it to the Kola Saami *коаррэ* 'сюлмамс', Hun. *kör*, and Kh. *кере* 'сюлмо' (ЭТВ 69), however, the UEW only takes up the Fin. *keri*, Est. *keri*, Lule Sami *kieras*, Udm. *kuri*, Komi *kor*, and Hun. *köré, körül* as the derivatives of the FU *\*kere* 'Kreis, Ring, Reifen' and the Mordvin and Khanty data is missing (UEW 148).

*к у л ь м а* 'разум' (ЭРВ 312). Veršinin (ЭСМЯ 181) relates the *куль-* stem to the verb *куля-* '(у)слышать; узнать'. In so far as this is correct (even if it is a bit uncertain semantically), then the word contains a deverbal suffix. The ЭТВ (83) derives it from the Russian dialectal *кульма* 'горло или хвост невода, матня, мотня, куть [the widening part of a fishing-net]', but this analysis is semantically anomalous.

*л а й м е* 'долина; пойма; низкое место' (ЭРВ 327); 'völgy' (EMSz 195). Its Moksha form is *lajmä* 'луг, пойма / Wiese, im Frühjahr unter Wasser stehende Wiese, überschwemmte Wiese' (MdWb 1002). Veršinin (ЭСМЯ 195) connects it to the *лай-* element of the Udm. *лайыг* 'ложбина', *лаймыт* 'отлогий, пологий' and Komi *лайков* 'ложбина', *лайкӧс* 'отлогий', *лайкӧсин* 'долина'. If this parallel is correct, then there is a *-ме* suffix in the Mordvin word. The КЭСК does not mention these words.

*л о д о м* 'низина, низменность / Senke, Niederung' (MdWb 1049); 'омут; низина' (ЭРВ 349). It is of unknown origin. Veršinin (ЭСМЯ 216) does not exclude the possibility that the semantically similar Moksha *лотка*, Erzya *латко* (*лутко*) 'яма, овраг, обрыв' is related to it. This would support the existence of the suffix. Paasonen, however, collected a form *лодмо* as well.

*л у ж о м* 'лощина' (ЭРВ 353). It is probably related to *лушмо* (*лужма, ложмо*) 'лощинка, долинка / (kleine) Vertiefung, Höhlung, Niederung, Senke, kleines Tal' (MdWb 1079) (see above). As far as its phonetic form and meaning are concerned, it is close to *лужа* 'долина, лощина / kleines Tal, Niederung, Senke' (MdWb 1088), that is, however, a Russian loan, cf. *лужа* 'id.'

*п а р м а* 'тучный, толстый (о человеке), кряжистый; колода (короткое толстое бревно)' (ЭРВ 458); 'gerenda; tuskó, farönk' (EMSz 269); 'paksu, vanha puu' (ESS 115); *parto* 'большое дерево / grosser Baum' (MdWb 1544).

The ЭтВ (135) reconstructs a FU *\*parma* base word and connects it to the Est. *pärn*, Kola Sami *naark*, and Komi *парма* (neither the UEW nor the КЭСК discuss these). Veršinin (ЭСМЯ 335) relates it to the Kh. *parək*, *porək* 'туловище, корпус (тела)' and Veps *porn* 'крепкий, здоровый, сильный'. The Khanty word differs far too much and the Veps word does not fit semantically. — All these, however, do not exclude the possibility that the word contains some kind of a suffix.

*п е р т и м* 'пертим (головной убор, имеющий форму круга, разукрашенный лентами, блёстками, который надевается девушками только в праздники и на свадьбе)' (ЭРВ 472); 'pertyim (erza-mordvin nõi fejdísz)' (EMSz 279). Veršinin (ЭСМЯ 346) connects it to the Moksha *перьф* 'вокруг, кругом; около' (cf. Erzya *перть* 'в течение; за', *перька* 'вокруг, около') — in which case 'circle shape' would be the semantic link?

*п о т м о* 'нутро; внутренности; внутренность' (ЭРВ 504); 'belseje vminek; belse' (rész)' (EMSz 296); 'sisäpuoli, sisus, sisusta' (ESS 128); *potmo* 'внутренность, живот, грудь / Inneres, Bauch, Busen' (MdWb 1764). Its Moksha form is *потма* (MPB 518). Veršinin (ЭСМЯ 376) suggests two possible analyzes: a) he relates it to the Mari *пундаш* 'дно' — the UEW (740) only lists Udmurt (*pides*) and Komi (Zyrian) (*píd*) equivalents for the Mari word (< FP *\*puntz* 'Boden, Grund'), and rejects the Mordvin word because of the word-internal consonant cluster; b) he draws a parallel with the Komi *пыдна* 'глубина' and the Udm. *пыдло* 'вглубь'. The КЭСК (235) derives these words from a Proto-Permic form *\*püd-* 'глубь'. If this hypothesis (that is semantically plausible) is correct, then the Mordvin word contains a denominal noun suffix.

*с ё л м о* 'крыло' (ЭРВ 583); 'szárny' (EMSz 331); 'siipi' (ESS 150); *solmo* 'крыло / Flügel, Fittich' (MdWb 2176). Paasonen includes the forms *šovno*, *šolno*, *šolmo*, *šolna*, *šovna*, *šovna*, *šovna* as the diminutive variants of *šov* 'id.' The suffix *-na/-ña* is still a diminutive and *-mo* was probably some kind of a denominal noun suffix originally. Veršinin (ЭСМЯ 402) also lists the *шул-* element of the Mari *шудыр* 'крыло' here. The ЭтВ (164) adds the Fin. *siipi* as well, but the SSA (2 : 176) does not include the Mordvin word in this entry.

*с ё р м а* 'письмо; украшение' (ЭРВ 583); 'levél; írás, díszítés, dekorálás, hímezés' (EMSz 331); 'kirje; kokuommel' (ESS 150); *šorma* 'пушнина, вышивка; письменный знак; шриффт; письмо / Pelzwerk, Stickerei; Schriftzeichen; Schrift; Brief' (MdWb 2173). Its Moksha form is *сёрма* (MPB 624). The КЭСК (251) traces back the Komi *сер* 'узор, пятно, прябинка; резьба; орнамент' noun and the Udmurt verb *сёрлал-* 'делать резьбу' (collected by Munkácsi) to a Proto-Permic *\*šer* 'узор, орнамент' form, while it categorizes the undeniably similar Mari *сер-* 'писать', *серыш* 'письмо' and Md. *сёрма* lexemes as of Turkic origin, deriving it from the Chuvash verb *šir-* 'писать'. — In this case, the *-ma* suffix was added to the word in Mordvin as a deverbal suffix. Veršinin explains the similarity with the onomatopoeic nature of the words (ЭСМЯ 403).

*э р ь м е* 'богатство' (ЭРВ 786); 'vagyom' (EMSz 455); *ёрме* 'имущество, собственность, всё добро; житьё, благосостояние / Vermögen, Eigentum, Hab u. Gut; Leben, Wohlstand' (MdWb 379). Veršinin (ЭСМЯ 517) relates it to the verb *эря-* 'жить' (see furthermore *ёрме<sup>2</sup>* 'есть, имеется / es ist, es gibt', MdWb 380). If this analysis is correct, then *-me* is a deverbal noun suffix.

э р ь м о 'толстяк' (dial.) (ЭРВ 786). It is possible that the word has a common origin with *эргана* 'крупный; толстый', a word similar in meaning. The UEW (75) does not list it as a derivative of the Uralic \*erz 'groß, viel' (only Ugric and Samoyedic examples are included there), but a primitive origin is somewhat possible. In this case, -мо would be a suffix. See also ЭСМЯ 517.

There are some other elements in my dataset that may be suffixes, but as they are of unknown origin, the presence of a suffix cannot be proven in them: *идем* 'неприрученный, дикий' (ЭРВ 202); *китеме* 'пара лаптей' (ЭРВ 321); *медьма* 'наледь (вода, выступившая поверхвода, а также корка льда на этой воде)' (ЭРВ 371); *пайме* 'перекладина; жердь' (ЭРВ 450); *шилдым* 'высшая вершина чего-н.; темя / die oberste Spitze von etw.; / Scheitel' (MdB 2231); *шурьма* 'полюнь обыкновенная, чернобыльник' (ЭРВ 768).

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### Abbreviations

**EMSz** — E. Mészáros, R. Sirmankina, Erza-mordvin–magyar szótár, Szombathely 2003; **ESS** — J. Niemi, M. Mosin, Ersäläis–suomalainen sanakirja, Turku 1995 (Turun yliopiston suomalaisen ja yleisen kielitieteen laitoksen julkaisuja 48); **MdKons** — L. Keresztes, Geschichte des mordwinischen Konsonantismus II. Etymologisches Belegmaterial, Szeged 1986 (Studia uralo-altaica 26); **MdB** — H. Paasonen's Mordwinisches Wörterbuch. Zusammengestellt von K. Heikkilä. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Martti Kahla, Helsinki 1990–1996 (LSFU XXIII); **MPB** — Б. А. Серебренников, А. П. Феоктистов, О. Е. Поляков, Мокшень–рузонь валкс. Мокшанско–русский словарь, Москва 1998; **PMС** — Г. Я. Меркушкин, С. Г. Потапкин, А. К. Имяреков, Русско–мокшанский словарь, Москва 1951; **ЭКЕК** — Эрзянь кель. Морфология, Саранск 2000; **ЭРВ** — Б. А. Серебренников, Р. Н. Бузакова, М. В. Мосин, Эрзянь–рузонь валкс. Эрзянско–русский словарь, Москва 1993; **ЭСМЯ** — В. И. Вершинин, Этимологический словарь мордовских (эрзянского и мокшанского) языков I–V, Йошкар-Ола 2004–2011; **ЭтВ** — Д. В. Цыганкин, М. В. Мосин, Этимологиянь валкс, Саранск 1998. **Est.** — Estonian; **Fin.** — Finnish; **FP** — Finno-Permic; **FU** — Finno-Ugric; **FV** — Finno-Volgaic; **Hun.** — Hungarian; **Kh.** — Khanty (Ostyak); **Man.** — Mansi (Vogul); **Md.** — Mordvin; **Nen.** — Nenets (Yurak); **NS** — Northern Sami, **Udm.** — Udmurt (Votyak).

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ШАНДОР МАТИЧАК (Дебрецен)

### ИМЕННЫЕ СУФФИКСЫ *-m(V)* В ЭРЗЯНСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

В современном эрзянском языке имеется более одного суффикса с согласным *-m*. 1) Отглагольный именной суффикс *-mo, -ma, -me* до сих пор продуктивен и встречается часто. С его помощью обычно образованы существительные с абстрактным значением (*nomen actionis*), семантика которых довольно разнообразна. Кроме того, с этим суффиксом образовано немало существительных и с конкретным значением (*nomen instrumenti*). 2) Сложный суффикс *-lmo, -lma, -lme* произошел, очевидно, от упомянутого суффикса *-mo, -ma, -me* в результате сдвига морфемной границы: сначала от прилагательных были образованы фреквентативные глаголы путем добавления *-l* и затем от этих глаголов — существительные. Этот суффикс не продуктивен, но он употреблялся во времена зарождения марийского литературного языка и сторонники обновления языка сегодня используют его при создании новых слов от глаголов и прилагательных. 3) Суффикс *-mo* не продуктивен и редок, его можно обнаружить лишь в нескольких прилагательных и двух местоимениях. 4) Наиболее существенная часть посвящена именному суффиксу *-m(V)*, который тоже не продуктивен и встречается редко. В литературе по мордовским языкам этот суффикс не рассматривался. В статье проанализированы 37 слов. Наличие суффикса в ряде слов доказывается с помощью соответствий в родственных языках, в то время как в других на это указывают определенные этимологические соображения. Большую часть из 37 рассмотренных слов составляют существительные, но есть и несколько глагольных основ.