

NINA NUJANZINA-AASMÄE (Tartu)

INITIAL SYNCOPE IN MORDVINIAN

In Mordvinian there are quite a number of words with consonant combinations in initial position which have come into being as a result of vowel syncope in the first syllable, e. g. *t'rams*, *t'irams* 'to grow up'. As these words represent a phenomenon originally alien to Finno-Ugric languages an inquiry into their structure can help us to gain interesting and theoretically important insights into the development of Mordvinian. The essential reference material explaining the origin of syncopated words was given by Paasonen (1903 : 52—56, 115) and Bubrich (Бубрих 1951 : 83—86; 1953 : 36—38) who interpreted syncope in terms of stress correlation. Both authors found that in such words the initial consonant cluster was mainly followed by *a* or *ä* while the lost vowels were either *i* or *u*. Words having a different vocalic structure were said to be exceptions.

Regarding such a regularity in vocalism Paasonen and Bubrich concluded that the syncopated words displayed stress correlations characteristic of contemporary Moksha dialects: in words with *i*, *u* in the first syllable and *a*, *ä* in the following one stress was shifted to the syllable with *a*, *ä*. Thus, the assumptions of Paasonen and Bubrich imply that the disappearance of the vowel in the first syllable was conditioned by the potential of non-initial *a*, *ä* to receive stress. The dependence of stress placement upon the quality of vowels was assumed to be reminiscent of proto-Mordvinian stress rules.

In the present article which is meant to be a small contribution to the study of syncopated words another interpretation of the problem will be advanced. Special attention will be paid to the choice of material to be analyzed. Here we shall discount words which are obviously onomatopoeic. In previous works some of the latter were grouped together with cases of syncope by mistake, as they contain metathesis: E *křenč*, M *krandžš* 'crow', see Finn. *kaarne* (SKES 135); E *promo*, *purmo*, M *pramžš* 'horsefly', see Finn. *paarma* (SKES 449); E *kriñd'avotoms*, *kiř navotoms* 'to jump', etc. The specific distribution of consonant clusters in them should be studied within the framework of descriptive words which «have a position of their own in the sound-system of a language» (Ravila 1953 : 139). For the same reason we are not focusing attention on the syncopated words in which the formation of the initial consonant cluster is subjected to descriptive purposes. E. g.: M *f'tijāms*, E *pištēms* 'to plough'; M *kšņims*, E *kešņems* 'to sneeze'; M *kštims*, E *kištēms* 'to dance'; E *pskižēms*, M *pāskižēms* 'to have diarrhoea'; E *psīdēms*, *pištīdēms*, M *psīdēms*, *pištādēms* 'to kick'; E *skīrams*, M *kiškārams* 'to pinch'. In some cases syncope is not obvious: E *krautoms*, M *kraftāms*, coll.

'to chase, to put out'; E *trušams* 'to wolf', etc. We have also to treat with reservation a number of non-onomatopoeic words with regard to which there are no data recording syncope: (k)š*nam*s 'to praise', M š*naj* 'official at a marriage party who is responsible for the bride'; E *plašta*, *plašča* 'button'; *praksta*, 'foot-cloth' (perhaps a case of metathesis, see *pakstra* in Paasonen 1903 : 54); E *skimems* 'to fall off (about water)', ? < Russ. *сгинуть* 'to go away, disappear'; *staka* 'heavy, hard'; E *stalmo*, M *stalma* 'load', E *stambaro* 'slow, soft'; E *stardoms*, M *stardāms* 'to press, to seize', ? < Tat. *кыстыру* 'to squeeze, to tuck in'; E *stombaka*, *domka* 'deep'; E *stuvor*, *stuvor* 'a table'; M *traks* 'cow'; M š*kaj*, E š*ki paz* 'god'; š*kams* (-*frams*) 'to bring up', E š*kiñeñ* (*avkaj*) 'my dear (mummy)'; E š*telks* 'crock'; E š*turba*, š*čurba* 'fish soup'.

The present analysis will be based upon the words which either have preserved their non-syncope form in dialects and folklore texts or have been shown to display syncope through etymological parallels with other languages. The material will be given in groups according to non-initial vocalism to ascertain whether the phonetic factor — distribution of *a*, *ä* — is as significant as suggested before.

In the first place it is possible to distinguish a group of derivatives and composite words containing two or more constituents of which the first has lost a vowel or a whole syllable.

1. *škamon*, dial. *iškamon* 'I alone, lonely' is composed of the pronoun *eš*, the suffixes *-ka-* and *-mo-*, and the personal ending *-n*; it can be compared with Mari *ške* 'myself' (Серебрянников 1967 : 91).

2. E *šnarō*, *narō*, *žarō*, M *mžara*, *mžžara* 'how much' is a composition of the pronoun *meže* in the Genitive (see the *-n*-suffix) and the stem *arV*, which can be identified with *ar-* of *aršems* 'to think' (on *ar-* see SKES 25, with a question mark). In different dialects different parts of *meže* have been cut off. Analogous is Mari *miñ ar(e)*; dial. *mñar*.

3. E *štak*, *štako*, *ištak*, M *stak* 'so, just so' comprises the pronouns *iš* and *ta* (Серебрянников 1967 : 103).

4. M *ščätä* 'grandfather', *ščava* 'grandmother', *ščaka* 'aunt' have the nouns *atä* 'man', *ava* 'woman', *aka* 'sister' as their second component; the first one is suppositionally *pokš* 'great' which can be traced in E *pokšta* 'grandfather'. Apparently in the river name *pšlej* (*lej-* 'river') the first component was also *pokš*. In Mari *kočaj* 'grandfather', *kovaj* 'grandmother', *koka* 'aunt' (*kugo* 'great' + *ačaj*, *avaj*, *akaj* 'man', 'woman', 'sister') (Грузов 1965 : 230) — the same composition is found.

5. *ksnav* 'pea' in KЭСК 33 is identified with Komi *añkič* 'pea' : *añ* 'a female', *kič* 'pea'. If this supposition is accepted as correct the original form of Md. *ksnav* can be presented as: CVsV + Gen. suf. *-ñ-* + *ava* 'a female'. The component *ava* enters a number of plant names, like *viř* *avañ rufsa* 'fern', *rož* *ava* 'ergot', etc. it is also probable in *ksnav*. To these we would add an example the author obtained from I. V. Inževatov: *klaurñe*, another name of the Guzintsi village, decomposed as *kilej* 'birch' + *kuriñe* 'clump'. Syncope in the initial syllable of these composite words could occur if the stress was fixed on the non-initial component. Though in this position there is *a* in the majority of words, it cannot be considered important. It was rather the syntactic factor that determined the stress correlation: the non-initial component became potentially stressed primarily due to its significance within the syntactic

relations between the constituents of the composite word. Since the number of these words with syncope is comparatively small and their full form has also been preserved: see *ístak*, E *pokšta*, etc. — it should be assumed that shifting of syntactic stress to the non-initial syllable was not strict.

The majority of the syncopated words are represented by simple nominal and verbal stems.

In a group of nouns the initial consonant cluster is followed by *a*, *ä* which seem to be in accordance with etymological **a*, **ä*.

6. *kšta*, *šta* 'wax' < ? **šikšta* or *šikšta* (KЭСК 257).
7. E *pra*, folk. *pira*, M *pre*, *pire* 'head' < FU **perä* (SKES 527—529); see also E *pradoms* 'to finish', E *prev*, M *pravij* 'memory, intellect', E *prevej*, M *prävi* 'clever'.
8. *skal* 'cow, calf' < early proto-Md. **uska-l* (Itkonen 1971 : 46); see also Mari *škal*, *iškal*, *uškal*, Udm. *iškal*.
9. *ška* 'time' < ? **tška* < **tšilška* (SKES 71); see also E *škatedems*, M *škatedems* 'to occur, to happen'.
10. E *štapo*, M *krtapa* 'bare, naked'; see also E *štado*, M *štada* id.

Several words to be included here are loans:

11. *krandaz*, dial. *karandas* (Феокистов 1971 : 324) 'cart' < Russ. *карндас* (Paasonen 1909 : 84).
12. M *ksäl*, E *kušlat* 'jelly' < Russ. *кисель*.
13. E *praka*, M. *pärüka* 'pie' < Russ. *пирог*.
14. M *šra*, *šära* 'table' < Tat. *širä*, *širä* (Paasonen 1909 : 137).
15. *kšna*, *šna* 'leather' has generally been considered to be an ancient Baltic loan: cf. Lith. *šikšnà* (SKES 73); in Itkonen 1971 : 46 the early proto-Md. form is given as **šukšna*. Lately it has been underlined by Ariste (Аристе 1973 : 5) that Md. *kšna*, Finn. *hihna*, Mari *šüštö* are ancient Finno-Ugric words.

As we see, the syncopated vowels in all these words prove to be *i*, *u* with the exception of *štapo*, *krtapa*, in which the quality of the vowel is not clear. Thus the vocalism of the words seems to display features noted by Paasonen and Bubrigh. To see whether we can accept their point of view it is necessary to consider the other groupings. Here we should add a note concerning the later loans *krandaz*, M *ksäl*, E *praka*, M *šra*. The corresponding foreign words contain a vowel which has been syncopated in Mordvinian. The adoption of the words in the syncopated form may have been conditioned by the auditory impression produced by the foreign words upon Mordvinian speakers. The fact of the matter is that the foreign words have non-initial stress and reduction in the first syllable. Prominence of the non-initial syllable of the foreign words made the Mordvinian speaker concentrate pronouncing efforts on this very syllable. If this or that word was borrowed from a dialect with strong reduction the unstressed vowel of the first syllable could remain indistinguishable for the Mordvinian speaker. Loans from dialects with a lesser degree of reduction have preserved the vowel: see *karandas*, E *kušlat*, M *pärüka*, M *šära*. If it were proved that *kšna* is a Baltic loan we could also seek for an explanation of its syncopated form in the prosodic features of the Baltic word. In view of the fact that the possibility of direct contacts between Mordvins and Baltic peoples is not rejected (see Аристе 1973 : 4) such a supposition would be quite acceptable.

The other examples with *a* are all verbal stems:

16. *kštams*, *štams* 'to wash', Finn. *huuhtoa* (SKES 92)
17. *prams* 'to fall down' < Finn.-Perm. **pVrз* (ОСНОВЫ 1974 : 429)
18. *pškadems*, *piškadems* 'to appeal to, to utter a word', M *peškädäms* 'to shout, to cry', *pāškädäms* 'to appeal to', Finn. *piisku* (SKES 553)
19. E *sradoms*, *soradoms*, M *sradäms*, *sāradäms* 'to scatter', E *srautom*, M *sraftäms* 'to spread', also E *sorakadoms* 'to get a shiver', Finn. *sirottaa* (SKES 1040 — 1041, the Mordvinian word is given with a question mark).
20. *stams*, dial. *sustams* 'to sew'.
21. *štams* 'to stand up' < **stša-*, Finn. *seisoa*, *seistä*, FU **saḡ(ɫ)ś-* ~ **saḡ(ɫ)ś-* (SKES 990—991).
22. *trams*, dial. and folk. *tīrams* 'to bring up', *tiriine* 'my dear', M *terakaj* id.; see Komi *törsjini* 'to eat'; *töravni* 'to breed', pre-Perm. **terз-* (KӨCK 284).
23. *škams*, E *čukams*, M *šukams* 'to mill, to pound, to shake', Finn. *hakata*, Komi *tšukni* (SKES 45—50, the Mordvinian word is given with a question mark).
24. M *ščams*, E *oršams*, *orčams* 'to dress', Finn. *verha*, *verhoa*, *verhota* (Posti 1953 : 15)

As far as the vocalism of these words is concerned it must be stressed that both the *a*-stem and the initial syllable are reflected through different vowels in their etymological correspondences. Some of the stems might have been transformed into *a* by way of morphologic analogy (Халлап 1955 : 7—8). It is difficult to say whether the loss of the vowel was prior to these transformations or whether it was caused by the appearance of *a* in the non-initial syllable. The quality of the syncopated vowel is not clear either. It is to be established whether in *sradoms*, *soradoms*, Finn. *sirottaa* — it was *o* or *i* that was syncopated. If syncope occurred when the Mordvinian word had *i*, than *o* must be considered secondary. In *trams*, pre-Perm. **terз*, we have to decide whether it was *i* or *e* that was primary: cf. *tiriine* versus *terakaj*. Very complicated is the case of *štams*, FU **saḡ(ɫ)ś*, Finn. *seisoa*, *seistä*. To obtain a reliable answer we need data on diachronic changes within the vocalism of these words. Here we restrict ourselves to the suggestions that syncope in them must be referred to different periods in the history of the language.

There is an interesting feature to be mentioned with respect to the phonology of syncope in these words. Some of the syncopated forms seem to fulfill a distinctive function. In certain Erza dialects *pškadems* is used in the meaning of 'to appeal, to address', and *piškadems* — 'to shout, to give a cry'. In Moksha *peškädäms* and *pāškädäms* are differentiated as separate words. Specification of meaning is traced in *škams* 'to mill, to pound' and E *čukams*, M *šukams* 'to shake'. There is a distinctive opposition created by *stams* 'to sew' versus *štams* 'to stand up'; *kštams* 'to wash' versus *kuštams* 'grow mouldy'; *prams* 'to fall' versus *params* 'to low'.

Passing on to the examples in which the initial consonant cluster is not followed by *a*, *ä* in all dialects, but by other vowels as well, we first draw attention to the words claimed to be Indo-European loans. Though quite a number of hypothetical assumptions have been made as to their etymology, it is not established with certainty whether they are loans or native words.

25. *kšni*, *kšne*, *kšnä* 'iron' < **kært-ni*, Ir., Aw. *kar^ati* 'knife' (< **kartyā-*) (Joki 1973 : 237).
26. *kši*, *kše*, *ksä* 'bread' < **kšrsē*, Finn. *kyrsä* (SKES 256). Lewy

(1933 : 241) confronts *kši* with Oss. *kårdzin* 'bread'. In this connection similarity of the phonic shape of Md. *kši* with Russ. *корж* 'a sort of bread' is also to be taken into consideration. Joki (1973 : 56) denies the foreign nature of Finn. *kyrsä* stating that it is a Uralic word.

27. E *kšnat*, *kšnat*, M *kšnit*, *kšnat* 'measles' < **körn-*, Finn. *kärnä* (SKES 262). Ambus (Амбус 1964 : 164) confronts Vot. *kärnä* 'itch' to Lith. *karnà* 'lime bark'. In SKES 135 Finn. *kaarna* is also connected with Lith. *karnà*. In Mordvinian the word has dialect variants both with front and back vocalism; thus it is to be decided which of them is primary. Neither can we say whether it refers to Finn. *kärnä* or Finn. *kaarna*. The supposition of its Baltic origin also needs further investigation.

28. M *štír*, E *tejter* 'girl, a daughter', Finn. *tytär* < Ir. **dhuktēr*, Aw. *duydar* (Аристэ 1978 : 6).

The rest of the words of this grouping are recorded as native; the origin of several words is not clear.

29. M *ʃkă*, E *šejke* 'one' < FU **ikte*, **ükte* (Основы 1974 : 423).

30. M *ksti*, E *kstij*, *kistoj*, *kistij*, *steje* 'strawberry' (Надькин 1969 : 73).

31. M *kšim*, *kišim*, E *šeme*, *šeme* 'haycock'.

32. M *kštír*, *kištír*, E *štere*, *šcere* 'spindle', Finn. *kehrä*, Est. *keder* (SKES 176—177).

33. E *promoms*, M *purâmâms* 'to get together', E *promks*, M *purâmks* 'get — together'.

34. *psi*, *piši* 'hot' < Finn.-Perm. **pVsz* (Основы 1974 : 431).

35. E *pšti*, *pšči*, *pišti* 'sharp, tight'; *pštikst*, *pščikst*, *piščikst* 'colic', see in Vot. *pisōz* (Амбус 1964 : 164), Est. *pisted*.

36. E *pštidems*, *pščidems*, M *pštedâms*, *pištadâms* 'to fix, to tighten'.

37. E *troks*, M *turks*, *târks* 'cross', adv., 'across' < **torakse* (SKES 1350).

38. E *či*, M *ši* out of *kči*, see Mari *keče* < **kVči*, Finn. *kehä* (SKES 177).

39. E *škerge*, *viškerge*, dial. *viškir* bot. 'bunias'.

The words of this grouping are characterized by divergence of vocalism in their dialect variants. In most of them there are *i* ~ *e* ~ *ä* that alternate. Particularly interesting in this respect are the examples with hypothetical pre-*proto-Mordvinian* *ä*-stems.

1. *kštír*, *štere* ~ Finn. *kehrä*; *kši*, *kše*, *kšä* ~ Finn. *kyrsä*; (also *kšni*, *kšne*, *kšnä*).

2. *kšnit*, *kšnat*, *ksnat*, *kšnat* ~ Finn. *kärnä*.

3. *či*, *ši* ~ Finn. *kehä*.

According to the correspondence FU **CeCä* > Md. *CiCe* (like **kesä* > *kizę*, **pesä* > *pizę*), quite regular in Mordvinian, we could also expect an analogous form in the above mentioned examples. The results, however, are different. The formula **CeCä* has different correspondences both for separate words as well as for their dialect variants. At the present stage of etymological research it is difficult to trace peculiarities in the development of the «irregular» forms. It can only be assumed that they are due to specific modifications within the words.

Here comes the difficult question of whether syncope and the subsequent clustering of consonants is somehow connected with these modifications? There is a subtle cue for a positive answer to the question. In *kši*, *kšni*, *kšnat*/*kšnit* there is the diachronic change *r* > *š* that stands out. For Mordvinian this type of assimilation is not typical. More common

is progressive affricatization as in *pursoz*, *purtsuz* 'pig' ~ FU **poršas* < Ar. **poršos* (SKES 606); *jarsams*, *jartsams* 'to eat' ~ Finn. *järsiä* (SKES 132); or progressive voicing like in *nurdo* 'sledge' ~ Finn.-Perm. **norta* (Оснoвы 1974 : 432). The change $r > š$ is recorded in a limited number of words: besides these three examples it occurs in *štapo/krtapa*, *ščams/oršams*. The consonant *r* could lose its sonority in a potentially weak position, i. e. the first syllable to which *r* belonged must have been unstressed. After vowel syncope in the unstressed syllable the words became mono-syllabic and continued their development in a specific way. Whether it was due to non-initial *ä* that the first syllable became unstressed is difficult to say. At any rate in *kšni* < **kært-ni ä* is not traceable. In *ščams/oršams* we deal with a later case of assimilation, which was a result of stress shifting to *a* according to the rules of modern Moksha. As far as *štapo/krtapa* is concerned we know nothing about its origin. Thus *kši*, *kšni*, *kšnat/kšnit* are exceptional cases. The possibility cannot be excluded that they are loans and their syncopated forms may be explained from the point of view of foreign influence as we suggested above (words 6—15). In the cases with *či/ši*, Finn. *kehä*; *kštir|ščere*, Finn. *kehrä* it should also be examined whether syncope was connected with non-initial *ä*. The other words of this group have no traces of *a*, *ä* at all.

It can only be hoped that future investigations with respect to the diachronic development of the syncopated forms will further elucidate the problem under discussion. Analysis of the words dealt with above has not provided us with firm cues to explain syncope by the *a*-, *ä*-factor. Out of the 39 examples only 20 words with *a*-, *ä*-stems have been registered (6—15 and 16—24). The difference in number between the groupings is not so striking as to emphasize the significance of the *a*-, *ä*-factor. If we take into consideration the generally accepted view according to which non-initial syllables in proto-Mordvinian could have only *a*, *i*, *u*, it will be clear that the syncopated forms more or less adequately display this vocalism. The number of *a*-stems is larger as they in general must have had a greater frequency than the other types. Thus the role of *a*, *ä* in shifting stress to the non-initial syllable is only apparent. Not denying completely the phonetic factor in the production of the syncopated forms, we would rather suggest a hypothesis on the influence of the rhythmic composition of speech patterns. In doing this we first call attention to the fact that a considerable part of the words have preserved their simple form. This means that the tendency for stress to fall on the non-initial syllable was not stable. An inquiry into folklore texts provided us with abundant material showing how a rhythmic composition of a text conditions the necessity to cut off or add in definite syllables. Within the same stanza both the full and the syncopated forms of a word may be used primarily depending upon the syllabic patterning.

E mastir ava, mastir pas! makst p̄razinza p̄riñä, säriz̄inza särñä
kuvat učik šuk p̄riñinza, Oškañ kurik maksik čumbraciñinza (Шахматов 1910 : 99—100) 'Mother of the land! Give him brain to his head, power to his body Long you wait for his gratitude, but sooner give back to Joseph his health'. In this example the full form *p̄riñinza* and the forms with syncope *p̄razinza* and *p̄riñä* are used to obtain an equal number of syllables in the parallel constructions, cf. *makst-p̄ra-zin-za-p̄ri-ñä* | *sä-ri-zin-za-sär-ñä* (six syllables in each part), and *šuk-pi-ri-ñin-za* | *čum-bra-či-ñin-za* (five syllables in each part).

Our next example is an illustration of two variants of the same song. Each line in them has eleven syllables:

palān goṛas kāmgaṽtuva ruṣa tājs pīrān goṛas kāmgaṽtuva paṅga tājs (Шахматов 1910 : 474) 'For her dresses twelve aprons she has made, For her head twelve pangas she has made'. *goḑēn goṛas kāmgaṽtuva ruṣa tājs, vaj pīrān goṛas kāmgaṽtuva paṅga tājs* (Шахматов 1910 : 475) 'For each year twelve aprons she has made, Oh, for the head twelve pangas she has made'. The first variant contains the full form *pīrān* and the second one — the form *pīrān* with syncope; the desired number of syllables (eleven in each line) is achieved by inserting the interjection *vaj*. Let us now examine another piece of an Erza folklore text:

čavan pščiksīnzi, osodenzī, karči valīnzi ... (ne orožjamuṭni piščikstījak) (Шахматов 1910 : 162—163) 'I am beating his colic, the evil eyes, the bad words ... (These charm words are also against colic)'. The first part of the example presents the very text of the charm, while the second one is an introductory remark on the part of the author. Their rhythmic composition is different, and the key word appears in the two forms: *pščiksīnzi|piščikstījak*. Analogous instances can be found in Moksha folklore: cf.

potmān pakśasa kubor pīrānā, kubor pīrānāsa lišči jāšīnā (Paasonen 1947 : 313—314). 'In the Potma field there is a hill top, On the hill top there is a spring'.

sāvmak alakaj, sāvmak teṛājñaj trojtsān pazaru, alakaj-trakaj, kran-āzś vanāma, akśa parotśkañ fata ramama (Paasonen 1947 : 134) 'Take me, Father, take me, dear, to the Trinity bazaar, Father, dear, to see the cart, To buy a white silk kerchief'.

In poetic texts syncope serves the same purpose as reduction of non-stressed enclitics in languages with fixed stress. Rhythm and metre could govern the composition of a stanza in a similar way only if the word-stress were flexible. As we see, stress in separate words depends upon the rhythmic pattern of fluent speech; the low *a*, *ā* could incidentally attract stress, but this shifting cannot be generalized as a fixed rule. Since the syncopated forms represent words in common everyday use, it can be concluded that in fluent speech the words were influenced by rhythm so that occasional syncope gradually became usual and even ousted the full form.

If we take into consideration that in folklore texts syncope stands out as a means of syllabic unification, it can be assumed that it occurred without an intermediate stage of vowel reduction. Epenthetic *ə* could be used in the separate life of some words but its use was not phonological.

Шахматов (Шахматов 1910 : 773) has expressed the opinion that syncopated forms of simple words could first be formed through the medium of composites as in *pīra* > *pīra*, out of *čaub'ra* 'empty head, fool'. Such an explanation cannot be neglected. As it has been shown above (words 1—4) syntactic relations within a composite word create a potentially weak position for one of the constituents; if the loss of the vowel is not threatening for the distinctive function of the word, the syncopated form is adopted in its isolated use as well. The Mordvinian languages are rich in paired constructions which have a rhythmic structure of their own: *karṭ-prakstat* 'bast shoes with cloth'; *škams-*

frams 'to bring up'; *šlams-nardams* 'to wash and make dry', etc. Alongside composites they must have contributed to the spread of syncopated forms under the influence of speech rhythm in general and syntagmatic stress shifting in particular.

Because of this it is reasonable to suppose that the syncopated words appeared sporadically. Vocalic divergence of the words, as was emphasized in the discussion above, is well in accordance with our supposition. Thus forms with syncope are a product of such a genesis of the words in which word-stress shifts created a favourable occasion for the vowel of the first syllable to be lost. A definite quality of the neighbouring consonants facilitated this process. It is to be underlined that combinability of initial consonants in the words is of limited range. In two-membered clusters voiceless fricatives combine with voiceless stops: *st-*, *št-*, *št-*; *sk-*, *šk-*, *šk-*, *kš-*, or voiceless stops and fricatives combine with sonorants: *pr-*, *kr-*, *tr-*, *sr-*, *sn-*, *šl-*. In three-membered clusters a voiceless stop and a fricative can be combined with another stop or a sonorant: *kšt-*, *pšt-*, *pšk-*, *kšn-*, *kšn-*, *kšl-* (For details see Деваев 1966 : 231). The majority of the types of clusters are not an innovation in Mordvinian. They are quite frequent in medial and final position and some of them date back to Finno-Ugric times (on Finno-Ugric clusters see Toivonen 1928 and Posti 1953 : 1—91). Under the influence of syntagmatic stress and rhythm they gradually appeared in a new position. Their ability to occupy a new place is connected, we believe, with peculiarities of syllable-formation and syllable-division. With regard to other clusters, such as *pr-*, *tr-*, *kr-*, it must be taken into consideration that a stop with a sonorant is very frequent at the beginning of onomatopoeic words and borrowings in any Finno-Ugric language; this feature undoubtedly belongs to the realm of universals (see Гринберг 1964 : 41—65).

Contact with foreign languages having initial consonant clusters could have influenced the adoption of the new forms in Mordvinian, but the decisive factors may be found in Mordvinian itself. Since a certain period when the vocalic system of Mordvinian grew scanty in number it has become overloaded as an information carrier. It has been shown above (word 16—24) that some of the syncopated forms are capable of distinguishing shades of meaning. It can be assumed that initial consonant clusters are beginning to take upon themselves part of the information to be conveyed, i. e. they gradually acquire a distinctive function.

REFERENCES

- Itkonen, E. 1971, Zum Ursprung und Wesen der reduzierten Vokale im Mordwinischen. — FUF XXXIX, 41—75.
- Joki, A. J. 1973, Uralier und Indogermanen, Helsinki (MSFOu 151).
- Lewy, E. 1933, Zur Bezeichnung des Objektes im Mordwinischen. — Liber semisaecularis Societatis Fenno-Ugricae, Helsinki (MSFOu LXVII), 238—245.
- Paasonen, H. 1903, Mordwinische lautlehre, Helsingfors (MSFOu XXII).
- 1909, Mordwinische chrestomatie mit glossar und grammatikalischem abriß, Helsingfors.
- 1947, Mordwinische Volksdichtung. Gesammelt von H. Paasonen, Herausgegeben und übersetzt von Paavo Ravila. IV Band, Helsinki (MSFOu XCI).
- Posti, L. 1953, From Pre-Finnic to Late Proto-Finnic. — FUF XXXI, 1—91.
- Ravila, P. 1953, Intense Forms and Sound System. — FUF XXXI, 133—148.
- Toivonen, Y. 1928, Zur geschichte der finnisch-ugrischen inlautenden affrikaten. — FUF XIX, 1—270.
- Амбус А. 1964, Названия болезней в водском языке. — Вопросы финно-угорского языкознания. Грамматика и лексикология, Москва—Ленинград, 163—169.
- Аристѣ П. 1973, Вопрос о балтийских заимствованиях в финно-угорских языках. — Вопросы марийского языкознания, вып. III, Йошкар-Ола, 3—7.

- 1978, Прибалтийско-финские и иранские контакты. — *Fenno-Ugristica* V, Tartu, 3—9.
- Бубрих Д. 1951, О былом эрзянском ударении. — *Записки МордНИИ*, № 12, Саранск, 83—87.
- 1953, Историческая грамматика эрзянского языка, Саранск.
- Грузов Л. 1965, Фонетика диалектов марийского языка в историческом освещении, Йошкар-Ола.
- Гринберг Д.ж. 1964, Некоторые обобщения, касающиеся возможных начальных и конечных последовательностей согласных. — *ВЯ* № 4, 41—65.
- Деваев С. 1966, О сочетаемости фонем в юго-западных говорах мокша-мордовского языка. — *ОМД* IV, Саранск, 226—250.
- Надькин Д. 1969, Краткие сведения по фонетике нижнепьянского диалекта и говоров чувашского Присурья. — *Вопросы мордовского языкознания*, Саранск, 67—87.
- Основы финно-угорского языкознания, 1974, Москва.
- Серебрянников Б. 1967, Историческая морфология мордовских языков, Москва.
- Феохтистов А. 1971, Русско-мордовский словарь, Москва.
- Халлап В. 1955, Суффиксы образования глаголов в мордовских языках (Общемордовские суффиксы), Таллин (Автореф. канд. дисс.).
- Шахматов А. 1910, Мордовский этнографический сборник, С.-Петербург.

НИНА НУЯНЗИНА-ААСМЯЭ (Тарту)

О ВЗАИМОСВЯЗИ НАЧАЛЬНОЙ СИНКОПЫ И УДАРЕНИЯ В МОРДОВСКИХ ЯЗЫКАХ

В лексике мордовских языков выделяется группа неэкспрессивных слов с начальными сочетаниями согласных (СС), которые образовались в результате выпадения гласного первого слога: *třams* ~ *třrams* 'воспитывать', *stams* ~ *sustams* 'шить'. Эти случаи принято рассматривать как проявление закономерностей прамордовского ударения. Поскольку в большинстве слов за СС следует *a* или *ã*, а выпадают гласные *i* или *u*, исследователи считают, что ударение в данных словах имело тенденцию стягиваться к слогу с широкими *a*, *ã*; узкие *i*, *u* начального слога при этом могли синкопироваться. На основании того, что такая же тенденция в постановке ударения наблюдается и в современном мокшанском языке, предполагается, что фонетическая зависимость ударения от качества гласных была характерна для прамордовского языка. Таковы выводы Паасонена, Бубриха; в последующих трудах по фонетике мордовских языков их точка зрения не опровергалась.

В статье делается попытка определить начальную синкопу как спорадическое явление, происходящее в потоке речи под воздействием фразового ударения и ритма. В качестве сопутствующего фактора синкопы выделяется определенная сочетаемость согласных. Относительно рассматриваемой группы слов гипотеза о значимости фонетического фактора — дистрибуции *a*, *ã* — для перестановки ударения не подтверждается. При анализе материала использовались этимологические данные, которые позволили в некоторой мере проследить структуру слов в диахронии, и фольклорные тексты, содержащие ценные сведения об употреблении различных форм того или иного слова в речи. Результаты позволяют заключить, что синкопа могла происходить в условиях подвижного словесного ударения. Как спорадическое явление, она не лишена фонологической значимости: в связи с сокращением количества гласных в системе мордовских языков некоторая часть информации стала передаваться начальными СС, образовавшимися в результате синкопы.