# Allomorphic variants of Erzya-Mordvin nominal derivational suffixes

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**1.** In one of my earlier papers (Maticsák 2003), I have already examined the linking rules of Erzya-Mordvin case endings. The present paper widens the sphere of this inquiry and takes up nominal derivational suffixes as well. The linking rules of Mordvin derivational suffixes are very intricate. Besides palatovelar vowel harmony, defined by tonal characteristics of the vowels, there are other important factors influencing the linking rules: whether the stem-final consonant is palatalized or not; whether it is voiced or voiceless; stem-final vowel/consonant oppositions; and the presence or absence of consonant clusters. One of these factors, namely the opposition of palatal and non-palatal consonants, is unique, being characteristic only to the Mordvin language (cf. Keresztes 1983: 366–368; Rédei 1982: 176; 1984: 229; Zaicz 1993: 428–243; 1998: 190). This opposition often overrules even the palatovelar opposition and becomes the most important among the linking rules.

Mordvin handbooks and grammar summaries are often inconsistent in the discussion of the linking rules applied when suffixes are added to stems. First, I am going to give a survey of these inconsistencies here (which are due to the mixing of the synchronic and diachronic linguistic aspects on the one hand and the difficulties of using Cyrillic letters on the other), then I am going to attempt to create a uniform framework for the description of linking rules for Erzya nominal derivational suffixes.

Two of the basic problems in Mordvin suffixation are the handling of the vowel between the stem and the suffixes, and the deletion of the last vowel (or syllable) of the stem. According to the comprehensive handbook published in 1980 (Grammatika 153–154), Mordvin nominals can have either one (e.g. *лопа* 'leaf') or two roots (e.g. *чувто* 'tree'), and in the course of suffixation, the stem-final vowel of nominals with two roots is deleted before certain suffixes/case endings: *чувто-нь* Gen., but *чувт-со* Iness. Somewhat surprisingly, words like *вирь* 'forest' : *вире-нь* Gen., *вире-в* Lat. (but *вир-де* Abl., *вирь-сэ* Iness) or *ош* 'town' : *ошо-нь* Gen., *ошо-в* Lat. (but *ош-сто* Elat., *ош-ка* Prol. etc.) are also considered to have got two roots, which means that this approach considers the vowel preceding the suffix to be part of the stem. The linking rules of the translative *(эйкакш* 'child' : *эйкакшо-кс)* and the comparative *(венч* 'boat' : *венче-шка)* is described there in a similar way. The quality of the vowel preceding the suffix depends on the vowel in the stem and the stem-final consonant. The handbook in question – using a curious combination of orthographic and phonetic-morphologic aspects – introduces one more category besides suffix alternations resulting from the palatal/velar quality of the vowel and the hard/soft consonant opposition: the usage of the letters *э* and *e*, separating in the Cyrillic written forms of the words. According to the authors' view, the *-o-* sound is attached to back-vocalic words ending in a hard consonant (*сан* 'vein': *сано-нь* Gen.); the sound marked with *e* in the Cyrillic alphabet [je] is added to front (or back) vocalic words ending in a soft vowel, j, or a palatal consonant: *умарь* 'apple tree' : *умаре-нь, лей* 'river' : *лее-нь, ломань* 'person' : *ломане-нь, кев* 'stone' : *кеве-нь*. Front-vocalic words ending in a hard consonant get the letter *э* [e]: *верьгиз* 'wolf' : *верьгизэ-нь, нартемкс* 'Artemisia' : *нартемксэ-нь* (Grammatika 1980: 155–159).

The Erzya handbook published in 2000 (EK 78–82) employs similar guiding principles. The authors give the case endings of the genitive, lative, translative and comparative without the additional vowel, but they indicate that vowel in the sample paradigm, sometimes considering it as a connective vowel *(ош* 'town' : *ош-о-кс, ош-о-шка)*, sometimes a stem-final vowel *(ошо-нь, ошо-в)*. Cyrillic transliteration causes difficulties in this book as well: the *лей : ле-е-нь* approach is somewhat unfit for the Mordvin morpheme alternation studies, and the usage of the letters *e/э* also appears in the description of the suffixes mentioned above.

This concept is even more curious in the Erzya coursebook written by Mosin–Bajuškin published in 1983 (47). This book uses Finnish as an intermediary language, but gives the Erzya word forms in Cyrillic letters. The authors use the system outlined above for the explanation of the linking rules, this is why one can read the following in the description of the genitive: „c) sidevokaalin *e* välityksellä, jos vartalon viimeinen äänne on liudentunut dentaali...", d) sidevokaalin э välityksellä, jos vartalon viimeinen äänne on liudentumaton dentaali..."[1]

In his unilingual dictionary of definitions published in 2002, Abramov tries to resolve the contradiction between Cyrillic transcription and the existence of palatalized consonants in a logical but peculiar way: *кед/ь, - ьсе, -ень, -не.* A positive aspect of Abramov's approach is that he treats the additional vowel in expressly as part of the suffix.

As regards literature written by foreign linguists: Alo Raun (1988: 100–101) lists the word forms without the additional vowel (Gen. *-ń,* Illat. *-v* and *-s,* Translat. *-ks,* Comp. *-ška*), but as he only included words ending in a vowel, he got around the problem in effect. The book titled Chrestomathia Morduinica partly follows the connective vowel conception – *kal* 'fish' : *kal-o-ń, keď* 'hand' : *keď-e-ń* (Gen.); *karks* 'belt' : *karks-o-ks, piks* 'rope' : *piks-e-ks* (Translat.) – however, it also applies the stem-final vowel theory to some extent – *oš* 'town' : *ošo-v, viŕ* 'forest' : *viŕe-v* (Lat.); *karks* : *karkso-ška* (Comp.) (Keresztes 1990: 54–55). In his latest monography (2011: 64–65), László Keresztes treats the vowel in question as part of the suffix: *kal-oń, keď-eń.* Edit Mészáros also gives preference to the descriptive aspect in her Mordvin coursebook (1998: 17, 18, 31, 77): *mastor* 'land, country' : *mastor-oń, lomań* 'person' : *lomań-eń* (Gen.); *oš-ov, viŕ-ev* (Lat.)**;** *vaz* 'calf' : *vaz-oška, ľej* 'river' : *ľej-eška* (Comp.); *ruz* 'Russian' : *ruz-oks, šved* 'Swedish' : *šved-eks* (Translat.). The same principle is applied by Gábor Zaicz in his comprehensive essay (1998: 191–194): the vowel belongs to the suffix, cf. *viŕ-eń, viŕ-ev.*

Bartens (1999: 70–73) divides the nominal roots into four classes (the second of which is only relevant in terms of the Moksha dialect). The first group is that of the roots ending in a vowel (*moda* 'land' : *moda-ń* Gen.); in the second class, there are Moksha roots which contain a reduced vowel in place of the full vowel of the Erzya forms (E *veľe* 'village' : *veľe-ń* Gen., M *veľä : veľə-ń*); the third group contains roots which allow for certain suffixes to drop the stem-final vowel (e.g. *pargo* 'basket' : *park-sto* Elat.; this change often goes together with the devoicing of the stem-final consonant);[2] and the fourth class, which is the most interesting for our purposes, is the one that comprises roots ending in a consonant. Bartens follows the same principle as the Grammatika: he takes up the *kal-* and *kalo-*, or *viŕ-* and *viŕe-* type roots.

On the whole, we can say that Mordvin linguists and Raija Bartens treat the additional vowel as part of the stem and differentiate between two types of nominal roots, while Hungarian linguists give preference to the descriptive aspect and consider this vowel as part of the suffix (similarly to the changes observable in Hungarian: Proto-Hun. *hala : hala-t* Acc. > after the deletion of the stem-final vowel: *hal-at* Acc. *hal-ban* Iness. etc.)

**2.** There are five distinctive features we must take into consideration when discussing the linking rules of case endings:

    a) whether the stem ends in a vowel or a consonant;
    b) whether the stem ends in a single consonant or a consonant cluster;
    c) whether the vowel in the last syllable palatal or velar;
    d) whether the stem-final consonant is palatal or non-palatal (soft or hard);
    e) whether the stem-final consonant is voiced or voiceless.

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[1] [c) an *e* connective vowel is added when the last sound of the stem is soft dental, d) an э connective vowel is added when the last sound of the stem is hard dental]

[2] In 1993, the new orthographic system reflecting morpheme boundaries made the *pando* 'hill' *: pando-so* forms normative instead of the *pando : pand-so*, since those do not get shortened. However, syllable deletion is an important element in the course of suffixation.

I have already examined the relationship of stems and case endings in detail in my above mentioned paper (Maticsák 2003: 146–160), therefore only a short survey is given about this topic here.

|   |   | Gen | Lat | Iness | Elat | Prol | Dat | Abl | Abe | Trs | Com | Illat |
|---|---|-----|-----|-------|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| a) | -V / -C | + | + | – | – | + | (+) | (+) | + | + | + | – |
| b) | -C / -CC | – | – | – | – | – | – | (+) | – | + | + | – |
| c) | -V- pal/vel | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | – |
| d) | -C pal/nonpal | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | – |
| e) | -C v.d/v.less | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – |

The distinctive features do not play equally important roles in the formulation of rules: the most significant aspects are the stem-final vowel/consonant oppositions, palatovelar vowel harmony, and consonant harmony (being a unique characteristic of Mordvin). Stem-final consonant clusters and the voiced/voiceless opposition are significantly less relevant factors. It is the ablative that requires the most distinctive features to be involved, while the fewest aspects need to be considered for the illative. Based on these facts, from a descriptive aspect, the Mordvin nominal case endings can be listed as follows (handbooks usually give only the forms that do not include the initial vowels):

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Genitive | *-ń, -eń, -oń* | Lative | *-v, -ev, -ov* |
| Translative | *-ks, -eks, -oks* | Comparative | *-ška, -eška, -oška* |
| Inessive | *-se, -so* | Elative | *-ste, -sto* |
| Prolative | *-va, -ga, -ka* | Dative | *-neń, -ńeń* |
| Illative | *-s* | Ablative | *-de/-d'e/-do/-te/-t'e/-to* |
| Abessive | *-vt'eme/-vtomo/-teme/-t'eme/-tomo* | | |

**3.** The literature on the subject matter direct little attention to the linking rules of **derivational suffixes**. Evsev'ev's grammar (1963/1931), the first grammatical summary of professional character, already discussed derivational affixes in a systematic way (38–44), but failed to examine linking issues, the same way as the handbook titled Grammatika published in 1962 (39–43), and the volume about the Mordvin language in Feoktistov's 1966 series describing the languages of the former Soviet Union (182–183) did. A more recent handbook, the 1980 Grammatika, presented this category in considerably more detail, with abundant material (103–115), but the subject matter the present paper examines was mentioned only in the case of one or two suffixes. The latest Erzya descriptive grammar handbook (EK 2000: 35–39) also discusses this topic in a well-organized fashion, though very briefly, and it does not mention any linking rules. Serebrennikov writes about questions of origin of the derivational affixes in his Mordvin historical grammar (1967: 66–71, 75–79), however, linking issues are missing from here as well. D. V. Cygankin's monograph (1981) on nominal derivation (and nominal compounds to a little extent) touches upon certain problems of linking in suffixation, but he either does not direct much attention to this phenomenon. László Keresztes's chrestomathy from 1990 (65–67) and his latest comprehensive book (2011: 122) introduce us into word-formation briefly, in a list-like manner, but the linking rules are not discussed in these works either. The subject is treated in a relatively detailed way in Raija Bartens's Finnish language manual (1999: 106–107, 110–111), and different problems of suffixation are examined in the case of a few of the suffixes described. Edit Mészáros provides a good summary about derivational suffixes in her coursebook (1998: 41, 50, 59, 79–80, 98–99, 102, 140), and she is the one who does so through a more or less consistent combination of descriptive and historical approaches.

According to Cygankin's (1981: 30–31) and the Grammatika's approach (1980: 103–115), these derivational suffixes always take the -C, -CC etc. forms, and if there is a vowel to be found before them, that is part of the stem (as could be seen in the case of case endings) or an element called "interfix" (a term applied by Cygankin and the Grammatika), that is a connective vowel belonging to "no man's land" (Cygankin 2006: 6–7).

On the whole, we can say that the linking rules of nominal derivational suffixes are more simple than that of the case endings, however, in the case of derivation not only allomorphic variations are to be discussed, but stem-endings can also be modified. The distinctive features are the following:

Modifications affecting the stem:

a) the stem-final vowel is/is not deleted

b) the last syllable of the stem is/is not deleted

Modifications affecting the suffix:

c) the presence/absence of a connective vowel:

→ -C(…) or -VC(…) type suffixes

d) the palatal/velar quality of the vowel in the last syllable:

→ -VpalC or -VvelC type suffixes

e) the palatal/non-palatal (hard/soft) quality of the stem-final consonant

→ C(…) or C'(…) type suffixes

As opposed to that of the case endings, the linking rules of derivational suffixes are not influenced by whether the stem ends with a vowel or a consonant; or whether the stem-final consonant is voiced or voiceless. In the last, f) section, vowel alternations of the stem and the suffix are going to be discussed.

Of the nominal derivational suffixes, only the productive and semantically transparent ones are going to be examined here. The discussion excludes suffixes with obscured meanings and only etymologically traceable functions. The suffixes are given in the format most used in the related literature (e.g. -*v*), and when any modifications are deemed necessary, that will be indicated (e.g. -*v*, -*ov*, -*ev*). To save space, distinctive features that are not characteristic to the given suffix are not going to be listed.

### 3.1. -C type suffixes

**3.1.1.** The denominal adjectival suffix, **-*ń*** is highly frequent and productive, attachable to almost any nominals (Bartens 1999: 111; EK 38; Feoktistov 1966: 183; Grammatika 1980: 112–113; Keresztes 1990: 66; Mészáros 1998: 41; Serebrennikov 1967: 78). Its linking rules are the same as that of the genitive and lative case endings taking the same form. From a descriptive point of view, the derivational suffix takes up the **-*ń/-eń/-oń*** forms (however, the handbooks all give it in the -*ń* form).

c) After stems ending in a vowel, the form of the suffix is **-*ń*** (*ľišmeń* 'horse (as first constituent of a compound)' ← *ľišme* 'horse', *raśkeń* 'relative (as first constituent of a compound)' ← *raśke* 'relative', *veľeń* 'village (as first constituent of a compound)' ← *veľe* 'village'); after stems ending in a consonant, it takes up the **-*Vń*** form.

d) After front-vocalic stems, the suffix is **-*eń*** (*ťejťeŕeń* ← *ťejťeŕ* 'girl'), and the same form is attached to non-harmonic stems ending in a palatal vowel (*tuŕisteń* ← *tuŕist* 'tourist'). The **-*oń*** variant is used after back-vocalic stems: *vatrakšoń* ← *vatrakš* 'frog', *šokoladoń* ← *šokolad* 'chocolate'.

e) When the stem-final consonant is palatalized, the suffix takes up the **-*eń*** form (even if the stem is back-vocalic!): *inźejeń* ← *inźej* 'raspberry', *kaľeń* ← *kaľ* 'willow', *ľejeń* ← *ľej* 'river', *lomańeń* ← *lomań* 'person', *modamaŕeń* ← *modamaŕ* 'potato', *śeďejeń* ← *śeďej* 'heart'. The **-*oń*** form is used if the stem-final consonant is non-palatalized: *vatrakšoń*).

**3.1.2.** The ***-v*** suffix is also a frequent and productive denominal adjectival suffix (Bartens 1999: 110–111; Cygankin 1981: 46–47; EK 38; Feoktistov 1966: 183; Grammatika 1962: 41–42; Grammatika 1980: 112; Keresztes 1990: 66; Mészáros 1988: 102; Serebrennikov 1967: 78–79). Its linking rules are the same as that of the genitive and lative case endings. From a descriptive point of view, the suffix takes up the ***-v/-ev/-ov*** forms (although, only Mészáros uses this form).

c) After stems ending in a vowel, it is ***-v*** (*piźemev* 'rainy' ← *piźeme* 'rain', *usav* 'moustached' ← *usa* 'moustache', *varmav* 'windy' ← *varma* 'wind'); after stems ending in a consonant, it takes up the ***-Vv*** form.

d) After front-vocalic stems, the form of the suffix is ***-ev*** (*kevev* 'stony' ← *kev* 'stone', *kežev* 'angry' ← *kež* 'anger', *ľemev* 'fatty' ← *ľem* 'fat'); after back-vocalic stems, it is ***-ov:*** *porov* 'chalky' ← *por* 'chalk', *počtov* 'floury' ← *počt* 'flour', *rudazov* 'muddy; dirty' ← *rudaz* 'mud', *sakalov* 'bearded' ← *sakal* 'beard'.

e) When the stem-final consonant is palatalized, the suffix is used in the ***-ev*** variant (even if the stem is back-vocalic!): *čemeńev* 'rusty' ← *čemeń* 'rust', *vijev* 'strong' ← *vij* 'strength'; *umaŕev* 'made with apples' ← *umaŕ* 'apple', *śovońev* 'clayey' ← *śovoń* 'clay'. The ***-ov*** form is used if the stem-final consonant is non-palatalized: *(rudazov).*

**3.1.3.** The ***-j*** suffix is synonymous with the former ***-v***, with the difference that it is considerably less frequent (Bartens 1999: 110–111; Cygankin 1981: 46–47; EK 38; Feoktistov 1966: 183; Grammatika 1980: 112; Keresztes 1990: 66; Mészáros 1998: 102; Serebrennikov 1967: 78–79). From a descriptive point of view, the suffix takes up the ***-j, -ej*** forms, although only Mészáros gives these forms and we find *-j* in all the other sources.

c) After stems ending in a vowel, the form of the suffix is ***-j*** (*keľej* 'wide; spacious' ← *keľe* 'width', *pitńej* 'expensive' ← *pitńe* 'price; value', *sepej* 'bitter' ← *sepe* 'bile; bitter taste'); after stems ending in a consonant, an additional *-e* connective vowel is added before the suffix (*kežej* 'angry' ← *kež* 'anger', *pŕevej* 'clever' ← *pŕev* 'reason, sense').[3]

**3.1.4.** The ***-t, -ť*** suffix is not productive anymore. It is infrequent as a suffix of denominal nouns, but somewhat more common as a deverbal suffix (Cygankin 1981: 46; 2000c: 149–150; EK 37; Grammatika 1980: 107; Keresztes 1990: 67; 2011: 46).

a) The stem-final vowel is deleted when the suffix is added to verbal stems: *košt* 'air' ← *košta-* 'to (become) dry, to wither', *ťeńśť* 'broom' ← *ťeńśe-* 'to sweep', *veťśť* 'rein, leash' ← *vetśe-* 'to lead, to carry somewhere'.

b) Sometimes – when the suffix is not added to a passive root, but a verbal derivative word – the entire last syllable of the verbal stem may be deleted: *pečť* 'piece, slice' ← *pečke-* 'to cut (off)', *počt* 'flour' ← *počodo-* 'to sprinkle, to powder', *śolt* 'pond' ?← *śolgo-* 'to shut, to close'.

c) It is added to denominal stems ending in a consonant without a connective vowel inserted: *gajť* 'sound, voice' ← *gaj* 'ringing, noisy', *onkśť* 'bridle-bit' ?← *onks* 'moderation'. In onomatopoeic words, the suffix is attached to a semantically obscure passive root (not existing individually anymore) ending in a consonant: *šalt* 'hum, clamour, noise' (cf. *šalno-* 'to hum, to clamour'), *uvt* 'hum' (cf. *uvno-* 'to hum'), *zujť* 'shiver' (cf. *zujńe-* 'to tremble, to shiver'), *žeŕť* 'rumble' (cf. *žeŕńe-* 'to rumble').

d) The ***-ť*** variant is used after front-vocalic stems *(pečť, ťeńśť),* the ***-t*** after back-vocalic stems *(košt, počt).*

e) The suffix takes up the ***-ť*** form after stems ending in a palatalized consonant (even if the stem is back-vocalic!): *gajť, ťeńśť, zujť;* the ***-t*** variant is used after stems ending in a non-palatalized consonant *(košt, šalt).*

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[3] C.f. in addition *tanťej* 'tasty; sweet', which probably goes back to the *tan-/tant-* root, c.f. *tanśť* 'taste; sweets'.

**3.1.5.** Another infrequent suffix observable in onomatopoeic (mainly sound imitating) words is the **-k** (Cygankin 1981: 56).

c) It is attached to the passive root directly, without the addition of a connective vowel: *boldork* (splash), *buńk* (thud), *ćiŕk* (crack), *ćivťork* (glitter, sparkle), *ćotork* (creak, carsh), *jombolk* (quick activity), *jozmolk* (quick movement), *juvk, jurk* (whisking), *kalck* (knocking)**,** *ľibork* (swishing of wings), *rovck* (thump), *sork* (tremor, startling)**,** *tock* (sudden, unexpected movement), *zerk* (thump), *žojk* (splash).

## 3.2. -CC type suffixes

**3.2.1.** Suffix **-ks** is one of the most frequent and most productive suffixes in the denominal and deverbal use, although it is considerably less frequent as a deverbal adjectival suffix (Bartens 1999: 106–107; Cygankin 1981: 35–41; 2000c: 142–145; EK 36, 38; Feoktistov 1966: 182; Grammatika 1962: 39–40; Grammatika 1980: 104–105; Keresztes 1990: 66, 67; Mészáros 1998: 41; Serebrennikov 1967: 68–69).

a) The stem-final vowel of verbal stems is usually deleted: *poladks* 'addition' ← *polado-* 'to add', *potomks* 'plug, cork' ← *potomo-* 'to get plugged up', *tavadks* 'cover, blanket' ← *tavado-* 'to cover', *ušodks* 'beginning' ← *ušodo-* 'to begin', *vačkoťks* 'blow, punch' ← *vačkoďe-* 'to hit'. This modification is rarer in the case of nominals (especially in the case of nouns derived from adverbs): *ikeľks* 'front part of something' ← *ikeľe* 'in front', *udalks* 'back part of something'← *udalo* 'at the back', *veŕks* 'top part of something' ← *veŕe* 'top, higher'.

b) Sometimes the entire last syllable of the verbal stem may be deleted: *keńarks* 'joy' ← *keńardo-* 'to be glad', *kučkorks* 'kick' ← *kučkordo-* 'to kick', *ľezks* 'help' ← *ľezda-* 'to help', *śangorks* 'pain' ← *śangordo-* 'to ache, to hurt'.

c) The same **-ks** form is used after stems ending in a vowel or in a consonant alike, therefore this is not a distinctive feature: *čamaks* 'mask, disguise' ← *čama* 'face', *kiks* 'line, stroke' ← *ki* 'way, path', *piľeks* 'earring' ← *piľe* 'ear', and *ińźejks* 'raspberry bush' ← *ińźej* 'raspberry', *jamks* 'millet; grits' ← *jam* 'soup', *keďks* 'bracelet' ← *keď* 'hand', *mastorks* 'ground; floor' ← *mastor* 'earth, soil', *umaŕks* 'apple tree' ← *umaŕ* 'apple', *valks* 'dictionary' ← *val* 'word'.[4]

f) The *-o > -a* change is a modification happening only rarely: *potmaks* 'bottom; channel' ← *potmo* 'inside of something; interior', *palaks* 'nettle' ← *palo-* 'to burn'.

**3.2.2.** Since **-kš** is very rare and unproductive as a nominal or adjectival suffix, (Bajuškin 1973: 75–77; Cygankin 1981: 40–41; 2000c: 145–146; EK 36; Feoktistov 1966: 182; Grammatika 1962: 39; Grammatika 1980: 105, 111; Keresztes 1990: 66; Serebrennikov 1967: 68–69), it is somewhat difficult to infer rules from the data available.

c) The words with surely traceable derivation all end in a vowel that is not deleted when a suffix is added: *avakš* 'hen(-bird)' ← *ava* 'woman, housewife, mother', *aťakš* 'rooster' ← *aťa* 'old man'. I could not find any words in the data available that ends in a consonant, therefore we do not have information about whether a connective vowel is added before the suffix or not. However, as this suffix is a variant of *-ks*, it may only have a single form as well, in all probability.

f) Further modifications: the vowel standing before the suffix changes in its tone: *śurakš* 'horned' ← *śuro* 'horn'; *jutkakš* 'alley, passage-way' ← *jutko* '(time/space) interval, distance, ' *(a ← o)*;

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[4] The translative case ending is usually added with a connective vowel (cf. Maticsák 2003: 156–158), thus the two types of *-ks* is clearly separable in terms of form as well – at least in stems ending in a consonant*: sur-oks* 'finger (Translat.)' – *sur-ks* 'ring'; *meńeľ-eks* 'sky (Translat.)' – *meńel-ks* 'weather'; *piźol-oks* 'sorb (Translat.)' – *piźol-ks* 'sorb tree' etc. (However, at the same time, stems ending in a vowel are homonymous: *ľeńge-ks* 'linden (Translat.)' and 'linden-tree' etc.

*śelmukš-t* (plur.) 'glasses' ← *śelme* 'eye', *piľukš* 'having sharp hearing; crested' ← *piľe* 'ear' *(u ← e)*. It is problematic, however, if we can consider the *-akš/-ukš* variants (after the deletion of the stem-final vowel) as existing forms from a descriptive point of view.

**3.2.3.** The ***-vt*** suffix is a denominal and deverbal, not too productive nominal suffix (Cygankin 1981: 39; Mészáros 1998: 41).

c) The little data found all end in a vowel: *avavt* 'mother-in-law' ← *ava* 'woman, housewife; mother', *aťavt* 'father-in-law' ← *aťa* 'old man; husband', *pŕavt* 'boss' ← *pŕa* 'head', or *čalgavt* 'step' ← *čalga-* 'to step', *jakavt* 'walking' ← *jaka-* 'to walk', *oršavt* 'clothing' ← *orša-* 'to get dressed', *piŕavt* 'fence' ← *piŕa-* 'to fence, to enclose', *vanovt* 'glance' ← *vano-* 'to look at'.

### 3.3. -CCC type suffixes

**3.3.1.** The ***-vks*** is a deverbal nominal suffix. It is productive and frequent (Bartens 1999: 107; EK 36; Cygankin 1981: 39–40; 2000c: 145; Grammatika 1980: 105; Mészáros 1998: 59).

c) Because this suffix forms verbs only, it is attached to verbal stems ending in a vowel, and instances where it is added to a stem-final consonant cannot be found: *aŕśevks* 'idea, conception' ← *aŕśe-* 'to think (about)', *artovks* 'painting, drawing' ← *arto-* 'to paint, to draw', *izavks* 'harrowing' ← *iza-* 'to harrow', *kemevks* 'belief, trust' ← *keme-* 'to believe', *meŕevks* 'expression' ← *meŕe-* 'to tell', *ńevťevks* 'example, specimen' ← *ńevťe-* 'to show', *oršavks* 'clothing, garment' ← *orša-* 'to get dressed', *targavks* 'cigarette-end' ← *targa-* 'to smoke'.

**3.3.2.** The ***-kśť*** suffix is added to numerals to express multiplication of the given number (Grammatika 1962: 40; Grammatika 1980: 363; Mészáros 1998: 68–69).

b) There are two cases when the last syllable of the stem is deleted: *kavkśť* 'twice' ← *kavto* 'two', *veśť* 'once' ← *vejke* 'one' (here the suffix itself has got a different form as well).

c) It is attached to numerals ending in a vowel directly: *kolmokśť* 'three times' ← *kolmo* 'three', *ńiľekśť* 'four times' ← *ńiľe* 'four', *veťekśť* 'five times' ← *veťe* 'five', *śadokśť* 'a hundred times' ← *śado* 'hundred' etc.; *lamokśť* 'a lot of times' ← *lamo* 'a lot of', *żarijakśť* 'a few times' ← *żarija* 'a few'. The numeral *śiśem* 'hét' ends in a consonant, therefore a connective vowel is added before the suffix *(śiśemekśť),* this is why, from a descriptive point of view, the suffix takes up the ***-kśť', -ekśť'*** forms.

### 3.4. -CV type suffixes

**3.4.1.** The ***-mo, -ma, -me*** suffix is one of the most common deverbal suffixes. It is highly productive and very frequent; its basic function is to create abstract nouns (Bartens 1999: 106; Cygankin 1981: 41–42; 2000c: 146–147; EK 36; Grammatika 1980: 105–106; Keresztes 1990: 67; Mészáros 1998: 59; Serebrennikov 1967: 70).

a) In very rare cases, the stem-final vowel may be deleted: *ľiśma* 'well, fountain' ← *ľiśe-* 'to come out; to creep forth', *viďme* 'seed' ← *viďe-* 'to sow'.

c) Except for the instances given above, this suffix always connects to verbal stems ending in a vowel.

f) The choice between the three allomorphic variants of the suffix depends on the last vowel of the stem: verbs ending in *-a* get the ***-mo*** variant (*kortamo* 'speech; chat' ← *korta-* 'to speak, to talk', *ľezdamo* 'help' ← *ľezda-* 'to help, to assist', *moramo* 'singing' ← *mora-* 'to sing', *oršamo* 'clothing, garment' ← *orša-* 'to get dressed', *ozamo* 'chair, small seat' ← *oza-* 'to sit (down)'); verbs with a stem-final *-o* or *-e* are followed by the ***-ma*** allomorph (*kemema* 'belief; trust' ← *keme-* 'to believe; to trust', *kuloma* 'death' ← *kulo-* 'to die', *moľema* 'going, walking' ← *moľe-* 'to go, to walk', *pejďema* 'laughter' ← *pejďe-* 'to laugh', and also *mizoldoma* 'smile' ← *mizoldo-* 'to smile', *pŕadoma* 'ending' ← *pŕado-* 'to end, to finish', *śavadoma* 'envy' ← *śa-*

*vado-* 'to envy', *udoma* 'sleep; dream' ← *udo-* 'to sleep'). Verbal stems ending in *-e* occasionally get the **-me** variant: *piźeme* 'rain' ← *piźe-* 'to rain', *suvťeme* 'sieve' ← *suvťe-* 'to sift', *viďme* 'seed' ← *viďe-* 'to sow'.

**3.4.2.** A large group of Mordvin diminutive forms is words created with the **-ka, -ke** suffix (Bartens 1999: 106; Cygankin 1981: 58–60; 2000c: 154–156; EK 37; Feoktistov 1966: 182; Grammatika 1962: 40; Grammatika 1980: 109–111; Keresztes 1990: 66; Mészáros 1998: 41; Serebrennikov 1967: 68). (Another group is that of the words formed with the more frequent and more productive *-ńe, -ne, -ińe*, cf. section 3.4.3. and 3.8.3.)

c) Suffix *-ka, -ke* is usually attached to stems ending in a consonant:: *sazorka* 'little sister' ← *sazor* 'one's younger sister', *ťejťeŕka* 'little girl' ← *ťejťeŕ* 'girl'; *avakške* ← *avakš* 'tyúk', *jalakske* ← *jalaks* 'younger brother', *jovkske* ← *jovks* 'tale', *oške* ← *oš* 'town', *peľkske* ← *peľks* 'part', *penčke* ← *penč* 'spoon', *ŕiveźke* ← *ŕiveź* 'fox', *sarazke* ← *saraz* 'hen'. The *-ka* suffix can sometimes connect to stems ending in a consonant, if the word derived nicknames relatives, people or animals as folk tale characters, and in these special cases, the suffix goes together with the vocative: *avaka-j* 'my little mother (Voc.)', *ćoraka-m* 'my little sonny (PxSg1)', *Miťaka-j* 'little Mitja (Voc.)', *Ovtoka-j* 'little bear, bear cub (Voc.). – This suffix and the Russian origin *-ka* diminutive suffix are the same in form. The latter can be found in a lot of words that have already assimilated to the Mordvin vocabulary: *лампочка* 'little lamp', *машинка* 'smaller machine', *молотка* 'hammer', *таблетка* 'pill', *тетрадка* 'notebook', *этикетка* 'label, price tag' etc.

**3.4.3.** Besides the *-ka* diminutive suffix, there is another **-ka** denominal nominal suffix that has become very infrequent (Cygankin 1981: 42–44; 1999: 8–9; 2000c: 147–148; EK 36–37; Feoktistov 1966: 182; Grammatika 1962: 40, Grammatika 1980: 106; Serebrennikov 1967: 68).

c) This suffix is added to stems containing a stem-final vowel in the following words: *avaka* 'female (mammal)' ← *ava* 'woman, housewife; mother', *aťaka* 'male (mammal)' ← *aťa* 'old man'. Some animal names are also susceptible to contain this suffix: *maksaka* 'mole' (its other form is *maksaźej*) *maraka ~ marav* 'wine fly', *oźaka ~ oźaz* 'sparrow', *śeźaka ~ śeźgan* 'magpie'.

**3.4.4.** A further large group within the class of diminutive suffixes is that of the highly frequent and productive **-ne, -ńe,** *-ińe* suffixes (Bartens 1999: 106; Cygankin 1981: 58–60; 2000c: 154–156; EK 37; Feoktistov 1966: 182; Grammatika 1962: 40; Grammatika 1980: 89, 109–111; Keresztes 1990: 66; Mészáros 1998: 41; Serebrennikov 1967: 69). One of these, the *-ińe* suffix, will be discussed in the 3.8.3. section.

c) This suffix is exclusively attached to stems ending in a consonant (for stems ending in a vowel get the *-ińe* variant): *lejńe* ← *ľej* 'river', *ľemńe* ← *ľem* 'name'.
e) If the stem-final consonant is palatal, the *-ńe* variant is added to the word, and if it is non-palatal, the *-ne* allomorph is attached: *peľńe* ← *peľ* 'part', *ťejťeŕńe* ← *ťejťeŕ* 'girl'; also *kevne* ← kev 'stone', *taradne* ← *tarad* 'branch', *valne* ← *val* 'word'.

**3.4.5.** The **-će** denominal suffix can sometimes be found in words naming space and time relations (attached to adverbs), but its main function is to form ordinal numbers (EK 38, 122–123; Grammatika 1980: 113; Keresztes 1990: 65; Mészáros 1998: 41; Serebrennikov 1967: 119–120). From a descriptive point of view, its form is **-ће, -еће,** although this conception appears only in Mészáros's work.

a) When used in the former function, the stem-final vowel is deleted before the suffix (*ikeľće* 'preceding, front(al)' ← *ikeľe* 'in front', *udalće* 'hind, posterior' ← *udalo* 'at the back', *veŕće*

'upper' ← *veŕe* 'upper'), but it is preserved after numerals (*kolmoće* 'third' ← *kolmo* 'three', *ńiľeće* 'fourth' ← *ńiľe* 'four').

c) After numerals ending in a consonant, the suffix takes up the **-eće** (*śiśemeće* 'seventh' ← *śiśem* 'seven', *komśeće* 'twentieth' ← *komś* 'twenty') and (after round numbers) the **-će** forms (*kemeńće* 'tenth' ← *kemeń* 'ten', *koloṅgemeńće* 'thirtieth' ← *koloṅgemeń* 'thirty', *ńiľeṅgemeńće* 'fortieth' ← *ńiľeṅgemeń* 'forty' etc.)

**3.4.6.** The **-la** denominal adjectival suffix serves for the expression of some kind of characteristic feature. It is not productive anymore (Bajuškin 1977: 80–84; Cygankin 1981: 52; EK 39; Feoktistov 1966: 183; Grammatika 1980: 113; Keresztes 1990: 67; Serebrennikov 1967: 75).

c) It is attached to nominal stems ending in a vowel: *ašola* 'whitish, pale' ← *ašo* 'white', *čavola* 'stupid, short-witted' ← *čavo* 'empty', *čuvtola* 'wooden-headed, pigheaded' ← *čuvto* 'wood', *ečkela* 'plump' ← *ečke* 'thick; fat', *načkola* 'damp, moist' ← *načko* 'damp, moist', *ožola* 'yellowish' ← *ožo* 'yellow', *pižela* 'greenish' ← *piže* 'green', *taštola* 'archaic' ← *tašto* 'old'.

**3.4.7.** A rare and unproductive denominal adjectival suffix is the **-ža** that is used for the expression of a quality (Bajuškin 1977: 75–78; Cygankin 1981: 54–55; EK 39; Feoktistov 1966: 183; Grammatika 1980: 113, 114; Keresztes 1990: 67; Serebrennikov 1967: 77).

c) It is attached to nominal stems ending in a vowel: *alkaža* 'shortish' ← *alka* 'short; shallow', *ľembeža* 'warm' ← *ľembe* 'warm', *nolaža* 'slippery' ← *nola* 'fluid, moisture'. If the suffix is attached to stems ending in a consonant, the suffix takes the **-aža** and **-iža** form: *seńaža* 'bluish' ← *seń* 'blue' (but: *beŕaža* 'weakish' ← *beŕań* 'bad'); *pokšiža* 'big' ← *pokš* 'big'.

**3.4.8.** The **-za** denominal adjectival suffix is also used for the expression of some kind of quality. It is not productive anymore (Bajuškin 1977: 78–80; Cygankin 1981: 54–55; EK 39; Feoktistov 1966: 183; Grammatika 1980: 113–114; Keresztes 1990: 67; Serebrennikov 1967: 76–77).

c) From the very little data available, it seems that the suffix is attached to stems ending in a vowel: *ormaza* 'rabid' ← *orma* 'disease, plague', *ožoza* 'yellowish' ← *ožo* 'yellow' (cf. furthermore: *kanaza* 'clumsy, sluggish', *tajmaza* 'calm, quiet', *eŕaza* 'vivid, lively').

**3.4.9.** Another adjectival suffix that expresses some kind of quality is the **-ńa**, which is productive and frequent in its deverbal use, but rare and unproductive in the denominal use (Bajuškin 1977: 85–86; EK 38; Grammatika 1980: 111, 114).

a) The only example I found for the deletion of the stem-final vowel: *zliďna* 'roving, wandering' ← *zlida-* 'to rove, to wander'.

c) The suffix is attached to that root of the base word which ends in a vowel: *olaña* 'faded, colourless' ← *ola-* 'to fade, to lose colour', *solaña* 'soft' ← *sola-* 'to melt, to soften'. (In several cases, the base word is not an existing form anymore: *kažaña* 'rough, uneven', *lažaña* 'rancid', *lovtaña* 'pale; faint', *lužaña* 'sad', *nuzmaña* ' sorrowful', *pozaña* 'cloudy; confused', *počaña* 'dry, hard' etc.)

f) The stem-final *-o/-e* may change to *-a* before the suffix: *jolaña* 'flexible, elastic' ← *jolo* 'wicker', *kośkaña* 'dryish; thin' ← *kośke* 'dry'.

**3.4.10.** Few words contain the **-śe, -se** denominal adjectival suffix (Cygankin 1981: 50; 2000c: 152; EK 38; Grammatika 1980: 111).

c) It is attached to stems ending in a vowel: *keľmeśe* 'cold weather; proving to be cold' ← *keľme* 'cold', *ľembeśe* 'warm weather; proving to be warm' ← *ľembe* 'warm', *peškśese* 'pregnant' ← *peškśe* 'full'. After a stem-final consonant, a vowel is added to the suffix (*keveśe* 'proving to be hard' ← *kev* 'stone'), therefore, from a descriptive point of view, the suffix takes up the **-eśe** form. Unfortunately, I could not find any more examples for this.

e) Since I found only one word for the *-se* allomorph, I cannot infer rules concerning when the variant with the non-palatalized consonant is attached.

**3.4.11.** The adjectival suffix ***-do, -da*** is very rare and not productive anymore (the *-do* case ending of the gerund has got the same form) (EK 38; Grammatika 1980: 112; Keresztes 1990: 66; Mészáros 1998: 103; Serebrennikov 1967: 77).

c) The suffix is attached to that root of the base word which ends in a vowel (it is hard to say without a known starting point, whether the base word is a verb or a noun): *čopoda* 'dark' (cf. *čopot'e-* 'to grow dark'), *kalado* 'shaky, tumbling' (*kalavto-* 'to destroy, to tear down'), *štado* 'naked' (*štavto-* 'to strip', *štapo* 'naked') .

**3.4.12.** Complex numerals between eleven and nineteen and between twenty-one and twenty-nine get the ***-je, -vo, -ge*** suffixes in Erzya-Mordvin. Although linguistic handbooks do not define what kind of suffixes these are, from a descriptive point of view they are most likely to be classified as derivational suffixes (Bartens 1999: 118–119; EK 117; Grammatika 1962: 207–208; Grammatika 1980: 241–242; Mészáros 58, 98; Serebrennikov 1967: 114–116).

c) It is directly added to numerals ending in a vowel or a consonant alike, without the addition of a connective vowel: the ***-je*** and ***-vo*** variants are added after vowels (*kevejkeje* 'eleven' ← *kemeń* 'ten' + *vejke* 'one', *kemgavtovo*[5] 'twelve' ← *kemeń* + *kavto* 'two'), while after (voiced) consonant, the ***-ge*** allomorph is used (*kemźiśemge* 'seventeen' ← *kemeń* + *śiśem* 'seven').

d) Back-vocalic stems get the ***-vo*** variant (*kemgolmovo* 'thirteen' ← *kemeń* + *kolmo* 'three', *kemgotovo* 'sixteen' ← *kemeń* + *koto* 'six'), and the suffix appears in the ***-je*** and ***-ge*** forms when a front-vocalic stem precedes it *(kemńiľeje* 'fourteen' ← *kemeń* + *ńiľe* 'four', *kevejkseje* 'nineteen' ← *kemeń* + *vejkse* 'nine'; *kemźiśemge* 'seventeen' ← *kemeń* + *śiśem* 'seven').

**3.4.13.** Another derivational suffix-like element appears in collective numerals. In words like *kavońeńek* 'we two/the two of us', *kavońenk* 'you two/the two of you', *kavońest* 'the two of them'; *kolmońest* 'the three of them' etc., there is the ***-ńe-*** element to be found between the numeral and the possessive ending (*-ńek, -nk, -st)* (Bartens 1999: 121; EK 119–120; Grammatika 1980: 244; Mészáros 1998: 99; Serebennikov 1967: 120–121).

c) The suffix is attached to stems ending in a vowel.

### 3.5. -CCV type suffixes

**3.5.1.** The related Mordvin literature does not treat the ***-mka*** deverbal nominal suffix as a suffix on its own right (Cygankin does not take a stand on this subject either, he only makes mention of the fact that it developed through the contamination of two suffixes, cf. Cygankin 1981: 43–44; 1999: 8–9; 2000c: 148; EK 36–37; Grammatika 1980: 106). Nevertheless, it is advisable to regard this element as an individual derivational suffix, which is relatively productive and is primarily used for the naming of objects (nomen instrumenti, instrument noun).

c) Since it is only used as a deverbal suffix, it is attached to verbal stems ending in a vowel, and examples for connecting to stems ending in a consonant cannot be found: *čaramka* 'spinning top' ← *čara-* 'to spin', *iď emka* 'ransom' ← *iď e-* 'to save', *jozamka* 'wisp' ← *joza-* 'to rub',

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[5] The initial consonant of posterior constituents in compounds, and the first consonant of suffixes assimilates, if the anterior constituent/stem ends in a voiced consonant (e.g. *veďgev* 'mill' < *veď* 'water' + *kev* 'stone'). This partial assimilation is indicated in writing (owing to the 1995 orthographic reform), but dictionaries are not consistent in this matter, and both of the forms appear in them (*veďgev/ veďkev*). As far as numerals are concerned, partial voicing assimilation is always indicated in writing, which affects the *kavto* 'two', *kolmo* 'three', *koto* 'six', *śiśem* 'seven', *kavsko* 'eight' lexemes.

*kortamka* 'conversation, dialogue' ← *korta-* 'to talk', *nalkśemka* 'toy' ← *nalkśe-* 'to play', *nardamka* 'towel' ← *narda-* 'to wipe', *nuŕťamka* 'funnel' ← *nuŕťa-* 'to pour', *ozamka* 'seat, chair' ← *oza-* 'to sit', *pejďemka* 'joke, prank' ← *pejďe-* 'to laugh'.

**3.5.2.** The **-lma, -lmo** nominal suffix can only be found in few words (Cygankin 1981: 42; 2000c: 147; EK 37; Grammatika 1980: 106; Mészáros 1998: 102).

c) It can be stated based on the few examples available that the suffix is attached to stems (passive roots) ending in a vowel without any difficulties: *kuvalmo* 'length' ← *kuva-ka* 'long', *stalmo* 'weight' ← *sta-ka* 'heavy'; *čuďelma* 'bed, channel' ← *čuďe-* 'to flow, to stream', *tustolma* 'concentrate' ← *tusto* 'thick; rich'. I found only one example for the -CC stem-ending, and in this case, the suffix was attached with the addition of a connective vowel: *pokšolma* 'size, extent' ← *pokš* 'big'. For this reason, Mészáros suggests the **-lma, -olma, -lmo** forms for the suffix.

f) The *-lma, -olma* variant is added to stems containing *-o/-e* sounds, the *-lmo* allomorph is used after stems containing the *-a* sound, similarly to the *-mo, -ma* suffix (cf. 3.4.1.)

### 3.6. -CVC type suffixes

**3.6.1.** The **-kaj** is infrequent both as a denominal nominal suffix and as a deverbal adjectival suffix. It is not productive anymore (Cygankin 1981: 47–48; 2000c: 150–151; EK 37; Grammatika 1980: 108).

a) Based on the few examples available, it can be said that the stem-final vowel of the nouns is deleted: *jakśťeŕkaj* 'beetroot' ← *jakśťeŕe* 'red, purple', *paťkaj* 'older sister-in-law (the sister of one's husband)' ← *paťa* 'elder sister', *siŕkaj* 'aunt (the elder sister of one's mother)' ← *siŕe* 'old'. Verbal stems behave in the same way: *keńgeľkaj* 'lying' ← *keńgeľe-* 'to lie', *koľńagaj* 'naughty, mischievous' ← *koľńe-* 'to be naughty; to whine'.

c) The suffix is directly attached to stems ending in a consonant: 'snowdrop' ← *?seń* 'blue', *matkaj* 'mother-in-law (the wife's mother)' ← *mať* 'mother'. – It is possible that the same suffix is susceptible in several plant and animal names the root of which is now a non-existent word: *ćipiŕkaj* 'amaranth'; *kaľďeŕkaj* 'catchfly', *kukońkaj* 'Solomon's seal', *lakštorkaj* 'bluebell', *nunolkaj* '(a type of) hawthorn', *varmańkaj* 'primrose', and also *čemeńkaj* 'cock-pigeon', *noronkaj* 'lark', *piťeŕkaj* 'lapwing', *torkaj* 'lark' (without a firm etymological background, the only certain information about the linking rules of these words is that they are usually attached to stems ending in a consonant).

e) There is also a **-gaj** variant of this suffix: *ćiligaj* 'lapwing', *tingaj* 'bullfinch', *seńkaj ~ seńgaj* 'snowdrop', *peďagaj* 'thistle', *moragaj* 'a person fond of singing' – this variant appears only sporadically, in dialectal forms.

**3.6.2.** The **-gan** suffix is a very rare deverbal suffix (Cygankin 1979: 158; 1981: 50; 2000c: 152; EK 37; Grammatika 1980: 108). Based on the little data we have, the following can be supposed about it:

a) The stem-final vowel may be deleted before it: *ťuŕgan* 'militant' ← *ťuŕe-* 'to fight' (but: *mančigan* 'cheat, fraud' ← *manče-* 'to deceive, to cheat').
b) The last syllable of the stem may be deleted: *avaŕgan* 'weepy' ← *avaŕďe-* 'to cry, to weep'.
c) No connective vowel is added before the suffix.

### 3.7. A -VC type suffix

**3.7.1.** Cygankin (1979: 157–158; 1981: 49; 1999: 9–10; 2000c: 151–152) detects an **-aŕ** suffix in some words (this suffix is probably Russian origin, cf. *библиотекарь* 'librarian', *секретарь* 'secretary', *пономарь* 'sacristan').

c) If this is really a separate suffix and not just a variant of the *-ŕ*, then – after the deletion of the stem-final vowel – it is attached to a stem ending in a consonant: *koknaŕ* 'stammering' ← *kokno-* 'to stammer', *lavgaŕ* 'chattering' ← *lavga-* 'to chat', *zlidaŕ* 'tramping' ← *zlida-* 'to tramp', *nolgaŕ* 'snotty' ← *nolgo* 'snot, mucus'.

## 3.8. -VCV type suffixes

**3.8.1.** In certain Erzya dialects, the *-ina* denominal nominal suffix is used to create tree-names, instead of the *-ks* usual in the standard language (e.g. *umaŕks* 'apple tree' ← *umaŕ* 'apple'). Through a metonymic shift, it took on the meaning 'a place where a certain kind of plant or animal is likely to be found' (Cygankin (1981: 35–37; Grammatika 1962: 40–41; 1967: 67; Serebrennikov 1967: 67).

c) The suffix is attached to stems ending in a consonant: *čevgeľina* 'queen's pincushion' ← *čevgeľ* 'the fruit of a queen's pincushion', *pižoľina* 'sorb tree' ← *pižol* 'sorb', *topoľina* 'an area covered with poplar trees' ← *topoľ* 'poplar', *ćokovina* 'an area where a lot of nightingales live' ← *ćokov* 'nightingale'; *ľomźoŕina* 'bird cherry tree' ← *ľomźor* 'bird cherry', *umaŕina* 'apple tree' ← *umaŕ* 'apple'. The suffix *-ŕina* probably developed from the latter two forms by way of reanalysis: *pešťeŕina* 'hazel bush' ← *pešťe* 'hazel', *sľivkaŕina* 'plum tree' ← *sľiva* 'plum', which is added to stems ending in a vowel.

**3.8.2.** The *-iďe* is a rare suffix forming collective nouns. It is attached to kinship terms. (The related Mordvin literature only gives it in a *-ďe* form, but it would be hard to explain the "dissimilation" of the stem-final vowel in this case). It is always complemented with a possessive ending, and it is always added to the kinship term naming the person older than the speaker (Bartens 1999: 107; Cygankin 1981: 55; Feoktistov 1966: 182; Grammatika 1962: 41; Serebrennikov 1967: 67).

a) The stem-final vowel of stems ending in a vowel is deleted: *paťiďeń* 'my elder sister and other people' ← *paťa* 'one's elder sister/aunt', *ľeľiďeń* 'my elder brother and other people' ← *ľeľa* 'one's brother'.
c) If the *-iďe* form is accepted as the form of the suffix, there are no connective vowels added.

**3.8.3.** The related Mordvin literature (Cygankin 1981: 58–60; 2000c: 154–156; EK 37; Feoktistov 1966: 182, 183; Grammatika 1962: 40; Grammatika 1980: 109–110, 115; Serebrennikov 1967: 69) gives the diminutive suffixes only in a *-ne, -ńe* form (cf. 3.4.3.), foreign authors, however (Bartens 1999: 106; Keresztes 1990: 66; Mészáros 1998: 41) also take up an *-ińe* variant. If we took the *-ne, -ńe* forms as a starting point, the stem-final sound modifications would become unreasonably complicated, this is why the *-ińe* variant is included here as well.

a) This variant is always attached to stems ending in a vowel, and the stem-final vowel is always deleted: *aťińe* ← *aťa* 'old man, uncle (as an address)', *ćorińe* ← *ćora* 'boy', *ejďińe* ← *ejďe* 'child', *eŕkińe* ← *eŕke* 'lake', *kiskińe* ← *kiska* 'dog', *piľgińe* ← *piľge* 'foot', *piľińe* ← *piľe* 'ear', *pizińe* ← *pize* 'nest', *psakińe* ← *psaka* 'cat', *šapkińe* ← *šapka* 'cap', *ťešťińe* ← *ťešťe* 'star', *unžińe* ← *unža* 'bug', *veľińe* ← *veľe* 'village'.
c) Connective vowels are not inserted, if we accept *-ińe* as a valid form.

## 4. Summary

This paper discussed the linking rules of 31 derivational suffixes. Relying upon these findings, the following can be established:

The most important feature determining the linking rules of suffixes is the presence or absence of the stem-final vowel: about 30% of the examples examined, this vowel is deleted (and the

whole syllable is deleted in every sixth of the cases). The presence or absence of a connective vowel is also a crucial factor, since about 25% of the examples are affected by this feature. Vowel harmony and the palatalized or non-palatalized quality of the stem-final consonant are less important factors.

In conclusion, we can say that compared to that of the case endings the linking rules of derivational suffixes are simpler, since there are considerably fewer distinctive features at work through the course of derivation.

On the basis of these criteria, the set of allomorphic variants formerly having been used in the related literature can be modified in the case of seven of the suffixes:

$ń \rightarrow ń, oń, eń$          $će \rightarrow će, eće,$
$v \rightarrow v, ov, ev$          $kśť \rightarrow kśť, ekśť$
$j \rightarrow j, ej$          $ža \rightarrow ža, aža, iža$
          $lma, lmo \rightarrow lma, olma, lmo$

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