

The Erzya-Mordvin continuation of nominal derivational suffixes in the proto-language composed of a single sibilant or affricate

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Abstract

This paper aimed to study and discuss the Erzya-Mordvin suffixes containing primitive sibilants and affricates. As a result of Proto- and Old Mordvin sound changes, namely voicing, palatalization and (de)affrication, the primitive alveolar suffixes (*-s, *-ś and *-ć) evolved into -s, -ś, -z and -ź (and also -c, -č and -č̌ as dialectal variants), while the postalveolars (*š, *č̌) developed into -š, -ž, and -č (dial. -č̌) in the Erzya language. The studied consonants also exist on in a number of -CV type suffixes (-śa, -ča; -ša, -ža and -ča). The Mordvin literature on the topic has only cited a handful of words as examples up until now. With the help of etymological, reverse and other bilingual dictionaries, this essay analysed 75 words. A number of these contain suffixes, and there are elements in some of the others that are likely to be suffixes. A separate section looked into the issue of primitive Iranian loan words and the so-called -kaz, -maz semi-suffixes. Most members of the former group do not contain suffixes, while the existence of the latter has been seriously questioned here.

Keywords: Erzya-Mordvin, nominal derivational suffixes, alveolar and postalveolar suffixes

The Uralic/Finno-Ugric proto-language had a rich set of nominal derivational suffixes, as virtually all the then-existing consonants of the language could function as derivational suffixes. According to Lehtisalo's still relevant monograph on derivational suffixes (1936), it were only the δ , δ' and γ sounds that were not used as means of derivation, and the rest of the consonants (p , t , k ; w , j ; s , $\acute{s}$, $\acute{c}$, $\acute{č}$; l , l' , r ; m , n , $\acute{n}$, η) were all functional as derivational suffixes. This exceptional richness of the derivational system was preserved in later eras and in secondary, tertiary etc. proto-languages as well. These suffixes originally had some kind of a diminutive-augmentative function and it was only later, in course of time that their functions became more and more separate and refined.

Part of the Mordvin suffixes still has transparent meanings; certain suffixes, however, became obscure as early as in the Proto-Mordvin or even earlier times. Primitive nominal derivational suffixes are relatively scarcely discussed in the

literature of Mordvin linguistics, this is why these elements are only briefly mentioned in this paper. Examples are equally rare for these suffixes, and what is more, due to the lack of trustworthy etymological dictionaries, inaccurate or mistaken derivations have also been published (for further information about Mordvin etymological dictionaries see Keresztes 1986b, Maticsák 2013: 55–59, Zaicz 1986, 1999, 2011).

For this reason, material from etymological dictionaries (ESE, EtV, ESM) and the etymological attempts of Mordvin authors could only be of use for the purposes of this study moderately. Because of the numerous misanalyses and misinterpretations, I was bound to point out misconceptions in the literature during the description of the primitive suffixes. I also made efforts to correct these on the basis of trustworthy etymological dictionaries (UEW, SSA, Md-Kons etc.), with the help of material from related languages. Furthermore, this paper attempts to create new etymologies as well, but only prudently. Experience shows that much remains to be done in the field of the historical study of Mordvin suffixes (and Mordvin etymological studies in the wider sense).

Here, I classify suffixes that are not productive anymore and are only traceable through etymological methods as obscured suffixes. I differentiate between the following groups of obscured suffixes in Mordvin (for further information, see Maticsák 2012: 106–110): a) primary suffixes (with a simple C structure): *-v*, *-l/-l'*, *-r/-r'*, *-s/-ś*, *-š*, *-z/-ž*, *-ž*, *-c/-ć*, *-č*, *-m*, *-n/-ń*, *-t/-t'*; b) suffixes with -CV structure: *-ča*, *-ša*, *-ža* etc.; c) suffixes with CVC (complex) structure: *-gan*, *-kaj*, *-zej* etc. Some of these suffixes are latent in a relatively large number of lexemes (such suffixes are the *-v* and the *-r/-r'*), but others are only to be found in the etymology of a handful of words. Part of the suffixes is identical with the relevant adjectival derivational suffixes. As far as semantic classification is concerned, obscured suffixes are frequent in plant and animal names. (About the chronological layers of suffixes see Mosin 1989: 42–60, 67–87, 2001: 90–94; Saarinen 1999: 3–5; Zaicz 1988: 401–402.)

The current paper attempts to map the correlations of those nominal derivational suffixes of the proto-language that contained sibilants or affricates. In Proto-Mordvin, the principal dividing line was drawn not between sibilants and affricates, but alveolar and postalveolar sounds (for details, see below); this is why it seems logical to use this kind of classification for our purposes. Based on Lehtisalo's work (1936), the following suffixes existed in the proto-language: a) alveolar suffixes: **-s*, **-ś*,¹ **-ć*; b) postalveolar suffixes: **-š*, **-č*. Complex suffixes (*-kc*, *-kuu*; the former is one of the most frequent present-day suffix; the latter is a relatively rare one) are not discussed here, because that topic is substantial enough on its own to be the subject matter of further essays.

¹ Lehtisalo classifies **ś* solely as an adjectival suffix.

The Mordvin literature on the topic devotes little attention to historical linguistic issues connected with suffixes and to obscured forms; therefore, the suffixes in question are also rarely discussed (even the comprehensive handbook titled *Грамматика мордовских языков* ignores them). In one of his early essays (1977: 12), Mosin mentions the *-аз (-ез)* suffix-form. His examples are: *ви́рез* 'lamb', *ривезь* 'fox', *нерьгаз* 'skunk, badger', *метьказ* 'lizard', *озяз* 'sparrow', *сараз* 'hen'; with some other examples from related languages, but without etymological explanation. In his 1989 lecture notes he writes about the words *ривезь* and *кавесь* 'jar, crockery', along with *кренч* 'raven', *куманжа* 'knee', *курьця* 'water-carrier rod', *липу́жа* (a term of textile manufacturing, see below), *лова́жа* 'bone', *невинця* 'chop, chaff'² (1989: 43, 45, 46). In a further paper (2001: 91, 94), he also refers to the lexemes *у́рос* 'orphan' and *ки́заске* 'piglet born in the preceding summer' (which latter one I was able to find only in Moksha, cf. MdWb 654).

Cygankin's monograph on derivational suffixes (1981: 54) mentions the *лова́жа* 'bone' and *лау́жа* 'wooden lath for the unravelling of yarn threads' nouns together with some *-жа* suffixed adjectives. At the same place, he discusses the *ве́жаске* 'little finger', and the *кечка́ске* 'hook', *о́зяске* 'sparrow', *и́рдеске* 'rib', *ривеске* 'fox', *у́ськаске* 'couch grass' words in connection with the suffix *-с* (after removing the diminutive from the latter words, we get *кечка́з*, *о́зяз*, *и́рдез*, *ривезь(ь)*, and *у́ськаз*). Furthermore, he refers to the river name *Ту́ндаске* and the personal names *Пи́жаске*, *Сы́ресь*, *У́чес*, *Су́дос* and *Пи́лесь*. In his 2006 lecture notes, he cites the words *ве́нч* 'boat', *лова́жа* 'bone' and *пе́нч* 'spoon' as examples for obscured suffixes (his term for the notion is "integrated suffix"; 2006: 30).

In his book about historical morphology (1967: 71), Serebrennikov classifies the *-каз (-газ)* element as a "semi-suffix" (полусуффикс; his examples are: *метьказ* 'lizard', *верьгаз* [correctly: *нерьгаз*] 'badger, skunk'). Cygankin (1981: 19) uses the *полуаффикс* definition for the same category (for details, see Maticsák 2005: 13–14); and together with other suffixoid elements that evolved from individual words, he classifies the *-маз* ending into this category. His examples for this are the common nouns *ке́чемаз* 'hook' and *ня́ркамаз* 'wormwood' and the pagan names *Пине́мас*, *Валго́мас* and *Кече́мас*.

Thus, we can see that only two dozens of common nouns and proper names are mentioned in the literature. This paper aims to study these and several other words that contain a sibilant or an affricate (more or less provably) functioning as a suffix. The principal source of the database was the Mordvin reverse dictionary (RDM).

² This is a Russian loan (SSA 2: 62; ESM 283), as Mosin himself points out later (2001: 94).

1. Alveolar suffixes: *-s, *-ś, *-ć

1.1. Their origin and variants

a) The *-s suffix of the proto-language is present in an obscured form in Finnish nouns like e.g. *eväs* 'food, nutrition', *kangas* 'sandy waste', *koiras* 'male', *kunnas* 'hill, high ground', *lipas* 'crate, box', *lounas* 'southwest', *mätäs* 'bog, tussock', *naaras* 'female', *nauris* 'turnip', *patsas* 'post, column', *pensas* 'bush', *ratsas* 'steed', *ruumis* 'body', *uros* 'male', *valas* 'whale', *äyräs* 'lakeside, riverside, waterfront' etc. The relevant adjectival suffix is identical: *ahdas* 'narrow, tight', *ahnas* 'greedy, eager', *hidas* 'slow', *karvas* 'bitter', *paljas* 'naked', *puhdas* 'clear, pure', *raskas* 'heavy', *reipas* 'agile, brisk', *runsas* 'abundant, ample', *valmis* 'ready', *valpas* 'alert, attentive' etc. (Hakulinen 1979: 136–137). According to Lehtisalo's examples (1936: 191–194), this suffix is also present in Sami (NS *vuoras* 'alt', *guoros* 'leer') and in minor Finnic languages. It is a diminutive and adjectival suffix in Mari (KB *əðəräš* 'Mädchen' < *əðər* 'Tochter', *iäš* 'jährig' < *i* 'Jahr') and in Permic languages: Komi *ares*, Udm. *ares* 'jährig' < *ar* 'Jahr' (see also A. Kövesi 1965: 293–305, 315–318). Lehtisalo does not provide examples from the Ugric branch. The E *tširas* 'dem Kopf von Natur Schief ist', M *vəras* 'der Name des Mannes, der im Walde geboren ist', M *məškas* 'leinerer Weibermantel', M *kopas* 'aus Knollen ausgehöhlte Schlüssel' examples are mentioned from Mordvin.

b) According to Lehtisalo (1936: 196–198), the primitive *-ś adjectival suffix is difficult to mark off from the *-ć suffix. He considers the latter the continuation of the former: NS *-ěś*, Mari *-ža*, *-žä*, Udm. *-(e)ś*, *-(i)ś*, *-(i)ś*, Komi *-(e)ś*, *-(i)ś*, *-(i)ś*, Mansi, Khanty *-s*, Hung. *-sz*, Nen. **-śa + j*. (See furthermore Györke 1934: 23–24; A. Kövesi 1965: 321–335, 352–356; OFUJa 353.) From Mordvin, he lists the following examples: M *kizaś* 'einjähriges Lämmchen', E *kizaś-ke* 'im vorigen Sommer geborenes Ferkel' < *kizä*, *kize* 'Jahr'; E *kaftaś-ke* 'zwillinge' < *kafto* 'zwei', M *kolmaśt* 'drillinge' < *kolmä* 'drei', E *vežaś-ke* 'kleiner finger' < *veža* 'kleine' (where *-ke* is a diminutive, *-t* is a plural suffix). (In the last two examples, *-ś* is an ordinal suffix.)

c) Lehtisalo (1936: 205–212) and OFUJa (337) traces back the Finnish *kam-mitsa* 'tether, clog', *karitsa* 'lamb', *kurmitsa* 'plover' (see also Hakulinen 1979: 141) and the NS *-oš*, Mari *-čə*, *-čä*, Udm. *-čj*, Mansi, Khanty *-ši*, Hung. *-s*, *-csa/-cse*, *-ás/-és*, Nen. *-ćz* suffixes to the **-ć³* suffix in the proto-language. Lehtisalo mentions the E *kurtśa*, M *kərtśe* 'Schulterjoch (zum Wassertragen)' lexeme and the *-tśa* agentive nominal suffix from Mordvin (*vanjťśa* 'Beschützer, Hüter, Erzieher, Hirt', *eritśa* 'Bewohner, Einwohner', *kiřďitśa* 'Beherrscher') (Lehtisalo 1936: 207–208; see also Györke 1934: 29–30).

³ The OFUJa also takes up the *) variant secondarily.

The correspondences, however, are much more difficult than Lehtisalo suggested, and due to the tendencies that radically transformed the Proto-Mordvin and Old Mordvin system of consonants, these suffixes have multiple equivalents in present-day Mordvin. Three kinds of sound changes affected these elements in Proto- and Old Mordvin: voicing, palatalization and affrication/deaffrication.

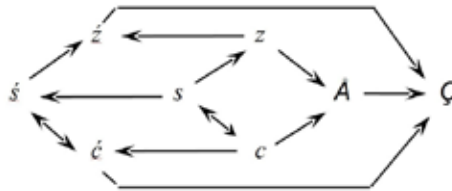
a) Voiced – voiceless correlation. This tendency first appeared word-internally. Similarly to stops, short sibilants became voiced in an intervocalic position, cf. *-s-* > *-z-*, *-ś-* > *-ž-*: FV **kesä* ‘summer’ > mdE *kize*, **pesä* ‘nest’ > *pize*, **sugarz* ‘sister’ > *sazor*; **kaśz-* ‘to present’ > *kaže-*, **piśä* ‘raindrop’ > *piže-* ‘to rain’. After the deletion of word-final vowels in the Proto-Mordvin/Old Mordvin era, the voiced consonants thus ending up in a word-final position made the succeeding sounds voiceless, and this way the voiced-voiceless correlation spread on to word-initial sounds as well. Naturally, not all of the voiceless consonants fell victim to this sound change and in most of the cases, the *s* remained untouched, e.g. FV **sorme* ‘finger’ > mdE *sur*, **sōlā* ‘salt’ > *sal*, **sōkse* ‘worm’ > *suks*, **sukse* ‘ski’ > *soks*; **śawe* ‘clay’ > *śovoñ*, *śorwa* ‘horn’ > *śuro* etc. (For details, see: Keresztes 1987: 72–81; 2011: 38–39, 41–43, 47–50.)

b) Another important sound change was palatalization. In the Finno-Ugric proto-language, a palatal correlation existed among dentals, but in the Finno-Volgaic era, a powerful tendency of depalatalization began (as a result, soft consonants completely disappeared from Finnish). A different kind of change took place in Mordvin, however, where palatalization began to be a more and more predominant tendency, first word-internally, then word-initially as well. Part of the present-day palatal sounds is ancient heritage (see e.g. the examples for word-initial *ś-*), while others appeared due to the influence of *j* (FV **neljä* ‘four’ > *ñil’e*, **peljä* ‘ear’ > *pile*). In Old Mordvin, it was vowel harmony that began to determine the quality of consonants: they usually turned soft when accompanied by palatal vowels (FV **tälwä* ‘winter’ > *t’e’le*, **täštä* ‘star’ > *t’ešt’e*). (For details, see: Keresztes 1987: 159–180; 2011: 50–54.) In some of the suffixed/suffixoid examples, the *-s* of the proto-language seems to appear in a palatalized form.

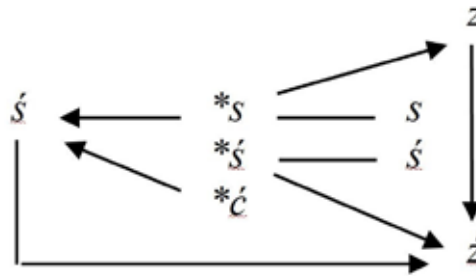
c) In Proto-Mordvin, the strict dividing line was drawn not between sibilants and affricates, but alveolar and postalveolar sounds. The word-internal *-ć-* either remained intact (FV **ućä* ‘uncle’ > M *oćä*) or was transformed into *-ś* (**śećamä* ‘seven’ > *śisem* / *śisäm*); then the same happened word-initially: **ćappz-* ‘to clap’ > EM *ćapa-*, **ćäjärz* ‘shin’ > *šejeř* / *šäjärř*. The situation is further complicated by a difference between Erzya and Moksha: E *šango* / M *ćangə* ‘fork’ (< FV **ćangə*), E *śil’ge* / M *ćil’ge* ‘verruca, molluscum’ (< **śükl’ä*); and even some (sub)dialectal variability is observable: *ćaraχman* ~ *šaraχman* ‘hail’ (MdWb 161), *ćibil’ik* ~ *śibl’ak* ‘valance, bed-hangings’ (169), *jarcams* ~ *jarsams* ‘to eat’ (497), *lovco* ~ *lovso* ‘milk’ (1067) – Erzya; *ćil’ci* ~

śil'ci 'woodpecker' (173), *ćora* ~ *śora* 'boy' (186) – Moksha. This variability also appears in suffixes: *keł'se* ~ *keł'ce* 'tongue-Iness.', *mońś* ~ *mońć* 'I myself', *mol'ś* ~ *mol'ć* 'to go-Praet3Sg'; *kudonzo* ~ *kudonzo* 'house-Px3Sg', *keď'enze* ~ *keď'enze* 'hand-Px3Sg'. The first one is the present-day Erzya standard form, and it preserves the primitive form, while the other is a dialectal variant; which means that compared to the changes described above, here the sibilant was primary. (For details, see: Keresztes 1987: 78–81, 144; 1988: 207–213; 2011: 21). – I could not find any examples for the *-c/-ć* suffix in the present-day Erzya standard, and the *-cV* type also seems to be infrequent. The *nanapeзь* 'tadpole' (see below) *накарець ~ мокорець* form exists as a dialectal variant.

The above described sound changes can be illustrated and summarized as follows:



As far as suffixes are concerned, the **-s* of the proto-language a) remained intact, b) was transformed into *-ś* after palatalization, c) was transformed into *-z* after voicing in the Erzya (later standard) language. The **-ś* either remained intact or went through a voicing process and became *-ź*. This *-z* could also be turned into *ź*. The **-ć* (if it existed at all) did not survive – it was turned into *-ś*.



All things considered, the former alveolar suffixes of the proto-language appear in the present-day Erzya standard as four *-C* type suffixes: *-s*, *-ś*, *-z*, *-ź* (*-c*, *-ć* and *-ǰ* only exist as dialectal variants), and in addition, *-CV* type suffixes (*-śa*,

-ča)⁴ can also be found in a couple of words. Since these suffixes could have evolved in a number of ways due to the above described sound changes, alveolar suffixes are to be discussed in one common category hereinafter. This method is also justified by the fact that the suffixes appear in various dictionaries both in voiced and voiceless forms: the comprehensive Erzya–Russian dictionary (ERV) usually uses voiced forms, while in Paasonen’s (Latin-letter) comprehensive dialectal dictionary, the entries are usually voiceless forms, e.g. *ви́рез* (ERV) ~ *vi’res* (MdWb) ‘lamb’, *ир’дез* ~ *ir’d’es* ‘rib’, *кам’браз* ~ *kambras* ‘skeleton’, *каряз* ~ *ka’ras* ‘spine, backbone’, *кашмаз* ~ *kaštas* ‘wreath’, *кечказ* ~ *kečkas* ‘hook’, *лапаз* ~ *lapas* ‘eaves, roof’, *ливезь* ~ *l’iveś* ‘sweat, perspiration’, *ривезь* ~ *riveś* ‘fox’, *сараз* ~ *saras* ‘hen’, *уроз* ~ *uros* ‘orphan’ etc.⁵ The entries used in the paper are from ERV – these are the present-day standard forms.

Hereinafter, this paper attempts to clarify the status of the sibilants appearing in primitive (mainly Iranian) loans; then the earlier mentioned semi-suffixes are discussed, the Erzya words susceptible of containing suffixes are surveyed, and finally, the “suffix-looking” forms are listed.

1.2. The evidence of loan words

There are a strikingly large number of Iranian-origin lexemes among those members of the primitive vocabulary that end in *-c/-z*. In some of these, the word-final sibilant had already existed in the language of origin as well, therefore it does not make sense to talk about any Finno-Ugric or Mordvin suffixes there (a). In other words, on the other hand, it is impossible to say whether the consonant was added to the stem in the language of origin, in the Finno-Ugric proto-language or in Proto-Mordvin (b).

⁴ Cygankin (1976: 99; 1981: 50; Grammatika 1980: 111) takes up a *-ce*, *-cə* nominal suffix as well. His examples are predominantly dialectal: *лембесе* ‘обладающий теплом, теплый’ < *лембе* ‘тёплый’; *кельмесе* ‘обладающий холодом, холод’ < *кельме* ‘холодный’; *кевесе* ‘обладающий твердостью’ < *кев* ‘камень’; *пешксесэ* ‘беременная’ (ERV 475) < *пешксе* ‘полный’; *пачалксе* ‘блин’ (ERV 462). These, however, seem to be adjectives rather than nouns, and in Vershinin’s opinion, the latter word evolved from the *пачалго* ‘frying pan’ + *кши* ‘bread’ compound (ESM 337). – Based on this, there is no reason for considering this element a nominal suffix.

⁵ This alternation is present in the case of other sounds as well, e.g. *тапад* ~ *тапам* ‘branch’.

а) верьгиз⁶ 'волк' (ERV 127); 'farkas' (EMSz 87); 'susi' (ESS 29); *verges* 'волк / Wolf' (MdWb 2625). Iranian loan that was adopted in the Finno-Permic era: FP **warkas(e)* ~ **werkas(e)* 'Wolf' > Udm. *vargas*, Komi *varkIs*. Its point of origin is the Proto-Aryan **v́rkas* > OInd. *v́rkah*, Av. *vəhrka-* (Rédei 1986: 62, cf. furthermore Joki 1973: 342; MdKons 187; EtV 32). According to Vershinin (ESM 49), it may be analysed into an *вурь* 'forest' stem and a *-zas* suffix, but this is merely a folk etymological attempt.

керьяз 'соты' (ERV 257); 'lép (méheknél)' (EMSz 158); 'hunajakenno' (ESS 68); *ke'as* 'пчелиный сот / Honigwabe' (MdWb 723). Joki (1973: 268) considers it to be of Iranian origin, together with the Udm. *karas*, and Mari *karas*, *kārās* words: ? < OIr. **kāras*, cf. Latv. *kāres*, Lith. *korỹs* etc. (but he does not exclude the possibility that the Mordvin and the Mari words are Baltic loans). Following Räsänen – but in opposition with Paasonen's opinion (1897: 37) – he classifies the Tat. *kārās* 'Waben' lexeme a Finno-Ugric (?Mari) loan. This may be an international loan word. (See furthermore: ESM 138.)

пуриуз 'поросёнок' (ERV 529); 'malac' (EMSz 308); 'porsas' (ESS 135); *purcos* 'поросёнок / Ferkel' (MdWb 1849). An Iranian loan of the Finno-Volgaic or Finno-Permic proto-language, cf. Fi. *porsas*, Est. *porsas*, ?Udm. *parś*, Komi *porś* < FV/?FP **porśas* 'Schwein, Ferkel' < Proto-Aryan **porśos*, cf. Av. *pərəsō*, Latv. *porcus*, Lith. *pařsas* etc. (Rédei 1986: 56; see also Joki 1973: 303; MdKons 125; EtV 154; SSA 2: 400).

тарваз 'сепп' (ERV 646); 'sarló' (EMSz 361); 'sirppi' (ESS 166); *tarvas* 'сепп / Sichel' (MdWb 2282). An Iranian origin word, cf. Proto-Aryan **dhargas/darghas* (> OInd. *taravāriA* etc.) (Joki 1973: 325; Rédei 1986: 60; MdKons 164).

наз 'бор' (ERV 450); 'isten' (EMSz 265); 'jumala' (ESS 113); *paz* 'бор; счастье / Gott; Glück' (MdWb 1560). Iranian loan, cf. Indo-Eur. **bhāgos*, OInd. *bhāgaḥ*, Av. *baga-* (Russ. *бог*) etc. It was probably adopted to Mordvin in the **paγas* form, which developed into *наваз* (*навас*) in Moksha, while in Erzya, the palatovelar fricative was deleted (Joki 1973: 301; Rédei 1986: 55; MdKons 106; EtV 131).

⁶ 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 [ERV]), 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 Komi etymological dictionary by Lytkin–Guljaev (KESK), Vershinin's more or less trustworthy and new Mordvin etymological dictionary (ESM) and the earlier published dictionaries of Cygankin and Mosin (EtV) were used as information sources.

уроз 'сирота' (ERV 697); 'árva' (EMSz 398); 'orpo' (ESS 179); *uros* 'сирота / Waise' (MdWb 2468). Its Finno-Ugric base form is **orpa(s)* ~ *orwa(s)*, cf. Fi. *orpo*, NS *oarbes*, Hung. *árva*. It is an Iranian loan of the proto-language, cf. Pre-Aryan **orbho(-s)*, Skr. *árbha-* etc. (Joki 1973: 297; Rédei 1986: 46; MdKons 177; UEW 343; EtV 197; SSA 2: 272). A primitive suffix of the language(s) of origin seem to have been preserved in Mordvin (and Sami).

The following loans do not contain Mordvin suffixes either:

кардаз 'двор, хлев' (ERV 235); 'udvar' (EMSz 141); 'piha' (ESS 63); *kardas* 'скотный двор вообще / Viehhof im allg.' (MdWb 617). Baltic loan, cf. Latv. *gārdas*, Lith. *gardas* (Vasmer 1: 530; Feoktistov 1975: 340; Zaicz 1998: 213; the data in EtV 61 are partly incorrect).

керезь 'чан; квашня' (ERV 255); 'kád, dézsa' (EMSz 157); 'sammio, amme, tiinu' (ESS 67); *ke'és* 'чан, кадка, короб / Kübel, Bottich, Schachtel' (MdWb 724). Vershinin (ESM 135) connects the word with the verb *керь-* 'to cut', and also with the M *керы* 'sharp' adjective. However, Paasonen's (hypothetical) suggestion seems more plausible: he considers it an Arabic loan: *kūrâz*, *kürrâz* 'Flasche, Krug mit enger Öffnung' (MdWb 724). It, again, may be an international loan word.

лияназ 'лён' (ERV 214); 'len, házilen' (EMSz 207); 'pellava' (ESS 87), *il'anaz* ~ *l'ijanas* ~ *l'anas* ~ *lanaz* 'лён / Flachs, Lein' (MdWb 452). Vershinin (ESM 214) dismisses the theory that etymologizes the word from the Russian 'flax' (Paasonen does not mention Russian origin either) (cf. Vasmer 2: 30). It makes somewhat more sense to trace it back to the primitive *ли-*, *ил-* descriptive stem, but this is also just speculation. Gábor Zaicz (1970: 53) suggests a Baltic origin (cf. Lith. *linnas* 'flax'), in which case the word does not contain a suffix. (See also in EtV 97.)

b)

вирез 'ягнёнок' (ERV 136); 'bárány' (EMSz 93); 'karitsa, vuona' (ESS 31); *vi'reś* 'ягнёнок / Lamm' (MdWb 2665). Mosin (1977: 12) – following the FUV (139) – compares it to the Fi. *varsa* 'foal, colt'. The EtV (35) considers it Iranian origin (OIr. **wara*, Persian *vapa* [*vara?*], *vare*). Feoktistov (1975: 340) also classifies it Iranian, etymologizing it from the Av. *varəšna* 'мужественный, мужской [manly, male]' word. According to Rédei (1986: 62), the early Proto-Aryan **vrsā* (cf. OInd. *vṛṣā* 'Mann, männliches Tier', Persian *gušn* 'Männchen, Zucht tier', Latin *verrēs* 'Eber', Lith. *veršis* '(Ochs)kalb', Latv. *vērsis* 'Ochs, Stier') was adopted in the FP/FV proto-language in the **warsa* 'Männchen; Fohlen, Füllen, Kalb' form, and it lives on in present-day Finnish (*varsa*) and Estonian (*vars*), meaning 'foal, colt' (cf. also SSA 3: 412, with

other Finnic examples). Most probably led by phonological principles, Rédei did not classify the Mordvin word to this family.

сараз 'курица' (ERV 568); 'tyúk' (EMSz 323); 'kana' (ESS 146); *saras* 'курица / Henne, Huhn' (MdWb 1952). Vershinin takes it to be of Iranian origin (ESM 395), but he does not support his claim with anything. From the works studying the Indo-European and Finno-Ugric contact, Joki (1973: 310–311) is the one who discusses the word and classifies it as Iranian, after comparing it to the Neo-Persian *sār*; *sārak* 'Star', OInd. *śāriḥ* 'ein best. Vogel', *śārikā* 'Maina, Gracula religiosa', dard *šārak* 'a talking bird, blackbird' words. Rédei (1986) does not mention it however, and neither do the comprehensive works in their chapters on loan words (Feoktistov 1975: 337–343; Bartens 1999: 14–16; Keresztes 2011: 111–118). – Mosin (1977: 12) cites it as an example, but without etymological explanation. On the basis of either Joki or the animal name analogy, it is possible that the word contains a *-s* denominal noun suffix.

урдес 'ребро' (ERV 216); 'borda' (EMSz 128); *ir'des* 'ребро / Rippe' (MdWb 465); *урдекс* 'kylkiluu' (ESS 58). A word of Finno-Permic origin: **ertä* 'Flanke, Seite' > NS *ær'te*, Mari *ördäž*, Udm. *urd*, *urdes*, Komi *ord-lj*, *ordes*. It is probably an early Proto-Aryan loan (**erdhas/*erdha-*), cf. Av. *arəda-*, OInd. *árdha*, Ossetian *ærdæg* (MdKons 42; UEW 625; EtV 53). The UEW regards the Mordvin *-s* element as a suffix. In Rédei's opinion (1986: 50), the words containing *-s* (Mordvin, Mari, Udmurt, Komi) are earlier forms, while the ones without *-s* are younger loans (Sami, Udmurt, Komi; based on the Iranian *s > h* > FP *Ø* sound changing tendency). Vershinin's (ESM 88) etymology (~ Sami. *ēpесь* 'other', Komi *ēpm* 'companion, fellow', Nen. *юрэ* 'приятель, companion') is not acceptable. The *урдекс* form of the word is probably a younger variant (which supports the suffixoid nature).

ривезь 'лиса' (ERV 551); 'róka' (EMSz 315); 'kettu' (ESS 142); *riveš* 'лисица / Fuchs' (MdWb 1923). A word of Finno-Ugric origin: **repä(ćz)* 'Fuchs' > Fi. *repo*, Est. *rebane*, ?NS *riebân ~ rievân*, Mari *rəwəž*, Udm. *žičj*, Komi *ruć*, Hung. *ravasz*, *róka* (MdKons 127; UEW 423; EtV 157; SSA 3: 65). It is most likely an Iranian loan. The UEW compares it to the Skr. *lopāśá-*, Av. *urupi*, Saka *ruvāsa-*, and Pehlewi *rōbāh* words. According to the authors, the two forms of the word with and without a **ćz* denominal noun suffix existed side by side in the Finno-Ugric era. Rédei (1986: 46) takes the Pre- or early Proto-Aryan **reupōšo-* form to be the base form (similarly to SSA 3: 65): which, however, suggests that the word-final *-CV* element is not a Finno-Ugric suffix. The suffix in this word was palatalized to start with.

1.3. The status of semi-suffixes

As a second step in the analysis of the concrete examination material, let us discuss whether the *-каз* and *-маз* "semi-suffixes" exist in Erzya-Mordvin.

This is necessary because, as it could be seen above, the literature on the topic states something like that in relation to the *нерьгаз*, *метьказ*, *нарькамаз* and *кечемаз* words.

нерьгаз 'барсук' (ERV 410); 'borz' (EMSz 244); 'mäyrä' (ESS 102); Paasonen takes the examples only from Moksha in a *närgas* 'барсук / Dachs' form (MdWb 1378), cf. *нярьгаз* (MRV 427). Mosin (1977: 12) relates this word to the Fi. *nirkko*,⁷ and Est. *nirk* 'weasel' words. The EtV (199) also classifies the Mari *нерге* 'skunk, badger' here as well, and offers the FV **nirka* as the base form and point of origin. He is somewhat inconsistent, however, as he takes the *нерь* 'beak, nose, trunk' lexeme to be the base word of *нерьгаз* (this goes back to Serebrennikov's claim⁸), as it is a bit problematic to connect the 'badger' meaning with 'beak'. Furthermore, the UEW (303) excludes the Finnish and Estonian forms from the word family of *нерь* (FU **nere* 'nose, beak, trunk' > Sami, Mari, Mordvin, Udmurt, Komi, Khanty and Samoyed equivalents) due to phonological reasons, and the SSA (2: 223) does not provide Finno-Volgaic comparisons either. Vershinin (ESM 287) hypothesises a connection with the above mentioned Mari *нерге* 'skunk, badger' and the Fi. *mäyrä* 'skunk, badger'. The relatedness of the latter two has already been an issue earlier (SKES 3621), but the SSA regards the Finnish word as German origin (< **marpraz* 'pine-marten'). – The analysis by Serebrennikov and the EtV is unacceptable, and therefore the existence of a *-газ/-каз* form suffix is highly questionable. The most we may hypothesise is a *-з* suffix, if we acknowledge the relatedness of the Mordvin and the Mari words.

метьказ 'ящерица' (ERV 381); 'gyík' (EMSz 228); 'sisilisko' (ESS 94); *met'kas* 'ящерица / Eidechse' (MdWb 1253). Mosin (1977: 12) includes the word in his work without any etymological explanation, with the following analysis: *метька-з*. Serebrennikov (1967: 71) suggests a *-каз* suffix at the end of the word, like in *нерьгаз* (which is a mistaken approach, as could be seen above). Vershinin (ESM 249) uses the same analysis, but he associates the first element of the word with the M *мть-* word-beginning (cf. *мтькольди* 'tadpole', *мтьколде-* 'to twist, to wreath', *мтькълдей* 'restless, unruly', *мтьколь тикше* 'broom-bush') – but this is only a folk etymological attempt. As the existence of neither the *меть-* stem nor the *-каз* suffix can be proven through other examples, this theory remains mere speculation. – It is concei-

⁷ In Finnish, the word *nirkko* has two different meanings: 'mountain-top, summit, peak,' and 'weasel'. The SKES (2: 385) does not exclude the possibility of relation between the two meanings: the animal name may have been coined after the longish, tapering shape of the animal's body. The SSA (2: 223) does not dismiss this theory, but it is a bit sceptical in connection with it.

⁸ „Обращет на себя внимание также полусуффикс неизвестного происхождения *-каз*, обнаруживаемый в таких словах, как *met'-kaz* 'ящерица', *vet'-gaz* 'барсук' и. т. д.” (1967: 71).

vable, however, that there is a *-з* denominal noun suffix in the word, similarly to other animal names.

нярькамаз 'попынь' (ERV 402). Its other, more generally used form in Erzya is **нартемакс** (ERV 402); 'üröm, fehérüröm' (EMSz 240); 'maruna, pujo' (ESS 100); **nařt'imks** 'попынь / Wermut' (MdWb 1332), but see **М нярькамаз** (MRV 426). According to Cygankin (1981: 19), the word contains a *-маз* semi-suffix (полусуффикс) the meaning of which is 'similar to sb/sg, possessing sg'. The word **кечемаз** is a similar example (see below).⁹ The EtV (115) takes the primitive **nar-* stem to be the etymon of **нартемакс**,¹⁰ comparing it to the Fi. *näre* 'young spruce', and Komi, Udm. *ńer* 'stick, faggot' words. The UEW (331), however, only considers the Mansi, Khanty and Hungarian (*nyír*) equivalent of the Ug (?U) *ńırz* 'Rute, junger Schößling' word to be certain, while it regards the Mari, Zyrian, Udmurt and Samoyedic forms as uncertain. It does not categorize the Finnish word here, and ignores the Mordvin variant completely (since it is obvious that it does not fit here semantically). Paasonen traces back the **нартемакс/няркамас** forms to the Chuvash word *nargmçš* (MdWb 1332)¹¹, cf. present-day Chuv. *наркăмăш* 'яд, отравă' (Skvorcov 1985: 252). – On the basis of this, it seems obvious that the 'hook-like' or 'stick-like' meanings cannot be associated with this word. Thus, there is no suffix in it (if the Chuvash is correctly taken to be a starting point here).

кечемаз. Cygankin (1981: 54) included this word (that he recorded in Matjushkino village in the Samara area) in his paper as a dialectal variant of the standard word **кечказ** 'hook'. The word **кечказ** has a *-з* suffix in it (see below). As this word does not appear in any other dictionary, one single dialectal oc-

⁹ Cygankin also mentions the *Пинемас, Валгомас, Кечемас* personal names from the pagan times. There really is a *-мас* suffix in these, cf. *пине* 'dog', *валго-* 'to set (sun)', *кече* 'ladle'. There are several theories about the origin of this suffix. One is rather a folk etymologic hypothesis than a theory. This says that it had evolved from the *Кече Маска* 'Maska's spoon' and *Пине Маска* 'Maska's dog' structures, then the element *-ка* was taken to be a diminutive and it was deleted (this explanation is very clearly refuted by a lack of the genitive suffix and the reverse order of the possessive structure: *маскань кече*). Another hypothesis is that the *-ма* deverbial noun suffix (cf. *валго-* 'to set' > *валгома* 'sundown') and a *-с* suffix merged in this suffix. This is how the *Валгомас* form emerged, and then through analogy (cf. e.g. the *Валгомас ~ Валговат* name pair) the *-мас* suffix was clipped from the word. This could also be enhanced by the existence of the *м* element in names like *Кема-с, Колма-с* or *Рама-с*, with a shift of morpheme boundaries (Nadjkin 1973: 109–110). If this latter hypothesis is true, then *-мас* is a cumulative suffix. As opposed to this, Vechkanova (1985: 135) applies an analysis where the suffix comes from an individual word, meaning 'an entirety of objects, a certain relation to a group of people (family, clan)', and thus *-мас* could have been used for the expression of kinship in personal names. This theory is very much weakened by the fact that he seems to find the traces of the above mentioned "individual word" in the Erzya **кечемаз** 'hook' and the Moksha **кярьмаз** 'raceme, cluster' words.

¹⁰ See also incorrectly: Grebneva 1978: 34. He uses the following analysis: *нар-* stem, *-т-* and *-н-* verbal suffixes, *-ма-* deverbial noun suffix, *-кс* denominal noun suffix.

¹¹ However, he does not mention it in his monograph on Turkic loans (1897).

currence is not enough to draw solid conclusions about the status of a suffix. See also the notes about the *Кечемас* personal name in footnote 9.

1.4. The following words most probably contain a suffix

вежаське 'мизинец' (ERV 118); 'kisujj' (EMSz 80); 'pikkusormi' (ESS 26); *вежаске* ~ *vežaške* ~ *vežaške* 'мизинец / kleine Finger' (MdWb 2642). The word can be traced back to the *веж-* stem, meaning 'little, young', cf. *вежава* 'the youngest married woman in the family' (*ава* 'married woman'), *вежурьва* 'the youngest son's wife' (*урьва* 'daughter-in-law'), *вежкель* 'throat-flap, uvula' (*кель* 'tongue') (MdWb 2638–2639), and the word *вешка* ~ *вишка* 'little, small' also belongs to this word family, cf. also Fi. *vähä* 'little' < FV **wäšä* (MdKons 187; SSA 3: 478). The SSA (3: 478) regards the word in question as a compound, and divides it into the *vež-aške* elements. This analysis is refuted by the fact that the *aške* form cannot be found in any other dictionary. Another possible theory is that the *веж-* stem takes up an *-ась* denominal noun suffix and a *-ке* diminutive.

кечказ 'крючок' (ERV 258); 'horog, kampó' (EMSz 158); 'koukku, haka' (ESS 68); *kečkas* 'крючок / Haken' (MdWb 671). According to the EtV (69), it can be originated from the *кечке-* stem that is also the base word for *кичкере* 'curved, crooked', *кичкергадо-* 'to bend, to get crooked'; *кечкере-*, *кечкерде-* 'butt, gore, poke'. It is connected with the *кичкере* word in Cygankin's monograph as well (1981: 54). *Кичкере* (~ Fi. *kehkerä*, Mari *kəškär*) goes back to the Finno-Volgaic times, cf. FV **kečke-rä* 'rund, krumm' (UEW 655; SSA 1: 335). If we accept the semantically plausible etymology ('curved, crooked' > 'hook') then the word-final *-з* is a suffix.

копас *kopas* 'миска, сделанная из наплыва' (MdWb 854). This word occurs only in one source, and Paasonen considers it to be the derivative of *копо* 'ковш, сделанный из наплыва на стволе дерева / Kelle, gew. aus einem Baumknoren gemacht'. Thus, there probably is an *-ac* suffix in the word (see also ESM 164).

меняс 'налим' (ERV 378). Another word for it is the Russian origin *ментюк* 'налим' (ERV 377; EtV 107); '(folyami) menyhal' (EMSz 227). On the basis of this, *-ac* seems to be a suffix.

мияз 'ость (ржи, пшеницы)' (ERV 385); 'kalászsálka, toklász' (EMSz 230); 'vihne' (ESS 95). Vershinin (ESM 255) connects it with the word *муюк*, which means the same (ERV 395, EMSz 236) and also exists in the *тужок*, *тижок*, *муик* dialectal variants (MdWb 1294). In Paasonen's opinion, this is an adoption of the Tat. *mâjâk* / Chuv. *mâjâx*. However, Vershinin compares it to the Mari *вой* 'ость'. Either it is Finno-Volgaic or Turkic origin, the *мияз* form probably contains a suffix.

мушказ 'грыжа' (ERV 395); 'sérv' (EMSz 236); *muška* ~ *muškas* 'грижа / Bruch' (MdWb 1301). Paasonen hypothetically connects it to the Russ. *мышка* 'muscle' word, but this theory does not hold. The word is of Finno-Volgaic origin: **muška* 'Knollen, Knoten, Beule' > Fi. *muhka*, Est. *muhk* (UEW 705; SSA 2: 173). As evidenced by the related languages and Mordvin dialectal variants, -з is a denominal noun suffix. (See also EtV 112; ESM 267.)

озяз 'воробей' (ERV 433); 'veréb' (EMSz 258); 'varpunen' (ESS 108); *ožas* 'воробей / Sperling' (MdWb 1487). A word of unknown origin. Vershinin (ESM 310) conveys the suggestion that the *оз*- stem of the word may have carried the 'little, weak' meaning sometime earlier, but his evidence – the *веж*-form of the word *вишка* 'little' occurring in prefixes (see under the *вежаське* entry) – is unacceptable for phonological reasons. The suffix-like nature of -з is strengthened by the fact that it has an *озака* variant as well (ERV 433; ESS 108; ESM 310), in which the -ка is a primitive denominal noun suffix (that is etymologically unrelated to the present-day -ка diminutive).

рудаз 'грязь' (ERV 558); 'sár; piszok, szenny, mocsok' (EMSz 318); 'lika, kura' (ESS 143); *rudas* 'грязь, кал / Schmutz, Kot' (MdWb 1905). Paasonen originates it from the Russ. *руда* 'dirty' (cf. *рудить* 'beschmieren', Vasmer 2: 544). The KESK (241) compares it to the Komi *родӧг*, Udm. *родӧк* 'неопрятность, грязь', Mari *рӱдангше* 'ржавчина' words (see also EtV 158; ESM 388, 472; 158). Both analyses are compatible with the presence of a suffix in the word.

уьсказ 'пырей' (ERV 700); 'tarackbúza' (EMSz 400); 'juolavehnä' (ESS 180); *uškas* 'вид пирея / eine Queckenart' (MdWb 2485). Paasonen discusses this word under the *уьске* 'wire, cable; chain' entry as a subentry of it, thus referring to their relatedness. Vershinin (ESM 465) does not include this possibility, but also compares the word to the Udm. *узы*, and Komi *оз* 'земляника' words (explaining the connection with the fact that both plants grow long tendrils – this reasoning can be considered as folk etymology). – If we accept the analysis with the word 'wire' (which may be supported by the meters long and branching stolons?), then the -з can be regarded as a suffix (cf. also EtV 199).

In the words above, a palatal sibilant functions as a suffix:

кизась *kizaś* 'поросёнок прошлой лета' (ERV 792); 'поросёнок прошлой лета / im letzten Sommer geborenes Ferkel' (MdWb 792). Its base word is *кизэ* 'summer', therefore the suffix here is the -ась element again. See also Lehtisalo 1936: 196.

телясь *t'e'l'aś* 'поросёнок прошлой зимы' (MdWb 2387). The base word is *теле* 'winter', so the suffix is -ась likewise.

курся 'кормысло' (ERV 318); *vízhordórúd, välljárom* (EMSz 190); *kore-nto* (ämpäriä varten)' (ESS 80); *kuřca* 'кормысло / Tragstange, Schulterjoch zum Wassertragen' (MdWb 974). The SKES (218) confidently relates it to the Fi. *korento* '(carrying) rod' and other Finnic equivalents, the SSA (1: 402) uncertainly does so (ld. még MSzFE 2: 300; MdKons 73), while the UEW does not mention it at all. The Finnish *-nto* element is a suffix (cf. *korilo* '(carrying) rod'). The Mordvin *-śa* is a denominative noun suffix.

1.5. Words with unknown origin or uncertain etymology – uncertainty about the presence or absence of suffixes

*камбраз*¹ 'скелет' (ERV 230); *'csontváz*' (EMSz 138); *'luuranko*' (ESS 62); *kambras* 'позвоночник у птиц / Rückgrat bei Vögeln' (MdWb 591). The word is regarded by the EtV (59) as Finno-Volgaic and is related to the Est. *kamm* 'comb; spine'. This is incorrect, because the Finnish word, similarly to the Fi. *kampa* lexeme, is of Scandinavian origin, cf. OldNorse *kambr*, OldSwedish *kamber*, Swedish *kam*, German *Kamm* (SSA 1: 295). Vershinin looks upon it as a descriptive form (ESM 103).

*камбраз*² 'седло' (ERV 230); *'nyereg*' (EMSz 138); *'satula*' (ESS 62); *kambras* 'седло / Sattel' (MdWb 591). Vershinin puts it in one common entry with the word *камбраз*¹ (ESM 103).

карьмаз 'соплодие орехов, плюска' (ERV 238); *'összetett termés* (pl. dióé)' (EMSz 143); *'kaksoispähkinä*' (ESS 64); *kařmas* 'грань; зонтик, кисть / Nusschlaube; Dolde, Traube' (MdWb 727). Vershinin (ESM 113) suggests that this word contains a *-маз* complex suffix. However, some of his attempts on finding the base word fail (*карь* 'moccasin', М *карькс* 'bundle, batch; yarn'). The first one is semantically impossible, while the second one goes back to the FU **kär̥* 'binden, schnüren, fädeln', with Mari, Komi, Udmurt, Mansi equivalents (UEW 139); cf. MdE *керькс* 'string, garland'. He also conveys the suggestion that the word can be related to the *zap-* (< *kap-*) stem of *ведь/гаришка* 'water-chestnut' (which is not impossible) or the anterior constituent of the Mari *карлангы* 'empty head of hemp; hard shell (of walnut)'. Paasonen offers a completely different analysis: he puts it in the *керьме* 'пучок; гнездо / umbundenes Bündel, Garbe; Paar von zusammengebundenen Badequästen (Zweigbündeln)' entry in his dictionary. In this case, *-з* is a suffix.

карыз 'спина; позвоночник' (ERV 238); *'derék; gerincoszlop, hátgerinc*' (EMSz 143); *'selkä(ranka)*' (ESS 64); *kařas* 'спина; позвоночник / Rücken (untere Teil); Rückgrat' (MdWb 632). Vershinin (ESM 113) separates a *-яз* [*-аз*] suffix from the end and considers *карь* to be a descriptive stem (and in his opinion, the Moksha *каряна* 'strong' word has the same stem). This explanation is quite laboured, but at the same time, the presence of the *-з* suffix is possible (cf. *камбраз* 'skeleton').

каштаз 'венок' (ERV 241); 'koszorú' (EMSz 145); 'seppele' (ESS 65); *kaštas* 'троицын венок / Kranz, den man zu Pfingsten zu binden pflegt' (MdWb 645). A word of unknown origin. Vershinin's attempts on its analysis (~ Udm. *кышет, кишот* 'платок', Коми *кышны* 'обить, обшить', *кишӧд* 'верх') are not convincing (ESM 119).

лапаз 'навес' (ERV 331); 'eresz, lapos tető, fedél' (EMSz 199); *lapas* 'лабаз; охотничья вышка на дереве; шалаш из жердей, покрытый соломой / Schutzdach; Hochsitz auf einem Baume; eine aus Stangen hergestellte, mit Stroh u. dgl. bedeckte Hütte' (MdWb 1024). Paasonen regards it as a Russian or Turkic loan, but according to Vershinin (ESM 199) it was adopted into Russian (*лапаз*) from Mordvin, and into Chuvash (*луназ* 'сарай; шалаш; хижина') from Mari, cf. Mari *лапас, лонас* 'навес, сарай'. Vershinin hypothetically connects here the Коми *лобӧс* 'кладовая при охотничьей избушке', Sami *lūpps* 'место для посуды и продуктов', Est. *lõõv* '(длинный) навес, шалаш' words as well. According to Vasmer (2: 1), the Russian word *лапаз* is Komi loan. – If this etymology was correct, that would require us to acknowledge the presence of a suffix in the Mordvin word.

ласьказ 'козлец кистевидный' (ERV 332). Vershinin (ESM 202) connects it to the *laške* 'съедобное растение; анис / eine essbare Pflanze; Anis' (MdWb 1028) word that Paasonen also includes in his work. In this case, -з may be a suffix. (Its tendency to appear in plant names also supports this.)

мезяс *mežas* 'крот / Maulwurf' (MdWb 1253). A word of unknown origin, only Paasonen gives information about it. However, the fact that it is an animal name makes the presence of a suffix in it possible.

покас *pokas* 'нижний конец позвоночника / die untere Wirbelsäule' (MdWb 1720). Only Paasonen includes it in his work. It is of unknown origin (ESM 372).

поназ 'мёд' (ERV 498); '(rég) méz; virágméz' (EMSz 293). Vershinin (ESM 375) suggests that the stem is *нон-* and he attributes the 'bee' meaning to it, comparing it to the Mari *pəngäs* 'to drone, buzz (bee)' and Udm. *бунгетыны* 'to drone, buzz'. This analysis is semantically erroneous, therefore the word should be classified as unknown origin.

пувоз 'рой (пчелиный)' [méhraj] (ERV 524). Paasonen labels his data Erzya, but the words *puwās, puvās* 'рой (пчёл / Schwarm (von Bienen)' [E: Kal, E: Nask] are likely to come from a mixed dialect (he collected them in village Kaljajevo of Tengushevo district and village Naskaftim of Shemishejskovo district, in the Penza area), cf. mdM *puvās* (MdWb 1868). According to Vershinin (ESM 380), it is a descriptive word (but the comparison with the word *пуворда-* 'to turn over sg' does not hold). The presence of a suffix is possible.

сятказ 'дикий лук' (ERV 639); 'käenrieska' (ESS 164); *śatkaz* 'дикий чеснок / Knoblauch (wild); дикий лук / Schnittlauch' (MdWb 2093). A word

of unknown origin. Vershinin (ESM 427) suggests a relatedness with *сятко* 'spark', but this does not seem correct semantically.

тырдаз 'дрозд' (ERV 684); 'rigó (Turdus)' (EMSz 389); *tīrdas* 'дроздик / Drossel' (MdWb 2292). The EtV (191) considers it as Indo-European origin, and traces it back to the Proto-Slavic **trozdъ* form, but it does not state whether it is a Russian or a primitive loan (cf. Vasmer 1: 372). If it is not a loan word, it may contain a suffix (being an animal name).

уряс *ur'as* 'вид уток; болотная птица / eine Entenart; Sumpfvogel' (MdWb 2472). A word of unknown origin, mentioned only by Paasonen. As it is an animal name, the presence of a suffix is possible in it.

The words below contain a palatal sibilant as suffix. The ones in velar phonetic environment probably go back to a primitive **-ś*, while in the case of palatal phonetic environment the origin is uncertain.

ливезь 'пот' (ERV 341); 'izzadság, verejték, veríték' (EMSz 205), 'hiki' (ESS 85); *liveś* 'пот / Schweiss' (MdWb 1147). Vershinin (ESM 211) separates a *лив-* stem and relates it to the *лем* 'suet, fat' (FU 'Saft, Suppe') word, which means that he must assume the presence of a *-з* suffix. He supports his reasoning with Estonian examples: *leem* 'soup' – *leemendama* 'to sweat'.¹² This analysis is phonetically quite feasible.¹³

маразь 'вяз' (ERV 362); 'szil(fa)' (EMSz 218); 'vuorijalava' (ESS 90); *maras* 'ильм; ясень / Ulme, Rüster, Feldrüster; Esche' (MdWb 1179). Vershinin (ESM 232) takes the *-азь* element to be a suffix, but his attempts on finding an etymology are not acceptable for phonological and/or semantic reasons: it is not related to either the Hung. *nyár* (cf. ?U **ńor* 'Sumpf', UEW 324), the Md. *морзо* 'tree-branch; knot, knurl, gnarl' or the *маро́ж, марч* 'orache' words. – Thus, the word must be classified as of unknown origin, but as it is a plant name, there may be a *-зь* suffix in it.

мекердезь '(миф) чудище' (ERV 373). A word of unknown origin (ESM 238).

напарезь 'головастик' (ERV 456). Vershinin (ESM 324, 333) considers it as a phonetic variant of *накарець* ~ *мокорець* (ld. ERV 387, 450), cf. *накарясь* 'головастик / Kaulquappe' (MdWb 1505). It is of unknown origin, but as it is an animal name, the presence of a suffix is possible.

напсь: *piñeñ papś* 'ягода, плод крушины / Faulbeere, Frucht des Faulbeerbaumes' (MdWb 1539) (*piñe* 'dog'). Only Paasonen mentions this word.

¹² According to the Estonian monolingual dictionary: '1. sg steamy, mucous or shiny (e.g. cellar, oily complexion, fatty soup); 2. to sweat (in a sauna, in summer, of work etc.)'.

¹³ The *m > v* sound change is observable in Hungarian as well: FU **leme* > *leve-*, U **nime* > *név* (UEW 245, 305).

Vershinin suggests that it may come from the Russian *боб* 'bean'. If this is the case, the *-š* is probably the suffix of the nominative of the definite declension.

сенксъ 'цапля' (ERV 580); 'kócsag, gém' (EMSz 329); 'haikara' (ESS 150); *śeŋks* 'цапля / Reiher' (MdWb 2136). The origin of the word is unknown. Vershinin's suggested analyses (MdM *сенди* 'sedge, bulrush'; and Mari *čüngaš* '(bird) to peck') do not hold (ESM 399).

цивця 'донник белый, лекарственный' (ERV 724); 'somkóró, orvosi somkóró' (EMSz 411); *ćifća* '?донник / Honigklee, Steinklee' (MdWb 170). According to Vershinin (ESM 477), it is a blend of the word *цеця* 'flower' and the onomatopoeic stem *цивтёр-* (*цивтёрдо-* 'sparkle, shimmer, shine', *цивтёрк* – a word meaning sparkle, shine) – but this is not supported by any facts. Plant names often include primitive suffixes, so this might be the case here as well.

2. Postalveolar suffixes: *š, *č

2.1. Origin of the suffixes, variants

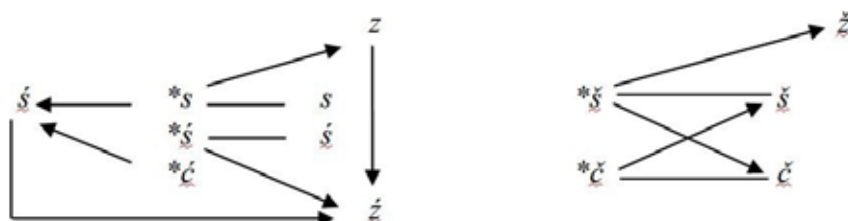
a) The primitive **-š* suffix – On the basis of Lehtisalo's work (1936: 222–226), it is traceable in Sami (NS *vǎnās* 'cumba; baad', *garanas* 'corvus cornix'), in Finnish (*vene* 'boat' < **veneh*), *ori* 'stud, stallion' (< **orih*), *perhe* (< **per-eh*) 'family', and – of the minor Finnic languages – perhaps in Mari (*kurnuz*, *kurnuž* 'Rabe'), Udmurt (*kırnǰž* 'Rabe', *l'ömyš* 'Kirsche') and Komi (*doryš* 'Seite, Kante'). In Mordvin, he classifies here the *-š* (*u'řeš*, *uraš* 'Schwägerin', *-č* (*krenč* 'Rabe', *penč* 'Löffel', *venč* 'Kahn') and *-ža/-žε* (E *lovaža* 'Knochen', *lapuža* 'flach, fläche', M *pâlmañžε* 'Knie') suffixes. The same element appears in the complex suffix *-ку*.

b) According to Lehtisalo (1936: 232–233), the *-č* suffix of the proto-language has no continuation in Mordvin – it is traceable only in Khanty, Udmurt, Komi and perhaps Mansi. He also notes that the primariness of *š* and *č* is difficult to establish (see the passage about the Mordvin variability below).

The postalveolar sibilant developed on in two kinds of ways in Mordvin. One was voicing: *š* > *ž* (FP **jiša* 'skin' > *jožo*), the other was affrication: *š* > *č* (palatalization had an effect only in some of the dialects, but the standard language does not have a palatal postalveolar consonant). The relationship of postalveolar sibilants and affricates was difficult in Mordvin (as well). In Proto-Mordvin, the dividing line was not very distinct (similarly as in the case of alveolars above), their development could coincide: FP *čoša* 'barley' > E *čuž*, *šuž* / M *šuž*; FU **šiŋere* 'mouse' > E *čejeř* / M *šejər*. In word-internal positions, presumably the following developments took place: *-š-* > *-ž-*, *-č-* > *-š-* > *-ž-*; and *-č-* > *-čč-* > *-č-*, ?-*čč-* > *-šš-* > *-č-* (for details, see Keresztes 2011: 47–50). There is some variability observable in present-day Erzya and Moksha forms, e.g. E *čačo* ~ M *šač* 'face', *čačoms* ~ *šačoms* 'to be born',

čalgams ~ *šalgams* 'to step on', *čavo* ~ *šavə* 'empty', *čirə* ~ *širə* 'side, shore, bank', *čuvto* ~ *šuftä* 'tree' etc.

The sound changes of postalveolar suffixes show a simpler picture than those of the alveolars:



All things considered, the former postalveolar suffixes of the proto-language appear in the present-day Erzya standard as three *-C* type suffixes: *-š*, *-ž*, *-č* (*-ž* appears as a variant on the dialectal level), while the *-ša*, *-ža*¹⁴ and *-ča* are *-CV* type suffixes. It could be seen in the case of the alveolar suffixes that the various dictionaries apply different transcription methods. There is some variability here as well: *алуж* (ERV) ~ *aljš* (MdWb), *уряж* (ERV) ~ *uráš* (MdWb); *кайгарпи* (ERV) ~ *kajgarč* (MdWb), *керпи* (ERV) ~ *kerč* (MdWb). The forms given below are from ERV.

2.2. Words containing primitive suffixes, based on data from related languages

венч 'лодка' (ERV 125); 'csónak, ladik, hajó' (EMSz 85); 'vene' (ESS 28); *venč* 'лодка, баржа / Boot, Kahn' (MdWb 2617). A word of Finno-Volgaic origin: **wene-še* 'Boot, Kahn' > Fi. *vene*, Est. *vene*, NS *fânâs*. The **se* element was presumably added to the stem in the Finno-Volgaic period (MdKons 186; UEW 819; EtV 32; SSA 3: 425). Vershinin's suggestion to relate the word to *пенч* 'spoon' is not acceptable (ESM 47).

кренч 'ворон' (ERV 302); 'holló' (EMSz 182); 'korppi, kaarne' (ESS 77); *k'renč* 'ворон / Rabe' (MdWb 898). A word of Uralic origin: **kʁrnz* 'Rabe' > Fi. *kaarne*, Est. *kaaren*, NS *gārânâs*, Mari *kurnâž*, Udm. *kjrnjž*, Komi *kjrnjš*, Nen. *χarŋe?*. The word-final consonant of the Mordvin, Sami and Permic words is a suffix (UEW 228; EtV 81; SSA 1: 266).

кумажа 'колено' (ERV 313); 'térđ' (EMSz 187); *куманжа* 'polvi' (ESS 80); *kutaža*, *putaža* 'коленка / Knie' (MdWb 950). Its Moksha equivalent is *плманжа* (MRV 496). The *кумажа* form evolved from an earlier **putanža*

¹⁴ It is identical with the adjectival suffix: *алкажа* 'a bit short/small' < *алка* 'short; shallow', *лембежа* 'warm' < *лембе* 'warm', *нолажа* 'slippery, slimy' < *нола* 'juice, liquid, fluid', *сэняжа* 'bluish' < *сэнь* 'blue' (Lehtisalo 1936: 226–227; Serebrennikov 1967: 77; Bajushkin 1977: 75–78; Grammatika 1980: 114; Cygankin 1981: 54–55).

lexeme by way of dissimilation. Its base word is the Uralic **polwe* 'Knie', cf. Fi. *polvi*, NS *bul'vâ*, Mari *pul-wuj*, Nen. *pŭlī* etc. The Mordvin *-ža* and *-nža* are suffixes (MdKons 123; UEW 393; SSA 2: 392; ESM 313, 382).

ловажа 'кость'; csont (EMSz 207); 'luu' (ESS 87); *lovaža* 'кость; труп / Knochen; Leichnam' (MdWb 1066). A word of Uralic origin: **luwe* 'Knochen' > Fi. *luu*, Mari *lu*, Udm.-Komi *lj*, Mansi *lo*, ?Hung. *láb*, Nen. *lī* etc. The *-ža* suffix was probably added to the word when the Mordvin language had started its separate path (MdKons 81; UEW 254; SSA 2: 114; ESM 215)

печ 'ложка' (ERV 470); 'kanál' (EMSz 278); 'lusikka' (ESS 118); *penč* 'ложка / Löffel' (MdWb 1612). A word of the Finno-Ugric proto-language: **peñ* 'Löffel' > Udm. *puñj*, Komi *pañ*, Khanty *pěñ*. The Mordvin *-č* is a suffix (UEW 372).

чавача 'сойка' (ERV 734), *čavača* 'сойка; дрозд / Häher (Garrulus glandarius); Drossel' (MdWb 224). The KESK (102) connects it to the Komi *жонь* 'снегирь' and ?Mari *шынгырцэ* 'скворец', restoring a primitive **šɣɣz-* form. On the basis of this, the Mordvin *-ча* can be considered a suffix (see also ESM 484).

кедьланиш *ked'lapš* 'ладонь / (innere) Handfläche' (MdWb 1026). Its present-day standard forms are *кедь лапа* and *кедь куника* 'palm' (ERV 246; EMSz 149; ESS 66). The word *ланиш* exists as an individual word in Moksha, meaning 'flat, plain', and its Erzya equivalent is *ланужа*. The word can be traced back to the Uralic **lapp* 'flach, platt Fläche' form, cf. Fi. *lappea*, NS *lap'pād*, Mari *lap*, Udm. *lap*, Komi *lop*, Khanty *läpsək*, ??Mansi *lop*, Hung. *lapos*, Sam. *lapcā-*. In Mordvin, *-ža* and *-š* are denominal suffixes (MdKons 76; UEW 237; EtV 91; the SSA 2: 48 connects the Finno-Volgaic, Finno-Permic and Ugric data only hypothetically to the Baltic Finnish words).

левиш 'мочало' (ERV 334); '(áztatott, puhított) faháncs' (EMSz 200); '(liotettu) niini' (ESS 84); *levs* 'мочало / (zerfaserter) Lindenbast' (MdWb 1119). A word of Finno-Volgaic origin (although the UEW includes the here listed items only hypothetically): **lemšz* (*leme-šz*) > Fi. *lehmus*, Est. *lõhme*, Mari *nemeštä*. The *-šz* suffix might have been added to the word in the Finno-Volgaic period, therefore it is primitive heritage in the Mordvin language (UEW 688; SSA 2: 58; EtV 92).

2.3. The following words most probably contain a suffix

кажварч 'крот; хомяк' (ERV 224); 'hörcsög' (EMSz 133); '(maa)myyrä' (ESS 61); *kažvarč* 'крот; хомяк / Maulwurf; Hamster' (MdWb 666). The Mordvin language has a few, somewhat similar expressions for this rodent: the Russian origin *гарбуш* 'hamster', *карбуж* 'mole' (Vasmer 1: 530: *карбыш*), *кайгарш* / *кайгарч* 'gopher, souslik' and *кажварч* 'mole; gopher'. Vershinin (ESM 94)

does not exclude some kind of blending or mixing between all these words. See *норовжорч* for the ending of the word (cf. also *кайгарш*.)

марч 'лебеда; щирница запрокинутая' (ERV 364); 'laboda, parěj' (EMSz 219); 'maltsa' (ESS 90); *marč* 'лебеда / Melde, Gartenmelde' (MdWb 1179). On the basis of material by Daľ, Vershinin (ESM 233) traces it back to the Russ. *марь, мара* 'лебеда разных видов' words. In this case, *-ч* may be a suffix. The etymology in EtV (102) is incorrect, since the Fi. *maltsa*, Est. *malts* 'goose-foot' is a Germanic loan (cf. SSA 2: 144). Grebneva's etymological attempt (1987: 35; *мар* 'кучка земли, холмик, курган' + *-ч* suffix – with the explanation that orache often grows on wet mounds) is unacceptable.

норовжорч 'жаворонок' (ERV 418); 'pacsirta' (EMSz 248); 'leivonen, kiuru' (ESS 104); *norovžorč* ~ *norovčorč* ~ *norožorks* ~ *norončorks* etc. 'жаворонок' (MdWb 1350). A compound word with the *норов* (*норо, норонь*)¹⁵ first constituent. The second constituent is of unknown origin. According to Vershinin's opinion, it is onomatopoeic, but his analyses offered (mdM *жора* 'waterfall', or. *журчать* 'to gurgle, to babble; to murmur') are not plausible semantically (ESM 233). The second element of the word-final consonant cluster is likely to be a suffix because it is an animal name. The *жорч* ~ *жоркс* variants also support this assumption. The Moksha *маржорж* has a similar structure.

алуж 'друг, приятель' (ERV 45); 'barát, szerető, kedvese vkinek' (EMSz 349); *aljs* 'любовница; товарищ, приятель(ница) / Freundin, Geliebte; Kamerad(in), Freund(in) (MdWb 34). Vershinin (ESM 12) thinks it possible that the word evolved from *алья* 'man, young man', and in this case, there is a suffix to be found in it.

ведяш *ved'aš* 'водяной / irgendein Wassergeist' (MdWb 2592). Its base word is *ведь* 'water', therefore the *-аш* element may be a suffix in it. It is also possible, however, that this is a suffix appearing in personal names.

кайгарш 'суслик' (ERV 225); 'ürge' (EMSz 134); *кайгарч* 'siiseli' (ESS 61); *kajgarč* 'крот / Maulwurf' (MdWb 572). Vershinin (ESM 95) divides the word into a *кайг(a)-* stem and a *-арш/-арч* suffix. He considers the stem to be

¹⁵ *норов* 'зерно, хлеба / Getreide' (MdWb 1351); 'хлеб' (ERV 418); 'corn, grain crop' (EMSz 249); 'vilja' (ESS 104). Grammatika (1980: 107) etymologizes the word from *нор* 'meadow, field'. According to the ESE (65), it is related to the Fi. *nurmi* and Est. *nurm* 'lawn' lexemes. The EtV (121) also regards the Skolt-Sami *нурр* 'young' and the Mari *ныр* 'field' as belonging here. These analyses do not hold from the semantical point of view, though (cf. SSA 2: 242). Vershinin's note (ESM 295) about the Udmurt and Mari words being related to the archaic Russian *нузить* 'to cook' is also unacceptable. – In fact, the word *норов* has Finno-Permic roots. The UEW (710) connects the Mordvin word with the Komi *nur* 'ripe grain' lexeme, restoring a FP **norx* 'Getreide(korn)' form. Besides the Komi word, the KESK (196) also compares it to the Udm. *нур-нур* (*пöзьыны*) 'to cook/boil (to a pulp)' and – hypothetically – to the Mari *ныргеишташ* 'to cook (pasta)' as well. These suggestions are not adopted by the UEW for semantic reasons. All things considered, it is statable on the basis of the FP reconstructed lexeme that the Mordvin word contains a *-v* suffix, but its base word is not the 'field, meadow' word that Cygankin and others suggest.

onomatopoeic and connects it with *кайгу-*, *зайгу-* 'to ring, jingle, (re)sound' (his justification is the whistling cry of hamsters). This is quite an implausible explanation. *кажварч* 'крот; хомяк / Maulwurf; Hamster' (ERV 222; MdWb 666) is a remarkably similar word (see above).

керш 'левый' (ERV 256); 'bal' (EMSz 157); 'vasen' (ESS 68); *kerč* 'левый / link' (MdWb 714). The EtV (68) regards it as of Baltic origin and compares it to the Lith. *kairus* and Latv. *keiris* 'left'. Vershinin (ESM 136) suggests relatedness with the Fi. and Est. *kura* 'left' – the SSA (1: 446) does not add the Mordvin equivalent to this word family (as it is not related to it phonetically). The Moksha word *керкиш* means 'left-handed' (MRV 251). If the *-киш* element can be considered a suffix, then it is conceivable that the word *керш* is dividable to a *кер-* stem and a *-ш* suffix.

кирьгаши 'бусы, бусинка' (ERV 267); 'nyaklánc, nyakék' (EMSz 164); *kiřgaša* 'снизи бус у женщин / am Halse auf der Brust getragenes Perlennetz bei Frauen' (MdWb). The base word is *кирьга* 'шея / Hals'. The suffixoid nature of *-ша* is provable by further members of the word family on the one hand: *kiřgaška* 'нитка бус у женщин / am Halse getragenes Perlenband der Frauen, Perlenschnur' (MdWb), *кирьгава* 'женское нагрудное украшение из монет, цепочек и бус' (ERV), *кирьгашке* 'kaulanauha' (ESS 69), and with the Moksha correspondence on the other: *керьгаз* 'старинное нагрудное украшение мокшанок' (MRV 251) (see also ESM 147).

липужа 'линейка (между верхним и нижним настилами, разделяющая основу ткани)' (ERV 344); *lipuža* 'цены (между настилами основы) / eines von den Brettern zwischen den Aufschlagfäden (am Webstuhl)' (MdWb 1138). The word also has a *lipiš* variant. The SKES (298) connects it with the Fi. *lippi* 'suppilomainen tuohinen juoma-astia' and the Md. *lipuža* 'loimilankojen välinen ohut lasta, tiuhtavarpa', but the SSA (2: 80) does not. The meaning in SKES does not occur in any other dictionary (and even its source is unknown for lack of references). Vershinin (ESM 313) prudently suggests that it may have some connection to the word *ливо* 'два слоя нитей, расположенных с одной сторны мотовила и перевязанные нитой' (ERV 341). If this suggestion is correct, then *-ža* is probably a suffix.

уряж 'невестка; тётя' (ERV 698); 'sógornő (a báty felesége)' (EMSz 399); 'kály, vanhemman veljen vaimo' (ESS 180); *uřaš ~ uřeš* 'невестка; жена старшего брата жены / Schwägerin, Frau des Bruders; Frau des älteren Bruders der Frau' (MdWb 2470). Its base word is *уря* 'невестка' (MdWb 2469; EtV 198; ERV 698). (The word also has an *виреш*, *виряш* variant; ERV 136, 137.) The suffix *-ш* may have been a diminutive originally.

2.4. Words with uncertain etymology – uncertainty about the presence or absence of suffixes

кальмаша 'купальница европейская (многолетнее травянистое растение)' (ERV 229). A word of unknown origin. It does not appear in etymological dictionaries. As it is a plant name, it may contain a suffix.

келянч 'небольшой моток ниток' (ERV 251); *kel'enšt* 'моток ниток наплацах / Faden in einem Fingersträhnchen' – its derivatives contain a -ч-: *келенча-*, *келенчавкс* (MdWb 689). A word of unknown origin (ESM 130).

лаужа 'мутовка' (ERV 333); 'habaró, keverő, habverő'; 'härkin, hämmen-nin' (ESS 83); *lavža* 'разливательная ложка, мешалка / kleines „Ruder“, das anstatt des Schaumbesens' (MdWb 1038). Cygankin (1951: 54) attributes the 'деревянная планка для разводки ниток' meaning to it. Paasonen relates it to *lapuža* 'flat, plain'. Vershinin (ESM 203) separates a -жа suffix and he classifies the stem as onomatopoeic, comparing it to the Udm. *лөб-* (*лөбыръюны* 'взбивать, пушить, рыхлить') stem. It is difficult to judge on the basis of this example, whether this etymology is correct or not.

люкша 'гречиха' (ERV 355); *lukša* 'гречиха; просо, пшено / Buchweizen; Hirse' (MdWb 1151). A word of unknown origin, not appearing in etymological dictionaries. As it is a plant name, there may be a suffix present in it.

одажа 'мать-и-мачеха'; 'капустные листья' (ERV 430); *odaža* '1. бледный / bleich, blass; 2. сыщенный капустный лист для выпекания пирогов и хлеба / getrocknetes Kohlblatt, auf dem man ungesäuerte Kuchen und Brote backt; 3. какое-то растение / irgendeine Pflanze' (MdWb 1425). (These may be two separate lexemes.) Vershinin's attempts on finding an etymology (ESM 307; Md. *од* 'new', Mari **одо-*: *одешташ* 'to turn grey', *одыгол* 'pike-perch') are not acceptable. As it is a plant name, it is conceivable that -жа is a suffix.

понажа *ponaža* 'птицеловный снаряд / ein Fanggerät für Vögel' (MdWb 1746). Paasonen refers to a possible connection between the two words with a "Vgl. *pona*" notation at the end of the dictionary entry (*pona* 'hair, wool, fur'), but the exact semantic relationship is not clear.

ракиша 'конь, лошадь' (ERV 536); 'állat; jószág, barom; ló' (EMSz 311); 'karja, eläin' (ESS 137); *rakša* 'конь / Ross' (see also *rikšä* 'лошадка / Pferd', MdWb 1878, 1920). Vershinin considers it to be onomatopoeic (ESM 387).

3. Conclusion

This paper aimed to study and discuss the Erzya-Mordvin suffixes containing primitive sibilants and affricates. As a result of Proto- and Old Mordvin sound changes, namely voicing, palatalization and (de)affrication, the primitive alveolar suffixes (*-s, *-ś and *-č) evolved into -s, -ś, -z and -ž (and also -c, -č and -ž as dialectal variants), while the postalveolars (*š, *č) developed into -š, -ž, and -č (dial. -ž) in the Erzya language. The studied consonants also exist

on in a number of *-CV* type suffixes (*-śa*, *-ća*; *-ša*, *-ža* and *-ča*). The Mordvin literature on the topic has only cited a handful of words as examples up until now. With the help of etymological, reverse and other bilingual dictionaries, this essay analysed 75 words. A number of these contain suffixes, and there are elements in some of the others that are likely to be suffixes. A separate section looked into the issue of primitive Iranian loan words and the so-called *-kaz*, *-maz* semi-suffixes. Most members of the former group do not contain suffixes, while the existence of the latter has been seriously questioned here.

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