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THE OBJECTIVE CONJUGATION OF THE VERBS IN THE PRESENT (FUTURE) TENSE IN ONE OF THE MIXED MORDVIN DIALECTS

The dialect of the village Staroje Semejkino (Krasnojarsk District of the Kujbyšev Region) is the result of the interaction of the two related Mordvin languages. However the Erza base of the dialect is clearly evident. It is of interest to examine the development of those grammatical categories in which this interaction made itself felt. In doing this we can observe special features typical of a number of mixed dialects (which makes it possible to draw some general conclusions) as well as features characteristic only of the dialect under consideration.

Let us consider the change of the verbs in the Present (Future) Tense in detail. In the series *монь* 'me' singular there are suffixes coinciding with the same suffixes in the Moksha literary language, preserving the Erza verbal stem: *sájsamak* 'you will take me', *sájsmañ* 'he will take me'.

In the Plural the Erza word-changing scheme is preserved on the whole in the change of the verbs: the affix of the verbal forms of the 3rd person is also used in the 2nd person. But the special feature of the dialect is the case in which the Moksha affix *-maž* is used, which in the conditions of the dialect is used in the verbal forms of the 2nd person also, whereas in the Moksha literary language in the present case the affix *-mašt* is used, for example: *sájsamaž* 'you will take me; they will take me'.

In the series *тонь* 'you' in the 3rd person singular the verbal form *kundátandət* 'he will catch you' is found. The suffix *-za* typical of the literary languages is changed to *-də* in the dialect. It should be noted that the consonant *d* occurs in the dialect usually in such cases when in the literary languages the consonant *z* is found. In our opinion this is an instance of a peculiar decomposition of the affricate *dz* typical of the Mordvin dialects. That affricatization (a living phonetic phenomenon as pointed out also by Cygankin (Цыганкин 1979 : 100)) is observed specifically in the position after sonorous *n*, *ñ* on condition that they are followed by the consonants *z*, *ž*. This phenomenon is found in the Bolšeignatovsk dialect of the Erza-Mordvin language, e. g. *nóldŷlĩndžet* 'he let you', in the Srednevadsk dialect of the Moksha-Mordvin language, e. g. *učtándza(t)* 'he is waiting for you', and in some other dialects (Давыдов 1963; Деваев 1963).

We can suppose that the phenomenon of affricatization was the standard for the Mordvin languages. Then in a number of cases there occurred

the decomposition of the former articulated unity of the affricate *dz* and its soft variant *dž*. In most dialects and in the literary languages there also occurred the loss of its first component *d* and the establishment of its second part *z*. However in some dialects it was the first part of the affricate that became established and the second part that was lost. The changes of the articulation of the preceding sound also affected the quality of the following vowel. Their articulation became more similar as may be seen from our examples.

In verbal forms of the plural there are suffixes resembling Moksha suffixes while Erza word-stems are preserved. However, the Moksha vowel *ä*, which is not included in the Erza dialectal system of vowels, is replaced by the vowels *e* or *a*. Also of Moksha origin, the vowel *ə* was included in the vowel system of the dialect. In our opinion its articulation is not opposed very sharply to other vowels typical of the Erza language and it is acceptable in certain phonetical conditions. This phenomenon can be illustrated by the following paradigm of the series *тонь* 'you'.

<i>sájte</i>	'I shall take you'	<i>sájtedež</i>	'we shall take you'
<i>sájtandət</i>	'He will take you'	<i>sájtedež</i>	'they will take you'

The series *сонь* ~ *сонэ* 'him' is characterized by the existence of the affix identical with the affix in the Erza literary language only in the 2nd person plural but the verbal forms of the 1st and 3rd persons have been strongly influenced by the Moksha language. For example: *sájsašk* 'We shall take him', *sájsaž* 'They will take him'.

The singular verbal forms in the considered dialect completely correspond to the standards of the Erza literary language.

As for the series *минь* ~ *минек* 'us', then in the dialect in the singular and plural forms the Moksha affix of the 3rd person *-maž* is used in all the forms, preserving the word-changing scheme of the Erza language instead of the Erza affix *-miž*: *sájsamaž* 'You will take us', 'He will take us', 'They will take us'.

The row *тинь* ~ *тынк* 'you' has developed under the direct influence of the Moksha language. There is a small difference that is rather of a phonetical character. For example, the Moksha vowel *ä* is not included in the dialectal system of vowels and is replaced by the vowel *e*. The Moksha affix *-tädäž* in the conditions of the dialect has accordingly the form *-tedež*. For example: *kundátedež* 'he will catch you'.

The row *синь* ~ *сынст* 'them' is of certain interest. We shall give the paradigm of the row as an example.

<i>kundásajñän</i>	'I shall catch them'	<i>kundásašk</i>	'we shall catch them'
<i>kundásajt</i>	'you will catch them'	<i>kundásajənk</i>	'you will catch them'
<i>kundásjñde</i>	'he will catch them'	<i>kundásaž</i>	'they will catch them'

Thus in the verbal form of the 1st person singular we can observe a sort of doubling of the Moksha affix by the Erza one. In the course of the borrowing of the Moksha verbal form by the Erza dialect, the Moksha affix, in our opinion, has lost its meaning of the grammatical marker and is now felt by a native speaker to be a part of the word stem. The usual Erza affix *-n* has become the grammatical marker. The final vowel *e*, being used in the conditions of the dialect in the Moksha affix in a position between consonants at the end of a word, underwent qualitative changes and was replaced by the reduced vowel *ə*.

The complete substitution of the Moksha verbal forms for the Erza ones occurs in the 2nd person singular and in the 3rd person plural.

In the 3rd person singular the Erza verbal form is preserved, only the consonant *z* is replaced by the consonant *d*. This case characterises the phonetic process we have pointed out above.

An analysis of the verbal form of the 2nd person plural reveals a case where a very old form of the tense marker *-aj* is preserved (Серебрянников 1967 : 187). The language, seeking to avoid the confluence of similar vowels, followed a tried and tested path. One of the similar vowels (the stem-final vowel) disappears. From the hypothetised verbal form *kundása-aj-ə-nk* there arises the form *kundás-aj-ə-nk*. In accordance with the law of vowel harmony in the Erza language the insertion of the reduced vowel *ə* occurred. The quality of this sound was greatly influenced by the preceding stem-final vowel (Цыганкин 1979 : 69). In our opinion a certain role was played also by the influence of the system of vowels of the Moksha language of which the given sound is typical.

LITERATURE

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ОБЪЕКТНОЕ СПРЯЖЕНИЕ ГЛАГОЛОВ НАСТОЯЩЕГО (БУДУЩЕГО) ВРЕМЕНИ В ОДНОМ ИЗ СМЕШАННЫХ МОРДОВСКИХ ГОВОРОВ

Объектное спряжение глаголов в настоящем (будущем) времени в смешанном эрзянском говоре с. Старое Семейкино Красноярского района Куйбышевской обл. имеет отпечаток скрещивания глагольных систем двух мордовских языков, эрзянская основа при этом не вызывает сомнений. Влияние мокшанского языка выразилось как в замене эрзянских аффиксов мокшанскими, что зачастую сопровождается сохранением эрзянской основы слова, так и в полном заимствовании говором мокшанских глагольных форм. При этом в некоторых случаях наблюдается дублирование мокшанского аффикса эрзянским. Определенный отпечаток на облик глагольных форм накладывает смешанный характер системы гласных говора, что, по мере необходимости, отмечено. В статье обращено внимание и на некоторые особенности, в литературных языках и большинстве диалектов не сохранившиеся.