Morphological Marking of an Object in the Erzya Language Dialects

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Abstract. The analysis of the Erzya language dialect materials collected during the expeditions indicates the presence of a common morphological marker of the object -*t´* in the forms of the noun definite inflection, in the singular personal pronouns, and in the forms of the objectal conjugation of verbs. The origin of this marker is possibly related to the ancient accusative suffix *-*t*, which has survived until today in the Hungarian and Khanty languages.

The relic of the object morphological marker *-*t* is preserved in the Erzya dialectal suffix -*śt´* of the noun definite inflection. It can also be traced in the genitive-accusative forms of the personal pronouns *toń t´* 'your', 'you', *sonzęt´* 'him'. Originally, in these word forms, the -*t´* component expressed only the object semantics. The argument in favor of this point of view is the existence of the accusative forms of personal and interrogative pronouns in the Finnish language, and the similar forms of personal pronouns in the Khanty language. In a number of the Erzya language dialects, the object morphological marker -*t´* is found in the verbal paradigms of the object conjugation of the series *mon sondę* 'I him' in the suffixes of the future tense -*sat´* / -*cat´* and past tense -*iń at´* / – *iň at´*, -*ijat´* / – *ijat´*. In their structure, these suffixes of the verb objective conjugation, in contrast to the corresponding forms of the Erzya codified language and many other dialects, have retained all the formal components that carry the semantics of time, subject and object.

Keywords: the Erzya language, accusative, object, definite morpheme, personal pronouns, verb, object conjugation.

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Морфологическое маркирование объекта в диалектах эрзянского языка

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Аннотация. Анализ собранного во время экспедиций диалектного материала эрзянского языка свидетельствует о наличии общего морфологического маркера объекта -t´ в формах определенного склонения имени существительного, в личных местоимениях единственного числа, а также в формах объектного спряжения глаголов. Происхождение этого маркера, возможно, связано с древним суффиксом аккузатива *-t, сохранившимся до настоящего времени в венгерском и хантыйском языках. Реликт морфологического маркера объекта *-t сохранился в эрзянском диалектном суффиксе -śt´ определенного склонения имени существительного. Также он прослеживается в формах генитива-аккузатива личных местоимений tońt´ ’твой’, ’тебя’, sonzęt´ ’его’. В этих словоформах компонент -t´ изначально выражал только семантику объекта. Доводом в пользу такой точки зрения являются формы аккузатива личных и вопросительных местоимений финского языка, а также соответствующие формы личных местоимений хантыйского языка.
В ряде эрзянских диалектов морфологический маркер объекта -t´ встречается в глагольных парадигмах объектного спряжения ряда mon sondę ’я его’ в суффиксах будущего времени -sat´ / -cat´ и прошедшего времени -ińat´ / – ińat´, -ijat´ / – ijat´. В своей структуре эти суффиксы объектного спряжения глагола, в отличие от соответствующих форм эрзянского кодифицированного языка и многих других диалектов, сохранили все формальные компоненты, передающие семантику времени, субъекта и объекта.

Ключевые слова: эрзянский язык, аккузатив, объект, морфема определенности, личные местоимения, глагол, объектное спряжение.

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Introduction

Due to objective reasons and historical development, the settling of Mordvin people is characterized by significant dispersion. A large number of Mordvin dialects is spoken on the left-bank part of the Volga region. Currently, the main body of Mordvin settlements in the Trans-Volga region (Zavolzhye) and Southern Urals is located in the regions of Ulyanovsk, Samara, Orenburg, and the Republics of Bashkortostan and Tatarstan. The Mordvin linguistic landscape of this area has a heterogeneous dialect structure, formed by migrants from different places of former residence. Thus, for several centuries the area has witnessed the formation of Mordvin dialects and sub-dialects of a polydialect nature. The contacts of dialect speakers with each other and between languages of different systems have led to the appearance of a number of lexical, phonetic and morphological properties distinguishing them from other Moksha and Erzya dialects. Isolation from the main bodies of the Erzya and Moksha has contributed to the preservation of some archaic features and the formation of new language paradigms – not typical of the Erzya and Moksha dialects and sub-dialects.

1. The accusative case as the case of the direct object

In the Mordvin languages, the object semantics in the case paradigm of definite declension is expressed by the accusative case. Publications devoted to the description of the grammatical structure of the Mordvin languages and their case paradigms, however, oftentimes do not consider the accusative as an independent case (Ahlquist, 1861; Gabelentz, 1839; Wiedemann, 1865; Grammatika mordovskih yazykov: fonetika i morfologiya, 1962; Grammatika mordovskih yazykov. Fonetika, grafika, orfografiya, morfologiya, 1980; Erzyan' kel'. Morfemika, valon' teevema dy morfologiya, 2000; Mokshen' kyal'. Morfologiya, 2000). In contrast, researchers distinguish an accusative with the suffix *-m* in the diachronic description of the case system of the Mordvin languages (Bubrikh, 1953; Serebrennikov, 1967; Tsygankin, 1977; Hajdu, 1985). In the works by these authors, it is noted that in the process

of development in the Mordvin languages, the formal signs of the accusative *-m* and the genitive *-n* were reduced to *-n*, which was then palatalized in Mordvin.

The morphological non-formalization of the accusative case as a separate marker has led to the fact that its meaning is most often attributed to the genitive case. A formal coincidence of the genitive and the accusative case properties has occurred, but there has been no functional coincidence. The main meaning of the genitive is possessiveness, while the accusative is reserved for the expression of the object. In this regard, many researchers consider the accusative case in the Mordvin languages as the main case of the object (Bubrikh, 1947; Tsygankin, 1977; Ruzankin, 1985; Tihonova,1987; Chinaeva, 2012; Chinaeva,2017).

The accusative with the ancient suffix *-m* reveals itself at the reconstruction of the ancient case system of the Finno-Ugric parent language and is retained in the Mari, Sami (southern), Mansi, Nenets, Nganasan, Selkup and Kamass languages (Szinnyei, 1910; Collinder, 1960; Itkonen, 1962, Serebrennikov, 1964, Hajdu, 1985). There is no trace of the accusative *-m*, however, in Hungarian and Khanty (Osnovy finno-ugorskogo jazykoznanija, 1974:241). In the case paradigm of modern Hungarian, the accusative is marked with the formant *-t*, which, according to P. Hajdu, is of pronominal origin (Hajdu,1985).

In our opinion, the reflex of the accusative formant *-t* has survived as a morphological marker of the object in grammatical forms recorded in the Erzya dialect areal. There, the morphological marker *-t* is formally present in the forms of the definite declension of the noun, personal pronouns singular, as well as in the forms of subject-object conjugation in verbs.

2. The morphological marker of the object -t´ in the forms of the definite declension of the noun

In the Erzya dialect areal of the Trans-Volga region and the Southern Urals, we have found four variants of the genitive-accusative suffix in the case paradigms of the definite declension of nouns: *-ńt´, -śt´, -t´, -źiń*. These suffixes can be tentatively divided into two

groups: 1) case formants with the element *-ń* (*–ńt´* and *-źiń*) and 2) case formants with the element *-t´*: (*–ńt´, – śt´, -t´*).

The case suffixes of the first group *-ńt´* and *-źiń* are transparent and consistent in their structure. They contain the case marker of the genitive-accusative case *-ń*, which has a different place in relation to the morpheme of definitiveness.

The morpheme *-ńt´* consists of the suffix of the genitive-accusative *-ń* + the morpheme of definitiveness *-t´*: *veĺe-ń-t´* (village-DEF.SG-GEN/ACC) 'of this village', 'this village'; *kudo-ń-t´* (house-DEF.SG-GEN/ACC) 'of this house', 'this house'; *pakśa-ń-t´* (field-DEF.SG-GEN/ACC) 'of this field', 'this field'; *ĺišme-ń-t´* (horse-DEF.SG-GEN/ACC) 'of this horse', 'this horse'.

Diachronically, the morpheme *-ńt´* originated from the suffix of the genitive *-ń* (f.-u. gen. **-n*) and the demonstrative pronoun *t´e* 'this' (f.-u. *tV-).

The morpheme *-źiń* consists of the morpheme of definitiveness *-ź-* + interfix + case suffix of the genitive *-ń*: *ĺej-e-ź-i-ń* (river-INT-DEF.SG-INT-GEN/ACC) 'of this river', 'this river'; * veĺe-ź-i-ń* (village-DEF.SG-INT-GEN/ACC) 'of this village', 'this village'; *víŕ-e-ź-i-ń* (forest-INT-DEF.SG-INT-GEN/ACC) 'of this forest', 'this forest'; *pat´a-ź-i-ń* (elder sister-DEF.SG.-INT-GEN/ACC) 'of this elder sister', 'this elder sister'.

The genitive-accusative case forms with the morpheme of definiteness *-ś-/-ź-* are diachronic reflexes of the ancient demonstrative pronominal base word *sV-. In the intervocalic position, the suffix *-ś-* has become voiced *-ź-*: **ḱiĺeú-e-ź-i-ń* (birch-INT-DEF.SG.-INT-GEN/ACC) 'of this birch', 'this birch', *kudo-ź-i-ń* (house-DEF.SG.-INT-GEN/ACC) 'of this house', 'this house', *lomań-e-ź-i-ń* (man-INT-DEF.SG-GEN/ACC) 'of this man', 'this man'.

The genitive-accusative case forms of the Erzya language with the morpheme of definitiveness *-ś-/-ź-* should be distinguished from the Moksha possessive word forms, which go along with the secondary first person suffix *-źe.* The meaning of these forms is completely different, although they are similar in structure and phonetic design. In the Moksha language,

forms with the suffix *-źe* express the possessive meaning of the 1st person singular: *ava-źe-ń* 'of my mother', *ćora-źe-ń* 'of my son', *kudo-źe-ń* 'of my house'.

For suffixes of the second group *-ńt´, -śt´, -t´* the common element is *-t´*, which originates from the ancient demonstrative pronoun *tV-. Although, the semantic load of this element varies in these morphemes.

If the *-t´* element in the genitive-accusative morpheme *-ńt´* of the literary language and many dialects performs only the function of definitiveness, then in a number of Erzya dialects and sub-dialects, as well as in the Moksha literary language, the genitive-accusative *-t´* morpheme is inflectional. It performs both the function of the genitive and accusative cases and the function of definitiveness: *víŕ-t´* (forest-DEF.SG.GEN/ACC) 'of this forest', 'this forest'; *skal-t´* (heifer-DEF.SG.GEN/ACC) 'of this heifer', 'this heifer'; *kut-t´* (house-DEF.SG.GEN/ACC) 'of this house', 'this house'. Comparing with the corresponding form of the Erzya language, A. P. Feoktistov writes that the morpheme *-t´* of the genitive in Moksha is a reflex of *-ńt´* > *t´t´* > *t´* (Feoktistov, 1975).

In this group, the genitive-accusative suffix *-śt´* is of particular interest. In genitive-accusative cases, this morpheme is inflectional: it conveys the case and determinative semantics. Whereas in the other oblique cases it performs only the function of a determiner.

This suffix is characteristic of the sub-dialects spoken in Erzya villages of the Ardatovsky, Bolsheignatovsky raions (north-western dialect type), many villages in the Atyashevsky raion (central dialect type), Dubyonsky raion (south-eastern dialect type) of the Republic of Mordovia, Erzya sub-dialects in the villages of the Chuvash Republic, and many sub-dialects of the Nizhny Novgorod oblast' and Erzya sub-dialects of Shentalinsky raion of the Samara oblast' (Agafonova, Ryabov, 2017).

In D. T. Nad'kin's opininon, the suffix of the genitive-accusative case *-śt´* was formed from the demonstrative formant *-ź-* and the demonstrative pronoun *t´e*: **kudo-ź-+t´e* > *kudośt´.* He thinks that originally the element *-ź-* was a truncated form of the genitive in *-ź-*, which is sporadically found in the Lower

Pyansk dialect in the definite declension, along with the genitive on -źiń (k̯il̯en̯eźiń) in analytical constructions of the following type *kudoᶎ vaksnȩ* 'near that house of' (Nad'kin, 1968).

D. V. Tsygankin notes that the suffix -śt´ of the genitive case in the definite declension consists of the element -ś-, borrowed from the nominative case + -t´. The resulting morpheme -śt´ did not preserve the genitive indicator -ń. Its function was taken by the -ś- element, but only after the forms of the type *kudo-ź-i-ń* 'of this house' had developed truncated forms of the type *kudo-ź / kudo-ś* genitive in the sub-dialects did it begin to function (Tsygankin, 1978).

As we can see, both researchers associate the -ś- element in the suffix of the genitive -śt´ with the truncated form of the genitive -ź-, and the element -t´ with the demonstrative pronoun *tV-.

In our opinion, the formation of the genitive-accusative suffix -śt´ is somewhat different. The -ś- element in this suffix must be associated with the -ś- morpheme of definitiveness, as in the entire paradigm of definite declension. While the element -t´ must be associated with the ancient suffix of the accusative *-t, which is currently present in modern Hungarian as a case marker of the object. P. Hajdu considers the case marker of the accusative -t of the Hungarian language to be a determinative formant of pronominal origin. An indisputable argument in favor of this point of view is, in his opinion, the use of the formant -t´ of pronominal origin with a determinative function in the Mordvin languages in the demonstrative declension of nouns. He notes that due to the loss of the accusative ending *-m, the formant -t´ became widespread in the Hungarian language and was exposed to adaptation with its transformation into a new ending for the definite direct object (Hajdu,1985).

It can be assumed that originally in the Erzya language, the -t´ element in the morpheme -śt´ expressed the meaning of the direct object in the accusative case. The dialect material recorded in the Trans-Volga region and the Southern Urals provides proof of this. Thus, currently in the Erzya sub-dialects of the Novomalyklinsky raion of the Ulyanovsk oblast', the marker of the genitive-accusative of the definite declension -śt´ is found in parallel with the suffix -źiń: *šakš-o-ź-i-ń* (pot/jug-INT-DEF.SG-INT-GEN/ACC) and *šakš-o-ś-t´* (pot/jug-INT-DEF.SG.-GEN/ACC) 'of this pot, 'this pot'; *lomań-e-ź-i-ń* (man-INT-DEF.SG- INT-GEN/ACC) and *lomań-e-ś-t´* (person-INT-DEF.SG-GEN/ACC) 'of this person'; *ṕiks-ȩ-ź-i-ń* (rope-INT-DEF.SG-INT-GEN/ACC) and *ṕiks-ȩ-ś-t´* (rope-INT-DEF.SG-GEN/ACC) 'of this rope', 'this rope'.

Perhaps, in this dialect, the semantics of the genitive and accusative case forms were distinguished at one time. The case suffix -źiń was used only to express the semantics of the genitive case in a definite declension, and the case suffix -śt´ to express the object or the accusative case of a definite declension. At present, the meaning of these case forms has been neutralized: in the speech of the same informant, we recorded a mixing of case forms with the semantics of the accusative and genitive cases. <u>Examples 1–6.</u>

The same parallel usage has been recorded between the case markers -śt´ and -ńt´ in the genitive-accusative of the definite declension. This phenomenon occurs in the sub-dialects of Lopatino and Suskan villages in the Stavropolsky raion, Sidel'kino, Staroye Eshtebenkino, Novoye Urmetyevo in the Chelnovershinsky raion of the Samara oblast', Kochkurovo village of the Dubensky raion in the Republic of Mordovia. <u>Examples 7–14.</u>

In our opinion, the parallel use of the genitive and accusative suffixes -śt´ and -źiń, -ńt´ and -śt´ is direct evidence that there was a distinction in the semantics of possessiveness represented by the genitive suffix -ń and the semantics of the object represented by the accusative suffix -t´ in the Erzya language.

3. The morphological marker
of the object -t´ in the case forms
of personal pronouns

In the literary language and in many dialects and sub-dialects of the Erzya language, the personal pronouns *mon* 'I', *ton* 'you[sg]' in the genitive-accusative case have a morphological marker -ń: *moń* 'my', 'me', *toń* 'your[sg]', 'you[sg]'.

In the Erzya dialects of the Trans-Volga region and the Southern Urals, the following forms of the genitive-accusative can be seen in the system of personal pronouns: *toń t́* 'your[sg]', 'you[sg]', *sonzęt́* 'his'/ him'. Examples 15–18.

The form of the genitive and accusative *toń t́* 'your[sg]', 'you[sg]' is also found in the north-western dialect and in some sub-dialects of the South-Eastern dialect in the Republic of Mordovia. In this word form, the element *-t́* is considered a possessive suffix. Thus, M. E. Evsevyev identifies the element *-t́* in this case form as a personal pronominal suffix of the 2 person singular (Evsevyev, 1963). D. V. Bubrikh notes that in forms of this type «there is no possessive suffixation in the sense. In the context, there is an emphasis on the person, the number of personal pronouns, and ultimately the reduplication of personal pronouns» (Bubrikh, 1953). D. T. Nad'kin in the Lower Pyansk dialect in the paradigm of personal pronouns in the genitive case also points to the form *toń t́* 'your[sg]'. In this form, he discerns an additional formant *-t́* (Nad'kin, 1968).

In our opinion, in the sub-dialects of the Trans-Volga region and the Southern Urals, the element *-t́* in the suffix of the genitive-accusative of personal pronouns signified only the object, as in Finnish, where the accusative case *-t* has survived in the forms of personal and interrogative pronouns and are set off against the case forms of the genitive *-n*. Compare: *minu-n* 'my' – *minu-t* 'me', *sinu-n* 'your[sg]' – *sinu-t* 'you[sg]', *häne-n* 'his' – *häne-t* 'him', *meidä-n* 'our' – *meidä-t* 'us', *teidä-n* 'your[pl]' – *teidä-t* 'you[pl]', *heidä-n* 'their' – *heidä-t* 'them'; *kenen* 'whose?' – *kene-t* 'who(m)?'.

The same suffix *-t* of the accusative case is involved in the formation of the accusative forms in the Khanty personal pronouns: *man-t* 'me', *naŋ-ət* 'you', *tew-ət* 'him'.

Therefore, the analogy with the Finnish and Khanty languages shows that in the dialect forms of the genitive-accusative personal pronouns of the Erzya language, the element *-t́* is a relic of the accusative case suffix *-t* of deictic origin. It is quite common that pronouns or other relative words were used as case formants.

4. The morphological marker of the object *-t́* in the forms of subject-object conjugation in the slot *mon sondę* 'I him'

The Erzya dialect areal has a developed and complex verb system. A special place in this system is occupied by the conjugation category. In the Mordvin languages, the verb has two types of conjugation: subject and subject-object. Forms of the subject conjugation are used to express the person and number of the subject. Both transitive and intransitive verbs have subject conjugation forms. Verb forms of the subject-object conjugation express the person and number of the subject as well as the object being acted upon. The verb in the subject-object conjugation has the forms of the future and past tense. Depending on the number of objects the action can be taken with, six slots are distinguished: *mon'* 'me', *ton'* 'you[sg]', *sonze* 'him/her/it', *minek* 'us', *tịnk* 'you[pl]', *sịnst* 'them'. Only transitive verbs take subject-object forms of conjugation. The verb in this case most often expresses definiteness and completeness of the action.

In the Uralic languages, forms of subject-object conjugation are also found in the Hungarian, Ob-Ugric and Samoyed languages. According to B. A. Serebrennikov, the structure of verb forms of the subject-object conjugation in the Mordvin languages is the most complex in comparison with Hungarian, Mansi, Khanty, and Samoyed languages (Serebrennikov, 1967). This is confirmed by the field material of the Erzya dialect areal. Thus, in verb forms with the subject *mon* 'I' and the object *sonzę* 'him' in the Erzya dialects and sub-dialects, the following future tense suffixes can be found: *-sa / -ca*, *-saj / -caj*, *-san / -can*, *-sań / -cań*, *-sat́ / -cat́*.

The implementation of these morphemes in the Erzya dialect areal is heterogeneous. In a literary language and in many dialects, the suffix *-sa* is used. Examples 19–21.

In select sub-dialects of the north-western dialect in the Republic of Mordovia and the sub-dialects of the Chuvash Republic one may come across a parallel use of the suffixes *-sa / -ca* and *-saj / -caj*: *pala-sa – pala-saj* 'I'll kiss him'; *an-ca – an-caj* 'I'll feed him'; *sasa-sa –*

sasa-saj 'I'll catch up with him'; *učo-sa – učo-saj* 'I'll wait for him'; *van-ca – van-caj* 'I'll see/have a look at it'.

The structure of the *-sa /-ca* suffix is relatively clear. In it, the component *-s- / -c-* is the formant of the object in the slot *sonzę* 'his/him', and the component *-a –* is the formant of the future tense.

The suffix *-saj / -caj* has retained the ancient indicator of the present (future) time *-aj* (Serebrennikov, 1967). The suffixes *-sa / -ca* and *-saj / -caj*, however, do not have a formal indicator of the subject *mon* 'I'.

The suffixes *-san / -sań* and *-can / -cań* are found in mixed sub-dialects in the Republic of Mordovia, in the sub-dialects of Penza, Ulyanovsk and Saratov regions. Examples 22–25.

In verb forms of the subject-object conjugation, the suffix *-san / -sań* and *-can / -cań*, the *-n / -ń* element is an indicator of the subject of action of the first person, which, according to B. A. Serebrennikov, was borrowed from the sphere of the subject conjugation (Serebrennikov, 1967).

In the Erzya dialects and sub-dialects of the Trans-Volga region and the Southern Urals, the suffix *-sat′ / -cat′* is found in the verb forms of the future tense in the slot *mon sondę* 'I him/her/it'. Examples 26–29.

Of particular interest in the *-sat′ / -cat′* suffix is the semantics of the *-t′* element. G. I. Ermushkin stresses that the suffix *-t′* in these word forms is used to mark the subject of an action in the form of the first person singular in the slot *sonzę* 'him/her/it' of the subject-object conjugation of the present tense (Ermushkin, 1984). In all probability, when analyzing the components of this suffix, he relies on the semantics and place of the suffix of the subject *-n* in the synonymous morpheme *-san / -can*, where the component -s- / -c- – the object of action (*sondę / sonzę* 'him/her/it'), *-a-* – the suffix of the future tense, -n – the subject of action (*mon* 'I').

In our opinion, the structure of the *-sat′ / -cat′* suffix consists of the following components: -s- / -c- – object of action (*sondę / sonzę*), -a- – future tense suffix, *-t′* – polysemantic suffix that combines the semantics of the lost subject suffix *-n* (*mon* 'I') and the semantics of the object (*sondę / sonzę* 'him/her/it'). In other

words, in these suffixes marking future, the object of action is expressed twice: with the help of the suffixes *-s- / -c-* and *-t′*. Presumably, initially to convey the semantics of the first person singular in the slot *sonze* 'him/her/it' the suffix *-sańt′ / -cańt′* was used: *kunda-sańt′* 'I'll catch him', *pala-sańt′* 'I'll kiss him', *star-cańt′* 'I'll catch up with him'.

The existence of the subject *-ń-* indicator in the future tense forms of the slot *mon sondę* 'I him/her/it' is evidenced by the structure of the past tense suffix *-ińat′ / -įńat′* of the same slot, where the morphological marker *-ń-* of the first person singular subject conjugation has survived. It should be noted that in the Erzya dialects and sub-dialects of the Trans-Volga region and the Southern Urals, the past tense forms on par with the suffix *-ińat′ /-įńat′* contain the suffix *-jat′*, in which, as in the future tense forms, the morphological marker *-ń-* of the subject is also absent.

The structure of the suffix *-ińat′ / -įńat′* is the most logical and consistent: *-i- / -į-* the past tense formant, *-ń-* – the subject of the action (mon 'I'), *-a-* – the interfix, *-t′* – the object of the action (*sondę* 'him/her/it'). It preserves all the formal components that reflect the semantics of the *mon sondę* 'I him/her/it' slot of the subject-object conjugation of the Erzya verb. Examples 30–33.

In the sub-dialects above, the subject-object conjugation suffix *-ińa / -įńa* is often used on par with the suffix *-ińat′ / -įńat′*. The *-ińa / -įńa* suffix does not have a formal indicator of the *-t′* object. Its function is conditionally conveyed by the *-a* component. Examples 34–36.

In the dialects and sub-dialects of the Trans-Volga region and the Southern Urals, the morphological marker of the object *-t′* can also be found in the past tense suffix *-ijat′ / -įjat′*. Examples 37–39.

The suffix *-ijat′ / -įjat′* is spotted in both affirmative and negative forms. The structure of the suffix is as follows: *-i- /-į-* – past tense suffix, *-j-* conditional indicator of the subject, *-a-* – interfix, *-t′* – object suffix.

In this suffix, we call *-j-* a conditional indicator of the subject, since it appeared at the time when the real marker of the subject of the

first person singular -*ń*- fell out (cf.: *paļi̯ jat́* and *paļi̯ńat́* 'I kissed her'). In the intervocalic position, instead of the dropped formant -*ń*- (the subject suffix), the formant -*j*- appears, which formally assumes the semantics of the subject.

It should also be noted that in many dialects and the literary Erzya language, the past tense forms of the subject-object conjugation are expressed by the suffix -*ija*. In the book «Erzya Language. Morphology» it is noted that in the form *ṕid́-i-j-a* 'I cooked/boiled it', formed by analogy with the future tense form *ṕid́esa* 'I will cook/boil it', the component -*a* is an indicator of the subject (Erzyan' kel'. Morfemika, valon' teevema dy morfologiya, 2000). However, the dialect material provides proof that the subject indicator in this morpheme is the -*j*- element, and the semantics of the object is conditionally expressed by the formant -*a*-, which formally takes over the semantics of the dropped suffix of the direct object -*t́*.

The origin of the formant -*t́* in the analyzed suffixes of the future tense -*sat́* / -*cat́* and the past tense -*ińat́* / -*i̯ńat́*, -*ijat́* / -*i̯ jat́* of the subject-object conjugation in the slot *mon sondę* 'I him/her/it' can probably be linked to the object suffix of the accusative case -*t́*, which is currently found in the dialect morphemes of the genitive-accusative personal pronouns and in the genitive-accusative morpheme *(–ś)-t́* of the definite declension of nouns. Based on dialect findings, the diachronic development of these suffixes can be represented as follows: -*ińat́* → -*ińa* → -*ija*.

The suffix -*t́* marking the object of action in the subject-object conjugation has not been found in the Republic of Mordovia. It is present in the forms of the subject-object conjugation only in the Erzya sub-dialects of the Trans-Volga region and the Southern Urals. It occurs sporadically in some sub-dialects of the Nizhny Novgorod Oblast'.

Conclusion

In the Erzya language, the object can be indicated by various means and morphological markers. There is no consensus about the morphological marking and structure of object suffixes in grammatical forms. The purpose of our article was to consider the dialect marker

of the object -*t́* in the forms of the accusative case of nouns, personal pronouns of the 2nd and 3rd person singular definite declension, as well as in the forms of subject-object conjugation of verbs in the slot *mon sondę* 'I him/her/it'.

In the dialect suffix -*śt́* of the accusative case, definite declension, the element -*ś*- is most often considered an inflectional suffix, and the element -*t́* is a morpheme of definiteness. In our opinion, in the suffix -*śt́*, the component -*ś*- is a morpheme of definiteness in the singular, as in the nominative case, and the component -*t́* is the suffix of the object. This is evidenced by the dialect paradigm of the definite declension in the sub-dialects of the Novomalyklinsky raion, Ulyanovsk oblast', where the morpheme of definiteness in the entire paradigm is the suffix -*ś*- / -*ź*-.

In Erzya dialects and sub-dialects, the object marker -*t́* can be traced in the forms of the genitive-accusative personal pronouns *tońt́* 'your[sg]', 'you[sg]', *sonzęt́* 'his/him/her/its/it'. Many researchers believe that in the form *tońt́* 'your[sg]' the -*t́* component is a possessive suffix of the 2nd person singular. In our opinion, in the word forms *tońt́* 'your[sg]', 'you[sg]', and *sonzęt́* 'him/her/it' the -*t́* component initially expressed only the semantics of the object. The same suffix in the meaning of the accusative is still present in personal and interrogative pronouns of the Finnish language, as well as the corresponding forms of personal pronouns of the Khanty language.

In the Erzya dialects of the Trans-Volga region and the Southern Urals, the object suffix -*t́* was found by us not only in the case paradigms of nouns, but also in the paradigms of subject-object conjugation of the future and past tense in the slot *mon sondę* 'I him/her/it'. In the verb forms of this slot, the component -*t́* is also a morphological marker of the object in the suffixes of the future tense -*sat́* / -*cat́* and the past tense -*ińat́* / -*i̯ńat́*, -*ijat́* / -*i̯ jat́*. In contrast to the corresponding forms of the literary language and many other dialects, these suffixes have retained all the formal components in their structure that indicate the semantics of time, subject and object: *saj-s-a-t́ kńiga-ń-t́* (to take-1SG.SBJ-FUT-3SG.OBJ.O book-ACC-DEF.SG) 'I will take this book',

uč-i̧-ń-a-t´ jalga-m (to wait-1PRET-1SG.SBJ-INT-3SG.OBJ.O friend-POSS.1SG-ACC) 'I have waited for my friend', *revi̧-ń-t´ śulḿ-i-ń-a-t´* (sheep-ACC-DEF.SG to tie up-1PRET-1SG.SBJ-INT-3SG.OBJ.O) 'I tied the sheep up.

Abbreviations

Notes of explanations: 1 – first person, **2** – second person, **3** – third person, **ABE** – abessive, **ABL** – ablative, **ACC** – accusative, **ADV** – adverb, **DAT** – dative, **DEF** – definite declension, **DET** – demonstrative pronoun, **ELA** – elative, **ENGL** – particle, **FUT** – future tense, **GEN** – genitive, **ILLA** – illative, **IMP** – imperative, **INE** – inessive, **INF** – infinitive, **INT** – **interfix, LAT** – **lative, NEG** – **negation, NOM** – nominative, **O** – object conjugation, **OBJ** – object, **PL** – plural, **POSS** – possessive, **POST** – postposition, **PRES** – present, **PRET** – preterit, **PROL** – prolative, **PTCP** – participle, **SG** – singular, **SBJ** – subject, **S** – subject conjugation.

aks. – Aksenkino village sub-dialect of Northern district of Orenburg region, **alks**. – Aleksandrovka village sub-dialect of Novomalyklinsky district of Ulyanovsk region, **v.klk.** – Vysokiy Kolok village sub-dialect of Novomalyklinsky district of Ulyanovsk region, **v.pvl**. – Vehneye Pavlushkino village sub-dialect of Buguruslansky district of Orenburg region, **zrkl.** – Zerikla village sub-dialect of Abdulinskiy district of Orenburg region, **kbk.** – Kabaevka village sub-dialect of Northern district of Orenburg region, **ivnc.** – Ivanovka village sub-dialect of Nikolaevsky district of Ulyanovsk region, **kvts.** – Kivatskoye village of Buguruslansky district of Orenburg region, **krzh.** – Kirzhemany village sub-dialect of Atyashevskiy district, Republic of Mordovia, **krsh.** – Kiryushkino village settlement of Buguruslansky district of Orenburg region, kchk. – Kochkurovo village sub-dialect of Dubensky district of Republic Mordovia,

lpt. – accent Lopatino village sub-dialect, Stavropolsky district, Samara region, **m.dbr**. – Mordovskoye Dobrino village sub-dialect of Northern district of Orenburg region, **mksh.** – Mokshalei village sub-dialect of Chamzinsky district, Republic of Mordovia, **nkn**. – Noikino village sub-dialect of Buguruslansky district of Orenburg region, **n.mlk.** – Novaya Malykla village sub-dialect of Novomalyklinsky district of Ulyanovsk region, **n.sl.** – Novyye Sulli village sub-dialect, Yermekeyevsky district of Republic of Bashkortostan, **n.urm.** – Novoye Urmetyevo village sub-dialect of Chelnovershinsky district, Samara region, **pzlk.** – Pazelki village sub-dialect of Bessonovsky district, Penza region, **p.tvl.** – Podlesnaya Tavla village sub-dialect of Kochkurovsky district of Republic of Mordovia, **sbv**. – Sabaevo village sub-dialect of Kochkurovsky district of Republic of Mordovia, **sdlc.** – Side/kino village sub-dialect of Chelnovershinsky district of Samara region, **spzh.** – Sapozhkino village sub-dialect of Buguruslansky district of Orenburg region, **st.bsk.** – Staraya Besovka village sub-dialect of Novomalyklinsky district of Ulyanovsk region, **st.brsk.** – Staroe Boriskino village sub-dialect of Northern district of Orenburg region, **st.uzl.** – Staryye Uzeli village sub-dialect of Buguruslansky district of Orenburg region, **shgr.** – Shugurovo village sub-dialect of Bolshebereznikovskiy district, Republic of Mordovia, **shstk.** – Shestaikino village sub-dialect of Buguruslansky district of Orenburg region.

Приложения / Applications

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