

## KRAASNA NOMINAL DERIVATION

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**Abstract.** This article examines the derivation of Kraasna nominals using suffixes. Despite limited documentation, it was possible to find a large number of nominal derivatives using 18 derivational suffixes formed from 20 primary suffixes and 21 suffixes formed from 21 secondary suffixes. Kraasna suffixes mostly resemble those of Seto. Only the compound suffixes *(-i)s-to*, *-la-s*, and *-ži-ne*, which derive just a few words (*kaklas*, *laanist*, *soomist*, *ammuužine*) are not characteristic of Seto. The suffixes *\*-ek* and *\*eš* occur as the assimilated form *-eh* in Kraasna, but as *-eh* and *-e<sup>o</sup>* in Seto. In oblique cases, the derivational suffix *-eh* still occurs in a mid-19th century folk song but had been lost by the early 20th century. The Kraasna dialect is surprisingly similar to Seto, from which it separated 300 years before its documentation in the early 20th century. It would be interesting to know to what extent later connections with Setomaa harmonised both dialects.

**Keywords:** morphology, nominals, derivatives, Finnic languages, Estonian, South Estonian, Seto, Kraasna

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### 1. Introduction

The Kraasna dialect became extinct in the early 20th century and the Kraasna community is now fully assimilated into the Russians. The ancestors of the Kraasna community came from nearby eastern Setomaa and settled near the small town of Krasny (now called Krasnogorodsk) near Oepochka in Pskov District in the late 16th or early 17th century (Mets et al. 2014: 14, Pajusalu 2020: 200).

The first records of the Kraasna community date to 1849. These were sent to Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (1803–1882), the compiler of the epic “Kalevipoeg”, who at the time was assisting the head of the statistical department of the Russian Geographical Society Peter v. Koeppen (1793–1864) in the compilation of a population map of

European Russia by Adolph Johann Brandt (1812–1856) who was employed there. The latter sent to Kreutzwald four folk songs written down by a non-Estonian-speaking lady, in a form which was, however, rather flawed and distorted (see Ernits 2012: 42–48). Several attempts have been made to reconstruct the texts, translate them into German and Estonian, and publish them; most recently by the author of the present article (Ernits 2018; see also Neus 1852).

The first study of Kraasna language and culture was compiled and published in 1903 by Estonian folklore researcher Oskar Kallas (1868–1946). This overview contains 23 folk song texts and excerpts, proverbs, folk tales, etc. (Kallas 1903). His documentation is considerably more precise than that of his predecessors, though it still contains minor omissions and inconsistencies, e.g., the marking of the laryngeal stop and back-*e*.

In the early 1910s, Finnish linguist Heikki Ojansuu (1873–1923) documented the Kraasna dialect more broadly prior to its extinction. His documentation, copies of which were given to the Academic Mother Tongue Society (Akadeemiline Emakeele Selts) in 1937 and 1938 by the Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura), was published in the final volume of the Estonian dialect text series “Eesti murded” (Mets et al. 2014: 277–294, No. 186–207; see also p. 7). Though Kraasna was visited after 1940, it was no longer possible to collect any significant language material. In 2016, Tobias Weber, then a student at the University of Munich, wrote a comprehensive bachelor’s thesis (and later also a master’s thesis) on the Kraasna dialect, in which he also published the handwritten notes of Kallas and Ojansuu comparing them linguistically with each other and with those published in Mets et al. (2014). In general, Kraasna language documentation is rather limited. Its research history is more thoroughly described in Weber (2016: 1 ff.; Weber 2018: 9 and others). Word formation has not yet been studied.

## 2. Materials and methods

Relatively few derivational suffixes of nominal words in Võro South Estonian have been studied (cf. Käsi 2000: 173). The current article deals with Kraasna nominal derivation by means of suffixation. Nouns and adjectives are discussed separately, which are formed either using primary (simple) or secondary (compound) suffixation, or from nominals

or verbs using denominalising or deverbalising suffixes, respectively. Native words and loans are distinguished; in the latter case, a distinction is made between whether the entire word is a loan or just the root. Efforts have been made to use relevant vocabulary as much as possible, and it is presented alphabetically for each suffix. With respect to word formation, the views of Erelt, Erelt & Ross (2020) and Kasik (2015) have been taken into account. The following works have been especially helpful with respect to historical linguistic questions: Hakulinen (1968), Laanest (1975), Mägiste (1982–1983), and Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar (2012). Due to limitations on space, several types of derivatives are not examined in this article including some vowel-final derivatives, which have lost their endings in the nominative singular as well as *i*-derivatives, e.g., *pini* ‘dog’ (Est V: 1942; < \**penä*, Hakulinen 1968: 104). Likewise unexamined are late loan derivatives with suffixes of foreign origin, e.g., *t'ied-a* ‘grandfather; old man’ (Mets et al. 2014: 283) and *H'edo-ška* (Est V: 1936).

Examples are presented in a simplified Seto script. For the sake of simplicity and consistency, in reconstructions as well as in examples taken from written records, the laryngeal stop is written as <sup>q</sup> and back-*e* as *õ*. The latter in the word forms documented by Kallas is not restored in the examples. Phonetically reconstructed word forms are marked with an asterisk. Due to the scarcity of documented Kraasna vocabulary, the nominative singular form of the word is often missing. In such cases, a theoretical form is reconstructed alongside an attested form in a different noun case and, if possible, on the basis of a similar word in the South Estonian Seto dialect. Often the meaning of a word is not known, in which case this is derived based on Seto logic. Theoretical reconstructed word meanings are marked with †. It should be noted that any reconstruction is still to a greater or lesser extent somewhat approximate (and primarily assisted by Haak et al. 1994–2020, Käsi 2016, Saar et al. 2020, Pall 1982–1989, and Käsi 2011). Word forms found in a different noun case are given with abbreviations for their case and number. The semantics of suffix and nominal derivation are also not ignored.

Usually, the page number of published sources or manuscripts is referenced in the article. Folk songs are the exception, as the number in front of the hyphen marks the song number and the one behind it marks the verse number. When using the folk songs sent by Brandt, their

number and the verse number (by colony) are referenced according to Ernits 2018. The source of the manuscript material is Weber (2016).

### 3. Primary nominal derivatives

**-dze- ~ -dzõ- < -nE : -dzE.** NomPl *\*sõzaridzõ<sup>q</sup>* ‘sisters’ (Kallas 1903: 124; Se *sõsaridse<sup>q</sup>* < *sõsar’* ‘sister’); NomPl *vaderidze<sup>q</sup>* ‘godparents’ (Mets et al. 2014: 291; Se *vatõr’* ‘godparent’); NomPl *velidze<sup>q</sup>* ‘brothers’ (AES 202: 11; Se *velidse<sup>q</sup>* < *veli* ‘brother’). This suffix is abstracted from the *ne*-suffix (see below), a diminutive or collective suffix denoting a group of people, cf. Leivu *ilženidze[<sup>q</sup>]* ‘Ilzene residents’ (Faster 2015: 269). The latter is only used in the plural.

**-du ~ -dü ~ -tu ~ -tü < \*-toin.** The adjectives *ilmadu* ‘huge, very much’ (AES 202: 10; cf. Se *ilmadu* < *ilm* ‘weather; world’) and *ilotu* ‘unpleasant; ugly; inappropriate, unbecoming’ (PrtSg *ilotust*; Kallas 1903: 13-3...4; cf. Se *ilodu* ~ *ilodo<sup>q</sup>* < *ilo* ‘beauty; joy’, Univere 1972: 164) are formed using this denominal suffix indicating the absence of a property. See also *-d-us* ~ *-d-üs*.

**-eh ~ -õh : -e ~ -õ < \*-Ek ja \*-Eš.** This can be both a denominal and a deverbal suffix. In the Kraasna dialect, two historical suffixes have converged resulting in the same *h*-final result. The root words containing the suffix *\*-eš* are mostly unknown (Laanest 1975: 133). Nominal derivatives include *+hoonõh* ‘building’ (NomPl *huunõ<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 12; cf. Se *hoonõh* ~ *hoonõ<sup>q</sup>*); *imeh* ~ *jimme* ‘miracle’ (Est V: 1938; AES 202: 21; Se *imeh* ~ *ime<sup>q</sup>*); *murõh* ‘sorrow’ (Est V: 1945); *+palõh* ‘cheek; face’ (Haak et al. 1994–2020; Se *palõh* ~ *palõ<sup>q</sup>*); *pereh* ~ *perreh* ‘family’ (AES 202: 13; Est V: 1934; cf. Se *pereh* ~ *pere<sup>q</sup>*; < *perä* ‘base; back; remainder’, see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012 *sub* pere); *perzeh* ‘buttocks’ (NomPl *pierze<sup>q</sup>*, Mets et al. 2014: 290; AES 202; cf. Se *perä*, see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012 *sub* perse); *tarõ* ‘room’ (Mets et al. 2014: 281; see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012 *sub* tare); *+undsõh* ‘fog’ (*undzeh*, Est V: 1946; Se *undsõ<sup>q</sup>*).

It is unclear whether some words are original words or Baltic or Germanic loans, cf. *+hoonõh* and blt *\*šānas*; *+palõh* and Proto-Germanic *\*balgiz*, *tarõ* and ruO *dorŭ* or germL *dare* (for possible native words see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012 *sub* tare). *hammõh* ‘shirt’ (Est V: 1935) is a loanword, Proto-Germanic *\*χami-z*; Metsmägi, Sedrik

& Soosaar 2012). If this word pair is correctly recorded, then it also belongs here: *\*toorõ(h)* : *\*tuurõ* ‘raw, fresh’ (*tuore* : ElaSg or TraSg *tuurest* (Est V: 1940, 1947; cf. Se *tooras* ~ *toorõss* : *tuurõ*, but fi *tuore*).

Deverbals show objects of actions: *kastõh* ‘dew’ (Est V: 1941; cf. et *kastma* ‘to water, irrigate’); *lihavõdedeh* ‘Easter, lit. meat taking’ (Est V: 1953; see et *võtma* ‘to take’); *+mähe<sup>a</sup>* : *mähke?* ‘diaper’ (IIIPI? *mähkühe*, AES 202: 14; but Se *mähe* : *mähkmä*; cf. et *mähkima* ‘to wrap’) and *paaz'õh* ‘abscess’ (PrtPl *paizit*; Est V: 1952; cf. et *paisuma* ‘to swell’ or *paistma* ‘to shine’).

**-e ~ -õ < \*-Ea < \*-EtA.** The following adjectives of Proto-Finnic origin or older are formed using denominal *-e*: *haigõ* ‘ill’ (AES 202: 11); *helde* ‘generous’ (Kallas 1903: 91; cf. *hell* ‘tender; sensitive; sore’); *jämme* ‘thick’ (GenSg *jämmee*, AES 202: 13); *kangõ* ‘stiff; strong’ (Est V: 1945; cf. *kang* ‘crow-bar’); *korgõ* ‘high’ (Mets et al. 2014: 291; IIIsg *kuorgõhõ*, AES 202: 26); *+lipõ* ‘slippery’ (PrtSg *libõhõt*; Mets et al. 2014: 281); *pehme* ‘soft’ (AES 202: 9); *+pümme* ‘dark’ (GenSg? *pümmee*, AES 202); *rassõ* ‘heavy’ (AES 202: 9); *sakõ* ‘frequent’ (AES 202: 7); *terveh* ‘healthy’ (Est V: 1937; SgEss *tervehnä* (AES 202: 9); *tihkõ* ‘dense’ (Est V: 1945); *valgõ* ‘white’ (Est V: 1934). *Helde* is a variant formed by analogy to a consonant gradational stem (Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). *Tere* (AES 202: 28) is based on the shape of the word *terveh*. The derivational suffix *-õh* appears in other cases in folk song variants documented in the mid-19th century, later it disappears, cf. *\*valgõhõta* (PrtSg *walga heta*, Br: 1-2) ~ *valgõt* (Mets et al. 2014: 288) ~ *valgõta* (Kallas 1903: 1-3; all three words PrtSg). This group may also include NomPl *+puhtõ<sup>a</sup>* ‘funeral’ (AllPI *puhtilõ*, Est V: 1945; Se *puhtõ<sup>a</sup>*; cf. et *puhe* ‘dawn’; originally ‘a funeral feast held in the morning’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 2200).

**-i : -ja ~ -jä < \*-jA.** Two plant names are formed using the denominal *jV*-suffix: *katai* : *kadaja* ‘juniper’ (AES 202: 10; ERA II: 94; cf. Se *katai* : *kadaja*) and *petäi* ‘pine’ (Est V: 1934) : *+pedäjä* (NomPl *pedäjä<sup>a</sup>*, AES 202: 3), also likely is *+putsai* ‘feather’ (NomPl *pudzaja<sup>a</sup>*, Est V: 1938; Se *putsai* : *pudsaja*; cf. *puts* : *pudsu* ‘fluff’ (Mägiste 1982–1983: 2255), the same as et *pudi* and *pudu*. Probably also of the same origin is *kevväi* : *+kevjä* ‘spring’ (Est V: 1944; AblSg *kevjäält*, AES 202: 11) and *min'n'i* ‘daughter-in-law’ (NomPl *minijä<sup>a</sup>*, AES 202: 12; Est V: 1949; cf. however Mägiste 1982–1983: 1540: < *minema* ‘to go’ + doer *-ja* ~ *-jä*). The word *mõr'z'ja* ‘bride’ is not included among Baltic loans here

(cf. Proto-Baltic *\*martjā*, Mägiste 1982–1983: 1601).<sup>1</sup> This denominational suffix is considered to be based on the original form *\*-ka ~ \*-kä* (Laanest 1975: 136), but it is possible that other suffixes have been joined to this stem in other languages and dialects.

In contrast, significantly more nouns are formed using the deverbal *jV*-suffix. Nouns describing doers include *\*haudja* ‘steamer’ (AllSg *viha haudjallõ* ‘bath whisk steamer’, Mets et al. 2014: 290; cf. Se *haudma* ‘to steam’); *\*kandija* ‘carrier’ (TraSg *adra kandias* ‘plough carrier’, Br: 4-7; cf. *kandma* ‘carry’); *\*kodohoidja* ‘one who looks after the house when others are not at home’, lit. ‘housekeeper’ (*kodohoiidja*, Kallas 1903: 98); *\*külbijä* ‘sower’ (TraSg *külbias*, Br: 4-6; cf. Se *külbmä* ‘to sow’); *\*kütjä* ‘heater’ (AllSg *sanna kütjäle* ‘sauna heater’; Mets et al. 2014: 290); *\*laulja* ‘singer’ (NomPl *hähilaulja<sup>q</sup>* ‘wedding singer’, Est V: 1935; cf. *laulma* ‘to sing’); *\*tuuja* ‘bringer’ (AllSg *vii tuujallõ* ‘water bringer’; Mets et al. 2014: 290); *\*vingjä* ‘whiner’ (AdeSg *vingjäl*; Mets et al. 2014: 290); *\*võttija* ‘taker’ (TraSg *witze wätias* ‘whipper’, Br: 4-5). In two cases, this deverbal formation has secondarily resulted in animal meanings: *elläi* ‘animal’ (Est V: 1947; cf. Se *elläi : eljä* < *elämä* ‘live’)<sup>2</sup> and *\*süüjä* ‘parasite’ (PrtSg *sööjaid*, Kallas 1903: 97; cf. Se *süüma* ‘to eat’). A couple of lexemes refer to tools: *rapai* ‘swingle (a sword-like instrument with a wide wooden blade used with flax stalks; et *ropsimõõk*)’ (Est V: 1940; cf. Se *rapai : rabaja* and *rabahhamma : rapa<sup>q</sup>* also: ‘to thresh flax’) as well as *var’okaaja* ‘mirror’, lit. ‘shadow watcher’ (Est V: 1942; cf. Se *var’okaetus* ‘mirror’); in one case also an important event NomPl *saaja<sup>q</sup>* ‘wedding’ (AES 202: 2; Se *saaja<sup>q</sup> ~ saja<sup>q</sup>* < *saama* ‘to get’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). An unknown meaning is encountered in *üllei : ülejä* (Est V: 1951).

**-k : -ga < \*-kkA.** The study of words with this suffix poses several problems: 1) most words do not have a documented singular genitive form, making it difficult to distinguish words formed with the compound suffix *\*-kkei ~ \*-kk-oi*, 2) it is uncertain whether the genitive *-a* or *-u* ending is not due to analogy, 3) a variety of *k*-suffixes has been observed in Estonian dialects (Neetar 1990: 49). Therefore, words with both suffixes are discussed together. Additionally, due to apocope in the

1 The suffix *-n : -me-* in Fi *morsian : morsiamen* ‘bride’ is secondary (see Hakulinen 1968: 112).

2 cf. *suur elläi ~ suur jelläi* ‘rich man’ (Kallas 1903: 27).

nominative, there is also a third *k*-type secondary derivational suffix (see Section 4).

This Kraasna denominal suffix forms the following noun and adjective derivatives: <sup>+</sup>(*huu*)*hublik* ‘sorrel, lit. horse sorrel (*Rumex crispus*)’ (NomPl (*huu*)*hubliga*<sup>q</sup>, AES 202: 5; cf. et *huba* ‘crumbly’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012; *lut’k* ‘(bed)bug’ (Est V: 1940); *maas’k* ‘strawberry’ (Est V: 1934; presumably, the same stem as the word *manner* ‘mainland’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); *mus’t’k* ‘(black) bilberry’ (Est V: 1934; cf. *must* ‘black’); *or’k* ~ *orik* (78); ~ *uor’k* ‘boar’ (Est V: 1942; Kallas 1903: 32, 78; eS word; GenSg is *oriku*, Käsi 2011; which derives from the word *ora* ‘spike, bodkin’ or Proto-Germanic, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); <sup>+</sup>*sit’k* ~ *sitik* ‘black currant’ (NomPl *sitka*<sup>q</sup>, AES 202: 7; Se *sitikmar’a*<sup>q</sup> ~ *sitka*<sup>q</sup> *mar’a*<sup>q</sup> < *sitik* ‘beetle’ < *sitt* ‘shit’); *suolik* ‘intestine’ (NomPl *suoligu*<sup>q</sup> ~ *suoligõ*<sup>q</sup>, AES 202: 7; Est V: 1934; cf. fi *suoli*); *vas’k’* ‘calf’ (Est V: 1949; cf. *vasik* ~ *vas’k*); cf. Proto-Indo-Iranian *vasa-*). This suffix derives animal as well as plant names. The word *harak* ‘magpie’ (NomPl *haragu*<sup>q</sup>, AES 202: 10 Est V: 1938) is a Baltic loan, while <sup>+</sup>*kasuk* (*-k* < ru *-h*) ‘fur coat’ and <sup>+</sup>*turak* (*-k* < ru *-k*) ‘fool’ (Pall 1982–1989) are Russian loans (Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) as well as *kill’ok* ‘clay hand washing dish’ (cf. Se *kilok* : *kiloga*, *kilokas* < ru *зилек*).

**-l’ : -la-** < **\*-IA**. Nouns are formed using this denominal suffix *jummal* ~ *jimmel* (AES 202: 7, 11; the vowel *i* in *jimmel* was pronounced backwards; cf. Se *jummal’*) : *jumala* ~ *jimala* ‘god’ (Kallas 1903: 65; AES 202: 11) and *pässül* ‘steelyard (et *päsmer*, *margapuu*)’ (AES 202: 11; Se *pässül’* : *päsülä*). The suffix is attached to the first part of the germL *besemer* ~ *besmer* ~ *bisemer*, cf. also *pässerm* (Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). An assumed Baltic loanword is *sammõl* : *samble* ‘moss’ (Est V: 1952; NomPl *samblõ*<sup>q</sup>, Est V: 1938); Proto-Baltic *n* was replaced by Finnic *l* (cf. blt *\*samanas*), and of Proto-Germanic origin is <sup>+</sup>*hummal’* ‘hops’ (NomPl *humala*<sup>q</sup>, ERA II: 106). The only known adjective is *matal* : *madala* ‘low’ (AES 202: 4; Mets et al. 2014: 291).

**-m ~ -e ~ -õ ~ Ø** : **-ma-** ~ **-me-** ~ **-mä** ~ **-mõ-** < **\*-mA** ~ **\*-mE**. For various reasons, three related Finnic suffixes have assimilated in the Kraasna dialect. Descendants of these are, for example: fi *-in*, *-ma* ~ *-mä* and *-ma* ~ *-mä* ~ *-(i)n* (see Laanest 1975: 134, 137–138). The following are denominal derivatives: <sup>+</sup>*ikim?* ‘(tooth) gums’ (AES 202: 4; NomPl *igime*<sup>q</sup>, Est V: 1934; Se *ikim* : *igime*; cf. fi *ien* : *ikene-*); <sup>+</sup>*süä* ‘heart’

(AdeSg *süämel*; Kallas 1903: 91, 92; cf. fi *sydäin*); <sup>+</sup>*tukõm* ‘support?’ (AllSg *tugemile*, Kallas 1903: 1-23; cf. eS *tugim* ~ *tukim* ‘switch, rod’, *tugimus* ‘cudgel; sprig’, Wiedemann 1973: 1211; cf. Se *tugi* ‘support’) and *võezi* ~ *võizi* : *võiz'me* ‘butter’ (Est V: 1947; Kallas 1903: 86; Mets et al. 2014: 287; Se *puuvõisi* : *puuvõisma* : *puuvõismõ* ‘vegetable oil’; <sup>\*</sup>*voisime-* < <sup>\*</sup>*voitime* < <sup>\*</sup>*voit[a]-ime* (Mägiste 1982–1983: 3936). In some words, the singular nominative *-m* has survived due to the influence of the genitive.

Of adjectival origin is *nõdr̄m* : *nõdr'me* ~ <sup>?</sup>*nõdõrna* ‘cradle pole; a device for pressing grain into a mortar’ (AES 202: 8; Haak et al. 1994–2020; Est V: 1937; *-na* < <sup>\*</sup>*-ma*; Se *nõdõrm* : *nõdõрма* ~ *nõdõrmõ* < *nõdõr*, cf. et *nõder* ‘weak; (dialect form:) cradle spar’, in related languages also: ‘flexible’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012)<sup>3</sup> and NomPl *suurma<sup>q</sup>* ‘groats’ (AES 202: 25; Se *suurma<sup>q</sup>* < *suur* ‘large’, see Mägiste 1982–1983: 2941).<sup>4</sup> The other derivative type is *hääjerm* (see Sec. 4).

The deverbal derivatives are <sup>+</sup>*azõ* ‘location; sleeping place’ (NomPl *azõmõ<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 6; Se *asõ* : *asõma* ~ *asõmõ* < *asuma* ‘to come into being, to appear’ < *asuma* ‘to dwell; to be located’); *võti* ‘key’ (NomPl *võtmõ<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 20; cf. Se *võtma* ‘to take’); NomPl *vuulme<sup>q</sup>* ‘draw-knife’ (Kallas 1903: 25); cf. Se *vuul'ma* ‘to whittle’, see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). The known Kraasna partitive singular form of this suffix is *-nd*, e.g., *azõnd* ‘place’ (Mets et al. 2014: 280; also Se *asõnd*) and *võezind* ‘butter’ (Mets et al. 2014: 283).

**-n** : **-na** ~ **-nä** < <sup>\*</sup>**-nA**. This denominal suffix appears in the words *hapõn* : *habõna* ‘beard’ (Est V: 1937), which is commonly used in its plural form *habõna<sup>q</sup>* (AES 202: 4; cf. Se *habõna<sup>q</sup>*), and <sup>+</sup>*upin* ‘apple’ (NomPl *ubina<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 25; cf. Se *upin* < *uba* ‘bean’, see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). A deverbal suffix of the same form is found in adjectives <sup>+</sup>*kas'sin* : *kazina* ‘scanty; clean’ (AllSg *kazinale*, Kallas 1903: 14-11; Se *kassin* < *kasima* : *kassi<sup>q</sup>* ‘to clean; to harvest fruit’) where the suffix indicates a diminutive (Mägiste 1982–1983: 722; Neetar 1990: 85 does not address the derivative).

3 The South Estonian word has become *a*-final only in the Võnnu and Seto varieties, elsewhere it is *u*-type (see Haak et al. 1994–2020). This is why Mägiste only allows for a *mu*-suffix (< <sup>\*</sup>*-moi*; Mägiste 1982–1983: 1756).

4 Fi *suurima* ~ *suurimo* ‘an individual grain or groat’ is indirectly associated with a verb known from folk songs *suurtaa* ‘to break into individual grains or groats’ (Hakulinen 1968: 162).



**-nd ~ -d < \*-ntA.** This denominal suffix usually means ‘with something or someone similar’, e.g., <sup>+</sup>*imänd* ~ <sup>+</sup>*jimänd* ‘lady’ (NomPl *imändä<sup>q</sup>*, Kallas 1903: 6-33; Est V: 1936; Se *imä* ‘mother’); *Essänd* : *Essändä* ‘Lord’ (Est V: 1949; AllSg *Essändäle* AES 202: 12); *ezänd* ~ <sup>+</sup>*jezänd* : *ezändä* ~ *jezändä* ‘gentleman; manor lord’ (Kallas 1903: 96, 98; AES 202: 3; Se *esä*); *soend* ‘werewolf’ (Kallas 1903: 96; also Se *soend* < *susi* : *soe* ‘wolf’). The shape of this suffix (*-nd* > *-d*) is unique: *põrmad* : *põrmadu* ‘floor’ (Est V: 1934, 1943. Word forms found in Kallas: *põrmandul* (Kallas 1903: 124) and *põrmandule* (ERA I: 26); cf. also Se *põrmad* ~ *põrmand* : *põrmadu* ~ *põrmandu*). These are probably constructed by analogy.

**-ne ~ -nõ : -ze ~ -zõ or -dze ~ -dzõ < \*-(i)nEn : -(i)sE- ~ -(i)tsE- < \*-n’c’E** (see also *n’*). This denominal suffix forms nouns as well as adjectives. Some nouns are abstracted from adjectives. Some words do not have singular forms. Referring to means of action: NomPl *ahersälüze<sup>q</sup>* ‘breeching (a part of a horse harness)’ (Est V: 1940; still only in Se and Vas); NomPl *pädze<sup>q</sup>* ~ *päädze<sup>q</sup>* ‘headstall, halter’ (Est V: 1934, 1940; Se *päitse<sup>q</sup>* < *päine* : *päitse* < *pää* ‘head’) and *suudzõ* ‘bridle’ (Est V: 1934; < *suu* ‘mouth’). Referring to people in general, relatives, etc.: *in’imen’e* : *inimize* ‘human; person’ (Mets et al. 2014: 277; AES 202: 25); *kabõhanõ* ~ *kabõhõnõ* ‘young woman’ (NomPl *kabõhõdze<sup>q</sup>* AES 202: 12, 28; Kallas 1903: 40; *-he* ~ *-hõ* is a suffix on the base word; Se *kabõhhõnõ*); *naan’õ* : *naaz’õ* ‘woman, wife’ (Mets et al. 2014: 280; Est V: 1938); *sulanõ* ‘hind, farmhand’ (AES 202: 10; cf. fi *sulhanen* ‘bridegroom’; < *sula* ‘gentle’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 2908). Referring to members of the animal kingdom: <sup>+</sup>*mehine* ‘bee’ (NomPl *mehidze<sup>q</sup>*, Est V: 1950; Se *mehine* : *mehidse*) and <sup>+</sup>*tianõ* ‘titmouse’ (*tiazehain*, Kallas 1903: 45). The secondary variant of this suffix is the denominal *-n’* : *-ze* ~ *-zõ*, which occurs in the nouns *hopõn’* : *hobõzõ* ‘horse’ and *repän’* ‘fox’ (both Est V: 1934). Referring to holidays or activities: *ristjäts* ‘baptism’ (Mets et al. 2014: 277; Se plural *ristjätisi<sup>q</sup>*); NomPl *talidze<sup>q</sup>* ‘Christmas’ (AES 202: 6) (see also adjectives) and *õütsi* ‘grazing of horses at night’ (AES 202: 20; Se *õüts* : *õüdsi* < *õine* : *õise* ~ *õitse* < *õö* ‘night’). Not grouped by meaning: *laudadze<sup>q</sup>* ~ *laadadze<sup>q</sup>* ‘an offering made to the cowhouse gods; et *lehmäkahi*’ (Kallas 1903: 86; cf. Se *laut* : *lauda* ‘cowshed’); NomPl *päälze<sup>q</sup>* ‘haulms’ (Est V: 1940) and *tarõalunõ* ‘basement (lit. ‘under the room or house’)’ (Kallas 1903: 26; Se *tarõalonõ*). See also *-dze- ~ -dzõ-*.

There is an abundance of adjectives derived from nouns: *haavane* ‘of aspen (wood)’ (*haavane*; AES 202: 25); *jääne* ‘icy, covered with ice’ (Kallas 1903: 126); *kadajanõ* ‘of juniper’ (Est V: 1952); <sup>+</sup>*kullanõ* ‘golden, of gold’ (GenPl *kulladzide*, Kallas 1903: 6-51...54; cf. Se *kullanõ*); *kõllanõ* ‘yellow’ (AES 202: 11); *kõonõ* ~ *kõõvunõ* ‘of birch (wood)’ (AES 202: 25; Est V: 1952; < *kõiv* : *kõo* ‘birch’); *külmäne* ‘cold’ (Mets et al. 2014: 290); *lepäne* ‘of alder (wood)’ (AES 202: 25); *näl’äne* ‘hungry’ (Est V: 1944); *paiunõ* (Haak et al. 1994–2020) ‘of willow (wood)’ (NomPl *pajudzõ<sup>q</sup>*, Est V: 1941); *patane* ‘sinful’ (AllPl *patadzile*, Kallas 1903: 100; Se *patanõ* < *patt* : *patu* ‘sin’; plural stem, Käsi 2000: 173); <sup>+</sup>*pedäjine* ‘of pine’ (NomPl *pedäjidze<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 25; cf. Se *petäi*); *puzanõ* ‘bitter’ (Est V: 1953; only in Kra; cf. also Kra *pusa* ‘sullen?’); *puunõ* ‘wooden, of wood’ (Est V: 1940) (ElaSg *puudzest*, Kallas 1903: 88); *ravvanõ* ‘made of iron’ (AES 202: 8); with unclear meanings: <sup>+</sup>*sadõhinõ* : *sadõhitse* ‘rainy?’ (Mets et al. 2014: 290; may be a derivative of the word *\*sadõh*, but it has not been documented, cf. still in Se *sado* ‘precipitation; rotten wood; lazy person’); *savinõ* ‘clayey’ (NomPl *savidzõ<sup>q</sup>*, Est V: 1953; AES 202: 13); *sinine* ~ *šinine* ‘blue’ (Est V: 1941, 1951; NomPl *sinidze<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 12); *sitanõ* ‘mucky’ (AES 202: 21); *suvidzõ<sup>q</sup> pühi<sup>q</sup>* ‘Pentecost’ (*suvidze pühi*, Kallas 1903: 44); *tal’ize pühi* ~ *tal’zi pühi* ‘Christmas’ (Kallas 1903: 44; Mets et al. 2014: 282; Se *tal’sipühi* < *\*talvinõ* : *\*talvidzõ* ‘wintery’); <sup>+</sup>*teräne* ‘of steel’ (GenPl *terädzide*, Kallas 1903: 6-51...54; cf. *terane* ‘steel’, Pall 1982–1989); <sup>+</sup>*tõbinõ* ‘ill’ (*tõpine*, Kallas 1903: 5-5); <sup>+</sup>*tõrvanõ* ‘tarry’ in the compound *tõrvashain* (Kallas 1903: 45);<sup>5</sup> <sup>+</sup>*utonõ*? ‘foggy’ (NomPl *utoza<sup>q</sup>*, Est V: 1940); <sup>+</sup>*vaenõ* ‘poor’ (*vaenegi*, Est V: 1940; < *\*vaivainen* ‘miserable; difficult’ < *vaiiv*, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); *vahanõ* ‘waxy, of wax’ (AES 202: 11); <sup>+</sup>*vas’nõ* ‘copper, of copper’ (GenPl *vas’tside*, Kallas 1903: 6-51...54; cf. Se *vasinõ* < *\*vas’k* ‘copper’); *vastanõ* ‘new’ (Est V: 1938); <sup>+</sup>*ves’ne* ‘watery, wet’ (IneSg *ves’tseh*, AES 202: 25); <sup>+</sup>*vihanõ* ‘angry’ (NomPl *vihaza<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 12).

The adjectives *haavanõ*, *lepäne*, *ravvanõ*, etc. refer to materials; this is characteristic of the Võro dialect (Käsi 2000: 173; see also Viires 1960: 50–51). The *p*-sound in *\*tõbinõ* is either an inaccuracy or hypercorrection, cf. regular in Võro *tõbinõ* ~ *tõpin* ‘ill’ (Käsi 2011: 790).

5 It is possible it is also derived from a noun with a suffix, cf. Se *tõrvas* ‘pitch pine’ (< *tõrv* ‘tar’).

Words of adverbial origin indicate time: <sup>+</sup>*humdõnõnõ* ‘of tomorrow’ (GenSg *hummenetse*; AES 202: 25; < the adverb <sup>+</sup>*humdõn* ‘tomorrow’); *muistine* ‘ancient’ (Kallas 1903: 71; < *muu* ‘another’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 1563); <sup>+</sup>*vahtnõ* : *vahtsõ* ‘new’ (Mets et al. 2014: 285; < *vas’t* ‘maybe’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012).

**-o ~ -u < \*-o.** Initially, Kra *-o* (< *\*-o* and *\*-oi*, see also Sec. 4) and *\*-u* were three different suffixes, the use of which is quite varied in South Estonian language varieties due to the *o > u* change (see Kettunen 1929: 155–156, 157–159). Originally derived by deverbal *-o* are the nouns *elo ~ jelo* ‘dwelling house’ (Kallas 1903: 90; Mets et al. 2014: 290; cf. Se *elo* ‘life; household’ < *elämä* ‘to live’); <sup>+</sup>*kiird* ‘winding?’ (ComSg *kieruga*, Est V: 1949; cf. Se *kiird* ‘winding’, *kiirdmä* ‘to wind’, cf. fi *kierto*); and *teno* ‘thanks’ (Kallas 1903: 14–5, 6; cf. fi *tenho* ‘enchantment; witchcraft’, Se *teno* and *tehnämä* ‘to thank’).

**-o ~ -u < \*-u.** Originally, the noun <sup>+</sup>*kahr* ‘bear’ had the *u*-suffix (NomPl *kahru<sup>a</sup>* ~ *kahrõ<sup>a</sup>*, AES 202: 10, Est V: 1950; Se *kahr* : *kahro*; probably the same stem as the word *kare* ‘rough’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012), <sup>+</sup>*mago* : *mao* ‘taste, flavour’ (*mako*, Kallas 1903: 100; cf. Se *magu* : *mau* : *maku*) and *pago* ‘block’ (*viizupago* ‘bast shoe block’ (Est V: 1941; cf. Se *pago* : *pao* ‘(boot) last’); the main component of this compound word is considered to be a variant of the lexeme *pakk* : *paku* ‘block; chunk’, assuming the Finnic alternation *\*-k- ~ \*-kk-* (Mägiste 1982–1983: 1904).<sup>6</sup>

**-r : -ra ~ -re ~ -rõ < \*-rA.** With this suffix the following are formed: *kõdr* ~ *kõdõr* : *kõdra* ‘seed pod’ (Est V: 1943, 1951; probably the same stem as in the Finnish word *kotelo* ‘casing, shell; cocoon’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) and the first component of the compound word *künnärpää* ‘elbow’ (Est V: 1934) (cf. Lut *künnärpää*, Se *künnär’pää*) and <sup>+</sup>*pinnär’* ‘planting bed’ (NomPl *pindre<sup>a</sup>*, Est V: 1936; Se *pinnär’*). The remaining words are mainly loans from Indo-European languages borrowed at various times: <sup>+</sup>*kõtar* ‘wheel spoke’ (NomPl *kõdara<sup>a</sup>*, Est V: 1940); <sup>+</sup>*sõbõr* ‘friend’ (ComSg *sõbraga*, AES 202: 7); <sup>+</sup>*sõzar* ‘sister’ (NomPl *syzarõ<sup>a</sup>*, Est V: 1941); *tütär* ‘daughter’ (AES 202: 13); *utar’* ‘udder’ (AES 202: 10) and *vassar* ‘hammer’ (Est V: 1937). The meaning

6 Elsewhere, *pakk* is derived from the Proto-Germanic word form *\*spaka-* ~ *\*spakō*, cf. Middle Dutch *spāke* ~ *spaecke* ‘pole; dowel’ (Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012).

and origin of the word *hannar'* (Est V: 1939, 1952) are unknown. The only adjective in this group is *kõvvõr'* 'curved, bent' (AES 202: 8).

**-s : Ø < \*-s : \*-h- < \*-š-**. The following nouns are formed from *a*-stem words using this suffix: *kikas* 'rooster' (AES 202: 10; ComSg *kikkaga*, Mets et al. 2014: 292; cf. et *kukk*, see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); *rõevas* : *rõiva* 'clothing' (Est V: 1953; cf. fi *roivas* 'hemp or flax bundle', Kulonen 2000: 88); *säünäs* 'ide (*Leuciscus idus*)' (AES 202: 7); *varbas* 'toe' (NomPl *varba<sup>a</sup>*, Est V: 1934; cf. et *varb* 'rod, switch', Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) and *võõras* 'stranger' (Pall 1982–1989; cf. et *veer* 'border, edge' or blt loan). In the word *saabas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'boot', the suffix is added to first part of the Old Russian loanword *sapogū* 'boot' or the final part was lost after the suffix was added (cf. liv *sõpkõz* 'boot').

There are many Indo-European loans from different periods with this suffix. The Baltic loans are *hammas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'tooth'; <sup>+</sup>*har'as* 'bristle' (PrtPl *haraššit*, Est V: 1952); *kinnas* 'glove' (Pall 1982–1989); *oon'as* (Haak et al. 1994–2020) 'ram'; *ratas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'wheel'; *saivas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'pole, stake'; <sup>+</sup>*taivas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'sky; heaven'; *udras* (Pall 1982–1989) 'otter'. Of Proto-Germanic origin: *haugas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'hawk'; <sup>+</sup>*kangas* 'cloth' (PrtSg *kangast*, Est V: 1939); *rahvas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'people'; *rõngas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'circle, ring'; *tõbras* (Pall 1982–1989) 'cattle'; *varas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'thief'. The suffix is lost in the Proto-Indo-Iranian loanword *põrs* 'piglet' (AES 202: 12; Se *põrss*). A word of problematic affiliation recorded in the Kraasna dialect is *põrmas* 'floor' (Est V: 1941). The origin of the word *kuvvas* 'axe handle' (Est V: 1935; Vas *kuvvas* : *kuuda*) is unclear (see Junttila 2012: 287). Loans also include the *as*-final adjectives: *hal'as* 'green' (NomPl *halja<sup>a</sup>*, Est V: 1939; AES 202: 11); <sup>+</sup>*pal'as* 'naked' (Pall 1982–1989); *puhas* (Kallas 1903: 87) : <sup>+</sup>*puhta* 'clean' (SgII *puhtahõ*, Est V: 1937); *rikas* 'rich' (Mets et al. 2014: 279).

**-s : -se ~ -sa ~ -sä < \*-isA**. The word *imis* ~ *im's* 'sow' (Est V: 1942; Kallas 1903: 32; cf. Se *imä* 'mother') is a denominal noun, but the word *tul'is* ~ *tul's* 'collective name for ancient tools used to light a fire (e.g., flint, tinder)' (Kallas 1903: 26) is a Proto-Baltic loan, cf. It *dūlis* 'a smoking piece of wood for driving away bees' (Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). The word form *tulis* 'fire striker' is found in Võromaa and Setomaa (Pall 1982–1989). Adjectives formed from nouns: *illos* 'beautiful' (NomPl *iloza*, AES 202: 8; ERA II: 87; cf. Se *illos* < *ilo*

‘beauty; joy’), *makus* ‘tasty?’ (Haak et al. 1994–2020; cf. Se *magu* ‘flavour, taste’) and *valuz* ‘painful’ (Kallas 1903: 96; the same stem as the word *valge* ‘white’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) as well as from a deverbal *süntsä* ‘polite, fitting’ (Est V: 1935; cf. Se Rõu Vas *süntsä* < *sündüs* (< \**süntüisä*) < *sündümä* ‘to be born’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 2012, Käsi 2000: 177).

**-s : -se- ~ -sõ** < \***-ksE**. This suffix is found in: <sup>+</sup>*jalas* ‘runner (on a sleigh)’ (NomPl *jalazõ<sup>q</sup>*, Est V: 1940; in some Estonian dialects: *jalakse-*; < *jalg* ‘foot’); *jänes* ‘hare’ (AES 202: 10; cf. fi *jänis*); <sup>+</sup>*keres* : *keresist* ‘stones heated in a sauna and doused with water to generate steam’ (Kallas 1903: R 4-12; in et dialects: *kerikse-*; either a Proto-Baltic loan or genuine, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); <sup>+</sup>*kärbes* ‘fly (*Muscidae*)’ (NomPl *kärpse<sup>q</sup>*, Est V: 1935; Se *kärbäs*; it may be that *-es* is a form derived from the *ne*-suffix, cf. see fi *kärpänen*, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); <sup>+</sup>*oras* ‘young crop’ (NomPl *oraze*, Kallas 1903: 11-3; < *ora* ‘spike, spit’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012; in some et dialects *orakse-*, but cf. fi *oras* : *oraan* < \**orahan*); *nõges* ‘nettle’ (*nõges*, Kallas 1903: 45; NomPl *nõgõzõ<sup>q</sup>*, Est V: 1939; cf. Se *nõgõnõ* ~ *nõgõs*’, in et dialects *nogekse-*); *varõs* ‘crow’ (NomPl *varõzõ<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 5, 25; cf. liv *varĩkš*).

**-ts : -tsa- ~ -tsä-** < \***-tsA**. This denominal as well as deverbal suffix forms are used in the names of devices and instruments: <sup>+</sup>*kammits* ‘hobble, tangle’ (*kammitsõhõ*, AES 202: 8; loan stem + a Finnic suffix, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) and *kol’gits* ~ *kuolks* : ‘a tool used for breaking flax’ (ComPl *kol’ksidega*, Kallas 1903: 96; Mets et al. 2014: 284; Est V: 1940; cf. et *kolkima* ‘to break flax or hemp’; e.g., Kra *kolgõtas kol’ksidega* ‘(the flax) is broken with a flax-breaker’). The word <sup>+</sup>*luhits* ‘spoon’ (ComSg *luhitsaga*, Kallas 1903: 87) is of Old Russian origin, cf. *лъжица* ‘a small spoon for giving Holy Communion’. The word *kar’ts* : *karidzõ* ‘piggin, a wooden bowl with a short handle’ (NomPl *karidzõ*, Est V: 1953); cf. ru *копей* ‘a small cup; a box for finely ground flour’, Must 2000: 84) has been borrowed from Russian. The word *labõrits* ‘St. Lawrence’s Day’ (*labõritsakene*, Kallas 1903: 87; < *Laurentius*) is also a borrowing.

**-u**, see -o ~ -u.

**-us ~ -üs : -u ~ -ü** or **-use ~ -usõ** < \***-UtE** (Laanest 1975: 142). The following abstract nouns are formed with this suffix: *tehrüs* ‘health’ (ComSg *tehrüga*, Pall 1982–1989; Est V: 1940; cf. Se *terveh* ‘healthy’;

about the sound change *hr* < *rv* cf. Se *tehrütämä* ‘to greet’, fi *tervyys* : *tervyyden* ‘health’) and *õigus* ‘rightness’ (AES 202: 10; cf. Se *õigus* : *õigusõ* < *õigõ* ‘right; honest, fair’, cf. fi *oikeus* : *oikeuden*). See also the secondary suffix *-us* ~ *-üs*.

**-v** : **-va** ~ **-vä** < **\*-vA**. The only noun derived from another noun with this suffix is *allev* ‘urban village’ (AES 202: 20; cf. et *ala* ‘field, sphere; territory’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). Denominal and deverbial adjectives are much more common: *elläv* ~ *jelläv* ‘alive’ (AES 202: 3, 9; NomPl *elävä<sup>q</sup>*, Est V: 1943; cf. Se *elämä* ‘to live’); <sup>+</sup>*kirriv* : *kirivä* ‘variegated, multi-coloured’ (Kallas 1903: 78; cf. et *kiri* : *kirä* ‘letter; pattern’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); <sup>+</sup>*otav* ‘cheap’ (NomPl *odava<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 11); *pallav* ‘hot’ (AES 202: 10; cf. Se *palama* ‘to burn’); *tutva* ‘known’ (Est V: 1935; et *tuttav* is a consonant stem present tense impersonal voice participle (< *\*tunt-ta-βa*, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); *verrev* : *verevä* ‘red’ (AES 202: 7; ERA I: 42; *veri* ‘blood’); *õgõv* ‘straight’ (AES 202: 8; the same stem as the et word *õige* ‘right, correct’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012).

#### 4. Secondary nominal derivatives

**-dus** ~ **-düs** < **\*-tU-Us** < **\*-tOi-Us**. If the word *süüdüs* (AES 202: 11), the meaning of which is unknown, means the absence of fault (cf. et *süütaus* ~ *süüdus* : *süüduse* ‘innocence’, Wiedemann 1973: 1104), then it must be assumed that this abstract noun is based on a presumed adjective indicating the absence of a state or quality <sup>+</sup>*süüdü*. However, if it does not have a caritive meaning, then it functions as a primary suffix, which is attached to the noun referring to guilt, cf. eS *süüd* ‘guilt’. See also *-du* ~ *-dü*.

**-(i)st** : **-(i)sto** ~ **-(i)stu** < **\*-s-ta-i** (see Hakulinen 1968: 149). This suffix is known in only two words in Kraasna folk songs: <sup>+</sup>*laanist* ‘a low, bosky landscape?’ (ElaSg *laanistust*, Kallas 1903: 1-10; cf. et *laas* : *laane* ‘pine forest’) and <sup>+</sup>*soomist* ‘a swampy meadow or pasture-land’ (ElaSg *soomistost*, Kallas 1903: 1-9; < *soo* ‘swamp’; cf. *soomik* ‘swampy area’ < *soovik*, in which *v* occurred in place of a hiatus, Mägiste 1982–1983: 2854, 2859; probably of the same origin: Vas *soomik* ‘wet creature’, Pall 1982–1989).

**-jas ~ -jäs** : [-ja ~ -jä] < \*-jA-s. According to current data, this suffix occurs only in the nouns *uohtjas* : *\*uohtja* ‘thistle’ (NomPl *uohtja<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 6; Kallas 1903: 45; Se *oht’jas*; < *ohe* : *ohte* ‘awn; beard’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 1816) and *ruod’jas* ‘pole, post?’ (Est V: 1938; cf. Se *rood’as(s)* : *ruudja* ‘pole, post’).

**-k** : **-gi** < \*-kk-i < \*-kkA-i. The following are formed with this deverbial suffix: *\*juuk’* : *joogi* ‘drink’ and *\*süük’* : *söögi* ‘food’ (both Kallas 1903: 91).

**-k** : **-gu** < \*-kk-o < \*-kka-o or \*-kk-oi < \*kka-oi. This suffix has had several semantic functions. Derivatives with this suffix describe human characteristics and are formed primarily from nouns and adjectives, e.g., *habõnik* ‘bearded man’ (AES 202: 25; < *habõna<sup>q</sup>* ‘beard’); *hübärik* ‘powerless; premature child? (as a curse word)’ (Kallas 1903: 95; cf. fi *äpäpä* ‘bastard; degenerate’); *\*kaas’k* ~ *kaazik* ‘wedding singer’ (NomPl *kaazigu<sup>q</sup>* ~ *kaazigõ<sup>q</sup>* ~ *kaas’ku<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 2; Kallas 1903: 102; Est V: 1935; the same stem as *kaasas* ‘with’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); *noor’k* ~ *nuorik* ~ *nuor’k* ‘young wife’ (AES 202: 4; Kallas 1903: 98; Mets et al. 2014: 291; cf. Se *nuur’* : *noorõ* ‘young’); *näidsik* ~ *näütsik* ~ *näädzik* ‘girl, young woman’ (Kallas 1903: 128; cf. *neitsi* ‘virgin; maiden’ < *\*neine* : *\*neitse*, see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); *tütrik* ‘girl’ (NomPl *tütrigu<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 6; Est V: 1937; cf. Se *tütär’*). See also *-k* : *ga* < \*-kka (Sec. 3).

The same suffix is used to derive the names of objects: *linik* ‘kerchief, tablecloth’ (Kallas 1903: 29; cf. *lina*); *\*länik* ‘a wooden container for milk, etc.’ (NomPl *länigu<sup>q</sup>*, Est V: 1935; Proto-Baltic stem, cf. It *lenta* ‘table; plank’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); *nüs’k* ‘milk pail’ (Haak et al. 1994–2020; cf. eS *nüss* ‘milking’; according to Neetar 1990: 27, *nüssik* is deverbial); *pilak* ‘splinter holder (a clip for holding burning kindling)’ (Est V: 1952; cf. *pilu?* ‘slit’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). Associated with the daily cycle: *\*hommok* ~ *hommuk* ~ *hummuk* ‘morning’ (AblSg *hommogult* ~ *hommugult* ~ *hummugult*, AES 202: 21; Mets et al. 2014: 282, 283; the same stem as et *homme* ‘tomorrow’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) and *õdag* : *õdaguld* ‘evening’ (Mets et al. 2014: 289, 290). In adjectives, *-k* appears to function as a diminutive suffix: *poolik* ‘half’ (Kallas 1903: 1-27; cf. Se *puul’* : *poolõ* ‘half’) and *\*väiku* ‘small’ (AllSg *väikule*, Kallas 1903: 14-12; *\*vähi-kko* < *\*vähä* ‘little; few’, see also Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) ‘small’ also in the noun *\*sagarik* : *sagariku* ‘rain shower’ (Kallas 1903: 80). It is

not clear whether the words with unknown meanings – *iešk* (AES 202: 7, cf. Se etc. *eesik* ‘a cow’s name’) and *tõešk* (AES 202: 7) – come from the ordinal numerals ‘first’ and ‘second’.

The word *vanig'* ~ *van'k* ‘wreath’ (Est V: 1938; Kallas 1903: 29) and perhaps also *tatrik* : *tatrigu* ‘buckwheat’ (AES 202: 7, 25; cf. ru *татарка*, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012; with the diminutive suffix *\*-ikkoi*, Mägiste 1982–1983: 3096) cannot be considered loans. The nouns *puuzlik* ‘idol’ (Kallas 1903: 67; the origin of this word is uncertain, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) and *+unik* ~ *un'k* : *un'kohõ* ~ *hun'kohõ* ‘heap, pile’ (Mets et al. 2014: 285) are difficult to semantically categorise.

It is completely uncertain for the words *keranik* (Est V: 1935) and *pelenik* (Est V: 1949), because their meaning is unknown. In cases when documentation is unclear, cf. e.g., Se *kelenik* ‘servant of an abbot’ (< ru *келейник*, Must 2000: 94, but also Kod *kärinik* ‘noisemaker’ and *kerinik* ~ *körinik* ‘sickly’ (Haak et al. 1994–2020), then these may contain *-nik* of Russian (or Latvian) origin instead.

**-kanõ** ~ **-käne** < **\*-kA-(i)nEn**. The diminutive suffix *\*-kVnV* forms many new words. Most of these are recorded by Kallas. An abundance of diminutives is very characteristic of Võro, which may be the result of Russian and/or Latvian influence. In front-vowel words, the compound suffix has the form *-kene*, but in back-vowel words it is either *-kanõ* or *-kõnõ*.<sup>7</sup> Though the latter come from the same Finnic suffix, it is sensible to keep these separate in Estonian. The following diminutive nouns are formed using the *kanõ*-suffix, which denotes either the smallness of creatures or personalities or an affectionate attitude towards them: *gul'ukkanõ* ‘pigeon’ (AES 202: 25; < *gul'u* ‘pigeon (dim.)’); *haan'akkanõ* ‘hay (dim.)’ (AES 202: 4; < *hain* ‘hay’); *hatakane* (Kallas 1903: 125; < *hatt* ‘female dog; whore’); *hõngõkkane* (AES 202: 13; < *hõng* ‘breath; soul’); *jumalakkane* (AES 202: 4; < *jummal* ‘god’); *kaazõkkanõ* (Est V: 1953; < *kaas* ‘lid, cover’); *+kablakanõ* (NomPl *kablakaze*<sup>a</sup>, Est V: 1940; < *kabõl* ‘string, cord’); *+kalakanõ* : *kalakazõ* (Mets et al. 2014: 291; < *kala* ‘fish’); *+kamakanõ* (PrtSg *kamakaiste*, 3-20; < *kama* ‘a finely milled flour mixture used for making porridge, baking, etc.’); *kanakane* (Mets et al. 2014: 207-17) < *kana* ‘hen’;

7 The base words of the *KVnV*-diminutives were derived by the author of this article with particular reference to Seto words (Käsi 2011).



*kan'kanõ* (Est V: 1951; *kann'* : *kanni* 'jug'; in this and other examples typically there is syncope resulting in the palatalisation of the preceding consonant); *kar'pkanõ* (Est V: 1952; < *karp* : *karbi* 'box, case'); *kaškanõ* (Est V: 1953; < *kašk* 'overcoat'; Se *kask* : *kaska* ~ *kasuk* : *kasuga*); <sup>+</sup>*kedzokanõ* (PrtSg *kedzokaist*, Kallas 1903: 12-4; cf. Se *ketso* 'spindle' < \**keta-s-* 'disc' + \*-*oi*, see Mägiste 1982–1983: 790); *kikkakanõ* (Kallas 1903: 3-14...15; < *kikas* 'rooster'); \**kogrõkanõ* (*kogrokane*, Br: 2-2; < \**kogõr'*) 'crucian carp', *kor'v'kanõ* ~ *kuor'v'kanõ* (AES 202: 8; Est V: 1953; < *korv'* 'basket'); <sup>+</sup>*kostikanõ* : *kostikaze* (Kallas 1903: 3-23; < *kost'* 'guest', Must 2000: 129); *kuh'akane* (Kallas 1903: 14-8; < *kuhi* 'rick, stack'; *kuningakane* (Kallas 1903: 80; < *kuningas* 'king'); *ladvakkanõ* (AES 202: 7; < *ladõv* 'top (of trees, etc.)'); \**ladzõkan* ~ \**ladzõkõn* ~ <sup>+</sup>*ladzõkanõ* (*latzakan*, Br: 4-1; *ladzekane*, ERA I: 67; < *lats'* : *ladzõ* 'child'); <sup>+</sup>*langakanõ* (PrtSg *langakaist*, Kallas 1903: 12-5; < *lang* 'yarn'); *l'el'lokanõ* (Mets et al. 2014: 207-3; multiple diminutive, using palatalisation, *o-* and *kanõ*-suffixes; cf. Se *lelo* ~ *leloo* ~ *lelooh* 'leelo (a type of Estonian folk song)'); <sup>+</sup>*livvakanõ* (ElaSg *livvakazest*, Kallas 1903: 88; < *liud* : *livva* 'a type of large serving dish'); *magilkakanõ* (Mets et al. 2014: 281; < *magilka* 'grave' < ru *могилка* 'grave (dim.)'); *munakane* (Kallas 1903: 3-12; < *muna* 'egg'); <sup>+</sup>*naaz'õkanõ* : \**naaz'õkazõ* (*naesõkaze*, Kallas 1903: 19-2; < *naan'õ* 'woman, wife'); *oinakkanõ* (Est V: 1953; < *oinas* 'ram'); <sup>+</sup>*ollõkanõ* (PrtSg *ollekaiste*, Kallas 1903: 3-21; < *olu<sup>q</sup>* 'beer'); <sup>+</sup>*orazõkanõ* (NomPl *orazekaze<sup>q</sup>*, Kallas 1903: 103; < *oras* 'young crop'); *paabakane* (Kallas 1903: 124); < *paaba* 'old woman' < ru *баба*; Se *paaba*); *pad'akanõ* (Mets et al. 2014: 280; < *padi* 'pillow'); *painakane* 'nightmare, incubus' (Kallas 1903: 96; cf. eN *painakas* 'nightmare', Neetar 1990: 57); *pikrikanõ* (Est V: 1941; < *pikri* 'cup, shot glass'); *pos'kane* ~ *puos'kanõ* (Est V: 1945; Kallas 1903: 124; < *poiss'* 'boy, young man'); *puhmakkanõ* (AES 202: 6; < *puhm* 'bush'); *puuzlikanõ* (AES 202: 12; < *puuslik* 'idol'); <sup>+</sup>*pungakanõ* (IllSg *pungakaizdõ*, Kallas 1903: 22-5; recorded in Kallas's notebook instead as: PrtSg *punga* (ERA I 87); < *pung* 'wallet'); <sup>+</sup>*sainakanõ* (PrtSg *sainakaist*, Kallas 1903: 12-6; *sain* 'wall (here: unit of measure for fabric)'); *saunakkanõ* (AES 202: 7; < *saun* 'sauna'); *teedakane* (Kallas 1903: 124; < *teeda* 'old man' < ru *дед* 'grandfather'; Se *teeda*); *tsirgukane* (*vihmatsirgukane*, Kallas 1903: 32; < *tsirk* 'bird'); *tsurakkanõ* (AES 202: 5; < *tsura* 'boy; young unmarried man; helper'; Se *tsura*); *tüttrikanõ* (AES 202: 10; < *tüttrik* 'girl; young unmarried

woman; female farm worker’, see Sec. 3); *vaderikane* (Mets et al. 2014: 291; < *vadõr’* ~ *vatõr’* ‘godparent’); *varzakkanõ* (AES 202: 3; < *vars* ‘foal’); *vazigakkanõ* (AES 202: 3; < *vazik* ‘calf’); *vigliakane* (Kallas 1903: 14-7; < *vigõl’* ‘pitchfork’); *vihmakane* (Kallas 1903: 9-1; < *vihm* ‘rain’); *vikakaarikane* (Kallas 1903: 9-3, 4; < *vikakaar’* ‘rainbow’; Se *vikat’kaar’*) and <sup>+</sup>*voonakanõ* (NomPl *voonakazõ<sup>a</sup>*, AES 202: 3; < *vuun* ‘lamb’). Words with unknown meanings include: *ažkanõ* (Est V: 1951), *ed’kanõ* (Est V: 1953) and *Jintskane* (Kallas 1903: 124). The unique form *vaderidzekaze* (Kallas 1903: 21-3; < *vatõr’* ‘godparent’) has the plural meaning ‘godparents (dim.) together’, see *-dze- ~ -dzõ-*.

There are relatively few adjectives with this suffix. Some of these are formed from nouns and denote the content of a material: <sup>+</sup>*aganakanõ* ‘of chaff, containing chaff’ (NomPl *aganakas<sup>a</sup>*, Mets et al. 2014: 285; < *akan’* : *agana* ‘chaff’); *juonõkanõ* ‘striped’ (AES 202: 13; Se *joonikanõ* < *juun’* ‘stripe’) and *kõevanõ* ‘of birch; made of birch-wood’ (Est V: 1944; < *kõiv* ‘birch’). The other adjectives with this suffix are derived from adjectives, e.g., *jämkkäne* ‘fat; coarse (et *jämedune*)’ (Kallas 1903: 125; cf. Se *jämükene* < *jämmeh* ‘fat; coarse’); *ohkanõ* ‘thin (et *õhukene*)’ (Est V: 1941; Se *ohkõnõ* < *ohu<sup>a</sup>* ~ *ohut* ‘thin’); *piukane* (Kallas 1903: 125; *piukõnõ* ‘in length’ (Kallas 1903: 125; cf. Se *piu<sup>a</sup>* ‘in length’, *piutus* ‘length; height’), and *sõgõhõkkane* ‘blind (et *pimedakene*)’ (AES 202: 26; < *sõkõh* ‘blind’). In this case, the diminutive meaning is only partially evident. The diminutive is an adjective of noun origin: <sup>+</sup>*pizukanõ* : *pizukaze* ‘small (et *pisikene*)’ (Kallas 1903: 1-24; < *\*pisu* ‘drop; a small amount’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012 [< *\*pisa*]).

The following are secondarily nominalised: *armakane* ‘beloved’ (Kallas 1903: 19-1; < *armas* : *arma*, Käsi 2011: 39); *mustakane* ‘evil spirit, devil; lit. little black one (et *mustakene*)’ (Kallas 1903: 95; < *must* ‘black’); *vanakkanõ* ‘dear old person (et *vanakene*)’ (Est V: 1945; < *vahn* ‘old’, Pall 1982–1989) and *\*väikokan[õ]* ~ *\*väikokõn[õ]* ‘little one (about children) (et *väiksekene*)’ (*waiekan*, Br: 4-2; *väiko* ~ *väiku* ‘little’). Of adverbial origin: *suutskakkanõ* (Est V: 1942; cf. Se *ts’uut* ‘a little bit, a small amount’ < ru *чумб*) and *tsipakõnõ* (Pall 1982–1989; < *tsipa* ‘a little bit, a small amount’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012, Käsi 2011).

**-kene ~ -kõnõ** < **\*-k(k)E-(i)nen** < **\*-k(k)A-(i)nen**. Nouns are derived most of all with this suffix: *aiakene* (Kallas 1903: 73; < *aid* ‘garden’); *anumakene* (Kallas 1903: 82; < *annom* ‘vessel; container’);

*ezändäkene* (Kallas 1903: 80; < *ezänd* ‘lord’); *hainakene* (Kallas 1903: 45; < *hain* ‘hay’); *hiireherrnekene* (Kallas 1903: 44; < *hiireherneh* ‘vetch’); *+huunõkõnõ* (*hoonekest*, Kallas 1903: 87; < *hoonõh* ‘building’); *humalakõnõ* (ERA III: 196; < *hummal* ‘hops’); *hõimukene* (Kallas 1903: 92; < *hõim* ‘tribe, people’); *här’äkene* (AES 202: 3; < *härg* ‘bull’); *\*imekene* (Br: 3-1); < *imä* ‘mother’); *juudakene* (*suujuudakene*, Kallas 1903: 125; < *Juudas?*); *+kaazõkõnõ* (*kaazõkkõzõga*, AES 202: 7; < *kaas* ‘lid, cover’); *kah’akene* (Kallas 1903: 87; < *kahi* ‘a drink offering’); *kanakõnõ* (Kallas 1903: 3-15; < *kana* ‘hen’); *karmukõnõ* (AES 202: 1; < *karm* ‘charcoal fumes’); *+kar’uzõkõnõ* (PrtSg *karjuzekõist*, Kallas 1903: 7-11; < *kar’us* ‘herder’); *ker’kene* (Kallas 1903: 124; < *ker’go*; cf. *Se ker’go* ‘a small bench’); *kivikene* (Kallas 1903: 9-5; < *kivi* ‘stone’); *kupakõnõ* (Kallas 1903: 82; < *kupp* ‘a small cupping glass’); NomPl *\*kälēdzekeze<sup>9</sup>* ~ *kälēdekez’* (ERA II: 85; Kallas 1903: 21-2; < *kälēdze<sup>9</sup>* ‘brothers’ wives’. A singular form has not been observed, cf. older *källine* (Göseken 1660, cited by: Vääri 2013: 156; *Se källü* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’); *künlekene* ~ *+kündlikene* (Est V: 1953; *kündlikeze*, Mets et al. 2014: 281; < *künnel* ‘candle’); *labõritsakene* (Kallas 1903: 87; < *labõrits* ‘St. Lawrence’s Day’); *+ladzõkõnõ* (SgPrt *ladzõkõist*, Kallas 1903: 7-10; < *lats* ‘child’); *+laulukõnõ* (NomPl *maalaulukeze*, Kallas 1903: 103; < *laul* ‘song’); *lehmäkene* (Kallas 1903: 10-5; < *lehm* ‘cow’); *+leiväkene* (AllSg *leivakezele*, Kallas 1903: 93; < *leib* ‘bread’); *lelokene* (Kallas 1903: 1-1; < *lelo* ‘leelo (a type of Estonian folk song)’); *maamakene* (Kallas 1903: 1-15; < *maama* ‘mother’ < ru *мама*; *Se maama*); *mer’kene* (Kallas 1903: 124; < *meri* ‘sea’); *munakõnõ* (NomPl *munakeze*, (Kallas 1903: 128; Mets et al. 2014: 207-13; < *muna* ‘egg’); *Märtkene* (Kallas 1903: 124; < *Märt* ‘a man’s name’); *origugene* (Kallas 1903: 84; < *orik* ‘boar’); *paabakene* (Kallas 1903: 128; < *paaba* ‘old woman’ < ru *баба*); *+palakõnõ* (ComSg *palakezega*, Kallas 1903: 22-2; < *pala* ‘piece’); *+piiragukõnõ* (NomPl *piiragukõzõ<sup>9</sup>*, Kallas 1903: 21; < *piirak* ‘(large) pie (a type of food)’ < ru *пирог*); *pinikene* (Kallas 1903: 125; < *pini* ‘dog’); *puhmakõnõ* (*kadajapuhmakõnõ*, Kallas 1903: 73; < *puhm* ‘bush’); *+rihekene* (*r’ihekeist*, Kallas 1903: 87; < *riih* ‘threshing barn’); *rästäkene* (Kallas 1903: 32; < *rästäs* ‘thrush’); *rät’kene* (Mets et al. 2014: 281; < *rätt* ‘kerchief; towel’); *+rüpkene* (IllSg *rüppkõizdõ*, Kallas 1903: 101; < *rüpp* ‘lap’; *Se rüpp* : *rüpu*); *saanikõnõ* (Kallas 1903: 3-4; < *saan* ‘sleigh’); *sannakõnõ* (Mets et al. 2014: 290; < *sann* ‘sauna’); *+soolakõnõ* (AllSg *soolakezele*, Kallas 1903: 93; < *suul* : *soola*

‘salt’); *surakõnõ* (Mets et al. 2014: 207-14; < *sura* ‘egg yolk’, cf. et *sora*); <sup>+</sup>*sõnakõnõ* (NomPl *sõnakeze<sup>q</sup>*, Kallas 1903: 22-3; < *sõna* ‘word’); <sup>+</sup>*suukõnõ* (*sũ’ũkene*, Kallas 1903: 92; < *sugu* : *suu* ‘gender; family; generation’); *sõirakõnõ* (ERA I: 63; < *sõir* ‘cheese’; *sõzarakõnõ* (ERA IV; < *sõzar* ‘sister’); *tedrekene* (Kallas 1903: 5-1; < *tedõr* ‘grouse’); *t’surakõnõ* (Est V: 1934; < *ts’ura* ‘boy; young man’); <sup>+</sup>*tehrükene* (PrtSg *tehr’ũkeist*, Kallas 1903: 100; < *tehrüs* ‘health’ < <sup>\*</sup>*tervehüs*; Mägiste 1982–1983: 3139); *tingäkene* (Est V: 1937; < *ting* ‘money’ (cf. Seto *ting* : *tingä* ‘money’ < ru *деньги*’); <sup>+</sup>*tõprakõnõ* (NomPl *tõprakeze<sup>q</sup>*, Kallas 1903: 78; < *tõbras* ‘cattle’); *udarakene* (Kallas 1903: 125; < *utar* ‘udder’); *ut’kene* (ERA III: 223; < *utt* ‘ewe’); *vaibakene* (ERA II: 106; < *vaip* ‘carpet, rug’); *vahnembakene* (Kallas 1903: 11-11; cf. et *vanõmb* ‘parent’; nominalised form of the comparative form of the adjective); *varzakõnõ* (Kallas 1903: 32; < *vars* ‘foal’); *velekene* (ERA II: 100; < *veli* ‘brother’); <sup>+</sup>*villakõnõ* (NomPl *villakes<sup>q</sup>*, Mets et al. 2014: 284; < *vill* ‘wool’); *voonakene* : *voonakeze* (Kallas 1903: 32, 127; < *vuun* ‘lamb’); *võizmakõnõ* (ERA I: 63; < *võizi* ‘butter’). The only completely unique noun formed from an adjective is *pikene* ~ *pikkene* ~ *pikäne* : <sup>+</sup>*pikkeze* ‘thunderstorm; lightning’ (AES 202: 12; ComSg *pikkezega*, ERA III: 182; Kallas 1903: 90; Se *pikne* ~ *pikse*; < *pikk* ‘long, tall’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 2042).

Only a few adjectives are known, which are formed with the diminutive suffix *-kene* ~ *-kõnõ*, e.g., <sup>\*</sup>*jelläkene* (*jellekene*, Br: 3-1; < *jell?* ‘gentle’); *noorekene* (ERA II: 100; *nuur* ‘young’; <sup>+</sup>*pehmekene* (NomPl *pehmekez<sup>q</sup>*, Est V: 1948; < *pehme* ‘soft’); <sup>\*</sup>*raaskõnõ* ‘a little bit, a small amount’ (Pall 1982–1989; cf. Se *raas* : *raasa* ~ *raasu* ‘a little bit, a small amount’) and *veikene* (Est V: 1938; < *veiko* ~ *veiku* ‘small’, see Sec. 3). Of these, only *raaskõnõ* is derived from a noun, the others come from adjectives.

**-lanõ ~ -läne** < <sup>\*</sup>**-IA-inEn**. This compound suffix occurs mainly in nation and animal names and attaches to vowel as well as consonant stems. The documented nation names – some, true enough, with distorted meanings – are the following: *musstlane* ‘some kind of evil spirit’ (Kallas 1903: 95; cf. et *mustlane* ‘Romany’ < *must* ‘black’); *suumlanõ* ‘Finnish’ (AES 202: 1; cf. et *Soomes*); *vadilanõ* ~ *vadylynõ* ‘a curse word’ (AES 202: 8; Est V: 1951; Se *vadilanõ*; cf. et *vadjalane* ‘Votian’, Kallas 1903: 95) and *vindläne* ~ <sup>+</sup>*vineläne* ~ ~ <sup>+</sup>*vinlanõ* ~ *vinndlanõ* ‘Russian’

(NomPl *vindläze<sup>q</sup>* ~ *vineläze<sup>q</sup>* ~ *vinlaze<sup>q</sup>* ~ *vinndlaze<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 4, 10; Est V: 1937, 1945; Kallas 1903: 39, 40; Se *veneläne* ~ *vindläne*; cf. *Vene*).

Insect and bird names include: <sup>+</sup>*hüürläne* ‘wasp’ (NomPl *hüürläze*, Kallas 1903: 47; Se *hüürläne*); *kihulanõ* ‘mosquito’ (Haak et al. 1994–2020; NomPl *kihulas<sup>q</sup>*, Est V: 1945; cf. et *kihu* ‘black fly’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); <sup>+</sup>*kuzikuklanõ* ‘a small ant (according to Kallas)’ (NomPl *kuzikuklazõ<sup>q</sup>*, Kallas 1903: 22; Se *kusikuklane* ‘ant’); *kärbläne* ‘fly’ (Est V: 1935); *pääzläne* ‘swallow’ (NomPl *pääzlädze<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 5, 10); <sup>+</sup>*tialanõ* ‘titmouse’ (*tialazehain* ‘a type of plant’, Kallas 1903 45; Se *tialanõ*; cf. et *tiha* : *tiha* ‘titmouse’, Wiedemann 1973: 1153); *varblanõ* ‘sparrow’ (NomPl *varblaz<sup>q</sup>*, Est V: 1938, 1946). The suffix in question also appears in two other nouns: *kozilanõ* ‘suitor’ (ComSg *kosilazõga*, AES 202: 26; Mets et al. 2014: 279; cf. et *kosjad*) and *vaimlanõ* ‘enemy?’ (AES 202: 8; cf. Se *vaimlanõ* ~ *vainlanõ* ‘enemy’ and et *tuhinvaimlane* ‘religious fanatic’, Wiedemann 1973: 1291). Based on Seto and other South Estonian materials, a more believable base word would be *vain* ‘hatred’.<sup>8</sup>

**-las** < **\*-la-s**. Only *kaklas* ‘owl’ (AES 202: 25; cf. Se *kakk* ‘owl’) is derived with this suffix. In this case, an incorrect recording of the word cannot be ruled out; however, this suffix is also used in Estonian and Finnish (see Hakulinen 1968: 134, 171).

**-lik** < **\*-lä-kkä-oi**. Only *päülik* ‘sun’ (Kallas 1903: 88; cf. Vas *päivlik* ‘sun’ < *päiv* ‘day; sun’; see also Neetar 1990: 80) is known to be derived using this denominal suffix in Kraasna.

**-line** ~ **-linõ** < **\*-lla-inEn**. The suffix appears in the following nouns derived from adjectives: *pääline* ‘cream’ (Mets et al. 2014: 287; cf. Se *päälisepiim* ~ *päälüsepiim* ‘cream’, *pääline* ‘upper’ < *pääl* ‘above; on top of’; it is also possible that it was derived using the suffix *-us* ~ *-üs*, cf. *päälisse* ~ *päälüsse* ‘haulms’) and *virmalinõ* ‘a curse word’ (Kallas 1903: 95; cf. et *virmalised* ‘polar light’, fi *virmalliset* ‘celestial signs’ and fi *virma* ‘fast, lively’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). The suffix also derives adjectives from nouns: *aolinõ* ‘of a time’ (NomPl *üteaolidze<sup>q</sup>* ‘simultaneous’, Est V: 1950, also Haak et al. 1994–2020; cf. Se *aig* ‘time’); <sup>+</sup>*iäline* : ‘relating to age’ (NomPl *üteiälidze<sup>q</sup>* ‘of the same age’, Est V: 1950; cf. Se *igä* ‘lifetime; age’); *ikuline* ‘weepy’ (Kallas

8 The compound word *tuhinvaimlane* dates to the 19th century and its base word is *vaim* ‘spirit’ (Mägiste 1982–1983: 3653).

1903: 13-6; cf. Se *ikk* ‘weeping’); <sup>+</sup>*karvalinõ* ‘in some colour’ (Kallas 1903: 1-12; Se *karv* ‘colour’); *vallalinõ* ‘unmarried’ (AES 202: 3; cf. Se *vald* ‘field, sphere’); *varbuline* ‘made of poles’ (Kallas 1903: 73; cf. Se *varb* : *varva* ‘pole’). The adjective *kurvaline* (Kallas 1903: 13-7; also Se) ‘sad’ is derived from an adjective, cf. et *kurb*.

**-mes** : **-mõs** < \***-mE-s**. The following are derived using this suffix: <sup>+</sup>*sõõrmõs* ‘chute, groove; nostril’ (NomPl *s’yymõs*<sup>9</sup>, AES 202: 13; cf. et *sõõre*, Se Vas *sõõrmõs*, liv *sõõrmõz*, but fi *sierain* : *sieraimen* ‘nostril’; cf. et *sõõr* ‘circle’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012).

**-mine** : **-miže** < \***-mA-inEn**. Suffixes denoting actions or their objects form action nouns: *elämine* ‘living’ (Est V: 1940; cf. Se *elämä* ‘to live; to habit’); *kozimine* ‘courtship’ (ERA II: 168; cf. Se *kosima* ‘to propose (marriage)’); <sup>+</sup>*šüümine* : *šüümiže* ‘eating’ (AES 202: 12; Se *süümä* ‘to eat’).

**-ndus** < \***nt-us**. This suffix is found only in nouns derived from other nouns: <sup>+</sup>*soend* ‘werewolf’ (PrtSg *soendust*, Kallas 1903: 96; cf. Se *soend* ~ *soendik* ~ *soendus* < *susi* ‘wolf’). Unlike many deverbal suffixes in Estonian dialects (see Neetar 1990: 117 and others; Mund 2005), the denominal does not change the meaning of the word.

**-ng** : **-ngu** / **-ngü** < \***-n-ko-i** < \***-n-ka**. Most *ng*-suffixed words appear in eastern sub-dialects of South Estonian (Tanning 1955: 128, 129, 132, 133). Based on verbal nouns: Kra <sup>+</sup>*massang* ‘tax; payment’ (PrtSg *masangut*, Est V: 1943; Mets et al. 2014: 284; cf. Se *masma* ‘to pay’) and <sup>+</sup>*upung* : *upungu* ‘flood’ (Kallas 1903: 87; cf. Se *upung* < *uppuma* ‘to drown’; Neetar 1990: 125). The deverbal suffix is found in the words <sup>+</sup>*nüssäng* : *nüssängü* ‘milking time’ (TermSg *nüssänguni*, Kallas 1903: 4-6; cf. Se *nüssäng* ‘milking’ and *nüsmä* ‘to milk’) and <sup>+</sup>*palang* : *palangu* ‘burning, fire’ (Kallas 1903: 87; cf. Se *palang* ‘rush, hurry’ < *palama* ‘to burn’). In the word *nüssäng*, the noun originally describing the action developed to describe the time of that action, e.g., see also Hargla *ahu palang* ‘stove kindling; stove kindling time, i.e., evening’ (Neetar 1990: 126).

**-o** ~ **-u** < \***-oi** ~ \***-õi**. For variation in the Kraasna suffix see *-o* ~ *-u* (Sec. 3). Originally, small size or affection were expressed with a diminutive suffix. Derived forms include: <sup>+</sup>*haro* ‘branch’ (ComSg *haroga*, Est V: 1940; cf. Se *haro*, et *ara* < \**hara* ‘branch’); *jahu* ‘flour’ (Est V: 1940; cf. Se *jahu* ~ *jauh* ‘flour’ and *jauhma* ‘to mill, to grind; fi *jauho(t)*’); *kodo* ‘home’ (Mets et al. 2014: 292; cf. Se *koda* : *kua*

‘test; shell; crust’; Mägiste 1928: 8); *ono* ~ *jimä veli* ‘uncle (mother’s brother)’ (Kallas 1903: 101; cf. fi *eno*; the same stem as in the word *enam* ‘more’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012; Mägiste 1928: 5); the nickname *T’eto* (Est V: 1936); *tsirk* : *+tsirgu* ‘bird’ (Mets et al. 2014: 203). It is possible that *mōro* ‘bitter’ (AES 202: 13; the same stem as et *mōrk* ‘bitter, bitterish’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012; Finnic *\*moro* or *\*moru*, Mägiste 1982–1983: 1602) is a diminutive adjective. In the first case, two diminutive suffixes expressing small size or reduction in size were attached to the stem.

A portion of Kraasna diminutive nouns have become *u*-final, e.g., *aigu* ‘time (dim.) (et *ajake*)’ in the verse *Urbepäivä, armas aigu* ‘Palm Sunday, dear time’ (Kallas 1903: 17-1; cf. Se *aig* ‘time’); nickname *Pet’u* (AES 202: 11) and apparently also *tōrdu* ‘vat’ (Kallas 1903: 89; Se *tōrdo* ~ *tōrdu*; cf. fi *torto* ‘kneading trough; barrel’; Mägiste 1928: 17) as well as perhaps *+parm* ‘gadfly’ (NomPl *parmu<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 5; cf. descriptive fi *paarma*, Kulonen 1995: 281; it is not impossible that the shift to *u*-final inflection occurred following apocope).

In the case of the words *moro* ‘grass; lawn’ (Est V: 1937), *+pōrgo* : *pōrgohe* ‘hell’ (Est V: 1953) and *taro* ‘hive’ (Kallas 1903: 25), it is unclear whether this is genuine or borrowed material. For example, in the case of *moro*, fi *moro* ‘chickweed (*Stellaria media*)’ and Proto-Germanic *mūrōn(-)* are given for comparison (Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012: 289).

**-rm** : **-rma** ~ **-r-mä** < **\*-r-mA**. The following is derived with this suffix: *+hājierm* : *+hājiermä* ‘flower’ (NomPl *hājiermä<sup>q</sup>*, AES 202: 4; Se *hāierm* : *hāiermä* ~ *hāiermu*; the basis for derivation is etymologically the same as et *ōis* : *ōie* ‘flower’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 4020, cf. also the suffixed form Se *hāidse<sup>q</sup>* ‘flower’).

**-s** : **-se** ~ **-sō** ~ **-s-k** : **-s-ki** < **\*-s-k-**. This originally pejorative suffix is very characteristic of South Estonian dialects. In some sense conditionally, the following can be placed here: *kodass’* ‘eagle; hawk’ (AES 202: 3; eS metathesis has occurred in this word, cf. et *kotkas*, Mägiste 1982–1983: 969); *purašk* ‘large chisel’ (Est V: 1941; eS *puras* ~ *purask*, Pall 1982–1989 < *pura* ‘icicle; an object of this shape’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) and *sizas* ‘nightingale’ (Kallas 1903: 32; Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012; eS *sisas* ~ *sisask*, Pall 1982–1989; cf. et *sis* ‘nightingale’). From a synchronic perspective, *-s* is a simple suffix (see Sec. 3), from a diachronic perspective, however, it is secondary.

**-sine** < **\*-s-(i)nEn**. The adverb *ammuuzine* ‘ancient’ (AES 202: 11; cf. Vas Se *ammunõ* < *ammu* ‘long ago’; Har *ammusine*; see also Käsi 2000: 174) is derived with this suffix.<sup>9</sup>

**-st** : **-sto** ~ **-stu**, see **-(i)st** : **-(i)sto** ~ **-(i)stu**.

**-us** ~ **-üs** : **-usõ** ~ **-üse** < **\*-o-s** or **\*-U-s** < **\*-o-ks** or **\*-U-ks**. Words derived with this suffix describe actions and their results. The following nouns are formed from nominals: *kar's* ‘herder’ (Est V: 1942; Mägiste 1982–1983: 708, cf. et *kari* ‘herd’); *\*kipõküüdzüs?* ‘evil spirit, devil’ (*kipeküüzüs*, Kallas 1903: 78; cf. Se *kipõ* ‘bitter; stiff; lively’ +*küüds* ‘nail’); *lõhmus* : *lõhmuze* ‘linden’ (Est V: 1941, 1946; cf. fi *lehmus* ‘fat and weak; linden’, Kulonen 1995: 58); *põigus* ‘crossbeam; transverse bandage’ (Pall 1982–1989; cf. Seto: *põigus* ~ *põikus* ‘a crossbar connecting pairs of sledge spokes’ (Saar et al. 2020), Rõu *põik*; see also Mägiste 1982–1983: 2273); *sõrms* : *\*sõrmuzõ* ‘ring’ (AES 202: 4; *sõrmuuzõ*, Mets et al. 2014: 279; < *sõrm* ‘finger’); +*sälüs* ‘breeching (a part of a horse harness)’ (Pall 1982–1989; cf. Se *säl'g* : *sälä* ‘back (part of the body)’); *ülegohs* ~ *ülegos* ~ *ülegus* ‘evil spirit, devil’, lit. ‘a wrong’, cf. et *ülekohus* ‘injustice’ (AES 202: 28; Kallas 1903: 95; not believable that the eS word < *koht* ‘place’, see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012), because the Se word is *kotus* ‘place’ (< *\*kott*); maybe a eN loan?). NomPl *taoze<sup>a</sup>* ‘(horse’s) collar’ (Est V: 1934) is related to the noun et *tagus*, which comes, in turn, from the adverb *taga* ‘behind’ (Mägiste 1982–1983: 3077). The meaning of *peeguze<sup>a</sup>* (NomPl; Est V: 1940) remains unclear.

Nouns derived from verbs include: +*katus* : *katsõt* ‘roof’ (Mets et al. 2014: 288; cf. *katma* ‘to cover’); +*kohetus* ~ *kohtus* : *kohetuze* ‘dough left to rise’ (Kallas 1903: 128; PrtSg *koh'tust*, Mets et al. 2014: 286; cf. Se *kohe-ta-ma* ‘to raise, to rise’ < eS *kohuma* ‘to expand; to rise’, Haak et al. 1994–2020); *kumarus* ‘bowing’ (Mets et al. 2014: 291); *kõlks* : +*kõlguzõ* ‘chaff store-room (et *aganik*); a hay barn (near home)’ (NomPl *kõlguzõ<sup>a</sup>*, Est V: 1937, 1947; cf. Se *kõlgus* : *kõlgusõ* ~ *kõlksõ*); *mõistuz* : *\*mõistuzõ* ‘mind; riddle’ (*mõistuzekõne*, *sõnamõistus* ‘riddle’, Kallas 1903: 103; Se *mõistus* ‘consciousness; mind; riddle’, cf. *mõistma*

9 Further research is needed on the relationship of *-sine*, *-skine*, and *-tsin* ~ *-tšin*, cf. Urv *ammuskinõ*, Lei Lut *ammutsin*; Har *ennesine* ~ *enniskine* ‘recent’, Rõu Urv *inneskine* ‘recent; previous; former’, Se *inniskäne* ‘recent’, Lei *jennemuistutšin* ‘ancient’ (Haak et al. 1994–2020).



‘to understand’); <sup>+</sup>*puhtus* ‘flatulence’ (AdePl *puhtusil*, Mets et al. 2014: 291); <sup>+</sup>*püürüs* : *püürüze* ‘twirling stick’ (Mets et al. 2014: 286; Se *püürüs* ‘twirling stick; whorl of oat plants’); <sup>+</sup>*tapõlus* ‘fight, battle’ (*tapeluze*, Kallas 1903: 52); <sup>+</sup>*virus* ‘arch above the oven (et vomme, ahjukumm)’ (AdePl *virusil*, Kallas 1903: 124; cf. *viruma* ‘to lie (down)’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 3885). These nouns can refer to a person (e.g., *kar’s*), trees (*lõhmus*), objects (*sõrms*), and abstract concepts like *tehrüs*, *ülegohs*.

Some of the relevant words end in the sound sequence *hus* ~ *hüs*, of which *h* is a semelfactive suffix (*\*-ht-* : *\*-hδ-* > *\*-ht-* : *\*-h-*) and belongs to the base word: <sup>+</sup>*lebähüs* ‘lying down after a meal’ (PrtSg *lebähüst*, Kallas 1903: 100; *\*lebähtämä*); <sup>+</sup>*mälehus* ‘memories’ (PrtSg *mälehüst*, Kallas 1903: 104; cf. Se *mälehtüs* ‘memories; food that is chewed’, *mälehtämä* ‘to remember; to memorialise’); *tulõhus* ‘occurrence; occasion’ (AES 202: 11); <sup>+</sup>*unõhus* ‘forgetting’ (InsPl *unehuizi*, Kallas 1903: 18-2; cf. Se and others *unõhumma* ‘to forget about’); *vanhus* ‘age’ (Est V: 1945; cf. Se *vanhus*, Vas *vanahhuss*).

## 5. Summary

Despite the limited amount of documented vocabulary, fortunately it was possible to find many nominal derivatives in the Kraasna dialect using 18 derivational suffixes formed from 20 primary suffixes and 21 derivational suffixes formed from 21 secondary suffixes. Kraasna suffixes mostly resemble those of Seto. Only the compound suffixes (*-i*) *s-to*, *-la-s*, and *-ži-ne*, which derive just a few words (*kaklas*, *laanist*, *soomist*, *ammuužine*) are not characteristic of Seto. The latter suffix also is found in the Hargla, Leivu, and Lutsi dialects. The suffix *-eh* was characteristic of the Kraasna dialect, which is the assimilated form of *\*-ek* and *\*eš*, while in Seto South Estonian these may occur in parallel as *-eh* and *-e<sup>q</sup>*. In oblique cases, the derivational suffix *-eh* still occurs in a mid-19th century folk song in one word PrtSg *\*valgõ-hõ-ta* ‘white’, but by the beginning of the 20th century it had been lost, cf. *\*valgõt*. The diminutive suffix *-kanõ*, was widely used in the Kraasna dialect.

Most Kraasna nominal derivatives have correspondences in Seto, only a few have not been observed: *kipõküüdžüs* ‘evil spirit’, *tukõm* ‘support’, and *vadõridžõ<sup>q</sup>* ‘godparents’. The words *laudadzõ<sup>q</sup>* ~ *laadadzõ<sup>q</sup>* ‘an offering made to the cowhouse gods’ and *puzanõ* ‘bitter’

only appear in the Kraasna dialect. The Kraasna dialect, which separated from Seto 300 years prior to its documentation at the beginning of the 20th century, is surprisingly similar to the latter. It would be interesting to know to what extent later connections with Setomaa harmonised both dialects. For example, one local manor lord who also owned manors in Setomaa, brought young Seto women from Golina manor – located ten versts from Petseri – as wives for young Kraasna men. The same manor lord brought people from Kraasna to work on his Setomaa manors, likewise Setos came to Kraasna bringing fish to sell (Kallas 1903: 8–9, 36, 46).

### Abbreviations

Abl – ablative, Ade – adessive, All – allative, blt – Baltic, Br – a folk song sent by Brandt (see Ernits 2018), dim – diminutive, eS – South Estonian, Ela – elative, eN – North Estonian, et – Estonian, fi – Finnish, Gen – genitive, germL – Low German, Har – Hargla, Ill – illative, Ine – inessive, Ins – instrumental, Lei – Leivu, liv – Livonian, lt – Lithuanian, Lut – Lutsi, Nom – nominative, ruO – Old Russian, Prt – partitive, Pl – plural, Rõu – Rõuge, ru – Russian, Se – Seto, Sg – singular, Term – terminative, Tra – translative, Urv – Urvaste, Vas – Vastseliina

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- ERA I = ERA Kallas M4: I (Tartu, Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum (Estonian Literary Museum), Eesti Rahvaluule Arhiiv (Estonian Folklore Archives)).
- ERA II = ERA Kallas M4: II (see previous).
- ERA III = ERA Kallas M4: III (see previous).
- ERA IV = ERA Voolaine M1 (see previous).
- Est V = *Estonica V* (Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Heikki Ojansuun arkisto (Finnish Literature Society, Heikki Ojansuu archive))

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**Kokkuvõte. Enn Ernits: Kraasna noomenituletus.** Vaatamata talletatud sõnavara piiratusel ilmneb Kraasna murrakus rohkesti käändsõnatuletisi. Need on moodustatud 20 primaarsufiksist tekkinud 18 liite ja 21 sekundaarsufiksist kujunenud sama arvu liidete abil. Kraasna sufiksivõtteid sarnanevad seto omadega. Ainult liitliited *(-i)s-to*, *-la-s* ja *-ži-ne*, mis tuletavad vaid üksikuid sõnu (*kaklas*, *laanisto*, *soomisto*, *ammuuzine*), pole seto murrakutele omased. Viimatimainitud sufiks esineb ka Hargla, leivu ja lutsi murrakutes. Kraasna murrakule oli iseloomulik liidete *\*-ek* ja *\*eš* sarnastunud kuju *-eh*, seevastu seto murrakutes võivad need esineda paralleelselt *-eh* ja *-e<sup>g</sup>* kujul. Obliikva-käändes derivatiivsufiks *-eh* esines XIX sajandi keskpaiku veel ühe rahvalaulu sõnas *\*valgõ-hõ-ta*, XX sajandi alguseks oli taandunud, vrd *\*valgõt*. Kraasna murrakus kasutati rohkesti deminutiivliidet *-kanõ*. Enamikul Kraasna käändsõnatuletistel on vasted seto murrakutes, üksnes vähestel juhtudel see puudub, sh *kipõküüdzüs* ‘kurivaim’, *mako* ‘magamine’, *tukim* ‘tugi’ ja *vadõridzõ<sup>g</sup>* ‘vaderid’. Teadaolevalt ainult Kraasna murrakus esinevad sõnad *laudadzõ<sup>g</sup>* ~ *laadadzõ<sup>g</sup>* ‘lehmakahi’ ja *puzanõ* ‘mõrkjas’. Kraasna murrak, mis irdus setost XX sajandi alguse kirjapanekutega võrreldes 300 aastat varem, on viimasega üllatuslikult sarnane. Tuleks uurida, kuivõrd suutsid murrakuid ühtlustada hilisemad seosed Setomaaga.

**Märksõnad:** morfoloogia, käändsõnad, tuletised, läänemeresoome keeled, eesti keel, lõunaeesti keel, seto keel, Kraasna