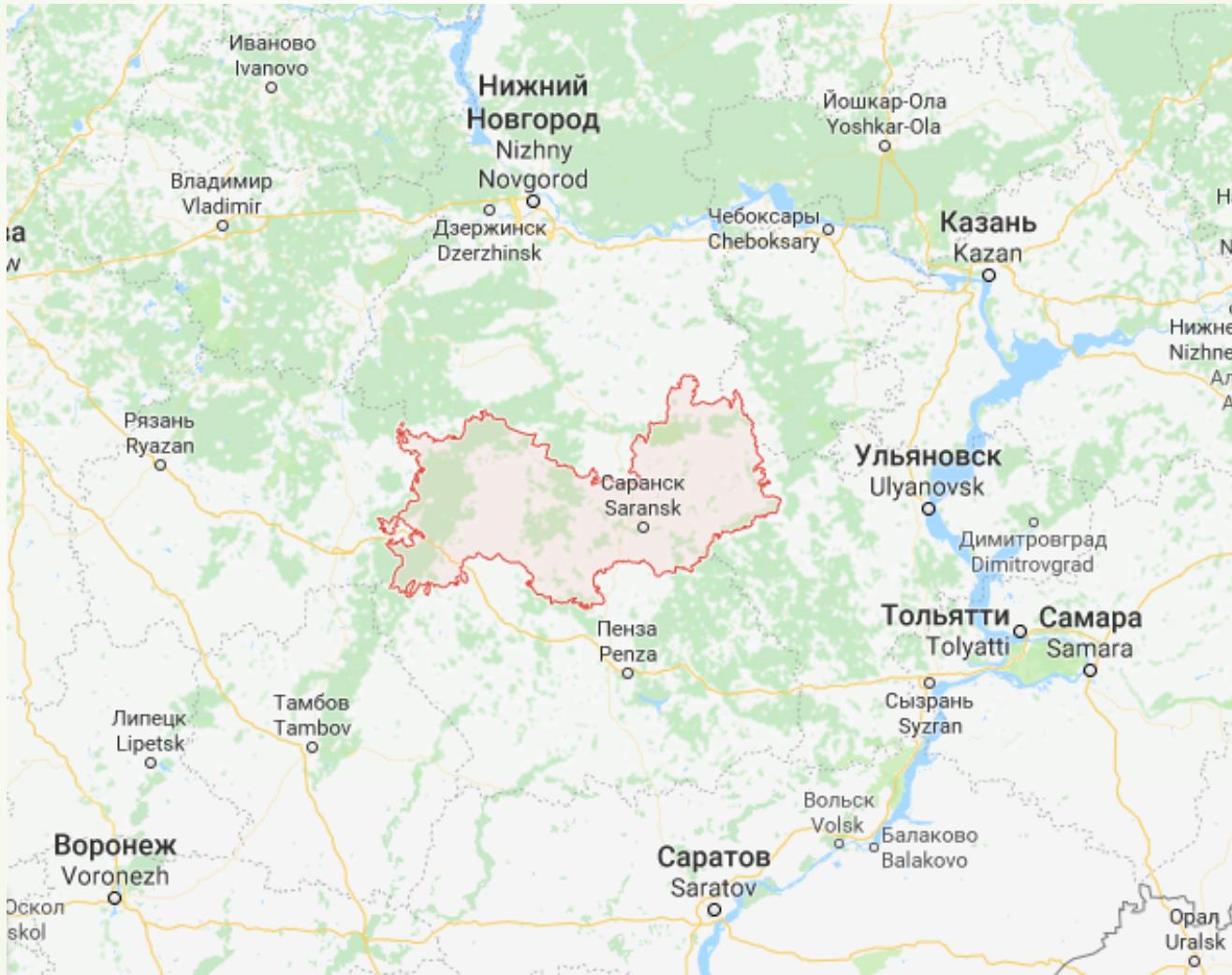




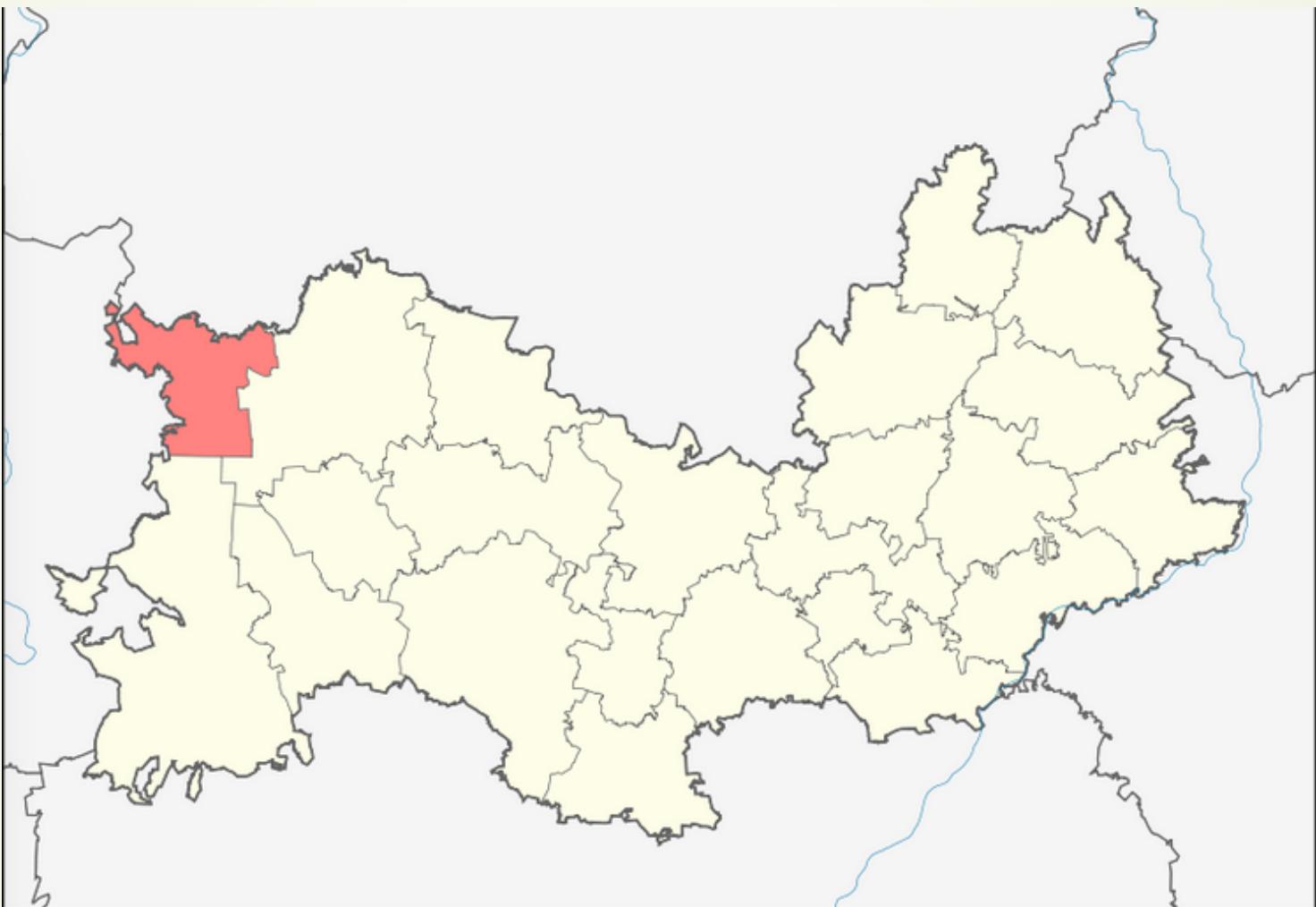
# An overview of the Mordvinic Shoksha vernacular as documented in the texts of “Kolxoźníkiń vaígij” 1932-1933

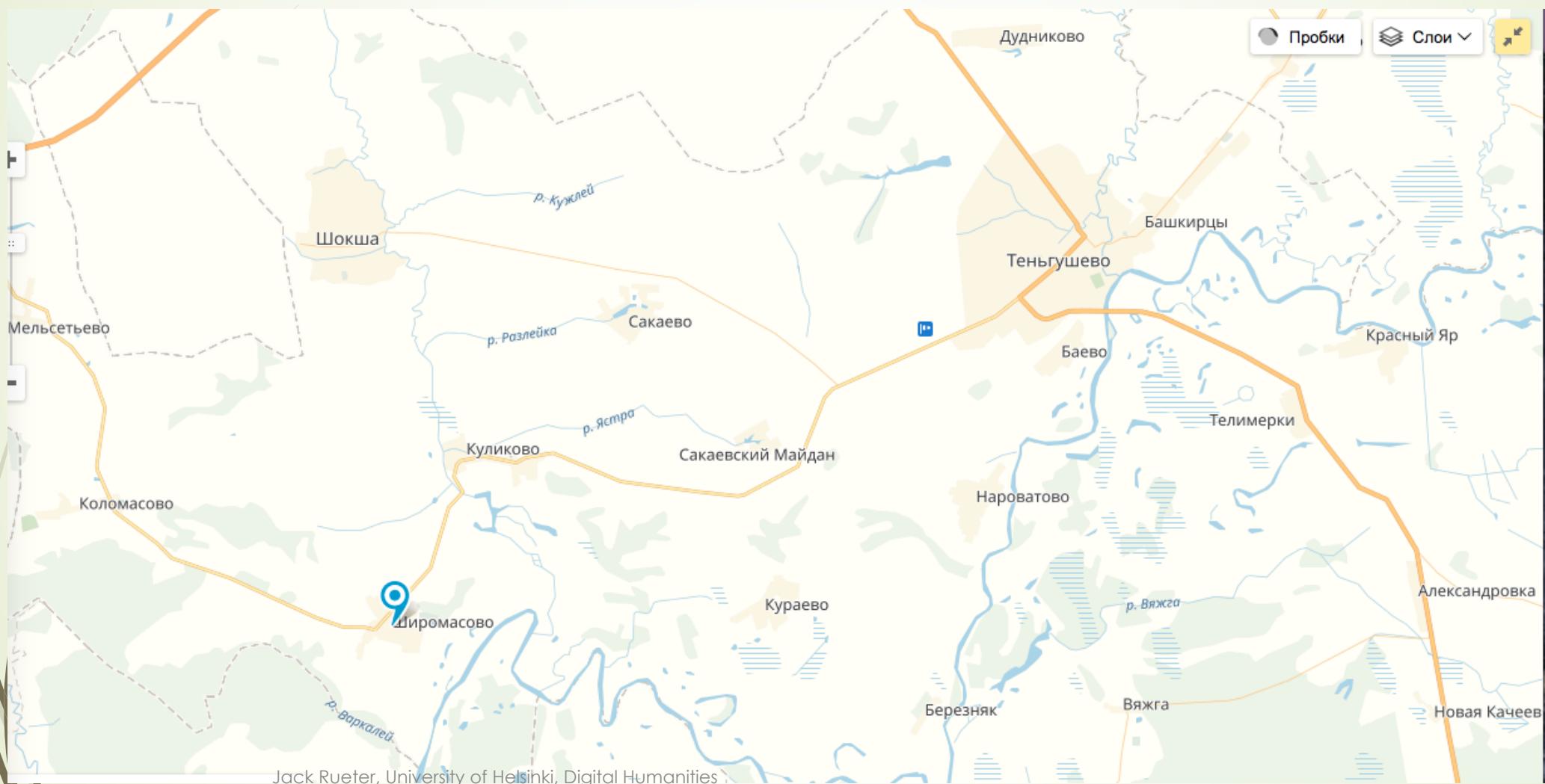
Jack Rueter,  
University of Helsinki

Grammar of non-standard varieties in the East of the Circum-Baltic area  
February 1-3, 2018  
University of Tartu, Tartu, Estonia



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# Villages mentioned in *Kolxoźníkiń valgij* ‘Voice of the Collective Farmer’

- ▶ Villages mentioned in Paasonen's collections (1901):
- ▶ Šokšoveļe (E:Šokša), Sokav (E:Sak), Duńkveļe (E:Dudn), Širomasova (E:Šir)
- ▶ *Kolxoźníkiń valgij* (KV): 1933 four of which can also be attested from fieldwork by Heikki Paasonen three decades earlier, in 1901.
- ▶ KV:
- ▶ Šokša, Narovatova, Širomasovo, Sakaево, Standrovo, Poliarnyj Zveda, Mel'set'evo, Šelubej, Mokšanka, Berezniak

# KV issues and figures

- ▶ kv\_1932-06-29, kv\_1932-07-05, kv\_1932-07-10, kv\_1932-07-31, kv\_1932-12-12,  
kv\_1932-12-17, kv\_1932-12-30,
- ▶ kv\_1933-01-06, kv\_1933-01-13, kv\_1933-01-27, kv\_1933-01-31, kv\_1933-02-16,  
kv\_1933-03-03, kv\_1933-03-09, kv\_1933-03-14, kv\_1933-03-24, kv\_1933-05-10,  
kv\_1933-07-18
- ▶ 18 issues
- ▶ 17061 word forms
- ▶ 5852 unique word forms

# Orthographic ↔ phonetic questions

- ▶ -v†-
- ▶ \*ä vs \*e
- ▶ a ~ e
- ▶ \*s̥i ~> ſi
- ▶ \*uĆ
- ▶ -Ć- > -ѣ-
- ▶ -nz- > -nd-
- ▶ -nC- > -ØC-

# Orthographic questions

## \*-ft- vs -vt- vs -xt-

- ▶ Moksha /-ft-/; Erzya /-wt-/ /-st-/ /-t-/
- ▶ Drakino /-ft-/; Shoksh /-xt-/ (cf. Yakushkin 1963: 49)
- ▶ KV -Vvt- ~ -Vft-, -Cx(t)-
- ▶ Hypercorrect forms?
- ▶ V \_ C
- ▶ севте ~ зевте /še??̄f̄e ~ že??̄f̄e/ Superl. marker Erzya: šexte > KV: šewf̄e
- ▶ C \_ V канхинь /kanxiń/ 'of hemp'
- ▶ C \_ C планхтума /planxtuma/ 'without a plan/ plans'
- ▶ Главныхъ /glavnixt̄/ -Vj+xT >> -xt- 'main, central'
- ▶ Охсе ~ ойсе; кольфтизъ, вельх 'very'

# Orthographic questions \*ä vs \*e

- ▶ \*ä vs \*e Moksha /käd'/ 'hand; arm'; /ked'/ 'skin'
- ▶ Erzya /ked"/ 'hand; arm'; /ked"/ 'skin'
- ▶ Kažlitka /ked'/ 'hand; arm'; /käd'/ 'skin' (Yakushkin 1961)  
(Loans from Moksha retain /ä/, e.g., /täni/ 'now')
- ▶ KV:
  - ▶ **ниимс** /níjims/ 'to see' \*ä ~= i
  - ▶ **сизимс** /šízims/ 'to break' \*ä ~= i (homony problem 'to get tired')

# Orthographic questions a > ä | \_ Ć

- ▶ Moksha /ńä/ 'these[Det]'; /ńat/ 'these[Pron]'
  - ▶ KV alaša 'horse' alašetńe 'the horses'
- ▶ partijav 'into the party' partijeś 'the party' Sg.Nom.Def
  - ▶ zadača 'assignment' zadačeś Sg.Nom.Def

# Orthographic questions \*sii>> si

- ▶ Word-initial \*sii- vs si- Moksha /síń/ 'they'
- ▶ Erzya /siiń/
- ▶ KV /siiń/
- ▶ Hapax attestation of /síń/ and /sivil'

# Orthographic questions \*uĆ

- ▶ \*U vs \*vV Moksha /ul̩/ 'is'
- ▶ Erzya /ul̩/ 'is'
- ▶ /u/ >> /vi/ viļe
- ▶ Looking for /vižíř/ 'ax' << \*važra
- ▶ /viške/ 'wire' << \*vaske-

# Orthographic questions

## /ć/ >> /ť/

- ▶ Moksha /kolmaća/ 'third'
- ▶ Erzya /kolmoće/ '3rd'
- ▶ Drakino /kolmuťe/ '3rd'
- ▶ Šokš /kolmuće/ '3rd' (Yakushkin 1963)
- ▶ KV: омоће '2nd', kolmuťe '3rd', nílňe '4th'; омотиде, омотись, Колмутиде
- ▶ But also: Умуцинь, омоце 'second; other'
- ▶ мельниЦЯНТЬ vs вэдинь мелинЬТЯ 'mill', Тера 'man'
- ▶ тонавниЦя эйкакшнэ 'the learning children'
- ▶ Латимс <<\*lad>>ś Erzya /latšeems/ 'set up'

# Orthographic questions \*-nz-

- ▶ -nz-
- ▶ Сонде /son<sup>de</sup>/ ~ sondze ~ sonze
- ▶ Каиндэ /kajinde/ ~ Erzya /kajińže/ = Moksha /kajíeń/

# Orthographic questions \*-nC->> -ØC-

- ▶ -NC->> -ØC-
- ▶ максумс самыхть ет ломатнень 'give the best people'
- ▶ *jon-t* = *jot* 'good[Pl]' *lomań-tneń* 'person[Pl.Gen.Def]'
- ▶ катни /katní/ << \**kandní* > Moksha /kańí/ Erzya /kantní(ća)/ 'carrier'
- ▶ Озитне /oźitńe/ << \**oźim-tneń* > Moksha /oźiptńe/, Erzya /oźimtńe/ 'winter crop[Pl.Nom.Def]'
- ▶ !! /kodamo/ Moksha /kodapt/, Erzya /kodat/ 'what kind'

# Declension types

- ▶ Personal pronouns
- ▶ Definite declension types
- ▶ Moods
- ▶ Negation
- ▶ Copula
- ▶ Postpositional government

# Third person singular

- ▶ Moksha *son* +Nom *soń* +Gen
- ▶ Intensified *sonć* +Nom *sonćeń* +Gen
  
- ▶ Erzya *сон* +Nom *сонзэ* +Gen
- ▶ Intensified *sonś* +Nom *sonšenze* +Gen
- ▶ KV:
  - ▶ 27 *сон* 'he/she/it' Nom
  - ▶ 13 *сондे* ~ 1 *сондэ* 'he/she/it' Gen
  - ▶ 1 *сонс* ~ 3 *сонсь* ~ 1 *соњс*
  - ▶ 3 *сонсенде* ~ 1 *сонсендэ* ~ 9 *сонсинде* ~ 1 *сонсиндэ* ~ 1 *сонсинзэ*
  - ▶ /*tońť*/ 2Sg, /*mińik*/ 1Pl.Gen, /*ťíńk*/ 2Pl.Gen, /*sǐnst*/ 3Pl.Gen

# Definite declension

- ▶ Moksha
  - ▶ -*t'* Sg.Gen.Def
  - ▶ -*t'i* Sg.Dat.Def
- ▶ Erzya
  - ▶ -Ońt' Sg.Gen.Def
  - ▶ -Ońteń Sg.Dat.Def
- ▶ KV
  - ▶ -*t'* Sg.Gen.Def (occasional -ńt')
  - ▶ -*t'i* Sg.Dat.Def
- ▶ Additional cases involve Sg.Gen.Def + Former postpositions /ez-/

# Moods: Indicative, Imperative, Optative, Conjunctive

- ▶ Opt.PI3: чтобы сембе **вилист** грамотныхъ и
- ▶ 'so that everyone would be literate and ...'
- ▶ Opt.PI1: чтобы мизяро минь **сазистамо** урожайт гектарт нанкста седе ламо кияк лязо састь.
- ▶ 'so that no one would take more harvest than we will take per hectar.'
- ▶ Conj.Sg3: чтобы сон **виливиль** седе питний
- ▶ 'so that it would be more expensive'

# Negation

- ▶ Proh.Sg3: кияк **язо** састь.
- ▶ Neg.Ptc: апак төхтэй ~ апак полавт ~ апак састь ~ апак ёмавник
- ▶ Aux.Neg.Prt1: **эзизе** итак ~ эзизе содак ~ **Эз**-удалакшнук ~ **Эзъ** арсик ~ эзись лөтхня ~ Эзъ максокшно ~ Эзъ примкшно ~ Эзиндэ ний ~ ЭСТЬ кармак ~ ЭСТЬ максо ~ ЭСТЬ төхтэй

# Copula dependent vs independent

- ▶ Dependent:
  - ▶ Колхоснэиль 'he was on the collective farm'
  - ▶ эртильт 'there were' existential copula
  - ▶ эрмиль 'there was'
  - ▶ арасиль 'there was not' existential negative copula
- ▶ Independent:
  - ▶ ат киржа **ИЛЬ** 'was not little'
  - ▶ жалка **ИЛЬ** 'it was unfortunate'
  - ▶ тонвтузь **ИЛЬТ** 'they were educated'
  - ▶ киржат **ИЛЬТ** 'they were few'
  - ▶ кося **ИЛЬТЬ** 'where they were'
  - ▶ тевсь **ИЛЬ** 'the issue was'
  - ▶ сон **ИЛЬ** 'it was'
  - ▶ грамотныххть **ИЛЬТЬ** 'they were literate'

# Postpositions

- ▶ колхозникнэ мархта */kolxožníkneń maṛta/* 'with the collective farmers [Pl.Nom.Def]'
- ▶ колхозьникнень мархта */kolxožníkneń maṛta/* 'with the collective farmers[Pl.Gen.Def]'
- ▶ веле-веле марта */veľe-veľe marta/* 'villages among themselves [Redup.Sg.Nom]'
- ▶ пек покш техника-мархта */pek pokš ūxníka maṛta/* 'with big technology [Sg.Nom]'
- ▶ народонъ мархта */narodoń maṛta/* 'with (the) people [SP.Gen]'
- ▶ партиеть мархта */partijet̄ maṛta/* 'with the party [Sg.Gen.Def]'
- ▶ */nanks/* 'onto', */nanksa/* 'on', */nanksta/* 'from'; */kiše/* 'for'; */ikiļe/* 'before'

# Frequency

- ▶ Mutual: 97 ды 'and', 90 седе 'more', 77 кода 'how', 68 пек 'very', 67 эряве 'must', 60 велень 'of a village', 59 теймс 'do; make', 45 тевть 'work; issue', 43 тундань 'of spring', 42 мик 'even', 41 паро 'good', 42 ламо 'much; many', 40 кося 'where',
- ▶ Shoksha 186 ат 'no; not', 159 тете + 41 Тете 'this', 91 нанкс 'onto', 45 нанкса 'on', 30 нене 'these',
- ▶ Shared with Moksha: 152 сембе + 42 Сембе 'all; everyone',
- ▶ Shared with Erzya: 49 покш 'big', 33 кисе 'for', 34 иень 'of a year, annual',
- ▶ Shared with majority: 414 и 'and', 47 ВКП, 87 а 'but', 62 должны 'should [Pl]', 59 должен 'should [Sg]', 51 проц 'procent', 40 чтобы 'in order to', 40 что 'that', 40 каждый 'every', 35 еще 'yet; still', 30 но 'but', 68 колхозунь 'of a collective farm',

# A few notes

- ▶ Yes/No plural marker with cardinal numeral паксяса роботастъ 6892-а авиньгө~~Ø~~, эздыст 218-ва ударницацат. 'There were 6892 women working in the field, of which there were 218 "drivers"'
- ▶ /Konaś ... šese/ 'he who DOES ... DOES' конась мие кше государствате сесэ помогает социализмань теймате. (**kv\_1933-03-14**)
- ▶ максумс самыхть ет ломатненъ 'give the best people'
- ▶ (Agreement not attested in either of the standard languages)

# In progress



→ Suur Aitäh!

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