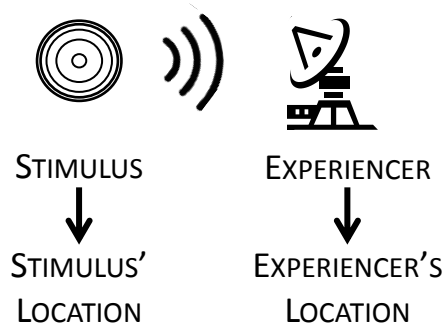


LOCATIVE ADJUNCTS AND VERBS OF PERCEPTION IN THE MOKSHA LANGUAGE

PERCEPTION SITUATION:

SEMANTIC ROLES



Stimulus and Experiencer are often situated at the distance from one another, so that special adjuncts can be used to localize each of them.

- based on the data collected during the expedition to Republic of Mordovia in June–July 2014
- all the informants are bilingual (Moksha+Russian)
- informants were given sentences with Russian verbs *видеть* ‘to see’ and *слышать* ‘to hear’

Moksha cases in the focus:

ELATIVE {-stə}

INESSIVE {-sə}

Conceptualization: possible patterns

Usage of Elative in the perception situation is regarded as metaphorical: perception is conceptualized as a kind of motion.

PATTERN 1

PATTERN 2



Motion from the Stimulus.
The Stimulus' Location is the metaphorical Source.

Motion from the Experiencer.
The Experiencer's Location is the metaphorical Source.

1 Sentences with Stimulus' Location adjuncts:

Я видела вас на улице, когда выглядывала в окно.

I saw you at the street when I was looking from my window.

I you.OBL see;PST;2SG.O.1SG.S **street-EL** when look;PST.1SG window-PROL
mon ton' n'ejjt'ən' **ul'c'a-stə** məz'ardə varžakstən' val'ma-va

Из соседней комнаты слышны голоса.

Voices can be heard from the next room.

next **house.EL** hear;PASS;NPST.3SG voice
sas'ed'n'ej **kuctə** kul'evi vajgel'

Stimulus' Location adjunct is marked with **Elative**, for both verbs ‘to hear’ and ‘to see’. So, the metaphorical motion is directed from the Stimulus towards the Experiencer in this case (Pattern 1).

2 Sentences with Experiencer's Location adjuncts:

Strategy A: Elative marking (Pattern 2?)

Я видела вас из дома. (Informant M)

I saw you from the house.

I you.OBL see;PST;2SG.O.1SG.S **house.EL**
mon ton' n'ejjt'ən' **kuctə**

Nuance:

- “Grammatical homonymie”: the same marking for Stimulus' and Experiencer's Location

Я вас видела на улице из дома.

I saw you at the street from the house. (Informant 1)

I see;PST;2SG.O.1SG.S you.OBL **street-EL** **house.EL**
mon n'ejjt'ən' ton' **ul'c'a-stə... kuctə**

[the informant feels confused]

Strategy B: Inessive marking

На улице я услышала музыку.

I heard music at the street.

street-IN/-EL I hear;PST.1SG music
ul'c'a-sə/-stə mon kul'ən' muzika

As the informant explains, Inessive means that the speaker was at the street himself.

Nuance:

- Inessive marking is likely to appear only when an essive construction with preposition like *in* or *at* is used in the Russian sentence. Thus, these unoften cases can be simple copying of Russian grammar, probably not essential for Moksha.

Strategy C: An additional Predicate (proposed only once)

На улице я услышала музыку из соседнего дома.

At the street I heard music from a nearby house.

I **street-IN-PQP-PST.1SG** hear-NPST.1SG house.EL music
mon ul'c'a-sə-l'-ən', kul'-ən' kuctə muzika
(“I was at the street, heard music from the house”)

3 What does Elative mean?

Informants were ask to interpret Moksha sentences. This has shown that Elative-adjuncts with perceptive predicates are clearly regarded as localizing the Stimulus (like in item 1), not the Experiencer.

mon vanən' val'ma-va i n'ejən' kuctə s'oran'ε
I look;PST.1SG window-PROL and see;PST.1SG **house.EL** boy;DIM
Informant M: “The boy must be in the house, and I see him from outside.”

Informant S: “Perharps, two houses are close, so that I see a boy in his house from mine.”

An informant can even misunderstand a Russian sentence, considering an adjunct with *from* like a Moksha Elative-adjunct, which localizes the Stimulus. In the following example Elative marking is used, but the Russian Experiencer's Location adjunct “turns” into a Stimulus' Location adjunct in the translation.

Я видела вас из дома. (Informant A)

I saw you from the house.

I you.OBL see;PST;2SG.O.1SG.S **house.EL-2SG.POSS.SG**
mon ton' n'ejjt'ən' **kuctə-t.**

(literally: I saw you from your (?) house.)

The same informant translates back to Russian: *I saw you in your house.*

4 Preliminary conclusions can be following:

- Moksha language uses adjuncts with Elative marking to express the Stimulus' Location.
- There is no certain and single marking strategy for the Experiencer's Location; Elative and Inessive adjuncts seem to be rather artificial in that role; probably, no Experiencer's Location adjuncts are normally used in Moksha speech.
- So, mainly, perception is conceptualized as motion towards the Experiencer; the opposite pattern (No. 2) is likely to be influence of Russian sentences.
- Possible alternatives: the Experiencer's Location can be realized from the context or expressed with an additional clause or predicate (see strategy C).