

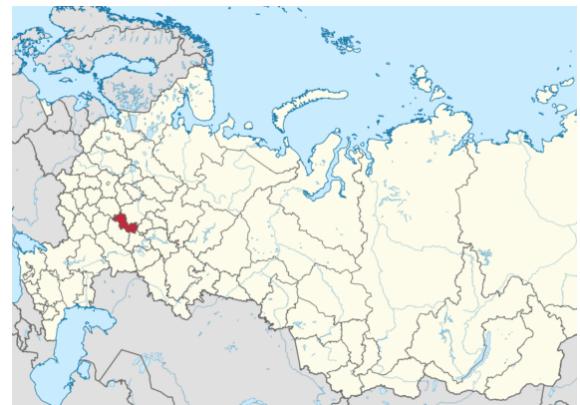
# Moksha dataset

EGG2023, Novi Sad

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## 1 Basic facts

European part of Russia, Mordovia Republic and neighbouring regions



Vowel and consonant inventories (Kukhto 2018)

i	(ɪ)	u
e	(ə)	ø
ɛ	a	o

m	n
	n'
p b	t d
f v	t' d'
s z	k g
s' z'	š ž
c	šč
c'	č
	j
r r	
r' r'	
l l	
l' l'	

» Contrastive voicing in stops AND glides

» Contrastive palatalisation

» /x/ only in loanwords

## 2 Stress

Based on Kukhto (2018)

Transcription	Gloss	Transcription	Gloss	Transcription	Gloss
't'ed'ε	'mother'	ku'vaka	'long'	'kijə	'who'
s'im-ə'ma	'drink-NZR'	s't'ər'-n'ε	'girl-DIM'	'kud-u	'home-LAT'
'loman	'person'	'sa-tadə	'come-NPST.3PL'	u'fa-j	'blow-NPST.3SG'
's't'ər'-nə	'girl-DEF.PL'	'jalga	'friend'	'mol'-əma	'go-NZR'
i'lət	'evening'	'mejga	'nothing'	'ul-ə	'be-CN'

## 3 Glide insertion

Based on Kozlov & Kozlov (2018) and [the Moksha corpus](#)

Schwa-initial suffixes:

- |                              |                         |                         |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) jožu + əl' → jožuv-əl'   | (2) ava + əl' → ava-l'  | (3) ruz + əl' → ruzəl'  |
| '(3SG was) smart-IPF'        | '(3SG was a) woman-IPF' | '(3SG was) Russian-IPF' |
| (4) t'čci + ən' → t'ččij-ən' | (5) ava + ən' → ava-n'  | (6) ruz + ən' → ruzən'  |
| 'today-GEN'                  | 'woman-GEN'             | 'Russian-GEN'           |
| (7) ši + ən' → ši-n'         | (8) mu + əms → mu-ms    | (9) vi + əms → vi-ms    |
| 'day-GEN'                    | 'find-INF'              | 'bring-INF'             |

/a/-initial suffixes:

- |                               |                          |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (10) jožu + an → jožuvan      | (11) vidi + an → vidijan |
| '(I am) smart-1SG'            | '(I am) a sower-1SG'     |
| (12) mu + an → mujan          | (13) li + an → lijan     |
| '(I) find-1SG'                | '(I) fly-1SG'            |
| (14) jaka + at → jakat        | (15) at'ε + an → at'an   |
| '(you) go-2SG'                | '(I am) an old man-1SG'  |
| (16) sa + an → sajan          | (17) šna + an → šnajan   |
| '(I) come-1SG'                | '(I) praise-1SG'         |
| (Kozlov & Kozlov 2018: p. 57) |                          |

## 4 Loanword data

All of the following examples illustrate how loanwords (primarily Russian) behave wrt. stress and glide insertion.



## 5 Questions to consider

- » Formulate the stress rule for native Moksha words. What does the stress depend on?
  - » Is stress weight-sensitive?
  - » How are loanwords different?
  - » In what contexts does glide insertion happen?
  - » How are /a/-initial suffixes different from the schwa-initial ones?

## Glossing abbreviations

1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, CN = connegative, DEF = definite, DIM = diminutive, GEN = genitive, INF = infinitive, IPF = imperfective, LAT = lative case, NPST = non-past, NZR = nominalizer, PL = plural, SG = singular.

## References

- Kozlov, Alexei & Lev Kozlov. 2018. Morfonologija [Morphophonology]. In Svetlana Toldova & Maria Kholodilova (eds.), *Èlementy mokšanskogo jazyka v tipologičeskem osveščenii* [Elements of the Moksha language in a typological perspective], chap. 4, 38–62. Buki Vedi.

Kukhto, Anton. 2018. Fonologija [Phonology]. In Svetlana Toldova & Maria Kholodilova (eds.), *Èlementy mokšanskogo jazyka v tipologičeskem osveščenii* [Elements of the Moksha language in a typological perspective], chap. 3, 19–37. Moscow: Buki Vedi.

