

## Verbs of sound in Moksha: a typological account

This paper deals with verbs denoting sounds of inanimate objects in Moksha (the Central dialect, the data comes from fieldwork), cf. *kaštərdəms* ‘to rustle’ (e.g. dry leaves), *galdərdəms* ‘to clatter’ (e.g. dishes) – in total, 22 verbs. The research is a part of a broader typological project also covering the data of Komi, Khanty, and Nenets, as well as of some non-Uralic languages (Russian, Serbian, German, French), see [Kashkin et al. 2012] for details.

Our Moksha data shows that the language categorization of sounds depends not only on their acoustic properties, but also on the properties of the situation in which they occur (this supports the theoretical approach to lexical typology adopted in [Reznikova et al. 2012], [Koptjevskaja-Tamm forthc.]). The acoustic properties form a scale based on the regularity and discreteness of sounds (monotonous sounds like drone of a plane are at its one end, while instantaneous sounds like those of sth. falling down are at the other end), see [Kashkin et al. 2012] for typological data. Every lexeme is expected to cover an uninterrupted zone on the scale, which is confirmed by our Moksha data and illustrated by some peculiar polysemy patterns (e.g. *čətərdəms* describes irregular sounds, either more discrete, like snapping of sth. breaking, or less discrete, like squeaking of a floor). What is also relevant is various parameters of a sound source (material, size, weight) and the type of a situation in general (*c’atərdəms* ‘to crackle’ is specific for burning; *c’ingəl’dəms* ‘to clink’ only refers to objects made of glass or to small metallic objects, etc).

Considering situations of sound emission is also important in the case of metaphors (which sometimes went beyond the previous research, cf. [Imajkina 1968]). Some of them stem from the resemblance of sounds, e.g. *gorn’ems* ‘to babble’ (a brook) → ‘to be melodious’ (voice). Some metaphors are however based not on the sound itself, but on the whole situation of its emission, cf. the shift of *torəms* ‘to thunder’ → ‘to scold; to threaten (either verbally or not)’ based on the whole frame of thunderstorm.

Interestingly, our Moksha data includes non-standard morphosyntactic changes accompanying metaphorical shifts. Thus, *kaštərdəms* ‘to rustle’ also refers to speech, but only in negative polarity items; *kec’ərdəms* ‘to crackle’ (e.g. boiling oil) develops a metaphor of fast running, and the latter use tends to require object agreement marking (the object is however covert).

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