Kazym Khanty schwa

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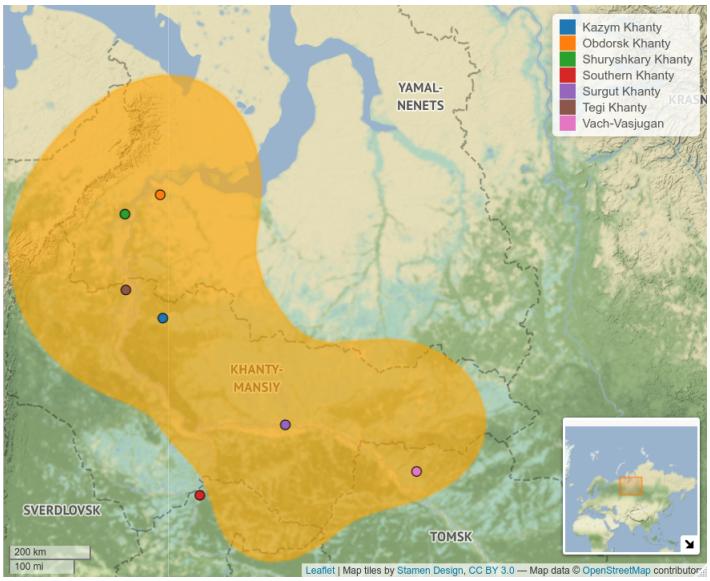
1 Basic facts

Russia, Khanty-Mansi autonomous region, Kazym



Vowel and consonant inventories (**lketal2018**). In the practical transcription, λ = ɬ

Table 1. The inventory of consonantal symbols

p	t	t′	k
	s š	ś	χ
m	n	ń	ŋ
	λ	λ′	
	l		
w		j	
	r		

Not every vowel occurs in the first syllable:

Table 2. The inventory of vocalic symbols (1st σ on the left, the rest are on the right)

i	ʉ	u	i	
e	ɵ		e	ə
(ɛ)		o	(ɛ)	
ä	a			a

≫ No contrastive voicing

≫ Less vowel quality contrast in non-initial syllables (in native Khanty words; cf. *kărtəpka* 'potato' – Russian loanword)

Nominal inflection:

≫ base - number - possessive - case (1)

≫ if the base ends in /u i/, insertion of /w j/ is possible with some morphemes (*wʉλi* + *(ə)n* → *wʉλijn* 'deer-LOC')

(1) *jaj-λ-aλ-a*
brother-PL-POSS.3SG-DAT

'3SG's brother'

Verbal inflection:

≫ base - tense - inversive - agreement (2a)

≫ if the base ends in /u i/, insertion of /w j/ sometimes occurs (*ari* + *(ə)s* → *ari-js* 'sing-PST')

≫ infinitive: base + *ti/əm* (NPST/PST); *əm* after /u i/ causes insertion of /w j/ (*tə-ti* 'carry-NFIN.NPST' vs *tʉw-əm* 'carry-NFIN.PST')

(2) a. *λət-s-aj-ən*
buy-PST-PASS-2SG

'you were bought'

2 Vowel-zero alternations

Schwa is a phoneme, see a minimal pair in (3).

(3) a. *kurt* 'iron'
b. *kur-ət* 'bull-PL'

3 types of verbal bases wrt. schwa behaviour:

Form	No schwa	Alternating schwa	Stable schwa
	ort- ‘divide’	ir(ə)t- ‘turn’	orət- ‘drag’
NPST[3SG]	ort-əλ ∼ orλ	irət-λ	orət-λ
PST[3SG]	ort-əs	irt-əs	orət-s
NPST-2SG	or-λ-ən	irt-λ-ən	orət-λ-ən
PST-2SG	or-s-ən	irt-s-ən	orət-s-ən
NPST-1DU	or-λ-əmn	irt-λ-əmn	orət-λ-əmn
PST-1DU	or-s-əmn	irt-s-əmn	orət-s-əmn

Vowel-final verb bases:

(4) Ca#
χunta-s ‘run-PST’ — *χunta-s-n* ‘run-PST-2SG’

(5) Ci#
arij-s ‘sing-PST’ — *ari-s-ən* ‘sing-PST-2SG’

(6) Cə#
pərλə-s ‘soar-PST’ — *pərλə-s-n* ‘soar-PST-2SG’
also: *pərλə-s-mən* ‘soar-PST-1DU’

(7) a. ari + əs → arijəs → arijs
b. ari + əs + ən → ari + s + ən (**egorov2022**)

Nominal inflection: possessive vs case markers

Form	Ci#	Ca#	CVC#
	wʉλi ‘deer’	λapka ‘shop’	sʉmət (sʉmt) ‘birch’
NOM	wʉλi	λapka	sʉmət (sʉmt)
LOC	wʉλi-j(ə)n	λapka-j(ə)n	sʉmət-n
POSS.2PL	wʉλen	λapka-j(ə)n	sʉmt-ən

3 Stress

Trochee with some quirks (**tyutyunnikova2022**).

(8) a. ˌpăsaˈnɛma — păsan-ɛm-a ‘table-POSS.1SG-DAT’
b. ˈλaraś — λaraś ‘box’
c. ˈλaraˈśɛma — λaraś-ɛm-a ‘box-POSS.1SG-DAT’

d. ˈλaraśa λaraś-a ‘box-DAT’

e. ˈpăsan păsan ‘table’

f. ˌmuχəˈλaja muχəλaja ‘around’

g. ˌjuntˈλaλən junt-λ-aλ-ən ‘game-PL-POSS.3SG-LOC’

Interaction with schwa (**tyutyunnikova2023**).

(9) a. λaˈraśλa λaraś-(ə)λ-a ‘box-POSS.3SG-DAT’

b. ˈpaknəλˈsəmn paknəλ-(ə)s-əm(ə)n ‘scare-PST-3DU’

c. ˈpirśˈλaλən pir(ə)ś-λ-aλ-ən ‘old-PL-POSS.3SG-LOC’

d. kərˈtəta ∼ ˈkərtəta kərt-ət-a ‘settlement-PL-DAT’

e. ˈsewrsaˈλəmn sew(ə)r-(ə)s-aλəm(ə)n ‘chop-PST-1DU>NSG’

4 Summary of observations

Schwa is not always epenthetic:

≫ There is a minimal pair where schwa makes the difference

≫ Schwa in the suffix can cause glide epenthesis – sign of an underlying rather than an epenthetic vowel

Verbal bases with schwa can be divided into 2 classes:

≫ Stable non-alternating schwa (*orət-* ‘to drag’)

≫ Alternating schwa (*ir(ə)t-* ‘to turn’)

In the verbal agreement suffix *-əmən* ‘1DU’ either of the two schwas can be present, depending on whether the base ends in a vowel or a consonant:

(10) Schwa alternation in *-əmən* ‘1DU’

a. *irt-s-əmn* ‘turn-PST-1DU’ C#

b. *orət-s-əmn* ‘drag-PST-1DU’ C#

c. *ji-s-mən* ‘become-PST-1DU’ V#

The schwa in the 2SG suffix *-ən* can disappear in the same circumstances as the initial schwa of *-əmən* ‘1DU’.

(11) Schwa alternation in *-ən* ‘2SG’

a. *irt-s-ən* ‘turn-PST-1DU’ C#

b. *orət-s-ən* ‘drag-PST-1DU’ C#

c. *xunta-s-n* ‘run-PST-1DU’ V#

There is occasional glide insertion after /i/-final bases, which can be conditioned by the presence of overt agreement morphology after the tense marker:

(12) *arij-s* 'sing-PST' — *ari-s-ən* 'sing-PST-2SG'

In the nominal paradigm, there is glide insertion before some suffixes (13) and vowel coalescence before others (14).

(13) *wʉλi* + *ən* → *wʉλij(ə)n* 'deer-LOC'

(14) *wʉλi* + *ən* → *wʉλen* 'deer-POSS.2PL'

Glossing abbreviations

Fig. 2.17. Interior of the House of Culture in Pim settlement, 2001, featuring the name Torum (the Khanty high god) beneath an icon of Christ