Russian iotation: length is key

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Iotation

Alternation caused by iotation in Russian:

(1) po**bud**ka – **buž**u (d/ž)
kosa – **koš**u (s/š)
u**klon** – **klon**^{j}u (n/n^{j})

(2) **lʲub**ov^{j} – **lyublʲ**u (b/blʲ)
spat^{j} – **splʲ**u (p/plʲ)
stavka – **stavlʲ**u (v/vlʲ)

- Often analysed as a merger of the consonant with an iotising segment J
- How does palatalised /l/ appear in iotised labials?
- Morén (2006) for Serbian, Magomedova and Slioussar (2017) for Russian: labial and palatal features do not combine well

Iotation exists on par with palatalisation – a distinct alternation:

(3) Three forms of consonants, Brown (1998, Table 5)

Zero Grade	Soft Grade	Iotised Grade
/p/	/p'/	/plʲ/
/b/	/b'/	/blʲ/
/m/	/m'/	/mlʲ/
/f/	/f'/	/flʲ/
/v/	/v'/	/vlʲ/
/t/	/t'/	/č/
/d/	/d'/	/ž/
/s/	/s'/	/š/
/z/	/z'/	/ž/
/l/	/l'/	/lʲ/
/n/	/n'/	/nʲ/
/r/	/r'/	/rʲ/
/k/	/č/	/č/
/g/	/ž/	/ž/
/x/	/š/	/š/

- Do consonant grades exist?
- Or can these alternations be modelled procedurally?
- Framework of choice – Strict CV (Scheer, 2004), Substance-free phonology (Reiss, 2017)

Previous work

An OT analysis by Magomedova and Slioussar (2017):

- J is a floating segment
- Palatalisation cannot expone J
- Palatalising instead of iotising violates MaxFlt and base-final palatalised labials are banned in the output
- *MAP(lab, pal) ⇒ no b/ž-like alternations
- Epenthesis of /lʲ/ results

(4) lʲub + Ju → lyublʲu (b/blʲ)

OT tableau for a *b*-final stem

/lʲub/ + /Ju/	MaxFlt	*MAP(lab,pal)	DEP	Ident(place)
lʲubʲu	*!			
☞ lʲublʲu			*	
lʲužu		*!		*
lʲubžu		*!	*	

The problem: since palatalisation cannot expone J, we expect /lʲ/-insertion in iotised /n r l/, in which Soft Grade and Iotised grade coincide:

(5) klon + Ju → klon^{j}u (n/n^{j})

Putative OT tableau for a *n*-final stem – the correct form is ruled out by MaxFlt

/klon/ + /Ju/	MaxFlt	*MAP(lab,pal)	DEP	Ident(place)
klon^{j}u	*!			
☞ klonlʲu			*	
kložu		*!		*
klonžu		*!	*	

Iotation can mean consonant alternation (k/č), palatalisation (n/n') or /lʲ/-insertion (b/blʲ), which is too diverse for an elegant substance-driven analysis

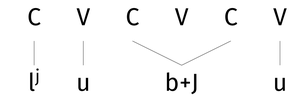
Iotised consonants are geminates

Proposal: consonant grades proposed by Brown (1998) are real

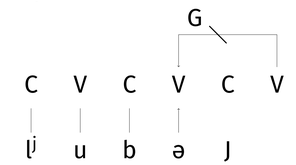
- Zero grade = non-palatalised consonant
- Soft grade = short palatalised consonant
- Iotised grade = long palatalised consonant (C + J occupy two C-slots)

Exponent of /Ju/ '1sg'

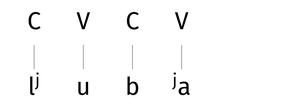
lʲub + Ju → lʲublʲu 'I love'



Expected: lʲub + J → lʲublʲ



lʲub + ʲa → lʲubʲa 'love-conv'



Supporting evidence: no base-final iotation, or else Government breaks up the geminate

References

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