A case for stress as empty CVs: glide epenthesis in Moksha

Alexandra Shikunova

HSE Laboratory for formal models in linguistics, Moscow

Empty CV as an exponent of stress

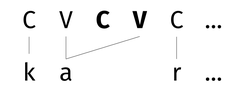
Syllabic space (empty CV) in Strict CV can correspond to:

- morphosyntactic boundary
- stress
- length (Scheer, 2012)

Boundary

Stress

Length



- These phenomena have a common exponent ⇒ expected to correlate
- The empty CV should show its presence
- In Moksha (< Mordvinic < Uralic), stress pattern helps model a superficially syllable-counting rule **locally**, if assumed that stress corresponds to length

Glide epenthesis

Epenthesis pattern with schwa-initial suffixes (Kozlov and Kozlov, 2018)

- Polysyllabic bases ending in /u i/ → /v j/ epenthesis, schwa remains (1–2)
- Monosyllabic /u i/-final bases → schwa deletion (3–4)
- Bases ending in /a o e ɛ/ + schwa-initial suffixes → schwa disappears (5)
- Bases ending in C + schwa-initial suffixes → schwa remains (6)

(1) jožu + əl’ → jožuv-əl’
‘(3SG was) smart-IPF’

(2) t’ɛči + ən’ → t’ɛčij-ən’
‘today-GEN’

(3) ši + ən’ → ši-n’
‘day-GEN’

(4) mu + əms → mu-ms
‘find-INF’

(5) ava + ən’ → ava-n’
‘woman-GEN’

(6) ruz + ən’ → ruzən’
‘Russian-GEN’

	C#	A#	u#	i#
monosyllabic	ən’	n’	n’	n’
polysyllabic			vən’	jən’

Table 1. Suffix *ən’* ‘GEN’ with different kinds of bases

Moksha stress as length

Moksha stress rule:

- **Heavy syllables**: /a o e ɛ/ as nuclei
- **Light syllables**: /u i ə/ as nuclei
- Leftmost heavy syllable stressed
- No heavy syllables ⇒ leftmost light syllable stressed

(7) ˈt’ɛd’ɛ
‘mother’

(8) kuˈvaka
‘long’

(9) ˈkijə
‘who’ (Kukhto, 2018, p. 34)

Neither stress nor epenthesis are synchronically productive; in loanwords – no difference between heavy and light syllables wrt. either

Final long vowels block epenthesis

Does the glide epenthesis rule actually count syllables? NO!

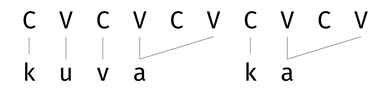
Proposal: stress = length

- Stressed light syllables and heavy syllables are long and occupy 2 CVs
- Glide epenthesis is vowel spreading onto an empty initial C of the suffix
- Long vowels cannot spread (no triple association)

Glide epenthesis is vowel spreading

Representations of stress:

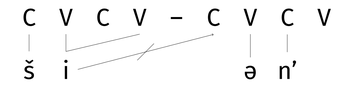
[kuˈvaka]



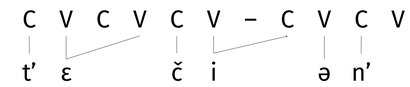
[ˈkijə]

Vowels in long syllables do not spread:

ši + ən’ → [ši-n’]



t’ɛči + ən’ → [t’ɛčij-ən’]



Schwa does not disappear after C# ⇒ schwa coalesces with long vowels

References

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Glossing abbreviations: 3 = third person, GEN = genitive, INF = infinitive, IPF = imperfective, SG = singular.

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notalexandrashikunova@gmail.com