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

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Empty CV as an exponent of stress

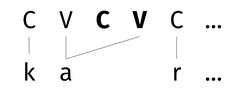
Syllabic space (empty CV) in Strict CV can correspond to:

- 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!

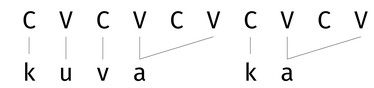
Proposal: stress = length

- 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]

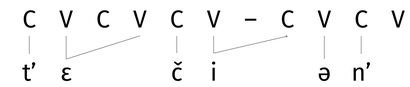


[ˈkijə]

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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Kukhto, A. (2018). Fonologija [Phonology]. In Toldova, S. and Kholodilova, M., editors, *Èlementy mokšanskogo jazyka v tipologičeskom osveščenii [Elements of the Moksha language in a typological perspective]*, chapter 3, pages 19–37. Buki Vedi.

Scheer, T. (2012). *Direct Interface and One-Channel Translation*, volume 2. De Gruyter Mouton, Berlin.

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

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