Manchu: underspecification and activity

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Written Manchu

Table 1: The vowel inventory of Written Manchu

Front	Central	Back
i		u
		Ω
	ə	
		Э
	a	

The vowel [i] exerts a palatalizing influence on at least some preceding consonants.

Vowel harmony in Written Manchu

Table 2: ATR harmony in Written Manchu

Unsuffixed	Suffixed	Gloss	Suffix
xəxə	xəxə-ŋgə	'woman'	Genitive
kumun	kumu-ŋgə	'noise'	
aga	aga-ŋga	'rain'	
itş ^h i	itşʰi-ŋga	'direction'	
tursun	tursu-ŋga	'form'	

Unsuffixed	Suffixed	Gloss	Suffix
t ^h on	tʰɔ-ŋɡa	'number'	
susə	susə-tə-	'coarse'	Causative
χσrχα	χʊrχa-ta-	'fishing net'	
tulpa	tulpa-ta-	'careless'	
tşili	tşili-ta-	'anger'	
silxi	silxi-ta	'envy'	
xət ^h u	xət ^h u-kən	'stocky'	Attenuative
gulu	gulu-kən	ʻplain'	
farχʊn	farχʊ-kan	'dark'	
χʊtun	χʊtu-qan	'fast'	
pəki	pəki-lə-	'firm'	Causative
paqtşʰin	paqtşʰi-la-	'opponent'	
xərə-	xərə-ku	'ladle out'	Nominalization
paqt ^h a-	paqtʰa-qʊ	'contain'	
tşʰili-	tʂʰili-qʊ	'choke'	
səxəxun	səxə-xuri	'vertical'	Augmentative
laqtaχʊn	laqta-χʊri	'drooping'	
əmt ^h ə	əmtʰə-li	'one each'	Adjectivization
taχa	taχa-li	'follow'	
uli-	uli-xə	'string'	Past
ana-	ana-χa	'push'	
pu-	pu-xə	'give'	

Questions:

- What is the distribution of velars and uvulars? How do they relate to vowels?
- What classes do the vowels fall into with respect to ATR alternations?
 Are any vowels exempt from patterns involving ATR?

Table 3: Rounding harmony in Written Manchu

Unsuffixed	Suffixed	Gloss
kumun	kumu-ŋgə	'noise'
tursun	tursu-ŋ๘a	'form'
pɔtʂʰɔ	pɔtʂʰɔ-ŋɕɔ	'colour'
χʊtun	χʊtu-qan	'fast'
fɔχɔlɔn	fɔχɔlɔ-qɔn	'short'
gulu	gulu-kən	ʻplain'
to-	tɔ-na-	'alight'

Unsuffixed	Suffixed	Gloss
toː- poto-	tɔː-na- pɔtɔ-χɔ	'cross' 'think'
pu-	pu-χə	'give'

Questions:

- The data is a bit sparse, but can you make a generalization about when rounding harmony occurs?
- Which vowels trigger rounding? Which ones don't?

Analysis

Given the above generalizations, what featural specifications can we justify?

Feature	/i/	/u/	/ʊ/	/ɔ/	/ə/	/a/
[low] [coronal] [ATR] [labial]						

Xibe

Xibe has no $/\sigma$ /, but has acquired $/\epsilon$ y /ee/, primarily by assimilation of original /a u /0 by a following /i/.

Table 5: Xibe vowel inventory

Front	Central	Back		
i y		u		
εœ	ə	Э		
	a			

Vowel harmony in Xibe

Table 6: Vowel harmony alternations in Xibe

	Written Manchu	Xibe	Gloss
a.	gət ^h ə-xə	gət ^h ə-xə	'awoke'
	uli-xə	uli-xə	'stringed'
	ana-χa	anə-χə	'pushed'
	gɔtʂʰi-χa	goçi-xə	'cherished'
b.	pu-xə	pu-xu	'gave'
	pɔtɔ-χɔ	pɔtu-χu	'thought'
c.	nətşi-kən	nətçi-kən	'flat'
	ərtə-kən	ərtə-kən	'early'
	ampa-qan	am-qən	'big'
	χantşi-qan	χantçi-qən	'near'
d.	dzusuxu-kən	dzysxu-kun	'sour'
	xət ^h u-kən	xəthu-kun	'stocky'
	laptu-qan	lavtu-qun	'many'
	farχʊ-qan	farχu-qun	'dark'
	fɔχɔlɔ-qɔn	fœχulu-qun	'short'
	osoχο-qon	ɔsχɔ-qun	'small'

Questions:

- What happened to [ATR] harmony in Xibe? What about the consonants?How does rounding harmony work? What are the relevant classes?

Analysis

Given the above generalizations, what featural specifications can we justify?

Feature	/i/	/u/	/y/	/٤/	/œ/	/ɔ/	/ə/	/a/
[low] [coronal] [ATR] [labial]								