

Contents

Preface — vii

1	Introduction — 1
1.1	Goals of this study — 1
1.2	The Transeurasian languages — 4
1.2.1	From “Altaic” to “Transeurasian” — 4
1.2.2	Internal taxonomy of the individual branches — 7
1.2.2.1	Turkic — 7
1.2.2.2	Mongolic — 12
1.2.2.3	Tungusic — 16
1.2.2.4	Koreanic — 20
1.2.2.5	Japanic — 22
1.2.3	The Transeurasian hypothesis — 30
1.2.4	The languages underlying the reconstructions — 33
1.2.4.1	Languages included in this study — 33
1.2.4.2	Transliteration conventions — 37
1.3	Previous research — 41
2	Methodology — 45
2.1	Historical comparative morphology — 45
2.2	Procedures for establishing morphological correlations — 47
2.2.1	Collection and reconstruction of participant morphemes — 47
2.2.2	Comparison of individual proto-morphemes — 48
2.2.2.1	Formal correlations — 48
2.2.2.2	Functional correlations — 49
2.2.2.3	Combinational correlations — 51
2.2.2.4	Typological correlations — 51
2.2.2.5	Paradigmatic correlations — 53
2.2.3	Top-level reconstruction — 55
2.2.3.1	Reconstruction of proto-morphemes — 55
2.2.3.2	Reconstruction of family-inherent grammaticalization patterns — 56
2.2.3.3	Reconstruction of proto-systems — 57
2.3	Reducing the chance factor — 58
2.4	Eliminating code-copying — 61
2.4.1	Understanding copiability — 61

2.4.2	Indications of code-copying — 64
2.4.2.1	Productivity restricted to shared roots — 64
2.4.2.2	Unilateral morphological complexity — 66
2.4.2.3	Mismatch of morpheme boundaries — 67
2.4.2.4	Multiple marking of a single inflectional category — 68
2.4.2.5	Functional mismatch — 69
2.4.2.6	Phonological mismatch — 70
2.4.2.7	Distribution limited to contact zones — 70
2.4.2.8	Specific morphosyntactic subsystems affected — 71
2.4.3	Indications of genealogical retention — 72
2.4.3.1	Globally shared grammaticalization — 72
2.4.3.2	Categorial opacity — 76
2.4.3.3	Shared cumulation — 76
2.4.3.4	Unreduced allomorphy — 77
2.4.3.5	Multiple comparative setting — 78
2.4.3.6	Missing intermediaries — 79
2.5	Methodological misunderstandings — 80
2.5.1	“The comparative method is not universally applicable” — 80
2.5.2	“One cannot demonstrate unrelatedness” — 81
2.5.3	“Absence of evidence is evidence of absence” — 83
2.5.4	“Proto-languages are unrealistic” — 84
2.5.5	“Multiple comparison increases chance probability” — 86
2.5.6	“Shared morphology is a <i>conditio sine qua non</i> ” — 87
3	Verb Roots — 89
3.1	The distinction between nouns and verbs — 89
3.2	Verbal adjectives within a mixed adjective typology — 91
3.2.1	Japanese — 91
3.2.2	Korean — 94
3.2.3	Tungusic — 95
3.2.4	Mongolic — 97
3.2.5	Turkic — 99
3.2.6	Scenario for the development of Transeurasian adjective typology — 101
3.2.7	Underlying data — 106
3.3	Verbs — 118
3.3.1	Relevant consonant correspondences — 118
3.3.2	Relevant vowel correspondences — 124
3.3.3	Suprasegmental correlation — 132
3.3.4	Underlying etymologies — 134

3.4	Copular verbs — 153
3.4.1	pTEA * <i>a</i> :- 'to be' — 154
3.4.2	pTEA * <i>bɔ:l</i> - 'to sit down, be sitting; become, be' — 159
3.5	Stability — 163
3.5.1	Notion — 163
3.5.2	Basic vocabulary — 164
3.5.3	A typology of verbal borrowing — 166
3.5.4	Copy-proof properties of the verbal comparisons — 169
4	Negation — 174
4.1	The development of negation and its genealogical relevance — 174
4.2	Previous comparative approaches — 177
4.3	pTEA * <i>ana</i> - negative verb — 179
4.3.1	pJ * <i>ana</i> - negative verb — 179
4.3.1.1	Negative suffix — 179
4.3.1.2	Negative auxiliary — 180
4.3.1.3	Independent negative verb — 183
4.3.1.4	The development of pJ * <i>ana</i> - — 183
4.3.2	pK * <i>an</i> - negative verb — 185
4.3.3	pTg * <i>ana</i> - auxiliary negative verb — 186
4.3.3.1	Manchu <i>aku</i> : — 186
4.3.3.2	Even <i>ac</i> , <i>acca</i> , <i>a:n</i> ~ <i>a:ŋ</i> — 187
4.3.3.3	Evenki <i>a:cin</i> — 188
4.3.3.4	Udehe <i>anci</i> , <i>ata</i> - — 189
4.3.3.5	Nanai <i>ana</i> ~ <i>ana</i> : — 190
4.3.3.6	The development of pTg * <i>a:na</i> - — 191
4.4	pA * <i>a</i> - negative verb — 192
4.4.1	No evidence for pJ * <i>e</i> - — 192
4.4.2	Insufficient evidence for pK * <i>e</i> - — 192
4.4.3	pTg * <i>e</i> - negative verb — 193
4.4.3.1	Even <i>e</i> - — 193
4.4.3.2	Evenki <i>e</i> - — 193
4.4.3.3	Udehe <i>e</i> - — 194
4.4.3.4	Nanai negative — 194
4.4.3.5	Overview — 196
4.4.4	pMo * <i>e</i> - negative verb — 198
4.4.4.1	Negative particle — 198
4.4.4.2	Independent negative verb — 198
4.4.4.3	The development of pMo * <i>e</i> - — 199
4.4.5	pTk * <i>e</i> - auxiliary negative verb — 200

4.4.5.1	Karakhanide <i>aŋ / eŋ</i> ‘no, not’ — 200
4.4.5.2	Chuvash an prohibitive — 200
4.4.5.3	The development of pTk *e- — 202
4.5	Insufficient evidence for pTEA *ma- auxiliary negative verb — 202
4.6	The historical development of negation in Transeurasian — 205
5	Verbalization and actionality — 209
5.1	The suffix class “actionality” and its diachronic relevance — 209
5.2	Previous research — 211
5.3	pTEA *-lA- manipulative denominal verb suffix — 213
5.3.1	pJ *-ra- (~ -rə-) — 213
5.3.1.1	Manipulative denominal verb suffix — 213
5.3.1.2	Loan verb marker — 216
5.3.2	pTg *-lA:- — 217
5.3.2.1	Manipulative denominal verb suffix — 217
5.3.2.1.1	Manchu -lA- — 217
5.3.2.1.2	Even -lA:- — 218
5.3.2.1.3	Evenki -lA- — 219
5.3.2.1.4	Udehe -lA- — 219
5.3.2.1.5	Nanai -lA- — 220
5.3.2.2	Loan verb marker — 220
5.3.3	pMo *-lA- — 221
5.3.3.1	Manipulative denominal verb suffix — 221
5.3.3.2	Loan verb marker — 222
5.3.4	pTk *-lA- — 222
5.3.4.1	Manipulative denominal verb suffix — 223
5.3.4.2	Loan verb marker — 224
5.3.5	The nature of the historical connection — 224
5.4	pTEA *-nA- processive — 227
5.4.1	pJ *-na- (~ *-nə-) — 227
5.4.2	pK *-nO- — 229
5.4.3	pTg *-nA- — 230
5.4.3.1	Manchu -nA- — 231
5.4.3.2	Even -(A)n ₍₂₎ - — 232
5.4.3.3	Evenki -nA- — 233
5.4.3.4	Udehe -nA- — 233
5.4.3.5	Nanai -nA- — 234
5.4.4	pMo *-nA- — 235
5.4.5	pTk *-(X)n- — 237
5.5	pTEA *-ki- iconic — 239

5.5.1	pJ *-ka- — 239
5.5.2	pK *-(k)i- — 240
5.5.3	pTg *-ki:- (~ *-gi:-) — 241
5.5.3.1	Manchu -ki- ~ -gi- — 242
5.5.3.2	Even -k-, -kA- ~ -gA- — 242
5.5.3.3	Evenki -ki(:)- ~ -gi(:)- — 242
5.5.3.4	Nanai -ki- ~ -gi- — 243
5.5.4	pMo *-ki- (~ *-gi-) — 243
5.5.5	pTk *-kl- — 244
5.6	pTEA *-ma- inclination — 246
5.6.1	pJ *-ma- (~ *-ma-) — 246
5.6.2	pK *-mO- — 250
5.6.3	pTg *-mA:- — 252
5.6.3.1	Manchu -mi- — 252
5.6.3.2	Even -mA:-, -mi:- — 252
5.6.3.3	Evenki -mA-, -mi- — 252
5.6.3.4	Udehe -mA- — 253
5.6.3.5	Nanai -mAsi- — 253
5.6.4	pMo *-mA- — 253
5.7	pTEA *-gA- inchoative — 255
5.7.1	pJ *-ka- — 255
5.7.2	pK *-kO- — 256
5.7.3	pTg *-gA- — 259
5.7.3.1	Manchu — 259
5.7.3.2	Even — 260
5.7.3.3	Evenki — 262
5.7.3.4	Udehe — 262
5.7.3.5	Nanai — 263
5.7.4	pMo *-gA- — 263
5.7.5	pTk *-(X)k- (~ -(X)g-) — 264
5.8	The historical development of actionality in Transeurasian — 266
6	Valence and voice — 271
6.1	The suffix classes “valence” and “voice” and their diachronic relevance — 271
6.2	Previous research — 274
6.3	pTEA *-ti- causative — 276
6.3.1	pJ -*ta- — 276
6.3.2	pK *-ti- — 277
6.3.3	pTg *-ti- — 281

6.3.3.1	Manchu - <i>tA</i> - — 282
6.3.3.2	Even - <i>t</i> - ~ - <i>ci</i> - — 283
6.3.3.3	Evenki - <i>t</i> - ~ - <i>ci</i> - — 285
6.3.3.4	Udehe - <i>si</i> - — 286
6.3.3.5	Nanai - <i>ci</i> - ~ - <i>si</i> - — 287
6.3.4	pMo *- <i>ti</i> - — 288
6.3.5	pTk *- <i>ti</i> - — 290
6.4	pTEA *- <i>pU</i> - reflexive-anticausative — 292
6.4.1	pJ *- <i>pa</i> - (~ - <i>pə</i> -) — 292
6.4.2	pK *- <i>pO</i> - — 294
6.4.3	pTg *- <i>p</i> - — 296
6.4.3.1	Ma. Ø — 297
6.4.3.2	Even -(A) <i>b</i> - — 297
6.4.3.3	Evenki - <i>p</i> - — 298
6.4.3.4	Udehe - <i>p</i> - — 298
6.4.3.5	Nanai - <i>p</i> - — 298
6.4.4	pMo *- <i>βU</i> - — 299
6.4.5	pTk *- <i>U</i> - — 300
6.5	pTEA *- <i>dA</i> - fientive — 301
6.5.1	pJ *- <i>ya</i> - — 301
6.5.2	pTg * <i>dA</i> :- — 303
6.5.2.1	Manchu - <i>dA</i> - — 303
6.5.2.2	Even - <i>dA</i> :- — 303
6.5.2.3	Evenki - <i>dA</i> - — 304
6.5.2.4	Udehe - <i>dA</i> - — 304
6.5.2.5	Nanai - <i>dA</i> - — 304
6.5.3	pMo *- <i>dA</i> - — 305
6.5.4	pTk *-(A) <i>d</i> - — 306
6.6	pTEA *- <i>ra</i> - anticausative — 309
6.6.1	pJ *- <i>ra</i> - — 309
6.6.2	pK *-(u) <i>l</i> - — 310
6.6.3	pTg *- <i>ra</i> - — 311
6.6.3.1	Manchu - <i>ra</i> - — 312
6.6.3.2	Even - <i>r</i> - — 312
6.6.3.3	Evk. - <i>ra</i> - — 313
6.6.4	pMo *- <i>ra</i> - — 313
6.6.5	pTk *- <i>ra</i> - — 314
6.7	pTEA *- <i>gi</i> - causative — 315
6.7.1	pJ *-(C) <i>i</i> - — 315
6.7.2	pK *- <i>ki</i> - — 320

6.7.3	pTg *-gi:- — 321
6.7.3.1	Manchu — 322
6.7.3.2	Even — 322
6.7.3.3	Evenki — 323
6.7.3.4	Udehe — 324
6.7.3.5	Nanai — 324
6.8	The historical development of valence and voice in Transeurasian — 324

7 Nominalization and the development of finite temporal distinctions — 330

7.1	Direct insubordination and its diachronic relevance — 330
7.2	Previous research — 335
7.3	pTEA *-rA aspectually neutral (ad)nominalizer — 339
7.3.1	pJ *-ra (~ *-rə) — 339
7.3.1.1	Ryukyuan — 341
7.3.1.2	Mainland Japanese — 344
7.3.2	pK *-l — 347
7.3.3	pTg *-rA — 349
7.3.3.1	Manchu -rA — 350
7.3.3.2	Even — 351
7.3.3.3	Evenki — 352
7.3.3.4	Udehe — 353
7.3.3.5	Nanai — 354
7.3.4	pMo *-r — 355
7.3.5	pTk *-rV — 357
7.3.5.1	Old Turkic — 357
7.3.5.2	Chuvash — 359
7.3.5.3	Yakut — 360
7.4	pTEA *-mA — 361
7.4.1	pJ *-m — 361
7.4.1.1	Ryukyuan — 363
7.4.1.2	Mainland Japanese — 364
7.4.2	pK *-m — 366
7.4.3	pTg *-mA — 367
7.4.3.1	Manchu — 368
7.4.3.2	Even — 371
7.4.3.3	Evenki — 372
7.4.3.4	Udehe — 373
7.4.3.5	Nanai — 373

7.4.4	pMo *-m(A) — 374
7.4.5	pTk *-m(A) — 376
7.4.5.1	Old Turkic — 377
7.4.5.2	Chuvash — 378
7.5	pTEA *-n aspectually neutral (ad)nominalizer — 379
7.5.1	pJ *-n — 379
7.5.1.1	Ryukyuan — 380
7.5.1.2	Old Japanese — 381
7.5.2	pK *-n — 383
7.5.3	pTg *-n(A) — 385
7.5.3.1	Manchu — 386
7.5.3.2	Even — 386
7.5.3.3	Evenki — 388
7.5.3.4	Udehe — 390
7.5.4	pMo *-n — 391
7.5.5	pTk *-n — 393
7.5.5.1	Old Turkic — 393
7.5.5.2	Chuvash — 395
7.6	pTEA *-xA ~ *-kA — 396
7.6.1	pJ *-ka — 396
7.6.1.1	Ryukyuan — 397
7.6.1.2	Mainland Japanese — 398
7.6.2	pK *-kAi — 400
7.6.3	pTg *-xA: ~ *-kA: — 402
7.6.3.1	Manchu — 403
7.6.3.2	Even — 405
7.6.3.3	Evenki — 406
7.6.3.4	Udehe — 406
7.6.3.5	Nanai — 407
7.6.4	pMo *-xA ~ *-kA — 408
7.6.5	pTk *-xA ~ *-kA — 411
7.6.5.1	Old Turkic — 411
7.6.5.2	Chuvash — 416
7.7	pTEA *-sA — 417
7.7.1	pJ *-sa — 417
7.7.1.1	Ryukyuan — 417
7.7.1.2	Mainland Japanese — 418
7.7.2	pK *-s — 422
7.7.3	pTg *-sA — 423

7.7.3.1	Manchu — 424
7.7.3.2	Even — 424
7.7.3.3	Evenki — 427
7.7.3.4	Udehe — 427
7.7.3.5	Nanai — 429
7.7.4	pMo *-sA — 431
7.7.5	pTk *-sA — 432
7.7.5.1	Old Turkic — 432
7.7.5.2	Chuvash — 434
7.8	The historical development of finite suffixes in Transeurasian — 436

8 Converbs — 449

8.1	Converbs and their diachronic relevance — 449
8.2	Previous research — 453
8.3	pTEA *-i ~ Ø deverbal noun suffix — 455
8.3.1	pJ *-i ~ Ø — 455
8.3.1.1	Mainland Japanese — 455
8.3.1.2	Ryukyuan — 458
8.3.2	pK *-i ~ Ø — 459
8.3.3	pTg *-i: ~ Ø — 461
8.3.3.1	Ma. -i ~ Ø — 461
8.3.3.2	Even — 461
8.3.3.3	Evenki — 462
8.3.4	pMo *-l ~ Ø — 462
8.3.5	pTk *-l ~ Ø — 464
8.4	pTEA *-xU ~ *-kU deverbal noun suffix — 466
8.4.1	pJ *-ku — 466
8.4.1.1	Mainland Japanese — 466
8.4.1.2	Ryukyuan — 468
8.4.2	pK *-ku ~ *-k(l) — 469
8.4.3	pTg *-xu: ~ *-ku: — 471
8.4.3.1	Manchu — 472
8.4.3.2	Even — 473
8.4.3.3	Udehe — 473
8.4.3.4	Nanai — 475
8.4.4	pMo *-gU ~ *-kU < ? *-xU ~ *-kU — 476
8.4.5	pTk *-xU ~ *-kU — 478
8.4.5.1	Old Turkic — 478
8.4.5.2	Chuvash — 480

8.5	The historical development of converb suffixes in Transeurasian — 482
9	Evaluation — 485
9.1	The correlations — 485
9.1.1	Formal correlations — 487
9.1.2	Functional correlations — 488
9.1.3	Combinational correlations — 488
9.1.4	Typological correlations — 489
9.1.5	Paradigmatic correlations — 490
9.1.5.1	Ordered sets — 490
9.1.5.2	Quirks — 491
9.1.5.3	Extended paradigmaticity — 493
9.2	How likely is coincidence? — 493
9.3	How likely is borrowing? — 494
9.3.1	Guidelines — 494
9.3.2	Indications against code-copying — 494
9.3.3	Indications in support of inheritance — 497
9.4	Why is the evidence not consistent with the Indo-European model? — 501
9.4.1	Inconsistency — 501
9.4.2	Typological differences — 501
9.4.3	Chronological differences — 503
9.5	Conclusion: a family picture through morphology — 505
Abbreviations — 507	
References — 511	
Language index — 542	
Subject index — 547	