

STUDIES IN
LANGUAGE
COMPANION
SERIES 161

Paradigm Change

In the Transeurasian languages
and beyond

Edited by
Martine Robbeets
Walter Bisang



JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY

Paradigm Change

In the Transeurasian languages and beyond

Edited by

Martine Robbeets

Walter Bisang

Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz

John Benjamins Publishing Company

Amsterdam / Philadelphia



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Paradigm Change : In the Transeurasian languages and beyond / Edited by Martine Robbeets and Walter Bisang.

p. cm. (Studies in Language Companion Series, ISSN 0165-7763 ; v. 161)

"The incentive for this collective volume came from a symposium entitled "Paradigm change in historical reconstruction: The Transeurasian languages and beyond", organized by Martine Robbeets and Walter Bisang at the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz in Germany, March 7-8, 2013."

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Paradigm (Linguistics) 2. Altaic languages--Morphology. 3. Altaic languages--Verb. 4. Comparative linguistics--Eurasia. I. Robbeets, Martine Irma, editor. II. Bisang, Walter, editor.

P128.P37P34 2014

414'.01--dc23

2014020748

ISBN 978 90 272 5926 4 (Hb ; alk. paper)

ISBN 978 90 272 6973 7 (Eb)

© 2014 – John Benjamins B.V.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, or any other means, without written permission from the publisher.

John Benjamins Publishing Co. · P.O. Box 36224 · 1020 ME Amsterdam · The Netherlands
John Benjamins North America · P.O. Box 27519 · Philadelphia PA 19118-0519 · USA

Paradigm Change

Studies in Language Companion Series (SLCS)

This series has been established as a companion series to the periodical *Studies in Language*.

For an overview of all books published in this series, please see
<http://benjamins.com/catalog/slcs>

Editors

Werner Abraham
University of Vienna /
University of Munich

Elly van Gelderen
Arizona State University

Editorial Board

Bernard Comrie
Max Planck Institute, Leipzig
and University of California, Santa Barbara

William Croft
University of New Mexico

Östen Dahl
University of Stockholm

Gerrit J. Dimmendaal
University of Cologne

Ekkehard König
Free University of Berlin

Christian Lehmann
University of Erfurt

Marianne Mithun
University of California, Santa Barbara

Heiko Narrog
Tohoku University

Johanna L. Wood
University of Aarhus

Debra Ziegeler
University of Paris III

Volume 161

Paradigm Change. In the Transeurasian languages and beyond
Edited by Martine Robbeets and Walter Bisang

List of tables

Chapter 1

Table 1.	Correspondences in the copula present paradigm in Indo-European.	4
----------	--	---

Chapter 2

Table 1.	Verbal agreement morphology of Italian.	25
Table 2.	The system of Hmong pronouns.	34

Chapter 3

Table 1.	Fragment of a derivational paradigm: Plain and semantic causative verbs from the wordlist of Nichols, Peterson and Barnes (2004).	63
Table 2.	Wordlist for the causative alternation.	64
Table 3.	Wordlist for posture verbs.	64
Table 4.	The derivational triad for 'sit'.	65
Table 5.	Derivational morphology for 'sit'.	65
Table 6.	Bases for 'sit'.	66
Table 7.	Turkic 'sit'.	83
Table 8.	Romance 'sit'.	83
Table 9.	'Stand' in selected Romance and Germanic.	84

Chapter 5

Table 1.	The Proto-Bantu noun class system (Meeussen 1967: 97–102).	105
Table 2.	Comparison of selected noun class marking across NC groups.	106
Table 3.	Proposed reconstructions of PNC, Proto-Bantu and Proto-Atlantic extensions.	107
Table 4.	Voeltz's proposed reflexes of his PNC * <i>de</i> applicative extension.	107
Table 5.	Verb extensions in selected "Atlantic" languages.	108

Table 6.	Comparision of Bantu and Atlantic applicatives.	109
Table 7.	Comparision of Moore and Proto-Bantu extensions.	109
Table 8.	Ehret's proposed reconstructions of early Chadic verb extensions.	110
Table 9.	Ehret's proposed reconstructions of Nilo-Saharan extensions.	111
Table 10.	Vossen's proposed reconstructions for Proto-Khoe and subbranches.	111
Table 11.	Proposed reconstructed causative affixes with *s and *t.	111
Table 12.	Alaaba and non-Afro-Asiatic lookalikes.	112
Table 13.	Innovative verb extensions in languages from three macro-phyla.	113
Table 14.	Renewal of an applicative suffix in Igbo.	113
Table 15.	CARP template in Bantu.	114
Table 16.	CARP similiarities in Temne (Atlantic) and Moro (Kordofanian).	115
Table 17.	Extension combinations attested in Moore.	115
Table 18.	Verb Extensions in Babanki (Kejom).	116
Table 19.	Pluractional marking in Babanki (Kejom).	117
Table 20.	Six applicativized verbs in Meta.	117
Table 21.	Stages in the development of aspectual extensions.	118
Table 22.	Comparison of Bantu vs. Bantoid properties.	118
Chapter 6		
Table 1.	Indefinite conjugation of the verb <i>kér</i> 'to ask' in the present tense.	131
Table 2.	Definite conjugation of the verb <i>kér</i> 'to ask' in the present tense.	131
Table 3.	Conjugation of the <i>ik</i> -verb <i>kés</i> 'to be late' in the present tense.	132
Table 4.	Turkic simple verbs copied as simple stems into the Hungarian <i>ik</i> -conjugation.	134
Table 5.	Turkic complex verbs copied as simple stems into the Hungarian <i>ik</i> -conjugation.	134
Table 6.	List of all copied words including the suffixes -(V)k or -(V)g listed in Róna-Tas & Berta (2011: 1130).	136
Table 7.	Semantic similarities between Turkic verbal nouns in -(V)k and Hungarian <i>ik</i> -verbs.	137

Chapter 7

Table 1.	Four types of vowel harmony in Altaic.	143
Table 2.	Harmonic vowel sets from representative Turkic, Tungusic, Mongolic, and Korean languages.	144
Table 3.	TR analyses of the vowel systems of Tungusic, Mongolic, and Korean languages.	144
Table 4.	Evidence in favor of the TRH analysis for non-Turkic languages.	145
Table 5.	Three tongue root positions.	145
Table 6.	Three gestural mechanisms (Hall & Hall 1980: 207).	145
Table 7.	Phonological markedness (Rice 2007: 80).	146
Table 8.	Evidence from the behavior of neutral vowels in harmony.	146
Table 9.	The direction of merger/neutralization.	146
Table 10.	Velar ~ uvular alternation.	147
Table 11.	Vowel correspondences in Tungusic (Joseph & Whitman 2013).	147
Table 12.	Vowel correspondences in Mongolic (Modified from Svantesson et al. 2005).	148
Table 13.	Vowel correspondences in Korean (Ko 2012, based on Kwak 2003).	148
Table 14.	MK transcription of the 13th century Mongolian vowels (K-M Lee 1964).	151
Table 15.	Basic vowel correspondences (initial syllables).	154
Table 16.	Stipulations for deriving later harmonism.	156
Table 17.	Outcomes of *ü...ü and *i...ü in Starostin et al.'s proto-Tungusic.	157
Table 18.	Outcomes of *u...u and *u...i in Starostin et al.'s proto-Tungusic.	159
Table 19.	Outcomes of *i...u, and *i...i in Starostin et al.'s proto-Tungusic.	160
Table 20.	ATR words often shift to RTR in Udihe.	163
Table 21.	Original doublets of some lexical items.	164
Table 22.	Poppe (1960) and Robbeet's (2005) basic correspondences for eight short monophthongs in initial syllables.	165
Table 23.	Proto-Yukaghir vowels.	167
Table 24.	Analysis of LMK vowel inventory in Ko (2012).	169

Table 25.	Analysis of pre-EMK vowel inventory prior to delabialization of low vowels.	170
-----------	---	-----

Chapter 8

Table 1.	Proposed vowel correspondences.	180
Table 2.	Sample upper and lower bigrade verbs.	181
Table 3.	Critical OJ stems.	185
Table 4.	Loss of UB monosyllables.	186
Table 5.	Original UM monosyllables.	186
Table 6.	Cognates of UM verbs.	187
Table 7.	Lexicalized OJ passives.	190

Chapter 9

Table 1.	The present indicative paradigm based on the Indo-European copula <i>*h₁es-</i> 'to be' (Beekes 1995: 13–14).	200
Table 2.	Coincidences between Proto-Eastern Miwokan and Indo-European (Campbell & Poser 2008: 188).	204
Table 3.	The Japanese basic inflectional paradigm in a comparative Transeurasian perspective.	223
Table 4.	Multidimensional paradigmaticity shared by the reflexes of pTEA <i>*-rA</i> .	224

Chapter 10

Table 1.	The analytic" imperfect paradigm in Yakut.	236
Table 2.	The "synthetic" imperfect paradigm in Yakut.	236
Table 3.	The Yakut non-past aorist forms.	237
Table 4.	The Even <i>-ri</i> paradigm.	239

Chapter 11

Table 1.	Turkic and Mongolic languages in the Amdo Sprachbund.	244
Table 2.	Salar cases.	245
Table 3.	Shirongol cases.	245

Chapter 12

Table 1.	Siberian Turkic case systems	261
----------	------------------------------	-----

Chapter 13

Table 1.	Učur Evenki assertive-presumptive paradigm copied from Sakha.	289
Table 2.	Lamunkhin Even assertive-presumptive paradigm copied from Sakha.	291
Table 3.	Lamunkhin Even necessitative paradigm copied from Sakha.	293
Table 4.	Underlying forms of the Lamunkhin Even present tense paradigm copied from Sakha (forms attested in oral corpus).	293
Table 5.	Underlying forms of the Lamunkhin Even hypothetical mood paradigm copied from Sakha (forms attested in oral corpus).	294
Table 6.	Sakha subject agreement paradigms.	302
Table 7.	Even subject agreement paradigms.	302

List of contributors

Walter Bisang

General Linguistics and Language
Typology
Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz
Jakob-Welder-Weg 18
55099 Mainz
Germany
wbisang@uni-mainz.de

Éva Á. Csató

Department of Linguistics and
Philology
Uppsala University
Box 635
SE-751 26 Uppsala
Sweden
eva.csato@lingfil.uu.se

Larry Hyman

Department of Linguistics 2650
University of California, Berkeley
1203 Dwinelle
Berkeley, CA 94720
USA
hyman@berkeley.edu

Juha Janhunen

Department of World Cultures
University of Helsinki-Helsingfors
Unionsgatan 38 B 122
Box 59
Finland 00014
asiemajeure@yahoo.com

Lars Johanson

Seminar für Orientkunde
Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz
Hegelstrasse 59
55122 Mainz
Germany
johanson@uni-mainz.de

Andrew Joseph

Department of Linguistics
Cornell University
203 Morrill Hall
Ithaca, NY 14853-4701
USA
ajj22@cornell.edu

Brian Joseph

Department of Linguistics
The Ohio State University
206 Oxley Hall
1712 Neil Avenue
Columbus, OH, 43210
USA
bjoseph@ling.ohio-state.edu

Seongyeon Ko

Department of Classical, Middle
Eastern, and Asian Languages and
Cultures
Queens College, City University of
New York
65-30 Kissena Blvd.
Queens, NY 11367-1597
USA
Seongyeon.Ko@qc.cuny.edu

Figure 2.	An RTR analysis of the OM vowel system (Ko 2011, 2012, 2013a).	150
Figure 3.	The Korean Vowel Shift Hypothesis (K.-M. Lee 1972 as diagrammed in Ko 2013a).	150
Figure 4.	RTR analysis of the MK vowel system (J. Kim 1999; J.-K. Kim 2000; Ko 2010, 2012, 2013a).	151
Figure 5.	The Old Korean vowel system (Itō 2007: 267).	151
Figure 6.	Reconstructed proto-Altaic vowel system (Poppe 1960: 92).	152
Figure 7.	RTR analysis of Proto-Altaic (cf. Ko 2012; Vaux 2009).	152
Figure 8.	Turkic shift: A hypothesis (Ko 2012).	153
Figure 9.	Proto-Tungusic vowels according to Starostin, Dybo and Mudrak (2003).	155
Figure 10.	Proto-Tungusic high vowels in Starostin et al. (2003), compared with Benzing (1955).	155
Figure 11.	“Vowel rotation” in NEA: the Korean case (Janhunen 1981).	166
Figure 12.	Proto-Chukotkan vowel inventory (Bobaljik 2009).	166
Chapter 13		
Figure 1.	Map of Siberia created with the WALS Interactive Reference Tool (Bibiko 2005).	295
Figure 2.	Map of Siberia created with the WALS Interactive Reference Tool (Bibiko 2005).	297

List of contributors

Walter Bisang

General Linguistics and Language
Typology
Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz
Jakob-Welder-Weg 18
55099 Mainz
Germany
wbisang@uni-mainz.de

Éva Á. Csató

Department of Linguistics and
Philology
Uppsala University
Box 635
SE-751 26 Uppsala
Sweden
eva.csato@lingfil.uu.se

Larry Hyman

Department of Linguistics 2650
University of California, Berkeley
1203 Dwinelle
Berkeley, CA 94720
USA
hyman@berkeley.edu

Juha Janhunen

Department of World Cultures
University of Helsinki-Helsingfors
Unionsgatan 38 B 122
Box 59
Finland 00014
asiemajeure@yahoo.com

Lars Johanson

Seminar für Orientkunde
Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz
Hegelstrasse 59
55122 Mainz
Germany
johanson@uni-mainz.de

Andrew Joseph

Department of Linguistics
Cornell University
203 Morrill Hall
Ithaca, NY 14853-4701
USA
ajj22@cornell.edu

Brian Joseph

Department of Linguistics
The Ohio State University
206 Oxley Hall
1712 Neil Avenue
Columbus, OH, 43210
USA
bjoseph@ling.ohio-state.edu

Seongyeon Ko

Department of Classical, Middle
Eastern, and Asian Languages and
Cultures
Queens College, City University of
New York
65-30 Kissena Blvd.
Queens, NY 11367-1597
USA
Seongyeon.Ko@qc.cuny.edu

Irina Nevskaya

Institut für Empirische
Sprachwissenschaft
Johann Wolfgang Goethe-University,
Frankfurt am Main
Senckenberganlage 31
60325 Frankfurt am Main
Germany
nevskaya@em.uni-frankfurt.de

Johanna Nichols

Department of Slavic Languages 2979
University of California, Berkeley
6303 Dwinelle Hall
Berkeley, CA 94720
USA
johanna@berkeley.edu

Hans Nugteren

Seminar für Turkologie und Zentral-
asienkunde
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen
Heinrich-Düker-Weg 14
37073 Göttingen
Germany
hans.nugteren@phil.uni-goettingen.de

Brigitte Pakendorf

Institut des Sciences de l'Homme
Laboratoire Dynamique du Langage
14 avenue Berthelot
69363 Lyon Cedex 07
France
Brigitte.Pakendorf@cnrs.fr

Martine Robbeets

General Linguistics and Language
Typology
Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz
Hegelstrasse 59
55122 Mainz
Germany
martine_robbeets@hotmail.com

J. Marshall Unger

Department of East Asian Languages
and Literatures
The Ohio State University
Hagerty Hall 398
1775 College Road
Columbus, OH 43210
USA
unger.26@osu.edu

John Whitman

Department of Linguistics
Cornell University
209 Morrill Hall, 255-0737
Ithaca, NY 14853-4701
USA
Jbw2@cornell.edu

Acknowledgements

The incentive for this collective volume came from a symposium entitled “Paradigm change in historical reconstruction: The Transeurasian languages and beyond”, organized by Martine Robbeets and Walter Bisang at the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz in Germany, March 7–8, 2013.

We thank all participants who contributed their papers to the symposium: Greville Corbett, Éva Á. Csató, Tom Güldeman, Juha Janhunen, Lars Johanson, Andrew Joseph, László Károly, Seongyeon Ko, Andrej Malchukov, Irina Nevskaya, Johanna Nichols, Hans Nugteren, Brigitte Pakendorf, András Róna-Tas and Jim Unger. We are also very grateful to the authors in the volume for submitting and revising their papers and for respecting our strict schedule in spite of their busy agendas. A heartfelt word of thanks also goes to two of our colleagues at the University of Mainz, notably Thomas Schieke from the Seminar für Orientkunde for his efficiency as an Assistant Organizer and to Linlin Sun from Linguistic Typology for her dedicated work as an Assistant Editor.

Our gratitude further goes to our colleagues Lars Johanson and Hendrik Boeschoten from the Seminar für Orientkunde, who supported our enterprise as co-members of a research project at the University of Mainz with the title “Die transeurasiatischen Sprachen: Kontakt in der Familie”, which was funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG).

The organization of the workshop and the realization of this volume were financially supported by the above-mentioned DFG project, supporting Martine Robbeets’ research at the University of Mainz from January 2010 to December 2013. Financial support is also acknowledged from the Gutenberg Research College, awarding a fellowship for excellence in research to Walter Bisang.

We would also like to thank the editors of the *Studies in Language Companion Series*, Werner Abraham and Elly van Gelderen, for their enthusiasm in including this volume in the series and for their help in seeing this project through. Finally, we wish to thank Kees Vaes at John Benjamins for his initial interest and for his professional supervision.

Mainz, March 2014

Table of contents

List of tables	IX
List of figures	XV
List of contributors	XVII
Acknowledgements	XIX
CHAPTER 1	
When paradigms change	1
<i>Martine Robbeets and Walter Bisang</i>	
PART I. Paradigm change: Theoretical issues	
CHAPTER 2	
On the strength of morphological paradigms: A historical account of radical pro-drop	23
<i>Walter Bisang</i>	
CHAPTER 3	
Derivational paradigms in diachrony and comparison	61
<i>Johanna Nichols</i>	
CHAPTER 4	
On arguing from diachrony for paradigms	89
<i>Brian D. Joseph</i>	
CHAPTER 5	
Reconstructing the Niger-Congo Verb Extension Paradigm: What's Cognate, Copied or Renewed?	103
<i>Larry M. Hyman</i>	

PART II. The continuation of paradigms

CHAPTER 6

- Perceived formal and functional equivalence: The Hungarian
ik-conjugation** 129
Éva Á. Csató

CHAPTER 7

- Comparative consequences of the tongue root harmony analysis
for proto-Tungusic, proto-Mongolic, and proto-Korean** 141
Seongyeon Ko, Andrew Joseph, and John Whitman

CHAPTER 8

- Old Japanese bigrade paradigms and Korean passives and causatives** 177
J. Marshall Unger

CHAPTER 9

- The Japanese inflectional paradigm in a Transeurasian perspective** 197
Martine Robbeets

PART III. The innovation of paradigms

CHAPTER 10

- A Yakut copy of a Tungusic viewpoint aspect paradigm** 235
Lars Johanson

CHAPTER 11

- Amdo Altaic directives and comparatives based on the verb 'to see'** 243
Hans Nugteren

CHAPTER 12

- Innovations and archaisms in Siberian Turkic spatial case paradigms:
A Transeurasian historical and areal perspective** 257
Irina Nevskaya