



ULUSLARARASI TÜRK AKADEMİSİ

**PROF. DR. TALÂT TEKİN
HATIRA KİTABI
CİLT 2**

Çantay

İSTANBUL-2017

PROF. DR. TALÂT TEKİN HATIRA KİTABI

YAYIN KURULU

Osman Fikri SERTKAYA

Süer EKER - Hatice ŞİRİN – Erdem UÇAR

© Kitabın her türlü hakkı Yayın Kurulu'na aittir. Yayın Kurulu'nun izni olmadan Prof. Dr. Talât Tekin Hatıra Kitabı'nın hiç bir bölümü veya paragrafi, kısmen veya tamamen çoğaltılamaz, basılamaz, dağıtılamaz.

1. Baskı: İstanbul 2017

ISBN 978-605-9574-05-1

Baskı ve Cilt

Anka Matbaa / Sertifika No: 12328
Telefon: 0212 565 90 33 – 212 480 05 71
e-mail: ankamatbaa@superonline.com

Çantağ

**KİTAP - KİRTASİYE – FOTOKOPI
SANAYİ VE TİCARET LİMİTED ŞİRKETİ**

Sertifika No.: 12327

**Büyük Resitpaşa Cad. No: 44/C
34470 Laleli – İstanbul**

**Tlf: (0212) 513 7968 – 522 7445
Fax: (0212) 528 5851**

SUNUŞ

Uluslararası Türk Akademisi, Türk Dünyasının bilim insanlarını ve aydınlarını bir araya getirerek ortak akademik ve entellektüel bir ortam oluşturmayı hedefleyen bir kuruluştur. Uluslararası Türk Akademisi'nin bu hedefe ulaşma sürecine, yüksek nitelikteki bilimsel çalışmalarıyla zemin hazırlayan bilim insanları arasında Altayist ve Türkolog olarak merhum Prof. Dr. Talat TEKİN'in de önemli bir yeri vardı. TEKİN'in 2015 yılındaki kaybının üzüntüsünü yaşıyor, kendisini bir kez daha rahmetle anıyoruz.

Her bilim insanının bilim dünyasına ve insanlık alemine bıraktığı silinmez izler; eserleri, yetiştirdiği öğrenciler ve belki de bunlardan daha önemlisi genç araştırmacılara verdiği ilham ile ölçülür. Bilim insanları aramızdan ayrılmış olsalar bile bıraktıkları eserleriyle, yetiştirdikleri öğrencileriyle bir bakıma bilim dünyasında yaşamaya ve üretmeye devam ederler.

Prof. Dr. Talât TEKİN de Altayistik ile Türkoloji tarihinde, kuşkusuz bu nitelikleri ile, özel bir yere sahip şahsiyetlerdendi. Altayistik ve Türk dilbilimi alanlarındaki araştırmalara yol gösteren, yön veren makaleleri ve kitaplarıyla bütün dünyada meslektaşlarının saygısını kazanmış, bu yüzden, bütün Türkoloji öğrencilerinin hocası olmuştur. Onun *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* adlı doktora tezi aradan geçen kırk dokuz yıla rağmen Eski Türkçe alanındaki bütün çalışmaların temel başvuru kaynakları arasında ilk sıralardadır. TEKİN'in, Altay dillerindeki Zetasizm-Sigmatizm ve Ana Türkçe aslı uzun ünlüler kuramlarına yaptığı çok önemli katkılar, bu çerçevede Altay dilleri kuramını güçlendirici Türkçe-Moğolca ses denklikleri ve Türkolojinin neredeyse her dönemiyle, her alanıyla ilgili olarak ortaya koyduğu yetkin çalışmaları önemini korumaktadır.

TEKİN'in *Japonca ve Altay Dilleri*, *Orhon Türkçesi Grameri*, *Orhon Yazıtları*, *Irk Bitig (The Book of Omens)*, *Tuna Bulgarları ve Dilleri*, *Volga Bulgar Kitabeleri ve Volga Bulgarcası*, *Türkmence-Türkçe Sözlük* vb. gibi kitapları ile makalelerinin sayısı 260'ın üzerindedir. TEKİN, Çuvaş ve Yakut Türkçeleri ile diğer 'az bilinen' Türk dillerine olan vukufu ile de Türkolojinin araştırma sınırlarının

genişlemesine ve derinleşmesine önemli katkılar sağlamıştır. Türk Dil Kurumu'nun 'Türkçe Sözlük'ündeki maddelerin köken bilgileri TEKİN tarafından yapılmıştır. TEKİN, çok yönlü ve derinlikli bilimsel kişiliğiyle Türk dünyası merkezli çalışmaları dünya standartlarına taşıyan bilim insanlarından biri olmuştur.

Bu duygu ve düşüncelerden hareketle, Prof. Talât TEKİN için hazırlanan bu 'Hatıra Kitabı'nı meslektaşlarımıza ve Türk Dünyasına takdim etmekten onur duyuyoruz. Bilginize sunduğumuz bu "Hatıra Kitabı"ndaki ilk üç yazı Prof. Dr. Talat TEKİN ile ilgilidir. Diğer araştırma ve inceleme yazıları ise onun Altayistik ve Türkoloji dünyasının önde gelen bilim adamlarının katkıları ile Prof. Talât TEKİN'e ithafen hazırladıkları Türkiye Türkçesi, Kazak Türkçesi, Uygur Türkçesi ve Almanca, İngilizce, Rusça kaleme alınan Altayistik, Türk dilbilimi ve Türk dili tarihi alanlarındaki 60 araştırma ve inceleme yazısıdır.

Uluslararası Türk Akademisinin yayım desteği ile okurlarına ulaşan bu *Prof. Dr. Talât Tekin Hatıra Kitabı*'nın Türk Dünyası merkezli bilimsel çalışmalara önemli bir katkı sağlayacağına dair inancımız tamdır.

Prof. Dr. Darhan KIDIRALI,
Türk Akademisi
Uluslararası Teşkilatı Başkanı

YAYIN KURULU'NDAN

16 Haziran 1927'de Kocaeli'nin Gebze ilçesine baęlı Tavşancıl nahiyesinde doğan Prof. Dr. Mehmet Talât TEKİN 28 Kasım 2015 Cumartesi günü, 88 yaşında iken, aramızdan ayrıldı, “kerçek boltı”.

Öğrencisi ve asistanı Prof. Dr. Süer EKER merhum hocası için bir “Mémoire” çıkarmak istedięini söyledięi zaman kendisine *Prof. Dr. Talât Tekin Hatıra Kitabı*'nın Yayın Kurulu için iki genç meslekdaşımı, Hatice ŞİRİN ile Erdem UÇAR'ı, tavsiye ettim. Ancak Hatice ŞİRİN ile Erdem UÇAR “Bizleri Size tavsiye eden hocamız Osman Fikri SERTKAYA'ya da ısrar edin. Büyük tecrübesi ve muhiti vardır. Yayın Kurulu'nda başımızda olsun, Süer Bey” tekliflerini bana duyurarak “Sayın Hocam! Siz gençlere örnek olmalısınız” diyen ve bu konuda bana ısrar eden Prof. Dr. Süer EKER'in hatırını kırmayıp “olur” dedim.

Prof. Dr. Talât Tekin Hatıra Kitabı'nın yazışmalarını Doç. Dr. Erdem UÇAR yapmış ve kendisine gönderilen yazıları zaman zaman bana göndermiştir. Çok deęişik ölçü, harf karakteri, punto ve düzenlemelerde olan bu yazılar tarafımdan “format”lanmıştır. Yayın Kurulu *Prof. Dr. Talât Tekin Hatıra Kitabı*'na gönderilen yazıların redaksiyonunda titizlik göstermiş, makale sayısını 60 ile sınırlamış, bu yüzden gönderilen bir çok yazı, yer darlığı dolayısıyla, *Prof. Dr. Talât Tekin Hatıra Kitabı*'na alınamamıştır.

Konuyu yakından takip eden Uluslararası Türk Akademisi'nin başkanı Prof. Dr. Darhan KIDIRALI'ye *Prof. Dr. Talât Tekin Hatıra Kitabı*'nın hazırlanmış bilgilerini sunduğumda gösterilen büyük ilgi karşısında “Hocam! Zât-ı âliniz Uluslararası Türk Akademisi'nin Altın Madalyası hamilisiniz. Siz Uluslararası Türk Akademisi'nin üyesisiniz. Lütfen Yayın Kurulu'ndaki arkadaşlarınıza duyurunuz. Uluslararası Türk Akademisi *Prof. Dr. Talât Tekin Hatıra Kitabı*'nın kendi yayını olmasını arzu etmektedir. Sponsorunuz biz olmak istiyoruz. Hocamıza karşı biz de borcumuzun bir kısmını ödeyelim” teklifinde bulundu. *Prof. Dr. Talât Tekin Hatıra Kitabı*'nın Yayın Kurulu da bu öneriyi sevinerek kabul etti. Artık Yayın Kurulu'na

sadece Uluslararası Türk Akademisi Başkanı Prof. Dr. Darhan KIDIRALÍ'nin "Sunuş" yazısını beklemek kalmıştı.

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Talât TEKİN Türkiye'nin yetiştirdiği önde gelen bir Altayist, tarihî ve çağdaş Türk lehçelerini derinliğine inceleyen ve değerlendiren bir Türkologdur. Makaleleri toplu olarak, üç cilt halinde, yayımlanmıştır. Çalışmalarının engin değeri zamanın süzgecinden geçerek gelecekte daha iyi anlaşılacaktır.

Yayın Kurulu üyeleri Altayistik ve Türkoloji dünyasına *Prof. Dr. Talât Tekin Hatıra Kitabı*'nı sunmaktan büyük mutluluk duymaktadır.

Saygılarımızla arz ederiz.

Prof. Dr. Talât Tekin Hatıra Kitabı

Yayın Kurulu adına

Prof. Dr. Osman Fikri SERTKAYA

İÇİNDEKİLER

Cilt 1

D. Kıdırali	Sunuş	3-4
O. F. Sertkaya	Yayın Kurulu'ndan	5-6
	İçindekiler	7-10
S. Eker	<i>İnandıklarının kırılğan savaşçısı Hocam Prof. Dr. Talat Tekin (1927-2015)</i>	11-22
O. F. Sertkaya	<i>Prof. Dr. Talat Tekin'in hayatı ve bibliyografyası</i>	23-53
A. Salihov	<i>Türk Bilim Adamı Ufa'da</i>	55-60
A. Akar	<i>Köktürk yazıtlarında sözlü dil izleri</i>	61-73
E. Aktaş	<i>Hakas Epik geleneğinde antroponim yapılar</i>	75-105
R. Alimov	<i>Sart-Kalmakların dilleri üzerine</i>	107-126
X. Ç. Alişina	<i>Morfolojiçeskaya struktura Tobol'-İrtişskogo dialekta Sibirskih Tatar</i>	127-133
A. Ata	<i>Türk dilinde dini bir kavram: tamu ~ tamug</i>	135-139
B. Atabay	<i>Türkiye Türkçesi ve Tatar Türkçesi'nin Karşılaştırmalı Sözlüğü. Türklerin Edebi Mirası.</i>	141-154
B. Atabay-M. Salkımbayev	<i>Abay şıgarmalarının sipatı</i>	155-167
V. B. Kaseviç-A. S. Avrutina-E. V. Glazovana	<i>Farklı zamanlara ait metinlerin algılanmasındaki görece güçlüklerin niceliksel değerlendirmesi (Türkçe ve Osmanlıca malzemelerle)</i>	169-189
S. Ayazbayeva	<i>Kazak tili kosımşalarının morfologiyalık variant casav modeli</i>	191-198
G. Babayarov – A. Kubatin	<i>Bazı Yenisey yazıtlarındaki sözcük ve ibareler üzerine yeni öneriler</i>	199-238
Ch. Bulut	<i>Unusual lexemes in Iran-Turkic</i>	239-268
G. Cemal	<i>Etno lingvistiçeskogo znaçeniye "Devanu Lügat at Türk"</i>	269-285
T. Csernei	<i>Hungarian Turanism</i>	287-308
Ü. Çevik-Şavk	<i>Dil deęiştirme sürecinde Türkiye Nogaycasında görülen dilbilgisel dönüşümler</i>	309-328

M. Erdal	<i>An early Turkic-Mongolic case suffix</i>	329-334
K. German	<i>Yok olan bir diaspora dili: Kazakistan'daki "Koryo Mar" örneği</i>	335-362
T. Gülensoy	<i>İrk Bitig adlı iki yayın üzerine görüşler ve düzeltmeler</i>	363-398
G. Sagidolda	<i>Altayistika salasındaki tildi zertteuding antropologiyalık bagdarlaması: "Til jene adam" problemasınıning somatikalık kodı</i>	399-410
Z. A. Habibullina	<i>Проблема Языковой Преемственности Между Древне- И Среднетюркскими Письменными Памят-Никами И Современными Тюркскими Языками</i>	411-428
A. İnayet	<i>T'ang şiirinde Türk imgesi</i>	429-440
D. İsrail-İ. Yusup	<i>Barçuk tokkuz saray harabisindin tepilgan Hakaniye tilidiki hisabat deptirining üç parça yırtık varakı</i>	441-460
H. Jankowski	<i>Some notes on Talat Tekin's classification of Turkic languages</i>	461-476
G. Kara	<i>A fragment of a leaf with Uygur-script Turkic manuscript reused for Uygur-script Mongol lines: U5515 of the Berlin Collection</i>	477-485
F. Karabulut	<i>Metin aktarımlarının Türk dünyasının bütünleşmesindeki rolü: Çeviri eleştirisi temelinde roman merkezli bir analiz</i>	487-522
L. Karahan	<i>"Prof. Dr. Talât Tekin'in ek etimolojilerine dair makaleleri üzerine notlar"</i>	523-533
G. Kasımova	<i>Orkhon eskerikisi metinindeki leksika-grammatikalyk kategorialary</i>	535-546
Y. Katliarou	<i>Nation Building In Turkish Republic: Unifying Nation Around Language</i>	547-563
C. Kerimoğlu	<i>Zarf kategorisi üzerine</i>	565-593
B. Khabtagayeva	<i>A) The Buriat People and their language</i>	595-624
	<i>B) The Buriat influence on the Barguzin Evenki people and their language</i>	625-643

Z. Kirillova	<i>Дәүләт Теле Буларак Татар Теле: Беренче Омтылыш</i>	645-660
Yu. Kuribayashi	<i>Subject and topic in Turkish, Turkic, And Japanese</i>	661-677
Cilt 2		
D. Kıdırali	Sunuş	3-4
O. F. Sertkaya	Yayın Kurulu'ndan İçindekiler	5-6 7-10
D. Matsui	<i>Mazar Tagh Harabesi'nden getirilen Eski Türkçe - Çince bir lugatçe</i>	679-696
O. Mert	<i>Orhun yazıtlarında ünlüleri karşılayan karakterlerin ve hece işaretlerinin kullanımı</i>	697-719
Sh. V. Nafikoff	<i>Old Turkic demonstrative pronoun "this" and its broader etymology</i>	721-724
J. Oda	<i>Additional notes to Varyoki (Paryoki) Sudur</i>	725-729
B. Oruç-Arslan	<i>Türkiye Türkçesinde karmaşık cümle</i>	731-762
M. Öner	<i>Tarihî-Karşılaştırmalı Filoloji ve Reşid Rahmeti Arat</i>	763-778
M. Özgen	<i>İle: A Postpositional Case Marker or Conjunction?</i>	779-804
A. Sumru Özsoy	<i>Türkçede ulaç ve ilgeç yapılarında zaman ve nedensellik ilişkisi üzerine</i>	805-818
Y. Filipçuk	<i>Uzbeško-Kızılbaşskiye boynı XVI-XVIII vekov</i>	819-865
Ç. Pekacar	<i>Orta Asya'dan Almanya'ya esen rüzgâr: BORA</i>	867-884
M. Robbeets (MPI Jena)	<i>Like ripples in a pond. Basic vocabulary linking Japonic to Turkic</i>	885-914
V. Rybatzki	<i>Mongolic Words in Özbek (III).</i>	915- 957
A. Salihov	<i>Baku'da 1926'da yapılan Birinci Türkoloji Kurultayı'na Başkurt Heyetinin katılımı</i>	959-964
İ. Sarı	<i>Tarihi ve çağdaş Türkçe varyantların bilgisayar ortamında yazımı</i>	965-981
A. Sertkaya	<i>Kul Süleyman Hakîm Ata Bakırganı'ya ait üç hikmet</i>	983-989

G. Sev	<i>Yakın anlamlı fiillerden bakmak ~ görmek</i>	991-1028
S. Sorokin	<i>K voprosu o realizatsii semantiki rezultativnosti ve Turetskom yazıke: Opıt Funktsiolno-semantiçeskogo issledovaniya</i>	1029-1077
M. Şen	<i>Türkiye Türkçesi ağızlarında R ~ Z nöbetleşmesi</i>	1079-1096
H. Şirin	<i>Türk kültüründe Dövme</i>	1097-1114
İ. Togan	<i>Kül Tegin yazıtı doğu yüzüne tarihsel bağlam içerisinde bakış</i>	1115-1132
S. Tulu	<i>Halaçça Süleyman Şâh ve Karınca masalı</i>	1133-1184
N. Useyev	<i>Köktürkçe bir vefeyat formülü ve insan-at bütünlüğü (Çiyin Taş yazıtı, Yabogan (A-84) yazıtının ilk satırı ve Yargol yazıtı</i>	1185-1196
E. Uçar	<i>Altun Yaruk Sudur: VIII. Tegziñç, XIX. Bölök (Yeni neşir)</i>	1197-1250
M. Levent Yener	<i>Eylemsi öbeklerinin dizimsel özellikleri ve birleşik tümceler üzerine</i>	1251-1277
M. K. Yeskayeva	<i>Monosyllabic system of the Turkic languages</i>	1279-1294
E. Yusupova – E. Habibullina	<i>Grammatical substitutions used in the translation of Tatar literary prose into the Turkish Language (Using grammatical case as an example)</i>	1295-1301
G.Yükselen Peler	<i>Some Notes on the Language of Darband-Namah</i>	1303-1310
J. Wilkens	<i>Noch einmal zum altuigurischen Dharmaruci-Avadana</i>	1311-1322
E. Birnbaum	<i>Invisible miniatures in an Old Ottoman Manuscript</i>	1323-1326
	<i>Tıpkıbasımlar</i>	1327-1352

Prof. Dr. Talât Tekin Hatıra Kitabı, İstanbul, 2017, s. 885-914.

**LIKE RIPPLES IN A POND.
BASIC VOCABULARY LINKING JAPONIC TO TURKIC**

Martine ROBBEETS

“Where Tekin's researches end the problems begin.”

Doerfer 1984: 42

1. Introduction:

In this article I will examine Transeurasian basic vocabulary, that simultaneously includes cognates from Japonic and Turkic languages in order to draw inferences about the nature of the historical connections that underlie these languages. The term “Transeurasian” was coined by Johanson & Robbeets (2010: 1-2) with reference to a large group of geographically adjacent languages, traditionally known as “Altaic”, that share a significant number of linguistic properties and include up to five different linguistic families: Japonic, Koreanic, Tungusic, Mongolic, and Turkic. The question whether all similarities between the Transeurasian languages should be accounted for by code-copying or whether some are cognate residue of a common ancestor is one of the most debated issues of historical comparative linguistics (see Robbeets 2005 for an overview of the debate).

In his research, Professor Tekin argued that the Transeurasian languages were affiliated. He included Korean in his definition of "Altaic", assuming that proto-Korean was the first to be separated from the Altaic unity and that proto-Turkic separated next from the Mongolo-Tungusic unity. He did not accept the inclusion of Japonic into the family. Figure 1 is a graphical interpretation of Tekin's (1994: 82) view of "Altaic", while Figure 2 represents my own classification.

Figure 1: Classification of the Altaic languages according to Tekin (1994: 82)

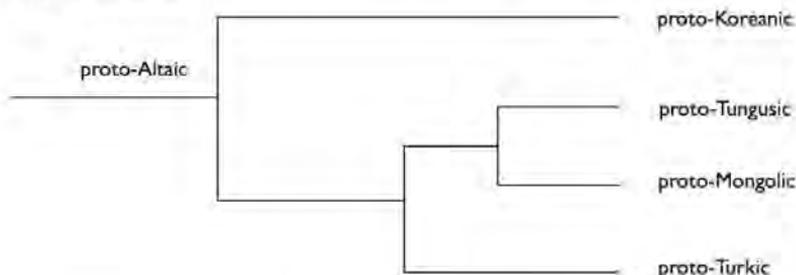
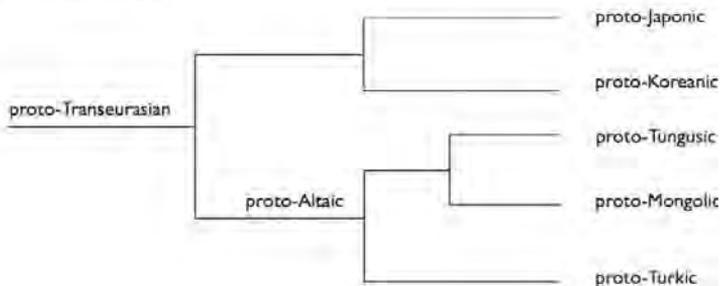


Figure 2: Classification of the Transeurasian languages according to Robbeets (2015: 506)



BASIC VOCABULARY LINKING JAPONIC TO TURKIC

Professor Tekin's specialization was in the West of the Transeurasian continuum: he was an expert in the Turkic family with profound knowledge of Mongolic and Tungusic languages, but he did not work with Korean or Japanese in any depth. Hence, Professor Tekin's work was focused on the affiliation of the three "western" families Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic in the first place, while it only marginally advanced support for the inclusion of Korean and did not address the issue whether Japanese should be added to this grouping. And here we can cite Doerfer's (1984: 42) statement "Where Tekin's researches end the problems begin", interpreting the slogan in a much more constructive way than it was originally intended. There is no progress without problems. The problem with demonstrating Altaic affinity on the basis of Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic languages alone is in the extensive contact history shared between these languages. Therefore, the key question whether the Transeurasian languages are genealogically related essentially boils down to distinguishing between borrowing and inheritance as an explanation of their similarities. In the past, each of the three western families and the two eastern families maintained high-contact relationships amongst themselves. If shared properties would be found between low-contact languages, including, for instance, Japonic and Turkic, borrowing could be ruled out with high probability. Starting from a hypothesis that includes low-contact languages therefore offers the best chance of resolving the longstanding affiliation debate for the Transeurasian languages. As such I believe that adding Korean and Japanese is crucial to demonstrating that Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic are genealogically related.

Therefore, I have chosen to devote my contribution to instances of common Transeurasian basic vocabulary that are simultaneously

shared between the Turkic and Japonic languages. The situation can be likened to the ripples that a stone makes when thrown into a pond. When a new basic word entered, say in the common Mongolo-Tungusic proto-language, it is expected to have replaced the older word and to have spread out over the subsequent Mongolic and Tungusic languages, leaving the oldest forms in the peripheries of the language family, *in casu* in the Japonic and Turkic languages. These are the branches in which I intend to search simultaneously attested cognates of Transeurasian basic vocabulary in the following section. In the third section, I will explain why common ancestorship can provide a more sensible account for these etymologies than borrowing. Finally, I will summarize my findings in a conclusion.

2. Basic vocabulary comparisons:

As far as the basic vocabulary is concerned, I use the Leipzig-Jakarta list (Tadmor et al. 2010) because it yields better results for languages with a verb-oriented lexicon as it includes more verbs than the traditional Swadesh 100 list (Swadesh 1955). Restricting the evidence to etymologies for basic vocabulary items that have members in at least three different branches of the Transeurasian unity, including the Turkic and Japonic branch, we find the following 11 items on the Leipzig-Jakarta 100 wordlist. The etymologies represent basic vocabulary in the sense that the basic meaning can be reconstructed to the common proto-Transeurasian form. Table 1 summarizes the etymologies, indicating the number of the relevant sound correspondences in accordance with the Tables 2 and 3 below as well as the passages in my previous work that deal with them in

BASIC VOCABULARY LINKING JAPONIC TO TURKIC

more detail. These passages also mention various sources that contributed to the etymology in question.¹

(1) 7 BLOOD

pJ **ti* 'blood; spirit, force': J *tī* (1.1), OJ *tī* 'blood', OJ *tī* 'spirit, force'; Shuri *cii*, Shodon *cii*, Hirara *tsītsi*, Ishigaki *tsīi* (A), Yonaguni *ccii* 'blood' (A), pR **ti* 'blood'

pMo **či* < **ti* 'blood': MMo. *čisu(n)*, WMo. *čisu(n)*, Dag. *čos*, Khal. *cus(an)*, Ordos *jušu*, Bur. *šuha(n)*, Kalm. *cusn*, Eastern Yugur *čūsən*, *čusun*, Mgr. *čisə*, *cəzə*, Bao. *čisuŋ*, *čiseŋ*, Dong. *čusun*, Mogh. *čusun*, *čisu*

pTk **tī:n* 'spirit, breath': OT *tīn* '1 spirit, breath', Tk. *tīn* '1', Tat. *tīn* '1', Uz. *tīn* '1', Uigh. *tīn* '1', Kirg. *tīn* '1', Kaz. *tīnis* '1', Nog. *tīnis* '1', Bash. *tīn* '1', Balk. *tīn* '1', Kpak *tīn* '1', Kum. *tīniš* '1', Khak. *tīn* '1', Shor *tīn* '1', Tuva *tīn* '1', Tofa. *tīn* '1', Yak. *tī:n* '1', Dol. *tī:n* '1', Chu. *čēm* '1'; Tkm. *dī:nč* '2 rest', Az. *dīnč* '2', Karaim *tīnc* '2', Gag. *dīnnen* 'to rest'

Reflexes of pJ **ti* 'blood; spirit, force' are found in Mainland Japanese as well as in the Ryukyuan languages. The metaphorical extension of the meaning 'blood' to 'spirit, force' in Old Japanese supports the comparison with pTk **tī:n* 'spirit, breath'.

The Mongolic forms reflect a petrified suffix *-sun* that occurs in numerous body part terms, e.g. WMo. *gede-sūn* 'bowel' and *suda-sun* 'arteria' (Poppe 1973: 238-240).

¹ Note that Old Japanese distinguished between two values for later *e*, *i*, *o* in certain syllables, which are indexed with subscripts *i*₁ versus *i*₂, *e*₁ versus *e*₂ and *o*₁ versus *o*₂. Japanese verbs are distinguished according to two prosodic classes A and B. Type A corresponds to a high initial tone, type B to a low initial tone. For the Ryukyuan languages capital N represents a mora nasal and capital Q a glottal stop. For Middle Korean, Yale Romanization is modified to allow for the representation of unrounded vowels [A] and [i] by *o* and *u*. In proto-Korean these vowels are reconstructed as **ʌ* and **i*.

(2) 12 BREAST

pJ **kiki-rə* 'heart': J *kokoro* (3.5b), OJ *ko₂ko₂ro₂* 'heart', MJ *kokoti* 'heart, feelings, mood'; Shodon *k'ohoro*, Shuri *kukuru*, Hirara *kukuru*, Ishigaki *kukuru* (B), Yonaguni *kukuru* (B), pR **kokoro* 'heart'; OKog. **kir* ~ **kür* 'heart' (Beckwith 2007: 80, 115)

pTg **xökö-n* 'breast': Evk. *uku-* '1 to suck', *ukun* ~ *xukun* ~ *xukur* ~ *xukuxu* '2 breast, udder, milk', Even *ök-* ~ *uk-* '1', *ökri* ~ *ukri* 'pectoral/ chest-; infant, baby', *okan* '2', Solon *uxū* 'milk', Neg. *öxö-* ~ *uku-* '1, breast-feed', *öxön* ~ *ökön* 'milk', Oroch *ovoci-* ~ *o:ci-* ~ *ueci-* 'suck', *oko(n)* 'breast, nipple, milk', Ud. *kos'o* - '1', *kos'o* ~ *oko* '2', Olcha *kueci-* ~ *ko:ci-* '1', *kue(n)* 'breast, milk', Orok *ku:tc-i* '1', *qu:(n)* ~ *qo:(n)* '2', Na. *ku:ci-* ~ *uku-* '1', *kū* '2', Sibe *xuxuŋ* 'breasts', Ma. *xuxun* 'breast, nipple', *xuxuri* 'infant, baby, suckling, infancy', Jur. *xuxun* 'breasts'

pMo **kökö-n* 'breast': MMo. *koko-* (SH) '1 to suck the breast', *kokan* '2 breast', pl. *kokot*, MMo. *köke-* (Muq) '1', *köken* '2', WMo. *kökö-* '1', *kökö(n)* ~ *köke(n)* '2', Khal. *xöxö-* '1', *xöx* '2', Ordos *gökö-* '1', *gökö* '2', Bur. *xüxe-* '1', *xüxe(n)* '2', Kalm. *kök-* '1', *kökn* '2', Dag. *mək-* '1', *mək* '2', Eastern Yugur *hkö-* ~ *hgö-* '1', *hkön* ~ *hgön* '2', Mgr. *kugo-* '1', *kugo* '2', Bao. *kugo-γo-* (-*γo-* causative) '1', *kugo* '2', Dong. *gogo-* '1', *gogo* '2', Mog. *köká-* '1', *kökä* 'nipple'

pTk **kökü-r₂* 'breast': OT *kögüz* '1 breast, 2 reason, sense, emotion', Tk. *göyüs* ~ *kökrek* (dial.) '1', Tat. *kögüs* (dial.) ~ *kükrek* '1', Uz. *küks* '1, 2', *kökräk* '1', Uigh. *köküs* ~ *kökräk* '1', S-Yug. *köküs* ~ *gö:s* '1', Az. *köks* ~ *köküs* '1', Tkm. *gövüs* ~ *kükrek* '1', Kirg. *kökürök* '1', Kaz. *kökirek* '1', Nog. *kökirek* '1', Bash. *kükräk* '1', Balkar *kökürek* '1', Gag. *gü:s* '1', Karaim *kökis* ~ *kökräk* '1', Kpak. *kökirek* '1', Salar *göfrix* '1', Kum. *kökürek* '1', Khak. *kögis* '1', Shor *kögüs* '1', Yak. *köyüs* 'middle of the back', Dolg. *köksü* 'back', Chu. *kägär* '1'

If the Japanese form for 'heart' indeed incorporates a petrified plurality marker pJ *-*rə* of the type found in among

BASIC VOCABULARY LINKING JAPONIC TO TURKICG

others OJ *ko₁-ra* 'children', *woto₂me₁-ra* 'young girls', *ye-ra* 'branches', *kinu-wata-ra* 'silk clothes' (Antonov 2007: 195, 197), then the plurality can be taken as indicative of a pre-Japonic semantic shift from 'breasts' to 'heart'. The Ryukyuan attestations and the tentative Old Koguryo reconstruction suggest that the reconstruction goes back to the proto-Japonic level.²

With exception of the Manchu and Nanai words, which may be borrowings from Mongolic, all Tungusic forms support the reconstruction of an initial *x- in proto-Tungusic.³ Given the reflexes with alternating *o/u* in Oroch, Olcha and Orok, Udehe *o* in *oko* 'milk' and Even *o* in *okan* 'breast, milk', the vowel should be reconstructed as **ö*.⁴ The word for 'milk' clearly is a derivation from the verb 'to suck' with the nominalizer pTg *-*n* (Robbeets 2015: 385-391), but as the derivation is shared between most Tungusic languages, it probably had already taken place at the proto-Tungusic or pre-Tungusic level.

Given a parallel derivation of 'milk' from 'to suck' in

² I use the term "Japonic" in reference to a genealogical unity that comprises the historical continental varieties of the Japanese language as well as the varieties spoken on the Japanese Islands, including the Ryukyu Islands. The label "Japonic" is usually restricted to a branch of Japonic, namely the language family composed of Mainland Japanese and the Ryukyuan languages.

³ Benzing (1955: 976, 989) lists the following correspondences.

pTg	Ma.	Na.	Olch.	Orok	Oroch.	Ud.	Sol.	Neg.	Ev.
	Even.								
*x-	∅	x-	x-	x-	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
	∅								
*k-	k-~x	∅	∅	∅	k-~x	x-~g	x-	x-	k-
	k-								

⁴ Benzing (1955) lists the following correspondences.

pTg	Ma.	Evk.	Even	Sol.	Neg.	Oroch	Ud.	Olch.	Orok	Na.
* <i>ö</i>	u	u	o	u	u	o/u	o	o/u	o/u	u
*u	u	u / - <i>ö</i> -	u / - <i>ö</i> -	u / - <i>ö</i> -	u / - <i>ö</i> -	u	u	u	u	u

Mongolic with a cognate nominalizer pMo *-n (Robbeets 2015: 391-393), it is likely that the derivation can be traced back to the proto-Transeurasian level. From this perspective, Japonic and Turkic have probably preserved a formation with the common plural suffix pTEA *-rA, while Tungusic and Mongolic have preserved the formation with the common deverbal nominalizer and singular pTEA *-n. The plural -z < pTk *-r₂ was no longer productive in Old Turkic, but it is attested in a number of petrified forms including paired body parts such as OT *kō-z* 'eyes', *ti-z* 'knees' and *agi-z* 'lips' and ethnonyms such as OT *ogu-z* and *kirgi-z*. Tekin's (1969: 56-57, 1975: 283, 1979: 118, 137, 1986: 149) assumption that zetacism occurred in proto-Turkic mainly in final position is probably due to the frequent lexicalization of the original plural suffix pTk *-r₂.

(3) 25 TO DO/MAKE

pJ *-ka- 'to produce a sound or a sensation like the base onomatopoea': J, OJ -k-, pR *-k-, e.g. in pJ **na* 'crying sound' in OJ *ne* (1.1) 'sound, crying, weeping' -> OJ *nak-* A 'to cry'; Shodon *nak'jum*, Shuri *nacjun*, Ishigaki *na(Q)kun*, Hateruma *naguN*, Yonaguni *naguN*, pR **naki* 'to cry'

pK *-ki- 'to produce a sound or a sensation like the base onomatopoea': K, MK -i-, e.g. in K *kutek* 'nodding' -> K *kuteki*, MK *kuteki* 'to nod (one's head)'

pTg *-ki:- ~ -gi:- 'to produce a sound or a sensation like the base onomatopoea': Ma./Sibe -ki- ~ -gi-, Evk. -ki:- ~ -gi:-, Neg./Sol. -ki- ~ -gi-, Even -k- ~ -g-, -kA- ~ -gA-, Orok/Olch./Oroch /Ud./Na. -ki- ~ -gi-. e.g. in pTg **sim-ki* 'to cough' in Even *hi:mke-*, Evk. *simki-*, Neg. *simki-*, Olch. *siŋbi-*, Orok *sipki-*, Na. *siŋbi-*, *simki-*, Oroch *simpi-*, Ud. *simpi-* and Sol. *simki-*.

pMo **ki-* 'to do, make; produce a sound or a sensation like the base onomatopoea': MMo. *ki-* '1 to do, make', WMo. *ki-* '1', Khal. *xij-* '1', Bur. *xe-* '1', Kalm. *ke-* '1', Ordos *ki-* '1', Dong. *kie-* '1', Bao. *ke-*, *giə-* '1', Dag. *ki:-*, *xi:-*, *ši:-* '1', Mgr. *gi-*, *gə-* '1', Mogh. *ki-* '1', Eastern Yugur *gə-* '1'; iconic in e.g. **čis* (mimetic for *chirping*) -> WMo. *čiski-* 'to chirrup, chirp, twitter, tweet'

BASIC VOCABULARY LINKING JAPONIC TO TURKIC

pTk **kī(-)l-* 'to do, make, produce a sound or a sensation like the base onomatopoea': OT *kīl-* '1 to do, make', Tk. *kīl-* '1', Tat. *qīl-* '1', Uzb. *qīl-* '1', Uigh. *qīl-* '1', Az. *gīl-* '1', Tkm. *qīl-* '1', Khak. *xīl-* '1', Balkar *qīl-* '1', Shor *qīl-* '1', Tuva *qīl-* '1', Yak. *kīn-* '1', Dolg. *gīn-* '1', Kirg. *qīl-* '1', Kaz. *qīl-* '1', Nog. *qīl-* '1', Bash. *qīl-* '1', Karaim *qīl-* '1', Kpak *qīl-* '1', Kum. *qīl-* '1', Chu. *ěś-xěl* 'deed'; iconic in e.g. **su* (mimetic for snapping) -> OT *sukī-* 'snap (one's fingers)'.

The aberrant vowel in Japonic can be explained by resonance with the wide-spread *a*-vocalism of suffixes in the Japanese verbal paradigm.

In Turkic and Mongolic, the verb 'to do, make' seems to be the source of grammaticalization for the iconic suffix. It can be noted that the Yakut and Dolgan verbs for 'to do, make' have a different root-final consonant, which could suggest that the original root is **kī-* and that *-l-* and *-n-* are petrified suffixes. The problem with this explanation, however, is that the suffix *-(X)l-* derives passives and that *-(X)n-* derives medial verbs in Turkic. In contrast, the verb *kīl-* is typically causative. This proposal is in line with Tekin's (1982: 507-510) suggestion that the iconic suffixes OT *-kir-* ~ *-kīr-* and WMo *-kira-* ~ *-kīre-* are compound suffixes consisting of an original verb **ki-* 'to make, do, produce' and an anticausative suffix *-rA-*. For an elaborate analysis, see Robbeets (2015: 239-245).

(4) 39 THIS

pJ **i* 'you' (derogatory second person pronoun): OJ *i* 'you' (derogatory second person pronoun)

pK **i* 'this' (demonstrative pronoun of the proximal plan): K *i*, MK *i* 'this' (demonstrative pronoun of the proximal plan)

pTg **i* 'he, she' (3 SG pronoun): Ma. *i* 'he, she' ~ *i-n-* 'he, she (oblique)', *ineku* 'same, this (day, month, year); likewise, in the same way', Sibe *i:* 'he, she', Jur. *in* 'he, she', Solon *ini* 'his, her'

pMo **i* 'he, she, it' (3 SG pronoun) in **i-nu-* (3 SG-genitive) and **i-*

ma- (3 SG-oblique): MMo. *ino* (SH) ~ *inu* (HY, Muq) '1 his, her, its' (3 SG possessive pronoun), MMo. *ima-* '2 he, she, it' (3 SG pronoun in oblique cases) 'WMo. *inu* '1', Dag *i(:)n* '1', yam '2', Khal. *ń* '1', Bur. *ń* '1', Kalm. *ń* '1', Mog. *ini* ~ *ni* ~ *ne* ~ *i* '1'

pTk **i(-)n-* 'that' (demonstrative pronoun of the distal plan): OT *inča* 'the

following, in the following way' (vs. *anča* 'the previous, in the previous way'), OT *intin* 'the one on the other side' (vs. *mntin* 'the one on this side'), OT *inaru* 'forward; from ... on' (vs. *kerü* 'backward', OT *ina* demonstrative interjection (vs. *muna*), OT *inčip* ~ *inčip* 'that having happened' (Erdal 2004: 206-207); Tkm. *inaru* '1 forward, onward', Tuva *inda* 'there', *indiy* 'such', Tofa. *inda* 'there', Khalaj *fna* 'that'

As a pronoun OJ *i* is used in reference to a derogatory second person pronoun, but the internal evidence for the reconstruction of pJ **i-* as a lexicalized demonstrative pronoun of the proximal plan following Whitman (1985: 217, 246) and Starostin et al. (2003: 577) is rather poor. It solely relies on the derivation of *ima* 'now' from the demonstrative **i-* followed by *ma* 'room, space'. The comparison with Ryukyuan *nama* 'now' suggests that *ma* 'room, space' is indeed the second member of the compound and Ryukyuan *koma* 'here' and *kama* 'there' further suggest that the first member is a demonstrative, but unfortunately there are no other lexicalizations in which OJ *i-* and Ryukyuan *na-* occur as petrified proximal demonstratives.

The Mongolic pronouns *inu* 'his/her/its' and *anu* 'their' are the genitive forms of the ancestral pronouns **i* 'he, she, it' and **a* 'they'. The same vocalic opposition between singular and plural pronouns is found between **bi* 'I' vs. **ba* 'we' and **ci* 'you (SG)' vs. **ta* 'you (PL)'.

The Japanese, Koreanic and Turkic languages bear traces of a petrified demonstrative use of this pronoun. Since the development from a demonstrative into a personal pronoun is

BASIC VOCABULARY LINKING JAPONIC TO TURKIC

well-attested (e.g. French personal pronoun *il* 'he' is derived from the Latin demonstrative *ille* 'that'), but the change in the other direction is not (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 112-113), it is inviting to reconstruct a proximal demonstrative 'this' in the ancestral language.

(5) 46 TO BITE

pJ **kam-* 'to bite, chew': J *kamu* (B), OJ *kam-* 'to bite, gnaw, chew, masticate, eat'; Hirara *kam*, Ishigaki *kamuŋ*, Yonaguni *kamuŋ*, pR **kamu-* 'to bite'

pMo **keme-* 'to bite' (+**-lA-*/**-li-* intensive-iterative suffix): MMo. (Muq) *kemile-* 'to gnaw', WMo. *kemeli-*, *kemele-* '1 to gnaw, nibble, crack with one's teeth (tr.)', *kemki-* '2 to bite, snap with the teeth (tr.)', Khal. *ximle-*, *xemle-* '1', Bur. *ximel-* '1', Bur. (Bargu dial) *ximil-*, Kalm. *keml-* '1', Ordos *kemele-* '1', *kemxel-* '2', Bao. *kamel*, Bao. (Dahejia dial.) *kaməl-* 'to bite', Dag. *keme-* '1', Eastern Yugur *kemle-*, *kelme-* '1'

pTk **kem-* 'to bite, chew (intr.)' (+**-(U)r* causative): OT (Karakh.) *kemür-* '1 to gnaw, chew (tr.)', Tk. *gemir-*, *kemir-* '1', Az. *gämir-* '1', Tkm. *gemir-* '1', Gag. *kemir-* '1', Uz. *kemir-* '1', Uig. *kemi(r)-* '1', Tat. *kimer-* '1', Khak. *kimər-* '1', Karaim *kemir-* '1', Kirg. *kemir-* '1', Kazakh *kemir-* '1', Nog. *kemir-* '1', Bash. *kimer-* '1' Balk. *kemir-*, Kpak *kemir-*, Kum. *gemir-*, Tuva *xemir-* '1', Tof. *xemir-* '1'

In his review of Robbeets (2005), Georg (2007: 273) objects: "Had they used more scientifically oriented sources [...] or any Mongolistic expertise for a change, they would have found the *meaning* of this verb to be 'to crack open a bone with one's teeth and to suck the marrow', which makes clear that it is derived from *kemi* 'marrow of bones' and has to be eliminated from this "etymology"." However, these Mongolic forms can be analysed in two different ways: whereas Georg derives them from pMo **kemi(n)* 'marrow of the bones', I derive them from pMo **keme-* 'to bite'. Thus, I take the general meaning 'to bite' as the primary

one and assume that the peripheral attestation of MMo. *kemi-le-* is a case of metathesis. Both *-la-* and *-li-* are attested as deverbal iterative-intensive suffixes in Mongolic. The intensive-iterative pMo **-la* is frequently lexicalized in verb pairs such as WMo. *alqu-* 'to step, walk (intr.)' -> *alqula-* 'to march, walk with quick steps (intr.)', WMo. *seji-* 'to butt with the horns' -> *sejile-* 'to butt repeatedly with the horns', WMo. *ili-* 'to caress, stroke' -> *ilile-* 'to touch or stroke repeatedly'. However, the suffix **-la-* in Georg's analysis may also be the denominal verb suffix, e.g. WMo. *šibayun* 'bird' -> *šibayu-la-* 'hunt birds'. The suffix **-ki* in WMo. *kemki-* 'to bite, snap with the teeth (tr.)' can be explained either as a deverbal transitivizer or as a denominal verb formant; the second explanation based on Georg's analysis, is more problematic, however, since **-ki-* is a grammaticalized form of MMo. *ki-* 'to make' with the meaning 'to make the verb base', e.g. WMo. *sayad* 'hindrance' -> *sayadki-* 'to hinder'. The expected meaning of the derived verb would thus be 'to make marrow' rather than 'to bite'. In the present analysis, WMo. *kemki-* 'to bite, snap with the teeth (tr.)' reflects a deverbal transitivizer pMo **-ki*, lexicalized in verb pairs such as WMo. *kel-* 'to be strung (as pearls) (intr.)' -> *kelki-* 'to string pearls (tr.)'. Furthermore, the final vowel in all contemporary attestations reflects *-e-* rather than *-i-*, which suggests that **keme-* is the primary form.⁵

According to Clauson (1972: 723), the Turkic transitive verbs meaning 'to gnaw, chew' can be derived as a causative of pTk **kem-*. The causative suffix **-(U)r* is lexicalized in Turkic verb pairs such as OTk. *ač-* 'to be hungry' -> *ačur-* 'to starve (tr.)', OTk. *keč-* 'to be late (intr.)' -> *kečür-* 'to delay (tr.)' (Erdal 1991: 710-726).

(6) 50 WHAT?

⁵ Dagur has a verb *kəmy-* 'to ruminate, chew the cud', which reflects a final high front vowel. However, in view of the meaning of this form, it is probably a reflex of pMo. **kebi-* 'to chew, to ruminate' (Nugteren 2011: 407.)

BASIC VOCABULARY LINKING JAPONIC TO TURKIC

pJ **ka* (wh-interrogative particle): J *ka* interrogative particle in yes/no and wh-questions, OJ *ka* interrogative particle used in wh-questions; Shuri *ga* wh-interrogative particle, Tarama (Miyako) *ga* wh-interrogative particle, Yonaguni *nga* wh-interrogative particle, pR **ga* wh-interrogative particle

pK **ka* (interrogative particle): K *ka* interrogative particle in yes/no and wh-questions, MK *·ka* interrogative particle mainly used in yes/no questions

pTg **xa* (wh-interrogative pronoun) in pTg **xa-i* 'who, which one': Evk. *i*;, Even *i*;, Solon *i*;, Ud. *i*;, Olcha *xay*, Na. *xay*, Ma. *ay*, Sibe *ai*; in pTg **xa-ba-siki*: 'where to': Evk. *awaski*;, Even *awaski*: ~ *awuski*;, Neg. *awaski*, Oroch *awasi*, Olcha *xawasi*, Na. *xaosi*, Ma. *absi*; in pTg **xa-li*: 'when': Na. *xali*, Ud. *ali*, Neg. *ali*, Evk. *ali*;; in pTg **xa-du*: 'how much': Evk. *adi*;, Even. *adi*: Na. *xadu*, Olcha *xadu*, Ud. *adi*, Neg. *adi*; pTg **xa-son* 'how big, how many': Evk. *asun*, Even *asun*, Neg *asun*, Na. *xasun*, Olcha *xasun* and in pTg **xa-oni* 'how': Evk. *o:n*, Even *o:n* Na. *honi*, Olcha *xon*, Ud. *ono* (Benzing 1955: 114)

pTk **ka* (wh-interrogative pronoun) in OT *kani* 'where?' (< **ka*-ACC), *kaŋa* 'to which place' (< **ka*-oblique-DAT), *kanta* 'where' (< **ka*-oblique-LOC), *kantan* 'from where' (< **ka*-oblique-ABL), *kanča* 'how much, how far, by which way' (< **ka*-oblique-equative), *kač* 'how much', *kañu* / *kayu* '1 which', Tkm. *qay* '1', Uz. *qay* '1', Uig. *qay* '1', Tat. *qay* '1', Kirg. *qay* '1', Bash. (dial.) *qay* '1', Tuva *qayɨ* '1', Tofa. *qai* '1', Kaz. *qay* '1', Yak. *xaya* '1', Dolg. *kaya* '1', Khalaj *qa:yan* 'whereto' (< **ka*-DAT + *yan* 'side')

Vovin (2008: 128-129) rejects the comparison of the interrogative markers MK *ka* and OJ *ka*, noting the fact that MK *·ka* marked yes/no questions, whereas this is only rarely the case in Old Japanese. However, this situation may well be the result of historical change and does not stand in the way of tracing the origin of the interrogative markers back to an original interrogative pronoun in the ancestral language. Since in Old Japanese and Middle Korean the interrogative *ka* is preceded by a

noun or adnominal form of the verb (Whitman 1985: 220) and as the Korean form does not display vowel harmony, the Japanese and Korean particle seems to go back to an original independent interrogative pronoun. This observation makes the comparison with the interrogative pronoun in Tungusic and Turkic even more plausible.

The Mongolic languages reflect a possibly related interrogative pronoun root pMo **ke* 'what' in MMo. *ja'u ke* 'whatsoever'; pMo **ke-n* 'who', **ke-d* 'who (PL)' in MMo. *ken* (ket PL), WMo *ken* (ked PL), Dag *keŋ*, Mgr. *kān*, Mog. *ken*, Ordos *ken*, Kalm. *ken*, Khal, Bur. *xeŋ* and pMo. **ke-gün* 'something' in Kalm. *kū:n*, Ordos *kūm*. However, the Mongolic form is not included here as the vowel does not correspond regularly.

(7) 54 NEW

pJ **ara-* 'to be new, pure': J *arai* (A) 'to be rough, natural, crude', OJ *ara-* 'to be rough, fresh, new', J *ara* 'new, fresh', J *arau* (A), OJ *arap-* 'to wash', Hirara *aro:* 'to wash', Ishigaki *a:ro:* *ŋ* 'to wash', Yonaguni *ara-* 'to be new', *aruŋ* 'to wash', pR **arawu-* 'to wash'

pMo **ari-* 'to be pure: WMo. *ariy* 'pure, clear', *ariyun* '1 clean, pure, clear; purity' (WMo *-yun* / *-gün* deverbil noun deriving quality words (Poppe 1954: 46)), *arči-* '2 to wipe, clean, erase', MMo. *ariun* '1', *arči-* '2', *aril-* '3 to be(come) clear, clear up', *arilqa-* '2', Khal. *ariun* '1', *arči-* '2', *aril-* '3', Bur. *ařūn* '1', *ařa-* '2', Kalm. *ārū:n* '1', *ař-* '2', Ordos *aru:n* '1', *arči-* '2', Dong. *aruŋ* '1', *ači-* '2', Bao. *aruŋ* '1', Dag. *aru:n* '1', *arči-* '2', Mgr. *arin* '1', Mgr. *arili-* '3', Mgr. *ariŋge* 'cleanly', *arire-* 'to become pure', Mogol *oru:n* '1', Eastern Yugur *aru:n* '1'

pTk **ari-* 'to be(come) pure: OTk. *arī-* '1 to be(come) clean, pure', Az. (dial.) *arī* '2', *arīt-* '3', Tkm. *ariğ* '2', *art-* '3', Tk. *arī* '2 clean, pure', *art-* '3 to clean, purify', Osm. *arīt-* 'to wipe', Uz. (dial.) *ari-* '1', Uig. *eriq* '2', Tat. *aru* '2', Kirg. *aru:* '2', Kaz. *aru* '2', Bash. *arīw* '2', Balk. *arīw* '2', Kpak. *aruw* '2', S-Yug *ariy* '2', Tuva *ariy* '2', *arīt-* '3', Khak. *ariy* '2', Yakut: *ira:s* '2', *irīt-* 'sort out small fruit', Dolg. *iras*

BASIC VOCABULARY LINKING JAPONIC TO TURKIC

'2', Khalaj *ariy* '2', *arut*- '3', Chu. *irä* 'good', *irt*- 'sort out small fruit, take away the inner part of a tree'

The intensive-iterative suffix p] **-pa-* (Robbeets 2015: 294) is assumed to derive the Japanese verb *arau* (A) 'to wash' from a verbal adjective with the meaning 'to be clean'.

In his review of Robbeets 2005, Kara (2007: 96) suggests that the Mongolic forms in this etymology should be treated as early copies from Turkic. He does not provide a motivation for this copying scenario, but Marcel Erdal and Hans Nugteren (pc.) argue that the suffix *-l-* reconstructed in *aril-* is foreign to Mongolic since the commonly attested suffix WMo. *-l-* derives transitive verbs rather than intransitives as in this case. However, Poppe (1954: 61, 66 vs. 64) distinguishes two different homophonous suffixes WMo. *-l-*: one is a causative or transitive suffix (e.g. WMo. *uyu-* 'drink' -> *uyul-* 'to give to drink'), while the other is an intensive-iterative suffix (e.g. WMo. *dusu-* 'fall (of drops)' -> *dusul-* 'to drip') that can derive transitive as well as intransitive verbs. The latter suffix also lexicalized in a number of verb pairs granting an inchoative meaning to natural processes, e.g. WMo. *yasi-yun* 'bitter' -> *yasal-* 'to lament, mourn', *öte-gü* 'grey' -> *ötel-* 'to become old' (Ramstedt 1912: 7-8). It is interesting to observe that, although the transitive suffix practically disappeared in Monguor (De Smedt & Mostaert 1964: 93-94 note), the intensive suffix still surfaces as Mgr. *-li-* (De Smedt & Mostaert 1964: 148) in e.g. Mgr. *yasen* 'bitter' -> *yaseli-* 'to become bitter', *sači-* 'to sow' -> *sačili-* 'to scatter, disperse' and *arin* 'clear, pure' -> *arili-* 'to clear up (intr.)'. The Monguor forms Mgr. *aringe* 'cleanly' and *arire-* 'become pure' are relevant because they can be segmented in a root **ari-* 'to be clean' and native suffixes. The form Mgr. *arire-* 'become pure' represents the equipollent anticausative counterpart of the causative *arči-* 'wipe, clean,' which is well represented elsewhere in Mongolic (Robbeets 2015: 288). Given the presence of the Japanese cognate and the native origin of the suffix *-l-* in MMO.

aril-, these forms are more likely to have derived from inheritance than from borrowing.

(8) 55 TO BURN

pJ **tak-* 'to burn (tr.): J *taku* (A), OJ *tak-* 'to burn, boil, cook (tr.)', Shuri *tak-* 'to burn', Hirara *yakēi*, Ishigaki *yakuŋ*, Yonaguni *daguŋ*

pK **taha-* < pK **taka-* 'to burn (intr.): MK *·tho-* 'to burn, be on fire (intr.)', MK *ta-hi-*, K *ttay-* 'to make (fire), heat (with fire) (tr.)' (MK *-i* causative-passive),

pTk **ya-k-* 'to ignite, burn (tr.): OT (Karakh.) *yak-* '1 to ignite, burn (tr.)', Tk. *yaq-* '1', Tkm. *yaq-* '1', Gag. *yaq-* '1', Az. *yax-* '1', Uz. *yɔq-* '1', Uig. *yaq-* '1', Kirg. *žaq-* '1', Kaz. *žaq-* '1', Bash. *yaq-* '1', Nog. *yaq-* '1', Tat. *yay-* '1', Karaim *yaq-* '1', Kum. *yaq-* '1', Kpak *žaq-* '1', Yak. *saq-*, Tofa. *čaq-* 'to produce fire', Khalaj *ya:q-* '1', Chu. *šot-* '1'

According to Ramsey's (1993: 438; 1997) law the original root underlying MK *·tho-* 'to burn, be on fire (intr.)' can be reconstructed as pK **taha-* 'to burn'. In line with conditioning factor 32b, pK **taha-* 'to burn' can be assumed to be an assimilation to the second syllable vowel from pK **taha-*. The transitive verb MK *ta-hi-* 'make (fire)' can be derived from this root by adding a causative-passive suffix *-i-*. As expected, the addition of a final suffix *-i-* blocks the weakening process of the vowels. Velar lenition supports the reconstruction of pK **taka-* 'to burn'. The correspondence between Chinese donorwords and Korean loanwords (e.g. Ch. *cak* 'foot (measure)' is borrowed as MK *·cah*), phonogram readings in the Kyelim Yusa (e.g. *hwalq-huy* for MK *holk* 'earth'), elements in Paekche placenames (e.g. *tin-qak* for MK *twolh* 'stone'), dialectal forms (e.g. dial. *tolk* for MK *twolh* 'stone'), and internal doublets (e.g. MK *siphu-* versus MK *sikpu-* 'want') all suggest that velar lenition (**k* > **h*) took place at an early stage in Korean (Martin 1996: 36-37).

The correspondence with the Turkic verbs may be coincidental. The initial glide of the Turkic form would lead us to expect

BASIC VOCABULARY LINKING JAPONIC TO TURKIC

register B rather than A in Japanese. Moreover, the proto-Turkic verb **yak-* 'to ignite (tr.)' may represent a complex form. The attestation of OT *yal-* 'to blaze, burn, shine (intr.)' and OT *yan-* 'to burn, blaze up (intr.)' suggests that these verbs are morphologically complex. The underlying verb being pTk **ya-* 'to burn (tr.)', OT *yal-* 'to blaze, burn, shine (intr.)' would represent a derivation with a passive suffix pTk **(X)l-* (Erdal 1991: 651-693), OT *yan-* 'to burn, blaze up (intr.)' a derivation with an anticausative suffix pTk **(X)n-* (Erdal 1991: 584-638) and, Karakhanide *yak-* 'to ignite, burn (tr.)' with an inchoative suffix pTk **(X)k-* (Erdal 1991: 645-650). Since this inchoative suffix can be traced back to proto-Transeurasian (Robbeets 2015: 255-266), Japanese and Korean may ultimately have inherited the Transeurasian complex inchoative form only.

(9) 62 TO HEAR

pJ **uka-* 'to receive, perceive, hear': J *uke-* (B), OJ *uke₂-* 'receive', J *uketamawar-* (B), OJ *uke₂tamapar-* 'to humbly listen, hear, receive' (OJ *tamapar-* 'humbly receive, be given'); Shodon *uk'īiyum*, Shuri *ukiyuŋ*, Yonaha (Miyako) *ukīi*, Ishigaki *uki(ru)ŋ*

pMo **uka-* 'to understand, think': MMo. *uqa-* (HY, SH) '1 to understand, think', *uqa* (SH) ~ *uxa'an* (HY) '2 mind', WMo. *uqa-* '1', *uqaya(n)* '2', Dag. *ogo, owo* 'brain', *uka:* ~ *uha:n* '2', Khal. *uxa-* '1'; *uxa:* '2', Bur. *uxa-* '1', *uxā(n)* '2', Kalm. *uxə-* '1', *uxa:n* '2', Ordos *uxa:* ~ *uxa:n* '2', Eastern Yugur *χGua-tu* '2'

pTk **uk-* 'to hear, understand': OT *uq-* '1 understand', Az. (dial.) *uyuz* 'knowing much', Uz. *uq-* '1', Uig. *uq-* '1', Tat. (dial.) *ux-* '2 hear', Kirg. *uq-* '2', Kaz. *uyın-* '1', Kpak. *uq-* '1', Khak. *ux-* '1, 2', Shor *uq-* '1', Tuva *uy-* '1'

In spite of the incongruent register, the Japanese verb *ukagaw-* (A) 'peep through, spy, watch, infer, visit, inquire, hear' is probably a complex verb derived from pJ **uka-* 'receive, hear, listen' and pJ **kapa-* 'cross, exchange, mutually do'. These roots

are reflected in *ukeru* 'receive' and *kau* 'buy, cross, exchange, mutually do'. In addition to the compound *uketamawaru* 'humbly receive, listen, hear', this verb witnesses to the original semantic component 'hear'.

(10) 68 SKIN

pJ **kapa* 'skin, bark, shell': J *kawa* (2.3), OJ *kapa* 'skin, leather, fur, pelt, bark, shell'; Shodon *k'oo* 'skin, bark', Shuri *kaa*, Oura (Miyako) *kaa*, Ishigaki *kaa*, Yonaguni *kaa*, pR **kawa* 'skin, bark'

pK **kap(ʌ)-k* 'skin, bark, shell, outer layer' (pK **(a/e)k* diminutive suffix frequent in body parts, e.g. *muluph* 'knee' > *muluphak* 'knee', *thel* 'hair' > *thelek* 'hair'): K *kkaphwul* 'skin, outer layer, film', MK *ka-phol* 'sheath, scabberd, protective case for a sword' (MK *-(u/o)l* diminutive), K *kkaptayki* ~ *kkepteyki* 'skin, shell' (*-tayki* ~ *teyki* diminutive 'thingy'), K *kkepcil*, MK *kepcil* 'skin, bark, husk'

pTk *ka:p-ik* 'bark, shell' (pTk **-ik~ -ik* diminutive in body parts or parts of plants, e.g. OT *top* 'round thing' -> *topik* 'ankle bone, wrist bone, knee cap', *kasik* 'bark, peel, snake-skin', *čopik* 'remainder of fruit discarded after eating'; Erdal 1991: 43): OT (Karakh.) *kabik* '1 bark, 2 shell', Tk. *kabuk* '1, 2', Az. *γabıy* '1, 2', Tkm. *γa:bıy* '1, 2', Gag. *qap*, *qabi* '1, 2, external cover, covering', Uz. *qəbiq* '1, 2', Uig. *qobuq* '1, 2', Tat. *qabiq* '1, 2', Kirg. *qabiq* '1, 2', Kaz. *qabiq* '1, 2', Nog. *qabiq* '1, 2', Bash. *qabiq* '1, 2', Balk. *qabuq* '1, 2', Karaim *qabux* '1, 2', Kpak *qabiq* '1, 2', Kum. *qabuq* '1, 2', Khak. *xabix* '1, 2', Shor *qabiq* '2', Tuva *xavıq* '2', Chu. *xobä* '1, 2'

In Korean we find various derivations of a root **kap* or **kaph* 'skin, bark', mainly with diminutive suffixes. The aspiration in the root **kaph* is reminiscent of K *to:l* ~ dial. *tolk*, MK *ˈtwolh* 'stone' in which the final *-h* is considered to have lenited from the diminutive suffix pK **(a/e)k* (Martin 1996: 36, 90). There is a vowel harmonic alternation between **kep* and **kap*, but the external evidence suggests that the alternant with the retracted vowel is the original root.

BASIC VOCABULARY LINKING JAPONIC TO TURKIC

(11) 99 HARD

pJ **kata-* 'to be hard': J *kata-* (A), OJ *kata-* 'to be hard, solid, tough, rigid'; Shuri *kata-* A 'to be sturdy, sure, saturated'

pK **kata-* 'to be hard, severe': K *kwut-*, MK *kwut-* 'to be hard', K *kkatalop-*, MK *skatalwop-* 'to be hard, difficult, complicated; be harsh, severe' (adj. n. + MK *-lwop-* 'to be characterized by'; pK **s(u/o)-* intensive prefix)

pMo **kata-* 'to become hard': WMo. *qata-* '1 to become hard, dry (intr.)', *qata-yu* '2 hard' (WMo *-yu* / *-gü* deverbal noun deriving quality words (Poppe 1954: 46)), MMo. *qata'u* '2', *qätəmər* 'dried (meat)', Dag. *katən*, *katen*, *katu*: '1', Khal. *xat-* '1', *xatu*: '2', Kalm. *xatə-* '1', *xatu*: '2', Ordos *yatu*: '2', Kalm. *xatə-* '1', *xatu*: '2', Ordos *yatu*: '2', Dong. *qidun*, *qitun* '2', Bao. *χotoŋ* '2', Eastern Yugur *yadu*: 1, Mog. *xata* '2', Mgr. *xada-*: '1', *xadoŋ* '2'

pTk **kat-* 'to be hard': OT *kat-* 'to be hard, firm, though', *katïy* '2 hard', OT (Karakh.) *kat-* '1', *katïy* '2', Tk. (dial.) *kat* '2', Az. *gatï* '2', Tkm. *gat*, *gatï* '2', Uz. *kətik* '2', Uig. *ketik* '2', Khak. *xatïy* '2', Shor *kadiy* '2', Tuva *ka'diïy* '2', Yak. *kīta:nax* '2', Dolg. *kīta:nak* '2', Tat. *kati* '2', Kirg. *katu*: '2', Kaz. *katti* '2', Nog. *kat* '2', Bash. *kati* '2', Kpak. *katti* '2', Kum. *kati*, Chu. *xidä*

In Korean, relatively retracted and non-retracted vowels alternate phonologically in certain colour adjectives, mimetic and expressive adjectives, a phenomenon referred to as "ablaut" by Vovin (2008: 6) and as "heavy and light isotopes" by Martin (1992: 343-344). The non-retracted vowels *e*, *ey*, *wu*, *wi* (< MK *wuy*) are typical of the heavy isotopes, while the retracted vowels *a*, *ay*, *o* (MK *wo*), *oy* (MK *woy*) are typical of the light isotopes. The non-retracted vowels are associated with weighty, bulky concepts, while the retracted vowels are used for small and unsubstantial things, e.g. K *ce:k-* 'to be small in number or quantity, few' vs. K *ca:k-* 'to be small in size, tiny'. It is not surprising that the adjective meaning 'to be large' has a more advanced vowel in its default

form K *khu-*. A trace of a retracted alternant, however, can be found in the obsolete adjective K *ha-* (< MK *·ho-*) 'to be large in number, much, many, be great', lexicalized, for instance, in K *hankul* 'hankul, lit. great script'. Similarly, the stem meaning 'to be hard' has developed an advanced vowel in its default form K *kwut-*, MK *kwut-* 'to be hard', while there is a trace of a retracted — and probably original — alternant in the adjective with metaphorical meaning K *kkatalop-*, MK *skatalwop-* 'to be hard, difficult, complicated; to be harsh, severe'. This form can be derived from **s-kata-lwop-* (INTENSIVE-hard-be.characterized.by). The first element is the intensive prefix pK **s(u/o)-* > MK *s-* > K reduplication (Lee 1977: 145, Ramsey 1977: 64, Martin 1996: 24, 27, 91), e.g. MK *tih-* ~ *stih-* 'to pound'.⁶ The last element is the verbal adjective formant pK **-lwop-* > MK *-lwop-* > K *-lop-* 'to be characterized by' (Martin 1992: 677), e.g. K *say* 'new' vs. *saylop-* 'to be new'. Apophony between the non-retracted vowel *wu* and the retracted vowel *a* can be found in other adjective pairs, such as in K *phalah-*, MK *·pha-la ho-* ~ K *phwulu-*, MK *phwulwu-*, *phwulu* 'be blue', where it is used for its expressive effects only.

Table 1: Summary of the basic vocabulary comparative sets in support of Transeurasian affinity including Japonic and Turkic cognates

⁶ Whereas Martin reconstructs pK **s(u/o)-*, Ramsey and Lee refer to the *s*-clusters as reinforced pronunciations that do not necessarily go back to an original sibilant prefix. The authors agree that the verbs with *s*-clusters represent intensive meaning. The intensification was apparently restricted to processive verbs in Middle Korean. Other examples of such verb pairs are MK *kužu-* ~ *skužu-* 'to pull', MK *pipuy-* ~ *spi-puy-* 'to rub', MK *twutuli-* ~ *stwu-tuli-* 'to beat', MK *sip-* ~ *ssip-* 'to chew', MK *·sus-* ~ *·ssus-* 'to wash', MK *kulh-* ~ *skulh-* 'to boil', MK *sa-hol-* ~ *ssa-hol-* 'to chop', MK *ku-cit-* ~ *skucit-* 'to scold'. Instances of a descriptive verb pairs reflecting the intensive prefix are MK *polo-* (-*ll-*) 'be straight, fast, act quickly' vs. MK *·spol-* (-*ll-*) 'be fast; be sharp, pointed', MK *·so-* 'be cheap' vs. MK *·sso-* 'id.', MK *kel-* (~*ke(l)-*) 'get stuck, obstructed' vs. MK *·skelW-* 'be difficult'.

BASIC VOCABULARY LINKING JAPONIC TO TURKIC

LJ item	Proto-Japonic	Proto-Koreanic	Proto-Tungusic	Proto-Mongolic	Proto-Turkic	Corr. no	Robbeets
7 blood	*ti 'blood, spirit'			*či < *ti 'blood'	*ti:n 'spirit, breath'	7, 40	2005: 402, 861- 862
12 breast	*kiki-ra 'heart'		*xökö-n 'breast'	*kökö-n 'breast'	*kökü-r ₂ 'breast'	21, 37, 14	2005: 401, 633
25 to do/make	*-ka- iconic	*-ki- iconic	*-ki- iconic	*ki- 'do, make'	*kil- 'do, make'	13, 40	2015: 239- 245
39 this	*i 'you' (derogatory 2sg)	*i 'this' (proximal demonstrative)	*i 'he, she, it' (3sg)	*i 'he, she, it' (3sg)	*i(-)n- 'that' (distal demonstrative)	40	2005: 379, 206
46 to bite	*kam- 'bite'			*keme- 'bite'	*kem- 'gnaw'	13, 33, 26	2005: 383, 584-85 2015: 146- 147
50 what?	*ka wh-interrogative particle	*ka interrogative particle	*xa- wh-interrogative pronoun		*ka- wh-interrogative pronoun	21, 32	2005: 962-63
54 new	*ara- 'be new, pure'			*ari- 'be pure'	*ari- 'be(com) pure'	41, 29	2015: 106- 107
55 to burn (intr.)	*tak- 'burn (tr.)'	*taka- /*taki- 'be on / set fire'			*yak- 'burn (tr.)'	9, 32, 14	2015: 139- 140
62 to hear	*uka- 'receive, perceive, hear'			*uka- 'understand'	*uk- 'understand, hear'	46, 14, 32	2005: 394, 911- 912
68 skin/hide	*kapa 'skin, bark, shell'	*kap(A)-k 'skin, bark outer layer'			*ka:p-ik 'bark, shell'	13, 32, 2	2005: 401, 605- 606
99 hard	*kata- 'be hard'	*kata- 'be hard'		*kata- 'become hard'	*kat- 'be hard'	13, 32, 8, 32	2015: 107- 108

3. Borrowing or inheritance?

3.1 Basic vocabulary

Traditionally, the strength of basic vocabulary lies in the fact that words with basic meanings tend to resist borrowing more successfully than random lexical items. The basic vocabulary list most commonly used in historical linguistics is the Swadesh 100 list (Swadesh 1955). However, this list contains mostly nouns and few verbs. Therefore, it produces too few useful comparanda in families with a verb-oriented lexicon, such as in the Transeurasian family where verbs are basic to word formation and many nouns are derived from them. The derivation of the cognates in (2) 12 BREAST from an ancestral verb 'to suck', for instance, is an illustration of this tendency in the Transeurasian lexicon. Recently, the Swadesh list has been updated by the Leipzig-Jakarta list (Tadmor et al. 2010), which partly remedies this imbalance in the vocabulary. There is an overlap for 62 items on the lists, but differences are triggered by the fact that the Leipzig-Jakarta list includes factors other than low copiability such as the degree to which the meanings are universal, the degree to which the words are simplex and the probability of attrition.

3.2 Typology of verbal borrowing

Six out of eleven etymologies above involve comparisons of verbs or verbal adjectives, notably (3) 25 TO DO/MAKE, (5) 46 TO BITE, (7) 54 NEW, (8) 55 TO BURN, (9) 62 TO HEAR and (11) 99 HARD. As far as the mechanisms of loan verb accommodation are concerned, most recipient languages can be categorized into two distinct groups: borrowed verbs either arrive as verbs, needing no formal accommodation, or, they arrive as non-verbs and need formal accommodation. In Wohlgemuth's (2009) terminology, the first group represents "Direct Insertion", while the second group represents either "Indirect Insertion", when the formal accommodation involves a verbalizer or else, "Light Verb Strategy", when the borrowed verb is integrated into a complex

BASIC VOCABULARY LINKING JAPONIC TO TURKICG

predicate. Most Transeurasian languages can be assigned to the second group because they display a clear preference for the non-verbal strategy (Wohlgemuth 2009: 159, 161); for instance, Tk. *klik-le-* and *klik et-* << English *click*; Khal. *zee-l-* << Mandarin *zhài* 'borrow, lend'; K *coking ha-*, J *zyogingu suru* 'to jog' << English *jog*; J *demo-r-* << English *demonstrate*. Whereas the northern Tungusic languages prefer to borrow verbs through direct insertion, e.g. Evk. *vypolñaj-* << Russian *vypolnja-t'* 'to fulfill, carry out', the southern Tungusic languages use verbalizers, e.g. Ud. *tancewa-la-* << Russian *tancewa-t'* 'to dance' and Na. *voprosa-la-* << Russian *voproša-t'* 'to inquire, question'. If the six basic verb sets above would be the result of borrowing, they would represent instances of "direct insertion". This would run against the observable preference of the Transeurasian languages to apply the non-verbal strategy to verbal borrowings.

3.3 Regularity of sound correspondence

The cognate sets for basic vocabulary summarized in Table 1 display regular correspondences for each consonant of the verb root and for each but the root-final vowel, conform to the requirements in Table 2 and 3. Knowing that the sounds correspond regularly indicates that they changed in a regular fashion and gives us the confidence to reconstruct what they were like in proto-Transeurasian.

Table 2: Consonant correspondences between the Transeurasian languages (Robbeets 2005, 2015)

	pJ	pK	pTg	pMo	pTk	pTEA
1.	*p-	*p-	*p-	*p-	*b-	*p-
2.	*-p-	*-p-	*-p-	*-ɣ-	*-p-	*-p-
3.	*p- / *w-	*p-	*b-	*b-	*b-	*b-
4.	*-p-/*-w-	*-p-	*-b-	*-b- / -ɣ-	*-b-	*-b-
5.	*-np-	*-pC-	*-PC-	*-PC-	*-P(C)-	*-m ^(P) T-
6.	*-np-	*-Rp-	-RP-	*-RP-	*-RP-	*-Rp-

Martine ROBBEETS

7.	*t-	*t-	*t-	*t-	*t-	*t-
8.	*-t-	*-t-	*-t-	*-t-	*-t-	*-t-
9.	*t- /*y-	*t- (cl-)	*d- (jl-)	*d- (jl-)	*y-	*d-
10.	*-t- /*-y-	*-l-	*-d- (-jl-)	*-d- (-jl-)	*-d-	*-d-
11.	*-nt-	*-c-	*-TC-	*-TC-	*-TC-	*-n ^(T) K-
12.	*-nt-	*-Rc-	*-RT-	*-RT-	*-RT-	*-Rt-
13.	*k-	*k-	*k-	*k-	*k-	*k-
14.	*-k-	*-k- (-h-)	*-k-	*-k-	*-k-	*-k-
15.	*k-	*k-	*g-	*g-	*k-	*g-
16.	*-k-	*-k- (-h-)	*-g-	*-g-	*-g-	*-g-
17.	*-nk-	*-kC-	*-KC-	*-KC-	*-KC-	*-n ^(T) T-
18.	*-nk-	*-Rk-	*-RK-	*-RK-	*-RK-	*-Rk-
19.	*t-	*c-	*č-	*č-	*č-	*č-
20.	*-t-	*-c-	*-č-	*-č-	*-č-	*-č-
20b.	*-si	*-l(i)	*-l(č)	*-l(č)	*-l(č)~ - š	*-lč
21.	*k-	*k-, h-	*x-	*k-	*k-	*x-
22.	*-k-	*-k-	*-x-	*-g-~-k-	*-g-~-k-	*-x-
23.	*s-	*s-	*s-	*s-	*s-	*s-
24.	*-s-	*-s-	*-s-	*-s-	*-s-	*-s-
25.	*m-	*m-	*m-	*m-	*b-	*m-
26.	*-m-	*-m-	*-m-	*-m-	*-m-	*-m-
27.	*n-	*n-	*n-	*n-	*y-	*n-
28.	*-n-	*-n-	*-n-	*-n-	*-n-	*-n-
29.	*-r-	*-l-	*-r-	*-r-	*-r-	*-r-
30.	*-r-	*-l-	*-r-	*-r-	*-r ₂ -	*-r-
31.	*-r-	*-l-	*-l-	*-l-	*-l-	*-l-

Table 3: Vowel correspondences between the Transeurasian languages (Robbeets 2015)

	OJ < pJ	MK < pK	pTg	pMo	pTk	pTEA
32.	-a- < *-a-	-a- < *-a-	*-a-	*-a-	*-a-	*-a-
32b.	*CaCa	*CΛCΛ	*CaCa	*CaCa	*CaC	*CaCa
33.	-a- < *-a-	-e- < *-e-	*-e-	*-e-	*-e-	*-ə-
34.	-o- < *-ə-	-e- < *-e-	*-e-	*-e-	*-e-	*-ə-
35.	-o-	-wO-	*-o-	*-o-	*-o-	*-ɔ-

BASIC VOCABULARY LINKING JAPONIC TO TURKIC

	<? *o-	< *o-				
36.	-u- < *o-	-wo- < *o-	*o-	*o-	*o-	*ɔ-
37.	-o- < *i-	-u- < *i-	*ō-	*ō-	*ō-	*o-
38.	-u- < *u-	-wu- < *u-	*u- (gū)	*ü-	*ü-	*u-
39.	-u- < *u-	-o- < *A-	*u-	*u-	*u- /-i-	*u-
39b.	PaRu- < *PauRu-	*PAɾA- ~ *PɪRɪ-	*PuRu-	*PuRu-	*PuR-	*PuRu-
40.	-i- < *i-	-i- < *i-	*i-	*i-	*i- /-i-	*i-
41.	a- < *a-	a- < *a-	*a-	*a-	*a-	*a-
42.	o- < *ə-	e- < *e-	*e-	*e-	*e-	*ə-
43.	o- <? *o-	wo- < *o-	*o-	*o-	*o-	*ɔ-
44.	o- < *i-	ø <? *i-	*ö-	*ö-	*ö-	*o-
45.	u- < *u-	wu- < *u-	*u-	*ü-	*ü-	*u-
46.	u- < *u-	ø <? *A-	*u-	*u-	*u-	*u-
47.	i- < *i-	i- < *i-	*i-	*i-	*i-	*i-

3.4 Broken contact chain

Borrowing is typically unidirectional and linear, progressing from one contact language into the other and then, perhaps, into the next. Genealogical divergence, by contrast, can be pictured as the rings formed when a stone is thrown into the water: innovations start at a certain location and radiate, pushing the older forms towards the periphery. This observation explains why some very conservative inherited items leave traces in remote areas, such as in the Japonic and Turkic languages, but are barely attested elsewhere in the family. Thus, gaps in the attestation of members

of an etymology may be relevant. When the contact chain is broken, a genealogical explanation presents itself. The absence of a corresponding basic word in one or more intermediate contact branches between the Turkic and the Japonic languages can be observed in (1) 7 BLOOD, (2) 12 BREAST, (5) 46 TO BITE, (6) 50 WHAT?, (7) 54 NEW, (8) 55 TO BURN, (9) 62 TO HEAR, (10) 68 SKIN and (11) 99 HARD.

3.5 Multiple setting

Basic words are less prone to borrowing than the rest of the lexicon and if they ultimately get borrowed, the transfer frequently takes place in a binary setting: basic words typically go from a model language into a recipient language. The greater the number of languages or language families involved in the comparison of a basic vocabulary item, the more likely it becomes that the similarity observed is due to inheritance. Two etymologies, i.e. (3) 25 TO DO/MAKE and (4) 39 THIS, have members in each of the five individual branches of the Transeurasian family. In a contact scenario, the basic words would have needed to cross four linguistic boundaries. Not only is the likelihood of a single word progressing from one contact language into the other, repeatedly for four times, very low but the probability of two words following the same pathway is exponentially lower. The observation that some corresponding words are simultaneously attested in five branches thus favors an explanation of the similarities observed by inheritance.

4. Conclusion

In this article, I examined sets of Transeurasian basic vocabulary that simultaneously reflect a Japonic and Turkic cognate and I weighed borrowing against inheritance as a possible historical motivation for the observed similarities. For this purpose, I advanced 11 etymologies for basic vocabulary items, for which the meaning of the proto-Transeurasian reconstruction belongs to the

BASIC VOCABULARY LINKING JAPONIC TO TURKIC

Leipzig-Jakarta list. I required the etymologies to reflect cognates in at least three out of five Transeurasian branches and to include a Japonic and a Turkic cognate at the same time.

It is more sensible to attribute the similarities observed in the basic vocabulary to common ancestorship than it is to attribute them to borrowing. The indications of genetic continuity are in (1) the overall stability of basic vocabulary, (2) the typological feature that the Transeurasian languages display a clear preference for the non-verbal strategy of verbal copying, while the corresponding basic verbs leave no trace of formal accommodation, (3) the regularity of the sound correspondences for each subsequent consonant and vowel of the root, except the root-final vowel, (4) the absence of a corresponding basic word in one or more intermediate branches in the presumed contact chain between Japonic and Turkic (5) the multiple occurrence of some cognates, simultaneously in all five branches. By consequence, it becomes increasingly difficult to explain the common basic vocabulary as loanwords, all the way from Turkic into Japanese. For all the shared properties across the Transeurasian languages that are induced by contact, I cannot but attribute the cognates discussed here to common ancestorship.

In this way, I hope to have shown that Professor Tekin's (1994) classification of Altaic gets stronger support if we add low-contact languages such as Japanese and Korean to the comparison. Moreover, the discussion of the etymologies in (2) 12 BREAST and (3) 25 TO DO/MAKE can be taken as an illustration of how Professor Tekin's (1969, 1975, 1979, 1986) research on zetacism and his 1982 research on iconic verbs gain in relevance when put in the broader perspective of the Transeurasian unity, including Japanese and Korean. If problems are viewed as new opportunities, able to make the difference between progress and stagnation, Doerfer (1984: 42) was probably right in stating "Where Tekin's researches end, the problems begin".

Martine ROBBEETS

ABBREVIATIONS

Az.	Azerbaijani	Na.	Nanai (Goldi, Ch. Hezhe)
Bao.	Bao'an	Neg.	Negidal
Bash.	Bashkir	Nog.	Nogai
Bur.	Buriat	OJ	Old Japanese
Chu.	Chuvash	OKog.	Old Koguryo
Dag.	Dagur	Olch.	Olcha (Ulcha, Ulchi, Olchi)
Dolg.	Dolgan	OT	Old Turkic
Dong.	Dongxiang (Santa)	pJ	proto-Japonic
Evk.	Evenki (Tungus, Ch. Elunchun)	pK	proto-Koreanic
J	(standard Tokyo) Japanese	pMo	proto-Mongolic
Jur.	Jurchen	pR	proto-Ryukyuan
K	(standard Seoul) Korean	pTg	proto-Tungusic
Kalm.	Kalmuk	pTk	proto-Turkic
Kaz.	Kazakh	SH	Secret History of the Mongolians
Khal.	Khalkha	Sol.	Solon
Khak.	Khakas	Tat.	(Volga) Tatar
Kirg.	Kirgiz	Tk.	Turkish
Kpak	Karakalpak	Tkm.	Turkmen
Kum.	Kumyk	Tof.	Tofalar
Ma.	Manchu	Ud.	Udehe (Ude, Udege)
MK	Middle Korean	Uigh.	Uighur
MMo.	Middle Mongolian	Uz.	Uzbek
Mgr.	Monguor	WMo.	Written Mongolian
Mogh.	Moghol	Yak.	Yakut

REFERENCES

- Antonov, Anton 2007. *Le rôle des suffixes nominaux en /+rV/ dans l'expression du lieu et de la direction en japonais et l'hypothèse de leur origine "altaïque"*. Paris: Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales Ph.D. dissertation.
- Beckwith, Christopher 2004. *Koguryo. The language of Japan's continental relatives*. Leiden: Brill.
- Benzing, Johannes 1955. Die tungusischen Sprachen. Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik. *Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse* 11, 949-1099.
- Clauson, Gerard 1972. *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- De Smedt, A. & Mostaert, Antoine 1964. *Le dialecte monguor, II: grammaire*. (Uralic and Altaic Series 30.) The Hague: Mouton.
- Doerfer, Gerhard. 1984. The problem of Rhotacism / Zetacism. *Central Asiatic Journal* 28, 36-42.

BASIC VOCABULARY LINKING JAPONIC TO TURKICG

- Erdal, Marcel 1991. *Old Turkic word formation. A functional approach to the lexicon.* (Turcologica 7.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Erdal, Marcel 2004. *A grammar of Old Turkic.* Leiden: Brill.
- Georg, Stefan 2007. Review of Robbeets, Martine 2005. Is Japanese related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic? *Korean Studies* 31, 247-278.
- Heine, Bernd & Kuteva, Tania 2005. *Language contact and grammatical change.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Johanson, Lars & Robbeets, Martine 2010. Introduction. In: Johanson, Lars & Robbeets, Martine (eds.) 2010. *Transeurasian verbal morphology in a comparative perspective: genealogy, contact, chance.* (Turcologica 78.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1-5.
- Kara, György 2007. Review of Robbeets, Martine 2005. Is Japanese related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic? *Anthropological Linguistics* 49, 95-98.
- Lee, Ki-Mun 1977. *Geschichte der Koreanischen Sprache.* Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Martin, Samuel Elmo 1992. *A reference grammar of Korean.* Tokyo: Tuttle.
- Martin, Samuel Elmo 1996. *Consonant lenition in Korean and the Macro-Altaic question.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Poppe, Nicholas 1954. *Grammar of Written Mongolian.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Poppe, Nicholas. 1973. Über die Bildungssuffixe der mongolischen Bezeichnungen der Körperteile. *Ural-Altische Jahrbücher* 45, 223-243.
- Ramsey, Samuel Robert 1977. S-clusters and reinforced Consonants. In: Kim Chin-W. (ed.) 1978. *Papers in Korean Linguistics.* Columbia: Hornbeam Press, 59-66.
- Ramsey, Samuel Robert 1993. Some remarks on reconstructing earlier Korean. *Language Research* 29, 433-441.
- Ramsey, Samuel Robert 1997. The invention of the Korean alphabet and the history of the Korean language. In: Kim-Renaud, Young-Key (ed.) 1997. *The Korean Alphabet. Its History and Structure.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 131-43.
- Ramstedt, Gustaf John 1912. Zur Verbalstambbildungslehre der mongolisch-türkischen Sprachen. *Journal de la Société finno-ougrienne* 28, 1-86.
- Robbeets, Martine 2005. *Is Japanese related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic?* (Turcologica 64.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Robbeets, Martine 2015. *Diachrony of verb morphology: Japanese and the Transeurasian languages.* (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 291.) Berlin: Mouton-De Gruyter.
- Starostin, Sergej, Dybo, Anna & Mudrak, Oleg 2003. *Etymological dictionary of the Altaic languages.* Leiden: Brill.
- Swadesh, Morris 1955. Towards greater accuracy in lexicostatistic dating. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 21, 121-137.

Martine ROBBEETS

- Tadmor, Uri; Haspelmath, Martin & Taylor, Bradley 2010. Borrowability and the notion of basic vocabulary. *Diachronica* 27.2, 226-246.
- Tekin, Talât. 1969. Zetacism and Sigmatism in proto-Turkic. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22, 51-80.
- Tekin, Talât. 1975. Further Evidence for 'Zetacism' and 'Sigmatism'. In: Ligeti, Louis (ed.) 1974. *Researches in Altaic Languages. Papers read at the 14th Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference Held in Szeged, August 22-28, 1971*. Budapest: Kiadó, 275-284.
- Tekin, Talât. 1979. Once more Zetacism and Sigmatism. *Central Asiatic Journal* 23, 118-137.
- Tekin, Talât 1982. On the structure of Altaic echoic verbs in {-KirA}. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 36, 503-13.
- Tekin, Talât 1986. Zetacism and Sigmatism: Main pillars of the Altaic theory. *Central Asiatic Journal* 30, 141-160.
- Vovin, Alexander 2008. *Koreo-Japonica: A re-evaluation of a common genetic origin*. (Center for Korean Studies Monograph.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Whitman, John Bradford 1985. *The phonological basis for the comparison of Japanese and Korean*. Cambridge: Harvard University Ph.D. dissertation.
- Wohlgemuth, Jan 2009. *A typology of verbal borrowings*. (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 211.) Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The research leading to these results has further received funding from the European Research Council under the Horizon 2020 Program/ ERC Grant Agreement n. 646612.