Recent Advances in Tungusic Linguistics
Edited by
Andrej L. Malchukov and Lindsay J. Whaley
Contents

Introduction ...................................................................................................... 1

Part I: Historical and Comparative Issues

Juha Janhunen
The expansion of Tungusic as an ethnic and linguistic process ............... 5

Alexander M. Pevnov
The problem of the localization of the Manchu-Tungusic homeland .......... 17

Alexander M. Ščerbak
Some preliminary considerations on the possibility of reconstructing the Tungus-Manchu proto-language ................................. 41

Alexander Vovin
Did Wanyan Xiyin invent the Jurchen script? .............................................. 49

Part II: Phonology and Morphology

Steven Lulich & Lindsay Whaley
An acoustic phonetic study of Oroquen vowels ...................................... 61

Toshiro Tsumagari
A note on Udihe phonology from an areal-typological perspective ........... 81

Maria Tolskaya
The morphology of Udihe ideophones ...................................................... 89

Shinjiro Kazama
Designative case in Tungusic languages ................................................... 123

Igor Nedjalkov
Desiderative constructions in Evenki ......................................................... 155

Fengxiang Li & Lindsay Whaley
The grammaticization cycle of causatives in Oroqen dialects ..................... 167
Part III: Morphosyntax and Discourse

Irina Nikolaeva
Nominal modification in Udihe and beyond.................................................... 183

Andrey Malchukov
Tungusic converbs and a typology of taxis (relative tense)............................. 213

Taeho Jang & Thomas Payne
Dependency and clause combining in Xibe..................................................... 229

Lenore A. Grenoble
From clause to discourse: the structure of Evenki narrative.............................. 257
Introduction

Andrej L. Malchukov Institute of Linguistic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences
St. Petersburg/ MPI EVA, Leipzig/ University of Mainz
Lindsay J. Whaley Dartmouth College

The present volume includes invited contributions from specialists on Tungusic languages from all over the world and testifies to the fact that Tungusic studies have become more and more internationalized. In addition to traditional centers of Tungusic studies (such as St. Petersburg in Russia), a number of research centers which include a focus on Tungusic have recently appeared in Europe, US, Japan and China. Still the number of international collective publications dealing specifically with Tungusic languages are relatively few and far apart. The contributions to this volume are representative of the issues on the agenda of Tungusic scholars and we hope its publication will contribute to an intensification and further internationalization of Tungusic studies.

The volume is organized into three parts: historical-comparative issues; phonology and morphology; and morphosyntax and discourse. Historical issues have figured prominently in traditional Tungusic research, which was traditionally embedded in a broader field of Altaic studies associated with such prominent scholars as N. N. Poppe, V. I. Cincius, Johannes Benzing and Gerhard Doerfer, among others. The volume opens with the chapter by Juha Janhunen that provides a general scenario for the expansion of Tungusic peoples across Asia. This, of course, relates closely to the question of the taxonomy of Tungusic varieties which presupposes disentangling divergent and convergent processes. The paper by Alexander M. Pevnov also deals with the expansion of Tungusic population, but goes into more detail about identifying a Tungusic homeland. The author draws on a variety of different sources to relate words in proto-Tungusic to the Central Amur Region. The contribution that follows, by Alexander M. Ščerbak, reasserts the commonality of the Tungusic basic vocabulary, in sharp contrast to dissimilarities found in Turkic and Mongolic languages. This paper should be seen in the context of Professor Ščerbak’s lexicographic work on Turkic and Mongolic loanwords in Tungusic which was intended to complement the pioneering comparative dictionary on Tungusic edited by Cincius (1975-1977). The historical section ends with Alexander Vovin’s chapter “Did Wanyan Xiyin invent the Jurchen script?” Arguing that the Parhae script (as fragmentally represented in short inscriptions) was a predecessor to
the Jurchen script, he draws the important conclusion that the Parhae population was not only generally Tungusic, but more specifically Jurchen.

The papers in the next section deal with topics in Tungusic phonology and morphology from a synchronic perspective. This part opens with a paper by Steven Lulich & Lindsay Whaley that addresses a set of significant issues in Tungusic phonetics including the acoustic properties of vowel harmony and vowel length. The chapter by Toshiro Tsumagari deals with the phonology of Udihe in an areal-typological perspective. The author documents the reduction of syllable-final distinctions and increasing rate of monosyllables in Udihe and attributes these tendencies to Chinese influence. He also shows the consequences of these changes for Udihe morphology drifting towards an isolating type. The next paper, by Maria Tolskaya, also deals with Udihe and analyzes the phenomenon of idiophones. She carefully documents different varieties of idiophones, which figure prominently in Udihe, substantially expanding the data on the subject in the Udihe grammar (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001). The paper by Shinjiro Kazama discusses designative markers in Tungusic languages, providing detailed descriptions of the uses of Designative case in individual languages (often on the basis of new data obtained in the course of extensive fieldwork). He supports Benzing’s (1955) proposal that Designative case is related to the indefinite accusative found in other Tungusic languages based on their nearly complementary areal distribution (see Malchukov & Nedjalkov 2010 for another hypothesis concerning the origins of the Designative case). Igor Nedjalkov’s contribution provides a comprehensive comparative survey of desiderative constructions in Tungusic, which can be distinguished on a number of functional parameters (as assumed in Functional Grammar), but also on formal grounds (morphological vs. syntactic expression). Fengxiang Li & Lindsay J. Whaley, in their chapter, provide additional evidence for the hypothesis (Nedjalkov 1993) that the passive marker in Tungusic developed from the causative; as the authors show this development in Oroqen triggered a partial renewal of the causative through the addition of the intensifier –kan.

The third part of the volume, which deals with (morpho)syntax and discourse, is opened by Irina Nikolaeva’s paper in which she discusses different syntactic and semantic varieties of modificational structures in Udihe: possessive constructions, including those with non-referential possessors; “pseudo-partitives”, proprietive, adjectival and nominal modifiers, etc. Given that adjectives in Udihe (and Tungusic, in general) are “nouny” (i.e. noun-like), additional diagnostics have to be used to distinguish between the latter subvarieties. The author further compares the strategy for expressing nominal modification in Udihe with those in Tundra Nenets and concludes with a discussion of semantics and syntax of nominal modification from a more general/theoretical perspective. The paper by Andrej Malchukov deals with “taxis” (i.e. relative tense) relations in Tungusic languages, primarily Even. Since Even, as other Tungusic languages, is a “converb-prominent” language (making use of non-finite converbial clauses rather than finite subordination), the different taxis
distinctions (anteriority, simultaneity, interruption) are manifested primarily in
converbs. The author proposes a chronological scale (‘semantic map’) of taxis
relations and shows how it can be used to constrain possible polysemy patterns of
polyfunctional taxis markers. The paper by Taeho Jang and Thomas E. Payne also
deals with complex constructions. The authors distinguish between five different
types of clause combining (including infinitives, action nominalizations, participles,
converbs, and “semi-final clauses”), showing how they locate on the continuum
from simplex to complex constructions. The authors argue that both converbs and
“semi-final clauses” can be regarded as “co-subordinate” in the sense of Role and
Reference Grammar, but the latter show still less dependency, are open to more
interpretations, and occasionally may be used as final clauses. This latter phenom-
enon brings us to the border of complex sentences, into a broader domain of
discourse. The last chapter by Lenore A. Grenoble focuses on the structure of
narrative discourse, which is arguably understudied in Tungusic linguistics. This
chapter examines both local-level cohesion within the narrative units (episodes) as
well as cohesion between these units. The former are organized through the use of
paratactic coordination, conjunctions (often, not fully grammaticalized), and more
importantly converbs. The latter are studied not from the syntactic but rather from a
discourse perspective as means of ensuring discourse cohesion (e.g., in the form of
“tail-head linkage”). In the last part the author describes the structuring of the
discourse at a macro-level, which shows some overlap with discourse markers
serving for episode cohesion, but also has some specialized strategies (such as
“summary-head linkage”).

In sum, the present work is representative of the current state of the art in
Tungusic studies. It includes papers of a comparative orientation in the tradition of
Tungusic studies, but also addresses new domains (e.g., discourse), as well as
employing new methods (e.g., new possibilities of acoustic analysis in phonetic
research and the use of semantic maps in morphosyntax). Generally, it is notable
that many contributions to the volume have general and/or typological orientation,
even though they draw on the material from individual Tungusic languages. The
editors hope that the variety of work represented in this volume will stimulate
further interaction and collaboration in the domain of Tungusic studies and will be
followed up by other similar publications.

We would like to thank our contributors for their collaboration, and also their
patience. Special thanks go to Lars Johanson who suggested a possibility of
publishing this volume to the series he is editing. Parker Sorenson, Marcella
Vieraitis and Blake Whaley were instrumental in the production of this volume. We
thank them for the many hours of proof-reading and formatting of papers.

As a final note, we would like to dedicate this volume to one of the contributors,
Alexander M. Ščerbak, who passed away in 2008. This great scholar is better known
to the linguistic community as a turkologist, but in his last years worked extensively
on Tungusic languages (loanword vocabulary in Tungusic).