

(De-)Altaicisation as convergence and divergence between Japonic and Koreanic languages

CHINGDUANG YURAYONG
University of Helsinki

PUI YIU SZETO
The University of Hong Kong

1 Introduction

Following an initiative to include Japanese and Korean into the Altaic macro-family by Philipp von Siebold (1832) and a systematic linguistics-oriented investigation in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries by Gustav John Ramstedt (1952, 1957, 1966), the question whether the Altaic macro-family is a genealogical unity (Miller 1971; Menges 1984; Robbeets 2005) or just a group of languages that share similar typology (Janhunen 2007; Vovin 2009; Tranter 2012) is still disputed. On the other hand, the existence of a common ancestor between Japanese and Korean has recently gained more supporting linguistic evidence (Whitman 1985; Francis-Ratte 2016), although a large group of proposed Proto-Japanese-Korean lexical items are not completely unproblematic when applying strict criteria of regular sound correspondences and semantic field (e.g., Janhunen 1999: 10; Vovin 2010).

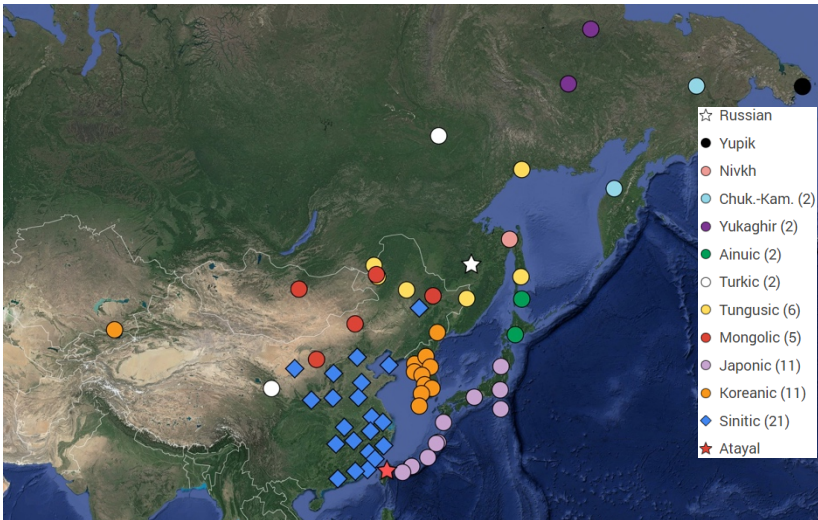
Japanese/Korean Linguistics 27.
Edited by Michael Barrie.
Copyright © 2020, CSLI Publications.

Instead of directly revisiting their origin, the present study devotes attention to typological features that distinguish Japonic and Koreanic from the other Altaic languages both on the synchronic and diachronic levels by taking into account also historical languages. As a main method, a quantitative-typological approach also allows comparison of various languages spoken in Northeast Asia without any assumption about their common origin, unlike in etymological studies (cf. Unger 2013; Francis-Ratte 2016).

2 Data, methods and results

To emphasise family-internal diversity, the present study does not compare standard written languages as in most previous studies (e.g., Janhunen 1999, Robbeets 2017). Instead, this typological comparison takes into account various vernacular varieties of Japonic and Koreanic, with the hypothesis that they show signs of mutual convergence, which are at the same time divergence from the other Altaic languages.

Map 1. Selected 66 Northeast Asian languages



For each language variety, the current study uses various grammatical descriptions as sources¹. As geographically illustrated in Map 1, the data include 11 Japonic (5 Japanese and 6 Ryukyuan) and 11 Koreanic varieties, which are placed in comparison to 44 other languages spoken in the Northeast Asian neighbourhood such as Sinitic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Tur-

¹ The complete list of languages, labels and sources is available in Appendix 1: https://tuhat.helsinki.fi/ws/portalfiles/portal/130690984/JK27_Supplementum.pdf.

tic, Ainuic, Yukaghir and Chukotko-Kamchatkan languages, as well as Russian, Naukan Yupik, Nivkh and Atayal.

To supplement the contemporary data with a diachronic aspect, the comparison also includes 12 historical languages: Old and Middle Japanese, Old and Middle Korean, Old and Middle Chinese, Ruan Ruan (Mongolic), Old and Middle Mongol, Jurchen, as well as Old Turkic and Chagatai.

By using a computer-aided quantitative method (see Szeto 2019 for a description and discussion of this method), the present study investigates 40 typological features whether they are present (= 1) or absent (= 0) in each language variety, as shown in the following list².

Phonology

- 1) Eight or more vowel inventories
- 2) High front vowel /y/
- 3) Vowel harmony
- 4) Three or more series of stop initials
- 5) Distinction between liquids /r/ and /l/
- 6) Voiceless alveolar lateral /ɬ/
- 7) Velar nasal initials /ŋ-/
- 8) Postalveolar fricative initials /ʃ-/ , /ʂ-/ or /ç-/
- 9) Initial consonant clusters C+liquid
- 10) Initial consonant clusters obstruent+obstruent
- 11) Stop codas /-p, -t, -k, -ʔ/
- 12) Lateral coda /-l/
- 13) Bilabial nasal coda /-m/
- 14) Contrastive level tones
- 15) Contrastive contour tones

Lexical semantics

- 16) Distinction between ‘hand’ and ‘arm’
- 17) Distinction between ‘foot’ and ‘leg’
- 18) Distinction between human classifier and animal classifier
- 19) Three or more distance contrasts in demonstrative
- 20) Polysemy ‘to’ and ‘in’ within a single morpheme
- 21) Polysemy ‘from’ and ‘in’ within a single morpheme
- 22) Distinction between inclusive and exclusive 1PL pronoun
- 23) Split encoding of nominal and locational predication
- 24) Distinction between plain and existential negative verb

² The complete datasheet with all 40 features and 78 language varieties is available in Appendix 2: https://tuhat.helsinki.fi/ws/portalfiles/portal/130690984/JK27_Supplementum.pdf.

Morphosyntax

- 25) Morphological case marking
- 26) Overt subject marking on noun
- 27) Person indexing on noun
- 28) Person indexing on verb
- 29) Honorific verb morphemes
- 30) Demonstratives as sentence subject
- 31) Standard-Adjective order in comparatives
- 32) Noun-Numeral-(Classifier) order in quantifier phrase
- 33) Preverbal negative morphemes
- 34) Topic predicative possession
- 35) Locational predicative possession
- 36) Serial verb constructions
- 37) Sentence-final question particles

Grammaticalisation paths

- 38) Postverbal 'get/acquire' > capabilitative auxiliary
- 39) Postverbal 'become' > possibilitive auxiliary
- 40) Postverbal 'see/look' > attemptive auxiliary

Overall distance between typological profiles of individual languages is measured and illustrated as NeighborNet diagram in Figure 1.

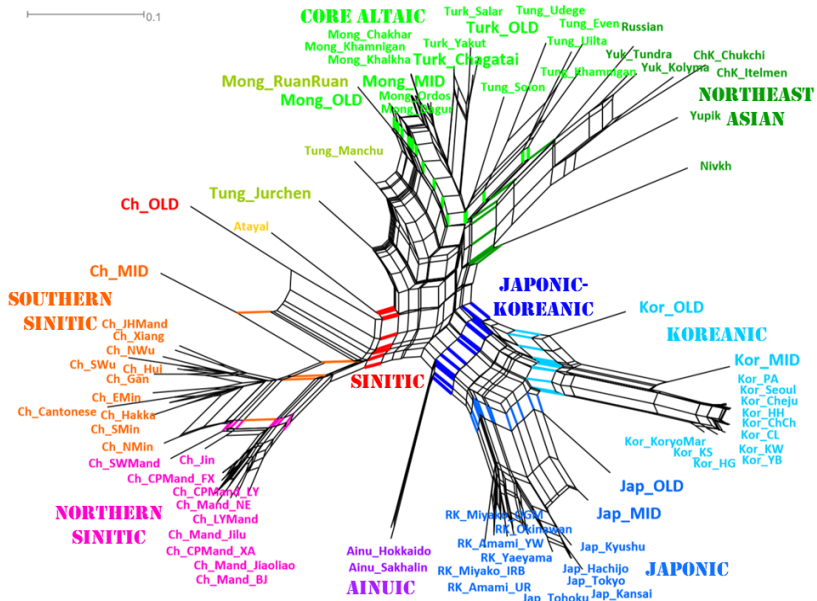


Figure 1. Typological distance between Northeast Asian languages

The quantitative method reveals that most importantly, even Old Japanese and Old Korean were typologically similar to neither the modern nor ancient forms of the Core Altaic languages (Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic). This suggests that such a gap in grammatical system must have been present already in the second half of the 1st millennium AD when Old Japanese and Old Korean were first recorded.

Further discussion from a diachronic viewpoint in Section 5 will follow the detailed investigation into the specific features that distinguish Japonic and Koreanic from the Core Altaic languages in Section 3, and those that differentiate Japonic from Koreanic languages in Section 4.

3 Convergence between Japonic and Koreanic

A number of typological features are shared between Japonic and Koreanic languages and, at the same time, clearly distinguish them from the Core Altaic languages (cf. Robbeets 2017). The tendency of such features within each language group is shown in Table 1 (1 = present in all varieties, 0 = absent in all varieties).

Feature	5)	14)	16)	22)	26)	27)	28)	29)	32)	34)
NE Asia	1	0	0.50	0	0.33	0.50	1	0	0	0
Nivkh	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Turkic	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0.50	0
Mongolic	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Tungusic	1	0	0.67	0.67	0	0.67	0.83	0	0	0.17
Koreanic	0	0.46	1	0	1	0	0	0.91	1	1
Japanese	0	1	1	0	0.80	0	0	1	1	1
Ryukyuan	0	1	0.17	0	1	0	0	0.33	1	1
Ainuic	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0
N Sinitic	0.70	0.10	1	0.90	0	0	0	0	0	1
S Sinitic	0.18	1	0	0.36	0	0	0	0	0	1
Atayal	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0

Table 1. Convergent features in Japonic and Koreanic languages

Next, concrete examples will be presented to clarify this convergence between Japonic and Koreanic languages.

Feature 5: Lack of distinction between liquids /r/ and /l/

In Modern Japonic and Koreanic languages, there is only one liquid phoneme, which seems to be a common areal tendency covering also Ainuic, some Sinitic languages and Atayal (see also Vovin 2017a). This is reflected in the accommodation of foreign words like country names, e.g., ‘Rus-

sia’ and ‘Laos’ are pronounced and written with one and the same initial consonant, respectively, as *roshia* and *raosu* in Japanese and *lesia* and *laosu* in Korean. In any case, reconstruction of Old Korean suggests that there were two distinct liquids, 乙 /r/ and 𐄂 /l/ (Nam 2012), in a similar manner to all Core Altaic and Northeast Asian languages (Lee & Ramsey 2011: 67).

Feature 14: Contrastive level tones

Pitch distinction in level tones is common to Japonic languages, e.g., Tōhoku Japanese *hashi* LL ‘bridge’ vs. *hashi* HL ‘chopstick’ (Matsumori & Onishi 2012: 317). As for Koreanic, this contrast is today only preserved in the varieties along the eastern coastline (Hamgyōng, Kangwŏn and Kyōngsang), e.g., Hamgyōng Korean *mal-i* LH ‘horse-NOM’ vs. *mal-i* HL ‘language-NOM’ (Yeon 2012: 169-170). Interestingly, this feature is absent in Northern Sinitic spoken in the adjacent neighbourhood to the west, which suggests that the pitch-accent systems in Japonic and Koreanic should have nothing to do with Sinitic contact but result from independent development due to accent shift (see also Ramsey 1979, 1991).

Feature 16: Distinction between ‘hand’ and ‘arm’

Most Core Altaic languages use one and the same word to mean both ‘hand’ and ‘arm’, e.g., Salar *eł*, Ordos *gar* and Udege *ηala*. However, Modern Japonic and Koreanic languages make a distinction between these body parts, e.g., Japanese *te* vs. *ude* and Korean *son* vs. *phal*. The presence of this distinction dates back at least to Middle Japanese and Middle Korean as Old Japanese, for instance, still used the word 手 *te* for both meanings.

Feature 22: Lack of distinction between INCL and EXCL 1PL pronoun

Japonic and Koreanic languages lack inclusiveness distinction in 1PL pronoun ‘we’, cf. Japanese *minna* and Korean *wuli* ‘we (with/without you)’. However, this distinction is common in other geographically adjacent languages, Ainuic, Tungusic, Mongolic and Nivkh, e.g., Dagur *baa* [exclusive] vs. *bied* [inclusive] and Solon Evenki *büü* [exclusive] vs. *miti* [inclusive].

Feature 26: Overt subject marking on noun

Overt case marking for subject is a very rare phenomenon among languages with nominative-accusative alignment. In any case, the nominative case markers in Modern Japonic languages, Japanese *-ga* and Ryukyuan *-nu* or *-ga*, are secondary as they were originally a genitive case that shifted to nominative in Late Middle Japanese (Frellesvig 2010: 366-368). Mean-

while, King (1988) proposes that Proto-Korean was an ergative language, so the Koreanic nominative marker *-i/-ka* could have been ultimately a trace of the erstwhile ergative/agent case marker.

Feature 27: Lack of person indexing on noun

Use of possessive suffixes is very common among Core Altaic languages, but, however, absent in ancient languages, Ruan Ruan and Jurchen, and modern languages, Manchu and Solon Evenki. It is also absent from Japonic, Koreanic and Sinitic languages in which possessor is analytically marked.

Feature 28: Lack of person indexing on verb

Person verb suffixes are absent from Japonic, Koreanic as well as Jurchen and Manchu, Mongolic and Sinitic languages, while being very common in other languages of Northeast Asia.

Feature 29: Honorific verbal morpheme

Verbal morphemes that specifically mark honorificity are observed in Japanese *-(r)are-*, Yaeyama Ryukyuan *-oor-* and Koreanic *-(u)si-* (but Chōlla Korean *-k(y)e-*). The Core Altaic languages, on the other hand, usually use another strategy that pragmatically shifts 2nd person plural forms to honorific, which is also well known from European languages, for instance, French *vousvoyer*, German *Sie geben* and Russian *na vy*.

Feature 32: Noun-Numeral-(Classifier) order in quantifier phrase

Constituent order, in which numeral follows noun, is rare in head-final Northeast Asian languages, but common in head-initial Southeast Asian languages. However, this non-canonical syntactic model has already been attested in Old Japanese *kamira pito-moto* [leek one-CLF] (Bentley 2012: 199) and Middle Korean *swul se mal* [liquid three mal.CLF] (Sohn 2012: 99), which coexisted alongside the canonical construction with a prenominal numeral. In any case, the postnominal numeral construction has become a common pattern in Modern Japonic and Koreanic languages.

Feature 34: Topic predicative possession

The most common type of predicative possessive construction in Northeast Asia is a locational possession, that is, with possessor in a locational case and existential verb, which is still present in Modern Japonic and Koreanic languages (see also Yurayong 2019: 199-208). However, Japonic, Koreanic and Manchu have possibly adopted a Sinitic model in which possessor is clause topic, either unmarked or marked with a nominative or topic marker, as in Examples (1), (2) and (3).

- (1) Kyūshū Japanese
wai-ja *iQ* *sjikeN-ŋa* *aQ-kana?*
you-TOP when exam-NOM exist-Q
 ‘When do you have exam?’ (based on Matsumori & Onishi 2012: 338-344)
 Cheju
- (2) *tangsin-un* *ku-mankhum* *han* *wunmeyng-i* *is-ko, ...*
you-TOP that-like one fortune-NOM exist-GER
 ‘You still have some kind of fortune, ...’ (Kiaer 2014: 221)
- Manchu
 (3) *singeri* *funcetele* *jeku* *i.*
mouse plenty goods be.PRS
 ‘The mouse has plenty of food.’ (Adam 1873: 69)

In any case, the emergence of topic possession in these languages could have also been internal change related to a double subject construction (see also Chappell & Creissels 2019: 480-482).

Some of the aforementioned features can be regarded as retention of the erstwhile grammatical systems in Japonic and Koreanic languages that have endured the contacts with Altaic languages later on, e.g., lack of inclusiveness distinction in 1PL pronoun, overt subject marking and lack of person marking on noun and verb. On the other hand, some other features can also be considered instances of more recent areal convergence, e.g., lack of distinction between liquids /r/ and /l/ in East Asia. Nevertheless, several features, e.g., distinction between ‘hand’ and ‘arm’ as well as predicative possession with topic possessor, can be subject to influence from Sinitic languages, i.e. Sinicisation, as written Chinese has been a prestige language throughout the attested history of Japonic and Koreanic languages.

4 Divergence between Japonic and Koreanic

Though Japonic and Koreanic languages are typologically similar as shown in Section 3, there are also features that differ between them. Eleven divergent features are selected for further discussion with concrete examples below.

Feature 3: Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is one of the representative Altaic features that are attested in all Modern and Ancient Core Altaic languages. However, the five-vowel systems in all Modern Japonic languages lack vowel harmony, although reconstruction suggests its existence in Old Japanese (Frellesvig 2010: 44). Meanwhile, there is no strong evidence for vowel harmony in

Old Korean (Nam 2012: 57), but it rather emerged and became systematised in Early Middle Korean as palatal type (Lee & Ramsey 2011: 68) and evolved into tongue root type following the vowel shift in Late Middle Korean.

Feature 4: Three or more series of stop initials

Most languages in Northeast Asia have either voiceless vs. voiced or unaspirated vs. aspirated distinction of stops. However, due to syncope of Old Korean polysyllabic words, complex consonant clusters emerged in Middle Korean before becoming neutralised into the third series of intensified stops, e.g., *sitoku* > *stek* > *ttek* ‘rice cake’ (Sohn 1999: 47). Nivkh also has three series of stop initials: plain voiceless, aspirated voiceless and voice stops (Nedjalkov & Otaina 2013: 3).

Feature 11: Stop codas /-p, -t, -k, -ʔ/

Most languages in Northeast Asia tolerate a syllable structure with consonantal codas, while Japonic and most Northern Sinitic languages lack this tendency. This can be tested by the domestication strategy for Sinitic loanwords, e.g., Middle Chinese *’im^A lak^D* ‘music’ > Hakka *yim ngok* vs. Mandarin *yīn yuè* → Japanese *on gaku* vs. Korean *um ak*, in which the Middle Chinese final *-k* is dropped and gave rise to diphthong *-ue* in Mandarin, while Japanese needs to insert an epenthetic vowel *-u* after the original *-k*.

Feature 12: Lateral coda /-l/

A word-final lateral is observed in Koreanic together with Nivkh, Core Altaic and other Northeast Asian languages, while Japonic as well as Ainuic, Sinitic and Atayal do not tolerate this phonotactic rule. A difference between Japonic and Koreanic is present, e.g., in two words that potentially share a common etymology: Japanese *shiru* ‘soup’ vs. Korean *swul* ‘rice wine’ (Ramstedt 1926 [1951]: 27-28).

Feature 13: Bilabial nasal coda /-m/

Apart from Nivkh, Japonic, Northern Sinitic and some Tungusic languages, most languages in Northeast Asia distinguish, at least, /-m/ from /-n/ or /-ŋ/. Namely, Japonic have neutralised all nasal codas into *-N*, while Koreanic preserve a tripartite distinction between final *-m*, *-n* and *-ng*, as can be tested by common Sinitic loanwords, e.g., Middle Chinese *sam^A* ‘three’ > Cantonese *saam¹* vs. Mandarin *sān* → Japanese *san* vs. Korean *sam*.

Feature 17: Distinction between ‘foot’ and ‘leg’

Similar to Feature 16 (discussed in Section 3), most languages in Northeast Asian also use an identical word for ‘foot’ and ‘leg’, e.g., Yakut *atax* and Khalkha Mongol *xöl*, as well as Japonic languages, e.g., Japanese *ashi*, though it can be written with two Chinese characters to clarify the meaning, 足 ‘foot’ vs. 脚 ‘leg’, the phenomenon of which actually goes back to Old Japanese 安(思) *a(shi)* ‘foot, leg’. Koreanic languages, on the other hand, make distinction between these two body parts, *pal* ‘foot’ vs. *tali* ‘leg’.

Feature 21: Polysemy ‘from’ and ‘in’ within a single morpheme

A locational marker which can mark both meanings ‘from’ and ‘in’ is not common among languages of Northeast Asia. Such bifunction of a locative marker is only observed in the Koreanic locative *-(ey)se* as well as Nivkh locative-ablative *-(u)x*, Old Turkic locative *-dA* and Cantonese locational verb *hai*² as in Examples (4), (5) and (6).

- (4) Chölla Korean
keku-se sey-ka nal-ko / nal-a ka-ko.
 there-LOC bird-NOM fly-GER fly-GER go-GER
 ‘Birds are flying there / flying away from there.’ (based on Lee 2012: 361)
- (5) Nivkh
if ño-x hum-d, / p’um-d.
 s/he barn-LOC/ABL be-IND exit-IND
 ‘(S)he is in the barn / went out of the barn.’ (Nedjalkov & Otaina 2013: 54)
- (6) Cantonese
keoi⁵ hai² caan¹teng¹ sik⁶faan⁶ / ceoi¹ lai⁴.
 s/he LOC restaurant eat.rice exit come
 ‘(S)he is eating at the restaurant / coming out from the restaurant.’

Meanwhile, the majority of Northeast Asian languages have two separate markers for ‘from’ and ‘in’ as in Kyūshū Japanese *-gara* vs. *-sal-de* and Okinawan *-kara* vs. *-nkai*.

Feature 23: Split encoding of nominal and locational predication

There is no common pattern among Northeast Asian languages regarding the predicative verb for copula and locational constructions. Japonic languages have two distinct verbs: *-da/-ya/-jya/∅* ‘to be something’ vs. *ir-/ar-/ur-* ‘to be somewhere’. Meanwhile, spoken Koreanic varieties also use copula verb *-(i)ta* in the locational sense as in Example (7).

- Seoul Korean
 (7) *na-nun kaswu-ta / cikum kanglung-ita.*
 1SG-TOP singer-COP now Kangnŭng-COP
 ‘I am a singer. / I am now in Kangnŭng.’

Such polysemy is also present in a copular of Mongolic *bai-* and Tungusic *bii-* as well as Old and Middle Japanese *nar-* ‘to be something/somewhere’.

Feature 24: Distinction between plain and existential negative verb
 Koreanic and Ryukyuan languages have two separate verbs for plain and existential negation, e.g., Korean *anh-* vs. *eps-* and Ryukyuan *-(a)n-* vs. *ne-*, similar to most Core Altaic languages, e.g., Yakut *ilik* vs. *suox*, Khamnigan Mongol *bisi* vs. *ugui* and Manchu *waka* vs. *akū*. However, Modern Japanese simply use an existential negative verb *nai-* ‘not to exist’ also as a negative suffix after verb stem *ika-nai* ‘not to go’, while Old and Middle Japanese still used other negative morphemes *-(a)zu* and *-(a)n-* for plain and *na-* (a cognate to Ryukyuan *ne-*) for existential negation.

Feature 30: Demonstratives as sentence subject
 Most languages in Northeast Asia allow demonstratives to occur independently as clause subject, e.g., Amami Ryukyuan *kuri* ‘this’, *uri* ‘that’, *ari* ‘yon’. However, Modern Koreanic varieties have lost such feature due to the grammaticalisation of demonstratives into person pronouns, *i/ku/ce* ‘this/that/yon man’, so bare demonstratives no longer refer to non-human referent. Instead, a general classifier *kes* is used with demonstratives to avoid interpretation of person pronouns, *i/ku/ce kes* ‘this/that/yon thing’. This restriction is also observed in Southern Sinitic languages, e.g., Cantonese *ni¹/go² go³* ‘this/that thing’.

Feature 33: Preverbal negative morpheme
 Marking negation with suffix after verb stem is common in Turkic *-mA-*, Mongolic *-gui*, Japanese *-nai* and Ryukyuan *-(a)n*. In contrast, Koreanic as well as Modern Tungusic and Sinitic languages use preverbal negative morphemes, e.g., Korean *an* VERB (< *ani* VERB) or VERB-*ci anh-* (< VERB-*ci ani ha-*), Uilta *e-*VERB and Northern Wu *veq* VERB (see also Nam 2019).

Some of the features discussed above are cases in which Koreanic behave more like Core Altaic whereas Japonic in a similar way to Ainuic and Northern Sinitic languages, e.g., behaviour towards vowel harmony, word-final consonants and nominal vs. locational predicative verbs. Interestingly,

there are also features that Koreanic almost exclusively share with Nivkh, which are three series of stop initials and the polysemy ‘from’ and ‘in’.

5 Diachrony of (de-)Altaicisation in Japonic and Koreanic

The quantitative investigation in the present study, as illustrated in Figure 1, has shown that Japonic and Koreanic together with Ainuic languages form a common cluster. Even more striking is the fact that the typological profiles of Old and Middle Japanese as well as Old and Middle Korean do not strongly cluster with the Modern or Ancient Altaic languages. This implies that there is a high degree of typological similarities, which have developed under areal diffusion around the Sea of Japan. Nevertheless, we can still say that Koreanic are typologically more Altaic than Japonic languages, considering that they share more features with the Core Altaic languages. Ultimately, Figure 1 also suggests that converging direction should be Altaicisation of Japonic and Ainuic, and de-Altaicisation of Koreanic, the results of which yield a new Japonic-Koreanic type of grammatical system.

Relating linguistic data to history, the convergence could have taken place already in the early 1st millennium AD at the latest, during which historical Japanese-Korean contacts have been documented (Janhunen 2010: 290; Vovin 2010: 239-240). Chronologically, this dating corresponds to the Paekche-Kofun period when many cultural and technological innovations were imported from the Korean Peninsula to the Japanese Archipelago through the Korea Strait. Of course, these intense contacts between Japonic and Koreanic-speaking populations could have emerged even earlier, given that Japonic languages must have been spoken on the Korean Peninsula already in the 1st or even 2nd millennium BC (Vovin 2017b).

In several cases, dissimilarities to the Core Altaic languages are similarities to the Sinitic languages. As discussed in Section 3, these features can be subject to influence from Sinitic languages, i.e. Sinicisation, as written Chinese was a prestige language for Japonic and Koreanic-speaking populations and cultivated a literary culture on the Korean Peninsula as of the 1st century BC (Sohn 1999: 103).

In any case, the data also hint that (Late) Middle Japanese was de-Altaicised, which also resulted in divergence from Koreanic languages. This could partly be due to the socio-political situation in the mid-2nd millennium AD when the Japanese capital moved eastwards to Kamakura (see also Bentley 2012: 189-190), which shifted the centre of Japanese

language away from the historical Japonic-Koreanic contact zone, and seemingly reduced or even terminated influence from Koreanic languages.

Apart from a number of features shared with the Core Altaic clade, Japonic languages share as many as 24/40 features with Ainuic, while Koreanic languages as many as 17/40 features with Nivkh. These similarities in language can also be understood through an ethnolinguistic reconstruction of Northeast Asia by Janhunen (1996: 209-212), stating that Ainuic are the only surviving group of languages that was spoken in the Japanese Archipelago prior to the arrival of Japonic-speaking population. Meanwhile, the ancestors of Nivkh (or Amuric as a nomenclature for language family) could have formed a significant group of population in the historical Okchō and East Ye kingdoms that closely interacted with Koreanic-speaking population in the east of the Korean Peninsula (Blackmore 2019). In this vein, it is possible to say that the linguistic convergence with Ainuic and Nivkh could have emerged as early as in the Late Jōmon period (ca. 1500 - 900/300 BC) and Proto-Three Kingdoms period (ca. the 4th century BC - 1st century AD), respectively, or from later recorded historical encounters.

6 Conclusion

Despite the conventional classification of Japonic and Koreanic languages as languages of the Altaic typology (Janhunen 2007; Tranter 2012), these languages, both today and in the past, still differ from the core Altaic languages in many grammatical aspects. Given also that there is no strong proof of common Proto-Altaic lexical items nor solid regular sound correspondences but rather borrowings between languages of the Altaic typology, the results of the current study speak in favour of a Paleo-Asiatic origin of Japonic and Koreanic (see also Janhunen 2010; Vovin 2015). However, later through intense language contacts as of the 1st millennium BC at the latest, Japonic became Altaicised while Koreanic became de-Altaicised as mutual convergence that produced a new Japonic-Koreanic typology, also shared with Ainuic. Nevertheless, Japonic became de-Altaicised again in the mid-2nd millennium AD and eventually diverged from Koreanic (see also Janhunen 1999). In a similar fashion, the neighbouring Ainuic and Nivkh in the north seem to have gone through a similar development of Altaicisation and later de-Altaicisation (Janhunen 2009: 62, 2016).

Acknowledgements

We cordially thank 1) Dr. Simon Barnes-Sadler (SOAS, UK) for kindly sharing his first-hand data of Koryŏ Mar and Yanbian Korean dialects, and 2) Prof. Juha Janhunen (University of Helsinki, Finland) for his insightful comments and suggestions for improvement of this study.

Abbreviations

IPL	1st person plural pronoun	IND	Indicative verb
ABL	Ablative case	LOC	Locative case
COP	Copula verb	NOM	Nominative case
EXCL	Exclusive	PRS	Present tense
GER	Gerund verb	Q	Question marker
INCL	Inclusive	TOP	Topic marker

References

- Adam, L. 1873. *Grammaire de la langue mandchou*. Paris: Maisonneuve.
- Bentley, J. R. 2012. Old Japanese. *The Languages of Japan and Korea*, ed. N. Tranter, 189-211. Oxon: Routledge.
- Blackmore, H. 2019. A Critical Examination of Models Regarding a Han 韓 - Ye 濊 Ethnic Division in Proto-Historic Central Korea, and Further Implications. *Asian Perspectives* 58(1). 95-122.
- Francis-Ratte, A. T. 2016. *Proto-Korean-Japanese: A New Reconstruction of the Common Origin of the Japanese and Korean Languages*. Doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University.
- Frellesvig, B. 2010. *A History of the Japanese Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Janhunen, J. 1996. *Manchuria: an ethnic history*. Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne.
- Janhunen, J. 1999. A Contextual Approach to the Convergence and Divergence of Korean and Japanese. *International Journal of Central Asian Studies* 4: 1-23.
- Janhunen, J. 2007. Typological expansion in the Ural-Altaic belt. *Incontri linguistici* 30(30): 1000-1013.
- Janhunen, J. 2009. Proto-Uralic—what, where, and when? *The Quasiquicentennial of the Finno-Ugrian Society*, ed. J. Ylikoski, 57-78. Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne.
- Janhunen, J. 2010. Reconstructing the language map of prehistorical Northeast Asia. *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 108: 281-304.
- Janhunen, J. 2016. Reconstructio externa linguae ghiliacorum. *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 117: 3-27.
- Kiaer, J. 2014. *Jeju Language and Tales from the Edge of the Korean Peninsula*. München: LINCOM Europa.

- King, R. 1988. Towards a History of Transitivity in Korean. Paper presented at the *Conference on the Theory and Practice of Historical Linguistics*, University of Chicago, 27 April 1988.
- Lee, K.-M. & Ramsey, S. R. 2011. *A history of the Korean language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, J.-S. 2012. *Chōnnam chindo-ūi ōnō-wa munhwa*. Seoul: Chisikkwakyoyang.
- Matsumori, A. & Onishi, T. 2012. Japanese dialects: focusing on Tsuruoka and Ei. *The Languages of Japan and Korea*, ed. N. Tranter, 313-348. Oxon: Routledge.
- Menges, K. H. 1984. Korean and Altaic—a preliminary sketch. *Central Asiatic Journal* 28(3/4): 234-295.
- Miller, R. A. 1971. *Japanese and the other Altaic languages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Nam, B.-R. 2019. Negation variation in spoken Korean: from the 17th century to the 2010s. A poster paper in *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 27.
- Nam, P.-H. 2012. Old Korean. *The Languages of Japan and Korea*, ed. N. Tranter, 41-72. Oxon: Routledge.
- Nedjalkov, V. P. & Otaina, G. A. 2013. *A syntax of the Nivkh language: The Amur dialect*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ramsey, S. R. 1979. The Old Kyōto dialect and the historical development of Japanese accent. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 39(1): 157-175.
- Ramsey, S. R. 1991. Proto-Korean and the origin of Korean accent. *Studies in the historical phonology of Asian languages*, eds. W. G. Boltz & M. C. Shapiro, 213-238. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ramstedt, G. J. 1926 [1951]. Two Words of Korean-Japanese. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 55: 25-30.
- Ramstedt, G. J. 1952, 1957, 1966. *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft* [3 volumes edited by Pentti Aalto]. Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne.
- Robbeets, M. 2005. *Is Japanese related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic?* (*Turcologica* 64). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Robbeets, M. 2017. The Transeurasian languages. *The Cambridge handbook of areal linguistics*, ed. R. Hickey, 586-626. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Siebold, P. F. von. 1832. *Nippon*. Leyden: C.C. van der Horck.
- Sohn, H.-M. 1999. *The Korean Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sohn, H.-M. 2012. Middle Korean. *The Languages of Japan and Korea*, ed. N. Tranter, 73-122. Oxon: Routledge.
- Szeto, P. Y. 2019. *Typological variation across Sinitic languages: Contact and convergence*. Doctoral dissertation, The University of Hong Kong.
- Tranter, N. 2012. Introduction: Typology and area in Japan and Korea. *The Languages of Japan and Korea*, ed. N. Tranter, 3-23. Oxon: Routledge.
- Unger, J. M. 2013. *The role of contact in the origins of the Japanese and Korean languages*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Vovin, A. 2009. Japanese, Korean, and Other Non-Altaic Languages, a review article of Martine Robbeets, *Is Japanese related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic, and Turkic?* *Central Asiatic Journal* 53: 105-147.

- Vovin, A. 2010. *Koreo-Japonica: A Re-evaluation of a Common Genetic Origin*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Vovin, A. 2015. Korean as a Paleosiberian Language. *Han'gukŏ-ŭi chwap'yo ch'atki*, ed. C. Woe, 235-254. Seoul: Yŏngnak.
- Vovin, A. 2017a. Old Korean and Proto Korean *r and *l revisited. Paper presented at the *20th Meeting of the International Circle of Korean Linguistics*, University of Helsinki, 28 June 2017.
- Vovin, A. 2017b. Origins of the Japanese Language. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics*.
<https://oxfordre.com/linguistics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.001.0001/acrefore-9780199384655-e-277>. Retrieved 11 November 2019.
- Whitman, J. 1985. *The phonological basis for the comparison of Japanese and Korean*. Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University.
- Yeon, J.-H. 2012. Korean dialects: a general survey. *The Languages of Japan and Korea*, ed. N. Tranter, 168-185. Oxon: Routledge.
- Yurayong, C. 2019. Predicative possession in Novgorod Birch Bark documents in the Ural-Altai context. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 97: 183-233.