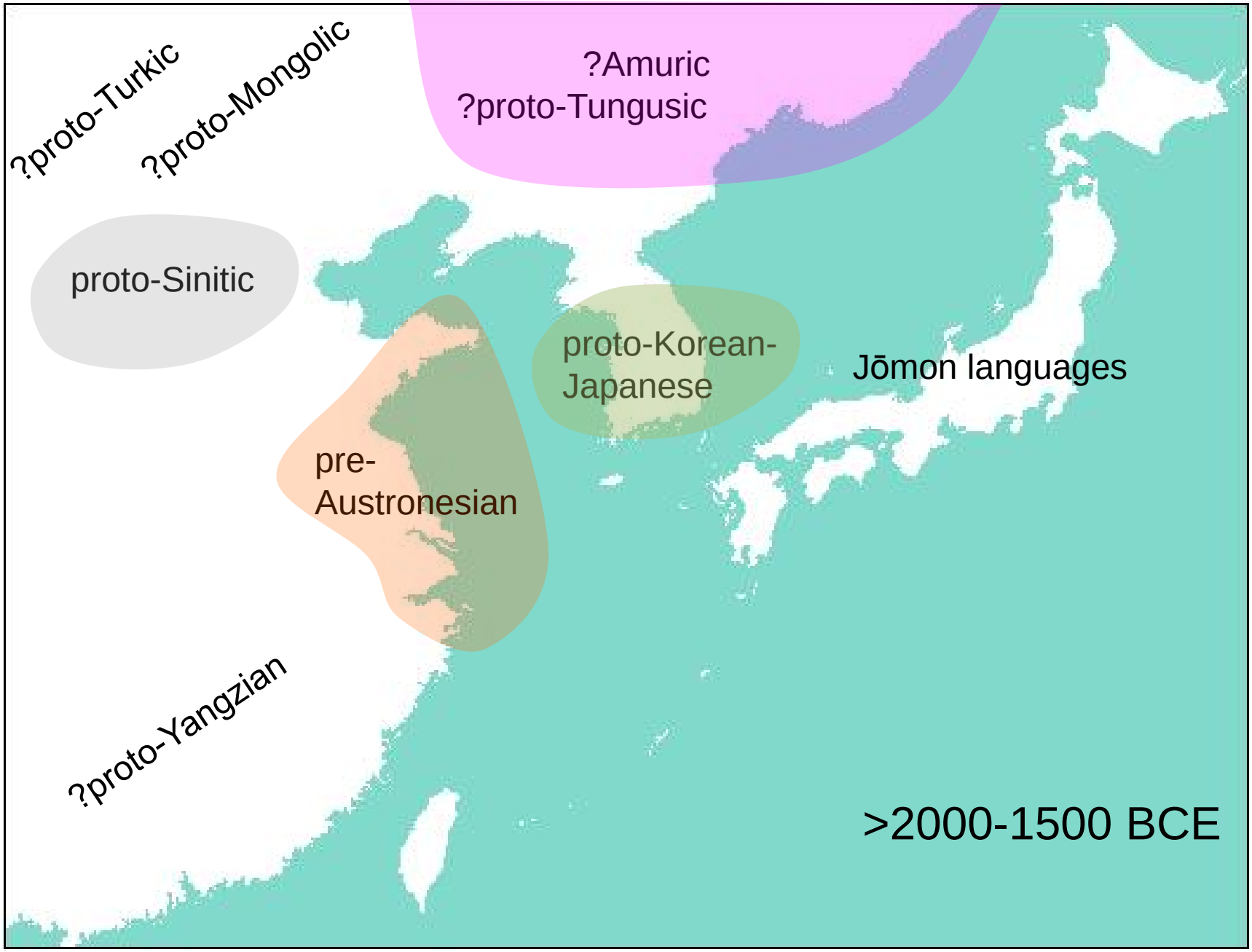
# Comparing the Japanese and Korean Languages: Culling Borrowed Words

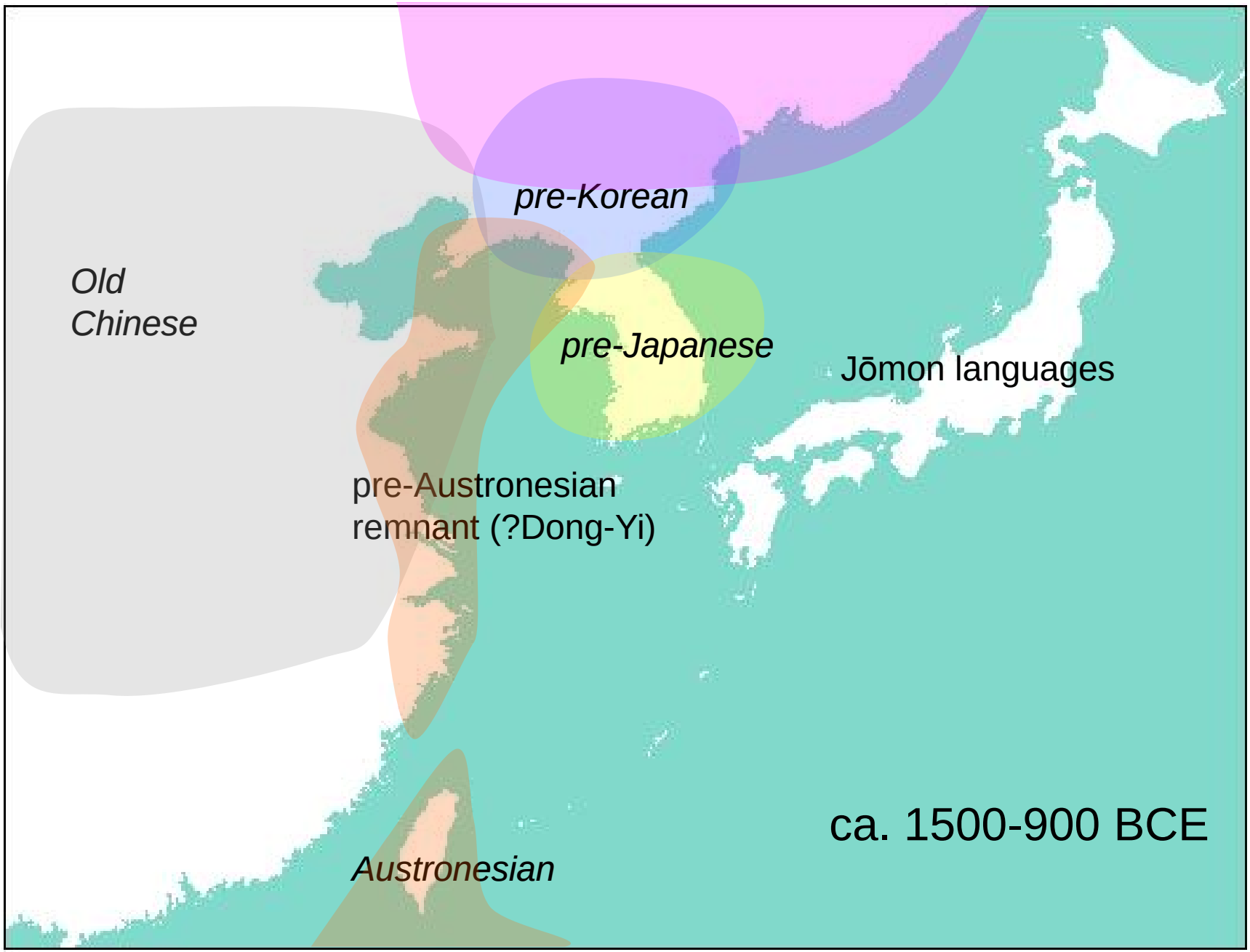
J. Marshall Unger

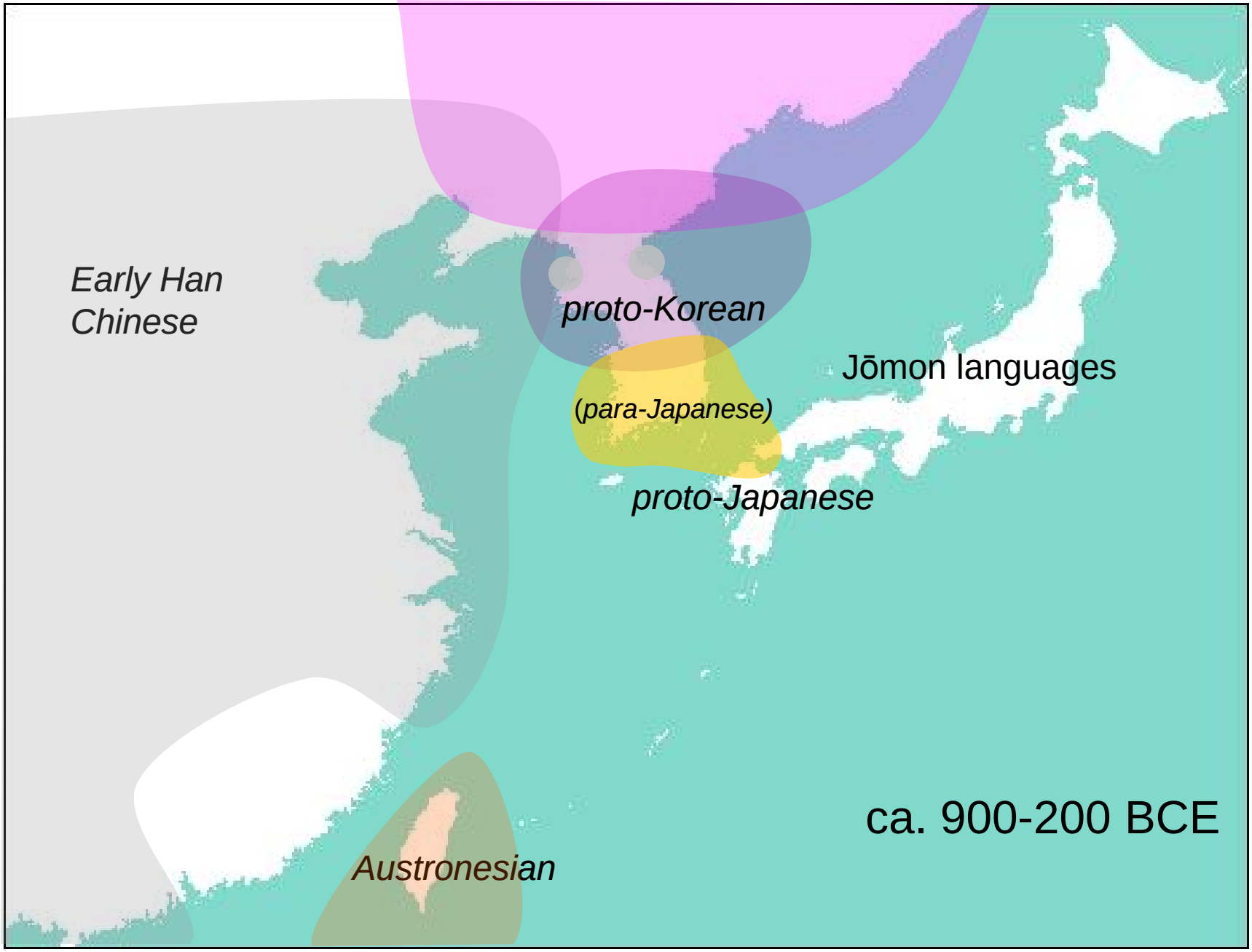
Department of East Asian Languages & Literatures
The Ohio State University

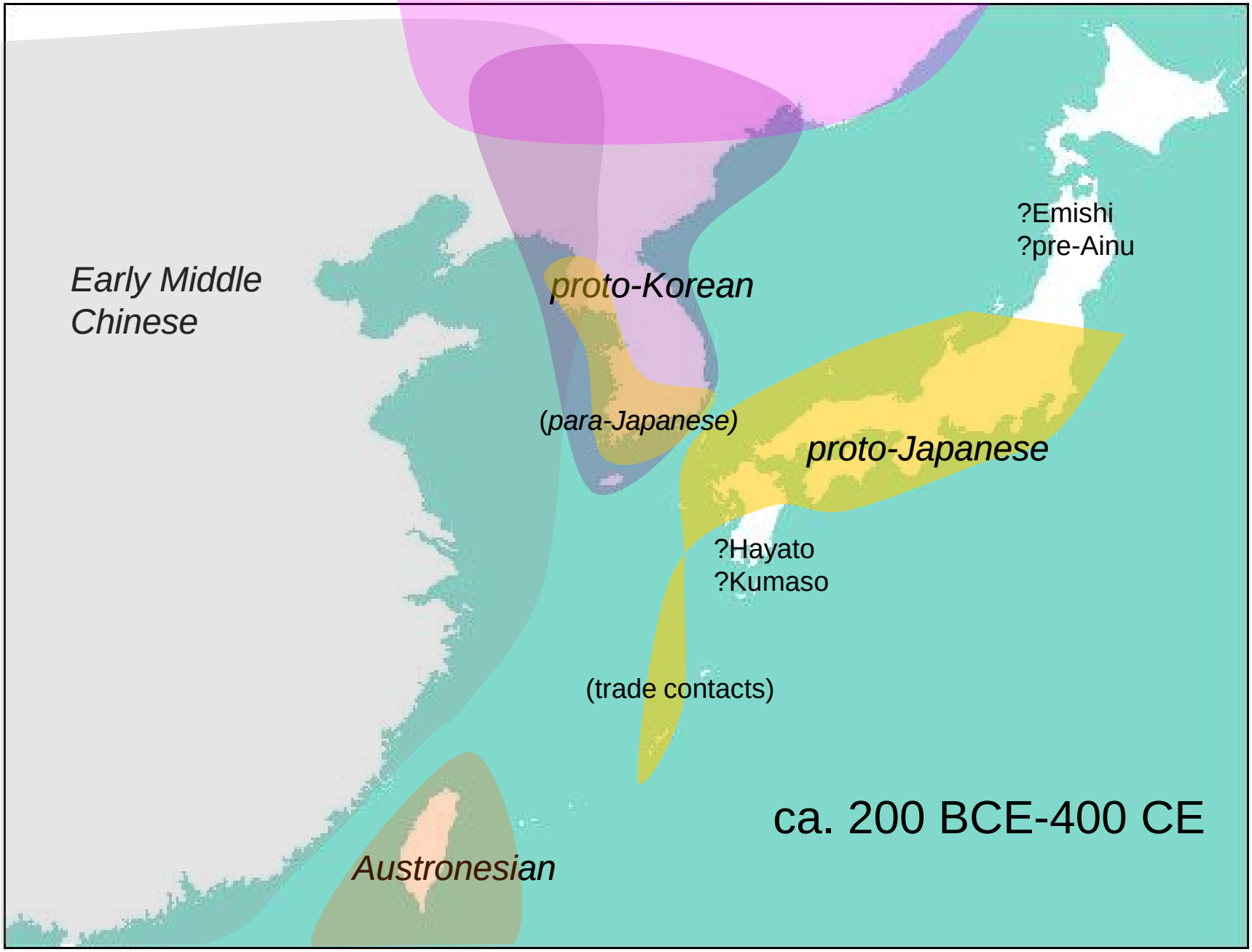
*J. Marshall Unger*

# THE ROLE OF CONTACT IN THE ORIGINS OF THE JAPANESE AND KOREAN LANGUAGES


?proto-Turkic
?proto-Mongolic
?Amuric
?proto-Tungusic
proto-Sinitic
proto-Korean-Japanese
Jōmon languages
pre-Austronesian
?proto-Yangzian
>2000-1500 BCE


pre-Korean
Old
Chinese
pre-Japanese
Jōmon languages
pre-Austronesian
remnant (?Dong-Yi)
ca. 1500-900 BCE
Austronesian


Early Han Chinese
proto-Korean
Jōmon languages
(para-Japanese)
proto-Japanese
Austronesian
ca. 900-200 BCE


Early Middle Chinese
proto-Korean
(para-Japanese)
?Emishi
?pre-Ainu
proto-Japanese
?Hayato
?Kumaso
(trade contacts)
Austronesian
ca. 200 BCE-400 CE

# Four Kinds of Korean Borrowings in Old Japanese

A. Synonyms of OJ words with para-Japanese cognates
B. Synonyms of OJ words with Korean cognates
C. Synonyms of OJ words of uncertain provenance

# Four Kinds of Korean Borrowings in Old Japanese

A. Synonyms of OJ words with para-Japanese cognates
B. Synonyms of OJ words with Korean cognates
C. Synonyms of OJ words of uncertain provenance
D. Innovative loans

## A. Synonyms of OJ words with para-Japanese cognates

1. K *sey* < MK ¨*se*(*k*) ~ ¨*sey*(*h*) ‘three’ < OK *sagi → OJ *saki*(*kusa*) id. > J *saigusa* 三枝 (*ateji*) ≠ OJ *mi* id.
2. MK ˙*cas* ‘fortress’ < OK *casi → OJ *sasi* id. ≠ OJ *siro* id., OJ *kura* ‘storehouse’ (*Musasi* 武蔵 (*ateji*) ~ *kura* 蔵)
3. MK ¨*kwol* ‘valley, deep hole’ < OK *kola → pre-OJ *kora > OJ *kura* ‘valley’ ≠ OJ *tani* ‘valley’
4. MK ˙*kyel ‘wave’* → OJ *kiyoru* ‘(epithet)’ ≠ OJ *nami* ‘wave’
5. MK *mel*- ‘far, distant, remote’ → OJ *mara*- ~ *moro*- ‘far’, *mare* < *maraCi ‘rare’ ≠ OJ *topo* ‘far’
6. K *kiph*- ‘*deep’* < OK ?*kipha-, ?*kipa-k- → OJ *kipa* ‘brink’ ≠ OJ *puka*- ‘deep’
7. MK *palol ‘sea’* < OK *patol → OJ *una-para* ~ *una-bara* ‘surface of the ocean’ ≠ OJ *wata* ‘sea’

## B. Synonyms of OJ words with Korean cognates

1. K *kkun* ‘cord’ < MK *˙kinh* ~ *skin* < OK *ski- → OJ *suki* ‘baby-carrying sling’ ≠ wo ‘cord’ < pKJ *bə
2. MK *syem* < OK *syema ‘limited territory; island’ → OJ *sema* ≠ OJ *sima* id. < pKJ *syema
3. K *kokwulye* ‘Koguryŏ’ < OK *kwulye → OJ *kure* id. ≠ EMJ (*kau*)*kuri* id. < pJ *kure < pKJ *kwulye
4. MK *kuluh* ‘stump (tree counter)’ ?< OK *kudye* → EMJ *kure* ‘board, measured piece of wood’ ≠ OJ *kwi* ~ *ko*- ‘tree; wood’ < pJ *kəi < *kədi < pKJ *kədye

## C. Synonyms of other OJ words

1. MK *kye˙zulh* ‘winter’ → OJ *kisaragi* ‘second lunar month’ ≠ OJ *puyu* ‘winter’
2. MK *˙pal* ‘leg, foot’< OK *palk → OJ *pagi* ‘shin’ ≠ J *asi* ‘leg, foot’
3. MK *¨twolh* ‘stone’ < *two˙kol → OJ *toko*(*name*) ‘stone slime’ ≠ OJ *isi* ‘stone’, *ipa* ‘rock, crag’
4. K *cina-* ‘pass through, pass over’ → OJ *sina-* ‘slope’ ≠ OJ *saka* id.
5. MK *˙sal* ‘arrow’ → OJ *sa* ~ *sati* ~ *satu-* ‘arrow, spear’ ≠ J *ya* ‘arrow’
6. MK *mosi* ‘(plant)’ → OJ (*kara*)*musi* id. ≠ OJ *wo* ‘hemp’
7. MK *ilang* ‘ridge between furrows’ < OK *ilang → OJ *iraka* ‘roof tile’ ≠ OJ *une* ‘ridge between furrows’
8. MK *˙hoy* ‘sun’ < OK *koy → J *ka* in *hatuka* ‘twentieth day’, *ko* in *koyomi* ‘calendar’ ≠ OJ *pi* ‘sun, day’
9. MK *¨man˙ho-* ‘many’ < OK *mane- → OJ ((*s*)*a*)*mane-si* ‘many; widespread’ ≠ OJ *opo* ‘big; many’
10. MK *polk* ‘dawn, shine’ → EMJ (*asa*)*borake* ‘dawn’ ≠ *ake-* ‘get light’
11. K *kaci* ‘branch’ < OK ?*kwac → pre-OJ *kosa > OJ *kusa* id. in *sakikusa* ≠ OJ *ye*(*da*) id. > J *eda*

## D. Innovative loans

1. OJ *potoke* ‘Buddha’ ← *putoke antecedent of K *puthye* id. < *pwutV-hV

2. OJ *kugutu* ‘puppet’ ← the OK form of K *kkoktwu* id. ?< MCh *kakthuk 郭禿 ‘puppet’ (displaced later by *kairai* 傀儡 ‘puppet’ and *ningyoo* 人形 ‘puppet, doll’)

3. EMJ *sozoro* ‘involuntarily’ ~ *suzuro* ← K *susulo* ‘on one’s own’ ~ *susalo* < MK *suso-lwo*