The Japonic (Japanese and Ryukyuan) portmanteau language family and the Korean language have long been considered isolates on the fringe of northeast Asia. Although in the last fifty years many specialists in Japonic and Korean historical linguistics have voiced their support for a genetic relationship between the two, this concept has not been endorsed by general historical linguists, and no significant attempts have been made to advance beyond the status quo. Alexander Vovin, a longtime advocate of the genetic relationship view, engaged in a reanalysis of the known data in the hope of finding evidence in support of this position. In the process of his work, however, he became convinced that the multiple similarities between Japonic and Korean are the result of several centuries of contact and do not descend from a hypothetical common ancestor.

In Koreo-Japonica, Vovin carefully reviews recent advances in the reconstruction of both language families and offers material support for the skepticism long espoused by general historical linguists on the matter. His findings will both challenge and illuminate issues of interest to all linguists working with language contact and typology as well as those concerned with the prehistory and early history of East Asia.

Alexander Vovin is professor of East Asian languages at the University of Hawai‘i.

The Role of Contact in the Origins of the Japanese and Korean Languages
J. Marshall Unger
2008, 224 pages

Despite decades of research on the reconstruction of proto-Korean-Japonic (pKJ), some scholars still reject a genetic relationship. This study addresses their doubts in a new way, interpreting comparative linguistic data within a context of material and cultural evidence, much of which has come to light only in recent years.

Questioning Minds
Short Stories by Modern Korean Women Writers
Yung-Hee Kim
2010, 248 pages, illus.

Available for the first time in English, the ten short stories by modern Korean women collected here touch in one way or another on issues related to gender and kinship politics. All of the protagonists are women who face personal crises or defining moments in their lives as gender-marked beings in a Confucian, patriarchal Korean society.
KOREO-JAPONICA
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Alexander Vovin
Koreo-Japonica: A Re-evaluation of a Common Genetic Origin

Yung-Hee Kim, translator
Questioning Minds: Short Stories by Modern Korean Women Writers
KOREO-JAPONICA

A Re-evaluation of a
Common Genetic Origin

ALEXANDER VOVIN

University of Hawai‘i Press, Honolulu

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For Yasha
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### ABBREVIATIONS

#### LANGUAGES AND DATA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ainu</strong></td>
<td>PA</td>
<td>Proto-Ainu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Austronesian</strong></td>
<td>PAN</td>
<td>Proto-Austronesian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chinese</strong></td>
<td>EMC</td>
<td>Early Middle Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LMC</td>
<td>Late Middle Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MC</td>
<td>Middle Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indo-European</strong></td>
<td>PIE</td>
<td>Proto-Indo-European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Japonic</strong></td>
<td>CR</td>
<td>Classical Ryukyuan</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EMdJ</td>
<td>Early Modern Japanese</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EOJ</td>
<td>Eastern Old Japanese</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MdJ</td>
<td>Modern Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MJ</td>
<td>Middle Japanese</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OJ</td>
<td>Old Japanese</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OR</td>
<td>Old Ryukyuan</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PJ</td>
<td>Proto-Japonic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PJK</td>
<td>Proto-Japanese-Korean (Whitman)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>PJJ</td>
<td>Proto-Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PR</td>
<td>Proto-Ryukyuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WOJ</td>
<td>Western Old Japanese</td>
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<td></td>
<td>YG</td>
<td>Yonaguni</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Korean</strong></td>
<td>EMdK</td>
<td>Early Modern Korean</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Early Middle Korean</td>
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<td></td>
<td>LMK</td>
<td>Late Middle Korean (Whitman)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Modern Korean</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MK</td>
<td>Middle Korean</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NC</td>
<td>Northern Ceycwuto</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OK</td>
<td>Old Korean</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
XIV Koreo-Japonica

PK Proto-Korean
SC Southern Ceycwuto
SK Sino-Korean

Mongolic
MM Middle Mongolian
WM Written Mongolian

Tungusic
Ma. Manchu
PT Proto-Tungusic

LINGUISTIC TERMS

ABS absolutive
ACC accusative
ACT active
ADV adverbalizer
ASSER assertive
ATTR attributive
CAUS causative
CL classifier
COM comitative
COMP comparative
CON conjunctive gerund
CONC concessive gerund
COND conditional gerund
CONJ conjunction
CONJC conjectural
COOP cooperative
COOR coordinative gerund
COP copula
DAT dative
DEB debitive
DES desiderative
DIM diminutive
DIR directive
DV defective verb
EMPH emphatic
EV evidential
EXCL exclamation
F falling pitch
FIN final verbal form
GEN genitive
GER gerund
H high pitch
HON honorific
Abbreviations

HUM humble
IMP imperative
INF infinitive
INTER interjection
INTL intentional
IRR irrealis
L low pitch
LF locative focus
LOC locative
MOD modulator
NEG negative
NML nominalizer
NOM nominative
PAST past tense
PERF perfective
PL plural
POL polite
POSS possessive
PREFIX prefix
PRES present tense
PRETER preterite
PROG progressive
PROH prohibitive
PT particle
QUOT quotative
R rising pitch
REAL realis
RETR retrospective
SUB subordinative gerund
SUBJ subjunctive
SUP suppositional
TENT tentative
TERM terminative
TOP topic
TRANSF transferentive gerund
VOC vocative
VOL volitional

PRIMARY SOURCES

Japonic
BS Bussoku seki uta (ca. 756)
FK Fudoki (ca. 733)
GM Genji monogatari (ca. 1008)
IM Ise monogatari (late ninth century)
KJK Kojiki (712)
KK Kojiki kayō (712)
| KKW | Kokin wakashū (921) |
| MN | Murasaki shikibu nikki (1010) |
| MS | Makura no sōshi (1000) |
| MYS | Man’yōshū (ca. 759) |
| NK | Nihonshoki kayō (720) |
| NR | Nihon ryōiki (early ninth century) |
| NS | Nihonshoki (720) |
| OS | Omoro sōshi (sixteenth century) |
| RK | Ryūka (eighteenth-nineteenth centuries) |
| SM | Senmyō (697-791) |
| USM | Uji shūi monogatari (ca. 1213-22) |
| WMS | [Ruiju] Wamyōshō (931-38) |

### Korean

| HMC | Hwungmin cengum (1445) |
| Hwungmwong | Hwungmwong cahwoy (1527) |
| Kumsam | Kumkangkyeng samka enhay (1482) |
| Kwukup | Kwukuppong enhay (1466) |
| Kyeylim | Kyeylim yusa Kolye pangen (1103) |
| Mwongpep | Mwongsan hwason pep.e yaklok enhay (1517) |
| Nammyeng | Nammyeng cip enhay (1482) |
| Nayhwun | Nayhwun (1475) |
| Nung | Nungemkyeng enhay (1461) |
| Pak cho | Pak thongsia chokan (1517) |
| Pennwo | Penyek nwokeltay (1515[?]) |
| Pep | Pehwakyeng enhay (1463) |
| PT | Pak thongsia (1517) |
| Samkang | Samkang hayngsiltwo (1481) |
| SCH | Sekpong chencamun (1583) |
| Sekpo | Sekpo sangcel (1449) |
| SS | Samkwuk saki (1145) |
| Twusi cho | Twusi enhay chokan (1481) |
| Twusi cwung | Twusi enhay cwungkan (1632) |
| WCK | Welin chenkang ci kwok (1449) |
| Welin | Welin sekpo (1459) |
| Welin se | Welin sekpo se (1459) |
| Wenkak | Wenkakkyeng enhay (1465) |
| Wunhay | Hwungmin cengum wunhay (ca. 1750-81) |
| Yek.epo | Yek.e yuhay po (1775) |
| YH | Sincung yuhap (1576) |
| YP | Yongpi echenka (1447) |
| Yukco | Yukčo potankyeng enhay (1496[?]) |
KOREO-JAPONICA
INTRODUCTION

This book attempts to critically re-evaluate the relationship between Korean and Japonic. It is quite apparent that Korean and Japonic are very similar, often to the extent that a word-to-word translation is possible from one language to another. Such similarity is, however, purely typological and cannot be used as evidence for a common genetic origin. The theory that the two languages are genetically related was originally proposed in the eighteenth century by Fujii Teikan, a Japanese scholar. The following century saw very little scholarly activity on the matter, but the issue became a subject of scholarly works once again between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, starting with Aston’s pioneering study (1879), which was followed by Kanazawa (1910) and Ogura (1934). All these publications supported the idea that Korean and Japonic are genetically related, and it seems that the only person who held strong reservations was Hattori (1959).

Despite the fact that there are many important publications on comparative Koreo-Japonic, starting from Martin’s seminal work (1966), with Whitman’s outstanding dissertation (1985) deserving a special mention, I feel that proof of a genetic relationship between Korean and Japonic is as lacking now as it was prior to 1966. In other words, although many publications by Martin, Ramsey, Whitman, Serafim, Frellesvig, King, Unger, and the present author have attempted to solve some particular problems or proposed new and interesting etymologies, no substantial progress has been made. Koreo-Japonic as a valid genetic family fails to convince general linguists. The majority of Western linguists who are engaged in the historical study of either Japanese or Korean, or both, accept the genetic relationship between these two languages, while most historical linguists in Korea and Japan are either skeptical or ambivalent. I believe that this situation calls for a re-evaluation of all the progress that has been made in reconstructing and comparing Proto-Korean and Proto-Japonic that has led to the Koreo-Japonic hypothesis. To proceed with this re-evaluation, I first need to define some fundamental notions, such as, what a proto-language is, and what part of the Korean or Japonic heritage is going to be treated as belonging to a respective proto-language.

Defining a proto-language
Sometimes one can observe a dangerous tendency in the field to treat data from existing old languages as if they represent the respective proto-languages. This is less of an issue on the Korean side, but on the Japanese side the Western Old Japanese of the Asuka-Nara periods sometimes

---

1 See below on terminological difference between ‘Japonic’ and ‘Japanese’.
receives royal treatment, as though it stands in the same relationship to all other known varieties of Japonic as Latin to all Romance languages. In spite of the importance of Western Old Japanese to the history of Japonic, we should not forget that it represents a very old stage of just one variety of the family, namely Central Japanese, which is characterized by a certain set of innovations that did not happen elsewhere. In this study I advocate the position that a proto-language can be reconstructed only from a wide range of data, including philological data from old languages, data from modern languages and dialects, and internal reconstruction. Below I provide exact definitions of how Proto-Korean and Proto-Japonic are understood.

There are also areas traditionally neglected in the reconstruction of Proto-Korean and Proto-Japonic. In Korean historical linguistics these include almost all pre-alphabetic sources on Early Middle and Old Korean, since they only occasionally find their way into the works on reconstruction. In Japonic historical linguistics the same fate is shared by the Eastern Old Japanese and the Old Ryukyuan languages. I try as much as space allows to address these data in this study.

What can be called Proto-Korean?

There is less internal diversification in Korean than in Japonic, although the Ceycwuto dialect on Ceycwuto island and the Yukcin dialect still spoken in Northern Hamkyeng, as well as by immigrant communities in China, Russia, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan, are very different from the rest of Korean and from each other. Korean is also less fortunate than Japanese in the respect that before 1443 (that is prior to the invention of the alphabetic Hankul script) it is attested much more scantily than Japanese, and even the attested data are often partially hidden under semantographic Chinese script. Finally, even bits of data that happen to be written phonetically are often poorly understood or misinterpreted due to the application of outdated Chinese reconstructions like those of Karlgren. This situation leads to the acceptance of certain phenomena found only in Middle Korean as ‘Proto-Korean’. Such an approach is fallacious. R pitch, for example, is found in Middle Korean, but it is by no means a Proto-Korean feature. In this book I have tried to avoid equating Middle Korean with Proto-Korean. In general, a phoneme, a morpheme, or a word is considered to be Proto-Korean if it is supported by evidence present: (1) in Middle Korean, Old Korean, and/or Early Middle Korean; (2) in any one of the above and in the Ceycwuto dialect and/or in the Yukcin dialect; (3) in modern standard Korean and in both the Ceycwuto and Yukcin dialects. However, when no dialect data from Ceycwuto and/or Yukcin are available, an exclusively Middle Korean phenomenon may be tentatively treated as ‘Proto-Korean’.

Nevertheless, the tide is starting to turn, and pre-Hankul materials are slowly but steadily finding the place they deserve in the domain of Korean historical linguistics.
What can be called ‘Proto-Japonic’ and ‘Proto-Japanese’?

Japonic represents a more diverse family than Korean, although it is in a sense a portmanteau family, consisting of two languages: Japanese and Ryukyuan, with a sharp boundary between the two to the north of the Amami island group in the Ryukyuan archipelago. Following a suggestion made by Leon Serafim more than ten years ago, I will use ‘Japonic’ as the term for the whole family, while reserving ‘Japanese’ for ‘Japanese proper’, i.e., all varieties of Japonic that are non-Ryukyuan. While the division between Japanese and Ryukyuan is clear and rather self-evident, the internal taxonomy of both Japanese and Ryukyuan is much less apparent, especially in the case of Japanese.

Ryukyuan can be subdivided into Northern and Southern, with a major boundary to the south of Kumejima island, which belongs to the Okinawa island group. Within the Northern group, it is possible to speak about Amami and Okinawan subgroups, although the border between them is not clear: usually it is drawn to the north of Okinawa island (Hirayama 1966, map #1), but some of the dialects found in the north of Okinawa island share some substantial innovations with the Amami dialects, innovations not found in the center or south of Okinawa island, such as, e.g., secondary aspiration. The Southern group consists of the rather well-defined Miyako and Yaeyama dialect subgroups, but in addition there is also a separate dialect on the island of Yonaguni, and its position in South Ryukyuan, and possibly even the whole Ryukyuan taxonomy, is not clear. It must be added that all Ryukyuan dialects were and still are subject to strong Japanese influence. Historically, this influence was strongest in the Northern Ryukyus, especially in the southern part of Okinawa island in the region adjacent to Shuri. The Southern Ryukyuan islands were comparatively unaffected by Japanese influence until the end of the nineteenth century.

Japanese dialects, with the major exceptions of the Tōhoku and Southern Kyūshū dialects, as well as the dialect of the Hachijō islands, are much closer to each other than the Ryukyuan dialects. There are reasons to believe, though, that the present situation is rather recent, resulting from more than a thousand years’ influence from Central Japanese. All known literary varieties of Japanese except Eastern Old Japanese were based on some dialect belonging to the Central Japanese dialect group. Due to the existence of Eastern Old Japanese in the eighth century, we know that the eastern border of Central Japanese roughly coincided with the eastern border of the present-day Kansai region; however, during the course of history Central Japanese expanded considerably to the west and east, while the descendants of the Eastern Old Japanese dialect continuum receded to Hachijō island. It is much less clear what the western border of Central Japanese was in the eighth century, but the existence of a quite different morphological residue in the modern dialects of Western Honshū means it is probably safe to assume that this border more or less coincided with the present-day border between the Kansai and Chūgoku regions. Nowadays all Japanese dialects located in Shikoku and Honshū (except Tōhoku) can
be classified as Central Japanese. The dialects of Northern and Central Kyūshū probably were originally different from Central Japanese as well, but today they represent a kind of intermediate stage between Central Japanese and Southern Kyūshū.

In Japonic, a phoneme, a morpheme, or a word is considered to be Proto-Japonic (PJ) if it is found: (1) in Western Old Japanese and/or Eastern Old Japanese (areas A and B) and in at least one of the Southern Ryukyuan dialects that escaped Middle Japanese influence, or, because the Old Japanese corpus is somewhat limited; (2) in Middle Japanese and in at least one of the Southern Ryukyuan dialects that escaped Middle Japanese influence; and (3) in Ryukyuan and in at least one of the non-Central Japanese dialects. A word or a morpheme is considered Proto-Japanese (PJN) if it is found: (1) in Western Old Japanese and Eastern Old Japanese (areas A and B); (2) in Middle Japanese and Eastern Old Japanese (areas A and B).

Some fundamental typological differences
Although modern Korean and Japanese are remarkably similar typologically, so that it is possible in most cases to provide a word-to-word translation, it appears that the more we go into the past, the more tantalizing differences we discover, even if we limit ourselves to the history of the written language. Although typology cannot be used as evidence in establishing genetic relationships between languages, the fact that Korean and Japanese are typologically more similar now than they were in the past suggests that convergence, not divergence, was at work.

Ergativity
Korean is historically ergative (King 1988), while Japanese is historically nominative, although Western Old Japanese had a short-lived active construction that is not attested in other branches of Japonic (Vovin 1997a; see also the discussion of Western Old Japanese active marker -i in 2.1.1.1 below).

Passive
It appears that the morphological passive in Korean is quite young and that it developed from a morphological causative (Whitman 2003: 3), which is not surprising for a language that used to be ergative. Japanese, on the other hand, had the passive throughout its history, although its use has some peculiarities when compared to the Indo-European passive.

Ablaut
Even Modern Korean still has an active ablaut in its color terms and onomatopoetic words (‘heavy’ isotopes with back vocalism and ‘light’ isotopes with original non-back vocalism, in Martin’s terminology, cf. hayah- and huy- ‘be white’, phalah- and phwulu- ‘be blue’). There is an

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3 Detailed language classification and explanations are provided below.
indication that ablaut was much more productive at the earlier stage of the language, cf. MK nòlk- ‘be old (of things)’, nûlk- ‘be old (of humans)’; múl ‘water’, múlk- ‘be watery’, mòlk- ‘be clear’; pûl ‘fire’, pûlk- ‘be red’, pòlk- ‘be bright’. While some linguists claim that Old Japanese has a similar system, e.g., kótö 2.3 ‘word’ and katar- ‘to tell’, the data do not stand up to scrutiny, as in this case: these two Japanese words belong to two different accentual registers, and therefore cannot be related. There is no reconstructable ablaut for Proto-Japonic.
CHAPTER 1: PROTO-KOREAN AND PROTO-JAPONIC RECONSTRUCTION AND THEIR ROLE IN THE COMPARISON

CHAPTER 2: MORPHOLOGICAL COMPARISONS

CHAPTER 3: LEXICAL COMPARISONS
PROTO-KOREAN AND PROTO-JAPONIC RECONSTRUCTIONS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE COMPARISON OF THE TWO LANGUAGES

1.1 RECENT ADVANCES IN PROTO-KOREAN RECONSTRUCTION

Below, I will address the most important advances in the reconstruction of Proto-Korean that are of great importance to its comparison with Japonic.

1.1.1 Middle Korean aspirates are from clusters

Ramsey (1991, 1993) and Yi Kimun (1991: 18) have demonstrated that the Middle Korean aspirates \( \text{ph, th, ch, and kh} \) have a secondary origin resulting from clusters of \( \text{HC} \) or \( \text{CH} \) type, where \( H \) stands for velar \( [k] \) or pharyngeal \( [h] \). Ramsey’s and Yi Kimun’s idea is based predominantly on the analysis of gaps in the internal structure of Korean: there are no \( *\text{CH} \) or \( *\text{HC} \) (where \( C \) stands for a stop obstruent and \( H \) for a velar) clusters in Middle Korean, while other types of clusters are present. For example, clusters such as \( \text{pc, pt, and ps} \) are extant, but \( *\text{pk} \) is not. In addition, there is some purely historical evidence from pre-Hankul materials. Thus, e.g., MK \( \text{khú-} \) ‘to be big’ is a later form of EMK \( \text{huku-} \) ‘id’. (Kyeylim #348), and MK \( \text{thó-} \) ‘to ride’ developed from EMK \( \text{hoto-} \) ‘id’. (Kyeylim #99). In addition, Old Japanese loanwords from some kind of Old Korean (probably Paekche) also offer support for the Ramsey-Yi theory, e.g., OJ \( \text{pótökë} \) ‘Buddha’, cf. MK \( \text{pwùthyè} \) ‘id’. and OJ \( \text{patakë} \) ‘dry field’, cf. MK \( \text{pàth} \) ‘field’. It seems that this theory received general acceptance.

1.1.2 Proto-Korean did not have vowel harmony

Recently, Martin painstakingly demonstrated that Middle Korean vowel harmony was a recent and rather short-lived phenomenon, since it did not exist in Old Korean (2000: 1-23). An earlier suggestion about the absence of vowel harmony in Old Korean was made in Vovin (1995: 226), although without extensive argumentation. Thus, for example, synharmonic variants -e of the infinitive -a, and -te- of the retrospective -t-a- represent a post-Old Korean innovation, as only -a and -t-a- were used in Old Korean.
1.1.3 A new look at lenition in Middle Korean

Lenition in Middle Korean is a much more controversial problem. Middle Korean exhibits consonantal lenition of $p > W$, $t > l \, [r]$, $k > G$, and $s > z$. I briefly survey the environments for each type of lenition below, as well as different explanations for the phenomenon’s conditions and origins. Interested readers should consult Ramsey (1991), Martin (1996), and Vovin (2003b) for more details.

Voiced fricatives $W$ and $z$ occur only in medial position, where they contrast phonemically with voiceless $p$ and $s$ in intervocalic position:

**Chart 1:** Contrast between voiced fricatives and voiceless stops in Middle Korean verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1 verbs</th>
<th>Class 6 verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kwüpúmyén ‘if [it] is bent’</td>
<td>kwuWúmyén ‘if [he] bakes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lsúmyén ‘if [he] exists’</td>
<td>nizúmyén ‘if [he] joins’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 6 verbs show the morphophonemic alternations between $p/W$ and $s/z$; thus, $\text{kwuWúmyén} ‘\text{if [he] bakes}’$, but $\text{kwupúmyén} ‘\text{if [it] is bent}’$; $\text{nizúmyén} ‘\text{if [he] joins}’$, but $\text{nizúmyén} ‘\text{if [he] joins}’$. A very similar contrast is found in the alternation of $t/l$ for Class 6 verbs, and its lack in Class 1 verbs:

**Chart 2:**

$t/l$ alternation in Class 6 verbs as compared to Class 1 verbs in Middle Korean

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1 verbs</th>
<th>Class 6 verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwúttá ‘[he] dyes’</td>
<td>:mwuttá ‘[he] asks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwúttúmyén ‘if [he] dyes’</td>
<td>mwúlúmyén ‘if [he] asks’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The voiced fricative $G$ occurs in verbal stems only within the clusters $lG$ and $zG$, never in intervocalic position. All stems with these clusters are Class 8 verbs, which do not have the $k/G$ alternation in Middle Korean, e.g., $\text{káloWí ‘drizzling rain}’$, but $\text{kàlGómyén ‘if [he] divides}’$. I will return to this problem later.

Both voiceless $p$, $s$ and voiced $W$, $z$ are attested in intervocalic position in nouns.

**Chart 3:**

Middle Korean voiceless $p$, $s$ and voiced $W$, $z$ in intervocalic position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiceless</th>
<th>Voiced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nápwóy/nápóy ‘butterfly’</td>
<td>tųWúy ‘kind of gourd used as a jar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nipúl ‘quilt’</td>
<td>:syeWúl ‘capital’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:cyepì ‘swallow’</td>
<td>kólóWi ‘drizzling rain’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The Middle Korean pitches are rendered in the following way: ‘ — low pitch, ´ — high pitch, and : (before a syllable) — rising pitch.
Since the t/l alternation involves /l/, which also exists as a separate phoneme, it is virtually impossible to decide which intervocalic -l- in nouns may be a plain /l/, or the result of the t/l alternation, unless we have doublets, e.g., páth ~ pálól ‘sea’, where it is obvious that -l- in the second variant is a result of the t/l alternation.

Since the Middle Korean writing system did not have a special symbol for G, the question of whether both G and k occurred in intervocalic position in nouns can be answered only with the help of dialects that differentiate the cases with G and W > Ø.

The problem that occupied the minds of many Korean language historians is, in a nutshell: do the voiced W, z, G, and t/l alternation represent a secondary development in Middle Korean, or do they reflect a series of phonemes that have also been distinct in Proto-Korean? There are two basic solutions, which we will call here the ‘lenition theory’ and the ‘voiced obstruents theory’. The lenition theory is a traditional explanation, proposed in a number of classical works on Korean language history (Yu Changton 1964, Yi Kimun 1987). It enjoys a certain amount of support in Korea, and was also the choice of Ramsey (1978), who added new data. Martin’s (1996) monograph dedicated to this problem presents the best explication of the lenition theory. According to the lenition theory, voiced W, z, G, as well as l in the t/l alternation, are secondary products of the lenition of voiceless p, s, k, and t. Martin defines the environment for the lenition as ... 2° Co/u (1996: 3). The alternative voiced obstruents theory was proposed by Ramsey, who suggested that MK W, t/l, G, and z are to be reconstructed as voiced obstruents *b, *d, *g, and *z in Proto-Korean, which were phonemically distinct from PK *p, *t, *k, and *s (1991: 225-227). Let us review the weak points of these two opposing theories.

1.1.3.1 Weaknesses of the lenition theory
The major problem of the lenition theory as presented by Martin (1996) is the lack of a satisfactory explanation why stems of Class 1 verbs do not lenite, while stems of Class 6 verbs do, in the same environment, e.g., kwùpúmyén ‘if [it] is bent’, but kwùWúmyén ‘if [he] bakes’. Martin is, of course, aware of the problem, so he postulates that the stems of Class 1 verbs were originally monosyllabic (*kwùp-), while stems of Class 6 verbs

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2 Martin’s raised circle ° in front of the syllable denotes high pitch and corresponds to the acute sign ‘ over a vowel in my notation.
were originally disyllabic (*kwùpù-), resulting in a different kind of juncture (1996: 6-7). This explanation, however, is not without its own problems.

First, as Ramsey (1991: 226) pointed out, native speakers are unlikely to differentiate between different kinds of morphological boundaries in kwùpùmyén ‘if [it] is bent’ and kwùWúmyén ‘if [he] bakes’, even if we follow Martin and assume that the stems of Class 1 verbs are indeed monosyllabic, and the stems of Class 6 verbs are disyllabic. Nor are the native speakers likely to be aware of different types of junctures.

Second, the environment of... °Co/u for lenition, suggested by Martin, seems to have no universal phonological or phonetic motivation: why does lenition occur only in front of a minimal vowel?\(^3\)

Third, there are cases of Sino-Korean vocabulary items with apparent lenition occurring in other environments, e.g., molan ‘peony’ < LMC mow tan, chalyey ‘order’ < LMC tshz’ñìñìñì, kulan/kelan ‘Khitan’ < LMC khìñìñì (khìñìñì) tan. Martin mentions these in his lenition monograph (1996: 20-21), but does not explain why lenition occurs here in a different environment. To these examples I can add a Koreo-Chinese hybrid compound táylwòng ‘bamboo pipe’ (LCT 1987: 205b), where the second element -lwông comes from LMC thìw ‘pipe’.

Fourth, there are a number of contradicting examples, where lenition does not occur in the environment specified by Martin. He is, of course, aware of the problem, and provides a list of these cases (1996: 55): kàsóm ‘breast’, sàsóm ‘deer’, tàsós ‘five’, yèsís ‘six’, pèsís ‘mushroom’, isìíl ‘dew’, kisìíl ‘border’, pyèsísíl ‘government post, official rank’, kwìísííl ‘bead, treasure’, ìsólàs ‘cherry’, kwòsóy ‘coriander’, nàpóy ‘butterfly’. As a solution, Martin proposes that these words originally had a cluster, probably C[h], that would block lenition. Unfortunately, the last example seems to contradict the C[h] cluster theory: *náphóy would result in náphóy, with aspirated -ph-., and not nápóy. Furthermore, there are other examples that, I believe, contradict Martin's rule: ètíy ‘where’, ètíW- ‘to be dark’, kùtíy ‘you’ (although the accent environment in this example is different), mwòtòn ‘all’, mwòtòy ‘necessarily’, pwùtúl ‘bulrush’, pètùl ‘willow’, àtòl ‘son’, yètúlp ‘eight’, yètún ‘eighty’. One can, of course, claim that ètíy ‘where’ and kùtíy ‘you’ are compounds, but the other

\(^3\) Martin suggested to me that ‘precisely because the vowel is ‘minimal’ the phonological environment suggests a weakening of a marking in the string’ (Martin, personal communication). While the conditions for lenition are often idiosyncratic in various languages, crosslinguistically it is quite clear that the prime environment for consonantal lenition is intervocalic position V-V, with lenition in absolute initial position #VV occurring more rarely, and rarely present in the protected environment C (Lass 1984: 182). Furthermore, a very well-known case of lenition of voiceless stops in Latin to voiced fricatives in Spanish frequently involves cases when the second vowel in the environment V-V is long: Lat. habèrē ‘have’ > Sp. haber [aBer], Lat. natārē ‘swim’ > Sp. nadar [nàDar]. Long vowels are not minimal in any case, and this suggests that consonantal lenition can occur in any intervocalic position, regardless of the quality of the following vowel.
words are obviously not so.\textsuperscript{4} Besides, both \textit{ètúy} and \textit{kùtúy} are old compounds, so the question is: why does lenition affect certain Chinese loans, but not these words?

Fifth, Martin’s restriction on lenition occurring only inside morphemes seems to be contradicted by onset lenitions, discussed by Martin himself, such as gerund -\textit{kwó} \(\Rightarrow\) -\textit{Gwó} or effective -\textit{ké/á} \(\Rightarrow\) -\textit{Gé/á} (1996: 30-34). If lenition in the onset of a certain morpheme is possible, why should there be a restriction preventing lenition in the offset of another morpheme?

These five are the main problems that beset the lenition theory in its present form. Let me now turn to the weaknesses of the voiced obstruent theory.

1.1.3.2 Weaknesses of the voiced obstruent theory
When I first learned of Ramsey’s alternative theory about the origin of MK \textit{W}, \textit{t/l}, \textit{G}, and \textit{z} many years ago, it seemed to me that his reconstruction of MK \textit{W}, \textit{t/l}, \textit{G}, and \textit{z} as Proto-Korean voiced obstruents *\textit{b}, *\textit{d}, *\textit{g}, and *\textit{z} explained the facts much better than the traditional lenition theory. One important argument in favor of Ramsey's explanation is that stems containing voiced *-\textit{m/-n-} occur only in Class 6, but not in Class 1 verbs. Since *\textit{b}, *\textit{d}, *\textit{g}, and *\textit{z} share the feature of voicing with *\textit{m} and *\textit{n}, that seemed to be a powerful argument. However, I now tend to think that this argument has its problems, too.

First, there is no internal evidence that Korean ever had voiced initial obstruents, and a language that has a phonemic contrast between voiceless and voiced obstruents only in the medial position is typologically odd. To the best of my knowledge, there are no such languages attested.

Second, the voiced obstruent theory fails to explain compounds like \textit{kòlòWí} ‘drizzling rain’, consisting of MK \textit{kòlò} ‘powder, flour’ and \textit{pí} ‘rain’. The only way for the voiced obstruent theory to explain the apparent lenition of initial \textit{p-} when it becomes medial is to claim that the medial

\textsuperscript{4} Martin indicated to me (personal communication) that \textit{mwòtón} ‘all’ is the adnominal form of the transitive verb \textit{mwoir} ‘gather’ and that the nouns \textit{pwùtúl} ‘bulrush’, \textit{pètúl} ‘willow’, and \textit{àtól} ‘son’ may have incorporated plural marker -\textit{tó/úl(h)} at an earlier stage. I agree that \textit{mwoir-ón} ‘all’ can be explained with the traditional lenition theory as presented in Martin (1996). But it can also be explained with the revised lenition theory I present later. However, I disagree that any of the above nouns might have incorporated the plural marker -\textit{tó/úl(h)} at an earlier stage, as I think that the internal evidence contradicts this proposal. First, the earliest attested MK shape of the plural marker is just -\textit{tólh}, which is not affected by vowel harmony, and the earliest attestation of -\textit{tólh} is only in \textit{Sohak enhay} (1586) (LCT 1987: 252). Martin has demonstrated that Old Korean was a language without vowel harmony, and that vowel harmony developed only in Middle Korean (Martin 2000). Under this scenario we would not expect that -\textit{tólh} should follow the rules of vowel harmony in lexicalized old compounds, while it does not follow these rules when used as a bound morpheme until the end of the sixteenth century. Second, the plural marker -\textit{tólh} includes an unmistakable final -\textit{h} (Yi 1961: 233) that is definitely not present at least in \textit{pètúl} ‘willow’ and \textit{àtól} ‘son’. The absence of -\textit{h} in \textit{pwùtúl} ‘bulrush’ is more difficult to ascertain, since this word is predominantly attested as a gloss in dictionaries, and in the only attestation where it appears followed by an instrumental case marker: \textit{pwulul-llwo} (not \textit{pwululh-llwo}). This attestation is from \textit{Twungchangkyeng hempang} (1663) and is too late to be used as definite evidence.
position in compounding preserves an original voiced obstruent, while in the initial position it becomes voiceless. However, in this particular case this argument is dubious in light of both internal and external evidence: the word for ‘rain’ is transcribed in the Kyeylim yusa (#7) as piWi, and is likely borrowed from Tungusic *pigi- ‘[to] rain’ (Vovin 2000: 146-147).

Third, it is surprising that there are only five -n stems, and three out of these five belong to Class 6 (:sin- ‘to wear shoes’, :an- ‘to embrace’, and :ten- ‘to wager, to bet’), which was pointed out by Martin (1996: 5). The rarity of -n stems has to be explained, and the voiced obstruent theory cannot account for it. Unless one can find a cogent explanation for this imbalance, it seriously diminishes the force of Ramsey’s argument.

Fourth, if one follows Ramsey’s reconstruction, it turns out that preservation of the high pitch accent on the second syllable of the stem will be associated with a voiced obstruent. According to Ramsey (1991), Proto-Korean disyllables were assigned an automatic L-H pitch. However, we would expect that a voiced medial consonant would lower the pitch of the following vowel. But this apparently did not happen, and the voiced obstruent theory provides no answer for the oddity, since the feature [+voice] is present in both Proto-Korean and Middle Korean. However, if we assume that the medial consonants that became MK -W-, -L-, -Z-, and -G- were once voiceless, we have a plausible explanation if the ordering of our rules is as follows: first, the pitch was phonologized, that is, it was no longer a simple phonation, and only after that did voicing occur.

These facts, with the aforementioned Sino-Korean words that offer historical evidence for lenition, now make me suspicious of Ramsey’s voiced obstruent theory. Lenition theory, in spite of its obvious weaknesses, seems to have more explanatory force. However, I think that it can be further refined.

1.1.3.3 A revision of the lenition theory

The revision of the lenition theory that I attempt below is based on internal considerations, which are further supported by typology. I believe that all my predecessors were trying to answer the question: why does lenition occur in Class 6 stems? I arrived at my solution by asking a different question, namely: why is there no lenition in Class 1 stems?

I believe the answer to this question is rather simple: Class 1 stems originally did not have a single consonant, but a consonant cluster, which blocked lenition:

Class 1 kwùpúmyén ‘if [he] bends’ < *kwùCpú-
Class 6 kwùWiimýén ‘if [he] bakes’ < *kwùpú-

Therefore, I agree with Ramsey that the stems of both Class 1 and Class 6 verbs were disyllabic (1991: 227). The cluster in Class 1 blocked the lenition, while in Class 6, where there was no cluster, lenition occurred. The process of lenition was no longer productive when clusters in Class 1
verbs were simplified. This explanation demands that we prove the existence of these clusters, not just posit them.

### 1.1.3.3.1 Where did the *NC clusters go?

The first argument in favor of a cluster in Class 1 stems, as well as in those nouns that do not show lenition, comes from a skewed distribution of medial consonant clusters in Middle Korean. The following medial clusters are attested: -ks-, -ps-, -sk-, -lk-, -st-, -lt-, -lp-, -lm-, -lh-, as well as aspirated -ph-, -th-, -kh-, and -ch-, that go back to earlier *CH or *HC clusters (Ramsey 1977, 1991: 231). What is striking is the rarity of clusters starting with nasals -m-, -n-, or -ng-. It is believed that there are only a few words that contain -nc- or -mc- clusters, like anc-'to sit', tenci- ‘to throw’, or memchwu- ‘to stay, to stop’. The traditional explanation for these clusters is that they appear to represent a secondary -n- or -m- insertion in earlier Middle Korean forms ac- ‘to sit’, teti- ‘to throw’, and mec- ‘to stay, stop’ (Yi 1964, Ramsey 1978: 54-56). This seems to present a problem for the new version of the lenition theory, since, as noted by one reviewer, the nasal insertion and nasal deletion that I propose here work in opposite directions. However, the situation with nasal insertion may not be as straightforward as it may seem. It is true that Middle Korean presents evidence for some of the forms without nasals. It is also true that Early Middle Korean seemingly provides further evidence for *ac- ‘to sit’ without a nasal, because it is spelled without a nasal in the Kyeylim yusa (Yi 1964: 346). Yi Kimun makes a strong point that in the Ceycwuto dialect some forms of *ac- ‘to sit’ do not have a nasal in them. But he mentions that a stem anc- is also attested. He believes the nasal to be a result of influence from modern Standard Korean (1964: 347-348). Although the possibility of dialect mixing certainly cannot be excluded, Yi Kimun provides no justification for the Ceycwuto dialect’s borrowing of the stem anc- from mainland Korean. Certain paradigmatic forms of the verb given in Kim Chwunghoy et al. (1995: 156, 160) are reproduced below:

### Chart 4: Some forms of the verb anc- ‘sit’ in Modern Korean and Ceycwuto

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modern Korean</th>
<th>Southern Ceycwuto</th>
<th>Northern Ceycwuto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imperative: anc-ala</td>
<td>acila, ancila</td>
<td>acila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbial: anc-key</td>
<td>acila, ankkey, akkey</td>
<td>ankkey, akkey, acila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hortative: anc-ca</td>
<td>ancca, ancca</td>
<td>ancca, acca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative: anc-useyyo</td>
<td>acipse</td>
<td>acipse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infinitive: anc-a</td>
<td>anc-a</td>
<td>anc-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causative: anc-hi-</td>
<td>acci-</td>
<td>ancci-, acci-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The case of language diffusion proposed by Yi Kimun would involve more forms with nasals in Northern Ceycwuto than in Southern Ceycwuto, because that is how language diffusion would work. As a matter of fact, we have approximately the same amount of forms with nasals and without nasals both in Southern and in Northern Ceycwuto, and that calls for an alternative explanation. I return to this alternative explanation below, but for the time being I discount the Ceycwuto forms of the verb ‘to sit’ without nasals as supporting evidence for nasal insertion.

There are three other significant problems with ‘nasal insertion’, namely, that it is claimed to occur only in front of -c-, that the nature of the ‘inserted’ nasal cannot be predicted, and that insertion itself is completely unpredictable (Ramsey 1978: 55-56). The random nature of ‘nasal insertion’ is odd, and it is not clear why it occurs, e.g., in icey ~ incey ‘now’, but never in the verbal stem ic- ‘to forget’. I will attempt to demonstrate below that ‘nasal insertion’ is not limited to the environment V’ c-, but can also occur in other cases. Before doing so, I wish to discuss Ramsey’s chart (1978: 54-55), which was used to demonstrate the secondary nature of ‘nasal insertion’. This chart, with added data from Northern Hamkyeng based on Kim (1986) and numbers that I use for reference, is given below:

### Chart 5: Comparative chart of ‘nasal insertion’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MK</th>
<th>post-MK</th>
<th>S. Hamkyeng</th>
<th>N. Hamkyeng</th>
<th>Seoul</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) kóchó- ~kónehwó- ~kónehwó-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>kamchwú-</td>
<td>kamchwu- ~ komchi- ~ komchwu-</td>
<td>kamchwu-</td>
<td>‘to hide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) ka:chí</td>
<td>kanchi</td>
<td>kkáchi</td>
<td>kachi ~ kacchi ~ kkachi</td>
<td>kkachi</td>
<td>‘magpie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) kwóthi-</td>
<td>kwonchi</td>
<td>konchi</td>
<td>kochi ~ kothi-</td>
<td>kochi-</td>
<td>‘to repair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) nèchwúl</td>
<td>nenchwul</td>
<td>nengkhwúli</td>
<td>nengwul ~ nengkhwul ~ nechwul ~ nechwu</td>
<td>nenchwu-</td>
<td>‘vine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) tèti-</td>
<td>teci-</td>
<td>tenci-</td>
<td>tenci-</td>
<td>tenci-</td>
<td>‘to throw’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 Ramsey (1978: 54) has konchi-, but it is apparently a typographical error for kwonchi-, since post-MK *konchi- does not exist.
6 Ramsey lists nengkhwul as the Seoul form, but it seems to be a mistake. The Seoul form is nenchwu (Martin et al. 1968a: 332), and if nengkhwul is provided in a standard language dictionary it is treated as a dialect form (Martin et al. 1968a: 336).
7 Ross King informed me that in Yukcin it is tét- (King, personal communication).
Looking at the above chart one can immediately notice that the Modern Seoul data practically always agree with Northern Hamkyeng, and they agree in most cases with Southern Hamkyeng as far as the presence or absence of a nasal is concerned. This presents a double oddity for ‘nasal insertion’. First, if ‘nasal insertion’ is random, why is there a rather consistent agreement of ‘nasal insertion’ and lack of insertion between three dialects; that is, why is the picture not completely chaotic? Second, for the language diffusion explanation there is an even greater problem than was the case for Ceycwuto: Seoul and Northern Hamkyeng demonstrate better agreement with each other than either does with Southern Hamkyeng. Besides these two general problems with ‘nasal insertion’, there are also specific problems with the examples in the chart.

(1) Let me note for the sake of further discussion that ‘to hide’ in Middle Korean itself shows a variation between forms with and without a nasal, while all other dialects show a consistent form with a nasal -m-. The form kònchó- is attested from 1463, while the form kòchó- appears slightly

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8 The form machi without a nasal is attested only in Sucin, while the form mangchi with a nasal is found all over North Hamkyeng, including Sucin (Kim 1986: 199).
9 Ramsey gives the gloss ‘worth’ (1978: 55), but this is apparently a typographical error.
10 Attested only in three localities. The most frequent form is enchayngi, attested in eight localities.
earlier in 1447, and the form kòmchó- is attested only in 1573 (Nam 1997: 232, 234, 241). The Ceycwuto dialect has forms with and without the nasal -m-: komchwo-, komchwu-, and kochwo-, all of them attested throughout the island (Hyen et al. 1995: 21, 73, 76).

(2) Post-MK kanchi ‘magpie’ comes very close to being a hapax legomenon, as it is found only twice in the same text (Twusi cvung XIV: 21b and XVI: 37a). However, two of the Ceycwuto dialect forms also have the medial -n- in this word: kanchi, kkachi, kkanchi (Hyen et al. 1995: 19). It is difficult to explain Ceycwuto forms with -n- as result of language diffusion from post–Middle Korean, especially the form with the initial fortis consonant kkanchi, as it does not occur in post–Middle Korean texts.

(3) Post-MK kwonchi- ‘to repair’ is a hapax legomenon attested only in one sico poem (LCT 1987: 69, Nam 1997: 108). Ramsey’s Southern Hamkyeng data are based on only two informants, so there is the possibility of this being an individual peculiarity. The word appears only as kwocci- in Southern Ceycwuto and as kwocci-/kwochi- in Northern Ceycwuto without a nasal (Kim Chwunghoy et al. 1995: 79-80). Therefore, it cannot be used as a valid example of ‘nasal insertion’.

(4) MK nèchwúl, post-MK, Northern Hamkyeng, and Seoul nenchwul ‘vine’, with -ch- vs. -kh- in Southern Hamkyeng and at times in Northern Hamkyeng, present a problem, but the Northern Hamkyeng form nengwul with -ng- and no other consonant seems to support an original velar rather than an affricate in this word. The fortition [t > k] is known in the history of Korean, but it seems to be limited to the position in front of the vowel /i/ in four words: tisay ‘tile’ > kiwa, cis ‘feather’ > kis, timchoy ‘kimchi’, soncoy ‘rather’ > *sonci > sangki (Yu 1964: 95-96). The palatalization k > c therefore seems to be a more probable change, especially since most other dialect forms show -kh- rather than -ch- (Choy 1978: 824-825). The Ceycwuto dialect again has doublets with and without the nasal: nechwul, nenchwul (Hyen et al. 1995: 97).

(5) MK tètí- and post-MK teci- agree with Yukcin teti- in terms of the absence of a nasal, but the agreement of forms with a nasal between Seoul, other Northern Hamkyeng, and Southern Hamkyeng is again difficult to disregard. Ceycwuto dialect as usual has doublets with and without the nasal: tenci-, teci- (Hyen et al. 1995: 132).

(6) MK māchí ‘hammer’ lacks the nasal -ng-, but all dialect forms have a nasal. The word is not attested in the Ceycwuto dialect.

(7) MK nèchwúi- ‘to stop’ lacks the nasal -m-, but all dialect forms exhibit this nasal. The word is not attested in the Ceycwuto dialect.

(8) As for Middle Korean forms âncò- ~ âcò- ‘to sit’ (Ramsey 1978: 54), the second one is a ghost not attested in Middle Korean texts. Also, the first one is better presented as MK ânc-, since *âncò- is a possible Proto-Korean reconstruction, not the actual Middle Korean form. Yi Kimun cites Middle Korean forms âns-, âs-, and âz- ‘to sit’, noting that all are rare (1964: 342). The problem is not that they are just rare: each of the last two forms, âs- and âz-, has a unique attestation in Middle Korean. In addition, both âs- and âz- are attested only in preconsonantal position _C,
so even if one wants to discard the explanation of a scribal mistake, the expected simplification of a cluster is quite plausible in this position. The form àns- is attested much more frequently than the other two, but it is also confined to the preconsonantal position _C_ (Nam 1997: 1023). On the other hand, the form ànc- is amply attested in prevocalic position _V_ starting from the earliest text written in Hankul: *pulk-un say kul-ul mul-e chimsil iph-ey anc-o-n-i* ‘a red bird holding a text in its mouth _sat_ on the door of the bedroom’ (YP 7). All the dialects, except Ceycwuto, which shows the variation between anc- and ac-, have the form with a nasal. The form without a nasal is attested as EMK *acakala* (阿則家口羅) ‘sit!’ (Kyeylim #317) as noted by Yi Kimun (1964: 346), but we should not forget that the vocabulary in Kyeylim yusa was compiled by a Chinese, so the possibility of error remains. The evidence from *Cosen kwan yek.e* (1421) cited by Yi Kimun (1964: 346) is unlikely to be admissible either, because the transcription is obviously corrupt: 阿格刺/akela/. It would be a stretch of the imagination to suggest that it represents *a(n)ckela*, especially since the text was apparently not compiled by a native Korean speaker. In any case, the *Cosen kwan yek.e* data predate the earliest Hankul texts by only 26 years, and it is highly unlikely that this text can have any precedence over the combined evidence from Middle Korean and the dialects, even when taken together with the inconclusive evidence from the Ceycwuto dialect.

(9) The case of MK *yèncò- ~ yècò-* ‘to place’, cited by Ramsey (1978: 54) is quite similar to the case of ‘to sit’. MK yèc-, defined by Yi Kimun as ‘very rare’ (1964: 343), is another hapax legomenon, occurring only in Sekpo (XIII: 17). Although it does occur in prevocalic position in the infinitive form yec-e, a hapax legomenon is a hapax legomenon, and the loss of the letter {n} is quite easy to imagine. There is also another hapax legomenon, yès-, found in preconsonantal position (Nam 1997: 1089) and identical to às- ‘to sit’ discussed earlier. Other than these two unique attestations, both yènc- (in prevocalic position _V_) and yèns- (in preconsonantal position _C_) are amply attested in Middle Korean (Nam 1997: 1085). Absence of any hint from any dialect for the secondary nature of -n-, including the Ceycwuto dialect, where the word in question is not attested, allows us to put safely to rest Yi Kimun’s explanation of a secondary nasal in this word.

(10) MK *àncók ~ àcík ~ àncík* ‘still, yet’. There is a variation in Middle Korean, and a discrepancy between the modern dialects. A word is not attested in the Ceycwuto dialect.

(11) MK *èchí* ‘saddle blanket’ contrasts with both post-MK and Seoul enchi which has a nasal. No attestation is found in the Ceycwuto dialect.

(12) MK *ícèy* ‘now’ and alternating forms *icey ~ incey* in the modern dialects are indeed strong supporting evidence for the secondary nature of -n- in this word, since the etymology is quite transparent: *i* ‘this’ + cèk ‘time’ + i, diminutive suffix.

(13) Middle Korean alternating forms *cànchí- ~ cächí-* ‘to turn down/over’ and MdK *cachi-* ‘id’. are unlikely to offer strong support for
nasal insertion, because the nasal -n- presents itself in one of the Middle Korean forms. It is worth noting that the Middle Korean form without the nasal is slightly younger (attested from 1482) than the form with the nasal (attested from 1449) (Nam 1997: 1196, 1198). We can disregard the singular attestation of câchi- in Sekpo III, since there is no reliable textual transmission of this particular volume of the Sekpo sangceul.

(14) On MK ṭowózā ‘alone’ and other related forms in dialects Ramsey writes: “The c in ‘alone’ is also not original, and again, n appears only after the change z > c occurred” (Ramsey 1978: 55). The fortition z > c indeed took place in Korean; Ramsey makes a reference to Yi Kimun (1987: 38), but there are no examples of this fortition in intervocalic position. On the contrary, this fortition took place exclusively after nasal -m- or -n-, and Yi Kimun provides four examples: MK mwomzwo ‘self’ > post-MK mwoncwo, MK swnonzwo ‘personally’ > post-MK swnoncwo, pre-MK *namzin ‘man’ > MK nanzin, pre-MK *samzil ‘third day of the third month’ > MdK samcil (Yi Kimun 1987: 38-39). This fact, along with the dialect forms, which all have -n-, clearly demonstrates that -n- in this word is original and that MK ṭowózā ‘alone’ represents a unique development with loss of the nasal.

(15) On post-MK esthyengi ~ enchyengi ‘harelip’ Ramsey cites Yi Kimun deriving this noun from the Middle Korean verb êhú- ‘to split’ (?). Although such a semantic shift is possible, there are several problems with this explanation. First, post-MK esthyengi is another hapax legomenon. Without it, there is no evidence for a form without a nasal. Second, as far as I can tell, MK êhú- ‘to split’ (?) is a ghost, as it does not exist in either Middle Korean or post-Middle Korean texts. There is MK êhí- ‘to cut with a knife, to carve’, but the semantic change will be more questionable. Third, since reliable evidence for the form esthyengi does not exist, the derivation from MK êhí- will face several phonetic difficulties. Finally, I think that post-MK enchyengi ‘harelip’ is likely to be a borrowing from Mongolic, cf. WM emcügür ‘person with a short upper lip’ (Lessing 1995: 331). Even if I am mistaken as to the direction of the loan, the nasal is undeniably there, since Mongolian does not have any ‘nasal insertion’.

I believe that only one of the aforementioned cases presents uncontroversial evidence for ‘nasal insertion’, namely (12) icey ~ incey ‘now’. In addition, the case of pánchezwó ‘plantain’, where the nasal is obviously secondary (< Sino-Korean pháchyò 芭蕉) also cited by Ramsey (1978: 55), should be added, but the majority of the other cases are either controversial or offer strong evidence for the original nature of the nasal and therefore for an *Nc cluster. Among those, (5) is controversial; (2), (3), and (10) present ‘nasal insertion’, but not in the dialects where we would expect it according to the nasal insertion theory; and there is simply not enough evidence for case (11). On the other hand, I believe that nine examples, numbers (1), (4), (6), (7), (8), (9), (13), (14), and (15), present rather uncontroversial evidence for an original nasal -n- or -m-.

In addition to the list from Ramsey (1978), there are other examples of -nc- and -mc- clusters in Middle Korean with no evidence for forms
without nasals. The following list is based on Nam (1997). Numbers in parentheses refer to the pages in that dictionary: kyêncwú-/kyêncí- ‘to compare’ (79), kómcòk- ‘to budge, to stir’ (241), námcòkì ‘above, more than’ (271), nàmcòkì ‘secretly, quietly’ (282), mwùncòkí ‘first of all’ (572), mòncí- ‘to touch’ (625), sòncòy ‘rather’ (944), wùmcùkí- ‘to move’ (1131), wùmcùkí-/wùmcùkí- ‘to shrink back, to crouch’ (1131). Among these nine words, mwùncòkí ‘first of all’ is especially interesting in light of OJ maNtu ‘id’. < *mantu, which clearly points to the original nature of the nasal there, whether it is a cognate, or (more likely) a loanword from some Korean-like language like Paekche. Altogether we have eighteen examples where the clusters -nc- or -mc- appear to be original.

Besides words with -mc- or -nc- clusters, combinations of a nasal with consonants other than -c- exist as well. One significant difference from -NC- clusters is that the other -NC- clusters are not attested at the end of verbal roots. The following list is also based on Nam (1997). I have been very conservative in its selection: obvious loanwords from Chinese are excluded, as are cases where one can suspect a morphological boundary between N and C:

kèntí- ‘to save’ (62), kyèntúy- ‘to endure’ (78), kwùngkùl- ‘be empty’ (157), kùntày ‘chard’ (182), nànhwó-/nònhwó- ‘to divide’ (265, 347), nàmkùsì ‘secretly, quietly’ (282), mwòncyè ‘first of all’ (572), mòncí- ‘to touch’ (625), sòncòy ‘rather’ (944), wùmchú-/wùmchù- ‘to shrink back, to crouch’ (1131). Among these nine words, mwòncyè ‘first of all’ is especially interesting in light of OJ maNtu ‘id’. < *mantu, which clearly points to the original nature of the nasal there, whether it is a cognate, or (more likely) a loanword from some Korean-like language like Paekche. Altogether we have eighteen examples where the nasal -nc- or -mc- appear to be original.

The most frequent clusters are: -nc- (11), -nt- (8), -mk- (7), and -ngk- (7), -mc- (6), and -mp- (3). These statistics demonstrate that while clusters with

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>p-</th>
<th>t-</th>
<th>c-</th>
<th>k-</th>
<th>G-</th>
<th>h-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-m-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ng-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
nasal + -c- tend to be the most frequent (18 total), they are only marginally more frequent than clusters with nasal + -k- (16 total) and only twice as frequent as clusters with nasal + -t- (9 total). The presence of nasals before consonants other than -c- makes the nasal insertion theory highly questionable. The skewed distribution toward the palatal and velar articulations of the second consonant in the existing NC clusters suggests that we are dealing here with residue of the process of nasal deletion *NC > C. The occasional cases of real ‘nasal insertion’ as in icey ~ incey ‘now’ can be explained as hypercorrections that developed alongside the process of nasal deletion *NC > C. The hypercorrection affects only -Nc- clusters because the surviving -Nc- clusters probably were the last affected by the nasal deletion.

There is a good piece of historical evidence supporting the claim that existing NC clusters in Middle Korean are remnants of the process of nasal deletion *NC > C rather than the result of ‘nasal insertion’. This piece of evidence comes from the kwukyel script of the Koryo period. In particular, forms such as Middle Korean verbs in -toy almost always appear as -ntoy in kwukyel. There are a few other similar cases where -n- (albeit probably a modifier) was dropped, e.g., EMK ho-ken-ton > MK hoketun (Ross King, personal communication). I believe such developments demonstrate the general trend toward nasal deletion.

Finally, the alternation between -nc- and -c- forms in the Ceycwuto dialect needs to be explained in light of the theory of nasal deletion that I propose here. I believe that the best explanation for the Ceycwuto facts is that they represent a drift in the same direction as in Central Korean. On the mainland the innovation NC > C seemed to originate in the Central Korean area around Seoul. As we have seen above, other dialects seem to preserve NC clusters better than Middle Korean. However, Central Korean sits on top of a Japonic substratum, namely, it is located in the same area as the so-called Koguryo place names recorded in the Samkwuk saki (1145). Almost all dialects of insular Japonic underwent development *NC[-voice] > C[+voice], with the major exception of the Tôhoku and Kôchi dialects. It appears on the basis of the remaining ‘Koguryo’ glosses that peninsular Japonic went in the same direction, losing completely any traces of a nasal *NC[-voice] > C[+voice/-voice], e.g., ‘Koguryo’ sabu ~ sapuy (沙伏、沙非) ‘red’ < *saNpu (cf. MJ sabi < OJ *saNpì < PJ *sanpi- ‘rust’), ‘Koguryo’ osigam (烏斯含) ‘hare’ < *osaNkam (cf. WOJ usaNkì, EOJ wosaNkì ‘hare’ < PJ *wosanki). Although the issue merits further investigation, there are some indications that the Ceycwuto dialect also might have a Japonic substratum. For example, the vulgar word for ‘mouth’ in this dialect is kwulley, as opposed to Common Korean akari. The former is likely to be connected to Japonic *kutuy ~ *kutu- ‘mouth’. Also, some Ceycwuto place names seem to be of Japonic origin. For example, a place in Antekmyen in Ceycwuto called Kamsan (柿山, ‘Persimmon mountain’) has the old spelling 神山 ‘deity mountain’ (Pak 1988: 210). The first character 神 ‘deity’ does not have the reading /kam/ in Korean. The most likely explanation is that it reflects OJ kami ‘deity’, or
to be more exact, some Japonic form that is cognate to OJ kamï. The old name of Ceycwuto, Tamna (聾羅, 傢羅), is a contraction of still earlier Tanmura (聾卒羅) (Kwen 1994: 167). While Tanmura is meaningless in Korean, it has a transparent Japonic etymology: Tanmura < tani mura (谷村) ‘valley village’ or, less probably, < tami mura (民村) ‘folk village, people’s village’.

It is important to note that the clusters -lt-, -lth- also are quite rare, and there is no -lc- cluster in Middle Korean. My hypothesis on the basis of this skewed distribution is that Class 1 verbs and nouns with no lenition did not have just any kind of cluster, but mostly *NC clusters, although some could be *LT clusters where the second consonant is a dental. The *NC clusters simplified into *C after lenition had occurred, so the remaining obstruent was unaffected by lenition.

Unfortunately, there is very meager evidence from the dialects supporting the above claim. Since the time depth of Proto-Korean is probably quite shallow, *NC clusters were probably simplified for the most part at the Proto-Korean stage, leaving no trace in the language except the aforementioned skewed distribution. Below I consider some Class 1 verbs ending in a single obstruent, along with their dialect counterparts, that may offer some additional support:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>MK</th>
<th>Yengyang</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘hard, strong’</td>
<td>kwût-</td>
<td>kkol-da</td>
<td>*kwultu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘be late’</td>
<td>núc-</td>
<td>nìrəsə</td>
<td>*nulcu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to ripen’</td>
<td>nìk-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>*nilko/u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to close’</td>
<td>tàt-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>*tanto-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wide/broad’</td>
<td>nèp-</td>
<td>nəlbəsə</td>
<td>*nelpu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no similar evidence for nouns that have non-lenited obstruents. However, there are some glimpses suggesting that this might be the case for nouns as well. For example, MK ètúy ‘where’ (note that lenition does not occur here according to the condition proposed by Martin [1996]) obviously comes from ènú ‘which’ and túy ‘place’, therefore *en tuy > *entuy. MK yëtiţūp ‘eight’, which also does not show lenition, contrary to Martin’s rule, is probably a compound, consisting of yëlh ‘ten’ and *twupul ‘two’, where a cluster blocked lenition before being simplified: *yelh+twupul > *yel-twulp > yëtiţūp. The same can be said for MK yëtiţun ‘eighty’, which also historically includes yëtiţūp ‘eight’.

13 A dialect in Kyengsang Pukto province.
16 Note that the -lp- cluster in this MK word behaves in the same manner as a *-Np- cluster would, exhibiting the loss of a sonorant in the V_C position. It is quite clear that MK nèp- ‘be wide’ is more innovative than MdK nelp- ‘wide’.
1.1.3.3.2 Where did the \(-n\) stems go?

As mentioned earlier, from the standpoint of distribution it appears strange that there are eighteen stems ending with \(-m\) in Middle Korean, but only five with \(-n\), three of which, as Martin pointed out, are probably derived from nouns (1996: 5). In addition, one may ask the question: why there is not a single stem ending in \(-ng\) in the language?\(^{17}\)

I believe that some of the *-*n and *-*ng stems may hide among the stems belonging to accent Classes 3 and 4. First, all the verbs in these classes are of the monosyllabic CV- type. Second, all the verbs in these classes exhibit extremely irregular accentuation (Kim Wancin 1973: 57-61, Ramsey 1991: 232). The stems of these two classes in Middle Korean\(^{18}\) could show either H or L pitch depending on the following suffixes (Kim Wancin 1973: 57-58, Martin 1995: 143). Kim Wancin suggested that these stems were originally low-pitched, but there was a final element that he denoted as \(\lambda\), equaling it to \(l\) plus an unknown element \(X\), that caused the pitch to shift to high before certain suffixes (1973: 58). However, stems with \(-IC-\) clusters are well attested. Although some dialect evidence that I cite below points to \([l]\) or \([r]\) as a final consonant, from the point of view of a gap in distribution, it is exactly \(-n\) and \(-ng\) stems that are missing. The stems of monosyllabic verbs have L pitch before the suffixes \(-o/ul\), \(-o/uli\), \(-o/un\), \(-o/uni\), \(-o/umye\), \(-kwo\), \(-ta\), and \(-key\), but have H pitch before suffixes \(-o/usi-, -no-, -zow-, -te-, -a/e\) (Kim Wancin 1973: 58). At the present stage of our knowledge of Korean historical morphology, such distribution makes it difficult to find any segmental phonological conditioning of the pitch changes, but there may be morphophonological conditioning: all the suffixes affixed to stems that have H pitch are word non-final suffixes that cannot conclude a verbal paradigmatic form, with the exception of the infinitive suffix \(-a/-e\). On the other hand, all suffixes affixed to stems that have L pitch are word-final suffixes that can conclude a verbal paradigmatic form.

Another puzzling feature of these verbs is that they do not exhibit lenition in forms like indicative \(ka-ta\) ‘goes’ or gerund \(ka-kwo\) ‘goes and’ into \(*ka-la\) or \(*ka-Gwo\), as would be expected according to the revised hypothesis on lenition. The hypothesis maintains that simple stops lenite (without juncture) in any intervocalic position, if the stems were really of the CV- type in Proto-Korean. Since lenition does not happen, we can expect that it was blocked in much the same way as in the stems of Class 1 verbs; in other words, there probably was a final consonant in the stem which combined with the \(-ta\) or \(-kwo\) to form a consonantal cluster that blocked lenition. From the gaps in distribution, it is likely that the consonant in question was \(-n\), as final \(-m\) and \(-l\) stems are attested in Class

\(^{17}\) Martin and Whitman have pointed out that *ng might not be a phoneme in Proto-Korean (personal communication). They believe that MK ng is from earlier *nk. I agree that the Middle Korean data indeed point in this direction, but some of the dialect data discussed below might warrant a reexamination of the phonemic status of *ng in Proto-Korean.

\(^{18}\) The division between these two classes is based on modern dialect data, as in MK itself they have similar accentual behavior (Ramsey 1991: 233).
2a verbs. The apparent exception is the verb ho- ~ hoy- ‘to do’ in this class, which ends in a glide [y], a form that should not block the lenition of -kwo. The Middle Korean gerund form is, however, ho-kwo, not the expected hoy-Gwo. The absence of lenition can be attributed to the fact that lenition did not happen at verbal morpheme boundaries after the minimal vowels o and u. The same rule would explain why there is no lenition of *-ta > *-la and *-kwo > *-Gwo in Proto-Korean after the stems of Classes 1, 2b, and 6, which also end in a minimal vowel. None of the verb stems of Classes 3 and 4 ends in a minimal vowel, so we would expect lenition here, unless it was somehow blocked. This brings us back to the idea of a final consonant in the stems of these classes. A final consonant, incidentally, explains the “puzzle of MK copula i-lá” (Martin 1998: 9), the only verb that has one of its stems ending with a non-minimal vowel, after which we have to expect the lenition of i-la < i-ta.19

Let us turn our attention to some features of internal reconstruction that offer some evidence in favor of the hypothesis that the stems of these verbs once had a CVC- or CV-CV- structure. At least one of the verbs in Class 3, ho- ‘to do’, goes back to the stem hoy-, which ended in the glide [y].20 The infinitive form in -a shows exactly this stem: hoy-á ‘does and...’. The verb wo- ‘come’, which also belongs to Class 3, has an unexpected imperative form wónàlá, instead of the expected *wala. Martin treats this -na- as a suppletive form of the effective -ke/a- (1995: 146); however, it remains unclear why this suppletive -na- never occurs in the imperatives of other verbs. Furthermore, as Martin notes “the effective infinitive [-ke/a- -- A.V.] is indeed different from the regular infinitive, since the effective infinitive does not occur at the end of the clause or before most auxiliaries or before the particle two” (1995: 144). However, Martin does point out an exception to the last rule: there is the form wónâtowó ‘though one comes’ (Twusi 25: 23a) (1995: 150, note 4), again from the verb wo- ‘to come’. I suppose that wón-à-twó really incorporates the regular infinitive -a, which can be expected before the particle two. Also, as Martin noted, several forms of the verb wo- ‘to come’ have the regular -ke/a- form for the effective (1995: 146, 150 note 5). But would a verb have both suppletive and regular forms of the effective? Thus, I do not think that the imperative form wónalá ‘come’ includes the suppletive form of the effective infinitive -ke/a-, as happens in verbs ka- ‘to go’ and is- ‘to be’, which have ka-ke-la and is-ke-la respectively. I believe that here we are dealing with an alternation of the stem wo- with the stem won-, which is probably the original. I reconstruct this verb as *won- ‘to come’.

In the Ceycwuto dialect, the verb wo- ‘to come’ shows an interesting irregularity: although in recent materials there are infinitive forms wa <
*wo-a (Northern Ceycwuto) and wan (Southern Ceycwuto), since both Northern and Southern Ceycwuto share the irregular forms wora (Northern) and woran (Southern) (Kim Chwunghoy 1995: 179), there is reason to believe that the first set appeared under the influence of Standard Korean. The older research on Ceycwu morphology describes only the form wora (Yi Swungnyeng 1978: 69ff.). This form can be analyzed only as wor-a ‘come-INF’, with a final consonant in the stem. Why Ceycwu has -l rather than -n in the stem is unclear, but since the dialect has regular -l verbs like Middle Korean in Classes 1, 2, and 6, we can think of a possible contamination of an older -n stem with -l stems.

Although the verb ka- ‘to go’, which also belongs to Class 3, does not show any of the irregularities typical of wo- ‘to come’, there is a puzzling hortative form in the Ceycwuto dialect: in addition to the expected kaca and kakey ‘let us go’ we also find kolla in Southern Ceycwuto and killa in Northern Ceycwuto (Kim Chwunghoy 1995: 160). How are we to explain these forms? In both cases -la looks like an imperative marker. But why is -l- doubled? The possible sources should be *-nl- or *-ll-; therefore the underlying forms are probably *kan-la or *kal-la. However, since there are verbs with stems that end in -l in Middle Korean and in Ceycwuto, the reconstruction of another -n stem here seems likely, based on a gap in the distribution.

MK i- ‘to carry on the head’, which belongs to Class 4, has the infinitive form iŋ-ən in Southern Ceycwuto (Kim Chwunghoy 1995: 178). Thus, it appears that this verb once ended in a nasal.

MK twu- ‘to put’ (belonging to Class 3) in the Ulylyeng subdialect of Kyengsang Namto has the presumptive form tol-ci, the infinitive tól-a, and the past tól-atta (Kim Chwunghoy 1993: 348). Again, there is some evidence for a final consonant in this stem.

It must be noted that the available data on the paradigmatic forms of verbs belonging to Class 3 and Class 4, and especially the Ceycwuto data, are quite meager at present. Most of them come from the multivolume edition Hankwuk pangen calyo cip [Collection of materials on Korean dialects], which includes a volume on the divergent and, therefore, important Ceycwu dialect, but it is the least studied dialect in South Korea. No similar information is available for North Korean dialects, where we have mostly word lists, included, e.g., in Kim Pyengcey’s dialect dictionary (1980). Practically no paradigmatic forms are available. In addition, some of these Middle Korean verbs, especially those belonging to Class 4, do not have counterparts in the modern dialects. In light of these facts, I believe that the above evidence for original final consonants is promising, although not conclusive.

21 That form was given as a response to elicitation of the imperative form, which is incorrect, as noted by compilers. Clearly, this is an infinitive form, as Southern Ceycwuto has infinitives in -an/-en.
1.1.3.3 Why are there no -G stems?

The only verbal stems ending in -G in Middle Korean are those with clusters -lG-, -zG-, and -mG- (there is only one stem with the last). Martin, in my opinion, correctly reconstructs those as ending in *...lo/uk-, *...so/uk-, and *...mo/uk- in Proto-Korean (1996: 28-30). Again, from the standpoint of distribution it is strange that there are no stems in Middle Korean ending just in -G. The solution which assumes that the stems are not attested because there was no special orthographic device in Middle Korean for G is not acceptable, because traces of G alternating with k would be preserved in the modern standard language and dialects. A question that arises in connection with this strange distribution of G in stems is: why do -p- and -t- stems in Middle Korean lenite, while -k- stems do not. It is even stranger, given that there is lenition of -k- > -G- in suffixes, parallel to the /p/ and /t/ lenition in suffixes. Why are verbal stems the exception?

It seems reasonable to suggest that non-leniting -k stems have the same origin as non-leniting -p and -t stems, namely, that they go back to *Ck clusters, the majority of which are probably *Nk clusters. Some internal evidence points in this direction, for example, such near-doublets as MK tongkóy- ‘to pull’ and EMdK thwoki- ‘to pull strings’, MdK singkeW- ‘is not properly salted’ (not attested in Middle Korean, but with possible etymology: singk- ‘salty’ + ep[s]- ‘does not exist’) and MK swókwóm ‘salt’. The problem with this interpretation is identifying what has become of the genuine PK *-k stems in Middle Korean.

I think that the genuine PK *-k stems became -h stems in Middle Korean, that is, the original Proto-Korean intervocalic *-k- lenited into -h-. Below, I present some internal evidence in support of this claim.

Graphemically MK h and G are almost in complementary distribution: G occurs only after /l/, /z/, /y/, and /i/, but never in initial or final position, or before a consonant. On the other hand, MK h is attested in initial and final positions, in intervocalic position, between a vowel and a following consonant, and after /i/.


A problem that needs to be dealt with in conjunction with this interpretation is that there are both -lh and -lG stems in Middle Korean. However, -lh stems are found predominantly in Class 1, and -lG stems are all confined to Class 8; that is, the verbs with -lh and -lG stems exhibit different accentuation patterns, indicating that there probably was some segmental difference between the two. What that difference was exactly is difficult to determine at the present time. Besides internal evidence, we can use other types of evidence to substantiate the claim further.
1.1.3.3.4 Typological evidence
The distribution of medial obstruents in Middle Korean bears a striking resemblance to the situation in the Amur dialect of the Nivx language. The Nivx language is famous for its system of consonant alternations, which can be presented as follows:

Chart 8: Consonant alternations in Nivx

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p<del>v</del>b</th>
<th>t<del>r</del>d</th>
<th>č<del>z</del>j</th>
<th>k<del>γ</del>g</th>
<th>q<del>R</del>Γ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ph~f</td>
<td>th~ř</td>
<td>čh~s</td>
<td>kh~x</td>
<td>qh~χ²²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, unaspirated voiceless stops alternate with voiced fricatives and voiced stops, while aspirated voiceless stops alternate with voiceless fricatives. These alternations, of course, represent typical lenition. The latter alternation should be of no concern to us, since Middle Korean voiceless aspirates do not lenite. The conditions for alternation are as follows:

1. Initial stops alternate with fricatives after stops, vowels, or [j].
2. Initial unaspirated voiceless stops alternate with voiced stops after sonorants [l], [m], [n], [ń], and [ŋ]. Note that this alternation is allophonic, since voiced stops in Nivx are not phonemes, and never occur in initial position. This kind of distribution closely resembles Middle Korean: unaspirated voiceless stops occur in initial or final position, but in medial position we have either voiced fricatives, or phonetically voiced stops, as in Modern Korean. I follow Martin in his assumption that Middle Korean medial stops were phonetically voiced (1996: 45).
3. Initial fricatives alternate with stops after fricatives.

These conditions for alternations in Nivx can be illustrated by the following example: the allative case marker has allomorphs -toχ/-roχ/-doχ, with the following usage: liys-toχ ‘to the wolf’, čho-roχ ‘to the fish’, ytyk-roχ ‘to the father’, kany-doχ ‘to the dog’.

It has long been noted that transitive verbs in Nivx have fricative initials, while intransitives have initial stops, e.g., čo- ‘to be bent’, zo- ‘to bend (it)’, čho- ‘to melt’, soγu- ‘to melt (it)’. Jakobson demonstrated that the initial fricatives in transitive pairs originated as a result of the loss of initial object prefixes i- or e- (1971: 272-274). This led to the natural conclusion that intervocalic stops in Nivx are lenited to fricatives and that therefore fricatives are secondary. (Initial fricatives are found only in transitive verbs, exceptions are minimal [Burykin 1987: 187].)

In the Amur dialect of Nivx there is a contrast in medial position between fricatives and stops (phonetically voiced). If we exclude voiceless

fricatives lenited from voiceless aspirates from this opposition, we get exactly the same situation as in Middle Korean: a contrast between voiced fricatives and phonetically voiced stops. We already know that in Nivx, medial voiced fricatives came from voiceless stops, but where did the medial voiced stops in Nivx come from? In contrast to Korean, Nivx turned out to be more fortunate in having a more archaic Eastern Sakhalin dialect that sheds light on its origin. Consider the following chart:

**Chart 9:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Amur dialect</th>
<th>Eastern Sakhalin dialect</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘ladle’</td>
<td>qob</td>
<td>qomb</td>
<td>*komp[V]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pepper’</td>
<td>jabar</td>
<td>jambar</td>
<td>*jampatV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘baby’</td>
<td>ojdam</td>
<td>ojndam</td>
<td>*ojntam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘barrel’</td>
<td>sidux</td>
<td>sindux</td>
<td>*sintukV^24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>rad-</td>
<td>rand-</td>
<td>*e-tant-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>tug</td>
<td>tung</td>
<td>*tnjk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is apparent that the medial stops in Nivx came from *NC clusters that prevented the lenition of stops into voiced fricatives, but at the same time the nasality of the first consonant in a cluster probably contributed to the voiced phonetics of the medial stops. Thus, essentially we have in Nivx a well-attested example of the schema I suggested for Korean.

Additional typological support for the origin of Middle Korean voiced fricatives from the lenition of stops and for Middle Korean medial non-leniting obstruents’ origin from *NC clusters can be drawn from the history of Japanese and Manchu. Although there is no dental or velar lenition in Japanese, there is a well-attested labial lenition, with intervocalic *-p- leniting to voiced fricative -w- and then to -Ø- before the vowels [i], [e], [o], and [u], and an intervocalic *-np- cluster resulting in voiced -b- in the majority of modern dialects, e.g., PJ *sapa ‘marsh’ > MdJ sawa, but PJ *sanpa ‘mackerel’ > MdJ saba. There is an apparent velar lenition in Manchu, e.g., Ma. uhu- ‘to wrap’ < PT *uku-, Ma. ahūn ‘elder brother’ < PT *aka, but Ma. akā ‘not’ < PT *anaka, Ma. dosi-ka ‘entered’ < Proto-Manchu *dosin-ka (Vovin 1997b: 273-274). The postvocalic loss of *-n- in Manchu is also confirmed by other examples, e.g., Ma. nicuhe ‘pearl’, cf. Jin period Jurchen nincuhe ‘id’.^25, possibly borrowed from Old Turkic jincûg ‘pearl’.

### 1.1.3.3.5 Conclusion

The revised version of the lenition theory yields several important results:

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23 The data on Eastern Sakhalin dialect are from Kreinovich (1972).


25 Marc Miyake provided me with the Jin period Jurchen form (personal communication).
(a) it better explains cases where there is no lenition, although expected according to Martin’s (1996) ... *Có/ú rule;
(b) it demonstrates that the *NC clusters (the absence of which creates an asymmetry in the Middle Korean and Proto-Korean consonantal systems) originally underlie so-called regular verbs that have no lenition;
(c) it explains to a certain extent the irregularity of Class 3 and 4 verbs, treating them as verbs that originally ended in a consonant;
(d) it permits a certain reconciliation of the lenition and voiced obstruent theories. Although it disallows the reconstruction of voiced obstruents for Proto-Korean, it maintains that the reason for lenition was rooted in the consonantal structure of stems, and not connected to surrounding vowels and their accent. Thus, I reconstruct PK *NC clusters for Middle Korean non-leniting stops.

1.2 RECENT ADVANCES IN PROTO-JAPONIC RECONSTRUCTION

1.2.1 Six or seven, not four vowels in Proto-Japonic
One of the few areas where Martin’s seminal 1987 reconstruction of Proto-Japonic now seems to be superseded is the reconstruction of Proto-Japonic vocalism. Namely, there is now ample evidence that Proto-Japonic had two extra mid vowels *e and *o in addition to *a, *i, *ə, and *u, reconstructed by Martin (1987: 67), following the lead of Ōno Susumu (1957: 162), although in one case Martin seems to admit the reality of PJ *e, at least in the case of PJ *me ‘water’ (1987: 483). The evidence for reconstructing the Proto-Japonic mid vowels *e and *o is based on different kinds of data, both comparative and philological. The most important piece of evidence comes from comparative Ryukyuan and the reconstruction of Proto-Ryukyuan. This evidence was first brought to light by Hattori (1976, 1978-79), and further refined by Thorpe in his doctoral dissertation (1983). Both linguists noticed that in some cases the Eastern Old Japanese data also preserve primary PJ *e and *o, which were raised to *i and *u in Western Old Japanese. The failure of others to notice this important fact can be attributed to the general over-reliance on Western Old Japanese and Middle Japanese data in Japanese historical linguistics. However, both Western Old Japanese and Middle Japanese belong to Central Japanese, which is just one of many Japonic dialectal groups. The observations and reconstructions by Hattori and Thorpe concerning reflexes of PJ *e and *o in Ryukyuan and Eastern Old Japanese were further developed and refined by Serafim (1985, 1999a, 1999b), Whitman (2001), and Hino (2003). Recently Miyake (2003b) provided one more important piece of philological evidence, convincingly demonstrating that even within pre–Western Old Japanese the raising of *e and *o to *i and *u took place sometime before the Suiko period (592-628).

Since the issues crucial for the reconstruction of PJ *e and *o are discussed in the aforementioned literature in great detail, I offer only a short synopsis here. First, let us look at the evidence for PJ *e. It is
supported by a number of dialects in the Amami area in the north and the Sakishima area in the south that faithfully preserve the distinction between PJ *i and *e in postconsonantal position. Even some Central Ryukyuan dialects preserve the distinction after certain consonants, e.g., in Iejima PR *me > mi, but PR *mi > ni. Only extreme Northern Amami dialects such as Sani and Kikaijima seem to preserve the distinction in the absolute initial position. The reflexes of PJ *i and *e in Western Old Japanese, Proto-Ryukyuan, Amami, and Miyako are summarized in the chart.

**Chart 10:**
**Reflexes of PJ *i and *e**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PJ</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>PR</th>
<th>Amami</th>
<th>Miyako</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>*i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>*e</td>
<td>e, i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following chart provides some examples of words with PJ *i and *e.

**Chart 11:**
**Examples of PJ *i and *e**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PJ</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>PR</th>
<th>Amami</th>
<th>Miyako</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*pikar-</td>
<td>pîkar-</td>
<td>*pikari</td>
<td>hikayuN</td>
<td>pïkaï</td>
<td>‘glitter’ (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mentu</td>
<td>miNtu</td>
<td>*mezu</td>
<td>mizï</td>
<td>mizï</td>
<td>‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*piru</td>
<td>pîru</td>
<td>*piru</td>
<td>hiru</td>
<td>pïsuma</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*peru</td>
<td>pîru</td>
<td>*peru</td>
<td>hïru</td>
<td>piï</td>
<td>‘garlic’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*inu</td>
<td>inu</td>
<td>*inu</td>
<td>iN</td>
<td>iN</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*entu-</td>
<td>iNtu-</td>
<td>*ezu</td>
<td>ïdï, uduru</td>
<td>Nzi</td>
<td>‘wh-’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PJ *o is supported by evidence from practically all Ryukyuan dialects except those located in the extreme north of Amami island. For example, PR *u is reflected as /u/ or /i/ in Amami and Miyako and as /u/ or /i/ in Okinawa; meanwhile PR *o is reflected as /u/ or /o/ in Amami, and as /u/ in Okinawa and Miyako (Thorpe 1983: 32). The reflexes of PJ *u and *o in Western Old Japanese, Proto-Ryukyuan, Amami, Miyako, and Shuri are summarized in the chart.

**Chart 12:**
**Reflexes of PJ *u and *o**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PJ</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>PR</th>
<th>Amami</th>
<th>Miyako</th>
<th>Shuri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>*u</td>
<td>u, i</td>
<td>u, i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o</td>
<td>u, -ô</td>
<td>*o</td>
<td>u, o</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next chart provides some examples of words with PJ *u and *o.

---

26 The developments of *e and *o in Ryukyuan dialects are quite complex, exhibiting various reflexes depending on environment in most dialects. My charts present the reflexes in a simplified way. For details see Thorpe (1983).
Chart 13: Examples of PJ *u and *o

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PJ</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>PR</th>
<th>Amami</th>
<th>Miyako</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*munay</td>
<td>mune–muna-</td>
<td>*mune</td>
<td>munì</td>
<td>Nni²⁷</td>
<td>‘breast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*moko</td>
<td>mukō</td>
<td>*moko</td>
<td>muho²⁸</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘bridegroom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kuray-</td>
<td>MJ kure-²⁹</td>
<td>*kure</td>
<td>kuriyuN</td>
<td>fiìi</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tuno</td>
<td>tuno</td>
<td>*tuno</td>
<td>cïno</td>
<td>cinu</td>
<td>‘horn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tukor-</td>
<td>tukuru</td>
<td>*tukori</td>
<td>cïkururi</td>
<td>cïhuï</td>
<td>‘make’ (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*yoru</td>
<td>yôru</td>
<td>*yUrU</td>
<td>yuru</td>
<td>yuï</td>
<td>‘night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sirosi</td>
<td>sirusi</td>
<td>*sirosi</td>
<td>sirusi</td>
<td>sirusi</td>
<td>‘mark, sign’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Next is a chart showing the agreement between the Eastern Old Japanese and Proto-Ryukyuan data supporting the reconstruction of PJ *e and *o.

Chart 14: Examples of PJ *e and *o in Eastern Old Japanese and Proto-Ryukyuan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PJ</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>EOJ</th>
<th>PR</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*esu</td>
<td>isi, isu, isō</td>
<td>osi, osu</td>
<td>*esi</td>
<td>‘stone, rock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*eki</td>
<td>ikî</td>
<td>oki</td>
<td>*eki</td>
<td>‘breath’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ye-</td>
<td>yō-</td>
<td>ye-</td>
<td>*ye-</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-o</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>*-o</td>
<td>attributive ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*yoki</td>
<td>yukî</td>
<td>yoki</td>
<td>*yoki</td>
<td>‘snow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*noonsi</td>
<td>niNsi</td>
<td>noNsi</td>
<td>*noozi</td>
<td>‘rainbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mayo</td>
<td>mayô</td>
<td>mayo</td>
<td>*mayU</td>
<td>‘brow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have discovered one more piece of evidence supporting the reconstruction of PJ *e and *o, namely the old Japanese loanwords in Proto-Ainu. It is quite apparent on geographical and phonological grounds³⁰ that these words were borrowed from some old Tōhoku dialect(s), adjacent to the Ainu homeland in the northern Honshū. Here are the data comparing Proto-Japonic reconstruction with Old Japanese loanwords in Proto-Ainu:³¹

²⁷ Also Nni < Nmi < *mini.
²⁸ Also moho.
²⁹ Probably a semantic extension from OJ kure- ‘to go down, to set (of the sun)’.
³⁰ It is possible to differentiate Old Japanese loanwords in Ainu from recent loanwords on the basis of their phonology and distribution. For example, phonologically they exhibit OJ /p/, and not /b/ (e.g., PA *pone ‘bone’ < OJ pone, cf. Obihiro Ainu huton < MdJ futon ‘futon’) and they reflect pre-Western Old Japanese diphthongs, e.g., PJ *pasuy > OJ pasi, PA *pasuy ‘chopsticks’). Old loanwords also occur in all or almost all Ainu dialects, including Sakhalin dialects, so a reconstruction of the PA archetype is possible. Recent loanwords tend to occur in only one or two dialects.
Thus, the conclusion that Proto-Japonic had six, not four, vowels seems to be inescapable, since it is supported by several independent pieces of evidence: Proto-Ryukyuan, Eastern Old Japanese, pre-Suiko period pre-Old Japanese, and Tōhoku Old Japanese as reflected in Proto-Ainu. There are other proposals that suggest reconstruction of an even greater number of vowels. Hattori proposed to reconstruct a seventh Proto-Japonic vowel *ü on the basis of the vocalic correspondence WOJ ï~ö: PR *i (Hattori 1978-79: 19). However, the evidence is limited to two examples, and neither is exactly perfect. The examples are: WOJ pi̯ ~ po- ‘fire’ vs. PR *pi ‘id’. and WOJ mina ‘all’ vs. OR mina ‘id’. OR mina is attested only in the Haytong cekwukki (1501), but the main problem lies on the Japanese side: WOJ mina is likely to be an old plural form in -na of WOJ moro ‘all’ (for details see Vovin [2005a: 338-339]). The phonological history of the word for ‘fire’ may be too complex: Eastern Old Japanese has a hapax legomenon pu ‘fire’, with an irregular vowel correspondence of WOJ i̯~ö: EOJ u, so it seems too farfetched to base a reconstruction of an extra Proto-Japonic vowel on one word with obscure vocalism.

Serafim’s (1999a) proposal to reconstruct another Proto-Japonic vowel *O on the basis of the correspondence of WOJ õ to PR *o, e.g., PJ *mokO ‘bridegroom’ > WOJ mukõ, PR *moko, seems to be better explained along the lines suggested by Hayata (1998), that WOJ ô in word-final position may just reflect PJ *o.

More recently, Frellesvig and Whitman (2003) made an interesting observation that WOJ ød in combination with a following i results in two different types of contractions: (a) opo (< *ōpō) ‘big’ + isi ‘stone’ > opīşi ‘big stone’; (b) tōnā ‘pavilion’ + iri ‘entering’ > tōneri (< *tonēri) ‘retainer’, wo ‘small’ + inu ‘dog’ > wenu ‘puppy’. They reconstruct two different Proto-Japonic vowels on this basis: in the case of (a) the vowel is *i (*ipi ‘big’), but in the case of (b) the vowel is *ə (*tana, *wa) (Frellesvig and Whitman 2003: 4). They may be right, but for the time being I remain sceptical and do not adopt this reconstruction for the following reasons: first, the distribution of the newly proposed vowel *i is extremely limited; second, there is no supporting evidence for this vowel either in Ryukyuan, or in Eastern Old Japanese. Third, and most importantly, opīşi ‘big stone’ is likely to be a ghost. It appears only once in the Western Old Japanese corpus, spelled as 藤致/opīşi/ in KK 13. A variant of KK 13 is attested as NK 8, where the sequence in question is

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**Chart 15:**

**Evidence for pre-OJ *e and *o in loanwords in Proto-Ainu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PJ</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>PA</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>emo</td>
<td>MJ</td>
<td>imo</td>
<td>‘potato’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sirosi</td>
<td>sirus</td>
<td>*sirosi</td>
<td>‘mark, sign’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taro</td>
<td>MJ</td>
<td>taru</td>
<td>*ontaro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32 Note PR *sirosi ‘id’. in the preceding chart above.
33 Probably from Old Tōhoku *won-taro ‘small+barrel’.
written as 於費異之. While the overwhelming majority of modern Japanese philologists read this sequence as *opo isi ‘big stone’, there are two considerable problems. First, the character 費 occurs as a phonogram only once in Western Old Japanese and just in this sequence. Second, it is hard to imagine that it would transcribe WOJ /po/, as the LMC phonetic value of this character is /phjïj/, which should indicate *opï isi, and not *opo isi. One should not forget, therefore, the dissenting voice of Omodaka et al. who treated 於費異之 as opï isi ‘growing stone’ and not as ‘big stone’ (1967: 154). This also agrees well with Japanese mythology, where stones are considered to be able to grow like trees and other plants. Thus, the only example that Frellesvig and Whitman are able to cite in favor of their speculative *i is not reliable. Moreover, a projection of a vowel that can be reconstructed only in Western Old Japanese has a more than dubious proto-Japonic provenance, according to the definition of what can be considered ‘Proto-Japonic’ provided in my introduction. It must be mentioned that Frellesvig and Whitman try to further support their reconstruction with external evidence from Korean, but I firmly believe that any kind of external evidence cannot be used for an internal reconstruction. This is even truer in the case when a genetic relationship between languages remains hypothetical, as is the case with Korean and Japonic.

Therefore, I accept the six-vowel reconstruction of Proto-Japonic vocalism.

Chart 16:
Proto-Japonic vocalism

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{*i} \\
\text{e} \\
\text{ə} \\
\text{o} \\
\text{u} \\
\text*{a}
\end{array}
\]

1.2.2 Another look at PJ *b- and *d-

It is assumed by most linguists working on the reconstruction of Proto-Japonic today that OJ /w/ and /y/ go back to PJ *b and *d, although there are several dissenting voices as well. I review the evidence for both arguments below.

1.2.2.1 Sakishima initial b-: an innovation or an archaism?

In sharp contrast to the Northern and Central Ryukyuan dialects and an overwhelming majority of Japanese dialects that have initial w-, the Southern Ryukyuan dialects have initial b-. I have to add that two non-adjacent regions in coastal Toyama also show or used to show initial b-, although only before /a/ (see detailed discussion of the Toyama data below). There are opposing opinions regarding the interpretation of this correspondence and its subsequent Proto-Japonic reconstruction. The majority of Western linguists seem to consider the lenition *b- > w- as the likeliest explanation (Whitman 1985: 15-18, Martin 1987: 20, Serafim, personal communication). Meanwhile, a more limited group of Western
scholars (Thorpe 1983: 105, Miyake, personal communication) and the majority of Japanese scholars insist that the fortition *w- > b- took place in Southern Ryukyuan.

Arguments for the lenition are predominantly typological: lenition is easier to explain than fortition. The key argument in the opposition is structural: if the lenition really took place in the rest of Japonic, we still would find the initial *b- before /u/ in Southern Ryukyuan, but the syllable *bu is nowhere in sight (Thorpe 1983: 105). There is also other evidence suggesting that the fortition took place in Southern Ryukyuan, and not the other way around, since initial w- in Chinese loans is replaced by b- as well, cf. Miyako * boon ‘king’ (child’s name) < Chin. wang ‘id’. (Miyako online dictionary), Miyako išaban ‘teacup’ < Chin. cha-wan ‘id’. (Karimata 1999: 56). However, I agree with Whitman that the case for PJ *b- based on Southern Ryukyuan b-, and corresponding both to Northern and Central Ryukyuan w- and to w- in most Japanese dialects, is stronger than the case for PJ *d- based solely on the Yonaguni data (see below). Whitman argued that PJ *bu in Miyako is reflected as /Qv/ on the basis of Miyako Ou ra and Ue chi Qv and Miyako Nakasuzi Qvi(i) ‘to sell’, corresponding to OJ ur- ‘id’. (cf. OJ aNpara ~ Miyako Nakasuzi aQva ‘oil’) (Whitman 1985: 17). Since PJ *mb > PR *b, it seems to be a strong argument in favor of lenition, but one example cannot prove anything. Nevertheless, it is possible to find other examples besides ‘to sell’ in the Psara dialect of Miyako in which /vu/ or /v/ corresponds to initial /u/ in OJ35:

### Chart 17:

**Psara vu- ~ v- corresponding to OJ u-**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Psara</th>
<th>Old Japanese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘be buried’</td>
<td>vdzmarū</td>
<td>uNtumoru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘quail’</td>
<td>vdzdza</td>
<td>uNtura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘inside’</td>
<td>vts</td>
<td>uti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘son’</td>
<td>vuta</td>
<td>uta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘doubt’ (v.)</td>
<td>vutagoo</td>
<td>utaNkapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘move’ (v.)</td>
<td>vuQtsū</td>
<td>uturu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘back’</td>
<td>vura</td>
<td>ura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hare’ (sign of the zodiac)</td>
<td>vu</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sell’</td>
<td>Qv</td>
<td>uru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hit’ (v.)</td>
<td>vütsu</td>
<td>utu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some cases, Psara initial /u/- corresponds to OJ initial /u/-:37

---

34 Data are from Shimoji (1979: 43-44).
35 Shimoji notes that the original Miyako word for ‘song’ is aagu (1979: 43).
36 Shimoji considers this word to correspond to MdJ butu ‘to hit’ (1979: 43) but I disagree, because MdJ butu is a new word, and also because there are no other cases of Miyako vu- corresponding to MdJ bu- except Miyako vuQtsi ‘whip’, which can correspond to either MJ butu or muti ‘id’.
37 Data are from Shimoji (1979: 29-33).
It is impossible to claim that Miyako /v-/ represents a secondary development. In addition, there are cases when Miyako /vu-/ corresponds to OJ /pu-/ or /mu-/, clearly indicating that Miyako /v/ must be the result of a lenited stop.38

Thus, I think that the evidence from Psara cited above points toward Proto-Japonic initial *bu-, and I tentatively reconstruct PJ *b- rather than PJ *w-. The cases of secondary fortition in Miyako found in boo ‘king’ and ṭšaban ‘teacup’ probably represent analogical substitution, or ‘grandfathering’, in Leon Serafim’s terminology. It is necessary to note that initial /wa-/ is found in Psara, but in most cases it is clearly secondary: e.g., Psara waa ‘pig’ < PR *Uwa (Thorpe 1983: 316), Psara waabi ‘upper side’ < PR *uwabe, Psara waari- ‘be chased’ < PR *oware-, and Psara watšaku ‘mischief’, borrowed from Shuri ḕwacaku ‘id’. Cases such as Psara waki ‘reason’, waza ‘deed’, and wazuka ‘scanty’ (cf. MdJ wake, waza, and wazuka) are more difficult to explain, but they might be recent loanwords from Japanese.

The case for initial *b- rather than *w- may be further strengthened by the second piece of independent evidence that comes from Japanese, namely from two subdialects of the Toyama Hokuriku dialect found in two pockets along the coast of the Sea of Japan. In Himi-shi on the western side of Toyama Bay and around Uozu-shi on its eastern side one finds initial /ba-/ corresponding to MdJ /wa-/ (Kawamoto 1973: 63-70; Shimono 1983: 321). These two areas are surrounded by Toyama subdialects that behave exactly like Modern Japanese in that they have /wa-/ corresponding to MdJ /wa-/. Since both initial /wa-/ and /ba-/ and medial /-wa-/ and /-ba-/ merge in Himi and Uozu as /ba-/ and /-wa-/ respectively, Kawamoto

38 Data are from Shimoji (1979: 43-44).
suggests that initial /w-/ underwent a fortition to /b-/ (1973: 75). Structurally, this would be reasonable, but the geographic distribution makes parallel innovation in Himi and Uozu unlikely. From the viewpoint of linguistic geography, initial /ba-/ in Himi and Uozu looks instead like a retention. The following data from Shimao-machi in Himi-shi is from Kawamoto (1973: 64):39

**Chart 20:**
*Reflexes of /wa/ in Shimao and Tokyo*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Shimao</th>
<th>Tokyo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘trap’</td>
<td>bana</td>
<td>wana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘straw’</td>
<td>bara</td>
<td>wara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fern’</td>
<td>barabi</td>
<td>warabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘disposable chopsticks’</td>
<td>baruwası</td>
<td>waribasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘laugh’ (v.)</td>
<td>baroo</td>
<td>warau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bad’</td>
<td>barue</td>
<td>warui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘foam’</td>
<td>awa</td>
<td>awa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wrinkle’</td>
<td>siwa</td>
<td>siwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘telephone’</td>
<td>denwa</td>
<td>denwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘banana’</td>
<td>banana</td>
<td>banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rose’</td>
<td>bara</td>
<td>bara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘midwife’</td>
<td>sanba</td>
<td>sanba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bag’</td>
<td>kawan</td>
<td>kaban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mackerel’</td>
<td>sawa</td>
<td>saba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tobacco’</td>
<td>tawako</td>
<td>tabako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘buckwheat noodles’</td>
<td>sowa</td>
<td>soba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘firewood’</td>
<td>siwa</td>
<td>siba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is necessary to note that /-b-/ lenites into /-w-/ only in front of the vowel /a/, cf. Shimao barabi ‘fern’ above. Therefore, Kawamoto’s rule that /w-/ is fortified to /b-/ when there is no preceding vowel, and that /-b-/ is lenited to /-w-/ when there is one, works only when the following vowel is /a/. Both rules are bizarre from the standpoint of human phonetics: \(Vba\) should not be a better environment for lenition than \(Vbi\) or \(Vbu\); and certainly it is no less strange that \(/#wa-/ \rightarrow /#ba-/\). Of course, there is no \(b-\) in Shimao or Uozu /__e, o, i_. That makes the Toyama evidence for PJ *b- overall weaker than the South Ryukyuan evidence, but I agree with Martin that it is possible to imagine that lenition first affected *b- before high vowels, then before mid vowels, and only in the last stage before the low vowel /a/ (personal communication).

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39 I have replaced Kawamoto’s phonetic transcription with phonological transcription.
40 In 2001 I tried to elicit more data from my sister-in-law and her parents, who are from Shimao, but it looks like they rather consistently have /wa-/’. It is possible that the /-ba-/ corresponding to MdJ /wa-/’ is rapidly disappearing in Shimao, or it might be an effect of switching to Modern Japanese in front of a foreigner. I intend to do more field work with Shimao informants in the future.
Therefore, I tentatively accept the lenition scenario for PJ \*b- > w-.
Additional research must be done on the issue, because many problems,
especially Toyama b-retention, are far from being completely solved. It is
also necessary to find out whether other Miyako dialects (at least) show the
same consistent reflexes for PJ \*b-/u as Psara. If this is the case, then PJ
\*b- has a firm basis in reality.

1.2.2 Yonaguni initial d- as an innovation
The Yonaguni dialect of the Ryukyuan language, spoken on Yonaguni, the
last island in the Ryukyuan archipelago and the closest to Taiwan, has a
number of phonological peculiarities that are not attested even on the
Sakishima islands nearest to Yonaguni. These peculiarities will place the
Yonaguni dialect in its special slot in the linguistic taxonomy of Southern
Ryukyuan, possibly even granting it the status of a separate language
rather than a dialect. However, the proper place of Yonaguni in Ryukyuan
will become clear only after its complex phonological history is
understood in greater detail. This section has the limited goal of solving the
problem of initial d- in Yonaguni (YG) corresponding to y- in all other
varieties of Japonic, for example, OJ yama ~ YG dama ‘mountain’, OJ yu
~ YG du ‘hot water’, OJ yoru ~ YG duru ‘night’, etc.

There are two points of view about initial d- in Yonaguni. Some
linguists, especially those who advocate the genetic relationship of Japonic
with Korean and/or ‘Altaic’, consider it to be an archaism, and support the
idea that proto-Japonic had \*d- rather than \*y- (Martin 1987: 20; Starostin
1991: 64, 135; Unger 1993: 46). Indeed, a number of suggested Koreo-
Japonic and Altaic-Japonic parallels, such as OJ yak- ‘to burn’ ~ MK thó-
< *toho- ‘id.’, OJ yama ‘mountain’ ~ PT *daba- ‘cross over mountains’,
‘mountain pass’; OJ yworo ‘night’ ~ PT *dolbo ‘id.’, crucially depend on
having an initial dental stop in proto-Japonic for their survival.

Other scholars question the validity of this reconstruction, and prefer to
view d- as an innovation, \*y- > d-, that took place exclusively in Yonaguni
position for many years supported the lenition \*d- > y- in all of Japonic
except Yonaguni rather than the fortition \*y- > d- in Yonaguni. However, I
believe now that this position was mistaken, primarily motivated by my
adherence to the Altaic hypothesis and only superficial familiarity with the
Yonaguni internal data. As I am no longer a believer in ‘Altaic’, and have
a better understanding of the Yonaguni internal data, I think that the only
possible solution is to admit that Yonaguni underwent a fortition \*y- > d-.

1.2.2.1 Internal evidence
Both Thorpe and Whitman argue for the secondary nature of YG d- on the
basis of the fact that PR \*z went to /d/ in Yonaguni, e.g., PR *kezu
similar change of zy- > d- affected much more recent loans of mainland
zyooToo) ‘first-class’, dudi (MdJ zyoozu) ‘skillful’, dudu (MdJ yoozyoo)


Thus, one can come to the conclusion that initial voiced dental affricates and taps all undergo fortition in Yonaguni. Thorpe (1983: 108) also noted that in Yonaguni y > d in non-initial position after loss of an original preceding high vowel, e.g., PR *iyaya ‘cliff’ > YG daya ‘id’. (cf. Ishigaki iizaa, Taketomi iiya).


1.2.2.2.2 Initial d- in Sino-Japanese loanwords
Whitman also argued for the secondary nature of d- in Yonaguni on the basis of the loanword dasai ‘vegetables’ < Jpn. yasai ‘id’. < MC yacai ‘id’. (Mandarin Chinese yecai ‘id’.)(Whitman 1985: 19). This is potentially a very important argument because Yonaguni shows initial d- in a word that has initial y- both in Japanese and its Chinese prototype. However, it was the only case Whitman cited, and a single word could have possibly undergone a process of phonological adjustment. In addition, yasai turns out to be a new word in Yonaguni, because the old Yonaguni word for ‘vegetables’ is atakui (Takahashi 1986: 96). However, there are many other old and recent loans that underwent a consistent replacement of y- to d- in Yonaguni,41 and which also have y- in mainland Sino-Japanese and its Chinese prototype. The following list contains all loanwords that can be classified as recent borrowings of mainland Sino-Japanese or partially Sino-Japanese words based on phonetic and/or semantic criteria: dagutuci (MdJ yakudosi) ‘critical/unlucky year’, dukhunin (MdJ yakunin) ‘government official’, daguba (MdJ yakuba) ‘town hall’, dasai (MdJ yasai) ‘vegetables’, daguharai (MdJ yakubarai) ‘exorcism’, dacu (MdJ yasi) ‘coconut palm’, dakkai (MdJ yakkai) ‘trouble’, dugu (MdJ yoku) ‘desire, greed’, dudan (MdJ yudan) ‘negligence’, dudu (MdJ yoozyoo) ‘recuperation’.

Admittedly, one can still argue that in all these words initial d- was substituted for mainland Japanese y- by analogy with the same correspondence in native words, especially because initial y- seems to be practically absent from the Yonaguni phonological system. In addition to these relatively modern loanwords, we possibly also have several older borrowings of mainland Sino-Japanese vocabulary.

41 All data below are taken from Ikema (1998).
YG *dakkhan* ‘kettle’ cannot be a direct loan from MdJ *yakan*, because that would give *dagan* in Yonaguni. Therefore, the Yonaguni word was likely borrowed directly or indirectly from Middle Japanese at the time when the latter still had final consonant -k: *yak-kan.

Similarly, YG *dangasa* ‘umbrella (lit. foreign umbrella)’ cannot be a direct loan from MdJ *yoogasa*, because it would be reflected in Yonaguni as *dugasa*. The source of this word is a mystery, because it denotes an object that did not appear in Japan prior to the sixteenth century, and by that time MJ *yay* > Early Modern Japanese *yay*. It is quite clear, though, that it cannot be a very recent loanword. It is possibly a hybrid of Chinese *yang*sin ‘steel-frame umbrella’ and Japanese *yoogasa*, which would place it no later than the seventeenth century, when there was still frequent contact with China.

YG *dugunin* ‘greedy person’ cannot be a loan from mainland Japanese, because such a compound does not exist in the latter to the best of my knowledge. Nor am I aware of *yokunin* in any historical Japanese texts.

YG *dudu* ‘business’ does not look like a direct loan from mainland Japanese *yoozi* either, because we would expect *dudi* in Yonaguni.

YG *duri* ‘origin’ must be a rather old borrowing of Sino-Japanese *yurai*, because it predates the raising of e > i in Ryukyuan (*e < *ai).

It is still possible to argue that Yonaguni has adjusted initial *y-* to *d-* even in the early loanwords. Thus, the presence of initial *d-* in Sino-Japanese loans cannot be used as a decisive argument against the lenition *d-* > *y*.

### 1.2.2.2.3 Typological arguments

Martin reconstructs both initial *b-* and *d-* for Proto-Japonic on purely typological grounds, as he believes that “a more natural hypothesis would have the mainstream dialects lenite earlier stops” (1987: 20). However, while he is right that the lenition *d-* > *y* is more natural, the fortition *y-* > *d* or *y-* > *D* is not unheard of either. For example, as witnessed by Chinese loanwords in Vietnamese, Proto-Vietnamese *y-* changed into dental stop *d-* by the time the quoc ngu’ writing system based on Portuguese orthography was introduced in the sixteenth century (Mineya 1972: 97). The Bunun language of Taiwan has consistently fortified PAN *y* to *δ*, as, for example, Bunun *hadam* ‘bird’ < proto-Austronesian *‘ayam’ ‘id’.

The same process is well attested in the Turkic language family, where Proto-Turkic *y-* developed into palatalized *d*’- in the Altai language, with intermediate *ž-* and *j-* well attested in other Turkic languages, such as Kypchak and Bulghar (Serebrennikov and Gadzhieva 1986: 51-54). The ‘naturalness’ of lenition is countered by the fact that *d-* is attested only in a single dialect and nowhere else in Japonic, which is strange if Proto-Japonic indeed had *d-* (see also 1.2.2.2.4 below).

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42 Martin thinks that *d-* was “surely palatalized and possibly affricated” (1987: 20).
43 In modern Standard Hanoi Vietnamese this initial *d-* > *ž-* but the stop articulation is still preserved in dialects (Thompson 1987: 58).
1.2.2.2.4 Methodological arguments
I believe that the lenition theory suffers from three serious methodological fallacies. First, it clearly violates the ‘majority rules’ principle of comparative reconstruction: initial *d- is attested only in Yonaguni, while all other Japonic dialects have *y-. Certainly, when typology can be used to demonstrate that the proposed counterargument is typologically faulty, namely, that *y- > *d- fortition does not happen, typology will override the ‘majority rules’ principle, but as we have seen above, in the case of *y- > *d- fortition this is simply not true.

Second, the reconstruction of PJ *d- exclusively on the basis of the Yonaguni data violates another important principle of comparative reconstruction: the need for two independent pieces of evidence for a given reconstruction. In this case we definitely lack the second independent piece of evidence.

Third, the lenition theory takes Yonaguni *d- at face value, without examining the internal history of the Yonaguni dialect. When we do look at it, we discover that Yonaguni underwent several fortitions. From this point of view it is more likely that there was a systemic fortition *y- > *d- rather than a lenition *d- > *y-, which goes against the major trend of phonological development in Yonaguni.

1.2.2.2.5 Historical evidence for the fortition *y- > *d-
The most decisive argument in favor of the fortition *y- > *d- comes, not surprisingly, from philology. In 1927, the prominent Ryukyuan philologist and anthropologist Iha Fuyū published an article on the description of the Ryukyuan islands in Sengcong taywang sillok [Records (of the reign) of King Sengcong], written on the basis of an account provided by Koreans shipwrecked on Yonaguni in 1477 and subsequently returned to Korea by the Ryukyuan king Shō Toku in 1479 (Iha 1927: 54-56). This article is primarily ethnographic and describes the various customs of the Sakishima islands that the Koreans visited on their way to Shuri. A historical linguist meanwhile will be more interested in how Yonaguni is written in Korean itwu as 閏伊是麼. The last two characters clearly represent the word sima ‘island’, as the attached commentary makes clear: 其俗謂島為是麼 “in their vernacular language ‘island’ is called 閏伊” (Iha 1927: 56), and it is consistent with the phonetic usage of these two characters in Korean itwu writing. The first two characters represent the proper name of the island, which is read [yun.i] in modern Sino-Korean. This fact did not go unnoticed: Iha Fuyū comments that in the modern native name Dunan ‘Yonaguni’ the original /y/ must have changed to /d/, citing Ogura Shinpei’s authority on the matter (Iha 1927: 56), who also equated 閏伊 [yun.i] with Yonaguni (Ogura 1935: 394).

More than half a century later, Murayama Shichirō also brought up this fifteenth-century transcription *yun.i as evidence for the fortition of *y- > *d-

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44 The difference in vocalism in the second syllable represents no problem, as in the Omoro sōshi, the name of Yonaguni island is written as いにやぐに [iniyaguni] (OS XXI: 17) and いねぐに [ineguni] (OS XI: 3).
$d^-$ in the Yonaguni dialect, also maintaining that this cannot be used as evidence for reconstructing PJ *$d^-$ (1981: 74-76).

Nevertheless, Iha, Ogura, and Murayama overlooked one interesting fact that makes the refutation of the lenition theory all the more spectacular. The use of the modern Sino-Korean readings $yun$ for 閏 and $i$ for $伊$ is, of course, anachronistic. While the last character had the same Sino-Korean reading $i$ in the sixteenth century, the first character had the reading $zyun$ with initial voiced fricative [$z$] (*Hwungmwong I: 2a). Thus, Korean 閏伊 represents Yonaguni [zuni] or [zyuni], which is apparently an intermediate stage of the fortition *$y^-$ > $z^-$ > $d^-$ in Yonaguni. Therefore, Yonaguni $d^-$ is clearly an innovation, and cannot be used as evidence for reconstructing PJ *$d^-$.
MORPHOLOGICAL COMPARISONS

It goes without saying that common paradigmatic morphology represents better proof of a genetic relationship than common basic lexicon, because (a) it is much more stable than vocabulary, and (b) paradigmatic morphology is never borrowed (except in the case of language mixing). Surprisingly enough, much less has been done in the area of comparative morphology between Korean and Japonic than in the comparison of their basic lexicons. This is not to say that there have been no attempts to find common morphological elements, for example, (Martin 1968, 1990; Whitman 1985; Vovin 2001; Frellesvig and Whitman 2003). But all have failed to demonstrate the existence of paradigmatic morphology beyond listing certain isolated morphological parallels.

2.1 NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY
In this section, I will discuss case marking and pronouns.

2.1.1 Case marking
It is possible that case markers in Korean and Japonic have a different morphological status. In Korean, case markers are clearly suffixes, because they have variants depending on the preceding stem, exactly as in other ‘Altaic’ languages. However, in Japonic, at least historically they are likely to be particles, since they are invariable and show no intimate connection to a preceding stem. This circumstance alone makes it reasonable to question whether we are comparing apples and oranges. Nevertheless, I will review the known comparisons below as if this problem does not exist.

2.1.1.1 Non-nominative structures: case marker -i
Although Modern Korean is an accusative language, it is quite clear that it used to be an ergative one, as convincingly demonstrated by Ross King (1988), who showed that subjects of transitive verbs in dependent clauses in Middle Korean are consistently marked by -i, while subjects of intransitive verbs in dependent clauses are left unmarked.

While the active construction is attested in Western Old Japanese, with subjects of active verbs optionally marked also by -i (Vovin 1997), this construction has an apparently skewed distribution. The active case marker -i is attested predominantly in Senmyō [Imperial edicts], where it occurs twelve times in 62 texts, while it appears only five times in the whole Western Old Japanese part (more than 4,100 poems) of the Man’yōshū, comprising altogether 4,516 poems. There is only one attestation of -i in the whole Eastern Old Japanese corpus of 400 poems, and that occurrence
probably has a different explanation. The case marker -i is not attested in the oldest Old Japanese poems in Kojiki and Nihonshoki. This skewed distribution, with usage predominantly in imperial edicts, where the Korean language influence must have been the greatest, suggests that -i was borrowed from Korean, and that the active construction in Old Japanese was short-lived. It was probably created as an imitation of Korean patterns. Needless to say, -i is not attested in Ryukyuan. Examples of -i in Western Old Japanese:

INA TÖ IP-EY-NTÖ KATAr-e KATAr-e tō NÖR-AS-E kōsō Sipi-i pa MAWOS-E SIPĪ-N-KATAR-I tō NÖR-U

no DV say-EV-CONC speak-IMP speak-IMP DV call-HON-EV PT Sipi-ACT TOP say(HUM)-EV forced-DV(ATTR)-say-NML DV say-FIN

Though [I] say no, [you] command [me]: 'Speak, speak!' [but] the things that Sipi says, [you] call a forced speech (MYS III: 237)

TAMA-NÖ WÖ-nö TAYE-NSI-i IMÖ-tō MUSUNP-Î-TE-si pearl-GEN cord-GEN tear-NEG/TENT-ACT beloved-COM tie-INF-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR

The indissolubility of the pearly cord that tied [me] with [my] beloved (MYS III: 481)

KI-nö Sekî MORI-i TÖNTÔMË-TE-M-U kamo Ki-GEN barrier guard-ACT stop(INF)-PERF-TENT-FIN PART

Will the barrier guard at Ki stop [me]? (MYS IV: 545)

UNAPI-WOTÖKÖ-i AMÈ APUNK-Î-TE...

The man from Unapi looked up at the sky and... (MYS IX: 1809)


[My] beloved, who is at home, will worry [about me] (MYS XII: 3161)

PUNTIPARA-NÖ ASÔMÎ MARÔ-RA-i PUMÎ-WO OP-ÈR-U KAMÈ-WO PÎTU-TU TATEMATUR-AKU TÖ MAWOS-i-TAMAp-u n-i...

They said that the retainer Fujiwara Maro and others had offered a tortoise bearing writing [on its back]... (SM 6)
Kyaupuku reported that gold had been found in the province, in the district of WoNta (SM 12)

Naramaro Komaro-PL-ACT opposite DV-INF exist-ATTR companion-kind-ACC instigate-INF bring-INF-come-INF-SUB...
Naramaro, Komaro and others instigated the rebels and brought them... (SM 19)

Nakamaro having a deceitful heart, raised an army and... (SM 28)

[Buddha] said that the king of a country, when [he] is on the throne, should accept the Bodhisattva precepts (SM 28)

Nakamaro served as a loyal retainer (SM 34)

Wake reported [to us about Nakamaro’s plot] (SM 34)

an accusative marker i in Old Japanese (Vovin 2005: 112). Besides, why should a subject in indirect discourse in Senmyō be marked by an accusative marker, while left unmarked elsewhere? A comparison of examples in SM 6-28, with some previous examples from the Man'yōshū which I did not exclude on other grounds, as well as examples in SM 34-62 below, demonstrates that i marks the subject whether it is a subject in indirect discourse or not.
Dōkyō-\textit{ACT} grant-INF-SUB he-PL-GEN go astray-PROG-ATTR heart-ACC/EMPH teach(INF)-guide-INF-SUB...
Dōkyō will deign to teach and guide their hearts that went astray... (SM 35)

PUTA-RI N-Ō \textit{NSENSI-TATTI-i} ONANSI KÔKÔRÔ-wo MOT-I-te...
two-CL DV-ATTR \textit{meditation teacher-PL-ACT} same heart-ACC have-INF-SUB...
two meditation teachers have the same heart... (SM 41)

\textit{WA-NKA UTUKUSINPI-i AMÈ TUTI-nô MÎ-KÔKÔRÔ-wo}
\textit{UNKWOKAS-1-matur-uNpê-kî KÔTÔ pa NA-SI}
\textit{we-POSS virtue-\textit{ACT} heaven earth-GEN PREF-heart-ACC move-INF-HUM-DEB-ATTR thing TOP no-FIN}
\textit{our virtues} are not the ones that would move the hearts of heaven and earth
(SM 42)

\textit{POUKUN-i MONÔ MAWOS-Er-i}
\textit{Hôkun-\textit{ACT} thing say(HUM)-PROG-FIN}
Hôkun was saying things (SM 44)

\textit{KÎ-NÔ KÔSAMÎ N-Ô ASÔMÎ-RA-i...IKUSA YANPUR-I KATE-WO}
\textit{TUPÎYAS-1-te KAPÊR-I-MAWI-K-Î-T-U}
\textit{Ki-GEN Kosami DV-ATTR retainer-PL-ACT...army destroy-INF food supply-ACC exhaust-INF-SUB return(INF)-come(HUM)(INF)-come-INF- PERF-FIN}
\textit{retainer Ki no Kosami and others} came back losing the army and exhausting their food supplies (SM 62)

As I mentioned above, there is only one example of \textit{-i} in Eastern Old Japanese:

\textit{papa-i mor-e-Ntômo...}
\textit{mother-\textit{ACT} guard-EV-CONC}
Though [my] \textit{mother guards [me]}... (MYS XIV: 3393)

This is a poem from Simotupusa province, belonging to region A of Eastern Old Japanese, which was the least influenced by the Western Old Japanese literary language. However, this is the only example found in Eastern Old Japanese, and it can be reanalyzed as containing not the active case marker \textit{-i}, but the \textit{i-} prefix on the following verb that indicates the directive-locative focus, thus:

\textit{papa i-mor-e-Ntômo...}
\textit{mother LF-guard-EV-CONC}
Though [my] mother guards [me] here... (MYS XIV: 3393)
Therefore, the active case marker -i is limited to Western Old Japanese. As mentioned above, there are only five cases of its occurrence in the Man’yōshū. One of these (from MYS III: 481) is doubtful, as it may have an alternative explanation. The remaining twelve cases are all confined to the Senmyō [Imperial edicts]. If the active marker -i was indeed an archaism, surviving only in Western Old Japanese and going back to the remote times of ‘Proto-Koreo-Japonic’, it is strange that it should be completely absent from the archaic songs of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki, as well as from the songs in the Jōgu Tëisetsu. After the Nara period, -i is occasionally used in the language of early Heian commentaries, but it never appears in literary texts. After mid-Heian times it essentially disappears altogether. Thus, we can clearly see that -i is an innovation limited to Central Japanese; but even there it was short-lived. Such a restricted usage within Japonic can have only one explanation: it is a loan from a variety of Old Korean.

2.1.1.2 Genitive case markers
There are different genitive markers in Korean and Japonic.

2.1.1.2.1 Middle Korean -s, Western Old Japanese -tu
In the important article “Morphological clues to the relationship of Japanese and Korean”, Martin argues that the Middle Korean genitive –s, also found in Old Korean as –cï, and the Old Japanese ‘locative genitive’

There is a nominative case marker -i attested in the dialect of the southern part of Ōita Prefecture in Kyushu. However, its function is clearly nominative, and not active or ergative. The following examples are from Matsuda 1991:

kaziya-i sit-ty-or-u
blacksmith-NOM know-SUB-exist-ATTR
The blacksmith knows [it].

ame-i fur-u
rain-NOM fall-ATTR
It rains (lit. rain falls).

kuruma-i oo-i
car-NOM is many-ATTR
There are many cars.

Even if this -i in Ōita is related to WOJ -i, its usage is still limited to Japanese. Martin also makes the important observation that the traditional label ‘locative genitive’ is misleading, since OJ -tu is found not only in examples like nipu-tu tori ‘chicken (lit.: bird of the yard)’, but also in asa tu ki ‘chives (lit.: mild-GEN onion)’ (1990: 488), which of course has nothing to do with a ‘locative’ whatsoever. However, I doubt that the tu in asa tu ki is a genitive case marker. In addition to asa tu ki ‘chives’ (not attested in Old Japanese), we also have WOJ töwo tu pîtô ‘people from far [away]’ (MYS V: 857, 871), taka tu sima ‘high island’ (Norito), sikô tu okîna ‘stupid old man’ (MYS XVII: 4011), etc. It is easy to see that tu in these cases is not a genitive case marker: it apparently has the function of a copula, since ‘mild onion’ is not ‘onion of mild’, but ‘onion that is mild’; ‘high island’ is not an ‘island of high’, but ‘island that is high’; ‘stupid man’ is not ‘man of stupid’, but...
-tu are likely cognates (Martin 1990: 488). There is, however, a problem that makes me doubtful about the proposed relationship: the correspondence of OJ -s- to MK -t- is very problematic, because it is supported by very few reliable etymologies. Martin lists this correspondence as correspondence #14a and provides eight Koreo-Japonic lexical comparisons that support it: ‘thing’, ‘bundle’, ‘dew’, ‘break’, ‘hatchet’, ‘husband’, ‘mouth’, and ‘one’ (1966: 212). Martin himself placed a question mark after the last one, so I will not discuss it. Among the remaining seven, only ‘thing’ (OJ kōtō 2.3 ~ MK kes L) belongs to the list of the most reliable etymologies (Martin’s Class I); ‘bundle’ and ‘dew’ are assigned less reliable status (Class II); and the remaining etymologies are placed in the least reliable Class III. I will accept ‘thing’ as valid for the time being, although it is necessary to mention that MK kes in this equation has a potential rival: MK kwot H ‘thing’, which exhibits a much more straightforward correspondence of t : t with OJ kōtō. The other etymologies are discussed below.6


‘Dew’: Martin compares MK ìsúl ‘dew’ with MdJ tuyu 8 2.5 ‘id’. (1966: 230, #63). We cannot internally justify the loss of initial i- in Japonic, nor its accretion in Middle Korean. Therefore, this etymology is best abandoned on phonetic grounds.

‘Break’: Martin compares MK pòsó- ~ pòzó- ‘break, smash’ with MdJ but- ‘hit’ (1966: 227, #24). The latter is a new word, not attested in Old Japanese or Middle Japanese, and possibly of an expressive nature. The etymology is best abandoned on these grounds as well as because of its vague semantics.

6 I add Middle Korean to Martin’s Modern Korean data and Old or Middle Japanese to Martin’s Modern Japanese data whenever applicable.
7 There is one obstacle to accepting this etymology as evidence for a genetic relationship. Even if we assume that MK mwus- L ‘tie into bundles’ < PK *mwusu- LH, we cannot easily explain the remaining -Np- in the PJ *musuNp-: it is likely to represent an obsolete suffix, but what was its function? Thus, it remains a possible comparison, but it is not absolutely proven.
8 Cf. OJ tuyu, which is likely to go back to PJ *tuyo on the basis of the Ryukyuan data. In particular, the spelling tuyu is statistically more frequent than tuyo in the Ómoro sōshi (Hokama 1995: 137, 434).
‘Hatchet’: Martin compares MK nàs ‘sickle’ with MdJ nata 2.1 ‘hatchet, machete’ (1966: 233, #100). I am not aware of any attestations of this word in Japanese prior to Early Modern Japanese, but it may be a pure coincidence, since neither Old nor Middle Japanese texts deal with agriculture. I accept it as a valid etymology supporting the correspondence s : t, but it is necessary to note that this word may only be a loan, since it refers to a certain object with a metal blade that did not exist during the Lower Neolithic. Also, the Koreo-Japonic proto-language could not possibly be less than 6,000 to 4,000 years old, when metallurgy did not yet exist in East Asia.

‘Husband’ (or ‘man’, ‘male’): Martin compares MK ':pes, ':pet ‘companion’ and *‘husband’ (in kasi-lesi ‘wife and husband’) with OJ wotö-kö ‘man’ (1966: 234, #114). The main problem here is that OJ wotö-does not mean ‘man’, but *’young’, cf. wotö-mé ‘maid’ (lit. young woman). Thus, this etymology must be abandoned due to the semantics of the Japanese form.

‘Mouth’: Martin compares MK :kwut, kwùs ‘hollow, cavity’ with OJ kuti ‘opening, mouth’ (1966: 237, #150). OJ kuti < *PJ kutuy as witnessed to by the compound kutu-wa ‘bridle’ (lit. mouth-ring). Phonetically it is a plausible match, but the semantics are questionable. However, I accept this etymology as marginally acceptable.

Thus, the correspondence of MK -s- to OJ -t- can be traced on the basis of the following etymologies: genitive marker, ‘thing’, ‘hatchet’, and ‘mouth’. We should provisionally accept it as it satisfies Meillet’s rule that a given correspondence must be supported by at least three etymologies.

Let us look now at the distribution of -tu. There are plenty of examples in Western Old Japanese. In Eastern Old Japanese, there are six examples of -tu in the Aduma-uta (MYS XIV) (Mizushima 1984: 899), but -tu is conspicuously absent from the Sakimori-uta (MYS XX). Let us look at these examples in their entirety:


Let us stop the boat at the sand bank in the offing from the upper harbor on the sea ‘that pulls like summer hemp’ (makura-kotoba). The night has deepened! (MYS XIV: 3348)

This poem is from Kamitupusa Province, which belongs to Eastern Old Japanese Area A. However, the poem does not have any typical Eastern Old Japanese features, and what is even more interesting is that it faithfully preserves Western Old Japanese vocalism without a single misspelling, typical for normal Eastern Old Japanese texts. Thus, I am inclined to disregard this poem as evidence for EOJ -tu.
I wish [that my] lord live until the peak of Wona, which is the peak on the opposite side, where the flowers fall, turns into a sandbank. (MYS XIV: 3448)

The place of origin of this poem is not known, but again it looks like a normal Western Old Japanese text, with no peculiarities typical of Eastern Old Japanese. I do not think this poem constitutes evidence for EOJ -tu.

If [you] miss [me], please come, my beloved! Plucking the ends of branches of the willows at the fence and letting them wither, I will wait for you. (MYS XIV: 3455)

The place of origin of this poem is not known either, and again it looks like a normal Western Old Japanese text, with no peculiarities typical of Eastern Old Japanese. I do not think this poem constitutes evidence for EOJ -tu.

Whether [you come] quickly or slowly, [I] will wait for you. It is no different from the meeting of small branches of chinquapin trees on the peak on the opposite side. (MYS XIV: 3493)

The place of origin of this poem is not known either, but it has one feature typical for Eastern Old Japanese, since matamê ‘will surely wait’ is misspelled as matamê. In addition, the word yaNte ‘branch’, although it is a hapax legomenon, clearly represents a dialectal form of WOJ yeNta ‘branch’. I think this poem offers some weak evidence for EOJ -tu.

Whether [you come] quickly or slowly, [I] will wait for you. It is no different from the meeting of small branches of chinquapin trees on the peak on the opposite side.
Whether [you come] quickly or slowly, [I] will wait for [my] lord, even if the time passes [between] the branches of chinquapin trees at the peak on the opposite side (MYS XIV: 3493a)

This is a variant of the preceding poem, but it does not have any typical Eastern Old Japanese features. I do not think this poem constitutes evidence for EOJ -tu.

mawo-N-kōmo-nō pu-nō ma tika-ku-te ap-an-ap-ē-Npa oki-tu ma-kamo-nō naNkēk-i sō a-Nka s-uru
nettle-GEN-mat-GEN mesh-GEN space close-INF-SUB meet-NEG-ITER-EV-CON offing-GEN/LOC INT-duck-COMP cry-NML PT I-POSS do-ATTR
Because [we] do not meet being as close [to each other] as spaces between meshes of a nettle mat, I cry like a real duck in the offing (MYS XIV: 3524)

This poem is clearly Eastern Old Japanese, because it includes a typical Eastern Old Japanese sequence -anap- consisting of a negative marker -an-, followed by iterative -ap- (Western Old Japanese has the opposite ordering of these two morphemes). I believe this poem provides strong evidence in favor of EOJ -tu.

Thus, of the six examples in the Azuma-uta (MYS XIV), only two poems seem to be written in Eastern Old Japanese. The other four appear to be normal Western Old Japanese texts. In addition, the occurrence of EOJ -tu seems to be limited to just two contexts: oki-tu N ‘N of the offing’ and muka-tu wo ‘peak on the opposite side’. Both contexts appear frequently in Western Old Japanese poetry, and it is quite possible that they were just imitated by Eastern poets. It is possible that -tu was ‘introduced’ to Eastern Old Japanese texts by Opotomo-no Yakamoti, who collected and edited the texts. In any case, EOJ -tu looks like a loan from Western Old Japanese to me; I do not consider it evidence for reconstructing PJN *-tu.

After the Nara period, -tu becomes fossilized, remaining only in set expressions, like wata-t[u] umi ‘sea’. Thus, one can clearly see that even WOJ -tu was probably short-lived, although it appears in the oldest extant texts of the Kojiki in contrast to active case marker -i.

There are no traces of -tu in Ryukyuan, and that brings us to the logical conclusion that -tu must be a loan from Korean as well. However, we are presented with a problem: why was Korean -s borrowed as WOJ -tu and not, let us say, WOJ *-su? The answer, I believe, lies in Old Korean. The genitive marker in Old Korean corresponding to the later MK -s is written with the character 帰. This character has the EMC reading *te2it, which indicates that the Old Korean predecessor of MK -s had an affricate articulation. I believe that this Old Korean marker can be tentatively reconstructed as *ci. Western Old Japanese, which had no affricates, borrowed OK *-ci or its possible dialectal (Paekche?) variant *-ci as *-tu.
2.1.1.2 Middle Korean -oy ~ -uy, Japonic -nö
Although Ramstedt speculated that MK *-oy ~ -uy < PK *-o-ňi ~ *-u-ňi, a position that is impossible to justify on the basis of the Korean data, it is apparent that these genitive markers are not related. What is important is that Japonic -nö, in sharp contrast to WOJ -tu, has wide temporal and geographic distribution: it is found consistently in almost all Japonic dialects (with the exception of the few that replaced it with -ga), including Western Old Japanese, Eastern Old Japanese, and Ryukyuan. It is also attested throughout the whole written history of Japonic, from the seventh century in Japanese and the sixteenth century in Ryukyuan to the present. Middle Korean -oy ~ -uy, as well as its reflexes, enjoy a similar status in all modern Korean dialects. The same marker is attested in Old Korean as -(h)i (矣). Therefore, both markers can be safely reconstructed for their respective proto-languages; on the proto-language level they turn out to be different.

Even taking into consideration the age of ‘Koreo-Japonic’, with estimates varying between 4,000 and 6,000 years, and the fact that both languages are agglutinative, it remains unclear why the majority of Uralic languages, which are no less agglutinative, with a Uralic proto-language estimated to be much older than ‘Koreo-Japonic’, managed nevertheless to have quite regular reflexes of their common genitive case marker *-n. The same applies to the accusative case marker that I discuss below: most Uralic languages have regular reflexes of Proto-Uralic accusative *-m.

2.1.1.3 Accusative markers: Middle Korean -lol ~ -lul ~ -ol ~ -ul ~ -l, Old Japanese -wo
The basic form of the bewildering variety of accusative allomorphs found in Late Middle Korean (-ol ~ -ul after consonantal stems and -lol ~ -lul ~ -l after vowel stems) is probably just the -l that is found in the accusative forms of the first and the second person singular personal pronouns: na-l ‘me’ and ne-l ‘thee’ (Yi Swungnyeng 1961: 220-221), later with the more frequent nè-lul (Martin 1992: 850). This -l also agrees well with the Early Middle Korean accusative 乙, which probably just renders [r]. I suspect that this accusative originated as the grammaticalization of the Middle Korean demonstrative pronoun tyé ‘that’, with a subsequent lenition of -t > -r, similar to the case of the Hungarian accusative -t, which is also believed to be a result of grammaticalization of Uralic *to ‘that’. The Old Korean accusative 朱·[r], first noticed by Miller (1977: 160), is probably only partially related to MK and EMK -r, as it consists of two morphemes: -yё and -r. Since OK -γ can reflect both PK *-k- and *-p-10, I tried to

9 We have to reconstruct the Old Korean and Early Middle Korean forms with -t and -r, respectively, as their orthography is based on two different varieties of Middle Chinese: Old Korean orthography is based on Early Middle Chinese, which still had final -t in the syllables of entering tone, and Early Middle Korean orthography is based on Late Middle Chinese (Chang’ an dialect), where -t > -r.
10 Proto-Korean intervocalic *-k- is reflected as -G- in both Early Middle Korean and Middle Korean, while Proto-Korean intervocalic *-p- is reflected as EMK -p- [b-] or -Ø- (rarely) and MK -W-[b-] or -Ø-. See Vovin (1995) for details.
connect this OK accusative with an OJ -wo on the assumption that OJ -w- < PJ *-b- (Vovin 1995: 233). However, in spite of the possibility that OJ initial w- < PJ *b- (see 1.2.2.1 above), we have no similar evidence for OJ medial -w-, which should be reconstructed as PJ *-w-. It remains unclear whether we can reconstruct OJ -w- as *-b-, in spite of the fact that PJ *b- and *-w- are in complimentary distribution, simply because none of the Japonic languages offers us any evidence for *-b-. Therefore, this equation must now be abandoned. Since Proto-Korean intervocalic *-k- is regularly reflected in Early Middle Korean and Middle Korean as -G-, but Proto-Korean intervocalic *-p- has less stable reflexes as EMK -p- or -Ø- and MK -W- or -Ø-, I suppose that Proto-Korean accusative should be reconstructed as *-pï-tV, where *-tV represents an original demonstrative pronoun (> MK tyé ‘that’), and *-pï is an original accusative marker. The reconstructed form of the Proto-Korean accusative marker *-pï rules out Miller’s comparisons of this marker with Proto-Turkic and Proto-Mongolic accusative -*γ (Miller 1977: 166), as well as my own comparison with OJ accusative -wo (Vovin 1995: 233).

The accusative marker in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese is clearly -wo. Nohara indicates that there are two accusative case markers in the Omoro sōshi: -yu (spelled -yo) and -fu, also appearing in the Ryūka (Nohara 1986: 28-29). The first of these markers is also attested in Miyako, for example, Shimoji -yu, Psara -yu (Nohara 1998: 331, 401). The expected development of PJ *-w-/__o in Miyako is -Ø-, cf. OJ töwo ‘10’ ~ Psara tuu ‘id’. (Hirayama 1966: 298), and OJ awo ‘blue, green’ ~ Psara oo ‘id’. (Hirayama 1966: 433). However, in one word we find the unexpected reflex -z-: OJ iwo ‘fish’ ~ Psara izu ‘id’. (Hirayama 1966: 362). This -z- could only be the result of a fortition of -γ-, found in this word in other Ryukyuan dialects: Nase ʔyu, Lejima ʔyu, Hateruma ʔyu ‘fish’ (Hirayama 1966: 362), Shuri ʔyu ‘fish’ (RGJ 1976: 253). Therefore, Miyako accusative -yu can be tentatively accepted alongside OR -yo as a cognate of OJ -wo. Examples from Old and Classical Ryukyuan:

omoro-yo miyas-i serumu-yo miyas-i sacred song-ACC present(HUM)-IMP prayer-ACC present(HUM)-IMP Present the sacred song, present the prayer (OS VIII: 411)

TARU-yo URAm-e to-te NAkuy-ug HAMA-CIDURI who-ACC resent-INF DV-GER cry-ATTR PT shore-plover Shore plovers, whom are you resenting and crying? (Ryūka, cited in RGJ 1976: 284)

Despite the fact that we can reconstruct PJ *-wo as an accusative marker, we still cannot compare it with the tentative PK *-pï, because if PJ *-wo was from *-bo, we would expect the reflex *-bu or *-vu in Miyako, not -yu.
2.1.1.4 Dative-locative markers
It is significant that much more reliable parallels between Old Japanese and Korean are found only among locative markers. Locative case markers are more susceptible to borrowing than are nominative, genitive, and accusative markers.

2.1.1.4.1 Old Korean -ra[ng], Old Japanese -ra
Old Korean has a locative marker -ra or -rang,11 which appears in the Hyangka texts four times. There is no equivalent in Middle Korean or any other later variety of Korean. Old Korean examples:

MWORGAY-i phall-on NAli-rang KIRANG-uy CU-i isi-swo-ra sand-NOM blue-REAL/ATTR river-LOC [Hwa]rang Ki[pha]-GEN image-NOM exist-EMPH-FIN
In the river, where the sand is dark (lit.: blue, dark part of the spectrum) the image of [Hwa]rang Ki[pha] is [right there]12 (Hyangka IV: 4)

TWONGKYENG POLK-kuy TOLAL-rang PAM TUR-i NWOL-NI-ta-pika eastern-capital bright-ATTR moon-LOC night enter-ADV play-go-IND-FIN-TRANSF
In [the light of] the bright moon in the Eastern Capital [I] was playing around at night, and... (Hyangka V: 1)


TWUGwu ma-n N4-ra HOton-sa-un CWU-Si-kwo ki-no-wo-s-to-ra two lack-ATTR/IRR I-DAT one-?-TOP give-HON-GER ?-PRES-MOD-?-IMP
Please support [me] by giving just one [eye] to me, who does not have two (Hyangka VII: 7)

The dative-locative case marker -ra is poorly attested in Old Japanese, and does not occur in any later variety of Japonic. Most of the Japanese sources provide only one example with this case marker: MYS XV: 3689 (cited below). I believe, however, that it also is preserved in some other occurrences. Most of the examples come from the Senmyō, where the marker appears in the construction opo-myi-kōtō-ra ma tō (great-HON-deity-DAT according DV) ‘according to the Great Deity (i.e., the emperor)’, which is frequently believed to be a petrified formation -rama

11 For a detailed discussion, see Vovin (2000: 150-153).
12 The image of Hwarang Kipha is represented by the reflection of the moon in the water.
of unknown origin. However, Yamada Yoshio has convincingly demonstrated, through his detailed analysis of the Senmyō examples, that this formation is bi-morphemic, including euphonic -ra and ma ‘according to’ (1954: 371-381). I disagree with his point of view that -ra is just a euphonic device; since Yamada himself pointed out that imperial edicts were read by imperial messengers, rather than by the emperors themselves, it seems plausible to identify -ra as a dative-locative case marker in the phrase opo-myī-kōtō-ra ma tō (great-HON-deity-DAT according DV) ‘according to the Great Deity (i.e., the emperor)’. This identification is further confirmed, contrary to Yamada’s opinion (1954: 375), by the fact that the same -ra is found in the Nihonshoki and the Man'yōshū as an apparent locative case marker.

yamatō pa kuni-nō ma-pō-ra ma
Yamato TOP land-GEN INT-top-LOC according
since Yamato is in the highest place of the country (NK 22)

kīkōs-i-wos-u kuni-nō ma-po-ra Nsō ka n-i ka-ku n-i posi-kī mani-mani
rule(HON)-INF-HON-ATTR country-GEN INT-top-LOC PT thus DV-INF
thus-INF DV-Inf desire-ATTR according thus DV-Inf TOP exist-
NEG/TENT PT
in the highest place of the country, where [the emperor] rules, it cannot be
thus according to what [you] wish in this way and that way, can it? (MYS V: 800)

KÖNŌ YÔ-ra PA sa-YÔ PUKÊ-N-Urasi
this night-LOC TOP PREF-night deepen(INF)-PERF-SUP
It seems that the night (lit.: in this night) has grown deep (MYS X: 2224)13

ipata-NÔ-ni yaNtôr-i s-uru kîmî ipê-N-pītō-nō iNtu-ra tö ware-wo tōp-
aNpa ika n-i ip-am-u
Ipata-field-LOC lodge-NML do-ATTR lord home-GEN-person-GEN
where-LOC DV I-ACC ask-COND how DV-INF say-TENT-FIN
[Oh, my] lord who lodged at the Ipata field. If people from [your] home
ask me where [are you], how should [I] answer? (MYS XV: 3689)

IyaPÎKÔ KÂMÎ-nō puMÔTO-NI KÊPU-ra mo ka SÎKA-nō PUS-Uram-u
Iyapiko deity-GEN foot [of the mountain]-LOC today-LOC PT PT deer-
GEN lie-TENT2-ATTR
Will the deer lie at the foot of [the mountain] of the deity Iyapiko today,
too? (MYS XVI: 3884)

13 I would like to thank Anton Antonov, who pointed out the examples from MYS X: 2224, XI: 2763, and XVI: 3884 in his recent presentation (Antonov 2004). I disagree with his analysis of nô-ra-ni in MYS XI: 2763 as ‘field-LOC-LOC’, as it seems to me that in the context of this poem it should be taken as ‘field-PLUR-LOC’ or ‘field-DIM-LOC’.
There is only one example of -ra in Eastern Old Japanese, but it is found in a poem with typical eastern features (cf. the attributive in -wo below):

KWO-ra pa ap-an-am-wo pyi-tö ri möni-y s-i-te
girl-DAT TOP meet-DES-TENT-ATTR one-CL PT do-INF-GER
being absolutely alone, [I] wish to meet [this] girl (MYS XIV: 3405)

There is no dative-locative case marker -ra in Ryukyuan, and that together with the low frequency and short-lived nature of attestations makes OJ -ra a good candidate for an early loan from Korean.

2.1.1.4.2 Middle Korean dative -s-kuy, Japonic directive -[N]-kari
The Middle Korean parallel to the proto-Japonic directive *-kari (see below) is not so obvious at first glance. I believe it is the Middle Korean locative-directive -ay/-ey/-oy/-uy, which is well attested in Middle Korean texts. The process r > Ø/i in the history of Korean can be justified internally, cf. OK NWUli 'world' > MK :nwuy 'id'., OK NAli 'river' > MK :nayh 'id'., OK nyelim 'lord' > MK :nim 'id', so the reconstruction of MK -ay/-ey/-oy/-uy as *-ari/*-eri/*-ori/*-uri does not present any problem. The reconstruction of the initial consonant may be more problematic, but I think it stands on firm ground due to the following data from Old Korean. In at least two instances in the Hyangka texts the case marker that corresponds to Middle Korean -ay/-ey is written with the character 希 *xïy, which starts with a velar /x/ in Early Middle Chinese. I tentatively reconstruct this case marker as Old Korean -huy (with no additional forms adjusting to vowel harmony, following Martin’s proposal about the lack of vowel harmony in Old Korean [Martin 2000: 1-23]). The development of Proto-Korean *-k- > -h- in all environments except after sonorants, where *-k- > -G- takes place, is consistent with the new version of the lenition theory (1.1.3.3 above). In combination with Proto-Korean *-l- loss
preceding /i/. This proposal allows a reconstruction of *-kuri as a Proto-Korean locative-directive marker, with its development into -huy in Old Korean and -ay/-ey/-oy/-uy in Middle Korean. It is also possible that this Old Korean locative-directive -huy survives as a Middle Korean dative marker -kuy, added to the locative-directive marker -oy/-uy or the genitive marker -s, and -ngey (*-n-key), added to the locative-directive markers -oy and -uy (Yi Swungnyeng 1961: 206-210). The reconstruction of the Proto-Korean form as *-(n)-kuri leaves a problem of vocalic correspondence PK *u: PJ *a, with Proto-Japonic *-na-kari. Although this correspondence is rare, there are other instances of it, cf. MK küfyeki ‘wild goose’, OJ kari ?2.4 ‘id’; MK túlüh ‘field’, OJ ta 1.3a ‘rice field’ < *taa < **tara. Examples from Old Korean Hyangka texts:

Clpwo PAhwo KOSO-huy TUL-um SWON AMSYWO NWOH-Osi-kwo purple rock edge-LOC hold-NOM hand cow leave-HON-GER leaving the cow that [I] lead at the edge of the purple rock (Hyangka II: 2)

ilGo NAli-ci COYWYek-huy LANG-la TUL-Gi-ki TAW-Osi-wo-n MOSOM-oy KOs[ō]-yil CWOS-no-ra-cy-e ilGo river-GEN pebble-LOC [Hwa]rang-DAT hold-PASS-NML like-HON-MOD-PERF/ATTR heart-GEN limit-ACC follow-PRES-?-?-INF following the limits of [my] heart, that is like being held by the [Hwa]rang in the river bed (lit.: in the pebbles) of the river IlGo (Hyangka IV: 6)

The directive case marker -Nkari is not frequent in Western Old Japanese: it occurs only eleven times, always in the Man’yoshū (vol. VII-IX). It is quite possible that it was already on its way to extinction in Old Japanese. -Nkari follows only personal pronouns and nouns denoting people. None of the existing Old Japanese grammars discusses it, although it is briefly mentioned in (JDB 1967: 232) and (Ôno 1990: 348). The traditional etymology deriving -Nkari from -Nka ar-i POSS exist-NML (Takagi et al. 1957-62.2: 209), (Martin 1990: 498) is controversial and not universally accepted even among Japanese scholars (cf. Ôno 1990: 348). In Western Old Japanese texts there is no uncontroversial phonetic spelling of the case marker -Nkari; in most cases it is written with the character 許, which probably represents a truncation from its Japonicized reading (kun-yomi): (Npajkari). The reading -Nkari, is, however, confirmed by phonetic spellings found in the Eastern Old Japanese texts.

IMÔ-RA-NKARI WA-NKA YUK-U MÎTI beloved-DIM-DIR I-POSS go-ATTR road the road, on which I go to [my] beloved (MYS VII: 1121)

14 See the detailed discussion of this process in example (19) of Whitman’s lexical comparisons in chapter 3.
KÖ-YÖPÎ ka KÎMÎ-NKA WA-Nkari K-ÎMAS-Am-u
this-night PT lord-POSS I-DIR come(INF)-HON-TENT-ATTR
Is it tonight that [my] lord will come to me? (MYS VIII: 1519)

IMÔ-Nkari YAR-AM-U MÔMÔNTI TA-WOR-Ana
beloved-DIR send-TENT-ATTR maple leaves hand-break-DES
I would like to break [with my hand] maple leaves to send to [my] beloved
(MYS IX: 1758)

There are four examples of the directive case marker -Nkari in Eastern Old Japanese texts, all written phonetically.

imö-Nkari tō [i]p-ê-Npa
beloved-DIR DV say-EV-CON
as [I] said that I [would go] to [my] beloved (MYS XIV: 3356)

ika nar-u se-na ka wa-Nkari kö-m-u tō ip-u
how be-ATTR beloved-DIM PT I-DIR come-TENT-FIN DV say-ATTR
what kind of beloved [is he], who says that [he] will come to me? (MYS XIV: 3536)

kökörö nömiy imö-Nkari yar-i-te wa pa kökō-ni s-i-te
heart PT beloved-DIR send-INF-GER I TOP here-LOC do-INF-GER
I [have] to stay here, sending just [my] heart to [my] beloved (MYS XIV: 3538)

iNtu-yu kamö kanasi-kî se-rö-Nka wa-Nkari kayôp-am-u
where-ABL PT beloved-ATTR husband-DIM-POSS I-DIR visit-TENT-ATTR
From where will [my] beloved husband come to me? (MYS XIV: 3549)

Although MYS XIV: 3356 and XIV: 3549 do not have any typical Eastern Old Japanese features, MYS XIV: 3536 includes the diminutive suffix -na that occurs only in Eastern Old Japanese (Vovin 2005a: 212), and MYS XIV: 3538 involves the usage of the unextended stem wa ‘I’ in isolation, which is another typical Eastern Old Japanese feature. Thus, we can rather safely conclude that EOJ -Nkari should be a native element, and not a loan from Western Old Japanese.

In Ryukyuan, there is a directive case marker -kai attested in the Ryûka (Nohara 1986: 27), as well as the locative-directive -nakai/-Nkai/-kai in the Shuri dialect and the dative-locative -nakai in the Kumejima dialect (Nohara 1986: 66-69, 126). The Kumejima dialect also exhibits -naa as a locative. The following examples are from the Shuri and Kumejima dialects:

Shuri
Naafâ-Nkai ich-uN
Naha-DIR go-FIN
[I am] going to Naha (Nohara 1986: 66)

ama-Nkai mayaa-nu u-N
there-LOC cat-GEN exist-FIN
There is a cat (Nohara 1986: 67)

Yamatu-Nkai ich-uN
Japan-DIR go-FIN
[I am] going to Japan (Nohara 1986: 68)

Kumejima
yaa-nakai ?u-N na
home-LOC exist-FIN PT
[I] am at home (Nohara 1986: 126)

Although Ryukyuan -nakai/-Nkai is attested only in Central Ryukyuan, it is unlikely to be a loan from Japanese, since there is no MJ -gari < OJ -Nkari, and a direct loan from OJ into Ryukyuan is not realistic. Since in Ryukyuan r > Ø/i, Ryukyuan -nakai/-Nkai perfectly corresponds to Old Japanese -Nkari. As implied by the Ryukyuan uncontracted form -nakai, unless it is an innovation, the -N- part of Old Japanese -Nkari and Ryukyuan -Nkai probably represents the locative case marker -na, attested in Eastern Old Japanese and various Ryukyuan dialects. This further attests to the authenticity of Ryukyuan -nakai/-Nkai and allows us to reconstruct the directive marker as a bimorphemic PJ *-na-kari. This leaves *-kari as a potential Proto-Japonic directive marker.

Nevertheless, we end up with only this one case marker that can be reconstructed for Proto-Japonic and at the same time can be compared with Korean. Korean and Japonic case marker paradigms are very different, and it is impossible to reconstruct a single original paradigm that would account for both systems. In some cases, as I demonstrated above, similarities between Korean and Japonic can be better explained as loans, since the case markers in question are not really Japonic, but specifically Japanese or even Western Old Japanese. A single occurrence of a directive locative marker is unlikely to prove a genetic relationship.

The following chart includes primary case markers in Western Old Japanese, with parallels in Eastern Old Japanese, Ryukyuan, Old Korean, and Middle Korean:
Chart 21:
Primary case markers in Western Old Japanese from a comparative perspective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>EOJ</th>
<th>Ryuk.</th>
<th>OK</th>
<th>MK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-i (erg.)</td>
<td>-i (nom.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-ga</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>-no</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive-Locative</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-e (gen.)</td>
<td>-s (gen.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative-Locative</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-ra(ng)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As one can see from the chart, such Western Old Japanese case markers as possessive -Nka, genitive -nō, dative-locative -ni, and accusative -wo are attested in various branches of the Japonic family, but do not have any parallels in Korean. Note, however, that those Western Old Japanese case markers with Korean parallels are not attested in other branches of Japonic, with the exception of dative-locative -ra, which has a singular attestation in Eastern Old Japanese. Such a distribution certainly speaks in favor of an areal rather than a genetic relationship between Korean and Japonic.

2.1.2 Pronouns
In this section, I will discuss Korean and Japonic personal, interrogative, and demonstrative pronouns.

2.1.2.1 Personal pronouns
Unfortunately, Old Korean personal pronouns are known only in semantographographic writing. Therefore, we have no choice but to rely on the information we can secure from Middle Korean and Korean dialects, but the latter, to the best of my knowledge, do not provide any important information for the reconstruction of Proto-Korean. Essentially, we have MK nà ‘I’, nè ‘thou’, wúlí ‘we’, and nèhùy ‘you’ at our disposal. Both MK nà ‘I’ and nè ‘thou’ exhibit highly irregular accentuation in their declension (Kim Wancin 1973: 62), which may point to a complex phonological history beyond the limits of current knowledge.

In contrast to Korean, the picture in Old Japanese is more colorful, as there are several different personal pronouns: first person wa ~ ware, a ~ are, na, and marö; and second person na ~ nare and mimasi ~ imasi ~ masi. There is no clear-cut distinction between singular and plural, as in Korean, although in most cases the plural is expressed by the extended stems ware, are, and nare (Vovin 2005a: 220, 234, 247). Among the aforementioned personal pronouns, marö ‘I’ is almost a hapax legomenon, appearing twice

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15 The data on the dialect forms of Korean pronouns na ‘I’ and ne ‘thou’ are provided in Choy (1978): 240-241, 244-245.
in one text that exists in two variants (Vovin 2005a: 244-245), so it will not be discussed below.

Cognates of OJ wa- and a ‘I’ are attested throughout Japonic, but OJ na appears only twice in Western Old Japanese and twice in Eastern Old Japanese. It has no cognates in Ryukyuan, and does not occur in any other varieties of Japonic. Therefore, I believe that it represents a loan from Korean na ‘I’. Examples of OJ na ‘I’:

Western Old Japanese

na SE n-ō KIMI
I beloved DV-ATTR lord
my beloved and lord (MYS XVI: 3885)

na OTÔ n-ō mi-kötö
I younger brother DV-ATTR HON-thing
my dear younger brother (MYS XVII: 3957)

Eastern Old Japanese

na se n-ō kô-Nka ya-sô sima kâkur-i
I beloved DV-ATTR child-POSS eight-ten island hide-INF
my beloved hides [behind] eighty islands... (FK 8)

na se n-ō kô
I beloved DV-ATTR child
my beloved (MYS XIV: 3458)

Second person pronouns in Old Japanese present a more complicated picture, where at first glance the genetic affiliation of doublets does not seem to be as clear-cut as in the case of first person pronouns; therefore a somewhat more detailed look at the textual examples is necessary.

The second person pronoun (mî-/i-)masi is fairly well attested in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese, but not in Ryukyuan. The original form of that pronoun is probably just masi, as already pointed out by Yamada Yoshio (1954: 95), mî- and i- being prefixes that can possibly be identified with an honorific prefix mî- (Vovin 2005a: 256). Examples:

Western Old Japanese

imasî nô WARE mô KÔTÔ NAR-UNPÉ-SI YA
you PT I PT thing be-DEB-FIN PT
Should [it] be something for both you and me? (MYS XI: 2517)

AMEY-NÔ SITA pa WA-NKA KÔ imasî-ni SANTUKÉ-TAMAP-U
heaven-GEN bottom TOP I-POSS child you-DAT give (INF)-HON-FIN
[I] give to you, my child, the land under the Heaven (SM 29)

mîmasî-nô TITI tô IMAS-U SUMÉRA-MIKÔTÔ-nô mîmasî-ni TAMAP-
Î-si AMÉ-NÔ SITA
you-GEN father DV be(HON)-ATTR emperor-deity-GEN you-DAT give (HON)-INF-PAST/ATTR heaven-GEN bottom the land under Heaven that the emperor-deity, who is your father, gave to you (SM 5)

mîmasi MÎKÔ-nö YÖPAPî-nö YÔWA-KÎ-ni you prince-GEN age-GEN weak-ATTR-LOC because you, prince, were in your infancy... (SM 5)

Eastern Old Japanese
masi mî are mî yōti-wo só möt-er-u you PT I PT same age-ACC PT have-PROG-ATTR both you and I have [children of] the same age (MYS XIV: 3440)

imasi-wo tanôm-i papa-ni taNkap-i-n-u you-ACC trust-INF mother-DAT become estranged-INF-PERF-FIN [I] became estranged from [my] mother, trusting you (MYS XIV: 3359)

The second person pronoun na is fairly well attested in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese. It also appears in Ryukyuan, but there are some problems with its attestation that I discuss below.

Western Old Japanese
na kōsō pa yō-nō naNka pîtö you PT TOP world-GEN long person you, [the most] long[-lived] man in the world (KK 71)

na pa kik-as-u ya you PT ask-HON-FIN PT Shall [I] ask you? (NK 62)

Eastern Old Japanese
se-na na-tō puta-ri sa-NE-TE kuyasi mo beloved-DIM you-COM two-CL PREF-sleep(INF)-SUB regrettable PT it is regrettable that [I], my beloved, slept with you, two [of us] (MYS XIV: 3544)

nare ya pîmo tōk-aNs-u ne-m-u you PT cord untie-NEG-INF sleep-TENT-ATTR Will you sleep without untying the cords [of your garment]? (MYS XIV: 3370)

16 This is a variant of MYS XIV: 3440, where the second pronoun masi is used instead of nare ‘you’. In the basic version we find nar:

nare mî are mî yōti-wo só möt-er-u you PT I PT same age-ACC PT have-PROG-ATTR both you and I have [children of] the same age (MYS XIV: 3440).
Ryukyuan
The second person pronoun na is attested comparatively well in Ryukyuan. There are no attestations in the Omoro sōshi or the Ryūka: the Classical Ryukyuan attestation nāa ‘you’ seems to be confined to Ryukyuan plays (Hokama 1995: 472). However, there is no lack of attestations in the modern dialects of the Northern and Central Ryukus, where forms such as Koniya nam; Namizato nāa; Sesoko naa, naN; Shuri nāa, etc., are found (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 358). The only questionable attestation in Sakishima is in Hateruma, but Hateruma has the aberrant form daa, which is probably not related. In all these dialects this second person pronoun seems to have a similar function to the Shuri pronoun nāa, which is a familiar pronoun used toward older people of lower status (RGJ 1976: 399). An example from the Shuri dialect:

naa ya ʔichi mooca ga
you TOP when come/PERF PT
When did you come? (RGJ 1976: 399)

The distribution in the Ryukyus (no attestations in Sakishima) and its mild honorific nature suggest that Ryukyuan nāa\(^1\) is a loan from Japanese, especially since Proto-Ryukyuan has another second person pronoun *le or *lo, with no skewed distribution. Besides, Koniya nam and Sesoko naN indicate PR *namu, which suspiciously resembles MJ namudi ‘thou’ rather than OJ na. This leaves masi and na competing for the status of a Proto-Japanese pronoun. Although there has been a traditional comparison of OJ na and MK ne, both second person pronouns, I suspect that na is a loan from Korean ne, while masi represents a true Proto-Japanese (but not Proto-Japonic) pronoun. It is also strange for genetically related languages to share second person pronouns,\(^2\) but not to share first person ones: OJ wa- < PJ *ban and MK na certainly cannot be related.

<p>| Chart 22: Western Old Japanese personal pronouns from a comparative perspective |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>EOJ</th>
<th>Ryuk.</th>
<th>OK</th>
<th>MK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I(_1)</td>
<td>wa-</td>
<td>wa-</td>
<td>waN</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I(_2)</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I(_3)</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^1\) Uchima and Arakaki gloss their Ryukyuan dialect attestation as modern Japanese anata ‘you’ (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 358), which is a semi-formal pronoun used to relatives (e.g., wife to her husband), or to lower-ranking people, when some minimal degree of respect is maintained.

\(^2\) There has been a recent speculative attempt to relate OJ a ‘I’ and MK na ‘id’. as a reflex of PA *a ‘I’ (Starostin, Dybo, and Mudrak 2003: 225). This brave proposal is nothing but an attempt to reconstruct things from above: there is no way to prove that OJ Ø- goes back to anything but *Ø-.

Second person pronouns are much less stable and more prone to borrowing than are first person pronouns.
The situation with personal pronouns, presented in the chart above, is reminiscent of the situation with case marking. With the exception of the first person pronoun *na*, which has attestations in Eastern Old Japanese and the second person pronoun *na*, which has limited and dubious attestations in Ryukyuan, Western Old Japanese personal pronouns that have cognates in Ryukyuan and/or Eastern Old Japanese lack parallels in Korean. Meanwhile, WOJ *na ‘I’* has a parallel in Korean, but no cognates in other branches of Japonic. The situation again indicates an areal, not a genetic, relationship.

### 2.1.2.2 Interrogative pronouns

Like Old Korean personal pronouns, Old Korean interrogative pronouns are attested only in semantographic writing, so they are of no help in reconstructing Proto-Korean archetypes. The Middle Korean interrogative pronouns are *nwú ‘who’, *músú, *músúm, *músúk ‘what’, *músús ‘which’, *étúy ‘where’, *énú ‘which’, *encéy ‘when’, and *estyé, *esté, *estyéy ‘how’. We can see that there are different series of Middle Korean interrogative pronouns based on different roots. MK *nwú ‘who’* apparently stands in isolation. MK *músú, *músúm, *músúk ‘what’* and *músús ‘which’* are based on the same root, *músú*. Since MK *étúy* does not show the lenition -t- > -l- in the typical lenition environment ..., it should go back to PK *éntúy*, with a nasal sonorant blocking the lenition (Vovin 2003b: 89-103). This reconstruction allows us to see that PK *éntúy ‘where’* is in fact bimorphemic, going back to *énú ‘which’* and *túy ‘place’*: *énú + túy > *éntúy > étúy*. Thus, MK *étúy ‘where’, *énú ‘which’, and *encéy ‘when’* belong to the same series as *énú.*

MK *estyé, *esté, *estyéy ‘how’, probably going back to *e-is-ti ‘how-exist-ADV’, exhibits one more series *e-, which may be related to the *énú* series. But we do not have any internal evidence for segmentation of MK *énú* as *e-nu, and no reliable internal evidence for the segmentation of MK *estyé, *esté, *estyéy ‘how’* as *e-is-ti.*


20 A *hapax legomenon* from MYS XX: 4392.
21 There is no internal Japonic evidence for the segmentation of PR *etu ‘when’, in contrast to PR *e-ka ‘how’ and *e-ku ‘how many, how much’ (Vovin 2005a: 317, 330, 332), contrary to Whitman (2001: 1).
several series for Japonic interrogative pronouns. First, PJ *ta ‘who’ stands in isolation. Second, we can reconstruct the *n-anu- series, represented by ‘what’ and ‘why’, although the second is only reconstructable for Proto-Japanese, not for Proto-Japonic. Third, there is the iNtu- < *entu- series, which can be compared with Korean *en- ‘wh-’, found in MK ènu ‘which’, ètty > *en-tuy ‘where’, and e:ncèy > *en-ce[k]i ‘when’. This *entu- series looks like a loan from Korean, because *entu- cannot be segmented as *en- tu- on the basis of internal Japonic evidence. Finally, there is the *e- series that may be compared with MK :estyé, :esté, :estyéy ‘how’, but no reliable internal evidence exists for the segmentation of the latter, so the relationship between the PJ *entu- series and MK e:styé, e:sté, e:styéy ‘how’ remains obscure. All this is summarized in the following chart.

Chart 23:
Western Old Japanese interrogative pronouns from a comparative perspective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>EOJ</th>
<th>PR</th>
<th>OK</th>
<th>MK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who1</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>*ta</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>NWuki</td>
<td>nwú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what1</td>
<td>nani</td>
<td>aN-</td>
<td>*nau</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>músu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wh-’</td>
<td>iNtu-</td>
<td>iNtu-</td>
<td>*eNtu-</td>
<td>eno</td>
<td>ènu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how</td>
<td>ika</td>
<td>ika</td>
<td>*e-ka</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>:estyé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Korean and Japonic words for ‘wh-’ and ‘how’ could possibly be related, but the segmentation problems on both sides suggest an areal, rather than a genetic, relationship. No genetic relationship can be established between PJ *ta ‘who’ and *n-anu- ‘what’ on the one hand and MK nwú ‘who’ and músu ‘what’ on the other, which is strange in the context of a suggested genetic relationship. As with case marking and personal pronouns, comparison of Korean and Japonic interrogative pronouns points toward an areal relationship.

2.1.2.3 Demonstrative pronouns
Although both Proto-Japonic and Middle Korean have systems of demonstrative pronouns that include the three degrees: proximal, mesial, and distal, they do not coincide.

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22 On the reconstruction of Proto-Japonic archetype as *n-anu- see Vovin (2005a: 309-313).
23 < PJ *n-anu-.
24 Reconstruction of the Proto-Japonic mesial form is problematic, because the Japanese and Ryukyuan data do not agree.
The demonstrative systems in Japanese and Korean seem to have been functionally much more different in earlier times than they are now. Japonic formally differentiated between deictic and attributive forms of demonstrative pronouns throughout its history: WOJ köre pa yama nar-i ‘this is a mountain’, but könö yama ‘this mountain’; Shuri kuree yama ya-N ‘this is a mountain’, kurö yama ‘this mountain’. Middle Korean did not differentiate between deictic and attributive forms: MK i-non mwöy [i]la ‘this is a mountain’, i mwöy ‘this mountain’. Modern Korean, however, does differentiate between these two forms: i-ke[s-un] san i-ta ‘this is a mountain’, but i san ‘this mountain’. This distinction probably originated in Modern Korean under Japanese influence.


Recently, Frellesvig and Whitman, in a paper presented at the XVIth meeting of the International Conference on Historical Linguistics in Copenhagen in August 2003, offered an interesting proposal that makes the Middle Korean and Proto-Japonic systems of demonstrative pronouns comparable if the oppositions ‘participant — non-participant’ and ‘speaker — non-speaker’ are introduced into pre–Old Japanese and Old Japanese, respectively. Their proposal for the development of the system of demonstrative pronouns from Proto-Japonic to Middle Japanese is as follows (Frellesvig and Whitman 2003: 4):

### Chart 25:
Evolution of Japonic demonstrative pronouns according to Frellesvig and Whitman (2003)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Mesial</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>kù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PJ</td>
<td>*i</td>
<td>*ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre-OJ,a</td>
<td>*i</td>
<td>*ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>Non-participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre-OJ,b</td>
<td>*ki</td>
<td>*ši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Speaker</td>
<td>Non-speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OJ</td>
<td>kō (~i)</td>
<td>sō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MJ</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In my opinion, their proposal faces several insurmountable problems despite its seeming elegance. First, while MJ ko and so refer to areas near the speaker or the non-speaker, respectively, WOJ kö and sö indicate only general proximity or remoteness, without any regard to the speaker or the addressee’s position (Vovin 2005a: 272-276, 285-288). Second, we have no means to verify the suggestion that in pre-OJ.b the demonstratives referred to ‘participant’ or ‘non-participant’, simply because we have no texts in pre–Old Japanese to base our judgment on. Third, a change in the history of Japonic from a tripartite system to a binary and then back to a tripartite is circular. Fourth, proposing a system for Proto-Japonic that is virtually identical with the Middle Korean system indicates a reliance on the Middle Korean data in the first place, and on the premise that those systems must have been more similar in the past than they are in Old Japanese and Middle Korean. But the relationship between Old Japanese and Middle Korean is not proven, so we do not know whether the systems were identical or not. Therefore, in order to avoid another circular argument, one must demonstrate on strictly internal grounds that it is possible to reconstruct a Proto-Japonic system of demonstrative pronouns identical to the Middle Korean system of demonstrative pronouns, and not to attempt a derivation of the former from the latter. Fifth, the only evidence for PJ and pre-OJ.a *i ‘this’ is based on OJ ima ‘now’, which is analyzed as i-ma ‘this interval’. OJ ima ‘now’ is likely to be segmentable on the basis of the comparison with Ryukyuan nama ‘id’. , but we have no internal evidence to prove that OJ i- and Ryukyuan na- are proximal demonstratives. Sixth, and most important, the idea that pre-OJ.b and Old Japanese had just a binary system of demonstratives is based on Frellesvig’s suggestion that the Old Japanese distal demonstrative ka- ‘that over there’ is an innovation (2003, personal communication). OJ ka- is attested in Old Japanese texts very infrequently. The following are the exhaustive examples:

Western Old Japanese
kîmî-Nka mî-pune kamô kare
lord-POSS HON-boat PT that
[Is] that [my] lord’s boat? (MYS XVIII: 4045)

TA SŌ KARE WARE-WO NA-TÔP-Î-SŌ
who PT that I-ACC NEG-ask-INF-do
Do not ask me: ‘Who is that?’ (MYS X: 2240)

TA SŌ KARE tô TÔP-ANPA
who PT that DV ask-COND
if [someone] asks: ‘Who is that?’ (MYS XI: 2545)

I also think that the following Western Old Japanese examples include the stem ka- of this pronoun:
ap-as-i-si womîna ka môNka tô wa-Nka mî-si kwo-ra ka-ku môNka tô meet-HON-INF-PASTI/ATTR woman that PT DV I-POSS see(INF)-PASTI/ATTR girl-DIM thus-INF PT DV [I] wish that [much] the woman [I] saw; [I] wish this [much] the girl I saw (KK 42)

ka n-i ka-ku n-i posi-ki mani-mani sika n-i pa ar-aNsi ka that DV-INF thus-INF DV-INF be desirable-ATTR according that way DV-INF TOP exist-NEG/TENT PT [acting] that [way] and this way, according to [your] desires, it cannot be that way, can it? (MYS V: 800)

ka yuk-ë-Npa pîtô-ni itöp-aye ka-ku yuk-ë-Npa pîtô-ni nikum-aye that go-EV-CON person-DAT avoid-PASS(INF) thus-INF go-EV-CON person-DAT hate-PASS(INF) when [they] go that [way], [they] are avoided by people, and when [they] go this way, [they] are hated by people... (MYS V: 804)

Eastern Old Japanese
kanô kwo-rô-tô NE-Nsu ya nar-i-n-am-u that girl-DIM-COM sleep-NEG/INF PT become-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR Will it become [so that I] will not sleep with that girl? (MYS XIV: 3565)

Such poor attestation is a puzzle, and it might be used as evidence in favor of Frellesvig’s point of view. However, it is necessary to remember that low frequency does not necessarily suggest innovation; it might also indicate an archaism. In order to decide whether a form is an innovation or an archaism we must look outside Old Japanese at other Japonic dialects that are not within the same Central Japonic group.

The Ryukyuan data present an interesting picture in the comparative perspective. Most of the Northern and Central Ryukyuan dialects as well as Old Ryukyuan, have the distal demonstrative pronoun ′ari ~ ′anu, based on the stem ′a-. This stem does not have a counterpart in Old Japanese, but has parallels in Middle Japanese a- ~ are ‘that over there’ and later historical stages of Japanese. Only in dialects of the South Ryukyus do we find the distal demonstrative pronoun kari ~ kanu, based on the stem ka-, such as Agarinakasone kai, Yonaha kari, Tonoshiro kari (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 359), Psara kai ~ kari, Ikema kari, Ishigaki kari (Hirayama 1966: 280), and Yonaguni kari (Hirayama 1967: 195). Since direct borrowing from Old Japanese into Southern Ryukyuan is out of the question, this distribution suggests that the ka- forms in the Ryukyus are original, and that the ′a- forms were probably spread by language diffusion from Classical Japanese via Old Ryukyuan.

In any case, the fact that distal ka- is found in Old Japanese, Middle Japanese, and Ryukyuan satisfies our requirement for considering a form to be Proto-Japonic. Why it has such a low frequency in Old Japanese is likely to remain a mystery, but we should not treat Old Japanese as if it had
the same role for Japonic as Latin does for the Romance languages. In addition, we should not forget that the development from Old Japanese to Middle Japanese was not strictly linear: both Old Japanese and Middle Japanese are based on geographically close but not quite identical dialects. Thus, I reconstruct both Proto-Japonic proximal *ka and distal *ka on the basis of Middle Japanese (also partially Old Japanese) and Proto-Ryukyuan evidence. The reconstruction of the Proto-Japanese mesial is more problematic, since PJN mesial *sə and PR mesial *ʔo do not correspond to each other.

We probably can reconstruct tripartite systems of demonstrative pronouns for both Korean and Japonic, although the reconstruction of the mesial in the latter is problematic. However, it is quite clear that these systems are not comparable; therefore, they cannot offer any evidence for a genetic relationship.

2.2 ADJECTIVES


awo na mō kInpî pîtô-tô tömô n-i si tum-ë-Npa tanôsi-ku mō ar-u ka green vegetables PT Kibi person-COM together DV-INF PT pick-EV-CON delightful-INF PT exist-ATTR PT Isn’t it delightful when [I] pick green vegetables together with the girl from Kibi? (KK 54)

Kôsi-nö kuni-ni sakasi mé-wo ar-i tō25 kık-as-i-te kupasi mé-wo ar-i tō kık-os-i-te Kosi-GEN province-LOC wise woman-ABS exist-FIN DV hear-HON-INF-SUB beautiful woman-ABS exist-FIN DV hear-HON-INF-SUB [Okuni-nusi] heard that there is a wise woman in the northern province, heard that there is a beautiful woman (KK 2)

kônō kusi mî-tama this precious HON-jewel these precious jewels (MYS V: 814)

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25 A declarative sentence followed by the citation particle tō must be treated as a main clause because its predicate is always in final form.
pa-N-pirô yu tu ma-tuNpakî
lea-GEN-broad sacred DV INT-camellia
a sacred true camellia with broad leaves (KK 57)

sirô KAMÎ-maNte-ni OPO KÎMÎ-ni tukapê-matur-e-Npa
white TERM-LOC great lord-DAT serve(INF)-HUM-EV-CON
when [I] serve the emperor (lit: great lord) until [I get] white hair (MYS XVII: 3922)

In Middle Japanese marking adjectives with the attributive and final predicate became obligatory, e.g., siro-ki nami white-ATTR wave ‘white waves’ and nami siro-si wave white-FIN ‘waves are white’. Cf. OJ sira nami ‘white waves’ (surviving only in Middle Japanese poetry). Although Western Old Japanese has both attributive -kî and final predicate -si (also attested in Eastern Old Japanese as -ke and -si), they can be reversed, as pointed out by Martin (1987: 806-807). In other words, -kî can be used as a marker of final predication, and -si as an attributive. Some examples:

naNTÔ SÔNÔ TAMA-NÔ TE-ni MAK-Î-NKATA-kî
why that jewel-COMP hand-LOC wind-INF-difficult-FIN
why is that [jeweled bracelet] difficult to wind around the arm that is like a jewel? (MYS III: 409)

pana nipop-î ter-i-te tat-er-u pa pasi-kî ta-Nka tuma
flower be fragrant-INF shine-INF-SUB stand-PROG-ATTR TOP be
lovely-FIN who-POSS spouse
The [girl], who is standing, fragrant and shining [as] a flower, is lovely.
Whose spouse [is she]? (MYS XX: 4397)

ika n-i ka yuk-am-u karite pa na-si-ni
how DV-INF PT go-TENT-ATTR food supply TOP no-ATTR-LOC
because [I] do not have a food supply, how would [I] go? (MYS V: 888)

yapô ni yö-si i-kîtuk-î n-ô miya
eight hundred soil good-ATTR PREF-build-INF DV-ATTR palace
a palace built on an eight hundred [times] good soil (KK 100)

UMA-SI KUNI sô AKÎNTU SIMA yamatô-nô KUNI PA
beautiful-ATTR PT dragonfly island Yamato-GEN country TOP
Oh, [what a] beautiful country [is] Yamato, the land of dragonfly islands!
(MYS I: 2)

Neither -kî nor -si is attested in Ryukyuan,26 which together with the instability of their functions in Old Japanese, indicates that both represent a Japanese innovation. It looks like they were introduced into the language

26 The meager evidence for these markers from Old Ryukyuan that Martin discusses and rightfully rejects (1987: 806) is likely to represent loans from mainland Japanese and is certainly not sufficient to establish a genetic relationship.
under Old Korean influence. Moreover, it is possible that both were
borrowed from Old Korean.

OJ -si is likely to be a loan from the OK irrealis attributive marker -l
(phonetically probably voiceless [lh], as indicated by the character ណ with
which it was written):27

臣隱愛賜尸母史也
SIN-un TOSO-si-l Esi I-LA
retainer-TOP love-HON-ATTR/IRR mother be-FIN
Retainers are loving mothers (Hyangka III: 2)

Since WOJ -ki is paralleled by EOJ -ke, the reconstructed form has to
be PJN *-ke. It is possible that PJN *-ke is a loan from OK -kuy, the
attributive marker of quality verbs:

東京有期月良
TWONG-KYENG POLK-kuy TOLAL-la
Eastern Capital bright-ATTR moon-LOC
At the bright moon in the Eastern Capital… (Hyangka V: 1)

There are two obvious problems here. First, although OK 明期 POLK-
kuy ‘bright’ is clearly used with an attributive function here, this is the only
example where 期 -kuy occurs as the attributive marker of a quality verb in
Old Korean. Second, the -k- portion of -kuy may really belong to the stem
POLK- ‘bright’. In both of the aforementioned cases, 心未 MOSOm-i
‘mind-GEN’ in Hyangka I: 7, where the phonetically used character 未 renders
both the final consonant of the stem and a suffix, and 月良 TOLAL-la ‘moon-LOC’ in Hyangka V: 1 above, where only the suffix is
written phonetically, there is no clear demarcation in writing between the
stem and the suffix.

2.3 VERBAL MORPHOLOGY
In this section I discuss the copula tö and some verbal markers, criticizing
my earlier work to a great extent.

2.3.1 The odd nature of the copula tö
The evidence for the copula tö outside Western Old Japanese and the later
stages of Central Japanese is slim at best, while the evidence for the
quotative tö, the comitative case marker -tö, and the subordinative gerund

27 There are other apparent loans from Old Korean into Japanese that reflect the
correspondence OK -l ~ OJ -si, e.g., MK kâlap ‘oak’ ~ OJ kasi ‘id.’, MK kâl ‘cangue’
~ MJ kasi ‘id.’ See #101-102 in Chapter 3 for details.
-te, which are sometimes viewed as extensions of the copula tō (Frellesvig 2001) is plentiful.

The first oddity
Let us start with the copula derivatives: nar-i (< *n-i ar-i DV-INF exist-FIN) and tar-i (< *tō ar-i DV[INF] exist-FIN). If they were really subjective and objective, as is usually claimed, it is odd that the distinction between them is textual: tari is found almost exclusively in kunten texts, while nari reigns supreme in literary texts. Why do they have this kind of distribution?

The second oddity
There are thirty-two instances of the copula infinitive n-i and only three cases of the copula tō in MYS XIV. In MYS XX there are twenty-one examples of n-i and only three of tō.

The third oddity
The three clear cases of the copula tō in MYS XIV are found in the poems MYS XIV: 3364, 3390, and 3400. Among these, MYS XIV: 3364 (Sagami) and MYS XIV: 3390 (Hitati) are from Area B, and MYS XIV: 3400 (Sinano) is from Area C. There are no ‘misspellings’ and no other typical features of Eastern Old Japanese in MYS XIV: 3390 and 3400. In MYS XIV: 3364 particle mō is ‘misspelled’ as mō, but this type of misspelling was already typical of Western Old Japanese by the middle of the eighth century. Therefore, the chances are that all three poems were ‘edited’ and rewritten in Western Old Japanese either by person(s) who collected them, or by Yakamochi himself. MYS XX also has only three clear examples of the copula tō. These are found in the poems MYS XX: 4375, 4404, and 4420. Among these, only MYS XX: 4375 and 4420 are clearly written in Eastern Old Japanese and not in Western Old Japanese. MYS XX: 4404 does not have any Eastern Old Japanese features apart from the ‘misspelling’ of 家 /kē/ as 気 /kē/ in the verbal form tayenikēru ‘has broken off’. Although this misspelling would be very unusual even for late Western Old Japanese, I believe that it is not by itself sufficient evidence to classify this poem as written in Eastern Old Japanese. Therefore, the presence of the copula tō in Eastern Old Japanese is really verified by only two poems: MYS XX: 4375 and 4420. The revised combined ratio of n-i to tō in Eastern Old Japanese then becomes 53 : 2. The pattern of distribution is obviously skewed, and I think that the best explanation for these two cases of tō in Eastern Old Japanese is that they represent borrowing or diffusion.

The fourth oddity
While locative-genitive -tu (as in nipa-tu tōri ‘garden-LOC/GEN bird’) is attested in Eastern Old Japanese songs, the attestations are not convincing, because they are essentially limited to two repeatedly occurring contexts: muka-tu wo ‘hill on the opposite side’ and oki-tu N ‘open sea-LOC/GEN N’. They occur primarily either in poems from Areas B or C and/or poems
that lack any typical Eastern Old Japanese features. This oddity should not detain us further (for details see 2.1.1.2.1), because it is not relevant to what we are discussing, but note that adnominal tu (as is in asa-tu ki), a form of the copula t- does not appear in Eastern Old Japanese at all. Some scholars cite momo Ntu sima ‘hundred islands’ from MYS XIV: 3367 as momo tu sima, but this ignores the textual evidence: no MYS XIV manuscript has tu there. It is consistently spelled with ꪷ = [Ntu], and this character is used as [Ntu] in numerous other examples in MYS XIV. I suspect that the reading momo tu sima originated very late and was further strengthened by Sasaki Nobutsuna’s authority. I think that -Ntu represents a non-productive collective -Ntu, also found in yōrō-Ntu ‘10,000/many’ and possibly in miNtu ‘water’. MYS XIV: 3367, also a poem from Sagami, has no Eastern Old Japanese features, just two unetymological spellings of /mô/ and /mō/ typical of the Western Old Japanese of the period.

Possible conclusions are: (1) the copula tō never existed in Eastern Old Japanese; (2) it spread there by diffusion from Western Old Japanese; (3) it was on the brink of extinction in Eastern Old Japanese. I think that solution (1) or (2) is the most plausible, since each is supported by the textual distribution of tō within Eastern Old Japanese. The situation in Ryukyuan is of paramount importance — the existence of the copula tō in Ryukyuan supports (3), its absence supports (1) and (2).

The fifth oddity
It may seem that copula tu exists in modern Shuri: RGJ gives two examples (besides the comitative case marker tu) that can be recognized as a copula (RGJ 1976: 525). However, I have examined several Shuri texts I have, and while the comitative tu is frequent, strangely enough, the copula tu is not present. I would like to add that the adnominal copula nu and adverbal ni are present in these texts. That makes me think that the copula tu is at least comparatively rare in Shuri. We also should keep in mind that Shuri is the area probably influenced the most by mainland Japanese.

The sixth oddity
In Old Ryukyuan, as far as I can tell, the copula TO28 is attested only once in OS XIII: 854. All other examples come from Classical Ryukyuan Ryūka and Kumiodori texts that were influenced much more by mainland Japanese language and poetry patterns than were the Old Ryukyuan texts in the Omoro sōshi. At the same time the quotatives TE and TETE (= tote) frequently appear in Old and Classical Ryukyuan texts with various spellings. These different spellings exhibit a bewildering variety: TE, TI (= to) (Hokama 1995: 437), TETE, TETI, DETE, REITI (= tote) (Hokama 1995: 441). The absence of a variant TOTE suggests that they are not loans from mainland Middle Japanese.

28 I transliterate Old Ryukyuan kana spellings with capitals.
The seventh oddity

The cleanest test for the existence of cognates of the Western Old Japanese copula *tō* in Ryukyuan should certainly be based not on Old Ryukyuan or Classical Ryukyuan, but on Southern Ryukyuan, which received the least influence from Japanese. I decided to use Nevskii’s 1978 recordings on the Miyako islands, done from the mid to late 1920s for this purpose, when the Japanese influence on Miyako was still very weak (Okinawa only became a prefecture in 1879, less than fifty years before Nevskii first set foot on Miyako in 1924). I have not seen any traces of the copula *tu* there.

Furthermore, Shimoji Kazuaki, in his *Miyako guntō go jiten*, which has a short sketch of the grammar, lists Miyako *ti*, quotational, and Miyako *tu*, comitative case marker (Shimoji 1979: 172). But the most interesting item is the following note: *Miyako go de wa mizu to naru wo midzū ni narū to tu* (In the Miyako language [Japanese] *mizu to naru* ‘water copula to become’ is said as *mizu ni naru* ‘water copula ni become’). I think one can safely conclude that the copula *tu* does, or did not exist on Miyako. Of course, one must look into other Sakishima dialects besides Miyako, but a perusal of the comprehensive study by Nohara Mitsuyoshi (1998) reveals that Ryukyuan *tu* as a copula appears only in the Northern and Central Ryukyus. There are no traces of it to the south of Kumejima and Okinawa islands. Even in the majority of the Northern and Central Ryukyuan languages surveyed by Nohara, the only occurrence of the copula *tu* seems to be limited to following adjectival stems. If this limitation were not enough, in most cases it is further restricted to reduplicated adjectival stems, like *Nase magimagii tu* ‘being extremely big’ (Nohara 1998: 65; for data on other dialects see Nohara 1998: 207, 275, 297). So, where does this leave us? I think we can reach the following conclusions:

1. The copula *tō* is present in Western Old Japanese, Middle Japanese, and in all other varieties of Japonic that can be termed ‘Central Japanese’. It is not really supported by evidence from Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan, therefore its Proto-Japonic status is more than doubtful. One can argue for a parallel innovation in Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan, but I think that such a parallel innovation on the periphery of the family is highly unlikely.

2. The quotative *to ~ tote* and the comitative case marker *tō* are, on the other hand, amply supported by evidence from three different varieties of Japonic: Western Old Japanese and/or Middle Japanese (Central Japanese), Eastern Old Japanese (Eastern Japanese), and Ryukyuan. The same goes for various forms of the copula *n*-.

My solution for this problem is the following:

1. The copula *tō* in Western Old Japanese and Middle Japanese is an innovation, and it is not related to the quotative *tō* or the case marker *-tō*, or to the gerund *-te* (which is also attested throughout Japonic).

2. Frellesvig (2001) made an important breakthrough in identifying the Western Old Japanese copula *tō* with its Middle Korean counterpart *ilwo-*. 
However, in light of what I have said above, I differ with Frellesvig on one point: the form is not a cognate, but an early loan from some variety of Korean (possibly in the Kofun period, prior to the lenition *-t- > -l- [-r-] in Korean) into the predecessor of Western Old Japanese.

The same pattern of attestation is found for the majority of other Koreo-Japonic morphological markers that were perceived as cognates by many of us, myself included, until recently. Namely, these ‘cognates’ are normally limited to Western Old Japanese and its more or less direct descendants in Japonic. This casts further doubt on the validity of Koreo-Japonic as a family.

2.3.2 Verbal markers

The majority of verbal suffixes found in Proto-Japonic and Old Japanese are secondary, as they represent grammaticalized auxiliaries that follow the infinitive form of a verb. Meanwhile, in Korean we have real verbal morphology, with suffixes directly attached to stems of verbs or to other suffixes. For example, contrary to an attempt in Vovin (2001), most comparisons of Old Japanese auxiliaries with Korean suffixes are nothing but apples and oranges. Most of the few real affixes that can follow verbal stems in Old Japanese lack reliable counterparts in Korean. For example, OJ negative -an- potentially corresponds to MK aní ‘not’, but here we face the opposite problem: MK aní is a negative particle, and not a suffix.

I now present the list of comparisons between Old Japanese and Middle Korean verbal morphology given in Vovin (2001), with appropriate self-critical commentary. The original comparisons with Tungusic are deleted, since the discussion of the relationship of either Japonic or Korean with Tungusic is outside the scope of the present work.

2.3.2.1 Negative marker *-an[V]-

Traditionally, WOJ -an-, -aNs- (<*-an-s-, where s- is a second stem of the verb se- ‘to do’) ~ -n-, -Ns-, verbal negative marker, has been compared with the Middle Korean negative marker aní (Whitman 1985: 244, Vovin 2001: 186). Examples:

Western Old Japanese
kökörö-yu mö omop-an-u apiNta-ni
heart-ABL PT think-NEG-ATTR interval-LOC
while [I] did not think even in (lit.: from) my heart (MYS V: 794)

Middle Korean
pwulhwuy kiph-un namk-on porom-ay ani mwuy-l-ssoy
root deep-ATTR tree-TOP wind-LOC not be bent-ATTR-place
because a tree with deep roots is not bent by the wind (YP 2)

However, there are problems with this comparison. Whitman argued that MK aní should be directly compared with WOJ -ani, a negative sentence non-final form, found almost exclusively after verb sir- ‘to know’.
sir-an-i (Whitman 1985: 244), but this cannot serve as evidence, because WOJ -ani can be clearly analyzed as -an-i, where -an- is a negative, and -i is an infinitive. Meanwhile, it is not quite clear whether MK aní can be segmented as *an-i, and the Middle Korean infinitives are -e/-a, not -i. No less important is the fact that OJ negative suffix -an- belongs to verbal inflective morphology, and it follows verbal roots, while MK aní, as mentioned above, is a particle that precedes verbs. Therefore, this comparison should be rejected on the basis of differences in morphology.

2.3.2.2 Nominalizer *-(V)m
In Vovin 1994 and Vovin 2008 I proposed a comparison of the 2.5 accent class in Middle Japanese (LF) reflecting pre-PJN *-m on nouns representing the names of the colors: awo LF ‘blue [color]’, kura LF ‘dark [color]’,30 with the Middle Korean nominalizer -(o/u)m (CV+[wo/wu]+m, CVC+o/um, CVC+wu/wo+m), e.g., cwuk-um ‘death’ <= cwuk- ‘to die’, twoW-um ‘help’ <= twoW- ‘to help’. Examples:

Middle Japanese:
ana kura ya
EXCL dark PART
Oh, is it dark? (GM 50)

Middle Korean:
kuli-m kuli-ki-yey
draw-NML draw-INF-LOC
when drawing a picture (Twusi cho 16.25)

Later, I also provided additional internal evidence directly pointing to the existence of final *-m (Vovin 2008), which I briefly outline here.

Nouns of the 2.5 class have derived verbs with -m- as a part of their stem:
(a) OJ wosa ‘elder’ 2.5, cf. OJ wosamë- ‘to rule’ < *wosamai- < *wosam-(r)a-i-.
(b) OJ tôNka ‘blame, offense’ 2.5, cf. OJ tôNkamë- ‘to blame, to reproach’ < *tôNkamai- < *tôNkam-(r)a-i-.
(c) OJ tutô(-ni) ‘early in the morning’ 2.5, cf. MJ tutomete ‘id’.31, believed to be a derivation from OJ tutômë- ‘to strive, to make an effort’, although the semantic connection remains unclear.
(d) OJ paya ‘quickly’ 2.5, cf. MJ fayame- ‘to quicken’.

29 WOJ negative infinitive -an-i is also attested after verb ak- ‘to be satisfied’ and after potential auxiliary -kate- ~ Nkate- (Vovin 2009: 706-708).
Examples (a) through (d) allow us to reanalyze the derivation of all deadjectival and some denominal verbs in -me- (OJ -mê-), such as arataméru ‘to renew’ (< arata- ‘new’), atataméru ‘to warm up’ (< atataka- ‘warm’, itaméru ‘to hurt’ (< ita- ‘painful’), kiyóméru ‘to purify’ (kiyô- ‘pure’), sebaméru ‘to narrow’ (< sem/ba- ‘narrow’), OJ nákamé- ‘to lengthen the voice when reciting poetry’ (< naNka- ‘long’), etc. Martin analyzes these verbs as consisting of stem + suffix *-ma- + transitivity flipper *-Ci- (1987: 792). At first glance, his point of view seems to be supported by the fact that intransitive verbs corresponding to transitives in -meru all end in -maru, which Martin reconstructs as *-mar- (1987: 792): arataméru ‘to be renewed’, atataméru ‘to be warmed up’, sebaméru ‘to get narrow’, etc. However, there are three arguments against Martin’s analysis:

1. *-ma- is a suffix whose function is unclear and it represents an extra unnecessary entity, according to Occam’s Razor. It is, therefore, much simpler to replace it with the nominalizer *-m to which verbalizer *-(r)a- is added.

2. Martin’s analysis of intransitives with -maru as having a stem in *-ma-r- produces yet one more suffix *-ra- with an unclear function. I reanalyze -maru as nominalizer *-m + verbalizer *-(r)a- + passivizing suffix *-r-. Thus, we receive quite a symmetrical picture of how transitives and intransitives are derived:

transitives: adjectival stem + *-m + *-(r)a- + *-i-

intransitives: adjectival stem + *-m + *-(r)a- + *-r-

3. Under Martin’s analysis, it is unclear why his verbalizer *-ma- is added to both nouns and adjectives. This strange fact can be easily explained if *-m is treated not as a final phoneme of the nominal root, but as a nominalizing suffix *-m after adjectives.

One might argue against the connection between the final *-m in nouns and accent class 2.5, because not all nouns with denominal verbs in -meru or -maru belong to the 2.5 class. Thus, OJ kîpa ‘brink’ 2.3, cf. OJ kîpamé-‘to make go to the end’, kîpamé-, kîpam- ‘to reach the end’; OJ siwa ‘wrinkle’ 2.1, OJ siwam-32 ‘to wrinkle’ (MdJ siwame-). The second case looks like a real exception, but I will try to show later that there might be some evidence for OJ kîpa ‘brink’ 2.3 with an original 2.5 accent.


31 Of course verbs like homeru ‘to praise’ or hazimeru ‘to begin’ do not belong here.
32 Omokada et al. list siwam- as a consonantal verb (JDB 1967: 376). Their examples, both in logographic script in Old Japanese and in phonetic in Middle Japanese, provide no basis for the conclusion that siwam- used to be a consonantal rather than a vowel verb in Old Japanese. The earliest known attestation of this verb in the form siwabitarikeru ‘has wrinkled’, which shows that it is either consonantal or upper-bigrade vowel, is in Konjaku monogatari 26.2 (IKJ 1990: 695).
tubakurame ‘swallow’. It is interesting that none of the birds’ names found in the 2.5 class has this suffix. Therefore, it is possible to speculate that the 2.5 accent class in these words originated as a truncation of the suffix -mē.

Internal evidence pointing to some kind of nasal:

(f) OJ uso ‘a breath exhaled through a narrowed mouth’ (n.) 2.5, cf. OJ usonpuk/-usomuk- ‘to exhale a breath making one’s mouth narrower’ < *usonpuka- < */usom-puk-(r)a-

(g) J nasu ‘eggplant’ 2.5, cf. MJ nasubi ‘id.’ 3.5b, with unclear suffixation < *nasunpi < */nasumpi, which can be an alternation of an earlier *nasum-i.33

It is doubtful, however, that there are sufficient grounds to reconstruct Proto-Japonic nominalizer *-m, because there is no uncontroversial Ryukyuan evidence for this final *-m in Proto-Japonic. Of course, the 2.5 accent class is not preserved by any Ryukyuan dialect, but this cannot be used against the Proto-Japonic nature of the nominalizer *-m. It is much more revealing, though, that most of the -me- verbs in modern Japanese and Old Japanese listed above do not have equivalents in Ryukyuan. Those that do have equivalents look suspiciously like loans from mainland Japanese. Thus, there is Shuri 'aratamiyuN ‘renews’, corresponding to MdJ aratameru ‘id.’, but there is no adjective arata ‘new’ in Shuri, which instead has miikuN ‘be new’. There is chiyumiyuN ‘purifies’, corresponding to MdJ kiyomeru ‘id.’, but the expected *chiiusa- ‘be pure’ does not exist. Moreover, Shuri has churasa- ‘be beautiful’, corresponding to MJ kiyora ‘be spotlessly beautiful’, which is based on the same root kiyο- and shows a different phonetic development as compared with chiyumiyuN. There is Shuri nagamiyuN, but its meaning is suspiciously identical with MJ and MdJ nagameru ‘to watch intently’, but not with OJ ‘to lengthen the voice when reciting poetry’. I was able to find usami- ‘to rule’ and usamar- ‘to become quiet’ in the Psara dialect of the Miyako dialect group in Sakishima (Shimoji 1979: 32), but these are apparently late loans, since in Psara it is initial /bu-/ and not initial /u-/ that corresponds genetically to OJ /wo-/; e.g., Psara buu, OJ wo ‘cord’, Psara buu, OJ wo ‘hemp’, Psara buu, OJ wono ‘ax’, Psara butu, OJ wo-pitō ‘husband’, Psara budur- ‘to dance’, OJ woNtör- ‘to jump’. The same correspondence is typical for early loans: Psara bututuí < MJ wototofi ‘day before yesterday’.

33 I am indebted to Blaine Erickson for pointing this out to me.
34 Psara data are from Shimoji (1979: 191-192).
35 Psara bututuí ‘day before yesterday’ cannot be a direct cognate of OJ wotō-tu pi ‘id’. for two reasons. First, PJ *tu > Psara cu, e.g., Psara cuka, OJ tuka ‘mound’; Psara cumu, OJ tunō ‘horn’; Psara cukī, OJ tuki ‘moon’, etc.; therefore, Psara bututuí reflects not OJ wotō-tu pi ‘day before yesterday’, but MJ wototofī, with Psara /tu/ corresponding to Japanese /to/. Second, the Old Japanese demonstrative wotō ‘that over there’ in OJ wotō-tu pi ‘the day before yesterday (lit.: ‘that day over there’) does not have a cognate in Psara. Thus, Psara bututuí ‘day before yesterday’ is an obscure compound like MJ wototofī and MdJ etoeto ‘id’.
In the Eastern Old Japanese corpus, derived verbs in -me- occur twice: sanâmê- ‘to decide’ in MYŚ XIV: 3418 and katâmê- ‘to harden’ in MYŚ XX: 4390. Both poems contain apparent Eastern Old Japanese features. Therefore, the reflexes of the nominalizer -m are confined to Japanese, and this limited distribution suggests that it is another loan from Korean.

2.3.2.3 Transitivity flipper *-gi-
Old Japanese: *-i- in -ë/-ì- < *V-[C]-i- < **V-Gi-, transitivity flipper, e.g., tuk(a)- ‘to be attached’, tukê- ‘to attach’ (< *tuka-Gi-), yak(a)- ‘to burn’ (tr.), yakê- ‘to burn’ (intr.) (< *yaka-Gi-).
Middle Korean: -Gi-, -hi-, -ki-, etc. transitivity flipper, e.g., hel- ‘to break’ (tr.), helGi- ‘to break’ (intr.), anch- ‘to sit’, anchê- ‘to make somebody sit’.
Martin (1987 and 1990) suggested this Japanese-Korean comparison. Examples:

Old Japanese:
omösîrê-ki nô-woNpa na-yak-i-sö
pretty-ATTR field-ACC no-burn-INF-do
do not burn pretty field (MYŚ XIV: 3452)
yakê-m-u siNpa-N-kakî
burn-TENT-ATTR firewood-GEN-fence
a fence from firewood that will burn (KK 109)

Middle Korean:
ha-n mwul-ul he-no-n-i
big-ATTR thing-ACC break-PRES-PERF-NML
[he] broke the big thing (Kumsam I: 7)
nolh-i hel-Gi-ti mwot-ho-myê
blade-NOM break-PASS-PROH cannot-do-GER
blade could not be broken and... (Welin X: 70)

There are several problems with this comparison. First, on a phonological level, we have no internal Japonic evidence that there ever was any consonant in front of this *-i, let alone that the proposed consonant was any kind of velar. Second, the reconstruction of the Korean archetype as *-ki or *-hi oversimplifies the issue, because there are forms that exhibit other vowels, e.g., -hwu-, -Gwu, -hwo, and -Gwo (Yi Swungnyeng 1961: 333-335). Third, and most important, there is the problem of functional difference, as recently outlined by Whitman (2003: 3). This comparison, therefore, should be rejected on phonological and functional grounds.

36 To be more exact, in Korean it is a marker of a causative or a passive (Yi Swungnyeng 1961: 333-335).
2.3.2.4 Attributive *-VrV


Middle Korean: -(o/u)lq (?< *[V]lV), imperfective attributive, e.g., ho-lq salom ‘a person who will do/does’, cap-ulq ssyang ‘an elephant whom [I] will catch’.

The comparison between Japanese and Korean is widely known.

Old Japanese:

fôsi tûkî pa naNkar-uru-N-kôtö-si
year month TOP flow-ATTR-COMP-like-FIN
like the flowing of the years and months (MYS V: 804)

Middle Korean:

i KYENG nilk-ulq salom-on
this sutra read-ATTR/IRR person-TOP
the person who reads this sutra (Welin se 22b)

The major problem with this comparison is that PJ *-urô is a grammaticalized auxiliary that originally followed the infinitive form. This becomes apparent when we look at the Ryukyuan data.

Chart 26:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>Shuri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘write’</td>
<td>kak-u</td>
<td>kae-uru &lt; *kak-i-uru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘burn’</td>
<td>yac-u</td>
<td>‘yac-uru &lt; *yak-i-uru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘row’</td>
<td>kûNk-u</td>
<td>kuuj-uru &lt; *kug-i-uru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stand’</td>
<td>tat-u</td>
<td>tac-uru &lt; *tat-i-uru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Palatalization in Shuri takes place only before or after /i/. Therefore, the only way to explain why Shuri palatalizes the last consonant in the stem is to assume that the original form, to which the attributive form was attached, is the infinitive form. Hattori, who was the first scholar to offer this explanation, believes that the auxiliary in question was PJ *wor- ‘exist’ (1978-79). If he is right, then the grammaticalization of *wor- in Old Japanese probably happened before the raising *o > u occurred, and consequently /w/ dropped in front of /u/. The whole process of development may be represented as *V-i-wor-ô > *V-i-wuru > *V-i-uru > V-uru (nidan, sa-hen, na-hen, and ka-hen conjugations) > V-ru (ichidan conjugation), and > V-u (yodan and ra-hen conjugations).

It is possible to conceive a completely different scenario, namely, that the situation in Proto-Japanese was similar to Eastern Old Japanese and different from Ryukyuan. Specifically, this presumes that Proto-Japanese had the conclusive form -u (< *-um) and the attributive form -ô, which were added directly to the stem of yodan and ra-hen verbs, exactly as in
Eastern Old Japanese. Meanwhile, *nidan, ichidan*, and other irregular verbs had the same formation as found throughout the Ryukyuan verbal paradigm: infinitive form + wor-ō. Under this scenario the spread of this formation across the board in Proto-Ryukyuan then would be a Ryukyuan innovation.

Both of these scenarios have weak points. It is hard to justify the existence of a unique attributive form in -ô just for wor- ‘exist’ under the first scheme. Under the second, it remains unclear why the formation of the infinitive form + wor-ō affected only small groups of verbs in Proto-Japanese, but was used throughout in Proto-Ryukyuan. Personally, I am more inclined toward the second scenario. In any case, however, the Korean attributive form cannot be compared to Japanese, since the Proto-Japonic attributive is *-ô.

2.3.2.5 Infinitive *-i

Old Japanese: -i < *-i, infinitive, e.g., kik-‘hears and…’, ‘hearing’; ip- ‘says and…’, ‘saying’.
Middle Korean: -e/-ye/-a, infinitive, e.g., pat- ‘receives and…’, ‘receiving’; kesk- ‘breaks and…’, ‘breaking’.
This comparison was proposed in Vovin (2001: 190-191).

Examples:

Old Japanese:
turuNkî-tati kösi-ni tôr-i-pak-î satu-yumî-wo ta-niNkîr-i-mot-i-te
to-long sword wear.on.the.belt-INF hunting-bow-ACC hand-squeeze-INF hold-INF PERF
[young lads], sashing swords at their waists and holding hunting bows in their hands (*MYS* V: 804)

Middle Korean:
kil pes-e sswo-sy-a sey sal-ay ta ti-n-i
way take off-INF shoot-HON-INF all fall-PERF-NML
[He] swerved and shot, and all [three of his pursuers] fell from three arrows (*YP* 36)

Serafim suggested that the infinitive should be reconstructed as *-e for Proto-Ryukyuan (1985: 134), but the evidence he presented is not very convincing. Even if we tentatively accept Serafim’s hypothesis that the Proto-Japonic infinitive *-i is a result of raising from PJ *-e, the Middle Korean infinitive -e/-a would still remain a dubious cognate, because Old Korean clearly has *-a and not *-e in the pre-vowel harmony stage of Korean, e.g., OK KESk-a ‘breaking and …’ (*Hyangka* IV: 4), TÜl-a ‘entering and…’ (*Hyangka* V: 3), Él-a ‘marrying and…’ (*Hyangka* VI: 2)

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37 Frellesvig recently proposed an explanation very similar to this one, but the difference is that he denies the existence of a separate attributive form in Proto-Japonic, and believes that the form in -ô was originally a conclusive form that could be used in an attributive function (Frellesvig 2003).
instead of the expected *kesk-e, *tul-e, and *el-e (cf. the corresponding Middle Korean forms kesk-e, tul-e, and el-e).

### 2.3.2.6 Gerund -*mi

Old Japanese: *-mî < *-mi, subordinative gerund of quality verbs, e.g., *puka-mî ‘[because/when] X is deep’, *taka-mî ‘[when/because] X is high’, *el-mî ‘X is high and…’.

Middle Korean: -(o/u)mye, coordinative gerund, e.g., *ka-mye ‘goes and’, *ho-mye ‘does and’, *kiph-umye ‘is deep and…’.

This comparison was proposed in Vovin (2001: 191-192).

Examples:

Old Japanese:

KOKORÖ-wo ITA-mî nuye-kô-TÔRI ura-NAKÉ-WOR-E-NPA
heart-ABS painful-GER nuye-little-bird PREF-cry-be-EV-GER
when [my] heart hurts and little nuye birds are crying (MYS I: 5)

ware-ni otör-er-u pîtö-wo opo-mî
I-DAT be worse-PROG-ATTR person-ABS many-GER
because there are many people who are worse than I (BS 13)

Middle Korean:

twomang-ay myeng-ul mit-un-i
escape-LOC mandate-ACC believeGER song-LOC name believe-NML
while fleeing [he] believed in the [Heavenly] Mandate, in the song [he] believed [his] name (YP 16)

This is another likely borrowing from Old Korean, because of its limited distribution in Japonic, and within Japanese itself. There are no reflexes of this marker in Ryukyuan. Even in Central Japanese this marker is found only in Old Japanese, and only with quality verbs. Quality verbs, as mentioned above, were a new development in Old Japanese, possibly as a result of Korean influence. Meanwhile, in Korean, -mye occurs with both action and quality verbs. Thus, it appears that the OJ gerund -mî was very localized and short-lived in the history of Japanese.

### 2.3.2.7 Past marker *-ki

Old Japanese: past tense final marker -*ki < *-ki, e.g., *omöp-i-ki ‘[I] thought/loved’.

Middle Korean: perfective marker -ke-, -ka- ~ -Ge- ~ -Ga-, e.g., tina-ke-n ‘passed’, ni-ke-n-i ‘the one who went’.

This comparison was proposed in Vovin (2001: 192-193).

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38 The gerund -mî occurs in early Middle Japanese poetic texts, but there it is an apparent archaism inherited from Western Old Japanese.
Old Japanese:
myi-tat-as-i s-er-i-si isi tare mi-ki
HON-stand-HON-NML do-PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR stone who see(INF)-PAST/FIN
who has seen the stone on which [she] took [her] stand? (MYS V: 869)

Middle Korean:
cwuk-taka sal-Ge-n poykseng
die-TRANSF live-PERF-ATTR people
people who were dying, but survived (YP 25)

The past marker -ki is found only in Western Old Japanese and Middle Japanese, which both belong to Central Japanese; there are no Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan attestations. Therefore, it is likely this marker was borrowed from Old Korean as well. In addition, it must be noted that while Middle Korean perfective -ke- is an inflectional marker, WOJ -ki is clearly an auxiliary, because it follows the infinitive form.

2.3.2.8 Perfective *-ta-i
Old Japanese: -te- (< *-ta-i) perfective aspect marker, e.g., töNiömye-te-mu '[he] will stop', orös-i-te-kyi '[he] has put down'.
Middle Korean: -te-, -ta-, retrospective marker, e.g., ho-ta-n salom 'a person who has done', ka-te-n toy 'a place where [he] has gone'.
This comparison was proposed by Martin (1995: 142).

Old Japanese:
yö-nō kötö nar-e-ba töNiömiy-kane-t-u mō
life-GEN thing be-EV-GER stop-cannot(INF)-PERF-FIN PART
[one] cannot stop life, alas (MYS V: 805)

Middle Korean:
wonol-s il-ol kituli-zop-te-n-i
today-GEN deed-ACC wait-HUM-RETR-PERF-NML

39 The attributive past form -si is attested in Eastern Old Japanese, but since it is the suppletive form for final -ki, it does not prove the existence of -ki in Eastern Old Japanese. The modal past form -kê- < *-ki+ar- is found in several poems in MYS XIV (Mizushima 1984: 891-892), but none of these poems has any Eastern Old Japanese features. Even the syllable /kê/ is consistently spelled etymologically with the character 家 ‘house’, with none of the misspellings typical of Eastern Old Japanese texts. In addition, there is the Eastern Old Japanese modal form -kar- < *ki+ar-, but it is attested only once in MYS XX: 4388. As a hapax legomenon, it cannot offer strong evidence for the existence of *-ki in Eastern Old Japanese. It is possible to see EOJ -ki in the reduced allomorph -k- that occurs in past tentative -kêm-, but again it occurs in texts with no specific Eastern Old Japanese features. 40 Whitman suggested a comparison of the WOJ -ki with MK deverbal nominalizing suffix -ki (Whitman 1985: 228-229). Although I agree with Whitman that WOJ -ki might be originally a participial form, there are three problems that prevent me from accepting this comparison. The first and the second are the same as in the case of comparison with MK -ke-. WOJ -ki is an auxiliary and not a suffix, and it has no parallels in Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan. In addition, MK -ki is neutral in regard to tense, while WOJ -ki is not.
[they] waited for the deed of today (WCK 88)

Whether the Proto-Japanese perfective *-ta-i- (with reflexes attested only in Old Japanese and Middle Japanese) is connected by origin with the Japonic subordinative gerund marker -te (with reflexes amply attested in all branches of Japonic) remains a problem. Although the overwhelming consensus is in favor of this connection, I have my doubts, based on the fact that in both Old and the Middle Japanese the perfective markers -te- and -n- combine with different verbs, while at the same time both can be followed by the subordinative gerund -te (Kolpakchi 1956: 120-121), (Vovin 2003a: 305-306, 310). Since the gerund -te has a Proto-Japonic provenance, but the perfective -te- can be confirmed only for Proto-Japanese, it seems odd that Proto-Japanese would combine two perfective markers -te- within the same word form. Even if I am wrong, and the perfective -te- can indeed be derived from the gerund -te\textsuperscript{41}, the comparison with Korean is no less problematic, because it compares a gerund marker with an aspect marker. If I am right, we have a comparison of two aspect markers, but on the Japonic side it has a limited attestation in Japanese, and none in Ryukyuan. We are once again faced with the situation when the auxiliary in Japonic is compared to the inflectional marker in Korean.

2.3.2.9 Perfective *-n-

Old Japanese: -n-, perfective aspect marker, e.g., watas-i-n-i-kêr-i ‘[we] have crossed over’, tamap-i-n-i-ki ‘[he] has granted’.
Middle Korean: -(o/u)n, perfective/realis attributive, e.g., ka-n-i ‘he went’, kel-un salom ‘person who walked’.
The comparison between Japanese and Korean is widely known.\textsuperscript{42}

Old Japanese:
kô\textsuperscript{-}ra-ni sayar-i-n-u
child-PLUR-DAT be kept from-INF-PERF-FIN
[I] am kept from [leaving this world] by [my] children (MYS V: 899)

Middle Korean:
ma-pyeng-on mol tho-n pyeng i-Gwo
horse-troops-TOP horse ride-PERF/ATTR troops be-GER
Cavalry are troops that ride horses… (Welin I: 27b)

There are no traces of this marker in Ryukyuan (although there is perfective -n- in Eastern Old Japanese), so the comparison on the Japonic side is limited to Japanese, and is again between an auxiliary in Japanese and an inflectional marker in Korean. I have a suspicion that Japanese perfective -n- is a result of grammaticalization of either the copula n- ‘to

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\textsuperscript{41} The derivation could only occur in this direction, because the gerund is Proto-Japonic, and the perfective marker is only Proto-Japanese.

\textsuperscript{42} For example, in Whitman (1985: 240, #279).

\textsuperscript{43} This is an apparent misspelling in the text: it should be OJ kô ‘child’ with kô-rui iô/.
be’ or the verb *in- ‘to go away’. At least typologically a model of an infinitive+copula seems to be well justified as an underlying structure for the perfective.44 If so, the comparison with Korean should be rejected.

2.3.2.10 Tentative *-[V]m[V]

Old Japanese: *-am-, a broad tentative marker which can indicate probability, volition, etc., e.g., *ika-m-u ‘[I] want/will probably go’, *[you] should go’, *kōpï-m-u ‘[I] will love’.

Middle Korean: *-ma, intention marker, e.g., *cwu-ma ‘I will give’, *h-wo-ma ‘I intend to do’.

This comparison was proposed by Vovin (2001: 194-195).

Old Japanese:
opo-ki tō-yōri ukakap-i-te kōrōs-am-u tō s-ur-aku-wo sir-an-i
big-ATTR door-ABL peek-INF-SUB kill-TENT-FIN DV do-ATTR-NML-
not knowing that [they] are peeking from the big door and intend to kill [him] (NK 18)

Middle Korean:
a-y ne-tolye kolochy-wo-ma
I-NOM thou-DAT teach-MOD-INTL
I will teach you (PT I: 10)

In spite of the fact that tentative *-am- can be reconstructed on the Proto-Japonic level, it is a weak comparison phonologically, since it involves the supposition of a metathesis either in Old Japanese or in Korean.

2.3.2.11 Nominalizer *-i

Old Japanese: i < *-i, nominalizer, e.g., *ik-i ‘going’, *yōm-i ‘reading’.

Middle Korean: *-i, nominalizer, e.g., *ka-no-n-i ‘going’, *wo-no-n-i ‘coming’.

This comparison was proposed by Martin (1995: 142).

Old Japanese:
ywo-N-pap-i-ni ari-kaywop-ase
night-GEN-crawl-NML-LOC PREF-go back and forth-HON/INF
[he] constantly goes to the night date [with a woman] (KK 2)

Middle Korean:
kwoch tywo-khwo yelum ha-no-n-i
flower good-GER fruit many-PR-PERF/ATTR-NML
[its] flowers are good and [its] fruits are many (YP 2)

44 The reader should keep in mind that the ‘infinitive’ for Japonic forms in -i is just a customary term used in the field. Functionally, this ‘infinitive’ just corresponds to the gerund.
Here Japonic and Korean change roles: it is quite clear that the Japonic form (with reflexes amply attested in all branches) is an inflectional suffix because it follows the verbal stem directly, but the Korean form is historically a bound noun occurring only after an attributive.

2.3.2.12 Gerund *-ku/-ko

Old Japanese: -ku, quality verb infinitive and nominalizer, e.g., töpo-ku ‘far and’, omösirwo-ku ‘attractive and’, ‘the fact that [it] is attractive’.

Middle Korean: -kwo, -Gwo, subordinative gerund, e.g., towoy-Gwo ‘becomes and…’, ho-kwo ‘does and…’, kiph-kwo ‘deep and…’.

This Japanese-Korean comparison was proposed by Martin (1995: 148).

Old Japanese:

imõ-tô nõNpor-e-Npa sagasi-ku mõ ar-aNs-u
beloved-COM climb-EV-GER steep-GER PART be-NEG-FIN
when [I] climb with my beloved, [the mountain Kurapasi] is not steep at all (KK 70)

Middle Korean:

nyeth-wo-si-kwo stwo kiph-i-si-n-i
shallow-CAUS-HON-GER again deep-CAUS-HON-PERF/ATTR-NML
[Heaven] made [the sea] shallow, and then made [it] deep again (YP 20)

Martin also adds the OJ nominalizer -ku used after verbs, e.g., ip-aku ‘the fact that [someone] says’, but I do not believe it belongs here, because it is not just -ku, but -aku, as seen in forms such as mi-r-aku ‘the fact that [someone] sees’ and s-ur-aku ‘the fact that [someone] does’. This makes it clear that it is -aku and not -ku that historically follows the attributive form of verbs, resulting in the following developments: ip-aku < *ip-u-aku, mî-r-aku < *mi-ru-aku, and s-ur-aku < *s-uru-aku.

The reflexes of the quality verb infinitive -ku are amply attested throughout different branches of Japonic. Overall, this might be a valid comparison, but two reservations should be kept in mind. First, while the gerund -kwo in Korean is used with both action and quality verbs, in Japonic -ku is restricted to quality verbs. Second, for a perfect phonetic fit we might expect that WOJ -ku would be from PJ *-ko, with the raising of PJ *o > u typical of Central Japanese, but this is not the case, as the Proto-Ryukyuan form is definitely *-ku, not *-ko.

2.3.2.13 Honorific *-s(V)-

Old Japanese: -as- ~ -ös-, honorific marker, e.g., kavõp-as- ‘to go back and forth’ (hon.), tat-as- ‘to set out’, kik-ös-/kik-as- ‘to hear’ (hon.), omõp-ös- ‘to think’ (hon.).

Middle Korean: -(o/u)sí- ~ -(o/u)sy-, honorific marker, e.g., ka-sí- ‘to go’ (hon.), cap-osí- ‘to catch’ (hon.).
This comparison was proposed in Whitman (1985: #232), and repeated with modifications in Martin (1995).

Old Japanese:

sakasi mē-wo ar-i tō kīk-as-i-te kupasi mē-wo ar-i tō kīk-ōs-i-te

wise woman-ABS exist-FIN DV hear-HON-INF-SUB beautiful woman-ABS exist-FIN DV hear-HON-INF-SUB

[he] heard that there is a wise woman, [he] heard that there is a beautiful woman, and...

(KK 2)

Middle Korean:

wuli sicwo-y kyenghung-ey sal-osy-a wang-ngep-ul yel-usi-n-i

we founder of the dynasty-NOM Kyenghung-LOC live-HON-INF king-deed-ACC open-HON-REAL/ATTR-NML

When the founder of our dynasty lived in Kyenghung, [he] started [to do] royal deeds (YP 3)

Martin’s comparison of Japonic and Korean forms largely depends on his analysis of yodan verbs as vowel verbs uniformly ending in -a (with occasional and rare -ō). As my morpheme breaks above indicate, I disagree with his point of view and treat yodan verbs as consonantal. The problem deserves a separate treatment, and its solution does not have a direct impact on the present study. But it might be worthwhile to briefly mention my two most important objections. First, it is not quite clear why only -a is present as a stem-final vowel (with -ō being extremely rare, and sometimes alternating with -a, as in the example above). This exclusive occurrence of -a after consonantal verbs may call for a different explanation, namely, that it was a separate morpheme. Second, the fact that addition of vowel-initial suffixes to consonantal stems (for example, infinitive -i) did not result in the expected monophthongization a+i > ê is bizarre. These two points, however, can be easily reconciled if infinitive -i never followed -a.

Nevertheless, if -a or -ō in Western Old Japanese honorific -as/-ōs- would historically represent a separate morpheme, Martin’s comparison could possibly stand. This is exactly the approach taken by Whitman, who posits OJ -s- as an honorific suffix (1985: 234-235). However, there are two problems with this etymology. First, it seems that the Old Japanese morpheme was really -as-, not just -s-. Otherwise such forms as OJ kēs- ‘to wear’ (honorific) < *kī-as- and mēs- ‘to see’ (honorific) < *mī-as- are difficult to explain: if the honorific suffix were really *-s-, we would expect *kī-s- and *mē-s-. Second, we again face the problem of a limited distribution in Japonic. There are no attestations of this honorific marker or its reflexes in Ryukyuan (Serafim, personal communication), although it is attested in Eastern Old Japanese. Thus, it appears that the honorific marker -as/-ōs- is limited to Old Japanese and possibly to Middle Japanese. The explanation that it was borrowed seems preferable.

45 In Middle Japanese the honorific marker -ase/-sase- formally coincides with the causative marker -ase/-sase-. It remains to be seen whether WOJ -as/-ōs- and MJ -ase/-
To conclude this discussion on Koreo-Japonic comparative verbal morphology, I present the following chart, where I put together the morphological markers discussed above with some other morphological markers in Japonic that do not have suggested Korean counterparts, but are amply attested in all three branches of Japonic. I have not included the markers that I rejected on the basis of insurmountable phonological and/or morphological problems, such as transitivity flipper, attributive, and infinitive.

Chart 27: Some comparative verbal morphology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>EOJ</th>
<th>Ryuk.</th>
<th>OK</th>
<th>MK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>-an-</td>
<td>-anap-</td>
<td>-an-</td>
<td>?*anti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. gerund</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>*-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final (verbs)</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>*-um</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
<td>(2.5) &lt; *-m</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>*-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>*-ke-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>to (&lt;WOJ)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>-te-</td>
<td>-te-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>-n-</td>
<td>-n-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tentative</td>
<td>-am-</td>
<td>-am-</td>
<td>?-a</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. infinitive</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>kwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honorific</td>
<td>-as-</td>
<td>-as-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-si-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at this chart, we can come to the following conclusions:

1. Among the fifteen comparisons presented above, eleven have suggested Korean etymologies, but among those eleven, only three have clear reflexes in all branches of Japonic. Two of these three are problematic, because they involve comparison of a Japonic inflectional suffix to an auxiliary in Korean (negative) and comparison of a Japonic inflectional suffix to a Korean bound noun (nominalizer₁), respectively.

2. Among the remaining eight attested only in Japanese (but not in Ryukyuan) only four are attested in Eastern Old Japanese as cognates of Western Old Japanese morphemes, and not as borrowings from Western Old Japanese. Among these four parallels three are problematic, because

\[
\text{sase-} \quad \text{represent the same or two unrelated morphemes. At the present time I am inclined to see MJ } \text{-sase-/-sase- as a grammaticalization of se- ‘to do’, first as a causative, which then subsequently started to be used as an honorific.}
\]
two involve a comparison of a Japanese auxiliary to a Korean inflectional suffix, and the remaining one presents phonetic problems.

(3) The remaining four verbal markers with suggested Korean cognates are attested only in Western Old Japanese.

(4) It is revealing that two of the remaining four Western Old Japanese markers, adjectival gerund -mî and the nominalizer reflected by accent class 2.5, are mostly limited to quality verbs and have doublets or near-doublets (subordinative gerund -te and nominalizer –sa, respectively) that are amply attested in other branches of Japonic, but do not have any Korean parallels.

This situation, similar to what we have already seen in the area of nominal morphology, again suggests an areal rather than a genetic relationship, with Western Old Japanese or, rather, Proto-Central Japanese, heavily borrowing from Old Korean. Further confirmation for this proposal comes from the fact that there is no evidence for a paradigmatic commonality between Japonic and Korean verbal morphologies. Rather, we have comparisons of isolated verbal markers, with the majority of them running into the problems discussed above.
LEXICAL COMPARISONS

The Koreo-Japonic comparison has always been conducted mostly in the area of vocabulary, with grammatical comparison playing only a secondary role. This can be demonstrated by the fact that two seminal works that attempted to prove the genetic relationship between these two languages, Martin (1966) and Whitman (1985), dealt predominantly with lexical comparisons. I believe that the lexicon represents the most unstable part of a language, and that the ultimate proof of a genetic relationship can come only from the demonstration of common paradigmatic morphology (provided that the languages being compared do have morphology). But because lexical comparison has played such a prominent role in Koreo-Japonic comparative studies, below I discuss the Koreo-Japonic lexical comparisons as presented in Whitman (1985). My choice of Whitman (1985) rather than Martin (1966) is due to the fact that Whitman provided many important updates to both the comparisons and the reconstruction of Proto-Japonic and Proto-Korean. Although now we have a more recent publication (Starostin, Dybo, and Mudrak 2003) that also tries to prove the existence of a genetic relationship between Japanese and Korean, albeit in the framework of a greater ‘Altaic’, Whitman’s 1985 dissertation is clearly superior to the pseudo-scholarly work by Starostin, Dybo, and Mudrak (2003).

3.1 DOUBLETS IN WESTERN OLD JAPANESE

Before I proceed to the reevaluation of the Koreo-Japonic comparative corpus in Whitman (1985), one general observation presented below is in order. The structure of the Old Japanese lexicon is highly suspicious in the respect that many of the basic vocabulary items have doublets. The issue was discussed at length in Vovin (2007). Below is a comparative chart of some of the doublets that have reliable etymological counterparts in Korean with others that do not. The word without a Korean etymology is listed first, with a subscript (1), and the word with a Korean etymology second, with the subscript (2). The chart provides the distribution of the words in question across various branches of Japonic.

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1 However, not with Japonic, because Ryukyuan data is ignored.
### Chart 28: Lexical doublets in Western Old Japanese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>EOJ</th>
<th>Ryuk.</th>
<th>OK</th>
<th>MK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father₁</td>
<td>titi</td>
<td>titi</td>
<td>cici</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father₂</td>
<td>kasō</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>kasō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother₁</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>fafa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother₂</td>
<td>omo</td>
<td>amo</td>
<td>emi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head₁</td>
<td>tuʰ /tʰuri</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>çiburu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head₂</td>
<td>-mata¹</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>mati²</td>
<td>mali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye₁</td>
<td>mè</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>*me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye₂</td>
<td>na-miNta⁶</td>
<td>nada</td>
<td>nwun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snow₁</td>
<td>yuki</td>
<td>yoki</td>
<td>*yoki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snow₂</td>
<td>na-dare⁴</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>nwun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea₁</td>
<td>umi</td>
<td>umi</td>
<td>*omi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea₂</td>
<td>wata</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>patah⁸</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many₁</td>
<td>opō</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>*opo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many₂</td>
<td>mane-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>manh-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morning₁</td>
<td>tutōmète</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>*sutomète</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morning₂</td>
<td>asa</td>
<td>asa</td>
<td>acom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth₁</td>
<td>ni, nita¹⁰</td>
<td>mizya¹¹</td>
<td>*mita</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth₂</td>
<td>tuti</td>
<td>tuti²</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>twute-¹⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house₁</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>*ya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house₂</td>
<td>ipē</td>
<td>ipē³⁴</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>cip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>root₁</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>*ne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>root₂</td>
<td>mötō</td>
<td>moto</td>
<td>muutu (?)¹³</td>
<td>mith¹⁶</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow₁</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>-ya ¹⁷</td>
<td>*ya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow₂</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>sal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>treasure₁</td>
<td>takara</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>*takara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>treasure₂</td>
<td>kusirō¹⁸</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>kwusul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

3 A Paekche word.
4 Attested in *ya-mata worōti* ‘eight-headed serpent’; for a detailed discussion see Vovin (2000: 144-145).
5 This is the Early Middle Korean form, attested in *Kye-ylim* #161.
6 *OJ na-miNta* ‘tear’, lit. ‘eye-water’.
7 Attested only in *MJ: nadare* ‘snow slide’.
8 Also *MK palol* ‘sea’.
9 *Shuri maNdoo- ‘to be many’ is isolated in the Ryukyus. Segmentation problems arise if one wants to relate it to *WOJ mane-*.
10 *WOJ nita* ‘dirty ground’.
11 Attested in the Hachijo dialect, but not in Eastern Old Japanese.
12 Single attestations in *MYS XX: 4418*.
13 Also attested as *MK tvasti-*.
14 Also attested as *EOJ gu-ro ~ ipi ‘house’.
15 Limited attestations in the Ryukyus. Although the word does seem to occur in Miyako and Yaeyama, it is predominantly used there as a classifier, not as an independent word.
16 The meaning is ‘base’.
17 Attested only as the second element of the compound *satu-ya* ‘hunting arrow’ (*MYS XX: 4374*).
18 ‘Bracelet made of precious stones’.
As one can easily see, the second Western Old Japanese word among the two doublets has parallels in Middle and/or Old Korean, but rarely has a cognate in Ryukyuan and is only slightly better attested in Eastern Old Japanese. This is exactly the same situation that we have already seen with nominal and verbal morphology, confirming my general thesis that Western Old Japanese morphemes and words with Korean parallels, but no cognates in other branches of Japonic, are loans from Old Korean into Central Japanese.

3.2 WHITMAN’S LEXICAL COMPARISONS

In his seminal dissertation Whitman presents 34719 comparisons between Korean and Old Japanese (1985: 209-246). Some of them include morphological markers, but the majority are lexical. I discuss all of his lexical comparisons below, except those that have been ruled out by recent developments in the field, e.g., Whitman’s comparisons involving Middle Korean initial aspirates.20 Most of Whitman’s grammatical comparisons were addressed above, but they are cross-referenced below in order to preserve Whitman’s numbering. The discussion of individual etymologies is followed by a statistical summary. I mark the obvious loans with an (L), potential cognates with a (C), and rejected etymologies with an (R).

3.2.1 *p-

(1) (R) MK pá ‘place of’ ~ OJ -pa L ‘edge of, place of’, J ba ‘place of’ (Whitman 1985: 209). J ba does not have necessarily to be a contraction of OJ nipa ‘garden’, which Whitman believes to be a compound consisting of ni ‘earth’ and pa ‘place’. It can be just a contraction of genitive -nô + *pa, thus strengthening Whitman’s comparison, provided that one can prove the existence of *pa ‘place’ in Japonic. However, I believe there are two problems with this comparison. First, while -pa ‘edge’ certainly does exist, cf. yama-nô pa-ni ‘at the edge of the mountains’ (MYS XV: 3623), I am not aware of any instances of -pa ‘place of’ occurring even as the second element of a transparent compound, let alone in independent usage in Old Japanese. J ba, no matter what is its ultimate origin, is certainly attested too late to support the comparison. Second, in spite of MK pá, found as a translational equivalent of the Chinese character 所 ‘place’ (Hwungmwong II: 8a), we have to keep in mind that 所 can be used as a nominalizer in Classical Chinese, meaning ‘the matter, the fact’, rather than simply ‘place’. A perusal of textual examples in Middle Korean demonstrates that MK pá has exactly the same usage as Classical Chinese 所; it occurs exclusively as a nominalizer after verbs and is never used independently to mean ‘place’:

19 The numbering in Whitman’s list shows 352 examples, but examples 196, 201, 220, 328, and 344 are absent. I preserve Whitman’s numbering in order to avoid unnecessary cross-listing.

20 Whitman suggested that MK initial aspirates ph-, th-, kh-, ch- go back to PK *op-/ *up-, *ot-/ *ut-, *ok-/ *uk-, *oc-/ *uc- (1985: 176). This treatment is obsolete nowadays in light of the Ramsey-Yi treatment of the origins of aspiration in Middle Korean (see 1.1.1).
Although there are things that ignorant commoners want to say... (HMC 2a)

The law [of the matters] which the Buddha spoke of, is this law (Kumsam II: 40b)

This comparison should be rejected: there is solid evidence only for OJ pa ‘edge’, which ends up being compared with ‘matter’ in Korean.

(2) (R) MK pák- ‘thrusts it into, inserts it, fills it’ ~ OJ pak- H ‘puts (shoes, skirt, etc.) on by inserting legs’ (Whitman 1985: 209). Although the verb is attested in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese, I believe that the semantic tag Whitman provides is incorrect. There is a single Eastern Old Japanese example where this verb refers to wearing shoes (MYS XIV: 3399). In all other Eastern and Western Old Japanese examples this verb refers to wearing a sword, most often to WOJ tati (EOJ tasi/tati) ‘long sword’, and in a few examples to turunki ‘double-edged sword’. Neither of these swords was worn the way the samurai did in later periods, by inserting it into the sash. In Japan from the Asuka through Nara period swords were worn hanging from the belt, as can be seen not only from the art of the period, but also by the following line in the Nihonshoki kayō, where pak- is used together with tare- ‘hang down’:

There is one more Eastern Old Japanese example where the verb pak- is used for attaching a bowstring to a bow (MYS XIV: 3437). Unfortunately, Old Japanese texts do not offer us any evidence for pak- used with skirts. All I can say at the moment is that OJ mö ‘skirt’ was unlike a modern skirt, into which the lower part of the body is inserted; instead it was wrapped around the waist and legs. Therefore, I think that OJ pak- simply means ‘attach [to the body]’. In later periods of the development of the language there are, of course, many examples of pak- attested exactly in the meaning Whitman provides, but these are likely due to a secondary development: we should not forget that styles of clothing and dress changed drastically between the Asuka and Heian periods.

As far as the Ryukyuan evidence is concerned, Shuri has both hacuN and hakiyuN ‘to wear’ (RGJ 1976: 199, 202). The latter is an apparent late loan from Japanese, but the first one is likely to be a cognate. Both, however, mean ‘to wear something at the sash’ or ‘to wear on the neck’. Neither is used for wearing shoes, for which an unrelated verb, kunuN (kum-), is used. This kum- is attested throughout the Ryukyus, while hak-
‘to wear shoes’ seems to be limited to Nase and Koniya in the Northern Ryukyus (Hirayama 1966: 323). Isolated cases from the Northern Ryukyus, where the Japanese influence was stronger than in the south, certainly present more favorable evidence for a loanword scenario than for a genetic relationship with Jhak-. Thus, the Ryukyuan data supports the Proto-Japonic semantic archetype as just ‘to attach [to the body]’. A comparison with Korean should be ruled out on semantic grounds.

(3) (R) MK pàkwònì, LMK pakwalley ‘bamboo basket’ ~ OJ pakô HH ‘box’. Whitman notes that ‘this comparison must assume that MK -ni is a suffix, perhaps the plural suffix -ni’ (Whitman 1985: 209). I am not aware of the existence of such a plural suffix in Korean. Whitman’s LMK pakwalley is certainly Early Modern Korean, as it is not attested earlier than 1677, although there is a predecessor, MK pàkwùlGéy (Hwungmwong II: 27a). The problem here is that neither MK pàkwùlGéy nor EMdK pakwalley have anything to do with bamboo baskets, since both mean ‘bridle’. We are left with MK pàkwònì, but we cannot really compare it with Japonic, as the segment -ni is unaccounted for. Also, MK -k- < PK *-nk-, so that for a genuine cognate with Japonic we would expect MK -h- or -G-. I am inclined to dismiss this comparison on the basis of inadequate morphological analysis and phonetic irregularity. In any case, this is a cultural vocabulary item that is unlikely to provide any support for the Koreo-Japonic genetic relationship.

(4) (R) MK pàl ‘foot, leg’ ~ OJ paNkî ‘shin’, Ryukyuan (Sakishima) pagì ‘leg’ (Whitman 1985: 209). There are three problems with this etymology. First, MK pàl does not mean ‘leg’, for which MK tàlí is used. Second, we simply do not know whether ‘leg’ > ‘shin’ in Old Japanese, or ‘shin’ > ‘leg’ in Ryukyuan. Third, and most important, we have a phonetic irregularity here: the correspondence of MK -l- to OJ -Nk-, I believe, is unique, not supported by any other examples. Whitman reconstructs PJK *parak here (1985: 209), but he also reconstructs PJK *tarak for his comparison of ‘Koguryo’ tal ‘mountain’ and OJ taka- ‘high’ (1985: 214). It is clear that the Japanese reflexes are different in both cases. I reject this etymology on the basis of phonological irregularity and semantic discrepancy.

(5) (R) MK pànól ‘needle’ ~ WOJ pari LH, EOJ paru ‘id’. Whitman also cites LMK palol (1985: 209), which is in fact an Early Modern Korean hapax legomenon attested in the Ma kyeng enhay, dating from the Inco period (1623-49). No hapax legomenon is a reliable source for external comparison, especially when other sources, including modern dialects, confirm MK pànól and not palol. The comparison is not reliable, since it rests on the speculation that WOJ pari < *parari < *panari, according to Whitman’s *-r- loss law (Whitman 1990). While such a development is certainly possible, it is not confirmed for this word by

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21 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966: #271).
22 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966: #153).
23 The forms pa:l and pal attested in Kyungsang province (Choy 1978: 612), potentially reflect EMdK palol, but they are isolated and rare.
internal Japonic data. PJ *parari represents a reconstruction on the basis of a Korean form that is itself a reconstruction from above. There is also the problem of phonetic regularity; if we look at another of Whitman’s comparisons, namely MK hànhólh ‘sky’ and OJ swora ‘id’. (236), it is immediately clear that the Middle Korean segment -ano- corresponds to OJ -a- in the case of ‘needle’, and to OJ -wo- in the case of ‘sky’. Therefore, I reject this etymology. See also (264) below.

(6) (R) MK pàs, pàsk < *pàsök ‘exterior, outside’ ~ OJ pasi HH ‘outside edge’ (Whitman 1985: 209). Omodaka et al. (JDB 1967: 575) define OJ pasi as ‘[small] inside corner (J katasumi), edge’, and the textual evidence supports the definition. Even in modern Japanese hasi does not necessarily mean ‘outside edge’ as, e.g., in the famous accent tongue twister: hàsì-wo motte hàsì-nò hàsì-wò wataru ‘[he] crosses the bridge on the edge holding chopsticks’, as the walking is not done outside the bridge’s railing. More important than the semantics is the fact that OJ pasi ‘edge, inside corner’ is a compound, including OJ pa ‘edge’, already discussed above in (1) (cf. MJ pana ‘tip’, which although not attested phonetically in Old Japanese,24 testifies for the morphological boundary in pasi). There is no similar internal evidence for segmenting MK pàsk < *pàsök ‘exterior, outside’ as *pa-sok. I reject this comparison on the basis of incompatible morphological structure and semantics.

(7) (R) MK pàs- ~ pac- ‘hurries’ ~ OJ pasir- ‘runs, hurries’, pase- ‘makes it run’. Whitman maintains that ‘MK root appears in paspo- ‘is hurried’ < pas/c- + -po- deverbal adjectival suffix; pach- ‘makes it hurry’ < pac-/pas- + -hi causative suffix’ (1985: 209). There are numerous problems with this comparison. First, MK pàch- is misglossed: it does not mean ‘makes it hurry’, but simply ‘hurries’: Yu Changton glosses it as pappi hata ‘hurries’ (LCT 1987: 373), and the textual examples he provides fully support the gloss:
Pikwu-sung-ul pwo-si-kwo teGwuk pach-osi-n-i
Pikwu-monk-ACC look-HON-SUB even more hurry-HON-ATTR/REAL-NML
[he] looked at the monk Pikwu and hurried even more (WCK 44)

pach-a mal-Gwo
hurry-INF do not-SUB
do not hurry, and... (Twusi cho I: 10)

The suggested causative meaning is not there, and with that the proposed segmentation pach- < pac- + -hi- should be abandoned as well. Consequently, the root is pach-, and no further segmentation is possible, but MK pàch- < PK *pàcòh-, or, much more likely *pàhòc-, which is probably from still earlier *pàkòc- (see velar lenition in 1.1.3.3 above). The medial *-k- presents an insurmountable phonological difficulty, and

24 It is possible that there is one semantographic attestation in MYS XIX: 4217.
this alone should rule out the comparison with OJ *pasir-* ‘runs, hurries’, *pase-* ‘makes it run’. However, there are problems on the Japonic side as well that further invalidate this comparison. First, I fail to see what is Whitman’s basis for glossing OJ *pasir-* as ‘hurries’: the word certainly means ‘runs, moves quickly, falls down quickly’ (JDB 1967: 579). Second, there is no internal Japonic evidence for segmenting *pasir-* as *pas-*ir, because there is no suffix *-ir-* in Japonic. Therefore, the comparison should be rejected on phonological and morphological grounds in addition to the less than perfect semantics (‘hurry’ in Korean but ‘run’ in Japonic).

(8) (L) MK pàth ‘dry field’ ~ OJ pata LH, patakë LHL ‘id’. Whitman notes that OJ *pata* appears only in compounds (1985: 209). To the best of my knowledge, the same is true in modern Japanese as well, despite the fact that dictionaries frequently list *hata* as an independent word. But its actual usage seems to be limited to compounds like *ta-hata* ‘wet and dry fields’, or *hata-kaasu* ‘to dig up the field in preparation for sowing’. Here we are dealing with an agricultural term, and the introduction of agriculture to the Greater Manchurian region certainly postdates the separation of any postulated Koreo-Japonic family. The word is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese, but it is attested in Ryukyuan. The attestations in Ryukyuan present a picture compatible with direct genetic inheritance within Japonic, rather than borrowing from Japanese: Nase *hatee*, Koniya *hatehe*, Kamezu *hate*, Ishigaki *patagi*, Ōhama *patagi*, Taketomi *hate*, Kuroshima *pataki*, Hateruma *pitegi*, Yonaguni *hatagi* (Hirayama 1966: 338; 1967: 309). Cf. the cognates of OJ *takë* ‘bamboo’ in the same Ryukyuan dialects: Nase *dee*, Koniya *dïxë*, Kamezu *deë*, Ishigaki *taki*, Ōhama *taki*, Taketomi *tai*, Kuroshima *taki*, Hateruma *taki*, Yonaguni *tagi* (Hirayama 1966: 352; 1967: 338). The presence of the word for ‘dry field’ in both Ryukyuan and Japonic suggests that it may be either a cognate to Korean or a loanword from the time of the mutual coexistence of Japonic and Korean in Manchuria or on the Korean peninsula. Since this is a cultural vocabulary item, even if it represents a cognate, it is not indicative of a genetic relationship.

(9) (R)/(C) MK pàtó:li ‘wasp’ ~ OJ *pati* HH or LF ‘bee, wasp’. There are no reliable Old Japanese phonetic attestations of *pati*, but the word is attested in Middle Japanese as *fati*. Whitman notes that the rising pitch

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25 OJ *pase-* ‘makes run, runs’, cited by Whitman is sometimes considered to be a transitive form of the intransitive *pasir-* (JDB 1967: 579). However, this is problematic for the following reasons. First, the expected intransitive form of *pase-* should be *pasar-*, not *pasir-*. The exact morphological relationship between *pase-* and *pasir-* is unclear, and it is likely that they are unrelated. Second, *pase-* also can be used as an intransitive verb ‘to run’, further undermining the possibility of its relationship to *pasir-*. Third, examples of phonetic attestation of *pase-* as a transitive verb in Old Japanese are lacking (all cases are limited to much later *kana* glosses), and the first attestation known to me comes only from very late Middle Japanese (*USM* III: 12). Meanwhile, although not indicated in JDB, the intransitive *pase-* ‘runs’ is likely to be attested in Old Japanese in the expression *ama-pase-Ntukapi* ‘heavenly runner messenger’ (*KK* 2, *KK* 3).

26 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966: #79).

27 There are three attestations in Middle Japanese that I could trace: in *WAnyōshō* XIX: 25b, *MS* 154, and *Ruiju myōgishō* (Mochizuki 1974: 436).
on the last syllable in the Korean form is quite exceptional (1985: 209), but I think that his source for accentuation is (LCT 1987: 360), which lists only pátó:li (with H on the first syllable, and not L as in Whitman’s citation). An accentual variant pátō:li is also attested in addition to pátó:li (Hwangmwoo I: 24a). MK pátō:li is not just any ‘wasp’, but a very specific type, *Amphiphila infesta* ‘mud-dauber’. The Korean word cannot be related to Old Japanese because it has a non-leniting -t- < *-nt-, thus MK pátō:li < PK *pantoli. Therefore, the traditional comparison with MK :pel ‘wasp’< PK *petu LH or *petu LH seems to be a better fit with Japonic, provided the Middle Korean form is really from *petu. In Ryukyuan, in addition to Shuri hacaa ‘wasp’ (RGJ 1976: 198), the word is also attested with the meaning of ‘honey’ in the South Ryukyus in the Miyako compound patsimiač ‘honey’ (Nakamatsu 1987: 100), in Kuroshima (Yaeyama) as patši ‘honey’ (Nakamatsu 1987: 190), and in Kawahira (Ishigaki) also as patsi ‘honey’ (Nakamatsu 1987: 229). The word certainly has Proto-Japonic status, and it is possible that MK :pel < *petu and MJ fati could be treated as cognates.

(10) (R) MK pólá- ‘desires it’ ~ OJ pör- ‘id’. Whitman remarks that “this comparison assumes that the Old Japanese vowel is /ô/ and results from medial *r- loss (textual evidence is lacking). The adjective pô-si [presumably another typo for pôši — A. V.] indicates that the stem final *r in the Old Japanese verb is epenthetic. PJK *pora- (> pre-OJ *pua-r- > OJ pwor-)” (Whitman 1985: 210). This is certainly a Proto-Japonic word, confirmed by Shuri husyaN ‘desirable’ (and other dialect forms) or even better by Shuri volitional auxiliary -busaN < *pu-sa-N. It is not clear to me on what basis both Whitman and Martin assume that the vowel in the Old Japanese word is a kō-rui /ô/ and not an otsu-rui /ö/: Whitman specifically says that there is no textual evidence. However, there is evidence; as demonstrated by Bentley (1997), the β section of the Nihonshoki still preserves the distinction between /pô/ and /pö/. OJ posi is attested twice in the Nihonshoki kayō (NK 54 and NK 84), and OJ por- is attested there only once (NK 123). Unfortunately, both NK 84 and NK 123 are found in the α section of the Nihonshoki, where the distinction between /pô/ and /pö/ is not maintained. This leaves us with the single attestation of OJ posi in NK 54 that belongs to the β section. In this song, OJ posi is spelled as 朋辭 /pôši/, which clearly indicates /ô/, and not /ö/. Admittedly, the evidence is not very strong, since we have a single attestation, but this is typical of almost all cases involving the contrast /ô/ : /ö/ after /p/, because only the Kojiki and the β section of the Nihonshoki preserve it. So, if we, like Whitman, are to take the evidence of the written sources for this contrast into consideration, we have to admit this case. Thus, the Old Japanese form...
is pöşi, and it cannot be compared with MK pólá- for phonetic reasons:

(11) (R) MK pólí- ‘throws it away’ ~ OJ parap- ‘sweeps it away, drives it out’ (Whitman 1985: 210). This etymology is possible, but there are two problems. First, in order for it to work, one must show that -ap- in OJ parap- is an iterative suffix. OJ para-ni ‘scattered’, cited by Whitman apparently to demonstrate the much-needed morphological boundary, is unlikely to be of any help due to its own unclear morphological composition and dubious semantic connection to OJ parap-. Sweeping or driving away does not necessarily include a repetitive action: in addition, the verb without -ap- does not present itself in Old Japanese. Second, even if PJ *par- is established, the next problem is to explain -i in MK pólí- as a suffix. I do not believe that any Middle Korean suffix -i could fit here. This -i likely belongs to the root. An alternative explanation would be to claim that PJ *par- lost final *-i, but again I see no way to substantiate such a speculation with internal evidence. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(12) (R) MK pólò- ‘sticks it on, spreads it, pastes it’ ~ OJ par- ‘id’. (Whitman 1985: 210). MK pólò- is a Class 8 verb, therefore it goes back to PK *polól-. This is a possible etymology only if one reconstructs PJ *para- like Martin. If the reconstruction is just *par-, the etymology faces the problem of accounting for the final segment in the Proto-Korean form, as in etymology (11) above. There is also a significant semantic problem which is hidden in Whitman’s glossing: MK pólò- means sticking or pasting some substance like oil or powder on a surface of something else, but OJ par- indicates spreading of some object in the sense of stretching it. This verb is applied in Old Japanese to spreading nets, sails, flags, stretching bowstrings, etc. I believe that these two actions are very dissimilar. Therefore, I am inclined to reject this etymology.

(13) (R) LMK pól ‘fathom’ ~ OJ pîrô LL ‘id’. (Whitman 1985: 210). The Korean word is actually attested in the Middle Korean of the fifteenth century (Welin XXI: 16). OJ pîro is not attested phonetically in Old Japanese, so possible Old Japanese forms are *pîrô, *pîrô, *pîrô, and *pîrô. Since MK /o/ does not correspond to OJ /î/, the only possibility that saves the comparison would be to suggest that the first vowel was OJ /î/. Even if this speculation is true, one still needs to have OJ /î/ < *ui, not *öi, since only OJ /u/, not /ö/ corresponds to MK /o/ (Whitman 1985: 129). Even if we allow these two hypotheses, we still end up with PJ *pîrû, which has a remaining sequence -îrû corresponding to MK -l. I do not see any way this ‘correspondence’ can be satisfactorily explained. In addition, outside Central Japanese, there is hwiru ‘fathom’ attested in Shuri (RGJ 1976: 240), and Yaeyama pîru (Miyara 1981: 79). The latter form with /î/ allows us to confirm without any doubt that the Proto-Japonic vowel in the first syllable was *i. Thus, any relationship between PJ *pîro and MK pól can be ruled out due to the irregularity. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

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31 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #232.
32 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #219.
(14) (L) MK pó'l ‘set, layer, occurrence of (counter)’ ~ OJ pê ‘layer, set of’ < PJ *piro (Whitman 1985: 210). OJ pê is attested only in Western Old Japanese. Since WOJ pê under Whitman’s scenario < PJ *pia, the words in question cannot be cognates; as mentioned in (12) above, MK /o/ does not correspond to OJ /î/ < PJ *i. Since WOJ pê does not have any cognates in Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan, I think that the loanword explanation is more likely, because it also does not involve phonetic problems: WOJ pê (phonetically [pe]) was borrowed from the Old Korean predecessor of MK pó'l with the expected loss of the final consonant in Old Japanese.33 Compare this with etymology (13) above: the same Middle Korean sequence pó'l is reflected in Old Japanese as either piro or pê: such a lack of regularity certainly speaks against the Koreo-Japonic hypothesis.

(15) (R) MK pólh ‘arm’ ~ OJ pîNti ‘elbow’ < PJK *pidu(+-i) (Whitman 1985: 210).34 In addition to the lack of correspondence between MK /o/ and OJ /î/, already discussed in (13) and (14) above, we have other problems, of which the lack of semantic agreement is the most benign. First, this comparison presents us with a correspondence of MK -l- and OJ -Nt-, which is not supported by any other etymologies, cf. Whitman (1985: 184), where the same example is cited. The same correspondence appears again in the list of etymologies, cf. (55) and (134) below. Second, OJ pîNti < PJ *pinti (*pintu-i or *pintö-i are also possible) has an expected Korean correspondence of PJ *-nt- to a non-leniting MK -t-, not MK -l- < PK *-t-. Third, Whitman derives MK -lh from PK *-lkV or *-lu/*-lo (1985: 175, 184). This reconstruction is obsolete nowadays, and the majority of scholars in the field reconstruct MK -lh as *-lok/*-luk. This leaves us with MK pólh < PK *pôlôk, which creates another obstacle for comparison with OJ pîNti: it is not clear whether PK *-k in this word is a suffix or belongs to a root. With the exception of the initial p-, very little remains of this etymology and it should definitely be rejected.

(16) (R) MK pólk- ‘red’ ~ pólk- ‘bright’ ~ J beni ‘rouge’, OJ pani HH ‘red clay’ (Whitman 1985: 210-211). beni is attested in Middle Japanese (IKJ 1990: 1151). Although its etymology is unclear, as Whitman correctly notes, it is likely a loanword, due to initial b- < *Np-, so we do not need to discuss it further. OJ pani can be ‘yellow clay’ as well as ‘red clay’. Whitman claims that OJ -n- corresponds to MK -lk- and that both are regular reflexes of a Proto-Japanese-Korean cluster *-lg-, and he provides four examples in addition to this one to support his proposal (Whitman 1985: 183):

MK môlk- ‘clear, limpid, transparent’ ~ OJ muna ‘empty, vacant’ (254)35
MK môlôl ‘ridge, climax, gist’ ~ OJ muna-/mune ‘id’. (256)

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33 It is not clear what kind of vocalism we have to reconstruct for this word in Proto-Korean. Since the Ceycwuto dialect has pwul instead of expected *pol (Choy 1978: 1042), apparently simply positing *pol on the basis of Middle Korean is out of the question. Modern Korean has pel, and the majority of the other dialects have /e/ or /wu/, although there are also dialects exhibiting /wo/, and even in one case /i/ (Choy 1978: 1042).

34 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #269.

35 Numbers in parentheses indicate the numbers of etymologies on Whitman’s list.
MK cŏlō ‘handle’ ~ OJ tunwo ‘horn, projection’ (184)
MK hŏlk ‘earth, soil, clay’ ~ OJ su, MJ suña HH ‘sand, earth’ (238)

The second and third examples do not have an -lk- cluster in Middle Korean, so they do not belong here. In addition, mŏlŏl, I trust, should be a reconstructed form for MK mŏlŏ ~ mŏll-, which does not mean ‘gist’ or ‘climax’, but just ‘ridge, ridgepole, foundation’. The remaining two examples, do not fare much better. OJ muna and munasi- are ‘empty’ in the sense of ‘vain’ or ‘void’, but not in the sense of ‘vacant’, as the following textual examples demonstrate.36

yŏ-nŏ naka pa munasi-kĭ mŏnŏ tŏ sir-u tŏkŏ
world-GEN inside TOP empty-ATTR thing DV know-ATTR time
when [I] realized that the world is an empty thing... (MYS V: 793)

muna kŏtŏ mŏ oya-nŏ na tat-una
empty word PT ancestor-GEN name destroy-NEG/IMP
do not destroy the name of the ancestors [with] empty words (MYS XX: 4465)

It is not clear to me, what ‘vain’ or ‘void’ can have in common with ‘clear’.

Concerning the last example, neither OJ su nor MJ suña mean ‘earth’, which seems to have been added to the comparison by Whitman, cf. JDB 1967: 378, IKJ 1990: 700. It is significant that OJ su ‘sand’ appears without the following -na.37 That demonstrates that suña- in the Middle Japanese compound sunago ‘sand’38 must be a secondary derivation. I believe that -na represents the rare OJ plural marker -na that I have discussed elsewhere (Vovin 1994: 249, 253; 2005: 102-107). Thus, su-na ‘sand’ is morphologically complex, and it cannot be compared with MK hŏlk ‘earth’. The semantics also does not support the comparison.

Consequently, a correspondence of OJ -n- to MK -lk- becomes dubious, because all of the other examples supporting it can be rejected. Therefore, the correspondence itself and the comparison of MK pūlk- ‘red’, pŏlk- ‘clear’ with OJ pani ‘red/yellow clay’ should be rejected.


36 It seems that the meaning ‘vacant’ developed in the Heian period. It is also used in Heian period glosses for Old Japanese texts, but this certainly does not constitute any evidence.
37 There is also OJ su ‘sandbank’.
38 The form suña is actually attested only in Early Modern Japanese (IKJ 1990: 700), but it can be traced to an earlier age, because various Ryukyuan dialects have sina ‘sand’ < PR *suna.
39 The stems of this quality verb are actually pŏlŏ- and pŏll- in Middle Korean; *pŏlŏl- is a Proto-Korean reconstruction.
40 The stems of this quality verb are actually spŏlŏ- and spŏll- in Middle Korean; *spŏlŏl- is a Proto-Korean reconstruction.
pòlò- as ‘poor, urgent, hard’ (LCT 1987: 350). It seems that the meaning ‘urgent’ is based on a single example from the Kwukuppang enhay (1466):

poll-a wumuki mwot-kwo
urgent(?)-INF move(NML) unable-SUB
being unable to move urgently(?) (Kwukup 1: 56a)

The Chinese text corresponding to this line is 拘急不得転側 ‘restraining an urge, and not being able to move, and therefore’ (Kwukup I: 55b). It is clear that MK polla corresponds to Chinese 拘急 ‘restraining urge’. But ‘restraining urge’ does not equal ‘urgent’, let alone ‘hasty, quick’. Nam Kwangwu glosses MK pòlò- as ‘hard’ (kwutta), and then also provides this example (1997: 750). I suspect that the phrase above just means ‘could hardly move’, and that the meaning ‘poor’ listed by LCT for this quality verb is a secondary semantic development of ‘hard’. This excludes MK pòlò- from the comparison and leaves us only with MK spòlò- ‘fast’, which fits nicely semantically with OJ paya-. The problem is that we have no internal Korean evidence allowing us to segment the prefix s- in MK spòlò-: it very well may be a part of the root. In addition, MK -l- does not correspond to OJ -y-. Therefore, I reject this comparison.

See also (34), (40), and (104) below.

(18) (R) MK pólp- ‘treads (on it)’ ~ OJ pum- ‘id.’ Whitman further notes that “like the preceding example, [this is] an instance of an original *lC cluster realized in Old Japanese as a homorganic nasal” (1985: 211). I trust that Whitman does not mean example (17), but example (16) above. But the current one is the only example for the correspondence of MK -lp- to OJ -m- provided among the correspondences for PJK *IC clusters (Whitman 1985: 183). One example cannot justify the correspondence, and even in a best-case scenario this etymology should be treated with reservations.

(19) (R) MK pòy ‘belly’ ~ OJ para ‘id.’ and (21) (R) MK pòy- ‘gets pregnant with’ ~ OJ param- ‘id’. Whitman notes that the root is the same in both cases (1985: 211). The etymology is possible, but it apparently rests on the assumption of the development PK *polo-i > *pol-i > MK póy. The loss of *-l- before /i/ in the history of Korean can be confirmed by examples like OK NAli ‘river’ > MK :nayh ‘stream’, OK NWUli ‘world’ > MK :nwuy ‘id’. , OK nyelim ‘lord’ > MK :nim ‘id’, but there are still two problems. First, as one can see from these three examples, the resulting pitch after the loss of *-l- and subsequent contraction is R, while MK pòy is H. Second, the sequence /li/ after a vowel is amply attested in Middle Korean: phòlì ‘fly (n.)’, skwòlì ‘tail’, tàlì ‘leg’, tòlì ‘bridge’, etc. Since there is no loss of *-l- in these words, I believe that Middle Korean final -i in these examples goes back to a falling diphthong *ói/øy. Thus, we would

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41 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #245.
42 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #233.
43 MK -l- does not disappear before -i at morphemic boundaries, either. Cf. MK tol-i, nominative case for MK tol ‘moon’.
really need MK *poli < *polo[-]i ‘belly’ to prove the apocope in Middle Korean, but MK póy ‘belly’ indicates PK *poli, which is not comparable to OJ para, since MK /i/ does not correspond to OJ /a/. All these circumstances make me rather doubtful about the validity of the etymology.

(20) (R) MK póy ‘boat’ ~ OJ puna-/pune LH ‘id’. (Whitman 1985: 211). A similar kind of assumption as in (19) above is needed to justify this etymology, this time involving the loss of *-n- before /i/ < *o/uy in Korean. Unfortunately, in this case there is even less internal evidence in Korean, since the loss of n- before /i/ or /y/ is known in the history of Korean, but only in initial position and mostly after Middle Korean. A possible way of saving this etymology is to claim the development *pono > *pon > *po with *-i added later, since there are few Middle Korean nouns with final -n-, and probably this is what Whitman had in mind when positing Proto-Japanese-Korean as *pon, but this is too speculative, and it requires an explanation for the final vowel in Old Japanese. Besides, the parallelism of development with (19) will be lost, and with that, I am afraid, a big part of regularity will be lost as well. Whether OJ pê ‘prow of a boat’, also mentioned by Whitman, is related to MK póy ‘boat’ or is a loanword is a difficult question, but it is quite apparent that both OJ pune ‘boat’ and pê ‘prow of a boat’ cannot be cognates of the Korean word. I am inclined to see OJ pê (phonetically [pê]) as a likely loan from Korean, which seems to be phonetically confirmed by (22) below. It is attested in Eastern Old Japanese (MYS XIV: 3559; MYS XX: 4359 [twice], 4389), but not in Ryukyu.

(21) (R) MK póy- ‘gets pregnant with’ ~ OJ param- ‘id’. See (19) above.

(22) (L) MK póyäm ‘snake’, OJ pëmî ‘id’. Whitman remarks that it is a possible loan (1985: 211). This seems to be the case, as the word is confined to Central Japanese, and not attested in Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyu. Also, it exhibits the same correspondence of MK /oy/ to OJ /ë/ as in the word for ‘prow of a boat’, discussed in (20).

(23) (R) MK pwól ‘cheek’ ~ OJ popo LL ‘id’. There are no Old Japanese phonetic attestations. This comparison exhibits a number of problems, outlined by Whitman himself (1985: 211), the main one being the assumption that the word is a reduplication in Old Japanese. As there is no internal evidence that supports this assumption, the comparison is best set aside for now.

(24) (R) MK pwóm ‘spring’ ~ OJ paru LF ‘id’. Whitman notes, “this comparison is supported by the falling tone of OJ paru LF (accent class 2.5), which indicates the loss of final *m after /u/” (Whitman 1985: 211). However, not only is the correspondence of MK -Ø- to OJ -r- irregular

44 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #18.
45 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #315.
46 PR *pabu ‘snake’ is certainly not related, although it looks similar. Only few Amami dialects have forms that could possibly be loans, or a native-loan hybrids, e.g., Yamatoma, China cibu (Hirayama 1980: 646), Jikkiko cibu ‘snake’ (Hirayama 1966: 362).
47 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #42.
(Vovin 1994: 250), to the best of my knowledge there are no other cases where OJ -aru- corresponds to MK -wo-. I reject this etymology on the basis of the irregularity of the correspondences.

(25) (R) MK pwòtólàp-/~pwùtúlèp- ‘soft’ ~ OJ putô ‘fat’ < PJK *pùtúra- (Whitman 1985: 212). The semantics are highly speculative, because OJ putô means ‘majestic, great, big, thick’, not ‘fat’, which is a much later semantic development. OJ putô nôritô (MYS XVII: 4031) certainly means ‘great liturgy’, not ‘fat liturgy’. Also compare the following line:

uneNpï-nö miya-ni miya-N-pasira putô sir-i-tate-te
Unebi-GEN palace-LOC palace-GEN-pillar majestic rule-INF-place(INF)-SUB
[they] placed in a majestic way palace pillars in the Unebi palace (MYS XX: 4465)

Pillars can be ‘majestic’, ‘great’, or even ‘thick’, but they are not ‘fat’, and certainly cannot be ‘soft’, otherwise the palace would collapse.

There are other problems with this etymology besides its semantics. First, MK pwòtólàp- ~ pwùtúlèp- ‘soft’ has a non-leniting -t-, therefore the Proto-Korean reconstruction should be *pwøntólàp-/*pwøntúlèp-. PK *-nt- corresponds to OJ -Nt-, not OJ -t-. Second, Whitman believes that the Korean forms include the adjectival suffix -p (1985: 212), but the suffix here might be -ap/-ep-. cf. MK sìtül- ‘emaciated, withered’ vs. MK sìtúlèp- ‘utterly exhausted, weary’ and MK pùskuli-48 ‘feels shy/shamed’ vs. MdK pwukkulep- ‘id’. If so, the Proto-Korean form may be just *pwøntól-~*pwøntúl-, and in that case PJ *putura (speculative itself, because we do not know whether OJ ō in putô goes back to *ura in this case or not) has an extra vowel -a that does not match to anything in Korean. Thus, I reject this etymology on the basis of its phonetic irregularity and improbable semantics.

(26) (R) MK páhí-, pèhí- ‘cuts it, pares it’ ~ OJ paNk- ‘flays it’ (Whitman 1985: 212). OJ -Nk- (< PJ *-nk-) corresponds to MK -k- (< PK *-nk-), not to MK -h- (< PK *-k-). Labeling OJ paNk- as ‘flays it’ is too narrow; rather, it means ‘peels it off, strips it off’. At the same time, the meaning ‘pares it’ seems to be added to Middle Korean to improve the comparison: in all of the examples known to me the Middle Korean verb means just ‘cuts it, chops it off’. Finally, the last segment -i in Middle Korean is not matched to anything in Old Japanese. Thus, I reject this etymology on the basis of its phonetic irregularity, unaccounted-for segment, and imperfect semantics.

(27) (R) LMK pel, MK phéli ‘field, plain’ ~ OJ para LL,49 Ryuk. paru ‘id.’ Whitman maintains that the aspiration in the Middle Korean word is emphatic (1985: 212). LMK pel is certainly just EMdK pel, attested for the first time in the Chengkwu yengen (1728). MK phéli is attested within the expression cùn phéli (with variant cùn phëli) ‘marsh, wasteland’ only in

48 Also confirmed by OK PUSkuli- ‘id’. (Hyangka II.3).
49 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #170.
Hwungmwong (I: 5b, 6a) with several later attestations in Early Modern Korean (Nam 1997: 1264-1265). The word cù-n is likely to be an attributive form of MK cùl- ‘muddy’, so we can segment MK phélí out, but there is no guarantee that it means ‘field, plain’. It may be just ‘spot’ or ‘place’. Modern Korean has both phel ‘wide expanse of land, vast plain, silt, marsh’ and pel ‘field, plain’, the former considered by Martin to be a para-intensive form of the latter (1967: 1744). However, the normal Middle Korean word for ‘field’ is túlúh (> MdK tʊl), and it is amply attested in the texts (Nam 1997: 455) and dialects (Choy 1978: 78-79). It is even more suspicious that the dialect attestations of pel are much narrower than those of the modern dialect cognates of túlúh (Choy 1978: 79, 100-101). All of these limited attestations suggest that MdK pel and even MK phélí are probably recent words, and therefore a reliable comparison cannot be made with OJ para.

(28) (R) MK pyé ‘rice plant, grain of rice’51 ~ OJ po ‘ear of rice’ < PJK *pye (Whitman 1985: 212).52 It seems that Whitman assumes that OJ po is pō with the otsu-rui vowel /ö/, at least that would follow from his list of vocalic correspondences (1985: 129). Unfortunately, however, it is clearly WOJ pō, with kō-rui /ô/, because in the Kojiki the character 穂 ‘ear of rice’ is used as the kungana for the word pō ‘top’ in the phrase NAMÎ-NÖ pō ‘top of the waves’ (Igarashi 1969: 106, 127). Since WOJ pō ‘top’ is also spelled with the ongana 本/pô/ in other cases, e.g., ma-pō (麻本) ‘pinnacle = true top’ (KK 30) and pō-tu ye (本都延) ‘top branches’ (KK 43), there is no doubt that ‘ear of rice’ was pō in Western Old Japanese. Thus, the vowels in Korean and Japonic really do not match, so I reject this etymology.

(29) (R) MK pyéch ‘moldboard of plow, cockscomb’ ~ OJ pitapi ‘forehead, brow’53 < PJK *pica + -pi [Japanese] body part suffix in kupîsu ~ kupîpisu ‘heel’, otokapi54 ‘chin’ (Whitman 1985: 212). There are no phonetic attestations of OJ *pitapi, so we do not know whether it was *pitapi or *pitapi (JDB 1967: 612). I am puzzled by the body part suffix -pi: I am not aware of any internal Japonic evidence that will allow us to segment this suffix in any of the above words, and to the best of my knowledge OJ *pita- ‘forehead’, *ku- ‘heel’, and *oto[N]ka- ‘chin’ are not attested. The final -h in MK pyéch is supposed to reflect apocope in Korean (Whitman 1985: 170-171), but this treatment is now obsolete. The correspondence of MK /ye/ to OJ /i/ is not in Whitman’s list of vocalic

50 The accentuation pattern of MK phélí suggests another possibility: it may be a nominalized form of MK phye- ‘to spread’ < *phye-l-i. The alternation /ye/ ~ /e/ is well known in the history of Korean.
51 The meanings of ‘non-glutinous rice’ or ‘grain of rice’ appear to be late and rare (Nam 1997: 679).
52 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #184.
53 I believe the word just means ‘forehead’; the source of Whitman’s ‘brow’ is not clear to me.
54 Omodaka et al. give OJ otoNkapi (JDB 1967: 151), as there are no Old Japanese phonetic attestations.
correspondences (1985: 129). These phonological and morphological problems, along with the speculative semantics, require that I reject this etymology. See also (31) below.

(30) (R)/(L) MK :pyel ‘star’ ~ OJ posi ‘id’. (Whitman 1985: 212). The comparison will work only if OJ posi < *pösi. If it is from *pösi, the comparison faces the same irregularity problem as (28) above. Recently Whitman expressed doubts even about the correspondence of MK /ye/ to OJ /ö/ (2004, personal communication). The correspondence of MK /l/ to OJ /s/ may point to an early loan; see (102) below. Since the word is amply attested in Ryukyuan (Hirayama 1966: 349; Hirayama 1967: 330), it may be an early loan from the period when the languages coexisted on the Korean peninsula. However, given the low credibility of the vocalic correspondence, this etymology is best rejected for the time being.

(31) (R) MK pyèlwók ‘flea’ ~ OJ piru LF ‘leech’. Whitman notes that the F pitch on the last syllable in Japanese indicates the loss of the final [consonant — A.V.] (1985: 212). Although there is supporting evidence for F pitch reflecting the loss of final *-m in Proto-Japonic (Polivanov 1924: 152; Whitman 1985: 202; Vovin 1994: 250; and Vovin 2006), I am not aware of the same evidence for final *-k, and it seems that Whitman does not present any other examples. OJ piru ‘leech’ is not attested phonetically, so we do not know whether it is *piru or *piru. Even if it were *piru, OJ /ö/ does not correspond regularly to MK /ye/; see (29) above. Finally, the only commonality between fleas and leeches is that they are both bloodsucking creatures; otherwise they belong to two quite different zoological phyla. Thus, I reject this etymology.

(32) (R) MK pyèth ‘sunshine, sun’, pích ‘light’ ~ OJ pî, pîru ‘sun, daytime’. Whitman remarks that “the variety of vowels in the Middle Korean forms indicates different suffixes” (1985: 212). Unfortunately, we do not have any internal Korean evidence that would allow us to reconstruct any different suffixes here, let alone to demonstrate cogently that these two forms are related within Korean itself. I am not aware of the suffixes *-eth and *-ch in any variety of Korean. For all practical purposes, both Middle Korean words represent roots; we do not have any means to analyze them further. Therefore, neither of them is compatible with OJ pî, pîru ‘sun, daytime’. In addition, MK pyèth means ‘the sun’ only as heat, not as the object in the sky, because the primary meaning of the word is ‘sunshine, sunrays’. Thus I reject this etymology on the basis of the unaccounted segments in Korean and the problematic semantics.

(33) (C) MK pûl ‘fire’ ~ OJ pî, po- < PJK *pö(+ -i) (Whitman 1985: 212). The Proto-Japonic form is apparently *pö, as supported by PR *pi ‘fire’ (Thorpe 1983: 286) and the internal alternation i ~ o after /p/ in Old Japanese. I accept this etymology.

55 Yi Kimun argued that MK /ye/ < *i (1959: 131-137), but all his evidence is exclusively external, and therefore not admissible.
56 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #220.
57 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #82.
(34) (R) MK pùlùl-<pùlù-<pùlù- 'calls, sings' ~ OJ poye-<poye- 'howls' < PJK *pöye- or *pöye-. I reject this etymology on the basis of this irregularity. See also (17) above and (40) and (104) below.

(35) (R) MK pwùk ‘shuttle’ ~ OJ pî ‘id’. < PJK *pü (+ -i/ -Vk) (Whitman 1985: 212). Again, an irregularity is the problem: according to Whitman’s own correspondences, MK /wu/ does not correspond to OJ /î/, and PJK *ü is reflected in Old Japanese as /u/, not as /î/ (1985: 129). Thus, I reject this etymology on the basis of irregularity in correspondences.

(36) (R) MK :pwul-<pwul-<pwul-<pwul- ‘blow’ ~ OJ pî- ‘blows nose, farts’ (Whitman 1985: 212). There are problems with this comparison on the Japonic side. First, it is not really clear whether the Old Japanese verb was the upper bigrade pî- or the monograde pî-. The only pre-Middle Japanese attestation is in the phrase PANA-wo sö PI-t-uru ‘blew nose’ (MYS XI: 2637), where the root itself is written semantographically, and the paradigmatic form PI-t-uru tells us nothing about whether the verb is the upper bigrade pî- or the monograde pî-. MJ fi- ‘blows nose, farts’ is an upper monograde verb, which suggests OJ pî-, unless a shift from upper bigrade to upper monograde can be cogently demonstrated. Omodaka et al. provide the following philological explanation in favor of pî-, in which the river Pî in Izumo province is spelled phonetically with the character 肥 /pî/ in the Kojiki, but semantographically with the character 簛 ‘winnow’ in the Nihonshoki (JDB 1967: 629). This is good proof that the Middle Japanese monograde verb fi- ‘winnow, fan’ (not otherwise attested in Old Japanese) was an upper bigrade one in Western Old Japanese. Apparently both Omodaka et al. and Ōno et al. believe that ‘winnow’ and ‘blow one’s nose’ represent one and the same verb (IKJ 1990: 1070). This is possible, but blowing one’s nose or farting involves passing air through a tube, often accompanied by a loud noise, while winnowing does not. Second, even if the Old Japanese word really were pî- with an otsu-rui /i/, we do not know whether it goes back to PJ *ui or PJ *öi. The comparison would work only in the former case, because OJ /ö/ does not correspond to MK /wu/. But I suspect that it might be the latter: MJ fe ‘fart’ is likely to be connected with OJ pî-. Of course, since MJ fe is not attested in Western Old Japanese, we do not know whether it goes back to PJ *pê or PJ *pê. If it is *pê < *pi, then it would point to OJ pî- rather than pî-, and a comparison with Korean will not be possible. But if ‘fart’ is *pê, it could be only from *pê or *pê. The form *pöy will support a derivation of OJ pî- from PJ *pöy-, making a comparison with Middle Korean untenable. Finally, I am afraid that both the Korean and the Japonic forms are onomatopoetic roots, as evidenced by their English translation ‘blow’ and other multiple crosslinguistic examples.

58 The stems of this quality verb are actually pùlù- and pùll- in Middle Korean; *pùlùl- is a Proto-Korean reconstruction.
(37) (R) MK *pwut-/pwul ‘increases, swells’ < *pwùtú-59 ~ MJ60 putó LL ‘fat’ < PJK *pütür (Whitman 1985: 212). The same Old Japanese word was already compared with MK pwötólàp-/pwùtúlèp- ‘soft’ in (25) above. OJ putó certainly cannot be a cognate for both. As discussed in (25), OJ putó originally meant ‘majestic, big, great, thick’, so here, it fits better semantically with (25), although it is not perfect. But OJ /ô/ does not correspond to PK *-u; therefore this etymology should be rejected.

(38) (R) MK pí ‘rain’ ~ OJ pî ‘ice, sleet’, also ‘(big) rain’ in pîsamë < pí + s (genitive) + amë LF ‘rain’ (Whitman 1985: 213). There are problems on both the Korean and the Japonic sides of this etymology. First, as I mentioned before (see 1.1.3.2), the Early Middle Korean word for ‘rain’ is transcribed in the (Kyeylim #7) as piWi, so the Proto-Korean form was the disyllabic *piwi < *pigi and is likely to be borrowed from Tungusic *pigi- ‘[to] rain’ (Vovin 2000: 146-147). Second, OJ pî is just ‘ice’; the texts do not collaborate the meaning ‘sleet’ for OJ pî. Third, there is OJ pîsamë ‘hail (= ice rain)’, which can be derived from pî ‘ice’ + -samë61 ‘rain’, and there is also OJ pîsamë ‘big rain’, which I believe has a completely different etymology: pîsa ‘long’ + amë ‘rain’. I think that this explanation is preferable semantically, because Whitman’s pî-s amë ‘rain’s rain’ is implausible as the derivation of ‘big rain’. I reject this etymology for all these reasons.

(39) (R) MK pilé, piléy ‘cliff, bank’ ~ OJ pé ‘id.’ < PJK *pire (Whitman 1985: 212). I do not know Whitman’s source for the meaning ‘bank’; all of the Middle Korean textual examples I am aware of involve only ‘cliff, precipice’. There are a few examples in which OJ pé means ‘area close to the seashore’ (JDB 1967: 647), but this seems to be a secondary derivation of OJ pé ‘side’. There are no texts where this Old Japanese word means ‘cliff’ or ‘precipice’. Finally, the etymology rests on the assumption that Whitman’s *-r- loss law is applicable here, but this cannot be corroborated by internal Japonic evidence. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(40) (R) MK pilóm ‘pigweed’ ~ OJ pîyu LF ‘id.’. Whitman notes that the “falling tone on [the] last syllable indicates loss of final [nost] in OJ” (1985: 213). This is certainly true, but nevertheless there are two problems with this etymology. First is the non-correspondence of MK -l- to OJ -y-, already mentioned in (17) and (34) above (see also 104 below). The second problem is with the chronology of the Japanese word: it appears for the first time in the herbalist book Honzōwamyō (918), so it is Middle, not Old, Japanese. This leaves room for uncertainty whether its Old Japanese form was *pîyu with a kō-rui /ɨ/ or *pîyu with an otsu-rui /ɨ/. Thus, we have one

59 Whitman provides PK *pwutúl-, but I see no basis for the final *-l in this verb, since it belongs to Class 6, not Class 8.
60 I believe this is a typographical error for OJ.
61 There are several vowel-initial words in Old Japanese that acquire an initial s- when used as the second element in some (but not all) compounds: amë/-samë ‘rain’, ine/-sine ‘rice plant’, ipa/-sipa ‘rock’. I doubt that it is possible to see a genitive -s there, as Whitman does, since this genitive does not present itself in Old Japanese otherwise. I think that this /s/ is rather a reflex of PJ *z- or *h-, or some other fricative.
62 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #165.
irregular correspondence and one uncertain correspondence, and I believe that these constitute a sufficient basis for rejecting the etymology.

(41) (R) MK pilús ‘beginning’ ~ OJ pitö ‘one’ < PJK *pi:tö or *pitö (Whitman 1985: 213). At first glance, this looks like a plausible etymology, but there are several problems. First, we have to account for -s in Korean. We can do this, as there is the Middle Korean verb pilús- ‘to begin’ (LCT 1987: 412; Nam 1997: 738). Second, MK pilús is actually not a noun meaning ‘beginning’, but an adverb that means ‘from the start, at first’. Third, MK pilús is attested only in three Middle Korean texts, the Kumsam, the Nammyeng, and the Twusí enhay. There are other more widely attested forms of the same adverb: MK pilúsé, pilúswo, pilúswu (LCT 1987: 411-412; Nam 1997: 737-738). The first form is the original one, as it represents the adverbialization of the infinitive pilús-é. Thus, the form pilús is a contraction from pilús-é, and the segment -s belongs to the root of the Middle Korean verb. This together with the not quite perfect semantics leads to the rejection of this etymology.

(42) (L) MK ptöy ‘dirt, filth, grime’ ~ OJ pîNti ‘mud’. Whitman reconstructs PJK *pidö + -i (1985: 213), but it should be *pintui, since MK /o/ corresponds to OJ /u/, not to OJ /ö/ (Whitman 1985: 129). The only problem is that on the Japonic side the word is not attested outside Central Japanese (WOJ pîNti and MJ fidi); there are no cognates in Ryukyuan and Eastern Old Japanese. This distribution means that WOJ pîNti is likely a loan from Korean.

(43) (R) MK :pwuy- ‘empty’ ~ OJ pï- ‘runs dry, drains’. Whitman reconstructs PJK *pö:ri-, but the basis for this reconstruction is unclear to me: Middle Korean clearly has /wu/, which is a reflex of PJK *ũ, not *ö (1985: 213). MK /wu/ should also correspond to OJ /u/, not /ũ/, but OJ pï- ‘runs dry’ certainly goes back to PJ *pöy-, as witnessed to by the Old Japanese transitive form pos- ‘dries it’. Thus, we are faced with MK /wu/ : PJ *ũ, which is an irregular correspondence. In addition, the R pitch on MK :pwuy- indicates that the word was disyllabic in Proto-Korean. Reconstructing the Proto-Korean shape of MK :pwuy- as *pwuli- is certainly a possibility, but it cannot be confirmed internally. Therefore, I believe Whitman’s reconstruction of *-r- for Proto-Japanese-Korean is speculative, as it cannot be corroborated by internal evidence on either the

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63 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #157.
64 Both Yu Changton and Nam Kwangwu list MK pilús as a noun as well as an adverb (LCT 1987: 412; Nam 1997: 738), but their actual examples (only two are given) reveal an adverbial, not a nominal, function:

ku wo-m-i pilus eps-un cyenecho lwo
that come-NML-NOM from the beginning not to exist-ATTR reason COP
That coming from the beginning was without a reason (Kumsam III: 59b)

nyeys yangco-non pilus eps-i wo-m-olwo
old appearance-TOP from the beginning not to exist-ADV come-NML-INSTR
as [he] came from the beginning without his former appearance (Nammyeng I: 75a).
Korean or the Japonic side, cf. (19) above. Therefore, I reject this etymology on the basis of this irregularity.

Etymologies (44) through (49) (Whitman 1985: 213) are all rejected, since they involve an outdated treatment of MK ph- (see 1.1.1).

3.2.2 *b-

(50) (L) MK pátáh, pálól ‘sea’ ~ OJ wata ‘id’. (Whitman 1985: 213). The comparison is valid, but within Japonic the word wata ‘sea’ is confined to Western Old Japanese; there are no Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan attestations. On the other hand, its doublet OJ umi ‘sea’ (< PJ *omi) is attested in all branches of Japonic. Thus, I believe that WOJ wata ‘sea’ is a Korean loan on the basis of its distribution pattern in Japonic.

(51) (R) MK pólì- ‘splits it, divides it’ ~ OJ war- ‘splits it’, ware- ‘is split’ (Whitman 1985: 213). The Korean form is misglossed, but it is easy to see how the mistake originated. Both Yu Changton and Nam Kwangwu gloss this Middle Korean verb as MdK paluta (剥), peyta (割) (LCT 1987: 351; Nam 1997: 749). MdK paluta means ‘to peel, to split (and turn inside out)’, but the character 剥 ‘to peel’ is used to clarify that only that the first meaning applies here. MdK peyta means only ‘to cut’, and the character 割 ‘to split’, ‘to cut’ was an unfortunate choice here because it is ambiguous. Thus, it is apparent that Whitman based his gloss on the meaning of the second character, ‘to split’, and/or on the meaning ‘to split (and turn inside out)’ of MdK paluta, which is not applicable here. Of course our ultimate witnesses must be the texts themselves, and not the glosses provided by modern linguists:

HWOY-non poli-l ssi [i]-ra
[name of the dish]-TOP cut-ATTR/IRR word be-FIN
Hwoy means ‘chopped [fish]’ (Nung I: 33b)

cey kwoki-l poly-e
self flesh-ACC cut-INF
cutting off his own flesh (Nung IX: 74b)

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65 The Middle Korean forms are doublets that present an interesting puzzle: according to the lenition theory adopted here, MK pátáh < PK *pantah, but MK pálól < PK *patol. According to Martin’s lenition theory, both should certainly reflect PK *patV, since Martin’s condition for lenition, ...˚C/ú, for MK pátáh is not present (Martin 1996: 2). However, since this appears to be the only example of such a doublet, I believe that there might be a different explanation, such as an irregular development or an interdialectal borrowing.

66 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #190.


68 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #218.
Thus, we can see that MK pòli- ‘peels, cuts’ does not mean ‘split’. Besides, the final segment -i in Middle Korean is either impossible to match with Old Japanese (assuming that the Proto-Japonic original form is the consonantal verb *bar-), or we have to deal with an irregular correspondence of MK *-i to PJ *-a (assuming the Proto-Japonic reconstruction *bara-). Thus, this etymology should be rejected on semantic and phonetic grounds, as well as on its segmentation problems.

(52) (R)/(L) MdK pëy ‘hemp, flax, linen’ ~ OJ wo ‘id’. < PJK *ber (+ -i) (Whitman 1985: 213). As far as I know, OJ wo refers only to ‘hemp’ as the plant and to its fiber, never to ‘hemp cloth’. The Korean word refers to both, but this is not so significant compared to other problems that this comparison presents. The word is actually attested in Middle Korean as pwóy (Nam 1997: 698), and this creates a serious problem for the comparison. We certainly have no way of knowing (and proving) whether OJ wo < *wô or *wö, but neither OJ /ô/ nor OJ /ö/ corresponds to MK /wo/ (Whitman 1985: 213). Thus, we again have an irregular correspondence. In addition, as I noted above in (19), there is no solid internal evidence for the reconstruction of PK *-l- < PJK *-r- before MK /i/ or /y/; therefore the reconstruction of Proto-Japanese-Korean with *-r is at best speculative. That leaves us with a correspondence of initial consonants only. However, even this correspondence is very doubtful, because Whitman presents only three examples, including this one. As I demonstrated above, one of the remaining two etymologies is a likely loanword (50), and another one (51) cannot stand on semantic grounds. The etymology probably should be rejected, although there is a slim possibility that it is a loanword.69

All of the comparisons discussed above (1-43 and 50-52) represent etymologies involving Proto-Japanese-Korean initial *p- and *b-. Whitman has presented forty-three etymologies supporting PJK *p- and only three etymologies supporting PJK *b-. I exclude the six etymologies (44 through 49) that I rejected as obsolete. Even without my rejection of all Proto-Japanese-Korean etymologies with *b- as supporting a genetic relationship, there is obviously a skewed pattern. If my rejections are accepted, we see a gap: no reliable Korean etymologies for Old Japanese words with initial w-. Such gaps should not exist in a true genetic relationship, but they are usually found in an areal one. Below I will demonstrate that there are other gaps as well.

69 I believe that in the case of MK pwóy, and possibly OJ wo as well, we might be looking at one of the most famous Eurasian Wanderwörter (Arabic bazz, Turkic böz, Chuvash pir, Mongolian bös, Nanai boso, etc. ‘cloth, linen’) on which so much ink has been spilled before that there is no need to add more here.
3.2.3 *t-

(53) MK :ta ‘all’ ~ OJ taNta ‘only, just, exclusively’. Whitman notes: “This comparison assumes the Old Japanese form is reduplicated. A few other Old Japanese forms give evidence for the existence of this morpheme: tamura ‘gathering, collection of similar types’ < ta +mura ‘group’; also -Nta in kököNta ‘this much, this many’ < kökö ‘here’ + -Nta, ikuNta ‘how much’ < iku ‘how, to what extent’ + -Nta, sapaNta ‘much, great(ly)’ < sapa ‘much, great(ly)’ + -Nta” (1985: 214). This comparison has multiple problems. First, the R pitch of MK :ta shows that the word was disyllabic at one time: *taCV, but we have no means of knowing what the second syllable was, and, therefore, any external comparison becomes hazardous.70 Second, assuming that OJ taNta is reduplicated is one thing, but proving it is an entirely different matter, and the internal evidence does not seem to support the reduplication hypothesis. Third, Whitman compares ‘all’ with ‘only’, but these have opposite meanings: ‘all’ is inclusive, while ‘only’ is exclusive. Fourth, the compounds Whitman cites are unlikely to offer strong evidence for OJ *ta ‘all’ for the following reasons: the compound tamura indeed probably includes mura ‘group’, but the internal Japonic evidence does not tell us anything about ta-. Explaining this ta- as ‘all’ on the basis of Korean is methodologically unjustified, since it involves a ‘reconstruction from above’. Not only tamura itself is attested only in Western Old Japanese; mura ‘group’ is found in Eastern Old Japanese once, but only as a part of the makura-kotoba mura-tama (MYS XX: 4390). Ryukyuan attestations are limited to Shuri buri, Nakijin burii (used only in attributive position), and Psara murï in murï ta ‘gathering’ (ta is ‘person’) (Shimoji 1979: 212). But none of these three can be treated as a cognate, because they all exhibit phonetic irregularities: Shuri and Nakijin have b- instead of the expected m-, and Psara -i instead of the expected -i (cf. Psara kuri ‘this’ [Shimoji 1979: 78] < *kure). In addition, all three apparently reflect the Japanese form mure, which started to be used as an attributive in the Middle Japanese period, not WOJ mura. The Psara form murï was apparently borrowed from some Ryukyuan source that had *muri, with *e > i, hence Psara has -i (a regular reflex of *i), but not -i (a regular reflex of *e). Thus, it looks like mura ‘group’ is confined to Western Old Japanese, and it is probably itself a loan from Korean (cf. MK mwïl ‘group’). Other compounds cited by Whitman involve not -ta, but -Nta, with -Nt- left unexplained. One possible alternative is that -Nta is a collective suffix, cf. also OJ na-myï-Nta ‘tears’ (= eye-water-COLL) (Vovin 2005a: 328). Thus, this etymology is beset by too many problems to be accepted.

(54) (C)/(R) MK tôhi- ‘makes a fire, heats it with fire’; OJ tak- ‘id’. (Whitman 1985: 214). There is only one Middle Korean attestation of this verb:

70 It is possible that MK :ta ‘all’ is derived from the verb tôGò- ‘to exhaust, to use up’ (Nam 1997: 355), but one would rather expect * tôGò- with H pitch on the second syllable. This, together with the less than perfect semantics, makes me somewhat suspicious of this internal Korean etymology, although I do not reject it completely.
pwup twutuli-mye pul tahi-key ho-mye
drum beat-GER fire burn-CAUS do-GER
making [them] beat drums and make fires (Kwukup I: 15)

All other attestations belong to Early Modern Korean, so it may be that a comparison with MK *thò- < *tòhó- ‘to burn’ would be stronger, in spite of slightly more divergent semantics. This is certainly a very minor point. The Japonic forms, cognate to OJ tak- are attested in Ryukyuan, e.g., Shuri tacuN (RGJ 1976: 505), Nakijin tachuN (Nakasone 1983: 230), Iejima thachuN (Oshio 1999: 195), Psara tak‘u (Shimoji 1979: 135), all meaning ‘to cook on the fire’. The verb is not attested by itself in Eastern Old Japanese, but there is the compound tak-î-N-KÌ ‘firewood’ (MYS XIV: 3433), 

which includes tak-. Thus, although this appears to be a good etymology at first glance, we are again faced with the problem of matching MK *-i to PJ *-Ø or *-a. This may be avoided only if we opt for the reconstruction of PJ as *taka- instead of *tak- and compare it with MK thò- ‘to burn’. However, even in this case we still get only a fifty percent probability of being correct, since MK thó- can be either from PK *hoto- or from PK *toho-.

(55) (L) MK tàlak ‘upper story, loft’ ~ OJ taNte HH, tara LF ‘smartweed’ (Whitman 1985: 214). Certainly the Middle Korean word cannot be related to both OJ taNte and tara. OJ taNte < *tante should be out of the equation, because OJ -Nt- does not correspond to MK -l-, whether the latter reflects PK *-t- or *-l-; see also (15) above. Thus, only OJ tara ‘edible type of smartweed’ remains, but there are problems here as well. First, one would expect the Middle Korean to be something like *talom or *talam, to account for the F pitch in OJ tara LF, but apparently there is no trace of the final nasal *-m in Korean. Second, there is a problem with distribution in Japonic: tara is not attested either in Eastern Old Japanese or in Ryukyuan. Thus, WOJ tara may be a loan from Korean, but it is certainly not a cognate.

(56) (R) MK tálak ‘upper story, loft’ ~ OJ taka- ‘high’ < PJK *tarak. Whitman also adds Koguryo tal (達) ‘mountain’ here (1985: 214), but unless one can cogently demonstrate that the Koguryo transcriptions were based on Tang period Northwestern Chinese readings, which had final *-r instead of EMC *-t, reading Koguryo 達 ‘mountain’ as tal is anachronistic, as it is based on a much later Sino-Korean reading tal (which, incidentally, is derived from Tang period Northwestern Chinese, see Martin [1997]). Thus, Koguryo 達 ‘mountain’ is likely to be just *tak, and has nothing to do with this etymology. This brings us back to MK tálak ‘loft’, but I believe that the comparison is faulty due to the problematic correspondence of MK -l- to OJ -k-. Martin seems to be the first who suggested this correspondence, supporting it with six etymologies (Martin 1966: 211), of which Whitman retained three: this one, (66), and (144),

71 MYS XIV: 3433 appears to be written in pure Western Old Japanese, so it may not be a valid attestation.
72 Phragmites japonica.
Lexical Comparisons

with an addition of a fourth (65). Theoretically it is possible to provide an explanation for such a correspondence, but the explanation must involve regular phonetic development in all cases. In addition, all etymologies that are used to support such an unusual correspondence must be absolutely impeccable. Unfortunately, neither of these two conditions is maintained in these four cases.

Chart 29:
Proto-Japanese-Korean reconstructions based on the correspondence
Middle Korean -l- : Old Japanese -k-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(56) ‘high, loft’</th>
<th>MK</th>
<th>OJ</th>
<th>PJK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tàlāk</td>
<td>taka-</td>
<td>*tarak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(65) ‘attach, hang’</td>
<td>töl-</td>
<td>tukē-</td>
<td>*tokar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(66) ‘moon’</td>
<td>töl</td>
<td>tukī</td>
<td>*tokol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(144) ‘hang’</td>
<td>:kel-</td>
<td>kak-/kakē-</td>
<td>*keker-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Proto-Japanese-Korean reconstructions for examples (65), (66), and (144) are consistent, but for the present case Whitman presents quite a different reconstruction. However, all four comparisons (and reconstructions) suffer from some problems; therefore, they are far from impeccable. I will analyze these problems for (65), (66), and (144) below. The comparison of MK tàlāk ‘loft’ with OJ taka- ‘high’ is based apparently on the assumption that OJ taka- < PJ *taraka- via *-r- loss. But *-r- loss cannot be justified here on the basis of the internal Japonic evidence. The final segment -a in taka- also is left unexplained. Finally, there is another irregularity, since another etymology, PJK *parak (which is very similar to *tarak), is reconstructed as a protoform for OJ paNkî and MK pal; see (4) above. I reject the present etymology, because the suggested correspondence is irregular and unique.

(57) (R) MK tàlì ‘leg’ ~ OJ te ‘hand, arm’ (Whitman 1985: 214). I do not know of any cognates in any language family that mix up ‘leg’ and ‘hand’. The implied semantic is probably ‘limb’, but can we imagine any language that has a word for ‘limb’ and no words for ‘hand’ and ‘leg’? Such latitude in semantic comparison is not credible, and I reject this etymology. For the same semantic weakness in Whitman’s comparisons involving body parts, cf. also (219) and (250) below.

(58) (R) MK tàlóG- ‘differs’ ~ OJ taNkap- ‘id’. < PJK *tarog-. Whitman comments: ‘The Old Japanese suffix is verbalizing -p of yurup- ‘loosens, softens’ < yuru- ‘loose, gentle’ + -p and parap- (11)” (1985: 214). There are several problems with this etymology. First, the adjectival root *taNka- does not present itself, therefore the segmentation of -p in taNkap- is not substantiated by internal Japonic data. The situation is the same for parap-, see (11) above. Second, in spite of the fact that OJ taNkap- is attested in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese as well as in Middle

73 The stems of this quality verb are actually tàlī- and tàlG- in Middle Korean; *tálôG- is a Proto-Korean reconstruction.
Japanese, and its doublet MJ *tiNkap- appears for the first time in the *tinkap- for two reasons: (a) in Ryukyuan and in divergent Japanese dialects only reflexes of *tiNkap- are attested; (b) the change *taNkap- > *tiNkap- is unmotivated, but the opposite represents a well-known i-breaking in the first syllable. Third, the Proto-Korean sequence *-loG-does not correspond regularly to PJ *-nk- (> OJ *-Nk-). Therefore, there are sufficient grounds to reject this etymology.

(59) (C) MK :tam- ‘fills it’ ~ OJ tamë- ‘id.’, tamar- ‘fill up with (water)’. Whitman notes: “Intransitive OJ tamar- is clearly attested; transitive tamë- appears in only one unclear attestation (MYS XIII: 3227)” (1985: 215). Let us look at the segment of MYS XIII: 3227, where OJ tamë- ‘to fill’ occurs:

MÎWO PAYA-MÎ OPÎ-tamë KATA-KÎ IPA-MAKURA
navigating channel fast-GER grow(INF)-fill(NML) difficult-ATTR rock-
rock bed, where it is difficult for reeds to grow and fill [the water], because
[the current in] the navigating channel is fast (MYS XIII: 3227)

I think that it is quite clear that OJ tamë- means ‘to fill’ here. Unfortunately, it is a *hapax legomenon, which does not present a solid basis for external comparisons. But it can prove that segmentation of final -r in WOJ tamar- (not attested in Eastern Old Japanese) is correct. There are cognates of both OJ tamë- and tamar- in Ryukyuan, e.g., Shuri tamiyuuN, tamayuN (RGJ 1976: 509), Psara tamirü, tamarü (Shimoji 1979: 139-140). Therefore, I accept this comparison.

(60) (L) MK :tamön, :tamöyn ‘only, just’ ~ OJ -Ntamï ‘just, about’
(Whitman 1985: 447). There is also an Old Japanese variant -Ntamë (JDB 1967: 447). The best way to explain this variation is to assume that both are derived from *Ntamöi, since *öi can become OJ /ï/ or /ë/. There are two phonetic problems: MK /t/ does not correspond to OJ /Nt/, and MK /o/ does not correspond to OJ /ö/. In addition, the Japanese word is not attested outside Western Old Japanese. I believe that OJ -Ntamë/-Ntamë is a possible loanword from Korean to Western Old Japanese, or to its predecessor, but definitely not a cognate due to its limited distribution.

(61) (R) MK tät- ‘closes it, shuts, cuts off’ ~ OJ tat- ‘cut off, interrupt’
(Whitman 1985: 215). There are two problems with this comparison. First, MK tät- has a non-leniting -t- and goes back to PK *tantö-, and PK *-nt- does not correspond to OJ -t- < PJ *-t-. Second, to the best of my knowledge, MK tät- means only ‘to close’, and the overwhelming majority of textual examples refer to closing doors (Nam 1997: 370). The meaning ‘cuts off’ seems to have been brought in to improve the comparison. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

74 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #46.
Lexical Comparisons

62) (R) MK táy ‘bamboo’ ~ OJ takê HH ‘id’. < PJK *tagi/*taki (Whitman 1985: 215). To the best of my knowledge only OJ takê ‘bamboo’ exists, while OJ takî is ‘waterfall’ (JDB 1967: 413, 416-417). OJ takê < PJ *takay. The etymology is easily rejected on the basis of a major irregularity: MK -Ø- does not correspond to OJ -k-. One would expect something like MK *tàhí or *tàhóy for a cognate.

63) (L) MK tó, tóy (< tó + -i nominative suffix) ‘place’ ~ OJ tô, tö, te ‘place’. This etymology is followed by a long discussion at the end of which Whitman says: “The vowel correspondence for MK tó(y) : OJ -te is regular; for non-suffixed forms we would expect *ta. The occurrence of both tô and tô in Old Japanese may have something to do with this irregularity. There is also evidence for an earlier morpheme *ta in forms like OJ sita ‘below’ < si ‘down’ + ta (viz. simô ‘downward’ < si ‘down’ + mö ‘direction’), and könata, etc., ‘here, this way’ < kô ‘this’ + -na genitive + ta’ (Whitman 1985: 215). There are multiple problems with this etymology. First, as Whitman himself admits, neither OJ tô nor OJ tô corresponds regularly to MK tó. Thus, they must be ruled out from the start. The occurrence of both tô and tô cannot be used as an explanation for the irregularity in suggested external comparison, because this irregularity is easily explained internally: the original form is tô, which is regessively assimilated to tô in the word tôkôrô ‘place’, the only case in which /tô/ occurs (JDB 1967: 485). In addition, it is now well known that the /tô/ : /tô/ contrast collapsed in Late Western Old Japanese (Mabuchi 1972: 131) or at least started to collapse, and there are other examples in Late Western Old Japanese where original tô/i was substituted with /tô/, as in the case of nôritô ‘liturgy’ > nôritô (Bentley 2001: 6-7). Second, the form -te, occurring in usirô-N-te ‘behind’ and omô-te ‘front side’, cited by Whitman, indeed corresponds regularly to MK tóy, but the problem is that MK tóy is morphologically divisible into MK tô and -i, while te is not. In other words, it can only correspond regularly to MK tóy, but not to MK tô. Connecting OJ -te to OJ -ta is speculative, but even if one accepts it, then -te should consist of *ta + nominative suffix -i. But this ‘nominative’ suffix -i in Old Japanese (if its existence can be cogently shown in this case in the first place), as I demonstrated above in the morphology section, is a loan from Korean. This suggests a loanword rather than a genetic relationship. Third, the existence of -ta in compounds like sita and könata is not a particularly strong case. In spite of the existence of both OJ sita and simô, the first element *si does occur in an independent form. Also, OJ mö ‘side’ is supported by EOJ wote mö ‘that side’ and könô mö ‘this side’ (MYS XIV: 3361), ta-nô mö ‘field side’ (MYS XIV: 3523), as well as by ya mö ‘eight directions’ and yô mö ‘four directions’ in Western Old Japanese, the latter attested several times. No comparable evidence can be provided for -ta. I have demonstrated elsewhere that the alleged genitive marker -na does not exist in Old Japanese (Vovin 1994: 249, 253; 2005a: 102-107); therefore könata is likely to be an irregular development of *könô kata ‘this side’. In

75 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #7.
118 ——Koreo-Japonica

addition, the contrast between OJ _sita_ and _simô_ is not really between ‘below’ and ‘downward’, since OJ _simô_ indicates the lower part of the stream or the ‘down part’ more removed from the central part, while OJ _sita_ does not have these connotations (JDB 1967: 353). Thus, I reject this etymology with the exception of OJ -te ‘place’, which could be a loan from Korean.

(64) (L) MK _tó_ in _tó-lwó_ ‘because’ (+ instrumental -lwó) ~ OJ _ta_ ‘because’. Whitman notes: “OJ _ta_ also occurs in the apparent compound _tamê_ ‘because’, which eventually replaces it; the provenance of -mê in the latter form is unclear” (1985: 215). There are problems with this etymology. First, MK _tó_ in _tó-lwo_ is likely to be MK _tó_ ‘place’, discussed above in (63). This internal etymology is strengthened by two facts: (a) it never occurs by itself, but only within _tó-lwó_, so the meaning ‘because’ is likely to be triggered by the instrumental -lwó; (b) very much unlike OJ _ta_, it is found exclusively after the attributive forms of verbs, predominately after _ile-n_ or _kule-n_ ‘be such-ATTR’ (Nam 1997: 478). OJ _ta_ ‘for’ can occur after: (a) a NOUN + genitive _nö_, (b) the attributive form of a verb with the following possessive _Nka_. Second, OJ _ta_ has only Western Old Japanese attestations. There are no attestations in Ryukyuan and the single attestation in Eastern Old Japanese is problematic, as it has at least two possible explanations:

(A)

pîk-ô pune-nö siri pîkasi mõ yõ kŏkõNpa kô-Nkata n-i
pull-ATTR boat-COMP buttocks pull-ADJ-EXCL PT PT with such difficulty come-difficult DV-INF

[I] am in the mood of pulling the buttocks [of my husband] like a tow boat!
[It] is with such a difficulty for children (MYS XIV: 3431)

(B)

pîk-ô pune-nö siri pîkasi mõ yõ kŏkõNpa kô-Nkata n-i
pull-ATTR boat-COMP buttocks pull-ADJ-EXCL PT PT with such difficulty come-difficult DV-INF

[I] am in the mood of pulling the buttocks [of my husband] like a tow boat!
As [he] comes [here] with such a difficulty (MYS XIV: 3431)

I believe that reading (A), which is required for establishing _ta_ in Eastern Old Japanese, makes much less sense than reading (B). A possible setback for reading (B) is that in this Eastern song, which otherwise faithfully indicates the _kô/otsu_ distinctions, we would expect the stem of the verb ‘come’ to be spelled as _kô-, not as _kô_. However, since this is an Azuma song, where the preservation of _kô/otsu_ is problematic, the objection is a minor one. Therefore, WOJ _ta_ and _tamê_ coexist only in Western Old Japanese texts. Even if my first objection above is rejected, it is likely that WOJ _ta_ is a loanword from Korean. Thus, I am inclined to accept this etymology as a possible loan (with reservations about the
probable internal explanation of MK tó- outlined above), but not as evidence for genetic relationship between Korean and Japonic.

(65) (R) MK tól- ‘hangs it, attaches it, fixes it (on)’ ~ OJ tukë- ‘attaches it, fixes it (on)’. Whitman comments: “OJ tar- ‘hangs it, dangles it down’, tare- ‘hang it, dangle it down’ and tur- ‘hangs, strings’ have also been compared with MK tól-. However, the semantic fit with OJ tukë- is better; the phonological fit with OJ tukë- is also perfect if we assume a Proto-Japanese-Korean protoform *tokar (cf. [66])” (1985: 215-216). I believe the problem here lies in the assumption that the Proto-Japanese-Korean protoform is *tokar-, which can be based only on another assumption about the development of MK tól- from PK *tokal-. But such a Proto-Korean form cannot be substantiated by the internal Korean evidence: we would expect PK *tokal- to become MK *tohal-. or *tohol-. Therefore, I reject this etymology. See also (56) above and (66) below.

(66) (R) MK tól ‘moon, month’ ~ OJ tuki, tuku- ‘id’.76 Whitman indicates that the reconstruction of OK TOlal-i ‘moon’ (spelled 月羅理, etc., in Hyangka) proposed by Kim Wancin may be dubious, because tól would not be an expected outcome of PK *töl. He cites as a supportive example MK mòlò ‘ridge’ < PK *mòlɔl (1985: 216). However, Whitman’s objection can be overruled, because the phonological shapes of MK tól and mòlò are not identical: MK mòlò ‘ridge’ has a minimal vowel in the second syllable; MK tól ‘moon’ does not. The former has L pitch on the first syllable, and the latter has H. The morphophonology is also different: MK mòlò has an alternating stem mòll-, but MK tól does not. In addition, while we do not know how to read the first syllable of OK TOlal (and probably never will, since it is hidden behind semantographic spelling), the remaining part of the word -lal is not a reconstruction, but a philological reality that is confirmed by Old Korean texts (Hyangka IV: 2, IX: 1, XIII: 5). Whitman further presents the ingenious idea that the Old Korean form is actually *TOClal with a cluster *Cl resulting from the loss of unaccented *ò or *a, because while IC clusters are attested in Middle Korean, *Cl clusters are not (1985: 216). The idea is really brilliant, but the problem is that there is no second piece of evidence we can use to verify this, so I am afraid it must remain speculative and cannot be used as evidence for establishing an external etymology. Furthermore, for the sake of regularity in this comparison, we should expect the Old Japanese form to be *tuka, not WOJ tuki, EOJ tuku < PJ *tuko,77 since it is OJ /a/ that should correspond to OK /a/ in TOlal (provided Whitman’s cluster reconstruction is disallowed). Therefore, I reject this etymology: it works if we use an unverifiable hypothesis that is not possible to prove or accept an irregularity. See also (56) and (65) above.

(67) (L) MK -tólh/-túlh (nominal plural suffix) ~ OJ -tati ‘id’. (Whitman 1985: 217). Actually, as pointed out above, there is only MK -tólh (see 1.1.3.1, especially note 4). The form -tulh is attested essentially only in Early Modern Korean, with a single Middle Korean attestation

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76 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #143.
77 Final *o is reconstructed on the basis of PR *tukoya ‘moon’.
from 1586. The problem with this comparison lies in the limited usage and distribution of OJ -tati. The usage of the Old Japanese suffix -tati is restricted to animate nouns. For both Old and Classical Japanese it is believed to be an honorific plural marker used exclusively with the names of deities and with the titles of princes, princesses, and other relatives of an emperor or empress (Yamada 1954: 537). However, this is not completely true. In the Senmyō, the suffix -tati occurs with the second person pronoun twice (SM 17, 37), directed to lower-ranking courtiers (SM 17) and provincial governors (SM 37); it also occurs with the words omi ‘noble’, and possibly with asōmi ‘retainer’, all social inferiors to the emperor and princes. Since all Senmyō edicts represent the emperor’s words, -tati can hardly be taken as an honorific marker. Yet, its usage seems to be restricted to gods and members of the court. The plural suffix -tati is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese. There is plural marker -taa in Shuri and -caa in Nakijin, but it seems that these do not correspond regularly to OJ -tati. In addition, there is a single attestation of -tati in the Ōmoro sōshi (OS XII: 740), but this is likely to be a loan from Japanese. Given its distribution in Ryukyuan, and lack in Eastern Old Japanese, it seems that the plural marker -tati is confined to Western Old Japanese. Limited distribution and narrow semantics make -tati a perfect candidate for a loan. Therefore, the genetic comparison of -tati with the Middle Korean plural marker -tólh should be revised in the light of the data: -tati in all probability represents a loan from the Old Korean predecessor of MK -tólh in a form predating the lenition t > l and the vowel reduction a > o. This conclusion can be further supported by the fact that MK -tólh is a neutral marker of plurality, while Old Japanese -tati significantly narrowed the meaning, using it only for deities and members of the elite. This can be expected, since the Japanese nation was essentially founded by people from the Korean peninsula.

(68) (R) MK tółi ‘bridge, ladder, stair’ ~ OJ ti ‘road’ < PJK *tor (+ -i) (Whitman 1985: 217). Unfortunately, we do not know what Proto-Japonic form underlies OJ ti: *tō-i, *tu-i, or *ti. Only the second form *tu-i would work for this comparison, but there is only a one in three chance that it is correct. One must also assume the loss of -*r- in Old Japanese, but it cannot be confirmed internally. In addition, roads surely go across bridges, but they do not climb ladders. Even the semantic shifts ‘road’ > ‘bridge’ and ‘bridge’ > ‘road’ are not very convincing. Thus, this etymology should be rejected: it is based essentially on the initial consonant, and it has problematic semantics.

(69) (R) MK tóm- ‘sinks’ ~ OJ siNtum- ‘id’. Whitman comments: “This comparison assumes that the additional syllable in the Old Japanese verb is directional si- ‘down’ (Whitman 1985: 217). There is no internal Japonic evidence to support this segmentation; see also (63) above on the speculative nature of OJ *si ‘down’. In addition, the correspondence of Middle Korean initial t- to OJ Nt- is irregular. It is possible that, if the segmentation above were proved, OJ *-N- could be demonstrated to be morphologically separate from *-tum-, but apparently this has not been
done. I reject this etymology due to the speculative nature of the segmentation proposed for the Old Japanese form.

(70) (R) MK tech ‘trap, snare’ ~ OJ töNi- ‘closes it’ < PJK *tedō-. Whitman also adds OJ töNtömë- ~ töNtömï- ‘stops it, catches it’ (1985: 217). As a matter of fact, there are no Middle Korean attestations, only EMdK tes (from 1690 in the Yek.e yuhay), in addition to MdK tech (LCT 1987: 217; Nam 1997: 399). Since the Early Modern Korean attestations are all Korean glosses for Chinese characters, we can only speculate that MdK tech reflects the original form. We can further speculate that MdK tech goes back to PK *tecuh or *tehuc. Only the first form can be compared (with some difficulties) to OJ töNi-, but the dialect data, such as the form tek attested in Kyengsang Namto and Cenla Namto, as well as thel or thul (if related at all) attested in various modern dialects (Choy 1978: 585), unmistakably point to PK *tehuc. The case is further undercut by the difficulty of reconstructing a proper Proto-Korean vocalism for this word at the present stage of our knowledge, since dialects show considerable variation: e ~ a ~ wo ~ u (Choy 1978: 585). These difficulties largely invalidate the comparison with Japanese, and the etymology must be rejected.

(71) (L) MK :twochwóy ~ :twochhwóy ‘axe’ ~ OJ tuti LH ‘mallet’ < PJK *tücu (+ -i) (Whitman 1985: 217). A Western Old Japanese pre-contraction form tutut is also attested (KK 10, NK 9). MK :twochhwóy should go back to PK *twōhocwóy or *twōcôhwóy, as indicated by the R pitch on the first syllable and the cluster -ch-. In the case of PK *twōhocwóy, a genetic comparison would be impossible, as we would expect an Old Japanese form like *tukutui. In the case of PK *twōcôhwóy it would be very difficult, because final *-hwoy in Korean would have to be a suffix, an assumption for which there is no internal evidence. The easiest explanation is to assume that this is another loan from Korean into Japonic that postdates the contraction of PK *-hóc- or *-côh- into -ch-. The second piece of evidence that supports the loanword scenario is based on the possibility that the Proto-Japonic word had a long vowel in the first syllable, as demonstrated by an Old Japanese loanword in Proto-Ainu *tuutui (Vovin 1993a: 150). The vowel length certainly reflects later Korean R pitch; which would not be expected in the case of a genuine cognate.

(72) (L) MK twōk ‘pot’ ~ OJ tuki HL ‘id’. < PJK *tuk (Whitman 1985: 217). MK twōk is really a ‘jar’, and OJ tuki is more likely to be a ‘saucer’, ‘shallow cup/plate’, at least in the Asuka-Nara periods (JDB 1967: 461), but this certainly does not invalidate the comparison. The problem is that OJ tuki is attested only in Western Old Japanese and Middle Japanese (MJ tuki), and there are no attestations in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan. This distribution strongly suggests that WOJ tuki is a loan from Korean.

(73) (R) MK tê ‘more’ ~ OJ -tô ‘and, also, plus’. Whitman further comments that OJ -tô is postpositional (1985: 217). OJ -tô is surely just a

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78 There is an isolated Shuri haimaa sakazici ‘sake cup’ (RGJ 1976: 689), but it is likely to be a loan from Japanese, because it is: (a) isolated in Ryukyuan and (b) found only within a compound which also includes native haimaa with the same meaning.
comitative case marker, which can roughly be translated into English as ‘with, and’. It has no meaning ‘plus’, which is used solely to make the comparison look better. Given the fact that functionally and syntactically the Middle Korean word (which is found exclusively as a preposition) is completely different, I do not think that much remains of this etymology.

(74) (R) MK tyé ‘that’ (distal) ~ OJ sö ‘that’ (medial) (Whitman 1985: 217-218). This was discussed in the section on demonstrative pronouns above (2.1.2.3).

(75) (C) MK tül- ‘holds it, raises it’ ~ OJ tö-r- ‘takes it, grasps it’ < PJK *tö-r- (Whitman 1985: 218). The etymology seems valid, but there is one slight problem. As Bentley has demonstrated, there are two Old Japanese verbs: tö-r- ‘to hold, to support’ and tö-r- ‘to take, to pick up, to capture’ (Bentley 1999). MK tül- corresponds regularly to OJ tö-r-, but it is a better semantic fit with OJ tö-r-. Tentatively I accept this etymology.

(76) (R) MK tüli- ‘falls’ (? = tüli- ‘hang down’) ~ OJ tir- ‘falls’ < PJK *tö-r- (Whitman 1985: 218). It seems that the meaning ‘falls’ for MK tüli- is a misglossing by Yü Changton (LCT 1987: 249). It is found only once in the following example, where tüli- is used as a translational equivalent of the Chinese character  落 ‘to fall down’:

TUNG-s kaci-non pwontoy cey tuly-e-ys-kwo
wisteria-GEN branch-TOP naturally itself hang down-INF-exist-GER
Wisteria branches are hanging down naturally by themselves (Twusi cho XV: 15a)

It is quite clear that the wisteria branches are ‘hanging down’, not ‘falling down’. In numerous other examples MK tüli- also refers only to ‘hanging down’ (LCT 1987: 249; Nam 1997: 455). Notice that the progressive form of the verb is unlikely to be used with a punctuated action like ‘to fall’. This is a minor problem, though, but there is clearly a major one: MK /u/ cannot correspond regularly to OJ /i/, regardless of the provenance of the latter; only MK /uy/ can correspond to OJ /i/ in cases where it is from *i < *öi. Cf. (75) above, where PJK *tö-r- is reconstructed on the basis of a different (and regular) correspondence. I reject this etymology on the basis of its irregularity.

(77) (L) MK tömül- ‘rare’ ~ OJ tömö-si- ‘scarce, longed for’ < PJK *tömör- (Whitman 1985: 218). ‘Longed for’, or to be more exact, ‘enviable’, certainly represents a secondary development in Old Japanese, so semantically the etymology is valid. There are no obvious phonological problems either, although the Middle Japanese form is tobosi-, possibly indicating an original *-np- cluster, which was simplified in Old Japanese to -m-. However, since this is a problem that has no generally accepted solution, and opinions differ on whether one has to reconstruct *-np- or *-m- here, I accept this etymology, but it is likely a loan: the word is attested in Eastern Old Japanese, but not in Ryukyuan.

79 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #237.
80 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #106.
(78) (R) MK stwó ‘and, also, too, again, while’ (adverb) ~ OJ -tutu ‘while at the same time as’ (postverbal particle conjunction joining two clauses) < PJK *totu (Whitman 1985: 218). Besides EOJ -tutu, which is frequently used, there are two specific Eastern Old Japanese forms that each appear once: -tusi (MYS XX: 4386) and -toto (MYS XX: 4421). The latter, if it were not a hapax legomenon, could possibly offer some more support to Whitman’s etymology, but in addition to functional problems, there is an insurmountable problem in its irregularity: MK s- does not correspond to OJ t-. Of course, some linguists argue that MK s- in sC clusters is not to be taken at face value, but even if it were so (which is unlikely, because we should not forget that hankul in the fifteenth century represented a phonetically oriented writing system), there is no way to demonstrate that this MK st- < PK *tt-. I reject this etymology on the basis of its irregularity.

(79) (R) MK twùlG- ‘circles, turns’ ~ OJ tuNk- ‘succeeds, continues’ < PJK *türk- (Whitman 1985: 218). Besides the Middle Korean variant with stems twùl- ~ twùlG-, there is also the variant twùlù- (Nam 1997: 439).81 This variation points to the Proto-Korean form *twùluG- or *twùluK-. However, PK *-luG- does not correspond regularly to OJ -Nk- (< PJ *-nk-), as was pointed out in (58) above. I reject this etymology on the basis of its irregularity and rather far-fetched semantics.

(80) (C) MK twúlwúmí ‘crane’ ~ OJ turu LF ‘id’. < PJK *türüm (+ -i) (Whitman 1985: 218).82 I accept this etymology as a possible cognate.

(81) (L) MK twùté, twùtí-, twùtú- ‘earth’ ~ OJ tuti LL ‘id’.83 Whitman presents a long supporting discussion from which I quote: “The MK morpheme appears in twùtén, twùtúlk (MdK twuteng, twutek, twuleng) ‘bank, levee’ and twùticwùy, twutecwuy ‘mole’ < twùté + cwùy ‘rat’ (i.e., ‘earth rat’) (Martin 1966, #71) ... Old Japanese ‘bank, embankment, levee’ is tutumî LLH, a nominalization from the verb tutum- ‘to heap up dirt’. This verb is itself derived from the original noun root tutu- LL with the verbalizing suffix -m; it allows us to recover the original second syllable vowel. Since we assume OJ tuti LL [tuti] < pre-OJ *tutu LL + -i, the phonological fit here is perfect” (Whitman 1985: 218). It may not be as perfect as it seems, because the Middle Korean forms have a non-leniting -t- < PK *-nt- (MdK twuleng, which has -l-, does not count, because it occurs later and may invite different explanations). MdK twuntek ‘low hill, mound, hillock’, which preserves original *-nt- may not be completely irrelevant. Thus, we have PK *twùnté-, *twùntí-, *twùntú- which could correspond regularly to OJ *tuNti < PJ *tuntu-i, but not to OJ tuti < PJ *tutu-i. Another problem is that among the Middle Korean forms twùté-, twùtí-, twùtú-, the last one is obviously secondary because it includes a minimal (i.e., reduced) vowel /u/; but it is the only one that can correspond regularly to OJ tuti < *tutu-i, because neither MK /e/ nor MK /i/

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81 An l-doubling stem tull- seems to be attested only in Early Modern Korean texts (Nam 1997: 439).
82 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #55.
83 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #71.
corresponds to PJ *u in the second syllable. Irregularities certainly rule out the possibility of a genetic relationship. In addition, the distribution of OJ *tuti ‘earth’ seems to be limited to Central Japanese. There is EOJ *tuti, attested only once in MYS (XX: 4418). More important, there is only one isolated attestation in Ryukyuan: Ishigaki *süsi ‘earth’ (Hirayama 1966: 341). Since the word is isolated, it is likely to be a loan. Otherwise throughout the Ryukyus one finds a completely different word for ‘earth’: *mita (Hirayama 1966: 341; 1967: 315). Therefore, OJ *tuti represents another loan from Korean into Central Japanese which postdates the loss of postvocalic nasals in Korean: PK *twùnté > twùtú > pre-OJ *tutu. 

(82) (R) MK *twuyh ‘rear, behind’ ~ OJ usirö ‘id.’, siri ‘rear, rear end’ < PJK *tyù:r > pre-OJ *tiri > siri. Whitman adds: “Cf. OJ yöri ‘behind, after, from’; yuri ‘behind, after’ < *dyür” (1985: 218). This etymology is apparently based on the assumption that MK :twuyh < *twulih. Although such a reconstruction is certainly possible, it cannot be proved internally in this particular case; cf. (19) above. There are three other irregularities as well. First, MK /wu/ does not correspond to OJ /i/, regardless of the provenance of the latter. Only MK /wuy/ can correspond to OJ /i/ if it is from *i < *ui. MK /wuy/ is certainly present in Middle Korean :twuyh, but in that case OJ -r- has nothing to correspond to in the Middle Korean form. Second, Whitman claimed that Middle Korean initial ty- corresponds to Old Japanese initial s-, cf. (74) above and (84) below, but there is no ty- in MK :twuyh. Third, MK -y (< *-i) does not correspond regularly to OJ /ö/. Finally, OJ yöri is a ghost; the correct form is -yôri, the ablative case marker, which has nothing to do with this etymology. Thus, this etymology is rejected on the basis of multiple irregularities.

(83) (L) MK twuy, ptwuy ‘miscanthus reed’ ~ OJ ti (< *ti) ‘id’ ~ tu- in tu-N-pana ‘miscanthus flower’ (Whitman 1985: 218). The correspondences are impeccable, but there are no cognates of OJ ti in Eastern Old Japanese and/or Ryukyuan. I believe that it is a loan into Central Japanese from Korean.

(84) (R) MK :tywoh- ‘good’ ~ MJ suk- ‘like, be fond of’ < PJK *tyuk- (Whitman 1985: 218). There are several problems here that give me pause. First, MJ suk- originally meant ‘be lustful, be passionate, be fanciful’, and the broader meaning ‘to like’ does not seem to be attested before Early Modern Japanese. Cf. the following example from Ise monogatari:

mukasi-no waka-bito fa sar-u suk-er-u mono-omof-i-wo namu s-iker-u old times-GEN young-person TOP be such-ATTR be passionate-PROG-ATTR thing-think-NML-ACC PT do-RETR-ATTR Young people of the past had such passionate thoughts (IM XL)

84 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #125.
The semantics of the comparison are rather far-fetched. Second, there are no Eastern Old Japanese attestations, and in Ryukyuan the verb seems to be attested only in Nakijin: **sicun** 'to like' (Nakasone 1983: 185), the meaning being suspiciously close to later Japanese, but not to Middle Japanese. There is also Shuri *sichi* (RGJ 1976: 465) and leijima *sichii* (Oshio 1999: 173), but these are nouns, exactly like Modern Japanese *suki*, and corresponding verbs do not exist. The Shuri usage85 is exactly like that of Modern Japanese: *sichi-na Qchu* ‘person whom [I] love’ (cf. MJ *suki*-na *hito*). The verb is also attested in Old Ryukyuan, once in the *Omororo sōshi* in the passive form *sukar-* (OS V: 267), and once in the *Ryūka*, also in the passive form *sukar-* (RK 864). In both Old Ryukyuan cases we again witness the late meaning ‘to like’. In addition, all Ryukyuan attestations are confined to the area around the island of Okinawa, and the absence of the word in the Sakishima dialects is conspicuous. Thus, I think that all of the cases above are loans from Japanese, some of them quite recent. Thus, MJ *suk-* ‘be lustful, be passionate, be fanciful’ seems to be limited to Central Japanese. However, I doubt that in this case we are dealing with a loan from MK :*tywoh-* ‘good’. These doubts are based not only on the improbable semantics, but also on the phonologically odd shape of the Middle Korean word itself. To the best of my knowledge, the shape *tywo* in the first syllable is not just rare in native Middle Korean words, it occurs only in MK :*tywoh:* there are no other native Middle Korean words that have *tywo*.-86 This is a fact that cries out for an explanation, and it has to be explained before any external comparisons are made. I suspect that the Proto-Korean form of MK :*tywoh-* was something like *tiCwoko*-, although there might be other possible solutions. In any case, the lack of a proper Proto-Korean reconstruction makes a comparison with MJ *suk-* doubtful, and consequently the suggested correspondence of MK *ty* to OJ *s*-, supported by two more rejected examples, (74) and (87), becomes untenable.

85 No comparable data are available on the leijima usage.

86 There are certainly numerous hypercorrected spellings with *tywo-* for the etymological *cwo-* in Early Modern Korean, but these can be disregarded.
cannot correspond to OJ *tuk-. Since two out of the three correspondences are irregular, I reject this etymology.

(87) (R) MK tip ‘straw, cut grass’ ~ OJ siNpa HH ‘grass, turf’ (Whitman 1985: 219). No Proto-Japanese-Korean reconstruction is provided. The accusative form tip-ul (PT I: 22), attested in the first edition (1515) of the Pak thongsa, makes it clear that the underlying form of the Middle Korean word is actually tiph. This is also supported by MdK ciph ‘straw’. Therefore, MK tiph should go back to PK *tipuk or *tipuk. The former Proto-Korean form, *tipuk, would rule out any possibility of comparison with OJ siNpa, but even the form *tipuk might present a difficulty, since we do not know whether final *-k is a suffix or belongs to the root. The correspondence of MK ti- to OJ si- is also suspicious, even if we treat it as a variant of the already rejected correspondence MK ty- to OJ s-, see (84) above. If we treat it as a separate correspondence, then it also becomes irregular, because there are no other examples. There is a further semantic problem: OJ siNpa is a general name for different weeds that grow beside a road or in a wasteland. MK tiph, as far as I can tell on the basis of textual examples, is either ‘straw’ or ‘edible grass’. A weed is certainly not an edible grass. These problems force me to reject this comparison.

Etymologies (88) through (93) (Whitman 1985: 219) are all rejected, since they involve an outdated treatment of MK th- (see 1.1.1).

3.2.4 *d-

(94) (R) MK :twolh ‘stone’ ~ OJ isi HL, isô HH ‘id’. < PJK *dil2o (+ -ga) (Whitman 1985: 219). This famous etymology rests on the assumption that OJ isi ‘stone’ < PJ *yisi < *disi. The reconstruction of *d- for Proto-Japonic was refuted above (see the section on *b- and *d- in Proto-Japonic). This etymology is plagued by problems on both the Korean and the Japonic sides. PJ *disi HL ‘stone’ presents several problems. The presence of initial *d- or *y- at first glance cannot be proved or disproved, but the vowel of the first syllable in Proto-Japonic is *e-, which can be convincingly reconstructed on the basis of the Ryukyuan evidence. Proto-Ryukyuan treats primary *e and secondary *e < PJ *ay, *ia in the same way, so we would expect a preservation of PR *d- or *y- in front of primary or secondary *e, cf. OJ yeda ‘branch’, ye ‘handle’, and PR *yUda ‘branch’, *yUe ‘handle’ (Thorpe 1982: 267, 293). The Ryukyuan evidence might seem sufficient to exclude any initial *d- or *y-, but it is always nice to have a second independent piece of evidence, and such a piece can be found in Eastern Old Japanese. Before we consider this evidence, we must consider another Old Japanese word included by Whitman in the etymology, isô HH ‘rock’, which is connected with OJ isi HL ‘stone’. The seemingly unusual i : ô correspondence can be easily explained on the basis of OJ isu ‘rock’ that is used as a doublet for isô in the name of the shrine: Isô-nō kami ~ Isu-nō kami ‘top of the rock’, also written in

87 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #225.
88 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #224.
semantographic spelling as 石上 'top of the stone' (JDB 1967: 76). Thus, OJ isi 'stone' is probably <$isï <$isuy, and OJ isō 'rock' <$iso.

Unfortunately, isō has no reflexes in Ryukyuan, but it is attested in Eastern Old Japanese. Eastern Old Japanese has isi 'stone', which is attested twice in the Azuma uta (MYS XIV: 3398, 3425). However, with the exception of a dialectal word teko 'girl' in MYS XIV: 3398, none of these poems has any other Eastern Old Japanese dialect features. We really do not know whether isi in these poems is a genuine Eastern Old Japanese word, or whether it is used under Western Old Japanese influence. EOJ isō 'rock' is attested four times (MYS XIV: 3563; MYS XX: 4324, 4328, 4338), but the same word also appears as osi in MYS XIV: 3359 and as osu in MYS XIV: 3385. Now, if the word in question had an initial *d- or *y- in Proto-Japonic, why do these Eastern Old Japanese words not show up as *yosi and *yosu? The answer seems to be quite straightforward: Proto-Japonic has *esuy HL-L 'stone' and *eso HH-H 'rock', without any initial consonant. Thus, PJ *esuy HL 'stone' cannot be related to MK :twolith, because the correspondence of MK t- to OJ Ø- is irregular. The correspondence of MK /wo/ to OJ /i/ < PJ *e is also irregular. Finally, the reconstruction of MK :twolith is likely to be *twóloh, where -h is likely a reflex of the diminutive suffix -(a)k that follows both nominal and verbal stems (Martin 1992: 416, 592). I believe that Martin is right and there is an internal etymology for this word: MK :twol- 'turn' (intr.) < PK *twólo 'pebble' < 'that which rolls' (1996: 36). Even if all these facts were not true, the correspondence of MK /wo/ to OJ /i/ is still irregular. Thus, this etymology must be rejected.

(95) (R) MK :ti- 'forges it' ~ OJ ire- 'id'. < PJK *dira- (Whitman 1985: 219). There are several problems with this etymology. First, the basis for Whitman’s claim that it was a lower bigrade verb *ire- in Old Japanese is unclear to me. There is only one Late Western Old Japanese attestation in the form of a gloss, partially written in man’yōgana, as /i/ /iru/ (NR II: 17), but it is impossible to tell the conjugational pattern of the verb on the basis of this form alone. All other attestations are later, with the earliest found in the Shinsenjikyō (898-901) as i-mono 'cast thing' (JDB 1967: 106), which demonstrates that the verb is upper monograde, with a root i-. This is confirmed by all later attestations. Second, in contrast to (94) above, where we can certainly say that there was no PJ *y- in front of OJ /i/, in this case, as far as I can tell, we have no evidence for the presence or absence of *y-. It is possible that OJ i- < PJ *yi-, but it is also possible that it is from *i-. With no evidence for the initial consonant, the comparison with Korean is a comparison based on one phoneme. And, of course, MK :ti- goes back to a disyllabic form *tihCV-. Not only do we not have any evidence for reconstructing the exact phonological shape of this word in Proto-Korean, we have no evidence that OJ i- contracted from an earlier disyllabic form. Therefore, this etymology must be rejected.
The Proto-Japonic form is *er-, on the basis of PR *er-, but as in (94) and (95) above we have no evidence to support PJ *yer-, which is badly needed for this comparison. On the contrary, PR *er- suggests that there was no PJ *y- in this word, although unlike (94) there is no corroborating evidence from Eastern Old Japanese this time that can completely rule it out: the only attestation is EOJ ir-. In addition, MK /u/ does not correspond regularly to OJ /i/. Thus, out of three correspondences, one is highly questionable at least, and one is irregular. Therefore, there are sufficient grounds for rejecting this etymology.

The comparisons involving numbers (53-87) and (94-96) represent etymologies involving Proto-Japanese-Korean initial *t- and *d-. Whitman presents 35 etymologies supporting PJK *t- and only three supporting PJK *d-. The ratio is very similar to the ratio of etymologies with *p- and *b-discussed above. Even if I had not rejected all Proto-Japanese-Korean etymologies with *d- as supporting a genetic relationship, there is obviously a skewed pattern. If my rejections are accepted, there is a gap again: no reliable Korean etymologies for Old Japanese words with initial y-.

Thus, in addition to OJ w-, we have another gap in correspondences.

3.2.5 *k-

(97) (R) MK -ká interrogative suffix ~ OJ -ka id. < PJK *ka. Whitman adds: “In both languages -ka is preceded by a noun or a nominalized (attributive) verb form” (1985: 220). At first glance the etymology seems impeccable, but there is one problem. PJ *ka is an interrogative particle used in wh-questions. MK ká ~ Gá is the interrogative particle that occurs only in general questions:

hanolh-i kolhoy-Gi-si-n-i nwupi cywong an i-ntol haytwong yenmin-ul
nic-osi-l i-angi-s ka
heaven-NOM choose-CAUS-POL-ATTR/REAL-NML quilt monk not be-
GER Korea people-ACC forget-HON-ATTR/IRR be-POL-NML PT
Heaven has made the choice. Were it not for a monk in the quilted robe,
would [Heaven] forget the Korean people? (YP 21)

thwukwu sey sal-i nyey two stwo is-te-si-n ka
helmet three arrow-NOM old.times PT still exist-RETR-HON-
ATTR/REAL PT
Did it happen even in the past that three arrows [all hit] the helmet? (YP 89)

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89 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #76.
90 Whitman also presents four etymologies with OJ y- reflecting PJK *y- and four etymologies with OJ y- reflecting PJK *y- (190, 199-202 [there is no 201 — A.V.], 313-
317). See the discussion under these number.
91 WOJ ka is predominantly used in wh-questions, although sometimes it may occur in
general questions. PR *ka occurs only in wh-questions.
This problem is further aggravated by the fact that the interrogative particle for *wh*-questions in Middle Korean is *kwó ~ Gwó* (An and Yi 1990: 204-205). This leaves the comparison with Japanese rather lame: at best it is an etymology based on one phoneme, /k/, common to both Middle Korean particles *ká ~ Gá* and *kwó ~ Gwó*. In addition, it leaves unexplained the vowel /a/ in WOJ *ka*; and we should not forget the functional difference. Thus, this etymology should be rejected.

(98) (R) MK *kách* ‘leather, skin’ ~ OJ *kasa* HH ‘blemish, hardening of skin, scab’ < PJK *kaso* (Whitman 1985: 220). MK *kách* < PK *kâcök*, cf. MdK *kačwuk*, which actually is closer to the protoform. The final *-k may be a suffix, but we have no definite internal evidence that allows us to segment it. There are no phonetic attestations for OJ *kasa* (JDB 1967: 184); the word is effectively found only in Middle Japanese. This is a very minor point. The crucial problem is that it does not mean ‘blemish, hardening of skin, scab’, but ‘swelling, boil, abscess’. The word is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese, and Ryukyuan attestations are few and far-between: Urazoe-Kowan *kasa* ‘swelling, boil’ (Nakamoto et al. 1995: 77), Shuri *kasa* ‘malignant swelling’ (RGJ 1976: 311), Nakijin *ka[s]aa* ‘swelling, boil’ (Nakasone 1983: 97), Psara *kasa* ‘general name for skin diseases’ (Shimoji 1979: 51). The Proto-Japonic semantic archetype seems to be ‘swelling’, and semantically the comparison with Korean is not possible. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(99) (R) MK *káči* ‘kind, sort, variety’ ~ OJ *kata* HL ‘shape, form, mold’ (Whitman 1985: 220). Phonetically the comparison may be viable, but there is one serious obstacle: one has to explain final MK *-i* as a suffix. I fail to see any internal evidence for this. In addition, there is no semantic coherence. Therefore I reject this etymology.

(100) MK *káci* ‘branch’ ~ OJ *ka, kai, kain* ‘oar’ < PJK *kadi* (Whitman 1985: 220). The reconstruction of the archetype of the Old Japanese word is difficult. First, OJ *kain* is not an ‘oar’, but a ‘rudder’. Rudders on Old Japanese boats were just ‘big oars’, so this may not be so important. The problem is that OJ *kain* ‘rudder’ belongs to the 2.2 (HL) accent class, while OJ *kai* ‘oar’ is 2.4 (LH). Thus, the register is not compatible. Consequently, OJ *kain* ‘rudder’ and OJ *kai* ‘oar’ are not related, and OJ *kain* should be taken out of the equation. Second, OJ *kai* is a phonologically aberrant form, since VV clusters were not permitted in Old Japanese. Martin reconstructs PJ *kaci* (1987: 433). I have recently demonstrated that the form was actually *kayi* as late as in Western Old Japanese (Vovin 2009: 420ff). Thus, a comparison with Korean is out of the question. Moreover, there is OJ *ka* ‘oar’, also cited by Whitman, which appears by itself written phonetically only once in Old Japanese (*MYS* XX: 4408), but WOJ *ka-kô* ‘oarsman, rower’ appears in phonetic script three times (*MYS* XV: 3627; *MYS* XX: 4331, 4408). While it is

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92 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #22.
93 Omodaka et al. gloss this word as ‘rudder’ (JDB 1967: 170), but the textual basis for this is unclear to me. *Yaswo ka* in *MYS* XX: 4408 is much more likely to be ‘eighty oars’, rather than ‘eighty rudders’. Takagi et al. also read *ka* as ‘oar’ in this poem (1962: 441).
possible that OJ ka is a truncation of OJ kai, it is also likely that WOJ ka is
the original form, since it appears in a compound, and compounds tend to
preserve older forms. A possible explanation for the kai is that it
represents an obscure compound. Whether the original form was ka or kai,
the comparison with Korean is impossible. Not to mention the fact that
branches cannot be used as oars — you simply would not be able to move
your boat! Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(101) (L) MK kàlap<sup>94</sup> LMK kal<sup>95</sup> ‘oak’ ~ OJ kasi ‘id’. < PJK *kal<sub>2</sub>
(Whitman 1985: 220). This might look like a perfect comparison, but
WOJ kasi and its cognates are attested only in Central Japanese.<sup>97</sup> Thus, by
the distribution criteria, it must be a loan from Korean into Central
Japanese.

(102) (L) MK kál (probably kálh, cf. MdK khal) ‘pillory’ ~ OJ kasi, MJ
kase ‘id’. (cf. 104 ‘oak’) < PJK *kal<sub>2o</sub> (+ -i). Whitman comments that the
word is a likely loan into Japanese (1985: 220). I agree with him
completely, but two corrections are in order. First, it is necessary to correct
the semantics: ‘pillory’ seems to be a European invention, and this
meaning is attested only for Modern Korean. The word in question in both
Middle Korean and pre-modern Japanese actually means ‘cangue’, a
wooden board with holes for the head and/or hands and feet. The
instrument itself was apparently borrowed into Japan from the mainland,
since binding prisoners with ropes was the more usual practice, and the use
of the cangue was restricted. Second, there are no phonetic attestations of
this word in Old Japanese (JDB 1967: 186). We can hypothesize that it
was there only on the basis of later glosses of Nara period texts written
entirely in Chinese. Phonetically, the word is attested for the first time in
Middle Japanese as kasi. As far as I can tell, the form kase given as Middle
Japanese by Whitman actually appears for the first time only in Early
Modern Japanese. It is likely that (101) above and this etymology either
represent parallel loans from Korean into Central Japanese or two cases of
parallel semantic development after the word for ‘oak’ was borrowed: MJ
kasi 2.3 ‘cangue’ is called so, because it was made from kasi 2.3 ‘oak’,
known for the hardness of its wood, and MK kál ‘cangue’ was also made

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<sup>94</sup> Appears only within the compound kalap-namwo or kalap-namk- ‘oak-tree’ (Nam 1997: 5; LCT 1987: 19).

<sup>95</sup> Whitman’s Late Middle Korean is certainly the Early Modern Korean form.

<sup>96</sup> This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #156.

<sup>97</sup> There is a Shuri word kaasya ‘broad tree leaf used for food wrapping’ (RGJ 1976: 298),
which probably represents a loan from MJ kasifa ‘oak tree leaf’ (used for similar purposes),
since it appears only in the Shuri dialect. It also has an irregular accent B (Martin 1987: 441); we would expect A for a true cognate (OJ kasipla is 3.2a). As far as I can tell, the
practice of using oak tree leaves as cups or wrapping for food is textually supported only
for the Asuka and Nara periods. A direct loan from Western Old Japanese into Shuri is
impossible, but the absence of the word kasi ‘oak’ anywhere in Ryukyuan, as well as the
isolated nature of the word in question in Shuri and its irregular accent, still strongly
suggest that it is a loan.
from *kal*98 ‘oak’. In any case, the word for ‘cangue’ allows us to date the correspondence of MK /l/ to OJ /s/ to no later than the beginning of the first millennium. This may have far-reaching consequences for etymologies like ‘star’ (30), that are traditionally accepted as evidence for a genetic relationship.

(103) (R) MK :kal- ‘plows it, cultivates it’ ~ OJ karasuki LLLL ‘plow’ < *kara (?) + suki ‘plow’ < PJK *kara-. Whitman comments: “The first morpheme in the Old Japanese form is often identified as *kara- ‘foreign’ (Korean, Chinese), but there is no clear support for this identification” (1985: 220). There are two problems with Whitman’s etymology. First, the Old Japanese verb *kar- ‘to plow’ does not present itself, so the proposed identification is speculative and exclusively external; it is based on Korean, and therefore involves circular logic. Second, I am unaware of the existence of any tatpurusha-type compounds in Japonic in which a plain verbal stem can modify a following noun. Finally, there is wonderful archeological evidence supporting the traditional interpretation: U-shaped karasuki99 have been excavated only from the cites dating from around the seventh century A.D. (Takayanagi and Takeuchi 1974: 218), so there is no way they can go back to the period of ‘Proto-Koreo-Japonic’. The traditional identification of *kara- in OJ karasuki ‘plow’ as ‘Korean’ or ‘Chinese’ is certainly correct, and I reject this etymology.

(104) (R) MK :kàlàp, LMK kal ‘oak’ ~ OJ kaya, kape ‘torreya’ < PJK *kara (? + p < niph) ‘leaf’ (Whitman 1985: 220). Certainly, MK kàlàp, LMK kal ‘oak’ cannot be a cognate for both OJ kasi ‘oak’ (see [101] above) and OJ kaya, kape Torreya nucifera, but since I demonstrated that OJ kasi ‘oak’ is likely a loan from Korean, let us review this etymology as well. First of all, OJ kaya and kape certainly cannot be etymologically related. It is not quite clear what kind of tree OJ kaya is (JDB 1967: 213), so it is better to exclude it, especially considering that tying it to MK kàlàp will certainly involve Whitman’s *-r- loss law, which cannot be proved internally for this particular case. OJ kaya is indeed Torreya nucifera, a kind of yew tree, but oaks and yews belong to two completely different species of trees. Finally, MK -l- does not correspond to OJ -y-, as shown in (17), (34), and (40) above. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(105) (R) MK :kalkí ‘mane’ ~ OJ ka-/kë ‘hair’ < PJK *kar (+ -ki [diminutive]) (Whitman 1985: 220). I am unaware of the existence of any diminutive -ki in Korean. Since MK :kalkí < PK *kálokí, it is possible that -i is a suffix here, cf. MdK [meli-]khal ‘hair on the head’, likely to go back to PK *kalok. OJ ka- ‘hair’ fits only with the first syllable of the Korean word, and it is not clear how we can account for the second. This etymology has to be rejected.

(106) (R) MK :kalm- ‘hides it, puts it away’ ~ OJ kômî- ‘id’. < PJK *kerômô-. Whitman comments: “The vocalism in this comparison is

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98 Unfortunately, there is no information on accent, since the word appears for the first time only in the *Mwulpho*, a Korean text that was compiled in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

99 For the picture see JDB 1967: 230.
troublesome, since MK and K[orean] do not evince an alternate in /e/” (1985: 220). It certainly is, and I also have to add that OJ kömï- (attested only once, in KK 1), as well as its much more frequent variant kömë-, does not provide any internal evidence for *-r- loss. With these two observations we can safely put this etymology to rest.

(107) (L) MK kālmwó ‘axle, axle guard’ ~ OJ karimo ‘axle guard’ < PJK *karimo. Whitman also remarks that it is likely a loan (1985: 220), and I agree with him.

(108) (R) MK kām-, MdK ka:m- ‘winds it, coils it’ ~ OJ karamë- ‘binds it’ < PJK *karamU-. Whitman remarks that “the long vowel in [Md]K ka:m- indicates the original long vowel necessary for this comparison” (1985: 220). I believe that it is extremely hazardous to posit a long vowel in Proto-Korean on the basis of a single reflex with a long vowel in Modern Korean, not to mention a ‘reconstruction’ of a much needed PK *-l- for this comparison on the same basis. There is no regular correspondence of MK -Ø- to OJ -r-, and this, with the less than perfect semantics allows me to reject this etymology.

(109) (L) MK kāmá ‘cooking pot’ ~ MJ kama HH ‘id.’, OJ kama- in kamaNtô ‘cooking place, hearth’ < kama + tô ‘place’ < PJK *kama. Whitman admits that this etymology may represent a loan (1985: 220). There are no attestations of the word in Eastern Old Japanese. The attestations in Ryukyu suggest a loanword scenario: the reflexes of kama are found throughout the Northern and Central Ryukyus, but they are very sparse in Sakishima. As far as I can tell, only Higashi Nakasone on Miyako Island has ukama ‘cooking pot’, and there are two attestations of kamado meaning not ‘hearth’ but ‘cooking pot’: Tonoshiro kamadu and Hateruma kamdu (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 384). These sparse attestations in the South Ryukyus and the semantic shift ‘hearth’ => ‘cooking pot’, with kama not attested separately strongly suggest that the loanword scenario is correct, and that the Ryukyuan words are loans from Japanese. This leaves us only with Central Japanese kama, which also, by my distribution criteria, makes it likely to be a loanword from Korean.

(110) (L) MK kāph- ‘returns it’ ~ OJ kapë- ‘exchanges it’ < PJK *kapo-. I see little textual basis for glossing MK kāph- as ‘to return’, since in Middle Korean texts the verb certainly does not mean ‘to return’ in general, but rather means ‘to pay [back], to reward’:

ZYELOY-s UNHYEY-lol kap-soW-a-za ho-l-i (i)-la Tathagata-GEN kindness-ACC repay-HUM-INF-GER do-ATTR/IRR-NML (be)-FIN [we] have to repay the kindness of the Tathagata (Sekpo XXIII: 21b)

Yu Changton glosses MK kālmwó as swuley-uy kwultay ‘axle of a vehicle’ (LCT 1987: 29), but in Hwangmwoong cahwoy it glosses the Chinese character ‘axle guard’ (Hwangmwoong II: 26b).
na-y ne-ykey pit-ul kaph-wo-m-i
I-NOM thou-DAT debt-ACC pay-MOD-NML-NOM

the fact that I repay [my] debt to you (Nung VI: 91b)

The difference in meaning is a relatively minor point, but I think that it actually strengthens the comparison on its semantic side. At first glance the comparison seems to be impeccable, but there is one problem. MK kàph-can go back either to PK *kakop- or to PK *kapok-. The former case rules out a genetic relationship between the Korean and the Old Japanese forms from the start, but even in the second case we would have some difficulty explaining the correspondences of PJ *kapay- to PK *kapok-. Namely, PK *ok does not neatly correspond to PJ *ay, even if one postulates a speculative PJ *a-Ci in PJ *kapa-Ci- following Martin (1987: 701). In this scheme PJ *-C- belongs to the suffix, and PK *k still belongs to the root, so there is definitely a segmentation problem. It is possible to speculate that the root of the Proto-Japonic verb also once ended in *-k, but this is impossible to prove on the basis of the internal evidence. The cognates of OJ kape-, as well as of kap- ‘to buy’, which are also likely to be related (both belonging to accent class A [Martin 1987: 701, 706]), do not appear in Eastern Old Japanese texts, but they are attested throughout the Ryukyus. This would indicate the possibility of a genetic relationship, but problems with the correspondences make me think that a loanword scenario represents an easier explanation, since it does not require any speculative hypotheses. If it is a loan, it must be an old one, going back to the period of linguistic coexistence on the Korean peninsula.

(111) (R) MK kàphól ‘case, sheath’, MdK kkaphwul ‘skin’ ~ OJ kapa LL ‘skin’ < PJK *kapo (+ -ol diminutive). Whitman adds: “The original K[orean] root is recoverable from [Md]K kkaptayki ‘shell, skin’ < kaph + tayki ‘thingy’. Considerable etymological confusion with SK kap ‘armor’ has also occurred here” (1985: 221). At the present stage of our knowledge, the proposed Proto-Japanese-Korean reconstruction does not account for the aspirated /ph/ in both Middle and Modern Korean. I am not sure that SK kap ‘armor’ could cause any etymological confusion, because MK kàphól ‘scabbard, sheath’ (which, incidentally, does not mean ‘case’ in general) is not exactly armor. Armor protects the body of a warrior, while scabbards do not. It is interesting that MK kàphól means only ‘scabbard, sheath’, while MdK kkaphwul means ‘skin’. I must also mention that MdK kkaphwul ‘skin’ also means ‘film, coat, skin’, as in, e.g., nwun-kkaphwul ‘eyelid’, so its archetype meaning seems to be essentially *‘cover’. Sheaths in medieval Korea were made from leather and/or wood, but MdK kkaphwul certainly is never used in the sense of ‘leather’. The semantic development from ‘sheath’ ⇒ ‘cover, skin’ and not vice versa is bizarre. I wonder whether etymological contamination indeed took place, but under a different scenario from Whitman’s. We must keep in mind that MdK kkaptayki ‘shell, skin’ also has an alternative form kkpeyki, which is obviously etymologically connected with MK képcil and MdK kkpecil ‘skin, bark, husk, etc.’. MK képcil and MdK kkpecil are semantically much
closer to OJ *kapcil or MdK *kkapcil, so it is likely that MdK kkapciąk ‘shell, skin’ is just a secondary development from MdK kkepćiɔki, being the heavy isotope of the latter. Thus, it may not be useful in recovering the original root for MK kąphól ‘sheath’ and MdK kkaphwul ‘skin’. I believe that MK kąphól ‘sheath’ may have an unrelated internal etymology which has nothing to do with ‘skin’. Crosslinguistically an etymology for the word ‘sheath’ is very frequently derived from the word for ‘sword’ or ‘knife’, and Modern Korean is no exception: MdK khalɔip ‘sheath’ < khal ‘knife, sword’ + cip ‘house’.101 I believe that MK kąphól may be a very similar derivation: MK kalh ‘knife, sword’ + -pol. We could expect the loss of -l- in this position, because the Middle Korean cluster -lph- is extremely rare. The final -h of MK kalh then produced aspiration on the first consonant of the second component of the compound. This last component may be difficult to explain, but I think that a predecessor of EMdK and MdK pwul ‘scrotum’ may be involved here. The form -pol may contain a reduced minimal vowel /o/, which changed from a [-RTR] vowel to a [+RTR] vowel under the influence of /a/ in the first syllable of the compound. Using the word ‘scrotum’ for a knife’s cover may seem ludicrous at first glance, but we should not forget that knives and swords are often used as phallic symbols. When the compound became obscure (no doubt under the influence of Confucianism), it could be just perceived as a ‘cover for a knife, sheath’, one more step toward becoming a *‘cover’ in general, which, as we have seen above, is the semantic archetype of MdK kkaphwul. I must also add that ‘sheath’ in English seems to have undergone the same semantic evolution. Therefore, I reject this etymology due to the more realistic internal explanation for the Middle Korean word.

(112) (R) MK kąpóyęp-102 ‘to be light’ ~ OJ karu- (+ -si) ‘id’. (Whitman 1985: 221). No Proto-Japanese-Korean form is provided, and I doubt that these two forms can be reconciled phonetically, with the exception of the first syllable, /ka/, in both languages. Therefore, this etymology is also rejected.

(113) (L) MK kąps ‘value, worth, price’ ~ OJ kapi ‘id’. < PJK *kap- (Whitman 1985: 221). This is the same root as in (110), so I disregard it for statistical purposes.

(114) (L) MK kát ‘hat’ ~ OJ kasa ‘sunshade, hat’ < PJK *kasa (Whitman 1985: 221). The correspondence of MK /t/ to OJ /s/ is not regular, but there is a later Middle Korean variant kás attested from 1586 in the first edition of Swohak enhay. All other attestations of kas belong to Early Modern Korean and Modern Korean (Nam 1997: 35). Under normal conditions, the preference should be given to earlier attestations, but since

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101 Cf. also Russian nozhny ‘scabbard’ < nozh ‘‘knife’.
102 I presume this is a typographical error for MK kąpóyyęp- (LCT 1987: 21; Nam 1997: 10). There are also the Early Modern Korean forms kąpwoyęp- and kąpuyęp- (Nam 1997: 9), but they are attested much later. The word should also be presented with final -W, since the last consonant of the stem is a leniting /p/.
the phonological history of dentals, and especially final -t in Korean is very complex. I tentatively allow a later attestation to be taken into consideration. OJ kasa ‘sunshade, hat’ is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese, and the Ryukyuan attestations are mostly concentrated in the Okinawa region: Yamatoma hasaa (Hirayama 1986: 175), Nakijin hasaa (Nakasone 1983: 382), Iejima hasaa (Oshio 1999: 301), Shuri kasa (RGJ 1976: 311). The single attestation in Sakishima is Psara -kasa, which occurs only in the compounds ama-kasa ‘umbrella’ and kuba-kasa ‘hat made from palm leaves’ (Shimoji 1979: 51). A different word sana ‘hat, sunshade’ is much more typical for Sakishima and is attested in Ishigaki, Taketomi, and Hateruma (Miyara 1980: 299). This kind of distribution in the Ryukyus suggests that hasaa/kasa is a loan from Japanese. Therefore, Central Japanese kasa itself is likely to be a loan from Korean.

(115) (R) MK kól ‘reed, rush’ ~ OJ kaya LH ‘general term for long grasses, thatch’ < PJK *ko:ra (Whitman 1985: 221). The correspondence of MK -l- to OJ -y- is irregular; therefore, I reject this etymology.

(116) (R) MK kóláp-103 ‘itchy’ ~ OJ kayu- ‘id’. < PJK *koryo-. Whitman provides the following commentary: “Final /p/ in MK is the adjectival suffix. LMK [i.e., Early Modern Korean — A.V.] also attests kolyap- and kolyp- (the latter the K form of the adjective104). MK in general does not attest *yo, but there is strong evidence (including a direct reference in the Hwunmin cengum enhay 1446, where it is reported for ‘dialects and children’s speech’) that the sequence existed at a slightly prior stage of the language. LMK /le/ is sometimes the outcome for MK /lo/; since the a/e alternation is otherwise extremely exceptional in just the second syllable of a stem, the LMK alternation points to pre-MK *kolyop-, which provides a perfect fit for OJ karu-” (Whitman 1985: 221). I believe that the reconstruction of PK *yo in the second syllable of MK kóláp- solely on the basis of Early Modern Korean forms that are famous for their inconsistent and messy spelling is potentially hazardous, but in this case I think Whitman is right: his reconstruction can be further supported by the Ceycwuto forms kolop-, kolyep-, and kolyep- (Ceycwu pangen yenkwuhoy 1995: 71). Nevertheless, there are two problems with this etymology. First, the correspondence of MK -l- to OJ -y- is irregular; see also (115) above. That alone would warrant the rejection of this etymology. The reconstruction of PK *-ly- here hardly helps, because the correspondence of PK *-ly- to OJ -y- is not supported by other examples. Second, there is no direct internal evidence that final /p/ in Middle Korean is an adjectival suffix, because a corresponding verb or noun without it does not occur. At present I prefer to reject this etymology, but it could be saved if more examples for PK *-ly- corresponding to OJ -y- were presented along with internal evidence for segmentation of an ‘adjectival suffix -p’ in Korean.


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103 The word should also be presented with final -W, since the last consonant of the stem is a leniting /p/.

104 The Modern Korean form is actually kolyep-, not kolyep-.
for the meaning ‘rape’ for OJ karasi; to the best of my knowledge it means only ‘mustard plant, mustard grain, product of mustard plant’. I see no reason to reject the traditional etymology of the Old Japanese word, which treats it as a lexicalized form of the conclusive form kara-sti\(^{105}\) of kara- ‘be spicery, salty’ (JDB 1967: 229). The accent classes of the adjective kara- (B) and of the noun karasi (3.7) are congruent, because both are low-register classes. This, alongside the fact that the mustard plant was probably imported from China, further strengthens the traditional etymology. Finally, foxtails and mustards belong to two different kinds of grassy plants. I have no comment on the taste of a foxtail, because it happens to be on the menu of cattle, not of humans. With this additional comment on its semantics, I reject this etymology.

(118) (R) MK kóláy ‘wild walnut’ ~ OJ kuru-/kuri LL ‘chestnut’, MJ kurumi ‘walnut’ < PJK *koro (\(+\) -i). Whitman remarks: “The final vowel in MK is problematic: the expected form would be *kólóy. However, the transcription of /oy/ \(\sim /ay/\) is fairly variable in MK. MJ kurumi is a compound of kuru + mi (OJ mi) ‘fruit, nut’, suggesting the existence of an original root pre-OJ *kuru- < PJK *koro (\(+\) -i) ‘nut tree’” (1985: 221). There are several problems here. First, the claim for the transcriptional variation /oy/ \(\sim /ay/\) in Middle Korean is not substantiated. There is the Early Modern Korean form koloy attested in sico (Nam 1997: 226), but it cannot be used as evidence, because MK /o/ had been lost as a phoneme by that time, and the form koloy probably just represents a written hypercorrection. I think that MK /oy/ and /ay/ are definitely not interchangeable within Middle Korean itself; cf. MK :say ‘bird’ and sáy ‘new’, on the one hand, and MK sóy ‘east’, on the other (Nam 1997: 813, 950). Only in Early Modern Korean can one see the hypercorrected spelling soy ‘bird’ (Nam 1997: 950). Thus, MK kóláy ‘wild walnut’ does not correspond regularly to the Old Japanese form, and that alone allows for the rejection of this etymology. Second, while Whitman’s etymology of MJ kurumi is certainly attractive, without an attestation in Old Japanese it is impossible to verify whether -mi in MJ kurumi is indeed from OJ mi ‘fruit’, with the otsu-rui vowel /i/\(^{106}\). MJ kurumi can be just a lexicalized nominalization in -i from kurum\(-\)\(^{107}\), ‘to wrap it up’. In addition, walnuts and chestnuts belong to two different tree species, so the resulting archetype may be only ‘a kind of nut’, which is always suspicious. Therefore, on the basis of all these considerations, I reject this etymology.

(119) (R) MK kôlí- ‘hides it, conceals it, obscures it’ ~ OJ kê-, kiye- ‘disappears’ < PJK *kor-. Whitman comments: “The identity of the first syllable vowel in OJ kiye- is unclear; this comparison predicts kuye-. The related transitive form is kêt- ‘extinguishes it, makes it disappear’” (1985:

\(^{105}\) See Martin (1987: 806-809) for the lack of a clear demarcation between the attributive and conclusive forms of adjectives in Old Japanese, as well as for examples of the usage of the ‘conclusive’ form in the attributive function.

\(^{106}\) Both kuri and kurumi are low-register words, a fact that may give additional support to Whitman’s etymology.

\(^{107}\) The accentuation of MdJ kurum- is unclear (Martin 1987: 717), and it is attested only from Early Modern Japanese, which may invalidate this alternative etymology.
As Whitman himself points out, the correspondence of vowels in the first syllable is irregular. Besides, the loss of *-r- in this word in Old Japanese cannot be confirmed by internal Japonic evidence. In addition, the morphophonological history of these two Old Japanese words, if they are to be reconciled as one etymon, is rather complex. We do not really know whether OJ ket- was really kët- or kêt-. The word is not attested phonetically in Old Japanese, and the reasons Omodaka et al. list it as kët-(JDB 1967: 281) are unclear to me. OJ -t- as a transitivizing suffix in ket-cannot be solidly supported: there is Old Japanese transitive panat- 'to release, to let go', correlating with intransitive panare- (JDB 1967: 586-587), but that is the only other case I can think of, and the analogy is not perfect.108 The form panare- may suggest that OJ kë- was once *këre-, but in that case the much needed *-r- turns out to be in the wrong place for a comparison with Korean. The reconciliation of first syllable vowels in OJ kë- and kiyê- is only possible on the assumption that /i/ < *ï < *öi, because the only common source for OJ /i/ and /ö/ is *öi. However, that also creates an irregular vowel correspondence with Korean, because in that case MK *keli- would be needed. Finally, I think that there is rather solid evidence for OJ *kiyê-, because the Proto-Ryukyuan form is *kiyasi- 'to extinguish' (Thorpe 1983: 283), with PR *-i- pointing to PJ *-i- (PR *-e- would be needed to support OJ /i/). Given one irregular correspondence and another correspondence that is based on a tentative *-r- loss, the only commonality that remains is the initial consonant. The situation is exacerbated the by lack of a precise Proto-Japonic reconstruction, and I believe that at present the etymology should be abandoned.

(120) (R) MK kòlk-/kúlk- ‘scratches it, scrapes it’ ~ OJ kak- ‘id’.109 < PJK *korak. Whitman claims that MK kòlak ‘finger, stick’ represents the uncontracted nominal form of this root (1985: 221). I think that a connection between ‘finger’ or ‘stick’ and ‘scratching’ is quite speculative: one usually scratches with a nail, not a finger. Fingers and sticks may be used for other actions, like poking or pointing. Even if Whitman is right that the uncontracted form was PK *korak-, that leaves us with problems of regularity in the correspondences already discussed in (4) and (56). If the nominal is to be excluded, we face another irregularity in the correspondences, also addressed above in (16). Thus, I reject this etymology.

(121) (R) MK kòlô, kòl, kòll-110 < *PK kòlôk ‘powder’ ~ OJ kô ‘id.’, MdJ kona ‘id.’. Whitman comments: “The otherwise mysterious relation between OJ kô, later J -ko and [MdJ] kona is explained by this comparison. OJ kô is derived from PJK *korak by loss of final *k followed by medial *-r- loss” (1985: 222). In my opinion it is hazardous methodologically to explain the internal relationship between OJ kô and MdJ kona on the basis

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108 MJ kes- and EMdJ fanas- also appear later, with OJ ket- being completely supplanted by kes- in the modern language, while both MdJ hanas- and hanat- still coexist.

109 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #189.

110 Rather kòlG-, because kòll- is attested only once in the form kòll-i (Welin 1: 29a), and all other attestations point to kòlG-.
of an external comparison. -na in MdJ ko-na certainly has an internal explanation as an obsolete plural/collective marker (Vovin 1994: 249, 253; 2005a: 102-107); see also (16) above. The comparison is based on the assumption of medial *-r- loss in Japonic, which cannot be internally verified for this word. In addition, it is based on another assumption, that the vowel /ô/ in OJ kö evolved from PJ *ua, which is only one of three possibilities, the other two being *au and primary PJ *o. Again, we have no internal Japonic evidence to confirm that PJ *ua underlies OJ /ô/. Furthermore, there is an additional problem. I will accept for a moment that OJ kö < PJ *kua < pre-PJ *kura, but then the vowels in PJK *kòlòk and pre-PJ *kura do not correspond regularly, because according to Whitman’s set of vocalic correspondences OJ /a/ < PJ *a corresponds to MK /o/ only in long syllables; otherwise (as in this case) the expected Old Japanese correspondence is /ǔ/. Ceycwuto cognates of MK kòlò are kulwu, kulu, kulul, kolwu, and kolu (Choy 1978: 471-472) essentially confirming the Proto-Korean reconstruction *kòlòk and excluding the possibility of any long vowel in the second syllable: both vowels in Proto-Korean appear to be minimal. Thus, I reject this etymology on the basis of its irregularity.

(122) (R) MK kòlp ‘matches (with), pits against, competes’ ~ OJ kuraNpê- ‘id’.111 < PJK *kora:b- (Whitman 1985: 222). I believe that Whitman marked the accent of the Middle Korean incorrectly following LCT 1987: 12, where it is mistakenly cited as kólp- with H pitch. The form is actually MK :kolW- with R pitch, as the textual evidence makes clear, cf. e.g., Pep II: 17b. Textual attestations further confirm that the last consonant of the stem was MK -W-, not -p- (LCT 1987: 12; Nam 1997: 240). That allows us to reconstruct PK *kòlòp-, with a leniting *-p-. OJ kuraNpê-, on the other hand, goes back to PJ *kuranpai-, with a cluster *-np-, which corresponds regularly to Middle Korean non-leniting -p- < *-np-, but not to leniting -p- < *-p-. This irregularity allows me to reject the comparison. In addition, the semantics of the comparison are questionable, since the predominant meaning of MK :kolW- seems to be ‘matches with, stands side by side’ (LCT 1987: 12; Nam 1997: 240), although in some Middle Korean texts the meaning ‘to be hostile’ is attested as well, e.g., Hwangmwong III: 27b. The basic meaning of OJ kuraNpê- is just ‘to compete’ (JDB 1967: 274).

(123) (R) MK kóm- ‘shuts it, closes (eyes), joins it’ ~ OJ kum- ‘joins it’ < PJK *kom-. Whitman adds: “[Md]K ka:m- < MK kóm- has become specialized in the meaning of ‘close the eyes’, but Yongpi echenka (1447, IV: 118) has the example hota-ka spolli kom-key ho-myên ‘then quickly make them meet’” (1985: 222). There is a serious problem with this comparison. First of all, the phrase cited by Whitman above does not appear in Yongpi 118. It is found in Nung IV: 118b, and I give the whole context below:

111 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #50.
tye SEY yey-s salom-i nwun-ey pwo-m-ol mwoyhwo-taka ho-taka spolli kom-key ho-myen
that world old-GEN person-NOM eye-LOC see-NML-ACC concentrate-TRANSF do-TRANSF quickly close-CAUS do-COND
if an old person from that world concentrates on what [he] sees in [his] eyes and then quickly makes [them] close (Nung IV: 118a-118b)

It is quite clear that in this phrase MK kom- refers also to closing the eyes. Just by browsing dictionaries of Middle Korean, one can find another example in another volume of the same text, stwo kom-wo-m-ay ‘when again joins’, which, judged solely by its Chinese translational equivalent and provided in dictionaries (LCT 1987: 12; Nam 1997: 241), may indicate that MK kom- may have other meanings besides ‘to close the eyes’. However, this is an illusion that shatters if we look at the text itself:

nwun-i NUNG-hi twuluhhye pwo-nwos-ta stwo kom-wo-m-ay
eye-NOM able-ADV turn around(INF) look-EXCL-TRANSF again close-MOD-NML-LOC
when eyes ably looked around and again closed (Nung I: 61a)

All other examples listed in LCT 1987: 12-13 and Nam 1997: 240-41 also involve MK kom- used only in reference to closing the eyes. Thus, we can come to the inescapable conclusion that MdK ka:m- did not narrow its meaning to ‘to close the eyes’, as Whitman suggests, but continues to exist in the same and only meaning as it exhibited in Middle Korean. OJ kum- is a hapax legomenon, attested in the compound kum-i-ne- ‘to sleep embracing [each other]’ (KK 91), and it appears to mean ‘embrace, entwine’. Middle Japanese attestations from the tenth and eleventh centuries are not numerous, either, and they mostly involve the nominalized form kumi ‘cord made from threads plaited together’. The verb itself appears in the meaning ‘to plait, to weave’ (KKJ 1969: 304; Miyajima 1971: 105). As far as its semantic development, I could trace the meaning ‘to join’ in the sense ‘to put together’ only in the very late Middle Japanese texts. The few available Ryukyuan attestations also point to the primary meaning ‘to entwine, to plait’: Nakijin khumiN (Nakasone 1983: 137), Iejima kunyuN (Oshio 1999: 112), Shuri kunuN (RGJ 1976: 334). It is interesting that Yaeyama furumN, which is a genetic cognate of Japanese kum-, means both ‘to weave, to plait’ and ‘to be accepted within a group’ (Miyara 1980: 531), while Yaeyama kumuN, which is a loan from Japanese, means only ‘to join’ (Miyara 1980: 283). Historically the semantics of Korean and Japanese words appear to be very different, and, therefore, I reject this comparison.

(124) (R) MK kom- ‘bathes’ ~ OJ kum- H ‘draws water’ < PJK *kom-(Whitman 1985: 222). I believe that ‘bathing’ and ‘drawing water’ represent two quite different activities. When ‘bathing’, you either soak in water or pour it over yourself, while ‘drawing’ represents the opposite
process. Since the semantics are difficult to reconcile, I reject this etymology.

(125) (R) MK kònòlh/kùnùl ‘shade, shadow’ ~ OJ kaNka-/kaNkë LF ‘id’. < PJK *ko:golo (+ -i). Whitman also adds OJ kaNkayak- ‘shines, reflects’ (1985: 222), which is completely unrelated; it is in fact OJ kakayak- (JDB 1967: 174-175), which acquired secondary voicing (kagayak-) only in Early Modern Japanese (IKJ 1990: 272). The correspondence of MK -n- to OJ -Nk- is surely irregular, and, as a matter of fact, there is another non-conditioned correspondence of OJ -Nk- to MK -l-; see (4) above. In addition, Whitman also reconstructs PJK *-g- for MK -Ø- corresponding to both OJ -k- and -Nk-; see (62) above and (145) below. This etymology can be rejected on the basis of its irregularities.

(126) (L) MK :kos ‘edge, border, brink’ ~ OJ kata HL ‘shore, side’ < PJK *koco or *kaco (Whitman 1985: 222). This etymology involves an irregular correspondence of MK -s- to OJ -t-, which is not listed by Whitman among his correspondences for coronal obstruents (1985: 163-167). However, this correspondence may be one of those correspondences typical of Korean loans in Japanese; see the discussion of MK -s- ~ OJ -l- in the section on morphology. I believe that two different Old Japanese words are involved here: (a) OJ kata ‘direction’, rather than ‘side’, see JDB 1967: 190; and (b) OJ kata ‘part of the shore line covered by high tide’ (JDB 1967: 190). The words are homonyms: both belong to accent class 2.2 (Martin 1987: 442), but their semantics are difficult to reconcile. Only the second can be compared to Korean without stretching its semantics beyond credibility. There is also EOJ kata ‘lagoon’, attested once as an independent word (MYS XIV: 3551), and once as a place name (MYS XIV: 3549. The only Ryukyuan attestation is in the Shuri compound kata-baru ‘part of the shoreline covered by high tide’ (RGJ 1976: 313), which is likely to be a loan from Japanese due to its isolated nature. Thus, unless we are dealing here with a chance resemblance, the irregular correspondence and distribution pattern suggest that the Japanese word may be another loanword from Korean.

(127) (R) MK -kwo (verbal gerundive suffix) ~ OJ -ku (adjectival gerundive suffix) < PJK *ku (Whitman 1985: 222). Discussed in 2.3.2.12 above.

(128) (R) MK kòzòlàkí ‘awns and bits of rice or barley husks’ ~ OJ kusô ‘ordure, trash, chaff’ < PJK *kosora. Whitman adds: “MK -ki is a diminutive suffix. MK kòzòlh ‘autumn, harvest’ is very likely cognate” (1985: 222). MK kòzòlh ‘autumn’ certainly cannot be a cognate, because OK 秋察/KOcal ‘autumn’ (Hyangka XI: 5) clearly indicates that MK -z- in this word goes back to PK *-e-, and not *-s-, and the former does not correspond regularly to PJ *-s-. There are two other problems with this etymology. First, the Korean diminutive is really -i, not -ki. In addition, a word without this ‘diminutive’ does not present itself, so there is no positive internal evidence that the segmentation proposed by Whitman is

112 The actual accentuation is kònòlh ~ kúnùlh, with H, not L, pitch.
correct. Second, the primary and basic meaning of OJ *kusô* is simply ‘excrement’, and that is too far from ‘awns and bits of rice or barley husks’. It appears as ‘chaff, trash’ only in some Old Japanese compounds, but there are also other compounds, like OJ *kusô-kaNTura* ‘stinky vine’ (JDB 1967: 260) where certainly only ‘excrement’ can be involved. There are many crosslinguistic examples with ‘excrement’ used periphrastically for ‘trash’, but I am not aware of the opposite development in any language. Therefore, I reject the etymology on the basis of the problem with its morphological segmentation and its unrealistic semantics.

(129) (L) MK *kòzöm* ‘stuff, material’ ~ OJ *kusa* LH ‘id’. < PJK *kosom (Whitman 1985: 222). OJ *kusa* also means ‘kind, variety’ (JDB 1967: 255). One would expect accent class 2.5 (LF) in Japanese to account for Middle Korean final -m in a genuine cognate. However, the distribution of the word strongly suggests that it is a loan from Korean into Western Old Japanese, since it is not attested anywhere in Japonic except Western Old Japanese.

(130) (R) MK *kwóh* ‘nose, protuberance’ ~ OJ *kuki* ‘peak, outcropping’ < PJK *kuki* (Whitman 1985: 222). I am afraid that ‘protuberance’ is a meaning added to improve the semantics of the comparison: the Middle Korean word clearly means basically ‘nose’, and such semantic extensions as ‘tip, end, protuberance’, etc. are clearly secondary. Unfortunately, it is even worse that OJ *kuki* is cited with a completely wrong meaning. It certainly means neither ‘peak’ nor ‘outcropping’, but ‘narrow path between two peaks or cliffs’ or ‘cave’ (JDB 1967: 253). I am afraid that no persuasive connection with either ‘nose’ or even ‘nasal cavity’ can be demonstrated. I would also like to add that it is very suspicious that the words for body parts in Korean and Japanese match poorly, which is usually not the case in the uncontroversial language families, cf. the word for ‘nose’ in Indo-European, Turkic, Mongolic, or Finno-Ugric as well as (57) above where Whitman compares ‘leg’ in Korean with ‘hand’ in Japanese. I believe that such cases of loose semantic comparison are more likely to hurt rather than help the Koreo-Japonic theory.

(131) (R) LMK113 *kwohay* ‘stork’ ~ OJ *kuNkuNpî, kuNpî* ‘id’. (Whitman 1985: 222). The Korean word is actually attested in the Middle Korean of the early sixteenth century as *kwôhày* (*Hwungmwong* I: 15a). I believe that glossing it as MdK *hwangsay* ‘stork’ (LCT 1987: 68; Nam 1997: 105) is a mistake, because in the *Hwungmwong cahwoy* the word is used as a translation equivalent of the Chinese character 鵠 ‘swan’, with a further note that it is a 水鳥 ‘waterfowl’ (*Hwunngmwong* I: 15a). A swan is an aquatic bird, but a stork is not. The Old Japanese form clearly appears as *kukupî*,114 with MJ *kofu* and *kofi* also attested (JDB 1967: 254), but the form *kuNpî* is a *hapax legomenon*, and it appears only in the *Kojiki*, where there is no absolutely consistent distinction between -p- and -Np-, so this attestation may also render OJ *kupî*; see JDB 1967: 254 for details. Like

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113 This is Early Modern Korean.
114 This actually improves the comparison, because MK -h- can correspond only to OJ -k-, but not OJ -Nk-.
MK \textit{kwòhày} ‘swan’ all of the Old Japanese forms also mean ‘swan’. However, there are several problems with this etymology. First, the Middle Japanese forms \textit{kofu} and \textit{kofi} suggest that OJ \textit{kukupî} may be a partial reduplication: \textit{ku-kupî}. Second, even if it is not, the segmenting suffix \textit{-pi} in Japanese, which would be necessary for this comparison to survive, is not viable on the basis of the internal Japonic evidence. Third, EMdK.-\textit{a}- in the second syllable cannot regularly correspond to OJ \textit{-u-}; OJ *\textit{kuka}- would be necessary according to Whitman’s own correspondences (1985: 129).\footnote{There is also MK \textit{kwòhwày} (pitch accent marks are tentative, as I do not have access to this particular edition) in the edition of \textit{Sincung Yuhap} done by the Ansimsa Temple (Nam 1997: 105), which might be looked upon as a possible solution to this particular problem. But in addition to being a \textit{hapax legomenon}, it also creates another problem: the remaining MK \textit{-ay} still does not correspond to anything in OJ \textit{kukupî}.} I believe there are too many problems to allow recognition of this comparison as a valid etymology.

(132) (L) MK \textit{kwòkwòlí} ‘stem, stalk’ ~ OJ \textit{kuku-/kukî} ‘id’. < PJK \textit{*kukur (+ -i)} (Whitman 1985: 222). EOJ \textit{kuku-} (in compounds) is also attested twice (\textit{MYS} XIV: 3406, 3444), but its distribution in Ryukyuan is more indicative of a loan, since the word is attested only in the Northern and Central Ryukyus: Yamatoma \textit{kuuchii}, Shirana \textit{kuuki}, Tokunoshima \textit{kuki} (Hirayama 1986: 245), Nakijin \textit{gucii} (Nakasone 1983: 129), Iejima \textit{gucii} (Oshio 1999: 108), Shuri \textit{guci} (RGJ 1976: 191). The Northern Ryukyuan reflexes point to PR \textit{*kukuy} rather than \textit{*kokoy}, but only the latter could be expected in the case of a genuine cognate. In addition, the Middle Korean non-leniting \textit{-k-} < PK \textit{*-nk-} does not correspond regularly to OJ \textit{-k-}, as OJ \textit{-Nk-} is needed. I believe that this etymology represents a loan from Korean into Japanese, with a subsequent spread into Northern and Central Ryukyuan.

(133) (R) MK \textit{kwol} ‘valley’ ~ OJ \textit{kura} ‘id’.\footnote{This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #248.} < PJK \textit{*kuri (r)} (Whitman 1985: 222). As far as I can tell, OJ \textit{kura} ‘valley’ is a ghost. There is WOJ \textit{kuratani}, a \textit{hapax legomenon} (\textit{MYS} XVII: 3941) possibly meaning ‘deep valley with soaring cliffs on both sides’, but its exact meaning is unclear. OJ \textit{tani} means ‘valley’ by itself. Assigning the meaning ‘valley’ to \textit{kura}- in this obscure compound goes back to Motoori Norinaga, but Omodaka et al. point out that the basis for this solution is unclear (JDB 1967: 273). I agree with them: \textit{kura-} in WOJ \textit{kuratani} could be anything, and cannot be used as a basis for external comparison.

(134) (R) MK \textit{kwolài} ‘whale’ ~ OJ \textit{kuNtira} LHL ‘id’. < PJK \textit{*kudori (+ -ra plural or diminutive)} (Whitman 1985: 223). This example involves a dubious correspondence of MK \textit{-l-} to OJ \textit{-Nt-}; see also (15) and (55) above, where this correspondence is discussed and rejected. In addition, MK \textit{-ay} simply cannot correspond regularly to OJ \textit{-ira}. Thus, I reject this etymology on the basis of its irregularities.
(135) (C) MK kwó:lwp~ ‘troublesome, hard, painful’ ~ OJ kuru-si- ‘id’. < PJK *ku:ru- (Whitman 1985: 223). The earliest Korean attestations are from the 1586 edition of the Swohak enhay. The etymology may seem acceptable, but it largely depends on seeing MK -W- < PK *-p- as an adjectival suffix. In addition, the adjectival suffix is not -p-, but -ap/-ep- (see [25] above). Therefore, the morphemic analysis is difficult to prove, especially given the fact that the root *kwolwo- does not present itself in Korean. It is only a marginally acceptable etymology.


(137) (L) MK :kwomá ‘paying respect’ ~ OJ kuma ‘offering to [the] gods’ < PJK *ku:ma (Whitman 1985: 223). There are two problems with this etymology. First, MK :kwomá ‘paying respect’ should go back to PK *kwo:Cómá due to the R pitch on the first syllable. Second, WOJ kuma ‘offering to [the] gods’ does not have any cognates in Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan. Both of these facts strongly suggest that it is a loan from Korean into Western Old Japanese that took place after the contraction in Korean had occurred.

(138) (L) MK :kwom ‘bear’ ~ OJ kuma LL ‘id’. < PJK *ku:mo (Whitman 1985: 138). The cognates of WOJ kuma ‘bear’ are not attested in Eastern Old Japanese and the Southern Ryukys, but this time that fact cannot be used as evidence against a genetic relationship, because bears are not endemic to the Central and Southern Ryukys. However, Paekche kuma (久麻) ‘bear’ shows the same raising of *o to *u as WOJ kuma does, and it is further confirmed by Paekche mure ‘mountain’ (borrowed into Western Old Japanese as mure ‘mountain’), as compared with MK mwó:lwró and :mwoy ‘mountain’ (see [260] below). This leaves us with two choices: either WOJ kuma is a loanword from Paekche, or, if one wants to insist on a Koreo-Japonic genetic relationship, that both Paekche and Western Old Japanese must have independently undergone the same innovation. The loanword scenario presents a simpler and more elegant solution.

117 Whitman gives MK kwólwóp-, but this is an obvious typographical error for kwólwóp-, since *kwólwóp- is not attested (it also contradicts the rules of Middle Korean vowel harmony). Furthermore, since this word exhibits a leniting -p-, it should be cited as MK kwólwóW-. Finally, Nam Kwangwu shows the accentuation of this word as HL (Nam 1997: 96), Yu Changton as HH (LCT 1987: 63), and in the Wuli mal khun sacen it is given as HR (Hankul hakho 1999.2: 4886). I do not have access to a facsimile of Swohak enhay (1586), where the word is attested for the first time, so I cannot verify either of these accentuations, but I suspect that Hankul hakho’s version is the correct one.

118 The Proto-Ryukyuan form is *kuwa ‘child’ (Thorpe 1983: 271), which would add further problems to this comparison.

119 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #10.
(139) (L) MK :kwop- ‘pretty, beautiful’ ~ OJ kupasi ‘id’. < PJK *ku:pa or *ku:po (Whitman 1985: 223). There is just one Eastern Old Japanese attestation in the compound ka-N-kupasi- ‘having a beautiful fragrance’ (MYS XX: 4371), but there are no Ryukyuan cognates. Thus, I believe that this is a loan from Korean into Japanese.

(140) (R) MK kwòp- ‘double, increase twofold’ ~ OJ kupapë- ‘add’ < PJK *kup- (Whitman 1985: 223). There are two problems with this etymology. First, MK kwòp- has a non-leniting -p-, therefore it goes back to PK *kwònpó-. PK *-np- does not correspond to OJ -p-. Second, OJ -pë- in kupapë- must be explained as a suffix in order for this etymology to work, but I do not see any internal Japonic evidence to support such a segmentation. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(141) (L) MK kwóc ‘stake’ ~ OJ kusi LL ‘id’. < PJK *kuc (+ -i) (Whitman 1985: 223). We would expect pre-WOJ *kusuy ‘stake, skewer’ on the basis of MJ kusu-nuk- H ‘to skewer’, although as Martin points out, the register is incongruent (1987: 466). There are no cognates of this word in Eastern Old Japanese, and Ryukyuan attestations are extremely limited. There are only Shuri guusi (RGJ 1976: 195) and Yaeyama gui (Miyara 1980: 271).120 The latter is apparently irregular, since something like *fusi or *fuci would be expected in Yaeyama, depending on the dialect (Miyara does not specify locations for this word). Thus, Yaeyama gui can be ignored as a possible loan from Shuri, but Shuri guusi is isolated in Ryukyuan, and itself likely represents a loan from Japanese. This brings me to the conclusion that WOJ kusi < *kusuy is a loan from Korean. It also probably preserves the syllabic structure of the Korean word, which could be reconstructed as *kwócòy.

(142) (R) MK kù ‘that’ (medial demonstrative) ~ OJ kō ‘this’ (proximal demonstrative) < PJK *kō (Whitman 1985: 223). This was discussed above in the section on demonstrative pronouns (2.1.2.3).

(143) (R) MK kèch ‘outer appearance, exterior’ ~ OJ kata HL ‘shape, form’ < PJK *kècö/*kaco. Whitman adds: “The MK vowel requires PJK front/back alternants. Note that OJ kata HL ‘side’ also appears as kötö with front vocalism” (Whitman 1985: 223). There are multiple problems with this etymology, and the dubious semantics is the least among them. I am not aware of any OJ kötö with front vocalism meaning ‘shape, form’, and I could not find either in JDB, or in all of the Old Japanese texts that I have in my Old Japanese database. Unless a verse or line with OJ *kötö ‘shape, form’ is provided, I am afraid it leaves us only with OJ kata ‘id’. Finally, MK kèch may go back to PK *kèkúc or PK *kècúk. Only the latter could remotely resemble OJ kata, but we do not have internal Korean evidence for the suffix *-k, and in addition PK *u in the second syllable does not correspond regularly to OJ /a/ < PJ *a. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

120 In the index volume Miyara also cites another word gudzï (Miyara 1981: 166), but it is not found in the main text of his dictionary, and gudzï, even if it does exist, also presents irregular correspondences.

121 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #240.
(144) (R) MK :kel- ‘hangs it up’ ~ OJ kak-/kakë- ‘id’. < PJK *këkër-
(Whitman 1985: 223). This etymology involves an irregular
correspondence of MK -l- to OJ -k-; see also (56), (65), and (66) above.
Since this etymology shares only the initial syllable, I reject it.

(145) (L) MK :kel- ‘thickens, congeals, freezes’ ~ OJ kör- ‘id’. < PJK
*kegöre-. Whitman adds: “OJ also has köNkör- and the parallel /y/ stem
verbs köye- and köNköye- in this meaning. The forms in köNkö/or/y-
represent the original stem shape, since the loss of the medial voiced
obstruent in pre-MK would account for MK length” (Whitman 1985: 223).
The Middle Korean word certainly means ‘thickens, congeals’, but I fail to
see any examples in the texts that would support the meaning ‘freezes’.
But since ‘freezing’ appears to be a secondary meaning in Old Japanese as
well, this is a minor philological point. While OJ kör- is attested in
phonetic spelling, OJ koye- and koNkor- are not (JDB 1967: 289, 313-
14). In addition, koNkoye- is attested only in Early Modern Japanese
(IKJ 1990: 474; KKJ 1969: 341). That creates a reasonable doubt as to the
antiquity of forms with -Nk- in Japanese, as the first reliable attestation is
only from the late Heian period. However, this actually helps to improve
the etymology for the following reasons. First, MK :kel-, as we know it
nowadays, does not result from *kegel-, but from PK *kèlú-. Second, OJ
-Ñk- does not correspond to MK -Ø-, but to MK -k- < PK *-nk-. Cf. also
(125) above. This leaves us with WOJ kör-, which is not attested in Eastern
Old Japanese. In Ryukyu, there is the isolated Yaeyama kooruN (Miyara
1980: 292), but this looks like a late loan from Japanese, since /u/ but not
/o/ will be expected in the first syllable in Yaeyama. Therefore, I think
that this etymology demonstrates another case of borrowing from Korean
into Central Japanese.

(146) (R) MK :kel- ‘rich, thick’ ~ OJ kôye- ‘rich, fertile, fat’125 < PJK
*keböre-. This etymology is followed by a lengthy discussion in which
Whitman admits that a correspondence of MK /e/ to OJ /ô/ is unacceptable.
He further correctly indicates that MK :kel- ‘rich, thick’ is the same
etymon as MK :kel- ‘thickens, congeals, freezes’ in (145) above (Whitman
1985: 224). These two facts should be sufficient to rule out this etymology,
as the same Proto-Japanese-Korean etymon could not have two different
reflexes in Old Japanese. But since I have established that the Old Japanese
‘cognate’ kör- in (145) above is likely a Korean loan in Central Japanese, I
am going to give this etymology the benefit of the doubt for a moment. Let
us assume that while (145) represents a loan relationship, the present
etymology represents the genuine cognate. In this case, the irregularity of
vowel correspondences in the first syllable still presents an insurmountable
problem; this difficulty alone could serve as a basis for rejection. Whitman

122 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #98.
123 Omodaka et al. write that OJ koNkor- appears as köNkör- (JDB 1967: 289), but since the
first phonetic attestation they cite is from the Ruiju myôgishô (1081), a late Heian
dictionary, it is risky to assign vocalism just on the basis of OJ kör-.
124 The vowel length remains unexplained. It may be a late loan from MdJ kooru ‘to freeze’?
125 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #78.
attempts to prove the validity of this etymology by bringing in OJ ᵀᵒᵖ (“to freeze, to congeal”), with the following note: “A verb in this set with a medial voiced labial obstruent would produce OJ *kʷor-/*kʷoye-; simplification of the /owo/ sequence (which is almost entirely restricted to onomatopoetic expressions) would produce OJ kʷye-. In fact there is direct evidence for this Old Japanese verb form in the reduplicated onomatopoetic phrase kʷorō-kʷorō ‘sound of liquid substance congealing as stirred’” (Whitman 1985: 224). This citation opens a Pandora’s box of unsolvable problems. First, OJ ᵀᵒᵖ is very different from OJ ᵀᵉ (“to freeze” of ice, water, rivers, snow, etc. (JDB 1967: 308). It never had the meaning ‘to thicken, to congeal, to harden, to become stiff’, which is the primary meaning of the latter. Second, it is inconceivable to have the development ᵀᵒᵖ > ᵀᵉ in Old Japanese. Third, the suggested development from *kʷoye- (unattested) > OJ kʷye- cannot be confirmed by any other internal examples. Moreover, it is absolutely unrealistic if /kʷ/ and /kʷ/ never combine within the same morpheme, but this proposed development could work only on the assumption that the unattested *kʷoye- goes back to pre-OJ *kʷoye-. Fourth, although there are indeed only WOJ tōwo ‘ten’, tōwom- ‘to bend’, wowor- ‘to overgrow’ reflecting an /owo/ sequence in Western Old Japanese, not only /owo/, but almost any /VwV/ sequence is rare. Fifth, and most important, OJ kʷorō-kʷorō does not mean ‘sound of liquid congealing as stirred’, although this definition is given in IKJ 1990: 527 without any discussion. Let us consider the following example:

\[
\text{uk-i-si aNpura oti-naNtusap-i mina kʷorō kʷorō n-i float-INF-PAST/ATTR oil fall(INF)-churn-INF water churning churning DV-INF churning down the floating oil, churning-churning the waters (KK 100)}
\]

It is quite clear that kʷorō-kʷorō in this poem refers to a deity churning or stirring the water to raise the foam that will eventually form an island. No congealing is involved. This is further supported by OJ naNtusap- ‘to stir up, to knock up’. All of this combined counterevidence allows me to reject this etymology.

(147) (R) MK kēlī ‘road, street’ ~ OJ kāntō HL, kanatō ‘gate, entranceway’ < PJK *ker. Whitman provides another lengthy commentary on this etymology, which I abbreviate below: “OJ kāntō is derived from kanatō by contraction and voicing assimilation (/nt/ > /nd/ > /d/). Kanatō is itself a compound usually thought to derive from ka (?) + -na (genitive) + tō (suffix meaning ’place’), parallel to mīnātō ‘harbor’ < mī ‘water’ + -na + tō. Here we compare the first element of this compound, ka- to MK kēlī < *kēl + -i (nominative)” (Whitman 1985: 224). I have already commented on the non-existence of genitive -na in Old Japanese (Vovin 1994: 249, 253; 2005a: 102-107); see also (63) above. A contraction of *naC > *nC > *C[+voice] is very rare in Japanese; certainly there is no parallel form
*mîNtô for mînatô ‘harbor’, and OJ mîNtu ‘water’ (cf. also WOJ mina ‘id’.) is probably the only somewhat parallel case I can think of. Similarly, there are no alternants such as *taNkökörö for tanakökörö ‘palm of the hand’ or *mîNkîpa for minakîpa ‘waterfront’. Thus, the parallelism as suggested by Whitman may not be there, or at least it may not be so obvious without additional proof. The greater problem, of course, lies with a comparison of MK këlí ‘road’ with OJ ka- (?!) which is not attested independently, and for which we can verify neither the meaning of the word nor its very existence in the language. As far as I can tell, no existing Japonic idioms have *ka ‘road’. Treating -i in MK këlí ‘road, intersection’ as a nominative case marker is also an unsubstantiated claim, because in Middle Korean texts the word never appears as *kel- followed by a different case marker. A couple of examples are in order:

kil-s keli-lul lim-hoy-a-se
road-GEN intersection-ACC face-do-INF-GER
facing the intersection of the roads (Twusi cho VIII: 21a)

keli-yey pakphuyngi thi-l ahoy
street-LOC toy top hit-ATTR/IRR boy
boy(s) who play with toy tops in the street (Pak cho I: 17a)

These examples demonstrate that -i in MK këlí is not a nominative case marker, but part of the root. Finally, I think that OJ kanatô has a simple internal Japanese etymology. There is no reason to explain -tô in kanatô or kaNtô as OJ tô ‘place’: after all, a ‘gate’ is a kind of ‘door’, and not just any kind of ‘place’. Thus, using OJ tô ‘door’ rather than OJ tô ‘place’ is much more realistic for this etymology. Second, the difference between simple doors and gates in ancient Japan was that the latter always had some metal implements, while the former did not necessarily have them. Therefore, OJ kanatô/kaNtô ‘gate’ is simply kana-tô ‘metal door’, the etymology also suggested in JDB 1967: 203. In view of this simple internal explanation, any external comparison has to be abandoned.

(148) (R) MK këmiy ‘spider’ ~ OJ kumo LF ‘id’.<sup>126</sup> < PJK *kerûmô. Whitman adds the following commentary: “The initial vowel correspondence in this well-known comparison is irregular, and there is no Kojiki spelling available to verify expected final /õ/ (rather than /ô/) in OJ. Kyûshû has kobu, with the vowel expected from the MK comparison, but with a medial consonant that raises additional problems. Shuri has kuubaa, with the same medial consonant. The length of the Shuri form may indicate contraction in both syllables” (1985: 224). Due to recent advances in Japonic historical phonology, several comments must be made on Japonic ‘spider’. First, although there is no phonetic attestation of WOJ kumô in Kojiki, the sequence CuCô is not attested at all in Western Old Japanese. The phonemes /û/ and /õ/ do not occur in neighboring syllables of the same

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<sup>126</sup> This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #214.
Therefore, by default the word must be *kumô, because CuCô is well attested. Second, 久毛 ‘spider’ is attested phonetically as kumô with the last syllable written as 毛 /mô/ in MYS V: 892. Bentley has convincingly demonstrated that book five of the Man’yôshû has a very high percentage of etymologically correct spellings of /mô/ and /mô/ at least in nouns (Bentley 1997), so now we have a philological confirmation in addition to the structural point mentioned above. Thus, from now on I will write the word in Western Old Japanese as kumô. The vocalism of the second syllable of this spelling represents an irregular correspondence with Korean. Third, the vowel length in the first syllable of Shuri kuubaa ‘spider’ indicates the primary Japonic vowel length, and has nothing to do with contraction (Hattori 1979a, 1979b; Shimabukuro 2002: 203), so the Proto-Japanese-Korean reconstruction *kerümô is completely ad hoc. Fourth, the Ryukyuan forms indicate PR *koobo ‘spider’, with a primary PR and PJ *o, but this does not improve the vocalic correspondence in the first syllable, because OJ /ö/ < PJ *o is needed for regularity. Fifth, the problem with WOJ -m- vs. PR -b- < PJ *-np-, as pointed out by Whitman himself, still remains. There are no cognates of WOJ kumô ‘spider’ in Eastern Old Japanese, but in the sources on the Hachijô dialect, the sole modern survivor of Eastern Old Japanese, the word kubona[me] ‘spider’ is attested in three different sources, while kumo ‘big spider’ appears in just one (Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyûjo 1950: 344). This probably indicates that both PR *koobo and Hachijô kubona[me] preserve the same archaism with the reflex -b- of the original Proto-Japonic cluster *-np-, while WOJ kumô with medial -m- is an innovation. In addition, a change in the medial position from *-np- > -m- is typologically more viable than the other way around. This leads me to reconstruct it as PJ *koono ‘spider’, and I believe that the only part it shares with MK kêmûy ‘id’. is the initial consonant. Thus, I reject this etymology as a likely chance resemblance.

127 Shimabukuro managed to find a strong internal correlation supporting a reconstruction of vowel length in Ryukyuan on the basis of two, not just one, Okinawan dialects, thus taking care of Martin’s objection that Hattori’s data are not consistent (Martin 1987: 252-253). Namely, Shimabukuro demonstrated that the initial accent in the Nakijin dialect regularly corresponds to the vowel length in Shuri for the subcategories 2.3a-2.5a, while there is no such correspondence in the cases where vowel length is absent in Shuri (subcategories 2.3b-2.5b).

128 Thorpe reconstructs PR *kobu (Thorpe 1983: 333), but I supply the vowel length in the first syllable on the basis of the recent work by Shimabukuro (2002). I also change the second syllable final vowel from *u to *o, because that is what some of the Northern Ryukyu dialects that were not incorporated in Thorpe’s study indicate, e.g., Oku khumo ‘spider’ (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 393). This is also further supported by the fact that at least some occurrences of Western Old Japanese final /ö/ reflect primary PJ *o as well; in these cases we have two independent pieces of evidence supporting the Proto-Japonic reconstruction *koono ‘spider’.
problem is that OJ kapî is nothing but a ‘shellfish’, while ‘husk’ is OJ kaNpî (JDB 1967: 210-211), so these two words should not be confused. Only the former can be phonetically comparable with Korean. Comparison of Korean words also runs into a number of significant problems. First, MK kèphí may go back either to PK *kèpùkí or *kèkùpí, and similarly MK kèphùl can be derived from both PK *kèpùkùl or *kèkùpùl. Only the forms *kèpùkí or *kèpùkùl can be remotely compared to OJ kapî, which reduces the credibility of the comparison down by half. Second, I cannot see any internal Korean justification for analyzing -i in MK kèphí as a nominative case marker, similar to the case MK kèli ‘street’ discussed in (147) above. As far as I can tell, MK kèphí ‘husk, bark’ appears just four times in two Middle Korean texts, and of those, two are confined to the same passage and context in a single text:

* kephi pasky-e... kephi paski-kwo
husk peel off-INF... husk peel off-GER
peeling off the husk... peeling off the husk (Kwukup I: 41a/b)

* kephi as-kwo
bark peel off-GER
peeling off the bark (Kwukup II: 59a/b)

PAK-on namwo-s kephi (i-)ra
PAK-TOP tree-GEN bark (COP)-FIN
PAK is the bark of the tree (Pep I: 220a/b)

In none of these examples does MK kèphí appear as the subject of the sentence, so it is safe to conclude that -i belongs to the stem. Here, the existence of MK kèphùl ‘bark, husk, bamboo sprouts’ can potentially indicate a morphological boundary, but the different accentuation pattern and the nonexistence of the suffix *-ul in Korean leave too many internal problems to be solved before we can involve any of these in external comparisons. All these phonetic and morphological problems on the Korean side, plus the less than perfect semantics on the Japonic side prevent me from accepting this etymology as a valid one.129 (150) (L) MK kès ‘thing, the one, the fact that’ ~ OJ kötö LL ‘id’.129 < PJK *ketö (Whitman 1985: 225). See also the discussion above under the genitive case marker in the morphology section, where MK -s- ~ OJ -t- was treated as a loanword correspondence. The fact that prevents me from embracing this etymology as a genuine Koreo-Japonic cognate is the unique situation in Ryukyuan, where kutu ‘thing’ is attested as an independent word ‘thing’, but is never used as a nominalizer ‘the one, the fact that’,130 which is one of the most fundamental functions of koto in Japanese and kes in Korean. Since it is much easier to borrow an

129 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #239.
130 For this purpose Ryukyuan languages use the bound noun si, which appears to be completely unrelated.
independent word than a nominalizer, and since the correspondence of MK -s- to OJ -t- appears in other loanwords from Korean to Japanese, I think that this is another loan from Korean to Japanese with a subsequent spread in its function as an independent noun to the Ryukyus.

(151) (L) MK :ket- < [PK *]kêtú- ‘walks’ ~ OJ kati LH ‘walking’ < PJK *kêtó. Whitman comments: “OJ kati LH appears to be the normalized (continuative) form of a verb *kat- or *kati-, of which it is the only survivor. MK :ket- is historically a thematic verb stem (Ramsey 1977), suggesting that OJ kàtí LH is to be associated with bigrade thematic conjugation (*kati-) as we would expect from the final syllable /ti/ (=[tï])” (Whitman 1985: 225). This is exactly where the problem for a genetic comparison lies: Besides WOJ kati there are Middle Japanese attestations (KKJ 1969: 230), and possibly Early Modern Japanese attestations as well, albeit with a slight semantic shift (IKJ 1990: 304). There is also EOJ kasi ‘walking’ attested once in MYS XX: 4417, which contradicts Whitman’s suggestion that OJ kasi is derived from a thematic verb: we would not expect a palatalization /ti/ > /si/ in Eastern Old Japanese in the case of kasi- < *kati-. Needless to say, there are no cognates in Ryukyuan. It is also highly suspicious that both WOJ kati and EOJ kasi survived in one and the same form, with no other paradigmatic forms attested. This suggests a much simpler explanation than a genetic comparison with Korean: WOJ kati was borrowed from Korean as a set form, and then re-borrowed into Eastern Old Japanese as kasi.

(152) (C) MK :key ‘crab’ ~ OJ kani HH ‘id’.132 < PJK *keni (Whitman 1985: 225). Since the Middle Korean sequence [C]Vni within the same morpheme is practically unattested, a reconstruction of MK :key as PK *keni seems to be viable, but we must keep in mind that the Ceycwuto dialect has the form kəŋi ‘crab’, and other forms with -ŋ- sporadically appear in other dialects (Choy 1978: 946-947). This medial -ŋ- is unlikely to be from PK *-nk-, but the reconstruction of the Proto-Korean form is not quite clear. Tentatively, I accept this etymology, but it still may be rejected in the future once we have a better understanding of the Proto-Korean reconstruction.

(153) (R) MK kyél ‘wave, grain, texture’ ~ MJ (Wamyōshō) kisa ‘wood grain’ < PJK *kil2a (Whitman 1985: 225). There are several problems with this etymology. First, there is a problem with the correspondence of MK /ye/ to OJ /î/; see (29) above on that issue. In addition, since the only given attestation is MJ kisa, we do not even know whether it was OJ *kïsa or *kïsa. Second, we should not forget that MJ kisa (木佐) ‘wood texture pattern’ is a hapax legomenon, attested only once (WMS XX: 22b). Furthermore, the word is glossed in the Wamyōshō as 木文 ‘wood texture pattern’, and the Modern Japanese translation 木目/mokume/ ‘wood grain’, as far as I can tell, appears only in IKJ 1990: 358. It is also significant that the Wamyōshō provides the explanation that the origins of MJ

131 Whitman gives MK kél-, but this is probably a typographical error, since MK :ket- is a leniting verb belonging to verbal accent Class 6, with alternating stems kélú- and :ket-.
132 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #54.
kisa ‘wood texture pattern’ is in its resemblance to the pattern found on the kisa (MdJ akagai) ‘ark shell’ (WMS XX: 22b). A greater problem may lie on the Korean side, since MK kyél clearly just means ‘wave’, and nothing else (LCT 1987: 56; Nam 1997: 80). In Early Modern Korean kyel also acquires the meaning of ‘wavy pattern’ (LCT 1987: 56), which still survives in MdK namu-s kyel ‘wavy pattern of lines on the bisected section of a tree’. It is quite clear that these later usages ultimately are derived from MK kyél ‘wave’. Thus, this comparison boils down to a comparison of ‘ark shell’ with ‘wave’, and it also includes an irregular correspondence of OJ /i/ to MK /ye/. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(154) (R) MK kyèth ‘side (of)’ ~ OJ kata HL ‘one side of, half of, direction’ < PJK *kyato. Whitman adds that Old Japanese also has kötō (Whitman 1985: 225). I believe that OJ kata means only ‘direction, side’, while OJ kata- ‘one’ is a completely different etymon, also surviving in modern compounds such as: kata-miti ‘one way’, kata-asi ‘one foot’, kata-ude ‘one arm’, kata-omoi ‘unceriprocated love’, kata-oya ‘one parent’, kata-gawa ‘one side’, kata-toki ‘single moment’, etc. This kata- ‘one’ is certainly a Korean loanword: although Middle Korean has hònàh (MdK hana) ‘one’, pre-fifteenth-century Korean materials clearly indicate earlier *xata-: EMK xatun (Kyeylim #19), OK HAton ‘one’ (Hyangka VII: 6, 8; XI: 7). I am not aware of the existence of any OJ kötō ‘side, direction’, either. A lack of regularity in the vocalic correspondences in the first syllable between MK kyèth ‘side (of)’ ~ OJ kata HL ‘side, direction’ certainly calls this etymology into question. Cf. also (126) above, where a different Middle Korean ‘cognate’ of OJ kata is used. Thus, I reject this etymology.

(155) (R) MK kùłùh ‘stump, counter for trees’ ~ OJ kô-/kî L ‘tree’ < PJK *kör (? + -Vk diminutive) (Whitman 1985: 225). This etymology certainly depends on positing the loss of *-r- for OJ kō-, a loss that cannot be verified internally for Japonic in this case. I cannot see any Middle Korean textual evidence for Whitman’s claim that in addition to meaning ‘stump’ MK kùłùh is also used as a counter for trees. Although I may be wrong, I am not aware of any crosslinguistic semantic shifts ‘tree’ > ‘stump’ or vice versa. In uncontroversial families the word for ‘tree’ generally tends to retain its semantics, cf. English tree and Russian derevo ‘id’. Therefore, I reject this etymology on the basis of both phonetic and semantic problems.

(156) (R) MK kyèzúlh ‘winter’ ~ OJ kisaraNki ‘second [lunar — A.V.] month, month of ice melting’ < PJK *kirereg (Whitman 1985: 225). OJ *kisaraNki is not attested phonetically in Old Japanese (JDB 1967: 240), so for all practical purposes we have to deal with MJ kisaragi (Vovin

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133 I would like to express my gratitude to my late colleague Hwang Jiha for explaining the exact meaning of this compound.

134 MdK kulwu ‘stump’ can be used as a counter for trees, but without direct supporting evidence from Middle Korean, this is likely to be a late secondary development.

135 Whitman presents an additional discussion for this etymology, but it is very speculative and represents an attempt to save this particular etymology in a unique way, so I omit it here.
We have no indication which Old Japanese vowels, /i/ or /ĩ/, were originally in the first and last syllables, and this provides all kinds of opportunities for wild speculation. In addition, it is quite clear that MJ kisaragi is too long to represent a single Proto-Japonic root; therefore, it must be a compound of some sort. We have no internal Japonic evidence to break this compound, although speculations are possible. I presented one, that now seems very unlikely, in Vovin 1993c. Names for lunar months are likely to have much later origins than the alleged Koreo-Japonic proto-language, and in any case I doubt that any ice really melts during the harsh Korean winters. This is all the more so in Manchuria, where the likely motherland of any supposed Koreo-Japonic proto-language would be located. Therefore, I reject this.

(157) (L) MK kàs ‘certainly, without fail (emphatic adverb)’ ~ OJ kòsò ‘indeed, verily, without fail’ < PJK *kòsò (Whitman 1985: 225). Besides WOJ kòsò, EOJ and MJ koso are also well attested, but there are no cognates in Ryukyuan. Therefore, I treat this etymology as a likely loan from Korean to Japanese.

(158) (R) MK kùz- < *kùsùl-; cf. [Md]K kkul- ‘draw, drag, pull’ ~ OJ KöNSI ‘pull out by the roots’ < PJK *közôr- (Whitman 1985: 225). My impression from the textual examples in Western Old Japanese cited by Omodaka et al. is that the meaning of OJ KöNSI- is rather ‘to dig out the roots’ (JDB 1967: 294), resulting in a significant semantic difference. The etymology might still be tempting as a loanword, because there are no other Japonic attestations besides WOJ KöNSI-. However, since PK *-s- can correspond only to OJ -s- < PJ *-s-, and not to OJ -Ns- < PJ *-ns-, it is best abandoned altogether as a chance resemblance.

(159) (R) MK kwùlèk ‘basket’ ~ OJ Kö L ‘id’. < PJK *kür (+ -Vk diminutive) (Whitman 1985: 226). There are several problems with this etymology. First, MK kwùlèk ‘basket’ is essentially a hapax legomenon: it appears only once in (Twusi cho XXII: 11a), and then in several Early Modern Korean anthologies of sico, but in the same line of the same text (LCT 1987: 82; Nam 1997: 138). Furthermore, MK kwùlèk, judging by its only one available attestation in Middle Korean seems to mean not just any ‘basket’ in general, but a ‘square basket for fruits’, since it translates the Chinese character 筲 of the same meaning. Since Korean *kwul ‘basket’ does not present itself, segmenting diminutive *-ek in MK kwùlèk is speculative at best. Finally, the most serious problem lies with OJ kò, which may go back to PJ *ko, *kau, and *kua. The tentative PJ *kua may be comparable with MK kwùlèk ‘basket’, but only assuming *-r- loss in Japanese, for which there is no internal evidence. This leaves us with only
a one in three chance that this etymology is credible. Given all the other problems mentioned above, it is best rejected.

(161) (R) MK kwuli 'copper' ~ OJ ku-/*ki 'yellow, reddish-gold color' < PJK *kür (Whitman 1985: 226). WOJ ki 'yellow' is not attested phonetically, but on the basis of WOJ ku- occurring in the compound ku-N-kane 'gold' (lit.: yellow metal) we can speculate that it was WOJ *kı. The comparison with Korean has a significant problem, however: there is no internal evidence for the Korean suffix -i in MK kwuli. It must represent a root, as does pre-OJ *kuy > *ki < OJ ki. One then would have to match pre-OJ *-y to MK -li, which is not possible without apriori assumption of the *-r- loss in pre-Old Japanese. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(162) (R) MK kwülú- 'stamps feet, treads noisily' ~ OJ kuwe-'kicks, steps hard' < PJK *küre- (Whitman 1985: 226). MK -l- certainly does not correspond regularly to OJ -w-. Even if one assumes *-r- loss in this Old Japanese word, finding Korean correspondences for the unaccounted segment -we- in the Old Japanese word presents another problem. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(163) (R) MK kwülwúm 'cloud' ~ OJ kumó 'id'.136 < PJK *kürümü. Whitman adds: "The final vowel in [Western] Old Japanese is secondary; Azuma [that is, Eastern Old Japanese --- A.V.] has the expected /u/" (1985: 226). As far as I can tell, EOJ *kumu 'cloud' is not attested at all. EOJ kumo (spelled as kumô or kumö) is attested as an independent word in MYS XIV (3510-3512, 3514, 3516, 3518, 3520, 3522) and in MYS XX (4380, 4421). In addition, it also appears in the compound kumo-wi 'sitting place of clouds' in MYS XIV: 3441 and MYS XX: 4355. The basis for Whitman’s statement that final /ô/ in WOJ kumô is secondary is unclear to me. It appears instead to be original, since in addition to EOJ kumo it is also supported by PR *kumo 'cloud' (Thorpe 1983: 272), which demonstrates that WOJ /ô/ in kumó reflects a primary PJ *o. There is no internal Japonic basis for the justification of *-r- loss except to compare it with Korean, and this leaves only the initial syllables looking alike in Korean and Japonic. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(164) (R) MK :kwup- 'roasts it, toasts it,137 burns wood to make charcoal' ~ MJ kube- 'feeds wood into fire' < PJK *kürübe- (Whitman 1985: 226). MK :kwup- 'to bake, to roast' is a Class 6 verb that contains leniting MK -p- < PK *-p-, not < PK *-np-. MJ kube-, on the other hand, is from PJ *kunpái-. Therefore there is an irregular correspondence of PK *-p- to PJ *-np-. I am unaware of any Middle Korean examples in which the word would mean ‘to burn wood into charcoal’: this seems to be a semantic innovation in Modern Korean. Without this meaning, the comparison with MJ kube- becomes even less plausible; therefore, I reject this etymology.

(165) (R) MK kwüp 'hoof' ~ OJ kuNpîsu HHL 'heel' < PJK *küb(+)i (+? sü). Whitman adds: "The OJ form also appears as kiNpîsu HHL, kupîpîsu, and kipîpîsu. The forms with first syllable /i/ show sporadic fronting of

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136 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #47.
137 The semantic tag ‘to bake’ needs to be added as well.
PJK *üb. I assume the forms in -pîpisu involve reduplication, interestingly with /p/ rather than /Np/ to avoid a Lyman’s law violation. I cannot identify the final syllable in the OJ form, although the MK comparison and the (otherwise internal) reduplication of /pî/ suggest that it is a suffix” (1985: 226). First of all, the Middle Korean form cannot be used as evidence for internal segmentation of a suffix in proto-Japonic, because it involves ‘reconstruction from above’, which is methodologically unacceptable. Second, OJ kúNpîsu is attested only once phonetically in Old Japanese. In addition, it is spelled 久比须 /kupîsu/ (JDB 1967: 267), so it is likely that it is just kupîsu, and not kuNpîsu. As far as I can tell, the form kiNpisu is attested for the first time in the Wamyôshô as 岐比須 /ki[N]pisu/ (WMS III: 14b), also with the voiceless sign 比 /p/, so it is another hapax legomenon, and in addition not from Old, but from Middle Japanese.138 Besides, it is marked as a vulgarism in the Wamyôshô, so I doubt it can be used as evidence for ‘sporadic fronting’ of PJK *üb: most likely, it is just a sample of sloppy vulgar pronunciation. The form kippîsu appears twice in only one manuscript of the Shinsen jikyô (898-901) (JDB 1967: 226), so it is again a Middle, and not an Old Japanese attestation, but such a limited attestation can quite easily indicate simple scribal errors. Thus, the only reliable Old Japanese form is WOJ kúPîpisu. In addition, I cannot think of any other examples in Japanese involving only partial reduplication of the last syllable of the root in front of another suffix. Therefore, I think that the traditional explanation of MJ kup/bisu, as a contraction of WOJ kúpisu (IKJ 1990: 413) is more likely than Whitman’s suggestion of reduplication. That leaves no evidence for a suffix -su or -pisu in WOJ kúpisu. Taking the less than ideal semantics into account as well, this comparison should be rejected.

(L) LMK kws ‘something demonic’, MdK kwus ‘exorcism ceremony’ ~ OJ kusi ‘something mysterious or ghostly’ < PJK *kü. Whitman notes that the earliest appearance of the Korean word in the form kwus-kes ‘demon, spirit’ < kwus + kes L ‘thing’ is in the reprint of the Twusi enhay of 1632 (Whitman 1985: 226). Actually the word is not only attested in Early Modern Korean (Whitman’s LMK), the earliest attestation of MK kwús ‘[exorcism] ceremony’ occurs in Middle Korean:

emi PHYENGSENG-ay simpang kwus spwun culki-si-l-ssoy mother whole life-LOC shamaness ceremony only enjoy-HON-ATTR/IRR-because
Because mother only enjoys shamanistic ceremonies her entire life (Welin XXIII: 68)

The paucity of Middle Korean attestations can be explained by the very nature of the Middle Korean texts: most of them are either Buddhist or Confucian in content. In addition, the disdain of Yi dynasty rulers for shamanistic rituals is well known. Considering these two factors, we

138 There are other (later) Middle Japanese attestations of kubisu.
should not expect frequent attestations. However, the problem of
perceiving this etymology as a Koreo-Japonic cognate lies on the Japonic
side. WOJ kusi ‘strange, mysterious’ is not attested outside Western Old
Japanese; and its variant WOJ kususi- appears only in Western Old
Japanese and Middle Japanese. Since there are no Eastern Old Japanese
or Ryukyuan attestations, WOJ kusi is a perfect candidate for a loan from
Korean.

(167) (L) MK kwùsùl ‘public office, government post’ ~ OJ kîsi ‘title
for the clan leader; specifically for Korean (Paekche and Silla) diplomats
and military officials, and for heads of families of Korean extraction’.
Whitman comments: ‘The OJ term is thus clearly a loan from OK (Silla)”
(1985: 226). I agree: this is indeed a loan.

(168) (R) MK kwùsù- ‘(pleasantly) odorous’ ~ OJ kusa- ‘smelly’.
Whitman adds: “The final vowel in OJ indicates PJK *küse-, with normal
weakening of the second unaccented vowel in MK” (1985: 227). The
accentuation of the Middle Korean word is, however, kwùsù-, not kwùsù-,
as seen in the texts, see e.g., twóthóy kilúm-kwùsùn : kes-kwá-lól kwù-é
‘roasting pig’s fat and pleasantly odorous things’ (Kwukup II: 43b). This
suggests that MK kwùsù- is a verb belonging to accent class 8, which has a
complex Middle Korean morphological and phonological history (Ramsey
1991: 236) that needs to be clarified before any external comparisons are
attempted. We really do not know whether the second vowel in this word
is the result of normal weakening of the second unaccented vowel or not.
Also, it is certainly not methodologically viable to reconstruct PJK *küse-
on the basis of OJ kusa- and then to reconstruct MK kwùsù- < PK *kuse-
on the basis of that, because it is a tautological reconstruction from above.
Therefore, until the phonological and morphological history of MK kwùsù-
is clarified, we are facing an irregular vocalic correspondence between
Middle Korean and Japonic in the second syllable. Also, given the
semantic differences (which are, however, possible to explain), it seems to
me that this etymology should be rejected for the time being.

(169) (L) MK kwùsùl ‘bead, precious stone’ ~ OJ kusirô ‘decorative
armband, bracelet’ < PJK *küsiro (Whitman 1985: 227). There is also
WOJ kusi, attested in the compound kusi mî-tama ‘precious stone’ in MYS
V: 813 and 814. It is quite possible that the same word occurs in KK 39
and 49 in reference to precious sake. JDB 1967: 257 defines it as a word
praising sake. The problem with establishing a Koreo-Japonic etymology
is again connected with the distribution of both kusirô and kusi in Japonic:
both are attested exclusively in Western Old Japanese. Thus, I believe that
this is another loan from Korean into Western Old Japanese.

139 The Middle Japanese attestations are quite rare and completely disappear after the mid-
Heian period: there is one attestation in the Murasaki shikibu nikki, one attestation in the
Genji monogatari, and two attestations in the Makura-no sôshi (Miyajima 1971: 102).
140 There is a tendency to explain this kusi as ‘mysterious’ (Takagi, Gomi, and Ōno. 1959:
71), discussed above in (166). However, the context of the poem would also allow this kusi
to be interpreted as ‘treasure, precious thing’.
Koreo-Japonica

(170) (R) MK kwút ‘hollow, pit, cave’ ~ OJ kutu-/kuti ‘mouth’\(^{141}\) < PJK *kútú (Whitman 1985: 227). Aside from the somewhat doubtful semantics, not a major problem here, there is a problem in the regularity of the correspondences. MK kwút cannot be from PK *kwut[w]u, because with intervocalic PK *-t- we would expect a lenition *-t- > -l-, and the form MK *kwúl, not kwút. MK kwút can be either originally monosyllabic from PK *kwút, or from PK *kwunt[w]u. In both cases we will have a problem. In the first case, we would need to explain the correspondence of a monosyllabic Proto-Korean word to a disyllabic word in Japonic: in other words, the second syllable vowel in Proto-Japonic corresponds to nothing in Proto-Korean. In the second case, we will have an irregular correspondence of PK *-nt- to PJ *-t- (PJ *-nt- should be expected). Thus, I dismiss this etymology on the basis of apparently irregular correspondences.

(171) (R) MK kwùt- ‘hard, solid, adamant, unyielding’ ~ OJ kîta- ‘id’. in kîtasi ‘hardened salt’ < kîta + si(po) ‘salt’ < PJK *kyüt-/*kyut- (Whitman 1985: 227). Whitman comments: ‘OJ kîtamë- ‘chastises, deters through punishment’ is also thought to be cognate with these forms (IKJ 1990). If MJ kitu-si ‘cruel, hard, tough’ is also, we have some indication that the second vowel in OJ kîta- is not original’ (1985: 227). I do not quite understand his logic here: not only do kîta- and kitu- have a significant semantic discrepancy, MJ kitu- certainly belongs to a different dialect which is later than Old Japanese. This is not to say that later forms cannot preserve more archaic forms; they certainly can, but there is no evidence to claim that MJ kitu-si has an original vowel in the second syllable, while OJ kîta- does not. Whitman adds a lengthy discussion that also involves OJ kata- ‘hard’ and a number of ‘Altaic’ forms that need not detain us here. Whitman believes that OJ kata- ‘hard’ and MK kwùt- ‘id’. are ‘doubtlessly cognate’,\(^{142}\) but the vowel correspondence [in the first syllable — A.V.] is irregular; OJ kîta- indicates the survival of a regular correspondence for MK kwùt- in J[apanese]” (1985: 227). But according to Whitman’s own set of vocalic correspondences, OJ -i- does not correspond regularly to MK -wu- (1985: 129). The reconstruction of PJK *kyut-/*kyût- is, therefore, completely teleological, as it is produced by simple juxtaposition of the Old Japanese and Middle Korean vowels that do not match. In addition, WOJ kîtasi is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or in Ryukyuan, and even its attestation in Western Old Japanese is not completely unproblematic. It is only properly attested phonetically for the first time in the Heian period dictionary Wamôshô (931-938), with Western Old Japanese “attestations” being phonetic glosses added to the original texts at much later dates. Finally, segmentation of WOJ kîtasi as kîta-si is based on the assumption that -si is a truncation of OJ sipo ‘salt’. Unfortunately, the proposed *kîta- ‘hard’ does not appear in other compounds, and its connection with kîtamë-, which simply means ‘to punish, to chastise’ and not ‘to deter through punishment’, is tenuous at

\(^{141}\) This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #150.

\(^{142}\) This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #99.
best. Furthermore, to the best of my knowledge, OJ *sipo ‘salt’ does not undergo truncation in other compounds, such as *kata-sipo, which also means ‘hard salt’. Thus, chances are that WOJ *kitasi represents a specialized term for ‘hard salt’ with an obscure internal structure. All these problems make me reject this etymology.

(172) (R) MK kwùwùl-, kwùùl-, continuous kwùllé- < *kwùlúl-; MdK kwulu- (-ll-), kwul- ‘roll’ ~ OJ kururu-ni ‘rolling, revolving’, kuruma ‘wheel, cart’, kuru, MJ kururu ‘pivot door swings on’ < PK *kürü(r)- (Whitman 1985: 227). Whitman adds: “The MK continuous forms and the [Md]K verb clearly indicate original *kwùlúl-,” although loss of medial */l/ evinced in the MK citation forms kwùwùl- and kwùùl- is exceptional. OJ kururu-ni and MJ kururu preserve both *r’s; however, the fact that the former is onomatopoetic and the second later than OJ kuru may suggest that final -ru has been restored by reduplication” (1985: 227).

There are numerous problems with this etymology. Let us start with the Korean data. First, Whitman overlooked the fact that both MK kwùwùl- and kwùùl- are in fact kwùGwùl- and kwùGùl-, which can be deduced on the basis of Middle Korean spelling. Second, the Middle Korean form kwùGùl- appears late, with the first and only Middle Korean attestation in the first edition of the Pak thongsa (1515); all of the other attestations belong to Early Modern Korean (Nam 1997: 146). MK kwùGwùl- is attested in fifteenth-century texts (Nam 1997: 145). Therefore, we have here the typical change of /wu/ > /u/ in the second syllable, which took place in the history of Korean. Third, as demonstrated by the form kwupul-, which is found in Hamkyeng Namto, and in Kyengsang (Kim Pyengcey 1980: 431) MK kwùGwùl- < pre-MK *kwùWwùl- < PK *kwùpwùl-. Fourth, to the best of my knowledge, the Middle Korean continuous form kwùllé for this verb does not exist. The continuous form is in fact kwùGwùl-é ‘roll and’ (Nammyeng I: 12a). There is an Early Modern Korean continuous form kwuGułe, attested in the Hancheng munkam (Nam 1997: 146), compiled during the reign of King Yengco (1725-1776), but this is late by any standard, and in any case the form is still not *kwulle. Thus, if there is any evidence at all to treat this verb as l-doubling on the basis of this late form and its morphological behavior in Modern Korean, the Proto-Korean form is likely to be reconstructed as *kwùpwùlúl-, not *kwùlùl-. If we give more weight to the Middle Korean evidence alone, the reconstruction is likely to be simply *kwùpwùl-. In any case, there is no “exceptional loss” of */l/, at least not in the place that is needed for comparison with Japanese. Turning now to the Japanese side of the comparison, it first must be noted that OJ kuru and MJ kururu refer not to the swinging of a door pivot, but to a device whereby a door’s pivot is inserted into a groove or attached to the door itself (JDB 1967: 275). Therefore, the connection with ‘rolling’ may be far-fetched. WOJ kururu-ni should be removed from the equation as well, not only because it is onomatopoetic, but also because it is a hapax legomenon, which is in

143 Cf. *kwùlúl- given with different accentuation at the beginning of this entry.
addition known to us only from a later phonetic gloss in the Nihonshoki (JDB 1967: 276). That leaves us only with WOJ *kuruma*, which incidentally is only ‘cart’, not ‘wheel’. The etymology for this word baffled the minds of many generations of Japanologists, and for good reason, as the reader will see below. The word is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese, but this is probably accidental. It is attested throughout Ryukyuan (Hirayama 1966: 337), but this is no surprise, since it refers to an object that was likely borrowed from Japan. The fact that in most Ryukyuan dialects this word appears completely unaltered by any phonetic developments probably speaks against its antiquity in Ryukyuan. Nevertheless, the possibility does remain that we are dealing with a genuine Proto-Japonic word here, unless one can present some evidence to the contrary. I believe that two independent pieces of such evidence do exist. First is the historical evidence: it seems that *kuruma* as an object appeared for the first time only in the Nara period (Takayanagi and Takeuchi 1974: 299). It probably would not be a stretch to believe that it might have been present in the Asuka period as well, but the absence of any archaeological evidence of its existence for earlier periods, and especially for Yayoi, is conspicuous. Second, there is the linguistic evidence. If WOJ *kuruma* is a native word, it surely must be a compound, because it is simply too long. However, viewing this in the most favorable light, it must be an obscure compound. Yet, an obscure compound describing a cultural object from a relatively recent period, with no clues on how to analyze it, preserved in any variety of Japonic, is a strange phenomenon. Thus, it is likely that it is not a native compound, but a loanword. The appearance of *kuruma* in Japan only in the Asuka or Nara periods also is highly suggestive of a loanword. The only places it could have come from would be either China, or, more likely, Korea. As far as I can tell, no plausible sources can be identified immediately. However, with some degree of speculation, Whitman’s etymology may ultimately work for a loanword. Let us posit that a variety of Old Korean from which Western Old Japanese borrowed *kuruma* had already lenited intervocalic *-p- to zero in *kwùpwùl- ‘to roll’, pretty much as in Modern Korean. The ending -ma in *kuruma* may be then explained as a reflex of a cognate of the Middle Korean nominalizer -m. Therefore, this variety of Old Korean might have a word like *kurum ‘cart (= one which rolls)’, but it also remains unclear under this scenario why Western Old Japanese added -a as an echo-vowel, and not -u. Ultimately, this scheme has too many speculations that cannot be proven, and I prefer to reject the etymology altogether, although it may be possible that a loanword relationship exists between Korean *kwùpwùl- ‘to roll’ and WOJ *kuruma ‘cart’.

(173) (R) MK -kí (deverbal nominalizing suffix) ~ OJ -kî (past tense suffix for verbs) < PJK *-ki (Whitman 1985: 228-229) — discussed and rejected above (see 2.3.2.7, especially footnote 40).

(174) (L) MK kíc ‘share, division’; ‘collar, lapel (of clothing)’ ~ OJ kîNta LL ‘dividing point, seam, crease’; ‘counter for pieces of cloth’ < PJK *kija (Whitman 1985: 229). Phonetically the comparison seems to be
impeccable, but there are other problems. First, there are no phonetic attestations of kîNta in Old Japanese; the first one appears only in the Wamyôshô (931-938), where the word is written as 岐多 (WMS V: 26a), which might be /kîNta/, but is more likely to reflect /kîta/. Because there are no phonetic spellings attested before the Wamyôshô, the word might also be OJ ki[N]ta with an otsu-rui ñl. This would present a problem for the etymology. Since the quality of the vowel in the first syllable is not known, I will write it as WOJ ki[N]ta. Second, the source for the meanings ‘seam, crease’ that Whitman cites is unclear to me: Omodaka et al. give only ‘dividing line, divide; counter for pieces of cloth and plots of rice fields’ (JDB 1967: 241-242), and the examples they provide confirm their glossing. Third, and most important, WOJ ki[N]ta is not attested either in Eastern Old Japanese or in Ryukyuan. Due to its limited distribution, it is likely to be an old loanword from Korean. Both Nam Kwangwu and Yu Changton treat MK kíc ‘share’ and MK kíc ‘collar, lapel’ as two homonymous words (Nam 1997: 219; LCT 1987: 120). I believe they are right: I fail to see the connection between the two. It can be further seen that WOJ ki[N]ta is likely to be a loanword from Korean *kica ‘share’ for semantic reasons as well: ‘plot of land’ is certainly semantically narrower than ‘share’ in general.

(175) (R) MK :kil- ‘long’, kîlûy ‘length’ ~ OJ kî ‘unit of length, inch’ < PJK *kiro (Whitman 1985: 229). Whitman adds: “The MK nominal form is very likely original, since the contraction of the second syllable in PJK *kiro would account for the MK accent. OJ also has kî- in the meaning of ‘far, distant’ in compounds, often anomalously interpreted as the continuative form of the verb ku ‘come’: kikanare- ‘go far away (from home or point of origin)’ < kî + panare- ‘separate, part’; kipênar- ‘be far separated’ < kî + pênar- ‘be separated’” (1985: 229). I believe that Whitman’s treatment of the Middle Korean data is correct, but I find several problems on the Japanese side. First, there is a semantic problem. Omodaka et al. indicate that originally OJ kî designated a measure of length equal to the length of a joint on the index finger (JDB 1967: 236). I have grave doubts that this unit of length could possibly have any associations with ‘length’, let alone with ‘far away’: ‘going far away to the extent of an index finger joint’ is obviously an oxymoron. Second, glossing OJ kipênar- as ‘be far separated’, stretches the limits of credibility. There are only three poems in the Man’yôshû where the word is attested in the same context:

asi-pîkï n-ô yama kîpênar-i-te
foot-low DV-ATTR mountain ?-INF-SUB
doing X [with?/to?/on?/in?] low-base mountains (MYS IV: 670; XVII: 3969, 3981)

\(^{144}\) Nam Kwangwu cites both words incorrectly as having L pitch.
While Omodaka et al. speculate that a possible meaning can be ‘to be separated’ (but without any connotation of ‘far’), they still consider it to be unclear (JDB 1967: 245). WOJ *kîpanare- ‘to be separated from a place where one was originally’ is attested only twice in the Western Old Japanese corpus:

Nara-wo k-i-panare ama-N-sakar-u pîna-ni ar-e-Ntô
Nara-ACC come-INF-be separated(INF) heaven-LOC-be separated village-LOC exist-EV-CONC
although [I] am in a village that is far from Heaven, having left Nara

iya tôpo n-i kuni-wo k-i-panare iya taka n-i yama-suNkiy
oh distant DV-INF province-ACC come-INF-be separated(INF) oh high DV-INF mountain-ACC cross(INF)-pass(INF)
oh, [I] left [my home] province far behind; oh, [I] crossed high mountains

The contexts in both poems support the traditional semantic interpretation of WOJ *kîpanare- as ‘to leave behind one’s original place, to be separated from a place where one was originally’, but there is one problem with the traditional analysis: the infinitive form k-i ‘come-INF’ + panare- ‘be separated’. For the movement of a speaker from an original place to a new place where he is located at the moment of speech, we would expect *panare-k-i- (first leave behind, and then come), not the attested k-i-panare (first come, and then leave behind), which does not make any sense. If this is what Whitman meant by ‘anomalous interpretation’, then his criticism is certainly justified, but for the reasons indicated above, his own proposal to view kî- in kîpanare- as ‘unit of length, inch’ is not acceptable semantically. It seems safer to assume that kî in kî-panare- is an element with an unclear meaning. This leaves us with WOJ kî ‘measure of length equal to the length of an index finger joint’, which has no cognates in Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan, and therefore could qualify only as a loan from Korean. However, there are two problems even with the loanword solution. First, WOJ kî refers to a very specific unit of length, while MK kîlúy is length in general. Under these circumstances, WOJ kî can be etymologically just about anything, cf. English inch < Old English ynce ‘twelfth part of a foot’, related to Old High German unza, Gothic unkja, and Latin uncia ‘twelfth part’ (Onions 1978: 468). Second, the borrowing of a word similar to MK kîlúy would result in WOJ *kî with the otsu-rui vowel /i/, not kî with the kô-rui vowel /i/. Finally, even if these two obstacles are removed, the etymology will still rest on Whitman’s medial *-r- loss law, which cannot be independently corroborated in this case. In the light of all these problems, I reject this etymology.

145 Both poems below were composed by members of the Oopotomo clan. MYS XVII: 4008 belongs to Oopotomo-no Ikemusi, and MYS XX: 4398 to Oopotomo-no Yakamochi.
Lexical Comparisons

(176) (R) MK kiph- ‘deep’ ~ OJ kipa LH<sup>146</sup> ‘edge, extremity’, kipam- ‘take to the outermost limit’<sup>147</sup> < PJK *ki:po- (Whitman 1985: 229). In addition to the less than perfect semantics, there are more problems on the Korean side. First, we do not know whether MK kiph- ‘deep’ goes back to PK *kipuk- or PK *kikup-. In the case of PK *kikup-, the comparison would not be possible, and the etymology loses half its credibility. Second, even in the case of PK *kipuk-, the vowels in the second syllables of Japanese and Korean words do not correspond regularly to each other. Therefore, I prefer to reject this etymology.

Etymologies (177)-(180) (Whitman 1985: 230) are all rejected, since they involve reconstruction of PJK *g- on the basis of a ‘correspondence’ of MK n- to OJ k-. Refer to Martin (1991: 273) and Vovin (1993b: 339-340) for critiques of this pseudo-correspondence.

3.2.6 *c-

(181) (R) MK càlí ‘seat, place, location’ ~ OJ -te nominal suffix expressing place or direction in omote ‘front’ < omo ‘face’ + -te, patate ‘boundary’ < pata ‘edge’ + -te < PJK *car (+ -i) (Whitman 1985: 230).

Whitman has already proposed a different etymology for OJ -te: MK tóy ‘place’, which I accepted as a Korean loan in Western Old Japanese (see [63] above). Since one and the same Japanese morpheme cannot have two different Korean etymologies, this one is rejected.

(182) (L) MK cás ‘fort, castle’ ~ OJ sasi HL (or LL) ‘id’. < PJK *cas(+ -i). Whitman adds that “an early loan, OJ sasi appears associated with Korean locations in Nihonshoki” (1985: 230). It must be added that OJ sasi is found only in Western Old Japanese, and since it is indeed a loan, there is no need to reconstruct a Proto-Japanese-Korean form.

(183) (C)/(R) MK cólà-<sup>148</sup> ‘suffices’ ~ OJ tar- ‘id’. < PJK *córà- (Whitman 1985: 230). Although there is no cognate in Eastern Old Japanese, there are attestations in Ryukyuan, including Southern Ryukyuan: Shuri tariyuN (RGJ 1976: 506),<sup>150</sup> Yaeyama tariN (Miyara 1980: 368), Psara tara: (Shimoji 1979: 141). There are two problems, though. First, under Whitman’s vowel correspondences rules, OJ /a/ corresponds to MK /o/ only in Old Japanese long syllables (Whitman 1985: 129), but OJ tar- belongs to accent type A (Martin 1987: 764); therefore, the first vowel in

146 Whitman gives an incorrect accentuation: both MJ kifa LL and PJ *kipa 2.3 indicate that it should be the LL (2.3) accent class.
147 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #61.
148 There is a discrepancy in accentuation provided by different dictionaries: colà- (LCT 1987: 633), colà- (Nam 1997: 1287), colà- ~ colà- (Hankul hakhoy 1999.2: 5358). The data on accentuation from fifteenth-century texts: colà- (Sebko VI: 11b; Twusi cho XVI: 56, XXV: 17), colà- (Twusi cho XXV: 25b, Samkang/Hyoca 26) demonstrate that there apparently was a variation between IH and HL patterns, thus Hankul hakhoy’s presentation is a correct one. I thank Ross King for providing me accentual data from the Samkang Hayngsiltwo and the first edition of volumes XVI and XXV of the Twusi enhay, which I do not have at my disposal.
149 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #229.
150 There is also Shuri tariyuN (RGJ 1976: 513), which looks like an early loan from mainland Japanese tariru.
OJ *tuk- could only be short in Proto-Japonic. Second, unless one accepts the Martin-Unger reconstruction of consonantal verbs as having *[C]VC- structure in Proto-Japonic, it is necessary to account for a final vowel in Korean that has no correspondence in Japanese. Therefore, this etymology is only marginally acceptable.

(184) (R) MK *còlò ~ còl.~ còl.l- < *còlòk ‘handle’ ~ OJ *tuka LL ‘id’. < PJK *coloko (Whitman 1985: 230). Whitman’s còl.~ còl.l- should really be rewritten as còlG-. There are three problems with this etymology. First, since OJ *tuka is LL, the vowel in the first syllable in Proto-Japonic should be long. According to Whitman’s vowel correspondences, one would expect OJ /a/ here, not /u/ (Whitman 1985: 129), cf. the opposite case in (183) above. Second, the etymology rests on the assumption of *-r-loss in Old Japanese, which cannot be verified on the basis of independent evidence. Third, even if the first two objections are rejected, the final vowel -a in OJ *tuka has no correspondence in Korean. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(185) (R) MK *còmk- ‘sinks, is immersed’ ~ OJ *tuk- ‘is immersed, gets wet’ < PJK *comok- (Whitman 1985: 230). There are two problems with this comparison. First, OJ *tuk- means ‘to soak in’ rather than ‘to be immersed’ (JDB 1967: 464). Second, Middle Korean shows a variation between the forms *còmò- ~ còm- ‘is immersed’ without any traces of *-k- in the root, and *còmkì- ~ *còmk- ‘id’. with a velar. Such a variation would imply that the velar in the second variant is secondary. Third, and most important, this comparison is based on the assumption that Proto-Japonic intervocalic *-m- is lost in Old Japanese after PJ *-u-, but this assumption largely rests on external comparative evidence from Korean based on five other examples; see (136) above and (186), (212), (293), and (330) below, with two more dubious internal examples (Whitman 1985: 25). Therefore, the logic in establishing the correspondence of MK *-m- to OJ -Ø- appears to be circular and unwarranted by the internal Japonic evidence. Note that while the Old Japanese sequence /tuk/ corresponds to MK /comk/ in this example, it also corresponds to PK *colok in (183), which further diminishes the credibility of both comparisons. I reject this comparison on the basis of irregularity of correspondences.

(186) (R) MK *còmok- ‘is locked, is joined’ ~ OJ *tuk- ‘is attached’ < PJK *comok- (Whitman 1985: 230). Like (185) above, this comparison is based on the assumption that Proto-Japonic intervocalic *-m- is lost in Old Japanese after PJ *-u-, but this assumption largely rests on external comparative evidence from Korean based on four examples (Whitman 1985: 131, 139, 141, 143), with two dubious internal examples (Whitman 1985: 25). The same objections as in (185) apply here; therefore, this comparison is rejected.

(187) (R) MK *cwòch- ‘follows it, keeps step with it, obeys it’ ~ OJ *tutuk- ‘follows it, continues it’ < PJK *cèuk- (Whitman 1985: 230). First, a minor correction is needed: WOJ *tu[N]tuk- is an intransitive verb; the transitive one is WOJ *tu[N]tukë- (JDB 1967: 469-470). The first two syllables of WOJ *tu[N]tuk- are spelled in the texts as 都都 or 都追, which
would imply [tutu], but the word is not attested in the Nihonshoki kayô, the only text that consistently differentiates between voiceless and pre-nasalized voiced stops; therefore, those spellings can reflect [tuNtu] as well. The word is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese, but the majority of Ryukyuan attestations, with the exception of Koniya t̓ûkijûm ‘to continue (tr.)’, point to PR and PJ *tuntuk- with *-nt- rather than *-t-: Nase t̓sid̓zīkîruN, Hentona tsidZiki:N, Iejima sizikijuN, Psara tsidzîkii, Ikema tsidžîki:, Ishigaki tsidzîkîruN, Hateruma šimšîkîruN, etc. ‘to continue’ (Hirayama 1966: 382). It is further important to note that Ryukyuan forms clearly indicate PJ *tuntuk- with *-u-, not PJ *tontok- with *-o-, which creates a problem for the Korean etymology, as at the present stage of our knowledge we would expect PJ *-o- corresponding regularly to MK /wo/.151 In addition, Hateruma šimšîkîruN is likely to indicate that the Proto-Ryukyuan and Proto-Japonic form was something like *tumutuk- or *tumituk-, which rules out the comparison with Middle Korean cwôch-, since we have internal Korean evidence that allows us to account for the loss of a nasal before /c/ in Middle Korean, but not for the whole /mV/ syllable. Finally, there is a problem on the Korean side, too: MK cwôch-can go back either to PK *ewocok- or to PK *ewokoc-. The second possibility would rule out the comparison completely, so the comparison loses half of its credibility. Too many problems beset this etymology to make it acceptable.

(188) (L) MK cèk ‘time’ ~ OJ tôkî LL ‘time’ < PJK *cek (Whitman 1985: 230).152 This etymology looks impeccable at first glance, but there is a problem: according to Whitman’s vowel correspondences, OJ /ö/ corresponds to MK /e/ either in the final position or in words with /ö/ in another syllable. Neither of these two conditions applies here, so we have an irregular correspondence. If we assume that Whitman’s Proto-Japanese-Korean reconstruction *cek is correct, it is unclear how Old Japanese acquired its final /-i/. Furthermore, MK cèk belongs to a small class of nouns that have L pitch. This suggests that in all likelihood MK cèk is a result of an apocope: MK cèk < PK *cekV LH, with V = I, as witnessed by OJ tôkî. However, PK *ceki or *cokV would result in MK *cèh, not cèk, the latter being an expected development from PK *cenki, unless the postvocalic nasal sonorant loss in Korean occurred after apocope took place. Nonetheless, ordering the rules as (1) apocope and (2) postvocalic sonorant loss is highly unlikely, because Early Middle Korean materials offer evidence for the pre-apocope stage of the language.

**Chart 30: Apocope in Middle Korean and Early Middle Korean**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>EMK</th>
<th>MK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘rain’</td>
<td>piWi153</td>
<td>pi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

151 In Whitman’s system of vocalic correspondences, OJ /u/ corresponds to both MK /wo/ and /wu/. However, nowadays we know that WOJ /u/ has two Proto-Japonic sources: *u and *o.
152 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #242.
153 Kyeylim yusa, #7.
However, there is no evidence in Early Middle Korean for forms that still include postvocalic nasal sonorants, so the process of simplification of *NC clusters must predate apocope. Thus, MK cèk < PK *cenkV or *cenki LH, yielding one more irregular correspondence in this etymology: PK *-nk- : PJ *-k-.

Therefore, due to irregularities in the correspondences, OJ töki is likely to be an old loan from Korean, probably borrowed during the time of mutual coexistence on the Korean peninsula, since PJ *töki is well attested within Japonic (in both Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan).


Whitman notes that Jpn. titi is a reduplication, which is probably true. The reconstruction of PJK *ce is doubtful, because it does not account for the final -c in Middle Korean (there is no internal evidence that this word is from *cyecye), and the reconstruction of PJK *e on the basis of the correspondence of MK /ye/ to OJ /i/ is also left unexplained.

But most important is the fact that this is certainly a nursery word that cannot be used for proving genetic relationships, cf. English tits, Russian tit’ki, German Tzitzen, among others.

(190) (R) MK cyècéy ‘market, fair’ ~ OJ iti LH ‘id’. < PJK *jicey (Whitman 1985: 231).

Whitman comments: “Assuming a voiced PJK initial, the expected form is OJ *yoti or *yati if we assume PJK *jyecey. The MK vowel must then result from breaking of *i in K[orean]. Note that OJ final /ti/ ([tuy]) confirms the reconstruction of the final syllable. Raising and fronting of the mid vowel in the first syllable may have occurred after merger of pre-OJ *tuy and ti, indistinct at the OJ stage” (1985: 231). There are several problems with this etymology. First, even the assumption that the pre-Old Japanese form was *yiti, let alone nonexistent OJ *yati or *yoti, is highly speculative: we simply have no internal evidence for the *y- initial rather than an absence of any initial consonant. Second, the assumption that OJ /ti/ is from *tï is also speculative. Although Whitman seems to believe that any OJ /ti/ is from *tï (1985: 38), this seems to be contradicted by his statement above about the merger of pre-OJ *tï and ti. This assumption is also problematic in the light of Eastern Old Japanese palatalization /tî/> /si/; e.g., WOJ iNtuti ‘where’ ~ EOJ iNtusi ‘id’. The third problem is on the Korean side: although MK

154 Kyeylim yusa, #42.
155 Kyeylim yusa, #53.
156 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #25.
157 This etymology should really have been moved to the PJK *-j- list.
158 Whitman believes that this palatalization occurred after PJ *uy > EOJ /i/. However, Eastern Old Japanese presents evidence for the palatalization /ti/ => /si/ in an environment where one cannot suspect the development of *tuy > *ti > si, namely, the palatalization of final -i in consonantal verbs to -s in front of the infinitive suffix -i. For example, WOJ tat-i ‘stand and’ ~ EOJ tas-i ‘id’. (MYS XIV: 3395; XX: 4372, 4423), WOJ mōi-i ‘hold and’ ~ EOJ mop-ı (MYS XX: 4420), WOJ panan-i ‘let go and’ ~ EOJ panas-ı (MYS XIV: 3420).
‘market’ is attested, it seems to be the later form of the word, as it is attested once in 1475 (Nam 1997: 1220; LCT 1987: 656). Meanwhile, the earlier form is MK cyècay ‘market’, not cited by Whitman. It is amply attested in fifteenth-century texts, starting from YP 6. It is quite apparent that MK cyècay => cyècéy under the pressure of recently developed vowel harmony (Martin 2000). Thus, under Whitman’s vocalic correspondences, MK -ay cannot possibly correspond to OJ -i, even if the latter were from *ui (Whitman 1985: 129). I reject this etymology due to its irregularities in correspondences and speculative reconstruction. WOJ iti does not have any cognates attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan, but I think that the phonetic problems with this etymology are too great to recognize it even as a loan from Korean into Central Japanese.

(191) (R) MK cùl- ‘muddy, mushy’ ~ MJ doro LL ‘mud’ < PJK *cór-(Whitman 1985: 231). Whitman comments: “MJ doro LL is not attested in Old Japanese, although tōwo- (in onomatopoetic expressions) ‘soft, gentle, fluid (movement)’ is very likely related. There is good evidence that the voicing in the Middle Japanese initial consonant is secondary: note MJ toroke- ‘softens, melts’” (1985: 231). First of all, I fail to understand how WOJ tōwowo n-i, and possibly other forms cited in JDB 1967: 511, which refer to an onomatopoetic description of bending, as far as I can tell from the textual examples that Omokawa et al. cite, can be related to MJ doro ‘mud’ either phonetically (there is no correspondence of WOJ -w- to MJ -r-), or semantically (bending mud would be quite a difficult enterprise). Second, the earliest attestation of MJ toroke- is in the Konjakumonogatari (IKJ 1990: 936), which is practically on the borderline with Early Modern Japanese, so we only have a very late Middle Japanese attestation. The semantic connection with ‘mud’ is not completely impossible, but remains tentative in the best-case scenario, so using it to prove the secondary nature of d- in MJ doro is speculative and not reliable. Third, MJ doro is attested only in very late Middle Japanese: it appears for the first time as doro LL in the Myōgoki, published in 1270 (Martin 1987: 391). Given the size of the Middle Japanese corpus, the fact that doro is not attested in any other texts strongly suggests it is a late innovation. However, the word is attested throughout the Ryukyus, and the forms in various Ryukyuan dialects strongly suggest that it is not a recent loan from Early Modern Japanese. Thus, PR *doro has to be reconstructed (Thorpe 1983: 309), and it confirms the original nature of voiced d- in EMJ doro, contrary to Whitman. Martin reconstructs PJ *ntoro ‘mud’ (1987: 391). I suggest that the reconstruction be revised as PJ *nVtoro or *mVtoro, since initial consonant clusters are prohibited by Japanese phonotactics. In any case, the comparison with MK cùl- does not seem feasible, simply because we have no internal evidence for the morphological analysis of

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Other forms, such as tōwɔ́rw-, tōwɔ́wɔ́-tōwɔ́wɔ́, n-i tōwrap- appear to be either unique attestations or forms with unclear meanings (JDB 1967: 511).
*nVtoro/*mVtoro; nor do we know what the constituents of this (likely) compound are. Thus, I reject this etymology on morphological grounds.

(192) (R) MK cùl- ~ cùl.é- ~ cùl.l- < *cùlók- ‘strikes home, crosses over, traverses’ ~ OJ toNKë- ‘completes it, carries it through’ < PJK *córók- (Whitman 1985: 231). WOJ toNKë- is not attested phonetically in Old Japanese texts,\(^{160}\) and its meaning is rather ‘to accomplish, to achieve, to carry out’. This seems to be somewhat far-fetched vis-à-vis its Middle Korean counterpart, which does not mean ‘to cross over, to traverse’, contrary to Whitman. Actually, MK cùlù- ~ cùlG- means ‘to cut off, to die prematurely, to make a short-cut’.\(^{161}\) Cf. the following examples:

mot atol-i culG-e eps-un-i
elder son-NOM cut off-INF be non-existent-ATTR/REAL-NML
eldest son prematurely died (Welin se 14a)

culG-e w-a
making short-cut-INF come-INF
[he] came making a short-cut (Yukco I: 106)\(^{162}\)

The semantics alone invalidate this comparison, but it is also necessary to note that PK *-luk- cannot possibly correspond to PJ *-nk-. Therefore, I reject this comparison on semantic and phonetic grounds.

(193) (R) MK cwùk- ‘to die’ ~ OJ tuki- ‘is used up, is exhausted, is expended’ < PJK *cük- (Whitman 1985: 231). Although phonetically the comparison looks possible, I am somewhat reluctant to accept it, because WOJ tuki- refers to exhausted words, feelings, or provisions, but not to the cessation of life. In addition, the word seems to be confined to Western Old Japanese, with no attestations in Eastern Old Japanese, and with a single attestation in Ryukyuan: Shuri çikusjuN (RGJ 1976: 152), which is a counterpart of the Western Old Japanese and Middle Japanese transitive form tukus-. In the best-case scenario, this is a loanword, but I still have doubts about the semantics.

(194) (L) MK cwúl ‘rope’ ~ OJ tuna LL ‘id., tura HL or tura HH ‘line, string’, turu HL ‘string’ < PJK *cúr (Whitman 1985: 231). OJ tuna has to be ruled out from the start, because MK -l- does not correspond to OJ -n-. It appears that there is WOJ tura ‘line’ in the sense of ‘row’ (not ‘rope’), which has to be excluded for semantic reasons, and in addition there are WOJ turu ‘bowstring, string of a musical instrument’ and EOJ tura ‘bowstring’ (JDB 1967: 479-480).\(^{163}\) It seems that Middle Japanese has

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\(^{160}\) Therefore, we do not know whether the vowel in the first syllable was WOJ /ö/ or /ô/: in the second case the comparison will be ruled out, so the etymology has only 50 percent credibility before anything else is taken into consideration.

\(^{161}\) The Proto-Korean reconstruction should be rather *cùlúk-, not *cùlök-, as Whitman presented it.

\(^{162}\) Cited according to LCT 1987: 678. I do not have access to this text.

\(^{163}\) Omodaka et al. believe that tura ‘bowstring’ also appears in Western Old Japanese (MYS VII: 1329; JDB 1967: 479), but since the word in question is written in this poem
Lexical Comparisons

only turu ‘bowstring, string of a musical instrument’ while tura means exclusively ‘row’ (KKJ 1969: 591-592). There are scattered attestations in Ryukyuan, all meaning ‘bowstring, musical instrument string’: Nakijin ciru (Nakase 1983: 286), Shuri ciru (RGJ 1976: 163), lejima siru (Oshio 1999: 180), Yaeyama tsïru (Miyara 1980: 377). This probably means that we can reconstruct PJ *turu ‘bowstring, string of a musical instrument’, but its exact relationship to MK cwúl ‘rope’ remains unclear.

The narrowed meaning in Japonic in contrast to Korean, and the fact that it is a cultural item, strongly suggest that this word represents an early loan from Korean into Japonic. The fact that most Japonic forms likely have an echo-vowel -u further strengthens this possibility. One more argument in favor of a loan can be made on the basis of the fact that there is OJ napu ‘rope’, which seems to be native Japonic, so WOJ turu represents a kind of doublet with restricted semantics. I will treat this comparison as an early borrowing.

(195) (R) MK chwúm ‘spit’ ~ OJ tuNpa ‘id’.164 < PJK *cůmba, Whitman notes: “Korean aspiration is problematic” (1985: 231). In addition, there is the alternative Middle Korean form chúm ‘spit, saliva’, attested once in Samkang cwung 16. Although it is a hapax legomenon, it may possibly indicate that MK chwúm is to be analyzed as the nominalized modulator form ch-wú-m of the verb *chu-, which did not survive in the texts. I think that the Korean aspiration is not just problematic, but rules out this comparison as a cognate, because MK chwúm < PK *cukwum or *kucwum. Neither of those is comparable with OJ tuNpa, which, I believe, comes close to being a ghost. MJ tufa ‘saliva’ is attested only once in the Shinsenjikyô (IKJ 1990: 863), an obvious truncation of *tupaki, which is not phonetically attested in Old Japanese. However, MJ tufaki is amply attested (JDB 1967: 473; IKJ 1990: 863), demonstrating that EMJ and MdJ tubaki underwent secondary voicing. Since there is also late MJ and EMJ tu ‘saliva’ (IKJ 1990: 843), the internal etymology of the Japanese word becomes quite clear: it is tu ‘saliva’ + pak- ‘to spit’ + nominalizer -i. The Ryukyuan forms that are not loans from mainland Japanese tubaki show the reduplicated form of tu: Kamezu tsïdu, Iejima tutupe, Ikema and Ishigaki tsïtsï, etc. (Hirayama 1966: 374). Thus, the comparison can be rejected on phonetic and morphological grounds.

(196) This number is absent from Whitman’s list.

(197) (R) MK -cil ‘act of doing’ ~ OJ sirö HH ‘object used for something, place for doing something’ (Whitman 1985: 231). No Proto-Japanese-Korean reconstruction is provided, but Whitman adds the comment: “Both MK and OJ morphemes are nominal suffixes. MK -cil appears in compounds such as panolcil165 ‘sewing < panol ‘needle’ + -cil. Compounds formed by the OJ suffix are usually concrete: aNsirö ‘netting,

semantographically as %, it may represent turu, not tura. EOJ turu is a hapax legomenon, attested only in MYS XIV: 3437.

164 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #216.

165 This is not attested in Middle Korean to the best of my knowledge. There is EMdK panocil ‘sewing’ (with a loss of -l- in panol), which is attested in Yek.epo 41.
One obvious problem is that these suffixes are very different functionally. In addition, I believe that Whitman’s definition of OJ -sirô as ‘object used for something, place for doing something’ is imprecise. It really means ‘substitute, something used instead of or like something else’. Thus, for example, the accurate definition of WOJ aNSirô < *ami-sirô is ‘fish weir made from bamboo and wood and used like a net (WOJ amî to catch fish)’ (JDB 1967: 23). Therefore, this specific meaning of WOJ -sirô is not really compatible with MK -cil ‘act of doing’. Another problem is that the survival of this etymology depends on the assumption that OJ si- < *ti-. This is an assumption which is usually made on the basis of observation that there are many more si- in Old Japanese than tî-. This is true, but it is impossible to prove the shift *ti- > si- just on the basis of this statistical observation. We have already seen above that the second part of this assumption, which explains all OJ /ti/ as derived from *tuy, does not work (see [190] above). Therefore, in the light of these semantic and phonetic problems, I reject this etymology.

(198) (R) MK :cyek- ~ :cyak- ‘little’ ~ OJ sukô(-sikî) ‘id.’, sukûsî ‘little, few’ (adv.), sukkunasi ‘id.’ < PJK *cyokor- (Whitman 1985: 231-232). Whitman adds: “The MK stem vowels may simply be the usual adjectival ablaut variants, but this comparison assumes that the original stem vowel is *o, assimilated to /a/, /e/, or /wo/ in MK after /y/. The MK long vowel may indicate an original second syllable, which is also supported by the second vowel /wo/ in OJ sukô, and the relation between these two forms and OJ sukkunasi. We may reconstruct pre-OJ *sukur- and hypothesize that the alternants sukkunasi and sukô- result from suffixation of the adjectival formant -si at an early (sukunasi) and later (sukô-sikî) period. Note that the Old Japanese adjective sukô-sikî shows the regular inflection of the -sikî class of adjectives, usually thought to be of relatively late derivation, while sukkunasi (adverb) is a frozen form. Attachment of -si to *sukur- in the case of sukkunasi shows the same behavior of stem-final *[-r] in compounds that we observed with OJ mi- < PJK *möl ‘water’: minakuti, minamoto. Attachment of -si(kî) in the case of sukô-sikî occurs prior to vowel epanthesis after a stem-final sonorant and medial *-r- loss, giving *sukur- > *sukura- > *sukua- > *sukô- + -si(kî)” (Whitman 1985: 231-232). I believe that this comparison has numerous problems, and the discussion cited above represents an attempt to save an etymology in a unique way, which is methodologically unacceptable. First of all, even if we take the data presented at face value, there is the problem of the correspondence of MK e- to OJ s-. This problem was already addressed above (see [190] and [197]), but here it is further aggravated by the fact that in this case there are no conditions for OJ /s/- to palatalize: unlike the etymology discussed in (197), the following vowel is /u/, not /i/. Second, Whitman’s assumption that the original stem vowel was *o can be rejected on the basis of Ceycwuto cwok- ‘to be little’ (Ceycwu pangen yenkwuhoy

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166 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #128.
1995: 503), which does not support Whitman’s *cyokV-, since Ceycwuto is the only dialect that preserves original *o as /o/, even in combination with preceding /y/. Furthermore, non-leniting MK -k- surely goes back to PK *-nk-, which does not correspond to OJ -k-. Thus, we have to reconstruct Proto-Korean alternants *cyènkú- ~ *cyànkó- with a usual adjectival umlaut. However, in this case neither MK /e/ nor MK /a/ regularly corresponds to OJ /u/. This is the third irregular correspondence we are dealing with in this etymology. Finally, if we are dealing with the Proto-Korean variant *cyèkú-, PK *-u should correspond to OJ /ö/, not to /ö/ or /u/, and that leaves us with no regular correspondences at all. All of these irregularities are sufficient to cause rejection of this etymology.

3.2.7 *j-

(199) (L) MK cyèmúl-, cyèmkúl167 ‘(day) comes to a close, gets dark’ ~ OJ yamï ‘darkness’ < PJK *jyemör (Whitman 1985: 232). Whitman notes: “Final /ï/ in the Old Japanese form is the expected outcome for the continuative (nominalized) form of a thematic verb stem in /ö/. Old Japanese attests no verb *yamî- or *yamî-; however, yamê- ‘cease, end’ is quite possibly related” (1985: 232). Semantically, this seems to be a stretch. Rather, it is possible that OJ yamï should not be separated from WOJ yömö- ~ yömô-nô kuni and MJ yomi ‘Hades, land of the dead’. OJ yamï belongs to accent class 2.3, and WOJ yömö- likely belongs to the same accent class (Martin 1987: 573, 576). Yami ‘darkness’ is attested once in the Eastern Old Japanese corpus (MYS XX: 4436), but this poem is written in pure Western Old Japanese, so this single attestation probably should be discarded. There are scattered attestations of yami in the Northern and Central Ryukyus: Izena, Kijoka, Arumi, Tomigusuku yami, Kumejima ye:mi (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 458), Shuri yami (RGJ 1976: 277). The isolated Southern Ryukyuan forms, Hateruma yoiN, Ishigaki yo:N (Miyara 1981: 342), Tonoshiro yoN (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 458) are probably not related to yamì due to a discrepancy in the first syllable vowels. This distribution suggests that both WOJ yamï and yömô could only be loans from Korean, probably from different dialects. In addition, the infinitive of MK cyèmúl- is cemulG-e, indicating PK *cemuluk(u)-. However, MK cyèmkúl- indicates PK *cem(u)k(u)-. One of these variants was probably derived by metathesis from the other; unfortunately, we do not know the direction of this change, nor do we have any internal Korean evidence for the segmentation of these protoforms. Such evidence is needed for a genetic comparison with Old Japanese. However, a loan from a Korean form resembling the Middle Korean infinitive cemulG-e is certainly possible. This is further supported by the fact that only nominal forms are found in Western Old Japanese. Thus, I will treat this etymology as a loan from Korean into Central Japanese, which was in turn borrowed by Northern and Central Ryukyuan.

167 Whitman’s cyèmkúl- appears to be a typographical error for cyèkúl- (LCT 1987: 658; Nam 1997: 1227).
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(200) (R) [MdK] ciley ‘lever, handspike’\(^{168}\) ~ OJ ye ‘handle, projection for grasping’ < PJK *jiré (+ -i) (Whitman 1985: 232). K ciley ‘lever, handspike’ is not attested in Middle Korean, which immediately makes it suspect. I am not aware of any dialectal attestations, either. Kim Minswu suggested an internal etymology from MK tilô ~ tilû ‘to insert, to prick, to stab’ (Kim 1997: 959), but this seems to be too distant semantically. Intuitively I feel that MdK ciley must be some undetected loan, but nothing except Chinese ji1li3 (機理) ‘mechanism’ comes to mind, and this also may be far-fetched. The lack of an etymology may be a minor problem, but it requires an explanation nonetheless. The problems on the Japonic side are more significant. Theoretically, OJ ye can go back either to PJ *yai or to PJ *yia. The latter fits better with MdK ciley, but it is likely that PJ *y- /-i- would be lost before the monophthongization *ia > /e/ took place, since this loss preceded monophthongization. Also, positing PJ *yia contradicts the correspondences proposed in (202) below, where MK /ci-/ corresponds to OJ /i-/ < PJ *yi, and not to OJ /ye/. This leaves us with PJ *yai, but PJ *-a- apparently cannot correspond regularly to MdK -i-. In addition, *-r- loss in pre–Old Japanese is needed to make this etymology valid. However, there is no independent internal evidence, so reconstructing PJ *yari would be an ad hoc assumption. Finally, Korean /e/ does not regularly correspond to OJ /i/, so the etymology should be rejected.

(201) This number is absent from Whitman’s list.

(202) (L) MK cip ‘house’ ~ OJ ipê, ipî (Azuma), ipa (Azuma)\(^{169}\) ‘id’. < PJK *jip. Whitman comments: “The alternations in the OJ second syllable suggest alternant outcomes of a compound, most likely *ip + ya ‘house, building’” (1985: 232). Some minor corrections to the data are in order before I proceed to the discussion of this etymology. The word ipê ‘house’ is attested in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese, but its distribution in the latter is interesting. EOJ ipê is attested in five Azuma texts (MYS XIV) and in four Sakimori texts (MYS XX). However, out of five poems in MYS XIV, it appears in only one poem (MYS XIV: 3423) with Eastern Old Japanese features. The other four poems represent typical Western Old Japanese texts (MYS XIV: 3481, 3532, 3534, 3542). The situation in the Sakimori corpus is the opposite: ipê appears in three poems with Eastern Old Japanese features (MYS XX: 4384, 4388, 4415), and in one poem that is written in pure Western Old Japanese (MYS XX: 4347). Neither EOJ ipî nor EOJ ipa appears in the Azuma corpus, which seems to be more influenced by Western Old Japanese than is the Sakimori corpus; occurrences are all confined to MYS XX: ipî is found in MYS XX: 4343 and ipa in MYS XX: 4416, 4423, 4427. In addition, there is also EOJ iparo ‘house’ found in MYS XX: 4406, 4419 and the compound ipa-Npîtö ‘people of the house’ in MYS XX: 4375. EOJ ipî, ipa, iparo, and ipa-Npîtö are all found in texts that exhibit other significant Eastern Old Japanese features. I believe that this peculiar distribution indicates that EOJ ipê is a loan from Western Old Japanese. The main Eastern Old Japanese form is

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168 Whitman did not present a gloss for MdK ciley.
169 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #113.
undoubtedly *ipa ‘house’, because EOJ *ipî is a hapax legomenon. The correspondence of WOJ /ê/ (< PJ *ia) to EOJ /a/ is attested in other cases, most of them involving the morphological boundary between /i/ and /a/. Examples are: MJ ayafuke ‘dangerous (evidential form)’ < *ayapu-kî-a ~ EOJ ayapoka ‘id.’ (MYS XIV: 3539), WOJ siNkëkêku ‘dense (of vegetation, nominalized form)’ < *siNkë-kî-aku ~ EOJ siNkekaku ‘id’. (MYS XIV: 3489), WOJ tîpekê ‘distant (evidential form)’ < *tîpō-kî-a ~ EOJ topoka ‘id’. (MYS XIV: 3473), WOJ okêre ‘put (progressive evidential form)’ < *ok-I-ar-e ~ EOJ okare ‘id’. (MYS XIV: 3556), WOJ kêru ‘wear (progressive attributive form)’ < *kî-ar-u ~ EOJ karu ‘id’. (MYS XX: 4431), WOJ ipêru ‘say (progressive attributive form)’ < *ip-I-ar-u ~ EOJ iparu ‘id’. (MYS XIV: 3512), WOJ nerapêri ‘have one’s eye on (progressive final form)’ < *nerap-I-ar-i ~ EOJ nerapari ‘id’. (MYS XIV: 3529), WOJ omöpêri ‘think (progressive final form)’ < *ömöp-I-ar-i ~ EOJ ojapari ‘id’. (MYS XIV: 3526), WOJ nöreru ‘tell (progressive attributive form)’ < *nöre-I-ar-u ~ EOJ noraro ‘id’. (MYS XIV: 3469), WOJ pareru ‘bud (progressive attributive form)’ < *par-I-ar-u ~ EOJ pararo ‘id’. (MYS XIV: 3546). There are, however, a couple of cases in addition to WOJ ipê ~ EOJ ipa ‘house’ in which the existence of the morphological boundary is not obvious: WOJ pê, directive case marker < *pia ~ EOJ pa, id. (MYS XX: 4428), WOJ yeNta ‘branch’ < *yaiNta ~ EOJ yaNte ‘id’. (MYS XIV: 3493). For the reasons outlined in (200) above, it seems that this last example is different from others, because WOJ yeNta ‘branch’ can go back only to PJ *yaiNta, but not to PJ *yianta, because the latter would result in WOJ *eNta, not *yeNta. However, it is quite clear that all of the Eastern Old Japanese examples listed above include the contraction *ia > a (with the exception of ‘branch’ where the contraction *ai > a occurred), while their Western Old Japanese counterparts all exhibit the monophthongization *ia > ê (again with the exception of ‘branch’, where the monophthongization *ai > *ê > e occurred). Therefore, Whitman’s speculation that WOJ ipê ‘house’ resulted as a contraction of the compound *ip+ya ‘house+house’ appears to be unfounded internally, especially if we take into consideration the fact that Japanese had no nominal roots ending in a consonant (with the possible exception of *-m or *.-y at some stage of its recorded or reconstructed history). Another problem is that while cognates of WOJ ya ‘house’ are attested in both Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan, cognates of WOJ ipê ‘house’ are found only in Eastern Old Japanese. This distribution strongly suggests that WOJ ipê and EOJ ipa ~ ipî are loans from Korean. But this explanation, of course, faces the same problem that was mentioned in (190): we have no internal evidence for reconstructing PJN *yipia with initial *y-. However, the distribution of the word in Japanese and the fact that MK cîp ‘house’ has L pitch, indicating possible Proto-Korean disyllabic *cipu LH, where *u stands for a reduced [-back] vowel, strengthens the possibility that it is a loanword. Furthermore, isolated EOJ *ipî ‘house’ may also provide some evidence for a morphological breakup of the tentative PJ *yipia as *yip-i-a, although this is much more
speculative. Therefore, I treat this etymology as a Japanese loan from Korean.

The comparisons involving numbers (181-195), (197-200), and (202) represent etymologies involving Proto-Japanese-Korean initial *c- and *j-. Whitman has presented 15 etymologies supporting PJK *c- and only 4 etymologies supporting PJK *j-. The ratio is somewhat similar to the ratio of the aforementioned etymologies with *p- ~ *b- and *t ~ *d-. Although these numbers look slightly better, they are weighted disproportionately in favor of etymologies involving voiceless *c-. Even without my rejection of all Proto-Japanese-Korean etymologies with *j- as supporting genetic relationship, the distribution is obviously skewed. If my rejections are accepted, once again, there is a gap: no reliable Korean etymologies for Old Japanese words with initial *y-.\(^{170}\) The existence of this gap is further reinforced by the fact that MK *c-, which reflects an alleged PJK *j-, is always found before a following /i/ or /y/.

3.2.8 *s-

(203) (R) MK sàks ‘wages, pay’ ~ OJ sakî ‘good fortune, prosperity’ (Whitman 1985: 232).\(^{171}\) There are two problems with MK sàks ‘wages, pay’. To the best of my knowledge, this word appears only three times in Middle Korean, twice on two sides of the same leaf in the first edition of the Pak thongsa (1517), and once in the Hwungmwong cahwoy (1527). It seems that in both examples in the Pak thongsa it means not just ‘wages, pay’, but has a much more restricted meaning of ‘payment to the porter’:

tyè sak pat-ol salom-a
that payment to the porter receive-ATTR/IRR person-VOC
Hey, you who will receive the payment to the porter! (PT I: 11a)\(^{172}\)

wuli ancik saks-ul hyeyGali-cye
we still payment to the porter-ACC count-VOL
We are still going to calculate payment to the porter (PT I: 11b)\(^{173}\)

The gloss in the Hwungmwong cahoy for sak pat-ol, lit. ‘receiving sak’ is clearly ‘be hired’ or ‘be rewarded’ (Hwungmwong II: 2a).\(^{174}\) It seems that out of the four other examples attested in Early Modern Korean texts,

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170 Whitman also presented three etymologies with OJ *y- reflecting PJK *d- and four etymologies with OJ *y- reflecting PJK *y- (190, 199-202 [there is no 201], 313-317). See the discussions above and below under these numbers that reject these etymologies as evidence of a genetic relationship.

171 No Proto-Japanese-Korean reconstruction is provided.

172 The Chinese phrase 那挑腳的 ‘[You], the one who carries loads!’ of which this Korean phrase is a translation, makes it quite clear that indeed payment to the porter is meant, since Chin. 挑脚 tiao1jiao3 means ‘to carry loads/luggage’.

173 Again, the Chinese phrase 商量腳錢着 ‘[We,] the merchants are calculating payment to the porter’ makes it clear that the intended meaning is ‘payment to the porter’, because Chinese 腳錢 jiao3qian2 means ‘payment to the porter’.

174 The Chinese equivalents are 雇 ‘to hire, to reward’ and 傭 ‘to hire, to be hired, to be rewarded’.
in two cases the meaning of EMdK *saks* is also ‘payment to the porter’, as far as I can judge on the basis of examples given in LCT 1987: 435, but the other two examples involve also ‘payment for hire’, and one more may be just ‘payment’ in general (Nam 1997: 801). Thus, the archetype of the meaning in Middle Korean seems to be ‘payment for hire’, not just ‘payment’. The second problem appears to be even more serious. MK *saks* needs to be analyzed as *saks*- in order to be comparable with OJ *sakî*, and it does look like a deverbal noun in -s from the verb *sak*-. Such a verb exists in Middle Korean, but its general meaning is ‘to disappear’. That would seem to be a dead end, and MK *saks* ‘payment for hire’ would remain morphologically indivisible. However, I think there is a possible solution: while MdK *sak*- means ‘to wear thin, to become rotten, to be digested’, its transitive counterpart *saki*- (not attested in Middle Korean) includes the meaning ‘to consume money’. Hiring a worker is certainly going to consume your money, so it is quite possible that the internal etymology of MK *saks* is ‘spent money, consumed money’ < *sak*- ‘to be consumed’ + -s, nominalizer. This, however, will create a semantic problem in a comparison with OJ *sakî* ‘good fortune, prosperity’: one does not acquire good fortune or prosperity by spending money. In addition, and most important, MK *sak*- with a non-leniting -k- goes back to PK *sank-, and this also makes the comparison phonetically incompatible with OJ *sakî*, because PK *-nk-* can correspond only to OJ -Nk-, not to OJ -k-. Therefore, I reject this comparison due to its phonetic and semantic problems.

(204) (L) MK *sál* ‘arrow’ ~ OJ *sâ* ‘id’. < PJK *sar*. Whitman also states that “OJ *ya* ‘arrow’ is apparently unrelated” (1985: 232). I agree with him, and I also must add that *yaa* ‘arrow’ is amply attested in Ryukyuan, including the Southern Ryukyuan dialects: Izena, Irabu, Psara, Iriomote, Taketomi, Hateruma *ya* (Nakamatsu 1987: 39, 70, 148, 196), Shuri *yaa* (RGJ 1976: 253), etc. *Ya* ‘arrow’ is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese in the compound *satu-ya* ‘hunting arrow’ (*MYS* XX 4374). Due to this distribution, we can safely conclude that the word is native and can be reconstructed as PJ *ya*. It is a different story with OJ *sa* ‘arrow’, which is mostly Western Old Japanese, with a single attestation in Eastern Old Japanese (*MYS* XX: 4430), but has no cognates in Ryukyuan. The distribution of OJ *sa* ‘arrow’ strongly suggests that it is a loan from Korean.

(205) (L) MK *sâm* ‘hemp’ ~ OJ *asa* LL ‘id’. < PJK *asam*. Whitman notes that “the MK accent, rare for a monosyllable in /-m/, betokens the original first syllable” (1985: 232). I agree with Whitman that the Proto-Korean reconstruction should be *asam*. In Japonic, *asa* ‘hemp’ is attested in Western Old Japanese, as well as in Eastern Old Japanese (but only in compounds and in poems that have no apparent Eastern Old Japanese features: *MYS* XIV: 3454 [twice], 3484), and in Ryukyuan. However, the Ryukyuan attestations are mostly confined to the Northern and Central

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175 The Shuri form *iyaa*, also found in some other Ryukyuan dialects, probably represents a compound originating from the infinitive form *iyu*- of the verb *iyuN* ‘to shoot’ + *yaa* ‘arrow’ (RGJ 1976: 253).
176 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #104.
Ryukyus, with three limited and scattered attestations in the South Ryukyus: Psara (ʔasa ‘hemp’ (Hirayama 1966: 353), Ōura ʔasa, Sonai (ʔasa (Hirayama 1967: 339). Such a distribution strongly suggests that Japonic asa ‘hemp’ is a loan from Korean *asam into Japanese, which then spread into the Northern and Central Ryukyus. This is further supported by the fact that Western Old Japanese has a doublet wo ‘hemp’, also attested in Middle Japanese and in Southern Ryukyuan: Ikema, Ishigaki, Hateruma buu ‘hemp’ (Hirayama 1966: 353), Ōechi, Nakasuji, Ōbama, Taketomi, Kuroshima, Yonaguni buu (Hirayama 1967: 339).

(206) (R) MK :sam- ‘takes it (as), makes it (into), adopts it, assumes (a role, office) < OJ sama HH ‘method, way of being, situation’ < PJK sama (Whitman 1985: 232). Although at first glance this comparison seems to be phonetically impeccable, there are certain problems. First, I believe that it is overextended semantically. To the best of my knowledge, the Middle Korean textual examples of :sam- indicate only the meaning ‘to make it (into/by)’ (Nam 1997: 808; LCT 1987: 439). OJ sama ‘way, state, condition, appearance’ involves more serious problems. First, its independent phonetic attestations in Western Old Japanese are limited to compounds or collocations akara-sama n-i ‘suddenly’, ka-ku sama n-i ‘in this way’, kari-sama ‘euphemeral’, saka-sama n-i ‘against’, and yōkō-sama n-i ‘horizontally on the side’. Second, the last two compounds also have the variants saka-sima n-i and yōkō-sima n-i, which suggest that the first syllable vowel /a/ in WOJ sama may be a result of regressive vowel assimilation. If this is true, the comparison with MK :sam- becomes problematic. In addition, WOJ yōkō-sima ‘horizontally on the side’ is also attested as WOJ and MJ yōkō-si ‘id’. (JDB 1967: 794), which may represent a truncation, but more likely indicates that sama < sima is bimorphemic in origin: *si + ma. Quite conversely, there is no sama in Eastern Old Japanese, and attestations in Ryukyuan seem to be limited to Shuri zama (RGJ 1976: 597). 178 Finally, WOJ sama is attested only as a nominal, and MK :sam- only as a verb, with no reverse derivations. All of these problems make this etymology more than doubtful, so I reject it.

(207) (L) MK sásol ‘bamboo branch, stick (for drawing lots)’ ~ OJ sasa ‘bamboo grass, small bamboo’ < PJK *sasar (Whitman 1985: 233). MK sásol is better defined as ‘piece of split bamboo’ (Nam 1997: 797-798), which might have different uses: for divination, drawing lots, book pins, etc. MK sásol looks suspiciously like a verbal attributive irrealis form, and

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177 WOJ wo ‘hemp’ is attested phonetically only in the compound wo-kē ‘[hemp] container’ (JDB 1967: 831-832), but it is also used independently or in compounds written logographically as 麻 in several poems in the Western Old Japanese section of the Man’yōshū (MYS VI: 1056, IX: 1807, XI: 2687, XIII: 3272), where this character is likely to be read as /wo/ and not /asa/ on the basis of the poetic meter. It also appears written phonetically as /wo/ in the aforementioned MYS XIV: 3484, which looks like a typical Western Old Japanese text, although it is found within the Eastern Old Japanese corpus.

178 In addition, a unique compound with -zama is attested only in Shuri as si-zama ‘situation, way of doing’ (RGJ 1976: 487) and in Nakijin as si-zaama ‘id’. (Nakasone 1983: 184). They are frequently used with a negative connotation. Their narrowed meaning and confinement to the island of Okinawa clearly indicates that they are loans from Japanese.
Lexical Comparisons

since in Middle Korean the attributive irrealis form could be used as a nominalized form, I suspect that MK sāsōl is historically the attributive irrealis *sas-ol, which just means ‘a split one’. It is true that there is no Middle Korean verb *:saz- ‘to split’ to underlie such a derivation, but MK sāsōl may be etymologically connected to MK sāhōl-, MdK ssel- ‘to split’. However, this internal etymology is not completely unproblematic, due to irregularities in the correspondences. The distribution of sasa in Japonic is skewed: there is no lack in attestations of WOJ and MJ sasa (JDB 1967: 327), (Miyajima 1971: 131). EOJ sasa is attested twice in poems with Eastern Old Japanese features (MYS XIV: 3382, XX: 4431). The only Ryukyuan attestation is in the Northern Ryukyus: Yamatoma sasa (Hirayama 1986: 314), which is certainly a loan from Japanese. A possible secondary semantic connection with ‘bamboo’ in Korean, plus the skewed distribution in Japonic, strongly suggest that this is a loan from Korean to Japanese.

(208) (R) MK sāwō- ‘rough, wild, fierce’ ~ OJ sawa ‘id., noisy’ < PJK *sabo (Whitman 1985: 233). Whitman adds: “The OJ morpheme appears in the reduplicated phrase sawa-sawa-ni ‘violently’ and in the verb sawak- ‘is violent, is noisy’. The MK stem appears as the adjectival verb sāwōnāp-< sawo + (?) na- ‘become’ + -p- (adjectival suffix). Sawo- appears in LMK as an independent verb stem” (1985: 233). There are numerous problems with this etymology. First, the meaning ‘to be violent’ for WOJ sawak- seems to be poorly supported: clear examples indicate only ‘to be noisy’, and the examples that Omodaka et al. argue indicate some appearance of physical unrest (JDB 1967: 344) are limited to two poems that do not include phonetic spellings for the word in question (MYS III: 262, VI: 927), but are also open to alternative interpretations. I also believe that WOJ sawa-sawa-ni, being an onomatopoetic form, cannot really be used in comparative linguistics. The word certainly does not mean ‘violently’, but just ‘noisily’, as far as we know from the two examples in Western Old Japanese, where sawa-sawa-ni is usually interpreted as ‘noisily’ (JDB 1967: 344; Tsuchihashi 1957: 76). Second, MK sāwōnāp- is really MK sāGwōnāW-, which contains a velar fricative -G-. MK -G- mostly reflects PK *-k-, although in some cases it can go back to *-p-, but in this particular case the velar solution is preferable, given the Northern Kyengsang saanap- (Choy 1978: 1220), which can reflect only PK *sakwonap-. PK *-k- does not correspond to WOJ -w-. Third, Whitman’s morphological analysis of MK sāGwōnāW- as sawo + (?) na- ‘become’ + -p- (adjectival suffix) is teleological, because there is no verb *na- ‘to become’ in Korean. Fourth, the LMK sawo- that he cites cannot be used as supporting evidence for his morphemic analysis, because it is a hapax legomenon, attested only in the Chiltay Manpep (1569) (LCT 1987: 433; Nam 1997: 799). This occurrence is strongly contradicted by both MK sāGwōnāW- and MdK sanap-, as well as by attestations in dialects (Choy 1978: 1220). Thus, I reject this etymology on the basis of its multiple phonological, morphological, and semantic problems.
(209) (R) MK: *say ‘bird’ ~ OJ *saNki ‘heron’ \(^{179}\) < PJK *sagi (Whitman 1985: 233). This etymology must be rejected, because MK -Ø- does not correspond regularly to OJ -Nk- < PJ *-nk-. MK *saki < PK *sangi would be expected. In addition, the semantics of the comparison is dubious, since it compares a generic word ‘bird’ with the name of a particular species of birds.

(210) (R)/(L) MK -sò nominalizer for preceding verbal expression ~ OJ -sa nominalizing suffix for adjectives; nominalizer for preceding verbal expression < PJK *-so (Whitman 1985: 233). Whitman comments: “OJ -sa occurs as a productive nominalizing suffix for inflected adjectives in -si such as tanô-si\(^{180}\) ‘enjoyable’, tanô-si-sa ‘enjoyment’, kurô-si ‘painful’, kurô-si-sa ‘painfulness’. It also occurs after the attributive ending of verbs of motion such as kapêr-\(^{181}\) ‘return home’: kapêr-u-sa ‘returning home’ (MYS XV: 3614). This usage is exactly parallel to the usage of the attributive form of verbal in the sense of ‘act of doing, state, fact of being’ (1985: 233). However, *sa in Western Old Japanese does not exclusively nominalize adjectives ending in -si, as Whitman suggests, although his statement holds for Eastern Old Japanese, where -sa is found only after adjectives ending in -si. In Western Old Japanese -sa is also found as a nominalizer after other adjectives as well: na-sa (MYS XVII: 3928) ‘nonexistence’ < na- to be non-existent’; NANKA-sa (MYS VI: 985) ‘length’ < naNka- ‘long’; PARUKÊ-sa (MYS VIII: 1494, 1550; X: 1952) ‘distance’ < parukê- ‘distant’, SAYAKÊ-sa ‘cleanness’ (MYS III: 314; VII: 1076, 1112, 1201; IX: 1724, 1737; X: 2141), \(^{183}\) < sayakê- ‘clear’; suNpêna-sa ‘uselessness’ (MYS IV: 757; V: 796; XVIII: 4106), < suNpêna- ‘useless’; TAPUTÔ-sa ‘awe’ (MYS XIX: 4254, 4255, 4266), < taputô- ‘awesome’; YÖ-sa ‘goodness’ (MYS X: 2073, 2233) < yö- ‘good’. The function of WOJ -sa as a nominalizer for adjectives is found throughout the Japonic family, including Ryukyuan. More important, the nominalizing function of -sa for verbs as in kapêr-u-sa-ni ‘when [I] return home’, cited by Whitman, does not appear to be nominalizing; on the contrary, traditionally it is believed to be found not after the attributive, but after the final verbal form with verbs that have morphologically different attributive and final forms. This can be seen in the constructions k-u sa come-FIN sa ‘when [one] comes’ (MYS III: 281; IX: 1784; XX: 4514) and wasur-u sa forget-FIN sa ‘when [one] forgets’ (MYS XI: 2580).\(^{185}\) Clearly,

\(^{179}\) This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #14.

\(^{180}\) Whitman has tano-si instead of tanô-si in this case and the following, but, it is quite clear that it should be tanô-si rather than tano-si (JDB 1967: 434).

\(^{181}\) Whitman has kaper- instead of kapêr- in this case and the following, but it is quite clear that it should be kapêr- rather than kaper- (JDB 1967: 215).

\(^{182}\) I have added the book number to the citation.

\(^{183}\) One more uncertain case is found in (MYS IV: 546).

\(^{184}\) Two more uncertain cases are found in (MYS VII: 1102, 1159).

\(^{185}\) Besides kapêr- to return, kô- ‘to come’, and wasur- ‘to forget’, -sa is attested after yuk-u ‘go-FIN’, but yuk- ‘to go’ is also a consonantal verb that like kapêr- ‘to return’ does not differentiate between final and attributive forms. Further supporting evidence comes from Eastern Old Japanese, where -sa is attested once after the final form pus-a of EOJ pus- ‘to lay, to put’ (MYS XIV: 3484).
the nominalizations would require the attributive forms *k-uru ‘come-ATTR’ and *wasur-uru ‘forget-ATTR’, with resulting forms *k-uru sa and *wasur-uru sa. In addition, these constructions introduce temporal dependent clauses ‘when V’ (with one exception found in MYS IV: 656), which is too narrow a context for a nominalization in general. It is unclear why a nominalizer would follow a final form rather than an attributive form or a stem of a verb (cf. the behavior of the nominalizers –[a]ku and -[y/i]). I believe that it is appropriate to treat the vowel /u/ immediately preceding /sa/ as belonging to the suffix itself. Therefore, I prefer to segment this nominalizer as *usa (Vovin 2009: 776-779). I believe that the phonetical, functional, and formal differences between the OJ -usa following the root or the contacted root form and the Middle Korean nominalizer -só are too significant to allow the comparison, and I believe it is just a chance similarity. This leaves us with only Japonic nominalizer -sa found after adjectival stems. However, there is another discrepancy: while the Japonic nominalizer -sa follows an adjectival stem or root, MK -só as a nominalizer appears only after the attributive irrealis in -l(ʔ), never after a verbal root or even after an attributive realis in -n, so there is an important formal difference. We should also keep in mind that the verbalization of adjectives in Japonic is a very recent process. It is quite clear that pre-Old Japanese adjectives did not have any or most of the verbal-like markers they later developed, and that they were for the most part indistinguishable from nouns. In Ryukyuan, -sa is a necessary part of any adjectival form, which raises serious doubts about its antiquity as well. Finally, we should keep in mind that in both branches of Japonic -sa occurs only with adjectives (quality verbs), while on the Korean side there is no such limitation. Therefore, I strongly suspect that this etymology is a chance similarity. Japonic -sa may be an early loan from Korean, dating back to the period of coexistence on the Korean peninsula, a period that contributed significantly to the ‘Koreanization’ of the Japonic adjectival system.

(211) (R) MK sólh ‘flesh’ ~ OJ sisi LL ‘id’. < PJK *sil₂o (+ -i) (Whitman 1985: 233). There are two problems with this comparison. First, MK -o- does not regularly correspond to OJ -i-, according to Whitman’s correspondences (Whitman 1985: 129). Second, WOJ and EOJ sisi does not mean ‘flesh’, but ‘game animal’, in particular referring to deer or boars (JDB 1967: 352). In Ryukyuan, sisi means ‘meat’ (Hirayama 1966: 325), but this may be a result of secondary semantic development: *game animal > *edible animal > meat, especially since the opposite semantic development is hard to imagine. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(212) (R) MK sómóy ~ sómáy ‘sleeve’ ~ OJ sôNte ‘id’. Whitman adds: “The OJ form is a compound of *sô + tê ‘hand, arm’. The original
morpheme *sô is related to the MK form by medial *-m- loss from PJK *swómó or *swómá” (Whitman 1985: 233). There are several problems with this etymology. First, there is no internal evidence in Japonic that OJ sôtnte ‘sleeve’ is a compound. Whitman’s assumption that it originally consisted of the morphemes *sô + te ‘hand, arm’ is based exclusively on a circular comparison with Korean. There is no morpheme *sô ‘sleeve’ in Japonic. In addition, I am not aware of any crosslinguistic examples where a word for ‘sleeve’ is derived from ‘sleeve’ + ‘hand’. On the contrary, there is some typological evidence that ‘sleeve’ can be just a derivation from the word ‘hand, arm’, cf. Russian ruka-ν ‘sleeve’ < ruka ‘hand, arm’. Second, the rule of *-m- loss (although recently Whitman seems to have abandoned the idea, personal communication) in its classic formulation involves only cases after the high back vowel /u/ (Whitman 1985: 25), which is clearly not the case here. Third, the alleged rule of *-m- loss leaves OJ -Nt- instead of -t- unexplained, which should be expected if the nasal was really lost. Fourth, MK /o/ does not correspond regularly to OJ /ô/, according to Whitman’s own vocalic correspondences (Whitman 1985: 129). Due to all these problems I reject this etymology. I believe that OJ sôtnte ‘sleeve’ may be a loan from unattested Old Korean *swontoy < swon ‘hand’ + toy ‘place’, that is ‘the thing where you put your hands’. Although this etymology is speculative, since OK *swontoy is not actually attested, it involves regular phonetic correspondences and is typologically compatible.\(^{189}\) See also (136, 185-186) above and (293, 330) below on the alleged *-m- loss.


Although at first glance this comparison looks good, there are problems. I presume that Whitman’s swiy- ‘turns sour’ with L pitch is a typographical error: it is actually MK :swuy- with R pitch (LCT 1987: 479; Nam 1997: 890), indicating the disyllabic origin of this word. The alternation between MK /o/ and /wu/ is not expected either, so the phonological history of this word may be very complex: it may go back to something like PK *swuyu- or *swuCuy-, and data from Korean dialects strongly favor the second possibility: Hamkyeng Pukto sikwut-, Hamkyeng Namto sikhwu-, Kyengsang Pukto saykwup-, Kangwen sikep-, etc. (Choy 1978: 1226-1227). Thus, the Proto-Korean reconstruction should be something like *swukwuy-, and this rules out any possibility of a genetic connection between MK sôy- ~ :swuy-, on the one hand, and OJ suyur-, on the other, since PK *K- does not correspond regularly to OJ -y-. Also, there are no phonetic attestations of suyur- in Old Japanese. The first phonetic attestation is found only in Middle Japanese (\textit{WMS} XVI: 11b). There is also a disagreement among Japanese scholars as to whether the verb in question is a consonantal verb suyur- or a vowel verb suye- (JDB 1967: 394), since even in Middle Japanese it is attested only twice: in \textit{WMS}, mentioned above, and in the \textit{Iroha jirui shô} (1180). Nevertheless, the

\(^{189}\) Cf. (63) above, where OJ- te ‘place’ is treated as a loan from Korean toy ‘id’.
attributive of the progressive form suyur-er-u ‘turn sour-PROG-ATTR’ that appears in WMS XVI: 11b strongly suggests that it was a consonantal verb in Middle Japanese, in contrast to Modern Japanese monograde sue- ‘to turn sour/bad’, which seems to be a secondary development from a vowel bigrade verb. As always, the distribution of this verb in Japonic is revealing: it is not attested in either Eastern Old Japanese or in Ryukyuan, except in three Central Ryukyuan dialects: Iejima tsiiyuN\(^{190}\) (Oshio 1999: 221), Nakijin siiruN (Nakasone 1983: 173), and Shuri siiyuN ‘to turn sour’ (RGJ 1976: 470). All of these apparently represent loans from Japanese after MJ syyur- became a monograde verb. Together with the phonetic impossibility of explaining this etymology as having a Koreo-Japonic genetic heritage, this distribution makes MJ syyur- a perfect candidate for a loan from Korean that took place in a period postdating the lenition of PK *-k- to *-Ø- in some Korean dialects.

(214) (R) MK ski- ‘inserts it, thrusts it into’ ~ OJ suk- ‘id’. < PJK *sok- (Whitman 1985: 233). I really cannot find any attestations of OJ suk- with the meaning ‘to insert, to thrust’, except MJ suk-\(^{191}\) ‘to eat/drink, to gulp down something’ (JDB 1967: 384), but this seems to be too far-fetched, and I have no other choice but to dismiss this etymology as a ghost. Another decisive blow to this etymology comes from the fact that MK ski- is a later form of the word, also attested as MK pski- in slightly earlier texts (LCT 1987: 112; Nam 1997: 785).

(215) (R) MK sywó ‘cow’ ~ OJ usi HH < PJK *syu (Whitman 1985: 233). I am afraid that the resemblance between MK sywó and OJ usi is accidental: there are no other examples where MK s- would correspond to OJ *Vs-. In addition, OJ -i- certainly cannot be derived from *io. Therefore, this etymology is really based on one phoneme /s/, so I reject it.

(216) (R) MK spól- ‘sucks it’ ~ OJ sup- H ‘id’. < PJK *sopor- (Whitman 1985: 233). In both languages these are clearly onomatopoetic words, since crosslinguistically ‘sucking’ words tend to include /s/ and/or /p/ as well: English suck, German saugen, Russian sosat’, Malay isap, Mandarin Chinese xi1 < MC *xiəp, etc. Even if this word were not onomatopoetic, this etymology still faces the problem of explaining -ol- in MK spól- as a suffix, otherwise this comparison will not work. Since there is no such suffix in Korean, the etymology can be safely rejected.

(217) (R) MK swól ‘pine’ ~ OJ su- ‘cryptomeria’ < PJK *sur. Whitman adds: “Both forms occur in compounds with the word ‘tree’: MK swónámk- < swól + námk- ‘tree’; OJ suNkí ‘cryptomeria’ < su- + kí ‘tree’ (1985: 233). Apart from the observation that the only commonality between pines and cryptomerias is that both are evergreens, everything else is tantalizingly different: East Asian pines are mostly crooked, but cryptomerias are straight; cryptomerias also dwarf pines by at least 15 meters. This etymology seems ingenious, but unfortunately in its Japanese

\(^{190}\) Initial ts- in Iejima is irregular. In addition, both Iejima and Nakijin also have a verb pumichaN ‘to go sour, to rot’, that appears to be ‘native’.

\(^{191}\) No Old Japanese phonetic attestations.

\(^{192}\) This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #300.
part it is completely *ad hoc*: there is no internal Japonic evidence that OJ suNkï ‘cryptomeria’ is a compound consisting of mysterious *su + kï ‘tree’. Luckily, for our purposes, cryptomerias also grow in the Ryukyus: Nakijin sizii (Nakasone 1983: 181), Iejima siji (Oshio 1999: 170), Shuri siji (RGJ 1976: 487), Yaeyama sïgi (Miyara 1980: 307), sïgi (Miyara 1981: 286), Hatoma s’ig’i (Miyara 1980: 323). Nakijin sizii, Shuri and Iejima siji are particularly important. They cannot possibly be reflexes of PJ *siNköi, which would not undergo a process of the palatalization *g > /j/. Thus, Nakijin /zii/ and Shuri and Iejima /ji/ can correspond only to OJ /Nkî/ or /Nkï/ < *nkui; they cannot correspond to OJ /Nkï/ < *nköi. Since the root of the word ‘tree’ in pre-Old Japanese is *køy, not *kuy (cf. OJ kō-nā pa ‘tree leaves’), any attempt to see WOJ suNkï ‘cryptomeria’ as a compound including kï ~ kö- should be abandoned. Thus, WOJ suNkï represents an indivisible word, and Whitman’s etymology should be rejected.

(218) (R) MK swólá ‘dish, vessel’ ~ OJ suwe LL ‘pottery vessel manufactured chiefly by Korean potters’ < PJK *sura (+ -i) (Whitman 1985: 234). The semantics of WOJ suwe, which is also attested only in Middle Japanese and Western Old Japanese, clearly indicates that it must be a loan from Korean. However, even for a loan, the correspondence of MK -l- to WOJ -w- is problematic. Therefore, I reject this comparison.

(219) (R) MK swón ‘hand, arm’ ~ OJ sune ‘shin’ < PJK *sun (Whitman 1985: 234). MK swón means only ‘hand’, while ‘arm’ is MK pōh, and that makes the semantic side of the comparison even weaker. Cf. also Whitman’s other semantically unacceptable body parts comparisons, (57) and (250). The Ryukyuan data: Nase, Koniya sînî, Hentona śînî, Iejima sinii, Ishigaki sinï, etc., ‘shin’ (Hirayama 1966: 379) indicate PR and PJ *sune, not *sone, which also represents a problem for this comparison, because PJ *sone with *o would be expected as a cognate. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(220) This number is absent from Whitman’s list.

(221) (R) MK swóy ‘metal’ ~ OJ suNsu ‘metal bell, chimes’, MJ suzu ‘tin’ < PJK *suzu (Whitman 1985: 234). In addition to the dubious semantics, MK -Ø- does not correspond regularly to OJ -Ns-, so the etymology can be rejected.


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193 Another obstacle to this etymology is its vocalism: Ryukyuan forms clearly indicate PR and PJ *u in the first syllable, not *o.

194 As far as I can tell, the word suzu with the meaning ‘sake jar made of tin’ appears for the first time in the Edo period text Genkei keiki (IKJ 1990: 694), so it is definitely not Middle Japanese, and can be discounted for comparative purposes.

195 There is only oblique evidence in favor of sakî- vs. sakï-, as once in the Nihonshoki the name of this plant is spelled as 三草, ‘happiness-grass’, in contrast to the usual semantographic spelling 三草, ‘three-grass’ (JDB 1967: 323). Since the Western Old Japanese word for ‘happiness’ is clearly /sakî/ (JDB 1967: 322), we can presume that the reading is /sakî/.

196 It is quite clear from textual evidence that WOJ sakîkusa referred to some kind of plant that either had three stalks or whose leaves had tripartite shape. Cf.

SAKÎ-KUSA-NÖ NAKA-NI-WO ne-m-u tô UTUKUSI-ku si-Nka katar-ap-é-Npa
Whitman notes: “Saki- in this word may represent a loan” (1985: 234). Since saki- occurs only in saki-kusa and only in Western Old Japanese, it can only be a loan from Korean. In addition, it is also necessary to add that numerals usually correspond as a set if they go back to the same proto-language. If they are borrowed as independent numerals, they are also borrowed as a set. The fact that WOJ saki- ‘three’ is not an independent numeral but a part of the compound, speaks strongly in favor of a loanword relationship. Finally, I would like to note that, like many other loans from Korean to Japanese, WOJ saki- ‘three’ is extremely helpful in reconstructing the earlier shapes of Korean, as it provides another strong and independent piece of evidence that MK :seyh is a metathesized form of OK *sekì, which is also supported by MK :sek- found in combination with certain classifiers.197

(223) (R) MK sek-, K sak- ‘rots, ferments’ ~ OJ saka-/sakë ‘wine’. Cf. also OJ sakar- ‘be at peak, be in heat’, sak- ‘bloom’ < PJK *sakar- (Whitman 1985: 234). There are problems with this etymology. First, Middle Korean non-leniting -k- goes back to PK *.nk-, which does not correspond to Old Japanese voiceless -k-. Second, the semantic connection between ‘rotting’ and ‘blooming’ escapes me. I would also add that the connection between ‘rotting’ or ‘fermenting’, and ‘rice wine’ is very weak: ‘rice wine’ is ‘brewed’, not ‘rotted’ or ‘fermented’. Third, even in Japonic internally OJ sak- ‘bloom’ belongs to accent class B, and MJ sakar-198 ‘to flourish’, which has nothing to do with ‘heating’, to accent class A. In spite of their close semantics, this accent difference makes their etymological connection dubious. Thus, I reject this etymology.

(224) (L) MK sumu-, K same ‘soaks, permeates’ ~ OJ sim-, söm- ‘id., simë-, sömë- ‘lets soak, dyes’ < PJK *söme- (Whitman 1985: 234).199 This etymology appears to be a difficult case, which I will try to untangle below. MJ söm- is not attested in Old Japanese, and even in Middle Japanese examples are rare (JDB 1967: 406). WOJ sim- is attested phonetically only once (MYS XX: 4445); in all other cases, where the word is written logographically we simply do not know whether it is sim- or söm- (JDB 1967: 369). In addition, all the examples of consonantal verbs sim- and söm- I was able to trace in Middle Japanese texts seem to be limited to the cases with a following infinitive -i or final -u. In this position, we cannot say with certainty whether the verb is indeed consonantal: it may also be an upper bigrade vowel verb. Söm- seems to disappear after late Middle Japanese, and the only continuation of sim- beyond Middle Japanese is clearly in the form of the vowel verb simi-, which indicates that the alleged

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197 It seems that the same generalization can be made about the identical alternation of MK :nek- and :neyh ‘four’ < PK *neki, although comparable evidence from Western Old Japanese is lacking.

198 There are no phonetic attestations of sakar- in Old Japanese (JDB 1967: 321).

199 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #205.
consonantal sim- could actually be the bigrade simī-. The only evidence that speaks against it is the aforementioned hapax legomenon, simīnisi ‘has permeated’ in (MYS XX: 4445), but I seriously distrust such limited evidence. The restricted attestation of sóm(i)- allows me to remove it from further consideration; therefore, I limit the following discussion to WOJ sim(i)- ‘to permeate’, and simē-, sómē- ‘to dye’, none of them attested in Eastern Old Japanese with the exception of ÉOJ sómē-, which has a single attestation in MYS XX: 4424. In spite of their semantic similarity, I have grave doubts that WOJ sim(i)- and simē-, belonging to accent class A, are in fact related to WOJ sómē-, which belongs to accent class B. In any case, WOJ sim(i)- and simē- cannot be related to MK sómūy-, because MK /u/ does not regularly correspond to WOJ /i/ (Whitman 1985: 129). They can, however, be loans from Korean. This leaves only WOJ sómē- ‘to dye’ < PJ *sōmōi- as a potential cognate of MK sómūy-. The distribution in the Ryukyus presents a very interesting picture: parallels to WOJ sómē- are amply attested throughout the Northern and Central Ryukyus: Yuwan sumiyn; Izena, Namizato, Sesoko sumiN; Oku, Benoki, Kijoka, Arumi, Uezu, Maejima, Tomigusuku, Tokashiki sumiiN; and there are also two isolated attestations found in two neighboring localities on Miyako Island in the Southern Ryukyus: Higashi Nakasone and Yonaha sumī (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 411). This distribution is highly reminiscent of a loanword gradually spreading from north to south. Thus, on the basis of its distribution in Ryukyuan, I conclude that WOJ sómē- ‘to dye’ is a loanword from Korean, which subsequently spread to the Ryukyus. However, cognates of WOJ simē-, which, as we have seen above, cannot be a cognate to MK sómūy-, are found in the Ryukyus with a distribution that clearly points to a genetic relationship to WOJ simē-. With the exception of two attestations in the southern part of Okinawa Island, Henza and Kowan simiN (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 411), all other examples are found deep in the southern part of the archipelago: Tonoshiro simiruN; Hateruma simiruN (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 411); Yaeyama simuN, simaruN (intr.), simiruN (tr.) (Miyara 1981: 282). Therefore, I think that we must reconstruct PJ *simōi- on the basis of WOJ simē- and its South Ryukyuan cognates. However, it still cannot be genetically linked to MK sómūy- due to the lack of a regular correspondence for the vowel in the first syllable, as mentioned above. I believe that we are dealing here with two different layers of loans from Korean to Japonic. The early layer is represented by Korean *simuy-, borrowed as PJ *simē-, which still probably reflects the original Korean vocalism prior to vowel reduction *i > MK /u/. This early loanword would have been borrowed at the time of mutual coexistence on the Korean Peninsula, or at least before the final separation of Ryukyuan from Japanese. The later layer is represented by WOJ sómē- and the successive loans from MJ some- into Ryukyuan.

(225) (C) MK sēl- ‘clears it, washes it off’ ~ OJ saras- ‘id., leaves (to be bleached) to wind and rain’ < PJK *sar-. Whitman adds: “The original stems do not match in transitivity: OJ has sar- ‘is left to, is washed by wind and rain’” (1985: 234). I am afraid that the Old Japanese data are not
presented quite accurately. Omodaka et al. list three meanings for WOJ
sarases-: 200 (1) ‘expose to wind and rain’, (2) ‘dry and bleach by exposing to
the sun’, (3) ‘to wash [out] (by waves)’ (JDB 1967: 343). Neither the first
nor third meanings is supported by examples in phonetic spelling, but in
any case the underlying meaning seems to be ‘to expose (to the elements)’,
not ‘to wash’ or ‘to clean’. OJ sar- is a hapax legomenon attested as a kana
gloss in NR III:1. 201 Since it is a kana, not a man'yōgana gloss, it cannot
possibly be as old as Old Japanese. There is sare- ‘be exposed (to
elements)’, ‘be polished’, attested in Middle Japanese (IKJ 1990: 580),
which, however, supports the existence of an intransitive verb. Cognates of
sarases- and sare- are attested in Ryukyuan, including the South Ryukyus:
Nakijin saraasuN (Nakasone 1983: 756); Iejima sarašun, sariyuN (Oshio
1999: 134); Shuri sarasyuN, sariyuN (RGJ 1976: 460); Psara sarasu, sariirü (Shimoji 1979: 86); Yaeyama sarsiN (Miyara 1981: 255). It is a
possible etymology, but its semantics are not exciting.

provided. MK sép is likely to originate from a disyllabic form, due to the
rare low pitch on a monosyllabic noun. Since the distinction between MK
-p- and -W- is neutralized in the final position, it is difficult to say whether
it is originally from PK *senpo or *sepo. Only PK *senpo can be
genetically related to OJ siNpa, thus the etymology has only 50 percent
credibility. In addition, in order to be related to MK sép, OJ siNpa must be
from PJ *seNpa, or the regularity of the correspondences will be violated.
Cf. (227) below, where the correspondence is MK /ye/ < *i : OJ /i/ < *i.
There are no attestations in Ryukyuan, so we cannot tell whether the word
had *e or *i in the first syllable. The single attestation in Eastern Old
Japanese occurs in a poem with only one possibly typical Eastern Old
Japanese feature (MYS XIV: 3355). Therefore, on the basis of the
distribution of the word in Japonic, I think that it represents a
comparatively early loan from Korean to Japanese, prior to the lowering
of PJ *e > WOJ /i/.

(227) (L) MK :syem ‘island’ ~ OJ sima ‘id’. < PJK *sima 203 (Whitman
1985: 234). WOJ sima has cognates amply attested throughout
Ryukyuan (Hirayama 1966: 351, 1967: 334). EOJ sima also appears three
times (MYS XIV: 3367, XX: 4355, 4374), although one of these poems has
no typical Eastern Old Japanese features (MYS XIV: 3367). Therefore,
there is no doubt that here we are dealing with a Proto-Japonic lexical item.
However, the necessary condition for this comparison on the Korean side
is the assumption that Proto-Korean underwent the breaking PK *i > MK
/yec/ that was originally suggested by Yi (1959: 131-137). However, Yi’s

200 Saras- is attested once in the Eastern Old Japanese corpus, but in a poem without any
Eastern Old Japanese features (MYS XIV: 3373).
201 The context of the kanbun text indicates ‘exposing to the sun’.
202 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #30.
203 For the reconstruction of the vocalism in the first syllable, cf. (228) and (262) below.
204 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #117.
assumption is based mostly on external data of questionable nature, so it is unreliable for the purpose of establishing Koreo-Japonic cognates. Whitman does not include a correspondence of MK /ye/ : OJ /i/ in the list of his vocalic correspondences, either (Whitman 1985: 129); cf. also (29) above. Therefore, this correspondence is irregular, and the comparison should be treated as an early loan dating back to the period of mutual coexistence on the Korean peninsula. The direction of the loan is likely from Korean into Japonic, unless strong internal evidence indicating *i > /ye/ in the history of the Korean language is provided.

(228) (R) MK :syey- ‘white, it whitens’ ~ OJ sirō- LL ‘id’. < PJK *si:lV- (Whitman 1985: 234). There are two problems with this etymology. The first is the irregular correspondence of MK /ye/: OJ /i/; see also (227) above: two examples are apparently insufficient to prove the correspondence. Second, even if we suppose that MK :syey- goes back to PK *siri-, PK *i in the second syllable would not correspond regularly to OJ /ô/ or even /a/, if we take OJ siru ‘white’ into consideration as well. These two irregularities lead me to reject this etymology.

(229) (R) MK skwól ‘(grass for) pasture, fodder’ ~ OJ suNka-/suNkë LL ‘sedge’ < PJK *sugar (Whitman 1985: 234). This etymology has several problems. First, as I indicated in (188) above, the loss of postvocalic nasals in Korean must have occurred prior to vowel apocope. There is no similar direct evidence regarding vowel syncope, but indirectly the intervocalic consonant lenition *[C]V1kV2 > *[C]V1hV2, followed by the syncope of *[V1 in *CV1hV2, that led to the formation of the Middle Korean aspirates /ph/ < *pV1h-, /th/ < *tV1h-, /kh/ < *kV1h-, /ch/ < *cV1h-, speaks in favor of vowel syncope occurring after postvocalic nasal loss leading to the origin of *Ck clusters: *[C]V1Nk V2 > *CV1kV2 > *CkV2-. The obvious problem here is that we do not know the exact development of the PK *sV1kV2- and *sV1NkV2- sequences. I suggest that while PK *sV1kV2- > *sV1hV2- resulted in MK sV2- or ssV2-205, PK *sV1NkV2- > *sV1kV2- produced MK skV2-. It is not impossible, though, that both PK *sV1kV2- and *sV1NkV2- sequences merged as MK skV2-. Even if the latter solution turns out to be correct, the etymology can have only 50 percent credibility, because PK *-nk- is needed to make it compatible with OJ sunkë. Second, OJ /a/ does not correspond regularly to MK /wo/, according to Whitman’s vocalic correspondences (Whitman 1985: 129). Third, I have grave doubts that ‘sedge’ can really be used as fodder. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(230) (R) MK swúm- ‘hides, lurks in’ ~ OJ sum- ‘resides, makes one’s nest in (of animals)’ < PJK *süm- (Whitman 1985: 234). The semantic discrepancy is too great to entertain this etymology; in addition, MK swúm- with rare H pitch on the verbal stem is likely to indicate PK *Vsüm-LH, which would completely invalidate the comparison.

205 Note that MK ss- is the only ‘double’ consonant that occurred in the native Middle Korean vocabulary. Although in some cases it seems to be a late alternative of MK ps-, there are other cases like MK ssú- ‘to write’, where psu- appears only in much later texts and seems to be a hypercorrection of MK ssr-.
There are two problems with this comparison. First, although ‘charcoal’ and ‘soot’ are both black in color, the similarity ends here: while ‘charcoal’ is a product designed for burning, ‘soot’ is the by-product of burning. Second, while MK swuṣk could be a development from *swuc(V)k, since the cluster -ck is not attested in Middle Korean, it is more difficult to imagine the opposite development, with the fortition -s- > -c-: *swusuk > *swucuk > swuch, which would be responsible for a form with an affricate /-c-/ in Modern Korean. There are several Modern Korean dialects, including Ceycwuto, with the form /sut/ ‘charcoal’, which is not complicated by the suffixation found in Middle Korean and Modern Korean (Choy 1978: 642) and is spelled in modern standard orthography as {swus}. However, due to a lack of paradigmatic forms, it is not possible to conclude whether these reflect underlying /swus/ or /swuc/. If the underlying form is /swuc/, OJ susu can only be an early loanword from Korean, in spite of the fact that the word is attested throughout Ryukyuan (Hirayama 1966: 342, 1967: 317).

This etymology is discussed in the section on verbal morphology (2.3.2.13). I treat it as a likely loan from Korean into Japanese due to its morphological problems and limited distribution in Japonic.

There are several problems with this comparison. First, neither MK sìtūl- ‘withered, emaciated’, sìtūlēp- ‘tired, exhausted’ (note that the accent on the second syllable blocks loss of the weak vowel in these two forms), OJ sutare- ‘worn out, useless’” (Whitman 1985: 235). There are several problems with this comparison. First, neither MK sìtūl- ‘withered, emaciated’, nor sìtūlēp- ‘tired, exhausted’ can be an intransitive form of MK :sit-/sìlú- < *sítu- ‘loads it, puts it in’, because the former two include the non-leniting MK -t- < PK *-nt-, while the last has the leniting MK -t- < PK *-t-. Therefore, MK sìtūl- ‘withered, emaciated’, sìtūlēp- ‘tired, exhausted’ cannot be related either to OJ sute- or MJ sutare-207, because Middle Korean non-leniting -t- < PK *-nt- does not correspond regularly to OJ -t- < PJ *-t-. In addition, while ‘loading’ can make one ‘exhausted’, it is highly unlikely that it will make one ‘withered’ or ‘emaciated’. In short, semantically it is stretched beyond any credibility: we would expect the intransitive variant of ‘to load’ to be simply ‘to be loaded’. Second, I can see no connection between OJ sute- (accent class A) ‘to throw away’ and MJ sutare- ‘to decline, to become useless’ (accent class B) either phonetically or semantically. Third, OJ /u/ does not correspond regularly to MK /i/, according to Whitman’s vocalic correspondences (Whitman 1985: 129). Therefore, I reject this etymology.

206 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #208.
3.2.9 *z-

Whitman presents only two etymologies to support PJK *z-, and both have very different reflexes in Old Japanese. While this Proto–Japanese-Korean phoneme should be rejected,208 this does not automatically invalidate the etymologies that I discuss below.

(234) (R) MK :sel ‘new year, year of age’ ~ OJ -Nsō in kīNsō ‘last year’ < kō ‘this’ + sō < PJK *se:ɾ/*ze:ɾ. Whitman adds: “OJ voicing may be secondary due to rendaku” (Whitman 1985: 235). First, OJ kīNsō meaning ‘last year’ is a ghost: there is WOJ kōsō/kīNsō209 and EOJ kōsō ‘last night’, but ‘last year’ is only WOJ kōNsō (JDB 1967: 241, 295). The fact that there are OJ kī[N]sō ‘last night’ and WOJ kōNsō ‘last year’ makes Whitman’s interpretation of OJ -[N]sō as ‘year’ very doubtful. It is much more realistic to assume that both OJ kī[N]sō ‘last night’ and WOJ kōNsō ‘last year’ are compounds, and at present their etymologies are beyond our knowledge. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(235) (R) MK :sil ‘thread’ ~ OJ itō ‘id’. < PJK *zitōr? (Whitman 1985: 235). The correspondence of MK /s-/ to OJ /Ø-/ is unique for this example, so it has to be treated as irregular. In addition, although MK :sil ‘thread’ must have originated from a disyllabic structure, we have no way of knowing whether the Proto-Korean form was *sìlú or *sìtú, and only the second form could be comparable to OJ itō. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

3.2.10 *š-

As the reader will see below, the reconstruction of PJK *š- based on the alleged correspondence of MK h- to OJ s- is questionable considering the etymologies that are supposed to support it. This new Proto–Japanese-Korean phoneme also has a unique distribution (it occurs only in initial position), and this also makes it dubious.

(236) (R) MK hânlh ‘sky’ ~ OJ sôra LF 210 ‘id’. < PJK *šanora (Whitman 1985: 235). In addition to the unrealistic correspondence of MK /s-/ to OJ /Ø-/ is unique for this example, it cannot be verified internally. See also (5) above for more detailed discussion and (264) below. I reject this etymology.

(237) (R) MK hō- ‘does’ ~ OJ su- ‘id’. < PJK *šo- (Whitman 1985: 235). This etymology is potentially acceptable, but certainly not as it is presented. First, the Middle Korean verb exhibits the variation of two stems: ho- and hoy-, but assigning any inherent pitch for them is premature, because this verb belongs to a verbal class with extremely irregular accentual behavior (Kim Wancin 1973: 57; Ramsey 1991: 232). The stem

208 Martin also believes that Whitman’s PJK *z- is unconvincing (Martin 1991: 273).
209 WOJ kōNsō ‘last night’ is likely to be a ghost: it tentatively occurs only once spelled as 伎賊 in MYS II: 150. The problem is that the man’yōgana sign 賊 that has an alleged reading /Nsō/ (JDB 1967: 896) does not occur anywhere else in the Western Old Japanese corpus.
210 OJ sôra should be LH (2.4), not LF (2.5) (Hirayama 1989: 432; Martin 1987: 530).
of the Old Japanese verb is clearly se, not su-, but we have no internal Japonic evidence indicating whether this OJ se- is from PJ *sia- or PJ *sai-. Martin speculated that the Middle Korean form hoy- might be a result of metathesis hoy- < *hyo- (1996: 36). The Ceycwuto dialect has evidence for ho- (Ceycwu pangen yenkwuhoy 1995: 601), and hoy- (Kim Chwunghoy et al. 1995: 176), but not for *hyo-, as far as I can tell. Since Ceycwu is the only Korean dialect that preserves PK *ya as /yo/, Martin’s speculation seems to be unsupported by data, and we have to assume that MK hoy- < *hoy-, not *hyo-. It is possible to suggest a common origin for OJ se- and MK ho-/hoy- only if we can cogently demonstrate that OJ se- is from PJ *sia- and that MK hoy- is from PK *hyo-. However, because it is impossible to prove that OJ se- goes back to PJ *sia on the basis of internal Japonic data, and because the development of MK hoy- < *hyo- seems unlikely as well, the genetic comparison of the two items is, even in the best case, a hypothesis that is built on two other unproven hypotheses. Therefore, for the time being this etymology must be rejected. See also (244) below.


(239) (R) MK ho-, hön-, hönŏh̀213 ‘one’ ~ OJ su- L ‘plain, unadorned’ < PJK *son (Whitman 1985: 235). In addition to the vague semantics, there are two significant problems with this comparison. First, OJ su ‘plain, unadorned’ is a loan from MC swo ‘plain, simple, unadorned’ (Vovin 1993b: 340). Second, the original nature of the nasal in MK hönah is dubious in light of EMK xattun (Kyeylim #19) and OK HAton ‘one’ (Hyangka VII: 6, 8; XI: 7). Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(240) (R) MK hwō- in hwōwak214 ‘mortar’ ~ OJ usu LH ‘id’. < PJK *su (+ -Vk diminutive). Whitman comments: “The MK form is a compound of hwo + -pak (suffix forming vulgar nouns). Note the prothetic [sic] vowel in the OJ form from the monosyllabic PJK root *so” (1985: 236). There are three problems with this etymology. First, the assumption that OJ usu ‘mortar’ has a ‘prothetic’ initial /u/- is ad hoc: it is not only unsupported by internal Japonic evidence, but is directly contradicted by it, since there are plenty of Japonic words with initial /s/- that have no such /u-/. Second, there is no evidence for the segmentation of the suffix -pak ‘forming vulgar nouns’ in MK hwō/[G]wak, because the suffix is actually -ppak (Martin 1992: 758) and is not attested in Middle Korean. The Middle Korean form is likely to have been hwōGwak with -G-, and not hwōwak. Third, it remains unclear why ‘mortar’ should be a ‘vulgar’ noun. Therefore, I dismiss this etymology due to these phonetic and morphological problems.

211 Kim Cwuwen has presented persuasive argumentation that Ceycwu /yo/ in fact reflects not PK *yo, but PK *ya (Kim Cwuwen 1994: 275-296).

212 A ghost form, as far as I can tell.


214 Actually, the correct Middle Korean form is hwōGwak (LL, not LH) (Hwungmwong II: 11a). See also LCT (1987: 756) and Nam (1997: 1416), which also treat MK hwōGwak as LL.
(241) (R) MK héli ‘waist, small of the back’ ~ OJ sō-/se ‘(anatomical) back’ < PJK *sér. Whitman adds: “OJ sō- (in compounds) is an exception to the normal vowel alternation of nouns in /-ë/, where /a-/ ~ /ë/ is expected. This exception is explained by the fact that the original Proto–Japanese–Korean vowel was *e” (1985: 236). However, today we know that WOJ /ë/ had two different sources: *ai (more frequent) and *öi (less frequent), so the Proto-Japonic vowel is clearly *ö. This creates a problem for the regularity of the phonetic correspondences, since according to Whitman’s rules WOJ /ö/ corresponds to MK /e/ only when found in final position or in a word with another /ö/ (Whitman 1985: 129). However, WOJ /ö/ is not found in final position in this word, because it is always followed by the second element of a compound. In addition, the etymology rests on the assumption of *-r- loss in Old Japanese, which cannot be verified internally. This leaves us only with the correspondence MK /h-/ : OJ /s-/ which this etymology is supposed to prove. However, since everything else is problematic, I reject this etymology.

(242) (L) MK hyé ‘tongue’ < hyel (Yi Kimun 1959215) ~ OJ sita LL < PJK *šita or *šito216 (Whitman 1985: 236). I have demonstrated elsewhere that the Early Middle Korean word for ‘tongue’ that is transcribed in Kyeylm yusa (#169) as 늠 (LMC xiat) should be hyet with final /l/ rather than /v/ (Vovin 2000: 145-146). The correspondence of MK /ye/ to OJ /i/ is irregular, as mentioned in (227) above. Similar to the case of MK :syem ~ OJ sima ‘island’ (227), cognates of WOJ sita ‘tongue’ (not attested in Eastern Old Japanese) are found in Ryukyuan, although cognates of WOJ sita ‘tongue’ are not attested throughout the Ryukyus, but in multiple locations in the Southern Ryukyus (Hirayama 1966: 365; 1967: 363), making the Proto-Japonic status for *sita beyond any doubt. Since the correspondence of MK /ye/ to WOJ /i/ is irregular, I suspect that similar to WOJ sima ‘island’, WOJ sita ‘tongue’ represents an early loan from Korean.217 WOJ /s-/ in this word is likely to be explained as a palatalization of Korean /h-/ preceding /i/, a phenomenon which is widespread in northeast Asia well beyond Japonic and Korean. Such Korean dialect forms as settε, settegi, and settii ‘tongue’ (Choy 1978: 426) exhibit the same kind of palatalization. Therefore, we do not need to reconstruct PJK *s- here.

(243) (R) MK hùn-hò- ‘is plentiful’ < hùn + hò- ‘do’ ~ OJ sön- ‘id’. in sönτar ‘is plentifully adequate’ < sön + τar- ‘is adequate’; sönapë- ‘completely supplies’, sönapar- ‘is completely supplied’ < sön + apë- ‘joins it, makes it meet’ < PJK *sön (Whitman 1985: 236). There are problems with this comparison. First, assigning the meaning ‘adequate’ to *sön- in sönτar- is speculative at best; see other suggestions listed in

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215 Probably a typographical error for Yi Kimun (1957: 399-403).
216 For the reconstruction of the vocalism in the first syllable, cf. (227) above and (262) below.
217 Notice, though, that the parallelism is incomplete: MK :syem ‘island’ has R pitch, indicating disyllabic structure, while MK hyé ‘tongue’, with H pitch, provides no internal evidence for disyllabic structure. Both OJ sima ‘island’ and sita ‘tongue’ are LL (2.3).
Martin (1987: 754), which are also speculative. One also should not forget that WOJ söNtar- is a hapax legomenon, attested phonetically only once in the Bussoku seki ka:

misô-ti amar-i puta-tu n-ö katati yasô kusa tô söNtar-er-u pitô thirty-CL exceed-INF two-CL DV-ATTR mark eighty type DV be complete-PROG-ATTR person

a person, who is complete with thirty-two marks and eighty [lesser sign] types (BS 2)

Luckily for us, this text refers to the very well-known definition of the Buddha, who is said to have been endowed with thirty-two marks of wisdom and eighty of noble birth. Thus, Whitman’s gloss ‘plentifully adequate’ may be not quite appropriate. ‘Plentifully complete’ or ‘plentifully supplied’ is probably closer. Finally, we have no real internal evidence for segmenting WOJ söNtar- into *sôn-tar-, and the same applies to sönapê- ‘prepare, make offering to the gods’ (JDB 1967: 403) as well. Phonetic attestations of WOJ sönapê- are wanting, so writing /ö/ in this verb is based on sönapar- ‘be supplied’, which has a single Western Old Japanese phonetic attestation that is, of course, a hapax legumenon (JDB 1967: 402). As if the issue were not muddied enough, there is also WOJ sönap- with kô-rui /ô/, which is not a hapax legumenon, but whose meaning is not quite clear: it probably means ‘be completely supplied’ (JDB 1967: 402). None of these words is attested in Eastern Old Japanese, but there are attestations in the Southern Ryukyus: Psara sunairü (Shimoji 1979: 106), Yaeyama sunairuN (Miyara 1980: 345). Therefore, there must be a Proto-Japonic etymon, but it is unclear how to reconstruct it. Thus, several problems on the Japonic side invoke reasonable doubt in the reliability of the comparison with Korean. Second, MK hùn-hò- ‘is plentiful’ also appears to be problematic, as it has a very un-Korean look: derived verbs with the dummy verb ho- ‘to do’ usually have roots of Chinese origin. I believe that such is the case here, although Korean dictionaries normally treat the word as native. I suspect that MK hùn is just the Sino-Korean reading of the Chinese character 很 ‘very, extreme’. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(244) (R) MK hùy-/hóy- ‘white’ ~ OJ sirô-(si) LL, sira- LL (in compounds) ‘id’. < PJK *šori (+rV) (Whitman 1985: 236). We have already seen a different comparison of OJ sirô- ‘white’ with MK :syey- ‘white, it whitens’ (see [228] above). Methodologically it is impossible for the same Old Japanese word to correspond genetically to two different Middle Korean words, but since I have already rejected the comparison with MK :syey- in (228), I am going to give this comparison the benefit of the doubt, and evaluate it on its own merits. However, a correspondence of either MK /o/ or /u/ to OJ /i/ is irregular, but the assumption can be made that the same kind of metathesis occurred in MK hóy- < *hyo-, as described for MK hóy- ‘do’, compared with OJ se- ‘do’ in (237) above. But there is no internal Korean evidence for this metathesis, and a simple
comparison of Middle Korean (including hypothesized Proto-Korean) forms with Old Japanese (including hypothesized Proto-Japonic) forms still reveals a lack of regularity in the correspondences:

Chart 31:
‘Do’ and ‘white’ in Korean and Japonic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>MK</th>
<th>PK</th>
<th>OJ</th>
<th>PJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘do’</td>
<td>hóy-</td>
<td>*hyo-</td>
<td>se-</td>
<td>*sia-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘white’</td>
<td>hóy-</td>
<td>*hyo-</td>
<td>sira-</td>
<td>*sira-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In particular, it remains unclear why Japonic keeps an *-r- in the second case, but loses it in the first. Therefore, I reject this etymology on the basis of the irregularity in the correspondences.

In conclusion, a survey of Whitman’s etymologies in support of the PJK *š- demonstrates that the reconstruction of this phoneme is not warranted.

3.2.11 *m-

(245) (R) MK màc- ‘goes to meet, receives it’ ~ OJ mat- ‘awaits it’ < PJK *mac- (Whitman 1985: 236). Phonetically the comparison is impeccable. OJ mat- ‘to wait’ has reliable cognates amply attested in Eastern Old Japanese and throughout Ryukyuan (Hirayama 1966: 398; 1967: 427), but the semantic side of the comparison is very weak: ‘waiting’ does not necessarily imply ‘receiving’ or ‘meeting’. Old Japanese texts frequently offer evidence for ‘waiting in vain’. Therefore, I reject this comparison.

(246) (R) MK màc- ‘is correct, matches (something), hits the mark’ ~ OJ ma- ‘the true one’ (nominal prefix), masa ‘correct(ness)’ < PJK *mac- (Whitman 1985: 236). As Whitman himself comments, -sa in OJ masa is a nominalizing prefix (1985: 236). Thus, we have a morphemic boundary in Old Japanese between ma- and -sa, but no evidence for the same boundary in MK màc-. Even if we disregard this boundary, the correspondence of MK -c- to OJ -t- in (245) above and of MK -c- to OJ -s- in this etymology brings up the issue of regularity of correspondences: certainly both cases cannot go back to PJK *mac-, as suggested by Whitman. Therefore, I reject this etymology on the basis of its irregularity.

(247) (R) LMK mah, K cang-ma ‘long rain, rainy season’ ~ OJ ama- ~ amë LF ‘rain’ < PJK *o:mago (Whitman 1985: 236). Whitman’s LMK is in fact Early Modern Korean. EMdK mah is a hapax legomenon attested only in Yun Sentwo’s collection Kwosan yukwo (1791) (Nam 1997: 523; LCT 1987: 296). Even if we place our faith in this single attestation of Korean mah in the late eighteenth century, the final -h might be a suffix -h found in a number of other nouns, therefore the reconstruction of PJK *o:mago with -go is unwarranted. Moreover, given the enormous size of the Middle Korean corpus, the lack of attestation of mah in Middle Korean

218 Also in Martin (1966), #139.
219 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #53.
is puzzling. In addition, a correspondence of OJ *am- to MK *m- seems to be supported by only one more example (see [251] below), which brings a reasonable doubt to the correspondence. Finally, OJ *ama-/amë ‘rain’ appears as the second element of compounds with initial *s-, e.g., *paru-samë ‘spring rain’ (JDB 1967: 601), *kô-samë ‘small rain’ (JDB 1967: 291). These compounds introduce another problem to the comparison with Korean, despite the fact that we do not know the exact value of this initial consonant in Old Japanese, which surfaces only in compounds. How do we explain the loss of the whole first syllable *Ca- in Korean? All these problems seem to cry for internal explanations before we can allow this comparison.

(248) (R) MK :mal- negative imperative ~ OJ mana HL ‘id’. (uninflected) < PJK *mara (Whitman 1985: 236). There are no phonetic examples of *mana attested in Old Japanese, although it does appear in Middle Japanese (JDB 1967: 685; IKJ 1990: 1197). However, the fact that MJ *mana is essentially used as a prohibitive interjection, while MK :mal- is a verb with a full set of forms, should create a reasonable doubt to the possibility of a genetic relationship in the first place. This doubt is further strengthened by the fact that MK -l- does not regularly correspond to OJ -n-. The suggestion by Omodaka et al. that MJ *mana is a hybrid of MC /mjut/ or MC /muw/ plus the Old Japanese prohibitive particle -na (JDB 1967: 685) should be rejected due to the phonetic differences between the Middle Chinese forms and OJ /ma/ as well as the fact that OJ -na is not really a ‘particle’. There are no cognates of MJ *mana in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan, and this causes further doubt about the archaic nature of the Middle Japanese word. It is also difficult to imagine a specific Korean form from which it could be borrowed, so the comparison is best rejected.

(249) (L) MK målh ‘stake, post’ ~ OJ *mara LL ‘phallus’ < PJK *mara (Whitman 1985: 236). A tentative etymology connecting WOJ *mara ‘penis’ with WOJ mar- ‘to have a bowel movement, to have diarrhea’ (JDB 1967: 692) should be discarded as a folk etymology. Nevertheless, WOJ *mara ‘penis’ is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese, Middle Japanese, and Ryukyuan. Therefore, it might have a connection with MK målh ‘stake, post’, but only as a loanword due to its distribution in Japonic.

(250) (R) MK målí/mèlí ‘head’ ~ OJ ma-/më L ‘eyes’ < PJK *mar or *mer (Whitman 1985: 237). This comparison is dependent on the assumption of *-r- loss in Japonic, which cannot be verified internally in this case. In addition, MK målí < *mati, as demonstrated by EMK 麻帝 /mati/ (Kyeylim #161). Therefore, MK -l- here is from PK *-t-, and comparison with a hypothetical PJ *-r- is not applicable in any case.

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220 Both PJ *hama- and *zama- have been suggested, but both appear to be speculative.

221 Traditional grammar treats -na as a negative imperative particle following the final (shūshikei) forms of verbs, but this is apparently not true in light of the Ryukyuan evidence: cf. Shuri final kachuN ‘writes’ < *kak-i-uN, with a negative imperative kak-una ‘do not write’. The lack of palatalization in the latter form clearly shows that we have a Shuri (and Old Japanese) inceptive negative imperative form -una < PJ *-ona that directly follows verbal roots.
Finally, the semantic side of the comparison, like some of Whitman’s other comparisons involving body parts, is forced. Although cases of compounding like ‘face’ = ‘nose’ + ‘eye’ are widely attested in the languages of the world, especially in the languages of Southeast Asia, to the best of my knowledge, semantic shifts like ‘head’ => ‘eye’ or ‘eye’ => ‘head’ do not occur. See also (57) and (219) above. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(251) (R) MK más ‘flavor, food’ ~ OJ uma-(si) ‘flavorful, delicious’, amaf-(si) ‘sweet’. Whitman notes: “The OJ a/o alternation points to original *o. The MK verb is a nominalization in *-s from PJK *oma” (1985: 237). Some minor corrections to Whitman’s data are necessary before discussing this etymology at length. First, I cannot see any alternation a/o in Old Japanese, as there is an alternation a/u, if it is an alternation at all; quite possibly we are looking at two completely different words here, since WOJ uma-is ‘good, excellent, delicious’ and WOJ ama-is ‘sweet, delicious(?)’. In addition, it is not quite clear from the comparative Japonic perspective, whether WOJ uma- goes back to PJ *uma-, *oma-, or *muma- (Vovin 2005a: 57-58), so it is better left out of the equation. Second, MK más is certainly not a nominalized verb, since no verbal form is present in any variety of Korean. Thus, segmenting final -s as a nominalizing suffix in MK más is more than questionable. Besides these preliminary considerations, even if we concentrate just on the comparison of WOJ uma- ‘sweet’ (which has cognates attested throughout Ryukyuan) with MK más, there is the same irregular correspondence of MK *m- to OJ am- seen in (247) above. And there is the problem of semantic discrepancy: ‘flavor, food’ vs. ‘sweet’. Although it is possible to bridge this difference, given the other phonetic and morphological problems that this comparison involves, it is best discarded.

(252) (L) MK màth ‘garden, plot of land for agricultural purposes’ ~ OJ mati HL ‘id’. < PJK *mato (Whitman 1985: 237). First of all, WOJ mati has another meaning, ‘measurement of land’, but this is phonetically attested for the first time only in the Saibara uta (JDB 1967: 680), which can be called an Old Japanese text only if we stretch the definition. ‘Plot of land’ seems to be an archetypal meaning. There are no attestations in Eastern Old Japanese. The meaning ‘section of a city, town’ is attested in Central Japanese starting from Early Middle Japanese, and it survives up to this day. In the latter meaning the word was also borrowed into virtually every Ryukyuan dialect, but the secondary semantics, as well as the phonetics, clearly indicate that it is a loan from Japanese. In the Southern Ryukyus both Ikema and Ishigaki have matši (Hirayama 1966: 313) instead of *matši, which should be expected if it were a real cognate. Therefore, the etymology can be accepted, but only as a loan from Korean into Japanese.

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222 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #284.
223 There are no phonetic attestations of WOJ ama- in the meaning ‘tasty, delicious’ (JDB 1967: 42).
Lexical Comparisons

(253) (L) MK mól ‘edible seaweed’224 ~ OJ mô, më ‘id’.225 < PJK *mor. Whitman adds: “This comparison assumes OJ mô. The two OJ forms are interesting, since they show a variant without absorption of -i (PJK *mol > pre-OJ *mura > OJ mô), and the one with it (*mol > *mal+i > më)” (1985: 237). There are multiple problems with this comparison. First, there is no evidence in favor of WOJ mô vs. mô based on textual attestations: although the word is written as 毛/mô/ in several cases, none of them in texts that faithfully preserve the distinction between /mô/ and /mö/. Nomokoda et al. avoid the identification and read the word as /mo/ with an unclear /o/ -type vowel (JDB 1967: 737). Second, the alternation mo ~ më in Western Old Japanese rather points towards pre-WOJ *mô, since WOJ /ë/ can go back to *ô, but it cannot go back to *ö. Third, Whitman’s comparison again depends on postulating *-r- loss for Japanese, which cannot be verified internally. Fourth, the suggested development of PJK *mol to pre-OJ *mula is speculative: not only does it involve reconstruction of an otherwise unproven *-r-, it also adds another unwarranted vowel *-a, apparently based on the necessity of deriving WOJ *mô from *mua. However, as we have seen above, the data do not warrant WOJ mô < *mua, so the argument for reconstruction of pre-WOJ *mura is completely circular. Fifth, if we decide that pre-WOJ *mô is the most likely form underlying both WOJ mo and më, then MK /o/ no longer corresponds regularly to WOJ /ë/ in Whitman’s system of vocalic correspondences (Whitman 1985: 129). To the best of my knowledge, WOJ mo ~ më ‘[edible] seaweed’ does not have any cognates in Eastern Old Japanese, and Ryukyuan. It is likely to be another loanword from Korean.

(254) (R) Discussed and rejected in (16) above.

(255) (R) MK máh ‘yam’ ~ OJ umô ‘id’.226 < PJK *omogo. Whitman comments: “This comparison assumes original [P]K *móh. Note that MK /o/ does not survive in monosyllabic open syllable noun stems (including those in -h)” (1985: 237). First, MK máh is a monosyllabic noun with a closed syllable: the fact that final -h disappears in certain environments, including positions where it is isolated, means that this noun does not really have an open syllable. Second, MK /o/ perfectly ‘survives’ in MK tô ‘place’ and sô ‘thing, matter’, so the reconstruction of MK máh as *môh appears to be unmotivated. Third, I see no grounds for Whitman’s /ö/ in his WOJ umô: the word is attested phonetically quite late, so Omokoda et al. wisely transcribed it as umô with an ‘unknown’ type of /o/ (JDB 1967: 133). Moreover, since there are no cases in which WOJ /w/ and /ö/ combine within the same root, the word is likely to be *umô, with a く-roui vowel /ô/.227 Fourth, in any case neither WOJ /ö/ nor WOJ /ô/ corresponds

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224 As far as I can tell from the textual examples, MK mól is ‘seaweed’, but not necessarily ‘edible’ (Nam 1997: 627; LCT 1987: 289).
225 Not all types of seaweed designated by WOJ mo ~ më are edible, but many are.
226 Also ‘taro’ in Old Japanese.
227 Ryukyuan dialects also indicate PR *umo > Oku, Kijoka, Sesoko Destroyed; Henza, Kowan, Maejima, Kumejima, etc. Destroyed; Higashi Nakasone, Yonaha mm (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 366), therefore Japanese ume attested from Middle Japanese (IKJ 1990: 135) is
regularly to MK /a/ or /o/. Fifth, this etymology rests on the assumption of a correspondence of WOJ /um-/ to MK /m-/ . We have already seen two cases above where WOJ /am-/ was claimed to correspond to MK /m-/ in (247) and (251). However, the regularity of this correspondence becomes even more questionable due to the present comparison, where we have not WOJ /am-/ , but WOJ /um-/ : since in other etymologies Whitman suggests a straightforward correspondence of OJ /m-/ to MK /m-/ , the unconditioned loss of an initial vowel in Middle Korean is not convincing. See also (265) below, where one more initial vowel is unconditionally lost in Middle Korean before /m-/. Due to these multiple problems, I reject this etymology.

(256) (R) Discussed and rejected in (16) above.

(257) (R) MK mòyn- (prenoun) ‘nothing but, lots, many, all’ ~ OJ mîna ‘all’ < PJK *moyn (Whitman 1985: 237). There is one serious problem with this etymology. MK mòyn- does not appear to have the meaning ‘lots, many, all’. It is rather ‘bare, nothing but, naked’, as one can deduce from the numerous textual examples cited in Nam (1997: 636-637) and LCT (1987: 295). This prenoun also appears rather late in Middle Korean: the first attestation is around 1515 (Penwo I: 25). This late appearance and exclusively adnominal usage suggests that MK mòyn is a secondary development. I think it is the grammaticalized realis attributive form mòy-n of the Middle Korean verb mòy- ‘to tie, to bind, to restrict, to confine’. Therefore, any analogy with OJ mîna is superficial, so I reject this etymology.

(258) (R) MK mòzòm ‘heart’ ~ OJ muna-/mune HL ‘chest, heart’ < PJK *mosom (Whitman 1985: 237). MK /-z-/ < PK *-s- does not correspond regularly to OJ /-n-/ < PJ *-n-, so this etymology can be safely rejected.

(259) (L) MK mwöm ‘body’ ~ OJ mu-/mï ‘id’. < PJK *mum (Whitman 1985: 237).228 The etymology is phonetically impeccable, but it clearly represents a loan from Korean into Japanese, because cognates of WOJ mï ‘body’ are not found in Ryukyuan. There is only one attestation in Eastern Old Japanese (MYS XIV: 3485).

(260) (L) MK :mwoyih ‘mountain’ ~ OJ mure ‘id’. < PJK *mùrág(+ -i). Whitman adds: “OJ mure mainly occurs in place names, and is identified (JDB 1967: 730-731) as a possible Korean loan” (1985: 237). I agree with Omodaka et al.: OJ mure ‘mountain’ is limited to Western Old Japanese, with no attestations in Ryukyuan and Eastern Old Japanese; therefore it can only be a loan. The -l- in the original Korean form is confirmed by MK mwólwó ‘mountain’, attested once in the commentary to the Yongpi echenka (YP IV: 21b).

(261) (R) MK mék- ‘embraces it, cherishes it’ ~ OJ mak- ‘embraces as a wife’ < PJK *mek-. Whitman comments: “The glosses cited make this comparison straightforward, but OJ mák- ‘enfold, roll up, encircle’ is usually identified as cognate with mak- ‘embrace’. MK mék- ‘eats it, takes

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228 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #19.
it’ is likely cognate with the MK verb and thus should complete the semantic range of PJK *mek-” (Whitman 1985: 237). There are several problems with this etymology. First, MK mèk- means ‘to take’ only in the sense ‘to eat’, no ‘embracing’ is involved, therefore, I fail to see any connection with MK mèk-, which incidentally has nothing to do with physical ‘embracing’ or ‘encircling’, either. It means ‘to embrace, to harbor, to express, to have (a feeling), to wear (a smile)’. Cf. the following examples:

syelp-kwo ayGwatp-un ptut-ul mek-e kaskasulwo sa-ni noni sad-GER resentful-REAL/ATTR feeling-ACC harbor-INF barely live-REAL/ATTR-NML 1psQUOT I say, [I] am sad, and harboring resentful feelings, [I] barely live (Sek VI: 5a)

nguysim-ul mek-wu-m-ul myen thi mwot ho-mye doubt-ACC have-MOD-NML-ACC allow do/INF cannot do-GER it cannot be allowed to have any doubts (Wenkak II.2.1: 49b)

nimkum-i wuzwum-ul mek-usy-a king-NOM smile-ACC wear-HON-INF the king, wearing a smile (Twusi cho XVI: 27a)

I think the semantic gap is too great to accept this etymology. Relying on the English glosses, which can involve ‘embrace’ in both cases, is rather misleading.

(262) (R) MK :mel- ‘far, distant, remote’ ~ OJ mara-/mare- HH (non-inflected adjective) ‘rare, far off’ < PJK *mere/*mara. Whitman comments: “The OJ adjective mare has the sense of ‘rare, seldom seen’, but the original meaning of the gloss is clear from OJ marapîtö ‘visitor from afar’ < mara + pîtö ‘person’” (1985: 238). I wonder on what source Whitman bases his definition ‘visitor from afar’. Omodaka et al. simply gloss it as ‘a person who came to visit from outside/another place, guest’ (JDB 1967: 692), and the textual evidence I am aware of does not indicate distance. WOJ marapîtö is certainly just ‘guest’, lit. ‘a person [who is] rare[ly seen]’, as one normally does not see guests every day. Therefore, the connection between the Korean and the Japanese words is semantically forced, and I reject this etymology.

(263) (L) MK :myel ‘lizard-tail’ (Smilax) ~ OJ mîra ‘leek’ (Allium porrum) < PJK *mi:ra229 (Whitman 1985: 238). One of the most difficult things in comparative linguistics is to correctly compare the names of species of plants and animals so they do not become random comparisons of unrelated flora and fauna. However, in this particular case, Whitman is absolutely right: both plants not only belong to the Liliaceae family (Jpn.

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229 It is not clear why Whitman reconstructs long PJK *i: in this case, but does not in two other cases that have the same irregular correspondence of MK /ye/ to OJ /i/ or /i/. Cf. (227) and (242) above.
Yuri-ka), but also to the Alliaceae genus (Jpn. Negi-zoku), in spite of their somewhat confusing definitions in the bilingual Japanese-English and Korean-Japanese dictionaries. This fact, however, does not provide us with a guarantee that we are dealing with a Koreo-Japonic cognate here. The correspondence of MK /ye/ to WOJ /î/ is irregular. WOJ mîra ‘leek’ also appears as mira and nîra in Middle Japanese (JDB 1967: 718), with the latter form surviving to this day. It is also attested in the Central Ryukyus: Shuri cirî-bîra (RGJ 1976: 162), Nakijin ciribiraa (Nakasone 1983: 285); and in the South Ryukyus: Aragusuku bî:da, Ishigaki bî:ra, Hateruma bîra, Taketomi, Kurojima, Hatoma bîra, Yonaguni n:da: (Miyara 1981: 217). The distribution points to a Koreo-Japonic cognate, but the problem here is in the irregular correspondences of not just the initial consonant (with m- ~ n- variation in Japanese and b- ~ n- in Ryukyuan), but also with the reflexes of the vowel in the first syllable, where only Aragusuku and Hateruma /î/ seem to correspond regularly to WOJ /î/. The other South Ryukyuan data do not. Due to these irregularities I believe that this is another early loan from Korean to Japanese, which subsequently spread to Ryukyuan.

(264) (R) MK myènól, myènólí231 ‘wife, son’s wife, daughter-in-law’; also âmh ‘female’ ~ OJ mê, mîna ‘woman’. Whitman comments: “OJ mîna appears in womîna ‘young woman’ < wo ‘little’ + mîna and omina ‘old woman’ < o (? ‘great’) + mîna. Both of these forms have alternate traditional readings womuna and omona, suggesting original PJK *myonor ‘woman’. … I suggested in (3.1.5.2.) [Whitman 1985: 152 — A.V.] that MK myènól represents something close to the original form with J mê derived through loss of medial *-n- from a protoform of the shape *mi:nar. Another possibility suggested by MK âmh is a protoform *mi:ga, with breaking of *i and metathesis in K[orean] to give MK âmh” (Whitman 1985: 238). However, this etymology is beset by multiple problems. First, through a standard application of the comparative method, OJ mê ‘woman’ cannot possibly be related to both MK myènólí ‘daughter-in-law’ and âmh ‘female’ at the same time: only one can be a genuine cognate. So one can discuss these two etymological proposals separately, but not together. The relationship to MK âmh ‘female (of animals)’ involves a metathesis, which cannot be cogently demonstrated on the basis of the internal Korean data, and in addition, MK -h is in all likelihood just a suffix there. Thus, this etymology can be rejected from the start. Moving on to Whitman’s second proposal, MK myènólí does not mean ‘wife’ at all, but only ‘daughter-in-law (son’s wife)’ (LCT 1987: 316; Nam 1997: 557). Thus the meaning of ‘wife’ cited by Whitman seems to be ‘imported’ to improve the comparison with OJ mê ‘woman, wife’. Third, omina ‘old woman’ does not appear in phonetic attestations until the Heian period, and omona ‘id’. appears only as a late kana gloss for the word written semantographically in the Nihonshoki (JDB 1967: 164). In any case, the contraction ope- ‘big, great’ > o- is not feasible for Old Japanese from the viewpoint of historical

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230 No attestations in Eastern Old Japanese.
231 Also MK myénólí (LCT 1987: 316; Nam 1997: 557).
phonology, so neither MJ omina nor omuna can be used as reliable evidence for the segmentation of -mina in OJ womina ‘[young] woman’. Likewise, womuna ‘woman’ is not attested in Old Japanese, and appears for the first time only in Middle Japanese. In addition, OJ -mê ‘woman’ is attested as such as the second element in compounds, e.g., wotô-mê ‘young woman’, making Whitman’s claim that OJ -mina is an archaic form of OJ mê, preserved as such without undergoing *-n- loss in the compound wo-mîna, even more doubtful: most likely, the two forms are completely unrelated. Finally, the suggested *-n- loss (Whitman 1985: 148-152) is very speculative. In the case of the two other etymologies that allegedly include it (see [5] and [236] above), the Japonic forms at least include another *-r- to which allegedly the preceding *-n- is assimilated before being lost according to *-r- loss. In this case we do not have any evidence for a Japonic word containing *-r- at all. Due to all these problems, I reject this etymology.

(265) (R) MK múkêp- ‘heavy’ ~ OJ omo-(si) ‘id’. < PJK *ömô-. Whitman notes: ‘MK -kap/-kep- ‘like’ forms adjectives from noun, adjective, and verb stems. OJ omosi- is a so-called ‘si-adjective’ where the adjectival suffix -si has been incorporated into the original stem. The fact that omo- is the original stem is attested by MJ omor- ‘get heavy, weigh’, omori ‘weight’’ (1985: 238). First of all, OJ omo- is not a ‘si-adjective’: although Old Japanese phonetic attestations are unfortunately lacking, omo-kî ‘heavy-ATTR’ in OMO-KÎ UMA-NI-ni ‘to the heavy horse load’ (MYS V: 897) can be read only as omo-kî, not as omosi-kî from considerations of poetic meter. This can be further supported by later Middle Japanese phonetic attestations. This fact actually improves Whitman’s comparison, but the phonetic problem of unconditioned vowel loss in the Middle Korean form, which has already been addressed in (247), (251), and (255) above, remains. Another problem is that, while the adjective-forming Middle Korean suffix -kap/-kep- is mentioned in the traditional grammar (LCT 1987: 30, 49; Nam 1997: 35, 68), it likely presents a misanalysis, since the suffix in question should be -âp/-êp-,234 as correctly analyzed by Martin (1992: 482). Thus the Middle Korean root should be not *mu-, but muk- ‘heavy’ < PK *munk-, which, of course, cannot be compared to OJ and MJ omo- ‘heavy’ for obvious phonetic reasons. Therefore, I reject this etymology; cf. (320) below where OJ asi- ‘bad’ (which is a ‘si- adjective’) is treated as if it were a root.

(266) (R) MK múl ‘water’ ~ OJ mî-/mîna/mîNtu ‘id’. < PJK *môr (Whitman 1985: 238). This etymology is attractive, since it involves such a basic notion and, unlike many others, is semantically straightforward. However, there is also a grave problem of phonetic

232 Omodaka et al. provide womuna-mê ‘woman, wife’ (JDB 1967: 840), but the form is not attested phonetically before Middle Japanese.
233 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #103.
234 More exactly, -âW-, -êW-.
235 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #257.
irregularity: WOJ /i/ < PJ *e\(^{236}\) does not correspond regularly to MK /u/, according to Whitman’s own vocalic correspondences (Whitman 1985: 129). This irregularity becomes apparent if one compares it to (33) above, where the correspondences are regular, or even to (265) above and (267) below, where, in spite of other problems, the regularity of vocalic correspondences is maintained. Since MK múl ‘water’ includes three segments, and OJ mü- includes only two, of which only initial /m-/ represents a regular correspondence, I believe that this comparison, at the present stage of our knowledge, has no better chance of being correct than a comparison of either word with Hebrew mayim ‘water’. Thus, I reject this etymology on the basis of phonetic irregularity.

(267) (R) MK múl- ‘bites (of animals)’ ~ OJ mor- ‘(birds) pick, pluck berries’ < PJK *mör-. Phonetically this etymology works only if WOJ mor- is from *mör-, but since there is only one attestation in late Western Old Japanese (MYS XVI: 3872), it is impossible to tell whether the word is pre-OJ *mör- or *môr-, making the possibility that this etymology is accurate only 50 percent. Later attestations are also quite restricted: there is only one late Middle Japanese attestation in the Hōjōki (KKJ 1969: 878; JDB 1967: 752), and the word seems to be otherwise restricted to the modern Japanese dialects of Western Honshū and Shikoku (JDB 1967: 752). The prospects of its being an inheritance even from Proto-Japanese, not to mention Proto-Japonic, are more than slim. Given the semantic discrepancy (no bird can bite) I believe that the best solution is to reject this etymology.

(268) (R) MK múlùl-‘it returns, goes back’; also transitive ‘returns it’ ~ OJ mï ‘turning’, mö- ‘turns, goes around’ < PJK *mör-.\(^{237}\) Whitman comments: “Unger (1977) demonstrates the identity of the stem vowel in OJ mö-, citing compounds such as mötöpor- ‘goes around, goes by’ < mö- + töpor- ‘passes’” (1985: 238). There are problems with both the Korean and Japonic suggested cognates. First, MK múlù-/múlùl- rather means ‘to retreat, to go back, to turn around’ (LCT 1987: 337; Nam 1997: 597). Second, its comparison with Japonic largely rests on the assumption of *-r-loss in Old Japanese, which cannot be verified internally. Third, WOJ mï- means ‘to go around [a certain object]’. The reconstruction of the stem of WOJ mï- as *mö- with the vowel /ö/ rather than /u/ on the basis of mö- in WOJ mötöpor- is doubtful, because the first element in a verbal compound in Old Japanese appears in its infinitive form, and not the stem form. Thus *mítöpor- < *mï/ö-töpor- should have been expected, not mötöpor-. Since neither WOJ mï- and mötöpor- is attested in other branches of Japonic, they could be loanwords from Korean, but the lack of internal Japonic evidence and the semantic difference favor rejecting this etymology.

(269) (R) MK múlùl- ‘ripens and gets soft’ ~ OJ moye-/moyï- ‘sprouts, buds’ < PJK *mëlör-. Whitman comments: “Although most often attested

\(^{236}\) Proto-Ryukyuan has clearly *medu ‘water’, amply supported by attestations throughout the Ryukyus, e.g., Konïya mi, lejima midzi, Psara, Hateruma midzi (Hirayama 1966: 343).

\(^{237}\) More exactly, MK múlù-/múlùl-, a verb belonging to accent Class 8 (Ramsey 1991: 236).

\(^{238}\) This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #183.
as a thematic stem in -ë- (Whitman’s -A---A.V.), the continuative form [moj] < moyU (+ -i) (continuative) appears in MYS [XVIII:239]: 4111. Here, Martin (1966) cites OJ moro ‘fragile, easily broken’ (Whitman 1985: 238-339). A quick comparison with (268) above reveals a serious problem in the regularity of the correspondences, because while the Middle Korean forms are the same, the Old Japanese forms are very different. Since (268) was rejected, we have to judge this etymology on its own terms, but the problem in the regularity of correspondences still remains: MK /-l-/ is not a regular correspondence to OJ /-y-/ according to Whitman’s system of consonantal correspondences (Whitman 1985: 183-185). We also do not know whether OJ moye- was from *möye- or *môye-: in the second case there would be one more irregular correspondence, which further diminishes the credibility of this comparison. The continuative moyi- indeed appears in (MYS XVIII: 4111), but it is a hapax legomenon. Relying on a hapax legomenon to reconstruct the vowel /ö/ in the second syllable of the Japonic verb is more than questionable. In addition, even the hapax legomenon moyi- does not indicate that the form was actually *môyö-i (necessary for the comparison to survive) rather than *môyu-i. All of these problems, in combination with the very questionable semantics, lead me to reject this etymology.

(270) (R) LMK241 mulus ‘all, in general’ ~ OJ morö HH (prenoun) ‘all, the bunch of’ < PJK *mörö (+ -s substantivizer) (Whitman 1985: 239). There are three problems with this etymology. First, it is strange that EMdK mulus is not attested in Middle Korean. The dialectal attestations in Korean seem to be quite limited (Choy 1978: 1099). It is even stranger that this word appears in the 1656 and 1736 reprint editions of the Nayhwung, although apparently not in the original edition in 1475 (LCT 1987: 338; Nam 1997: 598). Since I do not have access to the original edition at the moment, I am not in a position to say what older Middle Korean word was replaced by EMdK mulus in the reprints. In any case, such a late appearance suggests that it is an innovation. Second, although a substantivizer (or nominalizer) -s in Middle Korean certainly exists, it is added to verbal stems, and in this case Middle Korean verb *mulu- with an appropriate meaning does not occur. Thus, there is a clear problem with the morphological segmentation. Third, I do not think that EMdK mulus really means ‘all’: textual usages point to ‘in general’ or ‘generally speaking’. Given these problems, I reject this etymology.

(271) (R) MK müsú ‘what, which’ (prenoun); müsés ‘what’ (noun) ~ OJ mosi HL (adverb; introduces a question, conjecture, or hypothetical statement) < PJK *mösö- (Whitman 1985: 239). To the best of my knowledge, WOJ mosi (not attested in Eastern Old Japanese) never

239 I have added the volume number.
240 Martin indeed introduces comparison with MdJ moro- ‘fragile’ (Martin 1966, #207), but he does not mention that the word is attested in Old Japanese. As a matter of fact, it is likely to be well attested only starting from Middle Japanese (KKJ 1969: 878), since the only Old Japanese attestation in MYS V: 902 is not in phonetic script.
241 Whitman’s Late Middle Korean is an Early Modern Korean form.
introduces a question, but only a conjecture or hypothetical statement. This certainly makes a comparison with MK müsés ‘what’ much more problematic from a functional point of view.242 One would expect a much more straightforward comparison if the languages were genuinely related, cf. German was and Russian chto, both meaning ‘what’ and reflecting quite regularly (in spite of their dissimilarity today) the same PIE *kwe ‘what’. In addition, WOJ mosi can potentially go back not only to PJ *mösō-i (the option chosen by Whitman), but also to *mōsi, *mōsi, and *mōsu-i. This leaves no more than 25 percent phonetic credibility for this etymology. Finally, MK müsūk and müsim ‘what’ include non-leniting -s- < *-ns-, which cannot correspond regularly to WOJ -s-. Since there is also a functional problem, as outlined above, it seems natural to reject this etymology.

(272) (R) MK psi- ‘steams it’ ~ OJ mus- ‘id’. < PJK *mōs-.. Whitman adds: “Loss of original vowel in MK” (1985: 239). Even given the loss of the original vowel in Middle Korean (which can only be /u/, since MK /wu/ does not undergo reduction, and since only MK /u/ can be a reflex of PJK *ō), it is not quite clear why Whitman reconstructs the same Proto-Japanese-Korean vowel *ō for the correspondence of MK /ō/ < PK *u : OJ /u/ in this example and for the correspondence of MK /u/ : OJ /ō/ in (267-271) above. Clearly, according to Whitman’s correspondences, OJ /u/ does not correspond to MK /u/ (Whitman 1985: 129). Even more important is the fact that while the initial consonantal cluster *ms- is not attested in Middle Korean, there is no internal Korean evidence suggesting that PK *mVs- > MK ps-. In addition, there are no other correspondences of MK ps- to OJ mus- presented by Whitman. Finally, this etymology also leaves final -i in MK psi- unaccounted for in its Old Japanese comparison. Therefore, multiple irregularity problems call for the rejection of this etymology.


(274) (R) MK mwūth ‘dry land’ ~ OJ mutu (name of a province in the far northeast of Honshū); mūti HH ‘road, area’ (Whitman 1985: 239). The comparison with OJ muti ‘road, way’ (the meaning ‘area’ is not attested at all, but the expected semantic extension is sometimes ‘direction’ [JDB 1967: 705]) is untenable, because it is quite clear from compounds like OJ ti-mata ‘road fork’, Tagima-ti ‘road to Tagima’, etc., that the original Japanese word for ‘road, way’ is just *ti, and that mū-ti is a morphologically complex word containing the beautification prefix mū-. I am afraid that comparing an actual Middle Korean word with a Japanese place name of unknown meaning, has very low credibility. Thus, I reject this etymology.

242 In addition, MK müsés appears to be a rather late form from the sixteenth century, while MK müsūk and müsim ‘what’ are attested earlier, in the fifteenth century (LCT 1987: 339; Nam 1997: 599-600).
(275) (R) MK :mil- ‘pushes it, shoves it, tide rises’ ~ OJ mît- ‘tide, moon is full’ < PJK *mitûr- (Whitman 1985: 239). There are two problems with this comparison. First, MK :mil- is clearly from PK *mîlû-, but not PK *mîtû- (with a leniting /-t-/), so there is an irregular correspondence of MK /-l-/ < PK */-r- to OJ /-t-/. Second, to the best of my knowledge, MK :mil- means only ‘to push, to shove, to put off, to delay’ (LCT 1987: 347; Nam 1997: 616). Certainly, there is MK :ilmûl ‘tide’, attested as early as (YP 67, 69), but this can easily be analyzed as :mil-ilmûl ‘pushing water’. Omodaka et al. note that there are many cases when OJ mît- ‘to be full’ refers to a tide or to the moon, but it is apparent from the examples they cite that, at least in Western Old Japanese, its usage is not limited to these two cases (JDB 1967: 707). Thus, even the semantic side of the comparison appears forced. The phonetic irregularity and the semantic differences seem to be sufficient to reject this comparison.

(276) (R) MK mîlù ‘dragon’ ~ OJ mï ‘serpent’ (Whitman 1985: 239-240). Whitman adds: ‘The vowel correspondence is at first glance irregular. I have included this comparison because it may cast further light on the sources of OJ mï’. We would expect something like MK *muli; note that the Aen kakpi (1819) gives mili, probably from milu + -i > miluy > mili. This derivation suggests a parallel (although historically unrelated) source for OJ mï: medial *r loss from PJK *mirö would give *myö > pre-OJ *mö > *mō + -i (nominative) > mï. Note that in contrast to OJ pëmî, mî refers to mythical serpents and the snake in the twelve-animal cycle. OJ mituti ‘serpent spirit’ is glossed as (蛟 ‘dragon’, 龍名 ‘name of the dragon’ in the Shinsen jikyō” (Whitman 1985: 239-240). There are several problems with this comparison. First, the vowel correspondence is indeed irregular, and suggesting another unique hypothetic development for OJ /ï/, which occurs only in this case does not help, but rather further diminishes the credibility of the comparison. Second, MJ mituti ‘water dragon’ is not attested phonetically in Old Japanese, and the suggestion that it is a compound, consisting of mï ‘snake’ + -tu genitive-locative + ti ‘spirit’ is just a kokugogaku (traditional Japanese philology) etymology provided in JDB 1967: 706.245 Thus, we cannot ascertain that the first syllable of this word is /mî/, and, consequently that MJ mituti ‘water dragon’ has any connection with OJ mî. Third, if we put aside the alleged connection with MJ mituti, the only usage attested for WOJ mî is ‘snake’ in the twelve-year animal cycle. It is also the only usage found in Middle Japanese (KKJ 1969: 820). I see no philological basis for assigning the meaning ‘serpent’ to this word. Although the comparison of a ‘dragon’ with a ‘snake’ is not impossible, the very fact that WOJ mî is used only as an animal cycle word, suggests that it means just ‘snake’, and not ‘dragon’, because the dragon is

243 Within the Eastern Old Japanese corpus, mît- is attested only in MYS (XIV: 3366, 3549). The last of these two poems does not include any typical Eastern Old Japanese features.
244 Actually, ‘sea serpent’ or ‘water dragon’.
245 Another etymology suggests mî- ‘water’ as the first element. Although this also has problems, it is preferable because of the meaning ‘water dragon’, and also because WOJ -tu indicates belonging to some location (see above in the chapter on morphology).
already present in the animal cycle list. Finally, the comparison again depends on the assumption of *-r- loss in Old Japanese, which in this case cannot be verified independently. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(277) (L) MK mis, mit, K mich ‘and, with, also’ < mich- ‘reaches, is equal to’ ~ OJ mîta~muta ‘and, with’ (noun preceded by noun in the genitive) < PJK *mitö (Whitman 1985: 240). I disagree with Whitman’s derivation of MK mis ‘with, and, also’ from MK mich- ‘to reach’; a bare verbal root is unlikely to be grammaticalized. Therefore, I will deal only with MK mis. There are problems on the Japonic side of the etymology as well, as only muta occurs in Western Old Japanese (JDB 1967: 726), while mîta is attested once, and only once, in Eastern Old Japanese (MYS XX: 4394). In addition, this hapax legomenon is not without its own philological problems, since a number of manuscripts have mini instead of mîta (JDB 1967: 703-704). The prevailing point of view among Japanese philologists is that mini is a mistake for mîta, and that mîta should be taken as the Eastern Old Japanese form of WOJ muta (Takagi et al. 1962: 434; JDB 1967: 703-704; Mizushima 1974: 216; Mizushima 2003: 628-629; Nakanishi 1984: 1461; Kojima et al. 1975: 404; Omodaka 1974.20: 127; Satake et al. 2003: 424). I will accept this point of view, since mini does not make any sense in the context of the poem:

yumî-nö mîta sa-ne ka watar-am-u naNka-kë könö yô-wo
bow-GEN with PREF-sleep PT cross-TENT-ATTR long-ATTR this night-ACC
Will [I] pass this long night with [my] bow? (MYS XX: 4394)

What is more important is that, to the best of my knowledge, there are no cognates of mîta or muta in Ryukyuan. Thus, due to distribution criteria, the Western and Eastern Old Japanese forms are likely to be loanwords from Korean. I assume that EOJ mîta reflects a more archaic form, while WOJ muta underwent vowel labialization after a labial.

(278) (L) MK mîth ‘base, bottom’ ~ OJ mîtö LL ‘id’. < PJK *mî tô. Whitman adds that he cannot account for the Middle Korean vowel (Whitman 1985: 240). The correspondence is indeed irregular, and both the Middle Korean and Japanese words also mean ‘root’. This is important, because Old Japanese also has a doublet ne ‘root’. While OJ ne ‘root’ is attested throughout Japonic, WOJ mîtö has much more limited attestations of its cognates. Besides EOJ moto, there are scattered attestations in Ryukyuan, but those found in Miyako and Yaeyama in the Southern Ryukyus involve mutu attested as a classifier, not as an independent word. This indicates that it must be a loan into Ryukyuan from Japanese. Therefore, I treat this etymology as another loanword from Korean to Japanese.

Dictionaries provide different accentuation: mis (Nam 1997: 618), mis (LCT 1987: 348). I am unable to verify which one is wrong, because I do not have access to the texts. The form mit is attested only in Early Modern Korean (Nam 1997: 615; LCT 1987: 347). The correct accentuation is with L pitch: mîth (LCT 1987: 349; Nam 1997: 615).
Whitman’s comparisons involving Proto-Japanese-Korean initial *m- (245-278) do not contain any good etymologies (apart from loanwords) that could support the hypothesis of the Koreo-Japonic genetic relationship. Therefore, I believe, we have another significant gap in addition to those already mentioned. The absence of good etymologies with *m- certainly speaks in favor of a loanword, rather than a genetic, relationship.

3.2.12 *n-

(279) (R) MK -n/-ún/-ón (past/perfective attributive suffix) ~ OJ -n (perfective suffix) < PJK *-n (Whitman 1985: 240). This comparison was discussed above in the section on verbal morphology (2.3.2.9) and rejected.

(280) (R) MK ná, first person pronoun ~ OJ na, second person pronoun < PJK *na/*ne. Whitman adds: “OJ na occurs as a second person pronoun, although it is widely hypothesized that it originated as a first person pronoun. The Old Japanese pronoun is a perfect comparison in sound and meaning to MK né (second person pronoun). Noteworthy in this regard are the following facts: (1) the Middle Korean first and second person pronoun are front/back vocalic alternants of each other; (2) J pronouns have frequently undergone the shift from first person/reflexive to (intimate) second person: thus onöre (first person pronoun, ‘self’) => second person (derogatory)” (1985: 240). This comparison presents a number of significant problems. First, MK né ‘thou’ as a comparison with OJ na ‘id’, is found again in (298) below, this time with a L accent.248 This seemingly goes along with Whitman’s line of argumentation, presented above, but the line itself is faulty, as the reader will shortly see below. Second, I am not aware of any ‘wide hypothesizing’ that OJ na ‘thou’ originated from OJ na ‘I’ outside the kokugogaku tradition, e.g., JDB 1967: 512. It is quite clear that OJ na ‘I’ (not attested anywhere else in Japonic and short-lived even in Old Japanese) is a straightforward loan from Korean (see the brief discussion in the pronouns section of the morphology chapter above and a more detailed discussion in Vovin [2005a: 245-246]). Third, Whitman’s argument that OJ onö-/onöre ‘self’ was an exclusive first person reflexive pronoun that shifted to being a second person intimate/derogatory pronoun goes against the textual evidence. As the following examples clearly demonstrate, WOJ onö-/onöre is clearly just a reflexive pronoun, not limited to the first person:249

onö-Nka wo-wo nusum-i si-se-m-u tô
yourself-POSS cord-ACC steal-INF die-CAUS-TENT-FIN DV
[they] are going to steal your own [life-]cord and murder [you] (KK 22)

248 Whitman does mention that the accent of MK né ‘thou’ is problematic (1985: 242, #298). Due to the extremely irregular variations of accent in personal pronouns (Yi Swungnyeng 1961: 220-221; Kim Wancin 1973: 61-66), I believe that it is not just problematic, but almost impossible to reconstruct.

249 For more examples, also including Eastern Old Japanese, see Vovin (2005a: 266-269).
Therefore, there is no evidence for a shift from a first person pronoun to a second pronoun within Japonic. Fourth, OJ na ‘thou’ is also a loan from Korean; see (298) below and the more detailed discussion in the pronoun section of the morphology chapter above. Fifth, in spite of the fact that MK na ‘I’ and ne ‘thou’ look like [+back]/[-back] alternants of the same word, there is no internal Korean evidence to support a shift from a first person pronoun to a second person pronoun, with the first person pronoun remaining intact and not replaced by something else. Sixth, this is not the only possible speculative way to analyze first and second person pronouns that start from the same consonant: typological evidence from Chukchee-Koryak, which has *g-ə-m ‘I’ and *g-ə-t ‘thou’ suggests that MK na ‘I’ and ne ‘thou’ can also be analyzed as *n-a and *n-e, where *-a and *-e represent real personal pronouns, and the initial element *n- some kind of pronominal marker. All these problems, as well as the fact that Whitman also compares MK ne ‘thou’ and OJ na ‘id’. below in (298), strongly call for the rejection of this etymology.

(281) (R) MK -ná (adversative) ‘(whether)… or, although’ ~ OJ -na ‘whether… or, both… and’ (linking time expressions) < PJK *-na. Whitman adds: “OJ -na links time expressions in phrases like asa-na yupu-na ‘whether morning or night, both morning and night’” (Whitman 1985: 240). Even at first glance there is an apparent functional difference: MK -ná is a verbal suffix, and OJ -na occurs only after nouns. But there is a much more serious problem for Whitman’s comparison on the Japanese side, because OJ -na250 more frequently than not also occurs in cases that cannot be treated as ‘adversative’: asa-na [a]sa-na251 ‘in the mornings, every morning’. Cf. the examples:

ISE-nō AMA-NŌ ASA-na YUPU-na-ni KANTUK-U
Ise-GEN fisherman-GEN morning-PLUR evening-PLUR-LOC252 dive-FIN
Fishermen of Ise dive [into the sea] in the mornings and in the evenings
(MYS XI: 2798)

250 The traditional explanation for this OJ -na is that it is a locative case marker. However, a comparison with the examples below clearly demonstrates that it is not.
251 The uncontracted spelling asa-na asa-na is attested in Middle Japanese poetry, e.g., see KKW 513.
252 If -na were a locative case marker, as tradition has it, it is incomprehensible why it would have another locative case marker -ni after it, as in yupu-na-ni ‘in the evenings’. This example proves that -na is not a locative case marker.
naNtesikô-Nka pana n-i môNkamö na asa-na [a]sa-na MÎ-m-u carnation-POSS flower DV-INF PT PT morning-PLUR morning-PLUR

see-TENT-FIN

[I] wish [you] were a carnation flower, so [I] would see [you] every morning (MYS XVII: 4010)

asa-na [a]sa-na aNkar-u piNpari n-i nar-i-te-si ka
morning-PLUR morning-PLUR rise-ATTR skylark DV-INF become-INF-PERF-PAST/ATTR PT
every morning, [I would] have become a skylark, flying up (MYS XX: 4433)

I believe that this OJ -na is a plural marker. See Vovin (2005a: 102-107) for a more detailed discussion and more examples. Thus, I reject this etymology.

(282) (R) MK ná-254 ‘becomes, comes out, is born’ ~ OJ nar- ‘id’.255 < PJK *na-. This etymology faces two problems. The first is semantic: MK ná- does not mean ‘to become’, it is simply ‘to exit, to go/come out, to be born’ and OJ nar- does not mean ‘to go/come out’ or ‘to be born’, it just means ‘to become’. Certainly, various speculative connections between these two verbs can be proposed (Martin 1966: 226), but presenting them as verbs with identical semantics means adjusting their actual meanings to make the comparison work. The second problem is morphological: OJ -r- in nar- does not correspond to anything at all in MK ná-, and this calls for an explanation, since there are plenty of Middle Korean verbs that end in -l. However, no cogent explanation for this fact is provided, and it does not seem that one is even remotely possible. Given these problems, it is necessary to reject this etymology.

(283) (R) MK nàh- ‘produces it, gives birth to it’ ~ OJ nas- ‘id’. Whitman remarks: “Both MK and OJ verbs are original causative derivations from PJK *na- ‘become, come into being’ (282)” (1985: 241). First, MK -h- < *-k- does not correspond regularly to OJ -s-. Second, OJ -s- in na-s- is clearly a causative marker, while MK -h- belongs to the root. This is another case of adjusting the meaning to make the comparison work: OJ nas- primarily means ‘to make, to make something to be something else’, and the meaning ‘to give birth’ is clearly secondary (JDB 1967: 512). It is also somewhat speculative, because it is not attested phonetically in Old Japanese or in any other variety of Japonic. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(284) (R) MK ánh ‘inside’ ~ OJ naka LH ‘id’. < PJK *na:ka (Whitman 1985: 241). This etymology requires a metathesis either in Korean or

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253 More evidence against -na as a locative case marker comes from this and the next example. To the best of my knowledge, there are no cases of reduplication in Old Japanese that would have a locative case marker on both members of a reduplicated form.

254 MK na- ‘to go out’ belongs to accent class 3, where all verbs exhibit extremely irregular accentuation. Determining MK pitch as H may be, therefore, premature.

255 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #11.
Japonic, but neither can be proven internally. In addition, there are three examples in Western Old Japanese, where na occurs alone with the meaning ‘inside’ (JDB 1967: 512). These suggest that OJ naka is a compound consisting of na ‘inside’ + -ka ‘place’. Since -ka ‘place’ is well attested in other compounds, such as sum-i-ka ‘place of living’, umi-N-ka ‘sea place’, oku-ka ‘deep place, place in the back’, the internal etymology appears to be preferable to a speculative external explanation that involves metathesis. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(285) (R) MK nálhwó- ‘slow, gradual, gentle’ ~ OJ naNkï- ‘quiets down, still’, naNkó (uninflected adjective) ‘soft, gentle’, naNku(s) HL ‘peaceful, placid’ < PJK *nargu- (Whitman 1985: 241). The first minor problem with this etymology is in the semantics: as far as I can tell, MK nálhwó- means just ‘to be slow, to be late’ (LCT 1987: 137; Nam 1997: 267), while the basic meaning of WOJ naNkï- is ‘to become quiet/tranquil’ (JDB 1967: 520). Second, although EOJ naNkoya ‘quiet’ is attested once in the Eastern Old Japanese corpus (MYS XIV: 3499), there are no traces of this word in Ryukyuan. Third, and most significantly, MK nálhwó- < PK *nalokwo-, because MK -h- reflects PK *-k- in intervocalic position. This creates a significant problem for Whitman’s claim that MK -lC- corresponds to Old Japanese ‘voiced’, i.e., prenasalized voiced obstruents (Whitman 1985: 183). Cf. also Whitman’s other comparisons above, where MK -lh- corresponds as well to OJ -Nt- (15) or to OJ -s- (94). Therefore, although the distribution could speak for an early loan from Korean into Japanese, the problems in the regularity of the correspondences as well as in the semantics lead me to reject this etymology.

(286) (R) MK námwo ~ námk- (< *námwök) ‘tree’ ~ MJ256 nagi ‘sacred tree’ (Whitman 1985: 241). MJ and MdJ nagi is an evergreen tree of the cypress type with leaves resembling bamboo. It was believed to have the ability to divert calamities and the influences of evil forces, and this fact, together with the limited attestation of the word in Japonic (only Central Japanese), invites other explanations instead of hypotheses that the name of this tree was directly inherited from a Koreo-Japonic proto-language, or even that any Korean tree became ‘sacred’ on Japanese soil. The lack of attestation in Old Japanese is particularly telling, and I believe that the word has rather straightforward internal etymology: MJ nagi < *na-n[ö]-kï, where the last syllable represents a fusion of genitive case marker -nö and the word kï ‘tree’ (WOJ kï). The first syllable is the MJ na ‘ceremony for expelling demons’ < MC *nan (儺). Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(287) (R) MK náp ‘lead’ ~ OJ namari LHL ‘id’. Whitman mentions that this is originally a loan from Middle Chinese, but does not indicate the source. He also refers to Koguryo, again without providing a source (Whitman 1985: 241). The Chinese origin for the word for ‘lead’ in either Korean or Japanese is problematic, since Mandarin qian1 does not regularly reflect EMC *yen (鉛) ‘lead’, and neither could possibly be the source for either MK náp or OJ namari ‘lead’. Pseudo-Koguryo *namur

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256 Whitman has MK instead of MJ but this is probably a typographical error, as MK (= Middle Korean) compared with MK (= Middle Korean) does not make any sense here.
(乃勿) ‘lead’ does indeed resemble OJ namari, but it does not provide a connection to MK náp ‘id’. The correspondence of MK -p- to OJ -m- is problematic; in addition, the remaining segment -ari in OJ namari is left unexplained. I reject this etymology as a chance similarity.

(288) (R) MK násk- ~ náksk- ‘fishes’, náks ‘fishing’ ~ OJ na ‘fish (for food)’. Whitman notes that “the MK root originates as a compound, possibly from *na + tik- ‘catches with hook or spear’” (Whitman 1985: 241). There are several problems with this comparison. First, there is no internal Korean evidence to justify the development *tik- > *sik- > *sk- that is needed for this etymology. Second, it seems that MK násk- is a simplification of MK náksk-, since besides its appearance in the first edition of the Twusi enhay, it occurs only in later texts (LCT 1987: 139; Nam 1997: 272). The Middle Korean verb náksk- is also supported by the nominal form náks ‘fishing’. MK náks ‘fishing’ looks like a nominalized form in -s from an unattested verb *nak-, but this still leaves the final *-k in *nak- unexplained. Third, and most significant, OJ na does not mean exclusively ‘fish’. This word refers to vegetables as well (JDB 1967: 511), and the archetype meaning seems to be ‘fresh food used as a side dish’. As a good illustration of this point, note the plural marker -na written with both 魚 ‘fish’ and 菜 ‘vegetable’ signs in the following example:

伊勢乃白水郎之朝魚夕菜尓潜
ISE-nö AMA-NÖ ASA-na YUPU-na-ni KANTUK-U
Ise-GEN fisherman-GEN morning-PLUR evening-PLUR-LOC dive-FIN
Fishermen of Ise dive [into the sea] in the mornings and in the evenings
(MYS XI: 2798)

I reject this etymology on the basis of its semantic, morphological, and phonetic problems.

(289) (R) MK :nayh ‘river’ ~ OJ na- ‘water’ in nami ‘wave’, naNtá ‘open sea, difficult crossing’, naNtuK- ‘be soaked in water, get wet’ < na- + tuk- ‘touch’ < PJK *na-. Whitman adds that ‘OJ nami ‘wave’ is often assumed to be a compound of na + mi ‘water’ (Whitman 1985: 241). I cannot really understand how the compounding of *na ‘water’ and mi ‘water’ is going to produce ‘wave’, and -Nta part in OJ naNta ‘open sea’ is left unexplained altogether. I consider these two etymologies to be teleological. The existence of OJ *na- ‘water’ cannot be completely ruled out due to OJ naNtuK- ‘be soaked in water.’ This is likely to go back to *na-ni tuk-, which allows us to segment *na ‘water’ on the basis of structural analysis, although it remains somewhat speculative. However, the comparison still remains unlikely due to the problem on the Korean side: MK :nayh ‘river’ certainly goes back to PK *narih, as confirmed by OK NAli (汀理, 川理 ‘river’. Cf. the following examples:

257 Cf. MdJ sakana ‘fish’, which is historically a compound consisting of saka- ‘rice wine’ + na ‘fish or vegetables used as a side dish for drinking’. 
In the river, where the sand is dark (lit.: blue — dark part of the spectrum) the image of [Hwa]rang Ki[pha] is [right there]^{258} (Hyangka IV: 4)

This leaves the *-rih in PK *narih unaccounted for. Even if one accepts Whitman’s *-r- loss law, the regularly corresponding word in Old Japanese should be *ne < *nai, not *na. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(290) (R) MK nòlí- ‘goes down’ ~ OJ ne- ‘lies down, sleeps’ < PJK *nor- (Whitman 1985: 241). This etymology depends on Whitman’s *-r- loss law to explain OJ ne- as pre-PJ *nari-, but in addition to the less than perfect semantics (OJ ne- predominantly refers to sleeping or to a couple sleeping together [JDB 1967: 551] rather than to the simple fact of lying down, which is normally referred to by the Old Japanese verb pus-), it appears that the root of the Old Japanese verb is just ne-. This leaves the -li- segment in the suggested Middle Korean cognate unexplained, unless one accepts the speculative *-r- loss. I reject this etymology on morphological and semantic grounds.

(291) (R) MK nòlk- ~ nùlk- ‘old’^{259} ~ OJ naNka- ‘long’ < PJK *norg-. Whitman remarks that OJ naNka- refers to length in both time and space (1985: 241). In addition to the problematic semantics, the major problem with this example is the lack of regularity in the correspondences: Whitman claims elsewhere that OJ -n- corresponds to MK -lk-, and that both are regular reflexes of a Proto-Japanese-Korean cluster -*lg*- (1985: 183); cf. examples (16), (238), and (254) above. In addition, in one more case he presents an example where MK -lk- corresponds to OJ -k- (120). Since the conditioning of these split correspondences is not explained, I consider them all irregular. Finally, since the peculiar ablaut in the Middle Korean forms is also left without explanation, it makes the correspondences in the first syllable at least somewhat questionable. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(292) (R) MK nòm ‘person, other’ ~ OJ na F ‘name, person, one’ < PJK *nom (Whitman 1985: 241). There are three problems with this comparison, two on the Japonic side and one on the Korean. First, I believe that the interpretation of MJ na 1.2 as a monosyllabic accent class

^{258} The image of Hwarang Kipha is represented by the reflection of the moon in the water.

^{259} MK nòlk- ‘old’ refers to objects, while MK nùlk- ‘old’ refers to human age.

^{260} Here, the reconstruction presented is PJK *-rg- rather than *-lg-. However, it appears that Whitman has no other examples for PJK *-rg-.
corresponding to disyllabic 2.5 (where the final falling pitch is believed to reflect pre-PJN *-m) is mistaken, because there is no such falling pitch that goes through the vowel in Middle Japanese: it is just H plus L on the particle. In the modern Kyoto dialect the word *naa ‘name’ is HL as well, not HF, but the automatic lengthening of one-mora words to two-mora words in Kyoto is a late phenomenon, and in any case the accentual contour of Kyoto *naa HL ‘name’ (1.2) is very different from Kyoto, e.g., *saru LF ‘monkey’ (2.5), because the former belongs to the H register, but the latter to the L register. Therefore, the reconstruction of pre-Proto-Japanese final *-m for OJ *na ‘name’ cannot be proven. Second, I am unaware of any textual evidence in Old Japanese for the meanings ‘person, one’ for OJ *na. The word clearly has a primary meaning ‘name’ and a derived meaning ‘fame, reputation’ (JDB 1967: 512); it is apparent that ‘person’ and ‘one’ are added to make the comparison look better. Third, moving now to the Korean side, I believe that there is a significant philological mistake. MK *nóm is amply attested in the meaning of ‘other’, but in the meaning ‘person’ it is a *hapax legomenon appearing only in (Welin I: 45a) (LCT 1987: 128; Nam 1997: 351). On the other hand, MK nwóm ‘person, fellow (pejor.)’ is also amply attested in Middle Korean texts (LCT 1987: 159; Nam 1997: 306). MdK nam ‘other’ and nom ‘fellow, bastard’, as well as dialect data, also treat these as separate words (Choy 1987: 242, 247), and the singular usage in the Welin sekpo is in all probability a scribal error. MK nwóm ‘person, fellow’ can be taken out of the equation simply because MK /wo/ does not correspond to OJ /a/ according to Whitman’s own vocalic correspondences; OJ /u/ would be expected (1985: 129). Therefore, we are left only with MK *nóm ‘other’. According to Whitman’s vocalic correspondences, MK /o/ can correspond to OJ /a/ only if the latter is long (1985: 129), but this is impossible to prove. Moreover, since OJ *na ‘name’ belongs to the H register, it is highly unlikely. As this comparison is further aggravated by the far-fetched semantics (‘other’ vs. ‘name’), it should be abandoned. (293) (R) MK *nómölh ‘vegetable’261 ~ OJ *ne L ‘root, shoot (of plant)’ < PJK *nom (+ -il / -Vk). Whitman adds the following discussion: “If MK *nómölh is monomorphic, this comparison requires both medial *m loss after *o and final *r loss to derive the OJ form. However, the MK noun is a possible compound of *nöm + -öl ‘grain, berry, small round object’” (1985: 241). Let us deal separately with these two conflicting solutions, as they both present various problems. First, I agree with Whitman that MK *nómölh should be treated as monomorphic, because we have no internal Korean evidence allowing us to analyze it as a compound. Second, as already discussed above (see [212]), there is no internal justification for *-m- loss here, as /u/ in Old Japanese would be needed in front of *-m-. Third, we really do not know whether OJ *ne ‘root’ is from PJ *nai, or from PJ *nia. The second possibility rules out the etymology completely, but even the first one has a problem with the vocalic correspondences. As

261 More precisely, ‘greens, herbs’.
mentioned in (292) above, MK /o/ can correspond to OJ /a/ only if the latter is long (Whitman 1985: 129). Since OJ ne has a L register, this might be the case, but taking into consideration the recent demonstration by Shimabukuro that Proto-Japonic words with LOW register can be reconstructed both with and without vowel length (Shimabukuro 2002: 203), we cannot be certain. Ryukyuan evidence, which is the only basis for determining the existence of vowel length, is lacking for monosyllabic words. Fourth, I am unaware of the meaning ‘shoot (of plant)’ for OJ ne: to the best of my knowledge the textual evidence supports only ‘root’. Therefore, the comparison of MK nòmöl ‘greens, herbs’ with OJ ne ‘root’ is semantically weak. Finally, the explanation of MK nòmöl as a compound *nöm- + -álh ‘grain, berry, small round object’ is completely teleological, because we have no internal evidence for *nöm- in Korean. PK *nom- seems to have been reconstructed solely on the basis of OJ ne, which constitutes circular reasoning and represents a reconstruction ‘from above’. Due to these phonological, morphological, and semantic problems, I reject this etymology. See also (136, 185-186, 212) above and (330) below on the rejection of *-m- loss.

(294) (R) MK nwòh- ‘puts it, lets it go’ ~ OJ nuk- H ‘pulls it out, sticks it in place’ < PJK *nuk- (Whitman 1985: 241). The phonology of this comparison is fine, but it has semantic problems. First, MK nwòh- really means ‘to put on the surface, to let go’, which contrasts with MK nyèh- ~ nèh- ‘to put inside, to insert’. MK nyèh- ~ nèh- would be a much better match, but it has incompatible vocalism with OJ nuk-. Therefore, I reject this etymology for the reason of semantics.

(295) (R) MK nwòh ‘rope’ ~ OJ nusa LL ‘Shintō offerings of rope or chains of paper’ < PJK *nus (Whitman 1985: 241). There are two problems with this etymology. The first is the unrealistic nature of the correspondence MK -h- : OJ -s-, see (236-244). Second, WOJ and EOJ nusa is not really a rope in any sense: it is pieces of cloth or paper cut in a zigzag pattern and used either as offerings or as the top part of a purification wand. I reject this etymology on phonetic and semantic grounds.

(296) (R) MK nwòlós ‘role, post, official position’ ~ OJ nusi LH or LF ‘master, owner of, occupant of a position’ < PJK *nurus. Whitman adds: “Ryukyuan (Shuri) nusi attests to the long first syllable vowel from medial *r loss’” (1985: 242). While Shuri nusi really points to PJ *nuusi (see Shimabukuro 2002: 203 and 293 above), it offers no internal evidence for *r loss.262 In addition, as far as I can tell from textual examples, MK nwòlós, in contrast to MdK nolus, only means ‘play, game, amusement party’ (LCT 1987: 155; Nam 1997: 299). MdK nolus, on the other hand, may mean ‘role, party, work, duty, office’ (Martin et al. 1967: 341), but all of these meanings in Modern Korean clearly represent a secondary

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262 See the discussion about the lack of internal Japonic evidence for *-r- loss in similar cases analyzed in (5), (39), (56), (104), (106), (119), (121), (155), (161), (236), etc. above.
semantic development. MK nwólós has nothing to do with posts or official positions, so I reject this etymology on phonetic and semantic grounds.

(297) (C) MK nwón ‘paddy field’ ~ OJ nó ‘field’ < PJK *nun (Whitman 1985: 242). OJ nó indicates only ‘wild, uncultivated field’, but this is a minor semantic difference. The word is attested in Eastern Old Japanese, as well as in Ryukyuan, including the Southern Ryukus, so I accept this etymology.

(298) (L) MK nè (second person pronoun) ~ OJ na ‘id’. < PJK *ne (Whitman 1985: 242). I demonstrated above that this is a Korean loan in Japonic (see the pronoun section in the morphology chapter above). Cf. also (280).

(299) (R) MK nélù-, nèp-, MdK nelp- < ?*nélùp- ‘broad, wide, spacious’ ~ OJ nōnpi- ‘it stretches, unfolds, elongates’, nōnPë- ‘stretch it, lengthen it’ < PJK *nerpU- / *nerpe- (Whitman 1985: 242). The Proto-Korean form is clearly *nelp-; see section 1.1.3.3.1 on lenition, especially note 19 on p. 27. The major problem here is the irregularity of the correspondences: there are no other examples in which PK *-lp- corresponds to OJ -Np-. In addition, Whitman claims in (18) that PK *-lp- corresponds to OJ -m-. Therefore, I reject this comparison due to the irregularity in the correspondences.

(300) (R) MK :ne, :neyh ‘four’ ~ OJ yō- ‘id’. < PJK *nye (Whitman 1985: 242). In dealing with MK :neyh ‘four’ we should not overlook the special form :nek that occurs with some classifiers. Note that the Middle Korean forms for ‘three’ and ‘four’ are almost parallel:

**Chart 32:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>MK free form</th>
<th>MK bound forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘three’</td>
<td>:seyh</td>
<td>:se-, :sek-, :sey-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘four’</td>
<td>:neyh</td>
<td>:ne-, :nek-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As I demonstrated in (222) above, MK :seyh is a metathesized form derived from PK or OK *seki. By the same token, we have to reconstruct MK :neyh as *neki. This creates a significant problem for Whitman’s comparison, because the remaining *-ki has no analogue in OJ yō; nor do we have internal Korean evidence that it was a special numeral ‘suffix’. Another major problem is that in this etymology MK n- corresponds not to OJ n- as above, but to OJ y-. Whitman’s solution is to reconstruct an initial Proto-Japanese-Korean cluster *ny-, but the practice of creating extra entities in reconstruction by juxtaposing two elements is unlikely to be methodologically credible in comparative linguistics. Whitman provides only one other example with MK n- corresponding to OJ y-: see (308)


264 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #281.

265 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #261.
below. Numerals, especially lower numerals are typically either borrowed or inherited as a set: we cannot expect Middle Korean and Old Japanese to share the numerals for just ‘four’ and ‘eight’ (see [316] below) in their respective numerical systems. Therefore, I reject this etymology on the basis of phonetic and morphological problems, as well as on methodological grounds.

(301) MK nyé- ‘comes and goes, stops in’ ~ OJ yö- ‘stops in, comes toward’ < PJK *nye- (Whitman 1985: 242). Starting from this etymology, Whitman introduces yet another correspondence: MK ny- to OJ yö-. Three other examples are given in support of it (302-304), but as I show below, none of them is acceptable. The first issue here is regularity. Let us compare this etymology with the one found in (300):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>MK</th>
<th>OJ</th>
<th>PJK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘four’</td>
<td>:neyh</td>
<td>yö</td>
<td>*nye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stop in’</td>
<td>nyé</td>
<td>yö</td>
<td>*nye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One can clearly see that the identical Proto-Japanese-Korean reconstructions *nye ‘four’ and *nye ‘stop in’ result in quite different descendant forms in Middle Korean. There are other problems with this comparison as well. First, -r in OJ yö- is left unexplained: it does not correspond to anything in the Middle Korean form, nor is it present in the stipulated Proto-Japanese-Korean reconstruction. Second, MK nyé- ‘comes and goes, stops in’ has a rare H pitch on the stem (the majority of Middle Korean monosyllabic verbs have a default L pitch) which indicates that in Proto-Korean the verb must have been disyllabic, with MK nyé- resulting from aphaeresis: PK *Vnye- LH > MK nyé-. Therefore, it becomes even more difficult to compare MK nyé- to OJ yö-, and I must reject this etymology due to all these problems of phonetic regularity. In any case, MK nyé- really means ‘to go and come back’ or just ‘to go’ rather than ‘to stop in’, which becomes important in my discussion of (302).

(302) (R) MK nyèh- ‘puts in’ ~ OJ yöse- ‘brings toward’ < PJK *nye-sV-. Whitman remarks that “both MK and OJ verbs are transitive derivatives in *-sV-” (1985: 242). Presumably he means that they are transitive derivatives of verbs in (301). While this is certainly true of OJ yöse-, the transitive counterpart of OJ yö-, the claim that MK nyèh- is a transitive derivative of MK nyé- ‘to go [and come back]’ is much more problematic, not just semantically, but also because of the two verbs’ different accent patterns. The monosyllabic transitive derivative of MK nyé- would be expected to have the form *nyèh- with H, and not L pitch. See also (301) above on the archetypal form of MK nyés-, which precludes a comparison with OJ yö-, and consequently with its transitive derivative yö-. Transitive derivatives in Middle Korean are formed with -is, -hi-, -ki-, -Gi-, -hwo-, -wo-, -Gwo-, -Gwu-, but never with -h- alone (Yi Swungnyeng 1961: 333-335). Finally, there is no internal evidence that final -h in MK
nyèh- ‘to put inside’ does not belong to the root of the verb. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(303) (R) MK nyèkh ‘area around, vicinity’ ~ OJ yökö HH ‘side, vicinity’ < PK *nyeke (Whitman 1985: 242). There are several problems with this etymology. The least serious one is with its semantics. I believe that glossing OJ yökö ‘side, horizontal’ as ‘vicinity’ is not correct. Omodaka et al. also list another meaning ‘wrong direction, abnormal, unjust, contra-’ (JDB 1967: 793), but this most likely derives from a different word, homophonous with yökö ‘side’. Comparison of ‘side’ with ‘vicinity’ is not impossible, but it is scarcely convincing. But the phonetic problems are much more serious: MK nyèkh, which has L pitch rare for monosyllabic nominal stems, should probably go back either to PK *nyènkúkú or PK *nyèkúkú, depending on whether final MK -kh originated from *-nkuku or *-kuku. The first option rules out the comparison in a genetic sense altogether, since MK -k- < PK *-nk- cannot correspond to OJ -k-. The second option involving PK *nyèkúkú is more plausible for comparison with OJ yökö ‘side’. Given the fact that the word is attested in Southern Ryukyuan — Yaeyama yuku (Miyara 1981: 347), Psara yuku (Shimoji 1979: 232), Higashi Nakasone, Yonaha, Tonoshiro yuku, Hateruma yugu (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 462) — it could be treated as a cognate, but if one agrees with my rejection of the only two other etymologies above involving a correspondence of MK ny- to OJ y-, this comparison also becomes questionable. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(304) (R) MK :nyey ‘long ago, olden times’ ~ OJ inisi- ‘id’. Whitman remarks that “both MK and OJ nouns are deverbal nominalizations of *inye” (1985: 242), but this *inye- is nowhere to be found in his lists. It is possibly a typographical error for PJK *ine-, discussed in (305). Even so, there are many problems with this comparison. First, to the best of my knowledge, there is a little inaccuracy: OJ inisi- ‘olden times’ is a ghost. The word is really WOJ inisipê (JDB 1967: 88), which has a transparent internal etymology: in- ‘go away’ + -i-, infinitive + -si, past attributive + pye ‘side’. In addition, there is also WOJ inisi-kata ‘past’ (JDB 1967: 88). Both words are certainly derived from OJ in- ‘to go away, to depart’, but they are not nominalizations; at best they might be compounds. Second, and much more serious, is that this time Whitman claims that MK /ny/ corresponds to OJ /n/ and not OJ /y/, as in (301-303). Taking into account the proposed correspondence of MK /n/ to OJ /y/ in (300) and (308), we arrive at three different possibilities:

(1) MK n : OJ y
(2) MK ny : OJ y
(3) MK ny : OJ n

Such multiple correspondences strongly indicate an irregularity. Third, I do not see any specific nominalization marker in MK :nyey ‘olden times’ that is identical in shape to MK :nyey- ‘to go’. If the former were a nominalization of the latter, we would expect a form *:nyey-m, with the
nominalizer -m. Since MK :nyey means ‘olden times’, if it were indeed derived from MK :nyey- ‘to go’, we would expect an even more complex form, involving the past or retrospective markers, not just a bare verbal stem. Fourth, both MK :nyey ‘olden times’ and MK :nyey- ‘to go’ have R pitch, indicating that the words were originally disyllabic. Since a R pitch is by origin a combination of L+H pitches, we know that it was the syllable on the right, not a syllable on the left, that underwent reduction. This is further supported by the presence of the triphthong /yey/ in these words. The tentative Proto-Korean form would be something like *nyeCi-, with a consonant /C/, whose phonetic value we cannot determine. Consequently, neither of the Middle Korean words can be compared with OJ inV- (written by Whitman as inV- on this occasion but as in- in [310] below) ‘to go away’, since the initial OJ i- and the extra syllable on the right in Middle Korean are not explained either phonologically or morphologically.

Therefore, both this etymology and the following one, (305), should be rejected; cf. also (310) below.


(306) (R) MK núc- ‘late, behind time’ ~ OJ nōtī LL ‘after’ < PJK *nōc-. Whitman offers the following explanation: “The comparison must assume that OJ nōtī is a nominalization in -i (ren’ôkei: continuative) of a verb stem *nōt- now lost” (1985: 242). Since the verb *nōt- is not present in any variety of Japonic, the comparison presented here is mere speculation. This is further aggravated by imperfect semantics and a lack of internal evidence for the suggested morphological segmentation of OJ nōtī. It is methodologically unacceptable to build a hypothesis on the basis of another unproven hypothesis, so I reject this etymology.

(307) (R) MK nūlī-267 ‘makes it into, -like’ ~ OJ nōr-, ni- ‘resembles it’ < PJK *nōrī- (Whitman 1985: 242). There are two problems here. The minor one is that WOJ nōr- ‘to be like, to resemble’ is not attested phonetically in Old Japanese texts. Its first phonetic attestation nor- cannot be definitively established until Middle Japanese (JDB 1967: 570). OJ ni- ‘to be like, to resemble’ does not have a phonetic attestation in Western Old Japanese either, again appearing in phonetic script only in Middle Japanese. In addition, since both OJ *ni- and MJ ni- are vowel monograde verbs, we simply do not know whether the pre-Old Japanese form was *ni- or *nī-. This, in turn, makes relating MJ nor- and MJ ni- more dubious. The comparative case markers WOJ -nō, -nī, -nasu and EOJ -nō, -nōsū, -nasu, which are usually presumed to be connected with this verb etymologically, may offer some evidence in favor of pre- OJ *nī- < PJ *nōy-, but the form -nasu presents another problem in the area of vocalism. The internal history of this word family in Japonic is not completely understood, although some significant and important steps have already been taken toward elucidating it (Hendriks 1992, 1994). The major problem is that MK nūlī- does not mean ‘makes it like’. There are no textual examples supporting

266 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #122.
267 The correct accentuation is nūlī- (LCT 1987: 166; Nam 1997: 320).
this meaning, and I have grave doubts that it even means ‘makes it into’. I believe the problem can be solved if we ignore the modern Korean glosses in the dictionaries and turn again to the texts. Yu Changton glossed the word as MdK *chita* (LCT 1987: 166), but there are many homonymous verbs *chita* in modern Korean (Martin et al. 1967: 1654-1655). As far as I can tell, none of them mean ‘makes it into’. Nam Kwangwu glossed the word as MdK *nulita, nulettulita* ‘to hang, to let hang down’ (Nam 1997: 320). Look at some examples from actual Middle Korean texts:

KUM nwoh-olwo kilh-ul nuli-kwo
gold rope-INSTR road-ACC build-GER
constructing a road by a golden rope (*Sekpo* IX: 10b-11a)

This first example may give the impression that Whitman’s definition is right, but let us look at another one:

hhwang-kum-olwo nwo moyngkol-a kil-s kaz-ay nuli-kwo
yellow-metal-INSTR rope make-INF road-GEN side-LOC hang-GER
making a rope of gold and *hanging* [it] on the sides of the road (*Pep* III: 59a)

This example certainly agrees with the definition provided by Nam 1997: 320. It is further supported by its Chinese equivalent, 黃金爲縄以界道側 ‘making a rope of gold in order to delineate the sides of the road’, also found in *Pep* III: 59a. A very similar example is also found in a different part of the same text:

hhwang-kum-olwo nwo moyngkol-a ku kyeth-uy nuli-kwo
yellow-metal-INSTR rope make-INF that side-LOC hang-GER
making a rope of gold and *hanging* [it] on that side (*Pep* II: 32)\(^\text{268}\)

The Chinese equivalent again says 黃金爲縄以界其側 ‘making a rope of gold to delineate that side’ (LCT 1987: 166). What is probably meant in all three cases is that the roadside or side of something else is marked by the hanging rope. Let us look at one more example:

LAN-un namwo nuly-wu-n KWO\(^W\)-LAN i-Gwo
balustrade-TOP wood construct-MOD-ATTR/REAL high-balustrade be-
GER
balustrade is a high balustrade *constructed* with wood (*Welin* X: 51b)

Once again, we encounter the possible meaning ‘to construct’, but I believe that as in the above examples, the function of a balustrade is to mark off or delineate the edge of something. Of course, we may be dealing

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\(^\text{268}\) Cited on the basis of LCT 1987: 166; I was not able to locate the example myself on the given leaf in the text, as the location given by Yu Changton probably includes a typographical error.
with two different homonymous verbs here, one being ‘to construct’, and another ‘to hang something in order to mark a boundary’, but the more likely solution is that the archetype meaning is ‘to put or hang something down in order to mark the boundary’. In light of this newly established meaning, the comparison with OJ *nör-, *ni- ‘to resemble’ has to be rejected.

(308) (R) MK :nwuy ‘world, generation’ ~ OJ yö ‘id’. < PJK *nyô (Whitman 1985: 242). This is the second example in which Whitman claims that MK *n- corresponds to OJ *y-. The only other one was discussed and rejected in (300) above. An additional discussion of how this ‘correspondence’ is irregular is presented in (304) above. I am afraid that the meaning of MK :nwuy is edited to make it look more like Old Japanese: it certainly does not mean ‘generation’. The basic meaning is ‘world’, although there is also a definition ‘time’. With the meaning ‘time’ the word is predominantly attested in Early Modern Korean texts, but not in Middle Korean texts (LCT 1987: 165; Nam 1997: 317). A much more serious problem for this comparison is that MK :nwuy has R pitch which points to its disyllabic origin: PK *nwuCi LH (cf. a similar discussion in [304] above). We are extremely fortunate in this case, because the word is attested in mixed semantographic-phonographic writing in Old Korean as 世理 /NWUli/ (Hyangka XIII: 8). Thus, we can establish that the lost syllable on the right was -li, which does not correspond to anything in OJ yö, and no internal Korean evidence would allow us to explain it away as a suffix.

Finally, according to Whitman’s vocalic correspondences, MK /wu/ does not correspond to OJ /ü/, as OJ /u/ is needed instead (Whitman 1985: 129). Since this etymology presents numerous irregularities, it has to be rejected.

(309) (R) MK :nî ‘tooth’ ~ OJ ki ‘fang’ < PJK *gi (Whitman 1985: 242). This etymology is apparently misplaced in Whitman’s list. It has to appear with the etymologies (177-180), all rejected, that involve the reconstruction of PJK *g- on the basis of the ‘correspondence’ of MK *n- to OJ *ki-. For a detailed critique of this alleged correspondence refer to Martin (1991: 273) and Vovin (1993b: 339-340). Although OJ ki ‘fang’ is not attested phonetically in Western Old Japanese (the first phonetic attestation is MJ kiba and Middle Japanese compound kiba ‘fang’), Martin reconstructs PJ *kuCi on the basis of palatalization in Shuri giiba, lack of aspiration in Kusigwa Kwïiba, and Yaeyama gïï-baa (1987: 450). Therefore, there is no regular correspondence between the Middle Korean and Old Japanese vowels, so the etymology can be rejected.

(310) (R) MK :nî- ‘goes’ ~ OJ in- ‘id’. < PJK *ni- (Whitman 1985: 242). Whitman claimed earlier that OJ in- (presented this time as inV-) is related to MK :nyey- ‘to go’, see (304) and (305) above. Obviously, OJ in- cannot be related to both MK :nyey- ‘to go’ and MK ni- ‘to go’, unless one manages to demonstrate that these two words in Middle Korean are derived from the same root. However, even in this case, the number of etymologies will be reduced by one. Earlier, I rejected the comparison between MK :nyey- ‘to go’ and OJ in-, but for the sake of argument let me

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269 MJ kiba ‘fang’ has a transparent internal etymology: *ki-N-pa ‘fang-DV(ATTR)-tooth’.
270 PJ *kuCi > Shuri kii, without palatalization.
now address the comparison of MK *ni- and OJ in-, ignoring MK *myey-. At first glance a comparison looks possible, because MK *ni- in Whitman's presentation appears to have H pitch that is rare for monosyllabic verbal stems. It should indicate the loss of an initial vowel: PK *Vni- LH > MK *ni-. However, the problem is that while the dictionary form ní-tá ‘to go’ indeed has H pitch on the stem, in reality this verb belongs to verbal Accent Class 4, which includes verbs with highly irregular accentuation (Ramsey 1991: 232-233). Therefore, taking the H pitch of the dictionary form ní-tá at face value is premature. We cannot prove that there was a PK *Vni-, which would be needed for a valid comparison. There are also other problems. OJ in- is an irregular verb that exhibits paradigmatic forms typical of both consonantal and vowel classes. It is not clear whether it was originally a consonantal or a vowel verb. We can surmise PJ *in- if the verb was consonantal or PJ *in[-i]- or *inö[-i]- if the verb originally belonged to a vowel paradigm. However, in all of these cases a comparison with MK *ni- ‘to go’ (even if it is proved one day that it is from PK *Vni-) still faces some significant problems. If OJ in- is originally a consonantal verb, how do we explain final -i in MK ni-, which corresponds to nothing in the Old Japanese form? If OJ in- is originally a vowel verb, then neither PJ *u nor PJ *ö in the second syllable corresponds to MK /i/. We are again faced in this etymology either with irregularities or with unexplained problems, and this leads me to reject it.

(311) (R) MK -(n)nún, -(n)nón (topic marker) ~ OJ -nö (genitive suffix, nominative suffix in embedded clauses) < PJK *n (Whitman 1985: 242-243). Middle Korean has the following forms for the topic marker: -nón, -niun, -ön, -in, and -n (Yi Swungnyeng 1961: 149). Of those, the first two are clearly secondary, as only one sign, 隠/on/, is used in Old Korean after both vowel and consonantal stems. This creates an obvious phonetic problem: the Middle Korean topic and Old Japanese genitive can be related only through metathesis. In addition, the 'nominative' function of Old Japanese genitive -nö is really just an extension of the genitive, with similar cases widely attested in various SOV languages. To the best of my knowledge, I know of no languages that developed their genitive markers from topic markers, or vice versa. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(312) (R) MK nìlùl- ‘tells it, informs’ ~ OJ nör- ‘id., declares it’ < PJK *nirör- > pre-OJ nyör- > OJ nör- (Whitman 1985: 243). There are several problems with this etymology. First, it rests on an assumption of *r- loss in Old Japanese for which there is no internal Japonic evidence. Second, the pre-Old Japanese form nyör- is completely teleological; there is no internal evidence supporting it either. Third, I believe that Whitman confuses MK nìl- ~ nìlö- ~ nil- ~ nilG- ‘to tell, to speak’ (LCT 1987: 170-171, 174-175; Nam 1997: 326, 328, 335) with MK nìlù- ~ nìlùl- ‘to reach’ (LCT 1987: 171-172; Nam 1997: 326-327): I see no textual evidence for the extended stem *nìlù- in Middle Korean for the first of these verbs. Fourth, MK /i/ certainly does not correspond to OJ /ö/. Fifth, the variants nìlö- ~ nil- ~ nilG- appear in Middle Korean much more frequently than the variant nìlù-. The change of /ö/ to /u/ in the second syllable is an
expected and very well documented change in the history of Korean, while the opposite change did not take place, so MK nilò- must be a more archaic variant. This creates a problem for Whitman’s vocalic correspondences, because MK /o/ does not correspond to PJ *ö if we reconstruct Proto-Japonic as *nörö-. On the other hand, if we reconstruct PJ *nör-, we face a morphological problem: as the variants nil- ~ nilG- indicate, the Proto-Korean form was probably *nilok-, making PK *-ok an unaccounted-for segment. Therefore, due to these various problems, I reject this comparison.

Among the thirty-two etymologies representing Proto-Japanese-Korean initial *n- (279-312), I was able to find one possible cognate and one loanword; the remaining etymologies were rejected. The almost complete lack of good Koreo-Japonic etymologies reflecting PJK *n- speaks strongly against a genetic relationship.

3.2.13 *y-

(313) (L) MK yélh ‘ten’, yélh ‘a large number, many’ ~ OJ yöröNtu ‘id., ten thousand’ < PJK *yere(l). Whitman adds: “Final -Ntu in the OJ form is probably the genitive suffix -tu generally attached to numerals used as substantives” (Whitman 1985: 243). There is one major problem with this comparison. MK yélh ‘ten’ and yélh ‘a large number, many’ are not etymologically related. In the Ceycwuto dialect, which still keeps reflexes of PK *ye and *yo distinct, we find SC yora and NC yorai ‘a large number, many’, but both SC and NC yel ‘ten’ (Kim et al. 1995: 95, 173). Thus, we have to reconstruct PK *yora or *yara ‘a large number, many’. PK *yora/*yara cannot be a cognate of WOJ yöröNtu, because PK *o and *a do not correspond regularly to OJ /ö/, according to Whitman’s vocalic correspondences (Whitman 1985: 129). This leaves only MK yélh as a candidate for a possible genetic cognate, but the comparison of ‘ten’ with ‘great number’ is semantically weak. The final -Ntu in WOJ yöröNtu cannot be equated with the genitive-locative suffix -tu for three reasons: (1) -tu attached to numerals used as substantives is not really a genitive, but a classifier; (2) it is used only with the lower numerals 1-9; and (3) -Ntu includes a voiced prenasalized consonant /Nt/, while both genitive -tu and classifier -tu exhibit voiceless /t/. I believe that this -Ntu is the collective suffix -Ntu found also in OJ mi-Ntu ‘water’. Since there are no cognates of WOJ yöröNtu in Ryukyuan and Eastern Old Japanese, distribution strongly suggests that it is a loan from some Old Korean dialect where PK *yo/*ya > ye, as in Middle Korean. The collective suffix -Ntu must have been added after the borrowing took place.

(314) (L) MK :yel- ‘ties it together, weaves it’ ~ OJ yór- ‘braids it, twists it, twines it together’ < PJK *yel- (Whitman 1985: 243). The problem with this seemingly impeccable Old Japanese candidate for a cognate is that it has limited distribution: it is not attested in Eastern Old

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271 As indicated earlier, etymology (309) is misplaced, and is not counted here.
272 The same etymology is found in Martin (1987: 577).
273 There is also a Southern Ceycwuto doublet form yele (Kim Cwunghoy et al. 1995: 173), but since it is isolated in Southern Ceycwuto, it is probably a loan from Modern Korean.
Japanese and Ryukyuan. Therefore, I treat WOJ yór- as a loan from Korean.

(315) (R) MK yęp- ‘thin, weak’ ~ OJ yöwa- ‘weak’ < PJK *yorob-. Whitman adds: “Cf. OJ yuru- ‘loosen, soften’” (Whitman 1985: 243). The major problem here is the vocalism: MK yęp- < PK *yelp-, as seen in SC and NC yelp- (Kim Chwunghoy et al. 1995: 137). Even if one accepted Whitman’s treatment of OJ yöwa- ‘weak’ and OJ yuru- ‘loose’ as related words,274 admitting OJ yuru- as internal evidence for *-r- loss, one can still reconstruct only PJ *yurawa- > OJ yöwa- ‘weak’. PJ *u does not correspond to MK /e/ according to Whitman’s vocalic correspondences (Whitman 1985: 129). Therefore I reject this etymology on the basis of its irregularity. In addition, I have to mention that glossing MK yęp- as ‘weak’ is somewhat misleading, because it is an English translational equivalent for this word used to describe the quality of drinks, e.g., ‘weak tea’.

(316) (R) MK yet- < MK yôt- ‘eight’ in MK yétółp ‘eight’, yétón ‘eighty’ ~ OJ ya H < PJK *yo(t). Whitman comments: “MK yotolp actually occurs in the Hwungmin cengum haylyey (1446), where it is described as a dialect pronunciation. Yi Kimun (1964: 121-123) notes that the modern Ceycwu pronunciation [yodap] supports early MK *yotolp and gives additional evidence for a general shift of earlier *yo to /ye/” (1985: 243). There are several problems with this etymology. First, Whitman’s data have to be slightly corrected. The dialectal MK yotolp which Whitman cites is mentioned not in the Hwungmin cengum haylyey, but in the Hwungmin cengum wunhay (Wunhay, p. 209),275 a work by the eighteenth-century Korean philologist Shin Kyengcwun (1712-1781). In addition, the MK yétółp ‘eight’ and yétón ‘eighty’ that Whitman cites are actually later forms that are typically found in Early Modern Korean texts. The earlier Middle Korean forms are yétúlp ‘eight’ and yétún ‘eighty’, respectively (LCT 1987: 561; Nam 1997: 1078). Second, in both MK yétúlp ‘eight’ and yétún ‘eighty’ we have a non-leniting MK -t-, which goes back to a cluster. This cluster, as I discussed earlier in the section on lenition, is most likely *-nt-, but it can also be *-lt-. Third, Whitman’s proposed morphological segmentation, which segments out MK yêt- < *yôt- out of both MK yétúlp ‘eight’ and yétún ‘eighty’, is difficult to justify. If we segment MK yétúlp as *yêt-úlp, then what is the remaining part *-úlp? To the best of my knowledge, there is no such suffix in Korean. The morphology of Middle Korean numerals represents an extremely

274 In spite of the fact that both adjectives belong to Accent Class B, there are two formidable problems that make their common etymological origin highly unlikely. First, there is a phonetic problem: we would expect OJ *yura-, not yuru-, in order to relate it to OJ yöwa- < PJK *yurawa-. The vowels in the second syllables do not match. Second, we would need to justify the morphological segmentation of *yurawa as *yura-wa-. This seems to be an impossible task since, to the best of my knowledge, there is no internal Japonic justification for the much needed suffix *-wa-.

275 The only manuscript of Shin Kyengcwun’s work to survive the twentieth-century hostilities on the Korean Peninsula. I quote it on the basis of a 1938 edition by Cosen e hakhoy, reprinted in the Wunhon kwakde kwukmunhak chonglim series (1985, vol. 13).
difficult problem that merits its own investigation. I try to offer a solution here. Let us compare Middle Korean digit numerals with its tens:

**Chart 34:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle Korean numerals</th>
<th>MK digits</th>
<th>MK tens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. hònáh &lt; *hotan</td>
<td>10. yélh &lt; *yel[h]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. :twulh &lt; *twupulh</td>
<td>20. súmúl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. :seyh &lt; *seki</td>
<td>30. syélhún</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. :neyh &lt; *neki</td>
<td>40. mázón (cf. MdK mahun) &lt; *mason</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. tàsós</td>
<td>50. :swuyn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. yèsús &lt; *yonsus</td>
<td>60. yè:sywuyn &lt; *yonsywun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. nìlwúp</td>
<td>70. nìlhún</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. yètúlp &lt; *yo&quot;, tulp</td>
<td>80. yétún &lt; *yo&quot;, ton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. àhwóp</td>
<td>90. àhón</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The derivation of the tens from digits may seem quite idiosyncratic, but I believe we can see a certain pattern. First, with the exceptions of 1~10 and 2~20, which clearly represent unrelated roots, and 5~50, which is also likely to involve unrelated roots, the teens are derived from the shortened forms of digits. Second, we can see that the numerals 30, 40, 70, 80, and 90 end in -zon > *son, -hun, -on, or -un. By a logical typological approach to numerical systems, we are forced to conclude that all these variants go back to the same archetype with the meaning ‘ten’, although apparently have no connection with MK yélh ‘ten’. I believe that the phonetic shape of this archetype can be reconstructed conditionally as *-son ‘ten’ and I will try to prove this hypothesis below.

First, WOJ -só ‘ten’, found only within the tens, is a likely loan from some variety of Old Korean (Vovin 2005a: 367). Therefore, it confirms the initial consonant as /s/. Second, we should notice that the numerals :swuyn ‘50’ and yè: sywuyn ‘60’, which were not listed above, also end in -n like other teens, and that they both have syllables with R pitch that indicates a disyllabic origin, as MK :twulh ‘two’ < *twupulh has. Thus, it is quite possible that :swuyn ‘50’ is from something like *swuy-son and yè: sywuyn ‘60’ is from *yonsywuy-son. Third, since the cluster -ls- is extremely rare in Middle Korean, and the clusters -ts-, -nts-, -lts-, and -hs-, do not exist, we would expect certain morphophonological changes to occur on the morphemic boundaries when the shortened forms of digit numeral roots ending in -l, -t, and -h would be followed by our tentative *-son. Keeping

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276 This reconstruction is possible on the basis of EMK twupul, written as 途孛 (MC du-bwot) in Kyeylim #20.
277 See (222) above for the justification of this reconstruction.
278 See (300) above for the justification of this reconstruction.
279 PK *yonsus with *o is supported by Ceycwuto forms such as SC and NC yeset, although the isolated SC yeset also exists (Kim Chwunghoy et al. 1995: 94).
280 This is just an approximation. The exact reconstruction of this morpheme cannot be proposed at the present time due to multiple problems.
this in mind, I propose the following developments for tens:

40. *nè-són > *nà-són > *mà-són > mà-zón
50. *swùy-són > *swùy-zón > *swùy-ón > :swuyn
60. *yòsywùy-són > *yèsywùy-zón > *yèsywùy-ón > yè:sywuyn
70. *nil-són > *nil-hón > nil-hún
80. *yòlt-són > *yèlt-ón > *yèt-ón > yètún
90. *âh-són > âhón

The numeral syèlhún ‘30’ is absent from the above list, because it is difficult to explain how it obtained its /l/. It may be either a result of analogy, or more likely, a very complex case involving the two-layered compounding of the short form se ‘three’ + yélh ‘ten’ + *-són ‘ten’, thus:

30. *sèkí-yélh-són > *:se-yélh-són > *s-yèlh-són > syèlhún

Now we are ready to go back to the problem of MK yètúlp ‘eight’ and yètún ‘80’. Both have a non-leniting MK -t- which can go back to the Proto-Korean clusters *-lt- or *-nt-. I suspect that MK yètúlp ‘eight’ is really derived by counting in reverse: namely it is from yélh ‘ten’ + EMK twupul, the latter being metathesized with a consecutive loss of the vowel in the second syllable and vowel reduction in the first: twupul > *twulup > -tulp. There is, of course, a strong argument against this etymology. As we have seen above, MK yètúlp < *yoltulp, while MK yélh < *yélh. This discrepancy in vocalism is difficult to explain. Despite its irregularity, the advantage of this internal etymology over Whitman’s external etymology is that it does not involve an ad hoc morphological segmentation of MK yètúlp ‘eight’ as *yèt-úlp. In addition, as I mentioned in (300) above, lower numerals are normally inherited or borrowed as a set, and we cannot expect that Japonic and Korean share just ‘four’ and ‘eight’. Thus, regardless of whether my internal etymology for MK yètúlp ‘eight’ can be proven or not, I reject Whitman’s comparison of it with OJ ya- ‘id’. on morphological and typological grounds.

(317) (R) MK yèwúy- ‘gets thin, becomes emaciated, grows haggard’ ~ OJ yase- ‘id’. < PJK *ye:se-. Whitman comments: “MK [there is a lacuna in the text — A.V.] should result from a loss of a medial consonant, according to this comparison /z/, but *[yèzwúy-] is not attested” (195: 243). It is no wonder that speculative MK *yèzwúy- is not attested, as the evidence from dialects indicates that the mysterious consonant was *-p-. Choy Hakkun cites such forms as Kyengsang Pukto yebinda, Hamkyeng Namto yə:binda, Cenla Namdo yabunda, etc. (1987: 1420-1421). Thus, MK yèwúy- ‘gets thin, becomes emaciated, grows haggard’ (which could be pronounced [yèGwúy-]) goes back to *yepwuy-. I reject the comparison with OJ yase- ‘id.’ due to the impossible correspondence PK *-p- : OJ -s-.

Among the five etymologies presented by Whitman for PJK *y- (313-317), I have rejected three and accepted two as loans from Korean into
Japanese. This leaves no good Koreo-Japonic etymologies reflecting PJK *y-, creating another gap that strongly speaks against a genetic relationship.

3.2.14 *a-

(R) MK a- ‘my’ ~ OJ a (first person pronoun) < PJK *a

(Whitman 1985: 244). Whitman claims that MK a- ‘my’ “appears as the first member in the following Middle Korean kin terms, all referring to the speaker’s kin: à-pá:nim ‘father’ (polite), à-pí ‘father, male’ (cf. OJ pî ‘male’281), à-zó ‘younger brother’ (cf. OJ se male relative282), à-sóm ‘relatives’, à-cómi ‘aunt’, à-câpi ‘uncle’, LMK283 a-ci ‘wet nurse’. This is certainly an ingenious and interesting proposal, but there are multiple obstacles against identification of Korean a- in kinship terms with the first person pronoun. First, Whitman’s claim that these kinship terms all refer to the kin of the speaker is simply not true. Cf. the following examples, in which the kinship terms acomi and acoma-nim (polite) ‘aunt’ do not refer to speaker’s kin:

acomi-lul ceh-osy-a
aunt-ACC fear-HON-INF
[Xuan-zong] feared [his] aunt, and… (YP 99)

acoma-nim-on Ttay.qoy.tt twoM-lul nilu-si-n-i
aunt-HON-TOP Mahâprajâpati-ACC call-HON-ATTR/REAL-NML
[Buddha’s] aunt was called Mahâprajâpati (Sekpo VI: 1a)

Second, there is no independent internal Korean evidence for a- ‘my’, nor is there any internal evidence for its segmentation as a separate morpheme in the above terms. It seems that the existence of OJ a ‘I’ is the only justification for such a segmentation, and this is a reconstruction from ‘above’.284 Third, MK àtól ‘son’ and MK àkí ‘child, baby’, which also start with /a-/ are not on the above list, because they are needed for other etymologies, where they are compared with OJ atô ‘footstep’ and WOJ a/Nkî (intimate informal second person pronoun); see (322) and (325)

281 To the best of my knowledge, there is no textual evidence for OJ pî ‘male’, and Whitman does not indicate his source. There is OJ pi ‘spiritual power’, found sometimes in deities’ names (JDB 1967: 603), but it can hardly be equated with ‘male’.

282 OJ se originally meant ‘elder brother’, but it could be used by females to refer to their husbands or lovers, cf. OJ ítô ‘younger sister’, that was used by males to refer to their spouses or lovers. Modern Korean also offers an interesting parallel in this respect: oppa ‘elder brother (of a woman)’ is used as a term of address to a boyfriend by his girlfriend.

283 This is actually Early Modern Korean.

284 Let me provide the following hypothetical example illustrating why such a methodology is unacceptable. Let us claim that Russian and Ket (Yeniseian language family, Central Siberia) are related. Let us claim that Russian and Ket (Yeniseian language family, Central Siberia) are related. Yeniseian has a third person singular possessive prefix d- ‘his’. What prevents us from segmenting this d- as a possessive prefix in the following Russian kinship terms all starting with d-: ded ‘grandfather’, diadia ‘uncle’, dever ‘brother-in-law (husband’s brother)’, doch ‘daughter’, and ditia ‘child’, representing them as d-ed, d-iadia, d-ever, d-och, and d-itia, and claiming that this d- is the same prefix as found in Ket? Certainly, there is no internal Russian evidence for such a morphological segmentation.
below. It remains unclear why this a- ‘my’ cannot be segmented in àtól ‘son’ or àkí ‘baby’ with the only justification being that they have different Japonic etymologies. Fourth, there are other Middle Korean kinship terms that do not start with a-, e.g., stól ‘daughter’, émi ‘mother’, nwù/Gjúy < *nwupuy ‘sister’, etc. Why do these kinship terms lack a- ‘my’? Finally, Korean never had any nominal prefixes, but Whitman’s suggested analysis necessitates treating a- as a possessive prefix. This would be a unique nominal prefix and against the general structure of Korean. Therefore, on the basis of numerous problems, I reject this etymology.

(319) (R) MK ãch ‘reason’ ~ OJ (mainly Azuma) aNto ‘how, why’ < PJK *ecô (Whitman 1985: 244). The form aNto is not ‘mainly Azuma’, but predominantly Azuma, as it is attested in Eastern Old Japanese texts seven times, but only once in the entire Western Old Japanese corpus (MYS XV: 3639). This makes it a hapax legomenon in Western Old Japanese, and taking into consideration the imperfect history of the textual transmission of MYS XV, it can be probably safely disregarded as a Western Old Japanese form. Whitman follows the Omodaka et al. glossing of aN-tô as ‘how, why’ instead of ‘what’ (JDB 1967: 32). Yet the meaning ‘how’ does not occur in the texts at all, and in only one example out of seven does aN-mean ‘why’, while it certainly means ‘what’ in the remaining six. Some Eastern Old Japanese examples are presented below; for the others, see Vovin (2005a: 309-310):

wa-Nka se-kô-wo aN-tô kamô ip-am-u
I-POSS beloved-DIM-ACC what-DV PT say-TENT-ATTR
What shall [I] say about my beloved? (MYS XIV: 3379)

ak-an-u-wo aN-tô ka a-Nka se-m-u
satisfy-NEG-ATTR-ACC what-DV PT I-POSS do-TENT-ATTR
since it was not enough [for me], what should I do? (MYS XIV: 3404)

NA pa aN-tô ka [o]môp-u
you TOP what-DV PT think-ATTR
What do you think? (MYS XIV: 3494)

aN-tô ka taye se-m-u
why-DV PT break(NML) do-TENT-ATTR
why should [we] break up? (MYS XIV: 3397)

Given the fact that nani ‘what’ appears in the entire Eastern Old Japanese corpus only twice, and both times in poems that have no typical Eastern Old Japanese features (MYS XIV: 3373 and XX: 4323), it probably can be disregarded as an Eastern Old Japanese form (Vovin 2005a: 309). I treat EOJ aN-tô as a combination of aN-, a cognate of WOJ nani ‘what’ and PR *nau ‘id.’ and the defective verb tô ‘to say’. I present a detailed discussion along these lines in Vovin 2005a: 309-314, also demonstrating the reconstruction of the common Proto-Japonic form as *n-anu. Thus,
EOJ aN- ‘what’ cannot be compared to MK ãch ‘reason’, and I reject the etymology.

(320) (R) MK ãchi- in ãchiet-, ãchyét- ‘hate’ < *ãchí- + :et- ‘get’ ~ OJ asi- ‘bad, evil, hateful’ < PK *aci (Whitman 1985: 244). First, the data require a minor correction. As far as I can tell, MK ãchiet- is a ghost, the actual form is MK ãchîètpù-, a hapax legomenon attested only in Sekpo XIX: 7a. Therefore, we essentially have to deal with MK ãchyét- ‘to hate, to dislike’, but the basis for Whitman’s internal analysis of this form as consisting of *ãchí- (which does not present itself otherwise) plus :et- ‘to get, to receive’ remains unclear to me. The MK ãchyét- form ‘to hate, to dislike’ is clearly a transitive verb, and its derivation from ‘to get, to receive’ seems somewhat dubious, since we would expect it rather in the case of an intransitive verb. Besides, given the fact that MK :et- ‘to get’ has R pitch, the proposed contraction L+H+R > L+H seems phonetically unnatural as well. Finally, OJ asi- ‘bad’, which belongs to the traditional -siku class of adjectives, certainly consists of the root a- + petrified suffix -si- found in other adjectives belonging to the same class. Needless to say, the basic meaning of a-si- is just ‘bad’, as it is the antonym of yô- ‘good’ (JDB 1967: 20), and neither ‘evil’ nor ‘hateful’ is its primary meaning. The proposed etymology boils down to a one-phoneme etymology with dubious semantics: the monophonemic Old Japanese root a- is compared to MK *ãchí-, which is itself segmented ad hoc, and certainly cannot be segmented any further. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(321) (L) MK ãchóm ‘morning’ ~ OJ asa LF ‘id’. Whitman notes that he cannot account for the aspiration in the Middle Korean form (Whitman 1985: 244). The correspondence of MK -ch- to OJ -s- is indeed irregular. If we look at the distribution of OJ asa ‘morning’ in Japonic, we can clearly see that while the word is present in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese, as well as in Middle Japanese, it is not attested in Ryukyuan, with a single exception: Shidôke ãsa ‘morning’ from the island of Kikaijima in the Northern Ryukus (Hirayama 1966: 284). The isolated nature of Shidôke ãsa ‘morning’ and a lack of any attestations in the Southern Ryukus strongly suggests that the Shidôke form is a loan from mainland Japanese. The lack of Ryukyuan attestations indicates that WOJ and EOJ asa is a loan from Korean.

(322) (L) MK âkî, âhóy ‘baby, child’ ~ OJ aNkî (intimate informal second person pronoun) < PK *âgi (Whitman 1985: 244). First, it is necessary to note that MK âkî ‘baby, child’ < PK *ânkî and MK âhóy ‘child’ < PK *âkóy cannot come from the same etymon because of differences in their consonantism, vocalism, and pitch patterns that could not be easily explained if these words were truly related. Phonetically only

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286 Cf. the treatment of this adjectival -si- in (265) above.
287 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #144.
288 The native Japonic word for morning is reflected in WOJ tutômëte (MJ tutomete) ‘morning’ and PR *sutomete, which is amply attested in the Southern Ryukus.
MK ákí ‘baby, child’ < PK *ánkí can correspond regularly to WOJ aNKî, because WOJ -Nk- and -î do not correspond regularly to MK -h- and -oy, respectively. It is also important to know that only MK ákí is used as a term of endearment, ‘baby’ (the same is true of the Modern Korean as well). For WOJ aNKî Whitman adopts the gloss provided by Omodaka et al. (JDB 1967: 7), but ignores the etymological commentary that follows, which claims that WOJ aNKî is essentially a contraction of a-Nka kîmî ‘my lord’, an explanation which dates back to Yamada Yoshio (1954: 32-33). Such a contraction would be most unusual from the viewpoint of Western Old Japanese phonology (Vovin 2005a: 236). There are only two examples where WOJ aNKî is clearly attested in phonetic writing. One is found in the following poem from the Kojiki, where the rebellious prince Osikuma-nō mikō addresses his commanding general Isapi-nō sukune after they have been defeated by forces of the empress Jingū:

iNsa aNKî purukuma-Nka ita te op-aNS-u pa nipô-N-töri-nô apumi-nô umî-ni kaNduk-i se-na wa
hey child Purukuma-POSS painful hand cover-NEG-INF TOP nipo-DV(ATTR) bird-COMP Apumi-GEN sea-LOC dive-NML do-DES I
Come, baby, if [we are] not to receive heavy wounds from Purukuma, I wish [that we] dive into the sea of Apumi like nipo birds (KK 38)

After the prince sang this song, both he and his general committed suicide by drowning. Tsuchihashi notes the parallelism of iNsa aNKî ‘hey, child’ in this poem with iNsa kô-Ntömö ‘hey, children’ in KK 43, but he believes that WOJ aNKî is more honorific (Tsuchihashi 1957: 60). However, since the prince is addressing his commanding general, who is clearly of lower status than the prince himself (as is also indicated by their respective titles mikō and sukune), I cannot see anything ‘honorific’ in this usage.

The second phonetic appearance of WOJ aNKî occurs not in a poem, but in the Chinese prose of the second volume of the Kojiki. Here the emperor Ōjin addresses his son Opō-saNsakî-nō mikōtō (the future emperor Nintoku):

爾天皇詔佐邪岐阿藝自佐至藝五字以音如我所思
then emperor declare SaNsakî child PT speech (from 佐 to 藝 five characters by sound)289 like I NML think
Then the emperor deigned to say: ‘SaNsakî, [my] child (read five characters from 佐 to 藝 by their sound), [your] words are like what I thought’ (KJK II: 69b)

Of course, it is impossible for an emperor to address his own son as ‘my lord’, because a prince is lower on the social ladder than the emperor. Therefore, it is likely that in the first example, from KK 38, WOJ aNKî is

289 This is an inserted commentary.
used as a term of endearment meaning ‘baby’, while in the second example it is used in its primary meaning ‘child’, although it seems likely that an element of endearment is also present. These examples clearly show that there is no honorific usage involved. The rarity of WOJ *aNkî in the texts also speaks strongly against a pronominal usage, even as a ‘fond informal second person pronoun’, as Whitman suggests. Finally, we have to look at the distribution of WOJ *aNkî ‘baby, child’. The biggest problem for Whitman’s etymology is that the word is not attested in any variety of Japonic except Western Old Japanese. Moreover, WOJ *aNkî in both of the above examples occurs within a small chronological window: during the regency of the empress Jingū and the reign of her son emperor Ōjin. After this they never resurface. Both Jingū and Ōjin are known for their Korean connections, and it is highly likely that the dynasty Ōjin founded was of Korean origin (Ledyard 1975: 237-254). In short, everything points to the fact that WOJ *aNkî ‘baby, child’ is another loan from Korean.

(323) (R) MK :al- ‘below, before’ ~ OJ asi LL ‘foot, below’ < PJK *al2i (Whitman 1985: 244). There are problems with this etymology on both the Korean and the Japonic sides. First, Whitman conflates two very different Middle Korean words: :alây ‘before’ and álây ‘below’ (LCT 1987: 516; Nam 1997: 1002-1003). Since besides MK :alây ‘before’, there is also its doublet form :alôy ‘before’ (LCT 1987: 515; Nam 1997: 1005) and a related MK álph ‘before, front’ (LCT 1987: 527; Nam 1997: 1026), the segmentation of MK :alây ‘before’ as :al-ây is probably justified despite the word’s obscure phonological history. But, it is hardly possible to compare ‘before’ with ‘foot’, so we are left with only MK álây ‘below’, although the semantics of this comparison are far from perfect. There is no similar evidence for the segmentation of MK álây ‘below’ as *ál-ây, although one might argue that -ây is a petrified locative case marker. Such an argument could seemingly be supported by the fact that MK álây ‘below’ is not followed in Middle Korean texts by case markers, including locative case markers. However, a strong counterargument can be made. First, there is a single attestation of MK álá ‘below’ (Mwongpep 21a). It is, of course, a *hapax legomenon, which I would normally not use as evidence, but in this particular case it is strongly supported by the Middle Korean compound álá-wùh ‘below and above’, which is amply attested (LCT 1987: 516; Nam 1997: 1002). Therefore, I think that MK álây ‘below’ represents a contraction of MK álá ‘below’ + -ây, locative case marker. A comparison of MK álá ‘below’ with OJ asi ‘foot, leg’ runs into an irregular correspondence of the vowels in the second syllable, since MK /a/ does not correspond to OJ /i/, whether the latter is from *i or from *ui or *öi. However, as I mentioned earlier, there are also problems on the Japonic side. First, OJ asi only means ‘foot, leg’, and I am not aware of any textual evidence for the meaning of ‘below’ that Whitman mentions. Second, the root of this word is just a ‘foot, leg’, attested as such in

290 The form aloy is attested only in Early Modern Korean. Since in Early Modern Korean there was no longer a phonemic distinction between /a/ and /o/, EMdK aloy cannot be claimed a doublet.
Eastern Old Japanese (MYS XIV: 3387), and in compounds in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese: WOJ a-N-kakî ‘gallop’ (lit. foot’s scratching the ground’s surface) (JDB 1967: 2), WOJ a-na-suwe ‘feet end’ (JDB 1967: 34), WOJ a-N-pumi ‘stirrup’ (lit. foot’s stepping place) (JDB 1967: 39), WOJ a-yupî ‘strings to tie hakama under knees’ (lit. leg-tier) (JDB 1967: 52), etc. A comparison of OJ a ‘foot’ and MK álâ ‘below’ is an etymology based on one phoneme. It leaves the second syllable in the Korean word unaccounted for and involves very vague semantics. Therefore, I reject this etymology.291

(324) (R) MK ani (negative) ~ OJ -an-, id. < PJK *-an (Whitman 1985: 244). This etymology was discussed in the section on verbal morphology (2.3.2.1) and rejected.

(325) (R) MK ától ‘son’ ~ OJ atô ‘foot, trace, footprints, after, successor’ < PJK *ator (Whitman 1985: 244). This etymology has problems on both the Korean and the Japonic sides. First, MK ától ‘son’ has non-leniting MK -t- < PK *-nt-, which cannot correspond regularly to OJ -t- (see the chapter on lenition in Middle Korean). Second, OJ atô does not mean ‘successor’; this meaning is simply added to make the words look closer. Omodaka et al. assign two meanings to the word: (1) ‘foot, leg, footbase’; (2) ‘footprint, trace’ (JDB 1967: 32). Martin glosses it as ‘footprint, trace, behind’ (1987: 387). The last meaning ‘behind’ is certainly a semantic development of ‘footprint’ or ‘trace’. Third, we have an interesting problem: in Western Old Japanese texts the word appears in two different shapes: atô, with a kô-rui /ô/, and atö, with an otsu-rui /ö/. Omodaka et al. suggest that the original form was atô, and that the form atö is the later form due to an early merger of /ô/ and /ö/ after /t/ (JDB 1967: 32). However, there is a recent study by Bentley which indicates that the traditional position on the early nature of the orthographic confusion of / tô/ and / tô/ is mistaken (Bentley 1999).292 There are only three examples of atô spelled phonetically in Western Old Japanese. One appears in the Nihonshoki kayô, one in the Man’yôshû, and the third is a phonetic gloss in the Chinese text of the Nihonshoki:

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291 It is also necessary to mention that asi (but not a) has a limited distribution in Ryukyuan: only Shuri ʔasi ‘pig’s leg, leg’ (RGJ 1976: 124) and Nakijin ʔasi (Nakasone 1983: 8) are attested, but the former is limited to idiomatic expressions, and the latter occurs in the compound ʔasi yucaa ‘four-legged [animal]’. These are clear loans from Japanese. Consequently, OJ a may not be a Proto-Japonic word.

292 In this article, Bentley convincingly demonstrates that tôru ‘to hold’ and tôru ‘to take, to grab’ were two different verbs in Western Old Japanese, which later merged in one phonetic form toru.
I enter-INF-HON-INF foot hold-INF wife-DV(INF)-hold-INF do-INF-SUB
I entered inside, and holding [her] foot, [I] held [her] as [my] spouse, and… (NK 96)

脚辺阿度陛
jiao bian (atô pê)
foot side ([read] atô pê) (NS I)294

kaNse-nô mi-ye-n-u-Nka Nkötö-ku atô mó na-kî yö
wind-GEN see-PASS-NEG-ATTR-POSS like-INF trace PT no-ATTR life
impermanent life, which has not even a trace, like the wind that [one]
cannot see (MYS XV: 3625)

While both examples from the Nihonshoki clearly mean ‘foot’, the
element from MYS XV: 3625 means ‘trace’. The examples with WOJ atô
in phonetic spelling are much more numerous, although the lion’s share of
them are found in the Bussoku sekî ka. As far as I can tell, all cases of WOJ
atô mean only ‘footprint’. Some examples:

mî-atô tukur-u isi
HON-footprint make-ATTR stone
Stone, where [I] carve the footprint [of the Buddha] (BS 1)

kônö mî-atô ya-ýöröNtu pikari-wo panat-i-iNtas-i
this HON-footprint eight-ten thousand light-ACC emit-INF-exit-INF
This footprint [of the Buddha] emits eighty thousand lights (BS 4)

atô-wo mi-tutu sinöp-am-u
footprint-ACC see(INF)-COOR praise-TENT-FIN
[I] will be looking at [Buddha’s] footprint and praise [it] (BS 6)

Therefore, if we disregard the evidence from the single example from
MYS XV: 3625, where atô appears as ‘trace’,295 it looks as if we are
dealing with two different words here: WOJ atô ‘foot, base of the foot’ and
WOJ atô ‘footprint, trace’. I believe that ultimately these two words may

293 The traditional interpretation of this poem treats tuma as ‘edge (of clothes)’, not as
‘spouse’, cf., e.g., Tsuchihashi 1957: 188. Omodaka et al. follow the same interpretation
(JDB 1967: 32). However, such an interpretation faces two problems: first, it involves
understanding för- as ‘to grab’, i.e., ‘to grab the edge [of the clothes]’, which is not correct
(see the preceding footnote). Second, it leaves the prenasalized voiced /Nt/ in tumaNtôri
unexplained. I follow Bentley 1999 in interpreting för- as ‘to hold’. Consequently, I analyze
tumaNtôri as tuma-N-tôr-i, a contraction of *tuma n-i tôr-i (spouse DV-INH hold-INH)
‘holding as a spouse’.
294 Cited according to JDB 1967: 32.
295 It must be kept in mind that volume XV of the Man’yôshû does not have a good history
of textual transmission. Various kinds of misspellings are found in this particular volume.
be partially related, as both are probably old compounds including OJ a ‘foot’, discussed in (323) above. Therefore, this etymology can be rejected on phonetic, morphological, and semantic grounds.

(326) (R) MK àwól- ‘joins together, meets’ ~ OJ ap- ‘id’. \(^{296}\) < PJK *ap-.

Whitman adds: “The OK (Silla) transcription 阿火 [apal] ‘join together’ (Sanckwuk saki Ch. 34) confirms the original stem final /p/. OK -l is the attributive ending so /-ól/ in MK must be an extension of the original stem” (1985: 244). There are two problems. First, MK àwól- (actually àGwól-) means ‘to join together, to put together, to combine’, but it does not mean ‘to meet’, which is the basic meaning of OJ ap-. Therefore, the meaning ‘to meet’ is added to improve the semantic comparison. Nevertheless, the semantics are not impossible, so if this were the only problem, the comparison would be acceptable. Unfortunately, the second problem is more serious: there is no internal Korean evidence for segmenting -ól (more exactly -wól) either as a suffix or as a “stem extension.” Thus, we face the problem of an unaccounted segment and the etymology should be rejected.

Among the nine etymologies presented by Whitman for PJK *a- (318-326), I accepted two as loans from Korean into Japanese, and one as a possible cognate, although not perfect, and rejected the other six. It is very strange that genetically related languages would have only one cognate with initial *a-. This creates another potential gap, which strongly speaks against a genetic relationship.

3.2.15 *ü-, *ö-

(327) (R) MK wùh ‘up’ ~ OJ upa-/upë < u + pa ‘place’ < PJK *u-(Whitman 1985: 245).\(^{297}\) There are several serious problems with this comparison. First, the segmentation of OJ upa- ~ upë as *u-pa is ad hoc, because PJ *pa ‘place’ is a ghost (see [1] above), and because there is no internal evidence for OJ *u- ‘top’ either. Second, we do not know whether MK -h in MK wùh ‘top’ is a suffix or a part of the stem, but there is no internal evidence for its being a suffix. Finally, MK -h- does not correspond regularly to OJ -p-. Therefore, I reject this comparison as a chance similarity.

(328) This number is absent from Whitman’s list.

(329) (R) MK wúlí ‘we, us, me’ ~ OJ wa, ware ‘id’. < PJK *bör ~ *bor (Whitman 1985: 245). This comparison has several serious problems. First, MK wúlí has only the plural meaning ‘we’. Second, OJ ware is just an extended stem with the pronominal suffix -re of OJ wa ‘I, we’ (with plural meaning attested very rarely), which can occur in isolation (especially in Eastern Old Japanese), or followed by case markers (see Vovin 2005a: 219-232 for details). On the other hand, there is no internal evidence for segmenting MK wúlí into *wú-li. Third, the Proto-Japonic form was either *wan[u] or *ban[u], depending on the treatment of OJ w- vs. Sakishima b-(see 1.2.2.1). Finally, MK /wu/ does not correspond regularly to OJ /a/: the

\(^{296}\) The same etymology is found in Martin (1966), #120.

\(^{297}\) This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #266.
suggested PJK *bör would require MK /u/ and OJ /ö/, while the suggested PJK *bor would require MK /o/ and either OJ /u/ or /a/ according to Whitman’s vocalic correspondences (Whitman 1985: 129). The correspondence of MK ð- to OJ w- is also irregular. Therefore, I reject this etymology on the basis of its irregularity and ad hoc morphemic analysis.

(330) (R) MK wùmh ‘cellar, hole’; wùmûk / wòmôk ‘hollow, depressed’ ~ OJ oku LL ‘interior’. Whitman notes: “Ryûkyûan (Shuri) uuku confirms the OJ long vowel from medial *-m- loss. Normally this should occur only after *u or *o, so we reconstruct PJK *umuko or *umoko” (1985: 245).

There are several problems with this etymology. First, this etymology is found in the section illustrating PJK *ü- or *ö-. However, Whitman’s PJK *ü requires a correspondence of MK /wu/ to OJ /u/, and his PJK *ö requires a correspondence of MK /u/ to OJ /ö/ (Whitman 1985: 129). Neither is present in this case. Reconstructing PJK *u- hardly helps, because it should be reflected as MK /wo/ and OJ /u/ (Whitman 1985: 129). Whichever way we go, we face an irregular correspondence not stipulated by the proposed rules. Second, it is well known that OJ /ö/ and /u/ do not combine within the same morpheme; therefore OJ oku can go back only to pre-OJ *ôku. However, the correspondence of pre-OJ *ô to MK /wu/ is not regular, either. Third, the loss of *-m- is a speculative proposal, which cannot be verified on the basis of internal Japonic evidence; see also (136, 185-186, 212, and 293) above. In addition, Shuri uuku just indicates the Proto-Japonic vowel length (Shimabukuro 2002: 203). Fourth, MK wùmh is actually an ‘excavated cave’ or ‘underground dwelling’, as can clearly be seen from textual examples:

Chilce koz-ay-z wumh-ul hwuseng-i nil-os-i-n-i … Cektwo anh-ay-z wumh-ul cikum-e-y pwo-zop-no-n-i …
Chilce edge-LOC-GEN cave-ACC later.saints-NOM speak-HON-ATTR/REAL-NML … Red.island inside-LOC-GEN cave-ACC now-LOC see-HUM-PRES-ATTR/REAL-NML
Later saints spoke about the caves at the bank of Chilce river … [we] see [even] today the caves at Red Island (YP 5)²²⁹

Fifth, I have doubts whether there is any internal connection between MK wùmh ‘cave’ and MK wòmwôk ²²⁹ ‘to be depressed’ due to the difference in accentuation patterns and semantics. MK wòmwôk (misspelled by Whitman as *wômôk) is attested only as a nominal in Middle Korean texts, since it can function as a verb only in combination with the following ho- ‘to do’ (LCT 1987: 576; Nam 1997: 1098). Finally, the semantic difference between MK wùmh ‘cave’ and OJ oku ‘interior’ is quite substantial. I reject this etymology due to all these problems.

(331) (R) MK wùmul ‘well’ < *wu + mül ‘water’ ~ OJ wi ‘id’. < PJK *ôr, Whitman cites the Old Korean form [ôl] ‘well’ in reference to the Samkwuk saki, and proposes a speculative development from OK ôl > MK

²²⁸ Caves mentioned here were excavated and made into dwellings.
²²⁹ The form *wûmûk cited by Whitman is not attested.
ul > wul “in initial position” (1985: 245), but since he does not indicate either a character spelling of the word in Old Korean, or an exact reference to the relevant volume (let alone leaf number) in the Samkwuk saki, it is impossible to locate the source of his quote. In addition, this etymology has several problems. First, there is no internal Korean evidence for the segmentation of MK wùmúl ‘well’ into *wu (not otherwise attested) with an unknown meaning + múl ‘water’. Second, OJ wi ‘well’ can go back to three possible forms: pre-OJ *wi, *wu- 301 or *wöy. The form needed for this comparison is pre-OJ *wöy, since the others will not work in this case. However, given the three possible proto-forms, it leaves us with no more than a one in three chance that this is correct. Even in the case of pre-OJ *wöy we would still expect MK *u, rather than /wu-/, to preserve the regularity of the correspondences, in accordance with Whitman’s rules. 302

Fourth, and most important, this etymology demonstrates the same irregular correspondence as (329) above: MK Ø- : OJ w-, which cannot be accepted. Fifth, the word for ‘well’ in any given language does not necessarily have to be derived from the word for ‘water’, cf. English well vs. water, German Brunnen ‘well’ vs. Wasser ‘water’, French puits ‘well’ vs. eau ‘water’, Russian kolodec ‘well’ vs. voda ‘water’, Mandarin Chinese jìng ‘well’ vs. shuǐ ‘water’, Manchu šeri ‘well’ vs. muke ‘water’, Chuvash pusă ‘well’ vs. śiv ‘water’, etc. Such a derivation becomes even more suspicious in an SOV language like Korean, since the word for ‘water’ supposedly follows the alleged word for ‘well’, rather than the reverse. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

I have rejected all four etymologies presented by Whitman for PJK *ü-, *ö- (327, 329-331). Since the phonemes *ü- and *ö- are more uncommon than *a- discussed above, the lack of cognates might either indicate another gap speaking against a genetic relationship; or it might just point to the fact that these phonemes were not present in the proto-language.

3.2.16 *u-, *o-

(332) (R) MK wòlhí ‘wild duck’ ~ OJ u F ‘cormorant’ < PJK *or (+ [-ogi]) (Whitman 1985: 245). This etymology has two problems. The first is that cormorants, while certainly ‘birds’, are not ‘ducks’. Comparing one kind of bird to another is unlikely to be persuasive, even if both happen to be water fowl. Second, there are serious phonological problems in this comparison. MK wòlhí ‘wild duck’ goes back to PK wólókí, but

300 OJ *wi ‘well’ is not attested per se in phonetic writing in Old Japanese texts, but since the kungana /wi/ spelled with the character 井 ‘well’ is well represented in various Old Japanese sources, it leaves no doubt that the word in Old Japanese was the same as MJ wi ‘well’.

301 Some scholars may argue against pre-OJ *wu-i as a possible form, since pre-OJ *wu > OJ u. However, it is most likely that the monophthongization *ui > i took place first before the merger of *i with *i after *w-, and certainly before the disappearance of initial *w- before /u/.

302 Initial MK /u/- is rare. To the best of my knowledge it occurs only in iuph- ‘to recite’ and istiam ‘top’ (LCT 1987: 604; Nam 1997: 1143, 1148-1149). Nevertheless, it needs to be proven that in all other cases original PK *u- became MK /wu-/, and not some other vowel.
WOJ u ‘cormorant’ (not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan) can go back to pre-OJ *u or *um. Both pre-Old Japanese forms are difficult to reconcile with PK *wólókí: it is impossible to explain the loss of *-k- in proto-Japonic, and even less so the disappearance of *-m- in Proto-Korean, if the Proto-Japonic form was *um. Therefore, the etymology has to be rejected.

(333) (R) MK wól- ‘moves’ (transitive and intransitive) ~ OJ um- H ‘gives birth to’ < PJK *orom- (Whitman 1985: 245). Besides the vague semantics (the act of giving birth is not unique in requiring movement from point A to point B), this etymology rests solely on the assumption of *-r- loss in Old Japanese, which cannot be verified internally in this and the many other cases surveyed above. Although in this case, *-r- loss confirms to the accentual environment postulated by Whitman (H pitched vowel, reflecting an original short vowel [Whitman 1985: 190 ff]), there are etymologies that involve a vowel with L pitch in Old Japanese. Cf. e.g., (155) above. Therefore, I reject this comparison.

(334) (R) MK wólók- ‘rises’ ~ OJ aNkë- ‘id’. < PJK *orok- (Whitman 1985: 245). This etymology has many problems. First, MK *wólók- ‘to rise’ is a ghost, as far as I can tell. There is a Middle Korean hapax legomenon wólwól-hó- ‘to be full, to overflow’, attested only in the Sínchung yuhap (1576) (LCT 1987: 575; Nam 1997: 1096), which is unlikely to be the word Whitman had in mind, or MK wóló- ‘to go up, to climb’ (LCT 1987: 574; Nam 1997: 1097). MK wóló- has an alternate stem wólG-, which points to PK *wólók-, but *wólók- is not attested in Middle Korean. Second, according to Whitman’s own vocalic correspondences, MK /wo/- does not correspond to OJ /a/- (Whitman 1985: 245). Third, OJ aNkë- is certainly not identical to MK wóló- ~ wólG- ‘to rise’, as it is a transitive verb meaning ‘to raise’, with aNkar- as the intransitive form. Even if one accepts Martin’s reconstruction of aNkar- as PJ *anka-ra- (Martin 1987: 674), PK *wólók- ‘to go up, to climb’ and PJ *anka-ra- ‘to rise’ still do not match due to the irregularity mentioned above and also due to another irregular correspondence of PK *-lok- to PJ *-nk-.

Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(335) (R) MK wós ‘clothing’ ~ OJ uNsu LL ‘hairdress’ < PJK *oz (Whitman 1985: 245). Since MK wós ‘clothes’ has a non-leniting -s- < PK *-ns-, the etymology is phonetically plausible. However, there are two problems with this etymology. The first is semantic: WOJ uNsu is really not the ‘hairdress’ itself, but the various decorations, such as flower branches, artificial flowers, or pieces of silver and gold, inserted into the hair or headgear (JDB 1967: 115). The second problem is with its distribution: WOJ uNsu is attested only in Western Old Japanese with the meaning mentioned above, and in Middle Japanese as uzu with the meaning ‘mica’, and possibly with the meaning ‘decoration on a horse [harness]’ (JDB 1967: 115), but there are no attestations in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan. It is remotely possible that this is a loan from Korean into Japanese, but given that WOJ uNsu and MJ uzu indicate ‘decorations’ or material used for decorations (‘mica’), while MK wós
refers just to simple ‘clothing’, chances are these two words are just coincidentally similar. Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(336) (R) MK wòs, K och ‘lacquer’ ~ OJ urusi HHH ‘id’. < PJK *uros (Whitman 1985: 245). This etymology has to be rejected, because there is no internal evidence for *r- loss in Korean, making the correspondence of MK /wo/ to OJ /uru/ irregular. It is also inconceivable that a product such as lacquer would have been known to the Proto-Koreo-Japonic speaking community several thousand years ago.

(337) (C) MK :woy ‘melon’ ~ OJ uri LH ‘id’. < PJK *uri (Whitman 1985: 245). This etymology can be accepted as a potential cognate, since the correspondences are regular and the Japonic word is attested not only in Western Old Japanese but also in Ryukyuan, including South Ryukyuan, e.g., Taketomi ui, Kurojima urì, Hateruma u:ru, etc. (Miyara 1981: 329). If it is indeed a cognate, the Proto-Japanese-Korean reconstruction should be revised as *ori, since in this case OJ u- must be a product of raising *o- > *u-.

Among the six etymologies presented by Whitman for PJK *o-, *u- (332-337), I have rejected five and accepted one which can reflect only PJK *o-. The absence of reliable etymologies for *u- indicates another significant gap.

3.2.17 *e-

(338) (L) MK è(-) ‘which’ ~ OJ i- in iNtu ‘id’. < *in+tu < PJK *en- (Whitman 1985: 245). This comparison was discussed above in 2.1.2.3. It should be treated as a loan because neither MK ènú ‘which’ nor OJ iNtu- ‘wh-’ can be segmented as e- or i- on the basis of the internal evidence.

(339) (R) MK écùl- 304 ‘is dizzy, is disorderly’ ~ OJ oNti- ‘is frightened, is surprised’; oNtörök- ‘surprise, frighten’; cf. also MJ odor- ‘dances, cavorts’ < PJK *ejör- (Whitman 1985: 246). In addition to the semantic differences, there is another problem. MK écùlèp- ~ écùl-hò- ‘be dizzy/disorderly’ must be an onomatopoetic word by origin, as witnessed by the Middle Korean form écùl-hò- (no independent verbal stem *écùl- is attested) and MdK ecil-ecil or eccil-eccil ‘dizzily’. Because any comparison involving onomatopoeia is methodologically unacceptable, I reject this etymology.

(340) (L) MK èlí-, LMK 305 elisyek- ‘foolish, stupid’ ~ OJ orôka < orö- + -ka (adjectival suffix), orösöka ‘id’. < PJK *er- (Whitman 1985: 246). There are two problems with this etymology. First, the reconstruction of PJK *er- simply evades the problem of the non-correspondence of MK -i to OJ -ö in the second syllable, and the morphological segmentation of MK èlí- as èl-i and WOJ orô- as or-ö cannot be justified. Second, WOJ orôka is limited only to Central Japanese, as it does not appear in Eastern Old

303 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #140.
304 Only the forms écùlèp- and écùl-hò- ‘be dizzy’ as well as a causative form écùl-i- ‘to make dizzy’ are attested (LCT 1987: 549; Nam 1997: 1059).
305 More precisely, Early Modern Korean.
306 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #227.
Japanese, and the only attestation in Ryukyuan is Shuri ʔuruka ‘stupid’ (RGJ 1976: 562), which is isolated and likely to be a loan from mainland Japanese. As I noted in (19) above, MK *-Vlí may go back to PK *-VlVi, because PK *-VlVi normally > MK *-VlV, as in (337) above. This, alongside with the limited distribution in Japonic, suggests that the word is a loan from Korean to Japonic.

(341) (R) MK élkwúl307 ‘face’ ~ OJ aNkî HL ‘upper jaw, gills’, MdJ ago HL < ‘jaw’ < PJK *erkür (Whitman 1985: 246). There are several problems with this etymology. First, OJ aNkî ‘upper jaw, gills’ and MdJ ago are unlikely to have an etymological connection with each other due to insurmountable difficulties of relating OJ /î/ to MdJ /o/ in the second syllable, as well as the differences in accentuation: Modern Japanese (Tokyo) LH would be an accent class related to Middle Japanese HL.308 Second, WOJ /î/ does not correspond regularly to MK /wu/. Third, MK -lk- does not correspond regularly to WOJ -Nk-; in addition, Whitman claimed that MK -lk- should correspond to OJ -n- (see [16] above). Finally, the semantics of the comparison are far from ideal, especially considering that MK élkwúl actually means ‘shape, appearance’, the meaning ‘face’ is not attested before Early Modern Korean (LCT 1987: 552; Nam 1997: 1064). Therefore, I reject this etymology.

(342) (R) MK élú- ‘has sexual relations, marries’, :el.wun ‘elders’ ~ OJ oi- ‘gets older’, oya LL ‘parent’ < PJK *ere- (Whitman 1985: 246). MK :el.wun ‘elder, adult’ is in fact :elGwun, as indicated by the Middle Korean ‘syllabification’, so it is unlikely to be etymologically connected to MK élú- ‘to marry’. The comparison of the latter to OJ oyi- ‘to get older’ and oya ‘parent’ also should be rejected, because MK -l- does not correspond regularly to WOJ -y-; see also (17) above.

(343) (L) MK émi ‘mother’ ~ OJ omo LH ‘id’.310 (Whitman 1985: 246). MK émi ‘mother’ is probably a contraction from émà ‘mother’ + diminutive suffix -i, cf. the MK honorific form émà:-nim ‘mother’, which is also attested (LCT 1987: 545; Nam 1997: 1052). Only MK émà ‘mother’ can be somehow compared to WOJ omo ‘id’., because MK -i in émi ‘mother’ certainly does not correspond regularly to WOJ -o. However, even in the former case regularity remains a problem, since MK -a does not correspond regularly to WOJ -o. Of course, one can speculate about the labialization of -a > -o after /m/ in Western Old Japanese. We should not forget EOJ amo ‘mother’, which further complicates the correspondence scheme. The Ryukyuan reflexes are also irregular: Nase, Koniya, Taketomi ʔàmna, Kamezu ʔàma, Psara anna, Ishigaki appa, Hateruma abwa, Kurojima abu (Hirayama 1966: 308; 1967: 251). They support EOJ a- rather than WOJ o- in the first syllable. My tentative solution is that WOJ omo is a loan from Korean, while EOJ amo and the Ryukyuan forms

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307 The actual accentuation is élkwúl (LCT 1987: 552; Nam 1997: 1064), not *élkwúl.
308 The evidence for WOJ aNkî rather than aNkï is oblique at best, so the first part of this objection may be overruled, but the difference in accentuation remains.
309 Actually, WOJ oyi- ‘to get older’ (Vovin 2009: 420-421).
310 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #145.
represent a native Japonic (and unrelated) word. In any case, even if this word is someday proven to be a cognate, it has little value, as all comparisons involving words for ‘mother’ or ‘female’ with [m] are suspect.

(344) This number is absent from Whitman’s list.

(345) (L) MK èp- ‘bears it, carries it on the back’ ~ OJ op- ‘id’. There are three problems with this etymology. First, one should expect OJ a-, not o-, because according to Whitman’s sound laws, MK /e/ corresponds to OJ /ö/ either in final position or in a word with another /ö/ (Whitman 1985: 129). Second, MK èp- has a non-leniting -p-, making the Proto-Korean form *enp-, which cannot be compared to WOJ op- (not attested in Eastern Old Japanese), since WOJ *onp- is needed. Third, attestations in Ryukyuan are few and far between. I was able to find only Nakijin ñuruN (Nakasone 1983: 60), Shuri ñuyuN (RGJ 1976: 572), and Yaeyama (without any indication of location) offasïN (Miyara 1981: 225). The Yaeyama word must be a loan from mainland Japanese, because for a true cognate initial u- would be expected. The same conclusion seems to be appropriate for Shuri, since it has restricted semantics: it refers to a horse carrying a load or to carrying a responsibility or sin (RGJ 1976: 572). The only example provided in Nakasone 1983: 60 also refers to a cart carrying loads. Therefore, on the basis of the irregularity in the correspondences and the limited distribution within Japonic I conclude that WOJ op- is a loanword from Korean.

(346) (R) MK èpi- ‘great-, respected person’ in èpèsí ‘parents’, èpi ‘father’, èpimót < èpi + mót ‘older brother’, ‘clan, family chief’ ~ OJ opo- ‘great’ < PJK *epe- or *epö-. Whitman notes that MK èwuy- ‘broad, large’ may also be related (1985: 246). This etymology has numerous problems. First, MK èpèsí ‘parents’ is a quite transparent compound consisting of MK èpi ‘father’ and MK èzí < *èsí ‘mother’. The same is true of MK èpimót ‘family chief’ (which certainly is a function of a father), also a transparent compound consisting of MK èpi ‘father’ and MK mót ‘senior, elder’. No ‘elder brothers’ are even remotely present in this case. Therefore, MK èpi simply means ‘father’ and there is no need to assign the meaning ‘great-, respected person’ to it. Second, there are also MK àpi ‘father’ and àpá-:nim ‘father (hon.)’ that point to PK *a rather than *e in the first syllable, and this makes the comparison with OJ opo ‘big’ even less credible due to the irregularity of the vowel correspondences. Third, both MK àpi and èpi ‘father’ have a non-leniting -p-, which points to PK *anpa or *enpe, incompatible with OJ opo ‘big’. Fourth, the basic meaning of OJ opo is ‘big, large’, not just ‘great’. Finally, MK èwuy- ‘broad’ is in fact

311 The South Ryukyuan forms with -p- and -b- are problematic cognates.
312 This comparison is also found in Martin (1966), #165.
313 As a Proto-Japanese-Korean reconstruction this example is misplaced: it should be included in Whitman’s *u-, *ö- section. However, on the basis of Whitman’s vocalic correspondences PJK *ö is reconstructed on the basis of the correspondence of MK /u/ to OJ /ö/, and PJK *e on the basis of the correspondence of MK /e/ to Old Japanese ‘finally or in a word with other /ö/; otherwise /a/’ (Whitman 1985: 129). Neither of these two conditions seems to work here, as we would expect OJ /a/ rather than /ö/.
314 This is much more frequently attested as èpèzí (LCT 1987: 546; Num 1997: 1053).
Among the eight etymologies presented by Whitman for PJK *e- (338-346), I rejected five and accepted three as Korean loans into Japanese. The total absence of reliable etymologies for *e- may indicate another important gap.

### 3.2.18 *i-

(347) (L) MK -i (nominative suffix) ~ OJ -i ‘id’. < PJK *i (Whitman 1985: 246). This etymology is discussed and treated as a loan from Korean to Japanese in 2.1.1.1 above.

(348) (R) MK -i (deverbal nominative suffix) ~ OJ -i continuative [ren yūkeri] suffix) < PJK *-i (Whitman 1985: 246). As indicated earlier, Old Japanese continuative -i must be distinguished from its homophone, Old Japanese nominalizer -i, due to the accentual differences (Martin 1987: 211). The Old Japanese nominalizer -i looks exactly like its Korean counterpart, but there is an important morphological difference: while the Old Japanese nominalizer -i is a true suffix that can follow verbal roots, MK -i is in fact a bound noun that only follows attributive verbal forms. This difference in morphology suggests different, and probably unrelated, origins for these two markers.

(349) (R) MK :il- ‘boils it’ ~ OJ ir- ‘cooks it, roasts it’< PJK *i:r- (Whitman 1985: 246). The main problem with this etymology is that MK :il- actually means ‘to clean, to wash (esp. rice)’ and not ‘to cook’ (LCT 1987: 622; Nam 1997: 1175). In addition, since MK :il- < PK *ilu-, it leaves PK *u in comparison to OJ ir- unaccounted for. Therefore, this etymology can be safely rejected.

(350) (R) MK ilhóy, ilhi ‘wolf’ ~ OJ inu LL ‘dog’ < PJK *irko (Whitman 1985: 246). This etymology has to be rejected, because neither MK -h- nor MK -i corresponds regularly to OJ -n- or -u respectively.

(351) (R) MK iph- ‘recites or sings it’ ~ OJ ip- ‘says it’< PJK *ipV- (Whitman 1985: 246). There are three problems with this etymology. First, there is another Middle Korean form ǔph- ‘to recite’ (LCT 1987: 604; Nam 1997: 1149), showing a different vowel. Second, there is EMdK ulph- ‘to recite’ (LCT 1987: 603; Nam 1997: 1146), which agrees with MdK ulph- ‘id’. In spite of the fact that the Middle Korean forms are attested earlier, and the Early Modern Korean and Modern Korean forms are attested later, the Early Modern and Modern are more archaic, since there was a process 315 This may reflect either PK *ekwuy- or *epwuy-, but since the word is not attested in dialects, it is impossible to verify the source.

316 As far I can tell, WOJ ir- refers only to ‘roasting’ and not to cooking in general (JDB 1967: 106).

317 MK ilhóy (not ilhóy) ‘wolf’ is a hapax legomenon attested only in the Kwukup II: 64 (LCT 1987: 625; Nam 1997: 1181).

318 Ōno Susumu suggested a comparison of OJ ip- ‘to say’ with Korean ip ‘mouth’ (Ōno 1987: 177).
of \(-l\)- deletion before a labial in Middle Korean; cf. MK nèp- ~ MdK nelp- ‘to be wide’. Finally, MK \(-ph\)- indicates PK *-kup- or *-puk-. The first of these reconstructions would rule out the comparison completely, and the second one would make it difficult at best, as there is nothing in Japanese that would correspond to the segment *uk in Korean. As this etymology has a number of irregularities, it can be safely rejected.

(352) (R) MK i ‘this’ (proximal demonstrative) ~ OJ i- ‘this’ in ima ‘now, this time’ (Whitman 1985: 246). This etymology was discussed and rejected earlier in the section on demonstrative pronouns (2.1.2.3).

Among the six etymologies presented by Whitman for PJK *i- (347-352), I have rejected five and accepted one as a Korean loan into Japanese. The total absence of reliable Koreo-Japonic cognates with *i- indicates another important gap.

3.3 STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF LEXICAL COMPARISONS
AND CONCLUSION
I divided all of Whitman’s etymologies into three groups: (1) possible cognates, (2) obvious loans from Korean into Central Japanese, and (3) etymologies rejected for various reasons. These three groups have the following statistics:

(1) Possible cognates  11
(2) Obvious loans  75
(3) Rejected etymologies  261
Total: 347

Let me start from the largest group, the rejected etymologies. These were rejected for different reasons: irregularity in the phonetic correspondences, faulty morphemic analysis, philological problems (including ghost words), vague or unreliable semantics, and other difficulties. More often than not more than one problem was present.

The second largest group, consisting of obvious loans, was rejected as evidence for a genetic relationship because, for a variety of reasons, they cannot be perceived as genetic cognates. This leaves us with only twelve potential cognates.

Because there are only eleven potential cognates, I believe we have only two possible explanations: (a) Japonic and Korean are indeed genetically related, but the relationship is very old, or (b) Japonic and Korean are not likely to be genetically related, and these twelve possible cognates represent an older layer of loans. Let us tabulate these twelve potential cognates and see whether they provide us with any regular correspondences.
Chart 35:
Potential Koreo-Japonic cognates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Middle Korean</th>
<th>Old Japanese</th>
<th>##</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td>púl</td>
<td>pǐ ~ *pö-</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘make fire’</td>
<td>tǎhi-</td>
<td>tak-</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fill [with water]’</td>
<td>:tam-</td>
<td>tamē-/tamar-</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hold/take’</td>
<td>tǔl-</td>
<td>tōr-</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘crane’</td>
<td>twǔlwǔmí</td>
<td>turu</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘painful’</td>
<td>kwó:lwop-</td>
<td>kuru-si-</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘crab’</td>
<td>:key</td>
<td>kani</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘suffice’</td>
<td>colá-</td>
<td>tar-</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘clear/wash/bleach’</td>
<td>sél- ‘clear/wash’</td>
<td>saras- ‘bleach/wash’</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘field’</td>
<td>nwón ‘paddy’</td>
<td>nō ‘field’</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘melon’</td>
<td>:woy</td>
<td>uri</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One can clearly see that among these etymologies ‘crab’ and ‘suffice’ include correspondences that do not appear anywhere else in the list above. ‘Clear/bleach/wash’ and ‘painful’ have other problems that were discussed earlier. Two other words still seem problematic: it is difficult to explain the final -í in MK tǎhi- ‘to make fire’ which does not correspond to anything in OJ tak- ‘id’. Therefore, it seems more prudent to remove these six etymologies and rewrite the above chart so it will include only six reliable cognates:

Chart 36:
Reliable Koreo-Japonic cognates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Middle Korean</th>
<th>Old Japanese</th>
<th>##</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td>púl</td>
<td>pǐ ~ *pö-</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fill [with water]’</td>
<td>:tam-</td>
<td>tamē-/tamar-</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hold/take’</td>
<td>tǔl-</td>
<td>tōr-</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘crane’</td>
<td>twǔlwǔmí</td>
<td>turu</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘field’</td>
<td>nwón ‘paddy’</td>
<td>nō ‘field’</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘melon’</td>
<td>:woy</td>
<td>uri</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The remaining six possible cognates seem to be impeccable in the regularity of their phonetic correspondences, so a remote genetic relationship seems to be a possibility. But there are several problems. (1) The existence of only six cognates suggests a very remote relationship, which would go back many thousands of years. However, two of these cognates, ‘paddy/field’ and ‘melon’ indicate the presence of agriculture, which did not exist in East Asia more than 3,000 to 4,000 years ago. Even if a genetic relationship were taken as a fact, it would be extremely difficult to pinpoint the homeland of the Koreo-Japonic proto-language. (2) It is unlikely that after more than a century of searching for cognates new reliable cognates will be found in large numbers.
(3) It is significant that the seventy-five obvious loanwords outnumber the six reliable cognates twelve and a half times.

(4) It is very conspicuous that these cognates do not include any terms for body parts, which are typically found as cognates in uncontroversial language families.

Given all these considerations, plus the fact that no common paradigmatic morphology is attested for Koreo-Japonic, it seems that the more viable solution would be to view the ‘cognates’ as loanwords, too. But how are these loanwords different from the seventy-five obvious loanwords? In this case, the distribution appears once again. The loanwords that constitute the major portion of the Koreo-Japonic hypothesis are mostly attested in Central Japanese. Most of them represent comparatively late loans from Old Korean into Central Japanese and were probably borrowed between the late fourth and the late seventh centuries AD. A few of them are possibly much older, since they are present in all branches of Japonic, like the word for ‘island’. On the basis of phonology, it is possible to determine that the direction of the borrowing was from Korean to Japonic. Therefore, these seventy-five loanwords demonstrate that Japonic was strongly influenced by Korean. This is especially conspicuous in the case of Central Japanese, which became a Koreanized version of Japonic. This Koreanization was strongest in Western Old Japanese, where we can see not only a large amount of lexical borrowing that resulted in doublets, but also significant borrowing of morphological markers from Korean into Western Old Japanese (Vovin 2007). As in the case of Norman influence on English, some Korean loans into Western Old Japanese, both lexical and morphological, turned out to be short-lived, disappearing from later stages of the language.

The status of the loanwords that were initially termed ‘possible cognates’ is completely different. They are found throughout the Japonic language family, and nothing in their phonology indicates that they must be loans from Korean. In recent years, it has gradually become more apparent that Korean has a Japonic substratum, as indicated, for example, by the seemingly Japonic elements in pseudo-Koguryo place names. My solution for these ‘possible cognates’ is that they also represent a Japonic lexical substratum in Korean, although it cannot be completely ruled out that they may be the earliest layer of Korean loanwords in Japonic, acquired prior to migration of proto-Japonic speakers to the Japanese archipelago.

In conclusion, first, it seems highly unlikely that any evidence presented thus far in favor of a Koreo-Japonic genetic relationship can be accepted. The nature of the relationship between Korean and Japonic seems to be areal, not genetic. The present-day similarities between Korean and Japanese are the product of a convergence that took place in approximately the last sixteen hundred years; they are not the residue remaining after several thousand years of divergence from some common source. Second, it appears that the influence of Korean on Central Japanese was much greater than the influence of Japonic on Korean. Central Japanese (but not
Japonic) was heavily influenced by Old Korean or a language closely related to Old Korean (possibly Paekche) during the Kofun and Asuka periods. That influence manifests itself most clearly in Western Old Japanese and in Middle Japanese (and modern day descendants of Middle Japanese), but less in Eastern Old Japanese, and practically not at all in Ryukyuan. Modern Korean has been influenced by Japanese in modern times too, albeit to a lesser extent. Third, in spite of the long history of research on a possible genetic relationship between Korean and Japanese, the issue remains controversial, with problematic sound correspondences and very few supporting lexical and non-paradigmatic grammatical parallels. Close inspection reveals that the majority of genetic comparisons between Japanese and Korean accepted today can be treated either as loans or as chance resemblances. This is due to philological, phonological (regularity of correspondences), semantic, or functional problems (or as a combination thereof). I believe that rather than attempting to reconstruct a Koreo-Japonic proto-language, which might have never existed, we should concentrate our efforts on unveiling the history of contacts between these two languages, something that has been largely neglected.

It cannot be overemphasized that the previous work by Martin, Whitman, and others, who meticulously collected different etymologies over the years and tried to use them to prove a genetic relationship, is based on high scholarly standards. Their work also paved the road to this book. The field of comparative Koreo-Japonic is presently in a period of stagnation, and I encourage the supporters of the genetic relationship theory to come forward with refutations of my critical assessment of these etymologies and my general conclusion. I may be wrong in my conclusion that the relationship between Korean and Japonic is areal rather than genetic. However, I hope at least that this book will trigger a lively and friendly discussion and will help to reinvigorate the field. Without such discussion, the truth cannot emerge.
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The Japonic (Japanese and Ryukyuan) portmanteau language family and the Korean language have long been considered isolates on the fringe of northeast Asia. Although in the last fifty years many specialists in Japonic and Korean historical linguistics have voiced their support for a genetic relationship between the two, this concept has not been endorsed by general historical linguists, and no significant attempts have been made to advance beyond the status quo. Alexander Vovin, a longtime advocate of the genetic relationship view, engaged in a reanalysis of the known data in the hope of finding evidence in support of this position. In the process of his work, however, he became convinced that the multiple similarities between Japonic and Korean are the result of several centuries of contact and do not descend from a hypothetical common ancestor.

In question, a leading historical linguist presents a significant challenge to a view widely held by Japonic and Korean historical linguists on the relationship between the two language families and offers material support for the skepticism long espoused by general historical linguists on the matter. His findings will both challenge and illuminate issues of interest to all linguists working with language contact and typology as well as those concerned with the prehistory and early history of East Asia.

Alexander Vovin is professor of East Asian languages at the University of Hawai‘i.