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# Immigrants or Overlords?

**Korean Influences on Japan in the  
Archaic Period: a Linguistic Perspective**

Alexander Vovin

National Institute for Japanese Language and  
Linguistics, Tachikawa /

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu

# Izanagi (伊邪那岐) and Izanami (伊邪那美)

- *man'yōgana* transcriptions (WOJ *I<sup>n</sup>zana<sup>n</sup>gî* and *I<sup>n</sup>zanamî*)
- *-kî* ‘male’ and *-mî* ‘female’
- 神漏伎 ~ 神魯企 *KAMU-rô-kî* ‘male deities (lit. deity-DV-male)’ (NT 1,7,8,14)
- 神漏彌 ~ 神魯美 *KAMU-rô-mî* ‘female deities (lit. deity-DV-female)’ (NT 1,7,8,14)

# Inviting deities?

- *I<sup>n</sup>zana<sup>n</sup>gî* as ‘Male-who-Invites’ and *I<sup>n</sup>zanamî* ‘Female-who-invites’ (Motoori 1798), (Chamberlain 1919: 19), (Philippi 1968: 480)
- *i<sup>n</sup>zana-* part is supposed to be the derivation of WOJ *i<sup>n</sup>zanap-* ‘to invite’ (Motoori 1798), (Philippi 1968: 480)
- ‘Male-who-Invites’: \*i<sup>n</sup>zanap-u kî or \*i<sup>n</sup>zanap-î-nö kî
- ‘Female-who-invites’: \*i<sup>n</sup>zanap-u mî or \*i<sup>n</sup>zanap-î-nö mî

# Making effort deities?

- *I<sup>n</sup>za-* in *I<sup>n</sup>zana<sup>ŋ</sup>gî* and *I<sup>n</sup>zanamî* is compared with WOJ *isam-* ‘to make effort, to strive’, *isa-wo* ‘brave man’ (Shiratori 1954)
- Two problems:
- *-s-* and *-<sup>n</sup>z-*
- What is *-na<sup>ŋ</sup>-* (< \*PJ *-nan-*)?

# Indian deities?

The oldest etymology of *I<sup>n</sup>zana-* belongs to Kibatake-no Chikafusa (北畠親房), author of Jinnō Shōtō ki (神皇正統記, 1339 AD):

Sanskrit 伊舍那天 (Ishana ten) 、伊舍那后 (Ishana kū)

Two problems:

-s- and -<sup>n</sup>z-

No direct knowledge of Sanskrit in 7<sup>th</sup> c.

# *Kojiki* account (1)

- 於是天神諸命以。詔伊邪那岐命伊邪那美命二柱神。修理固成是多陀用幣流之國。賜天沼矛而。言依賜也。故二柱神立【訓立云多多志】天浮橋而。指下其沼矛以畫者。鹽許袁呂許袁呂迺【此七字以音】畫鳴【訓鳴云那志】而。引上時。自其矛末垂落之鹽。累積成嶋。是淤能碁呂嶋【自淤以下四字以音】於其嶋天降坐而。

# *Kojiki* account (2)

- And then heavenly deities commanded to two deities, deity *I<sup>n</sup>zana<sup>n</sup>gî* and deity *I<sup>n</sup>zanamî*: “Complete and solidify this floating land!” Giving them the Heavenly Jeweled Spear, [heavenly deities] gave [them this] message. Therefore, the two deities stood (the native reading of the character 立 is *tatasi*) on the Heavenly Floating bridge. [They] lowered this Jeweled Spear and stirred with [it]. [They] stirred the brine until [they] made it churning (the seven characters 許袁呂許袁呂迺 *köworö-köworö n-i* are used phonetically; the native reading of the character 鳴 is *nasi*). When [they] lifted up the spear, the brine dripping down from the tip of the spear piled up and became an island. This [is] Onö<sup>n</sup>görö island (four characters 淤能碁呂 starting from the character 淤 are used phonetically). They came down at this island from Heaven, and... (KJK I.2a.4-I.2b.2)

# Izanagi (伊邪那岐) and Izanami (伊邪那美)





# Heavenly deities descending to Earth

- *I<sup>n</sup>zana<sup>ŋ</sup>gî* and *I<sup>n</sup>zanamî* were essentially sent down to earth from heaven
- Heavenly deities in Japanese mythology have strong continental ties, especially with Korean peninsula (e.g. Susanöwo)
- It is not unreasonable to attempt the explanation of these names from the prism of the Korean language

# Middle Korean verb *yènc-* ‘to place/put on [the top of]’ (1)

- p<sup>h</sup>ya-m-i kachi-r mur-e cumkey-s kac-ay  
*yenc-an-i*
- snake-NM magpie-ACC  
hold.in.the.mouth-INF big.tree-GEN  
branch-LOC *place.on-PAST/ATTR-NML*
- A snake held magpie in its mouth and *put [it] on* the branch of a big tree (YP 7)

# Middle Korean verb *yènc-* ‘to place/put on [the top of]’ (2)

- nwoph-ᄡᆞ CA mᄡyngᄡr-Gwo  
PHYENQAN-hi *yenc-ᄡmyen*
- be.high-PAST/ATTR seat make-GER  
peaceful-ADV *place.on-COND*
- when [they] made the high seat and  
*placed* [him] *on [it]* peacefully (Sekpo  
9.21)

# Middle Korean verb *yènc-* ‘to place/put on [the top of]’ (2)

- SWONCA-s meri-yey *yenc-a-nar*
- Buddha-GEN head-LOC *place.on-EFF-CON*
- *Placing [it] on* the head of the Buddha (WCKCK 1.28)

# Etymology of *i<sup>n</sup>zana-* (1)

- Old Korean (OK) in contrast to MK was a language without vowel harmony
- OK *KEsk-a* (折叱可) ‘break-INF’ (Hyangka II.4)
- MK *kesk-e* (것거) ‘break-INF’ (WCKCK 62)
- PJ \*e > WOJ *i* in non-first syllables
- development of \*ye > \*yi > *i*
- *i<sup>n</sup>za* part of *I<sup>n</sup>zana<sup>ŋ</sup>gî* and *I<sup>n</sup>zanamî*
- OK \*yenc-a ‘place-INF’

# Etymology of *i<sup>n</sup>zana-* (2)

- *I<sup>n</sup>zana<sup>ŋ</sup>gî* :  $\text{ŋ}g < \text{PJ } *nk$
- *-na<sup>ŋ</sup>* -  $< \text{pre-WOJ } *nan$
- MK *na-n*, past attributive form of the MK verb *na-* ‘to go out, to exit’
- pre-WOJ *\*inzanan*  $< \text{Old Korean archetype } *yenc\text{-}a\text{-}na\text{-}n$  ‘place.on-INF-go.out.-PAST/ATTR’
- *I<sup>n</sup>zana<sup>ŋ</sup>gî* ‘male whom [heavenly deities] placed out [of heaven] on [earth]’
- *I<sup>n</sup>zanamî* ‘female whom [heavenly deities] placed out [of heaven] on [earth]’

# 八俣遠呂智

YA-MATA-[nö] woröti

Eight-forked (八俣) serpent?



# Kojiki account (1)

- 是高志之八俣遠呂智每年來喫。今其可來時故泣。爾問其形如何。答白。彼目如赤加賀智而。身一有八頭八尾。
- This Ya-mata serpent from Kôsi comes every year to devour [a young girl]. Now is the time [he] might come. This is why [we] are crying. When [Susanôwo] asked [them] what is his shape, [they] replied: “His eyes are like read winter cherries, and [his body] has eight heads and eight tails” (KJK I.22b.3-6)



# Kojiki account (2)

- 汝等釀八鹽折之酒。且作迴垣。於其垣作八門。每門結八佐受岐每其佐受岐置酒船而。每船盛其八鹽折酒而待。
- You brew very strong sake, and build the fence around. Make **eight gates** in this fence. Tie **eight stands** to all the gates, and place a sake barrel on each stand. Pour this strong sake in each sake barrel and wait (KJK I.23a.6-23b.1)

# Nihonshoki account

- 毎年為八岐大蛇所吞。。。釀八醞酒。并作假廨八間各置一口槽而盛酒以待之也。至期果有大蛇。頭尾各有八岐。
- Every year [the girls] were swallowed by eight-forked serpent. ... Brew very strong sake. In addition, make eight stands, place them at eight spaces (?), put on each [stand] a trough, and pour sake into them, and then wait for him. In due time the serpent appeared. [He] had eight-forked heads and tails (NS I.41).

# Head or fork?

- Simple arithmetic: eight forks give nine heads, not eight
- Kojiki account is very specific: **eight** heads, **eight** tails, **eight** gates, **eight** stands, **eight** barrels of sake
- Thus, *mata* must mean ‘head’, and characters 俣 and 岐 are used as *kungana* (訓仮名)
- There is no word *mata* ‘head’ in the Japonic languages
- MK *màrí, mèrí* (마 · 리, 머 · 리) ‘head’
- LOK *matay ~ matey* (麻帝) ‘head’ (Kyeylim #161)

# Emperor Ōjin (應神)



# Emperor Ōjin (應神)

- Emperor Ōjin's personal name: Pômu<sup>n</sup>da
- *Kojiki* : 本牟多 (KJK II.61b.6), 品陀 (KJK II.49b.8, II.55b.9, II.69b.7), 品太 (KJK III.42b.3)
- *Nihonshoki*: 譽田
- 譽 in the *Nihonshoki* spelling is obviously a *kungana* based on WOJ verb *pomu* (root *pomë-*) ‘praises’
- WOJ *pomë-* ‘to praise’: \*pômë- [pome-] or \*pömë- [pəme-]?
- 品 in the *Kojiki* is a disyllabic *ongana* with the reading *pomu*
- EMC had only \*-əm rhyme, but no \*-om rhyme
- 本 in the *Kojiki* is clearly an *ongana* for *pô*

# Phonographic spelling of Pômu<sup>n</sup>da (cont.)

- Another piece of independent evidence in favor of *pô*: WOJ has a phonotactic rule according to which /ö/ and /u/ cannot combine within the same morpheme
- Pômu<sup>n</sup>da was clearly perceived as a monomorphemic formation already in early eighth century, although in the donor language there was a morphemic boundary in *Pô-mu*
- 田 as a *kungana* for the syllable *ta* only (Omodaka et al. 1967: 896)
- <sup>n</sup>da: 氣田敷 *kě<sup>n</sup>dasiku* ‘if by any chance at all’ (MYS 2.194)
- 陀 and 太: *ongana* for the syllable <sup>n</sup>da
- 多 is predominantly an *ongana* for *ta*, but it is also occasionally used for <sup>n</sup>da

# Origins and the meaning of name Pômu<sup>n</sup>da (*Kojiki*)

- 次大鞆和氣命。亦名品陀和氣命。此太子之御名。所以負大鞆和氣命者。所生時。如鞆穴生御腕故。著其御名。
- 
- The next [child] is Opo-tömö-wakë-nö mîkötö. [His] other name is Pômu<sup>n</sup>da-wakë-nö mîkötö. The reason why [they] named Crown Prince Opo-tömö-wakë-nö mîkötö is because he had a flesh growth on his arm when he was born. So, [they] gave him that name (KJK II.49b.7-II.50a.1)

# Origins and the meaning of name Pômu<sup>n</sup>da (*Nihonshoki*)

- 既産完生腕上其形如鞆。是肖皇太后爲雄裝之負鞆。肖。此云阿叡。故謂譽田天皇。上古時俗號鞆謂褒武多焉。
- 
- When [Ōjin] has been born, there was a growth on his arm that resembled an arm-cover. It looked like the arm-cover that Empress [Jingū] was wearing when [she] put on man's armor. [Character] 肖 means 'to look like'. Therefore, [they] called [him] Emperor Pômu<sup>n</sup>da. In the ancient times folks called the arm-cover *pômu<sup>n</sup>da* (NSK X.269)



# Etymology of the name Pômu<sup>n</sup>da (1)

- Pômu<sup>n</sup>da means ‘arm-cover’
- WOJ *tömö* (鞆) ‘arm-cover’ and *pômu<sup>n</sup>da* ‘id.’ are doublets
- WOJ *tömö* is attested in other WOJ texts and in the later stages of the language, *pômu<sup>n</sup>da* as a noun ‘arm-cover’ occurs only once in the above account from the *Nihonshoki*
- one of the doublets is normally a native word, and another one is a loan
- I have demonstrated before that in case of doublets in WOJ, one with the narrower distribution normally turns out to be a loanword from Korean (Vovin 2007, 2010)

# Some doublets in WOJ lexicon

	WOJ	EOJ	Proto-Ryukyuan	OK	MK
<b>father<sub>1</sub></b>	titi	titi, sisi	*titi	—	—
<b>father<sub>2</sub></b>	kasö	—	—	PC kasö	—
<b>mother<sub>1</sub></b>	papa	papa	*papa	—	—
<b>mother<sub>2</sub></b>	omö/amö	omö/amö	—	—	emi/eme-
<b>sea<sub>1</sub></b>	umî	umî	*omi	—	—
<b>sea<sub>2</sub></b>	wata	—	—	—	parɿr/patah
<b>earth<sub>1</sub></b>	mîta	HJ mizya	*mita	—	—
<b>earth<sub>2</sub></b>	tuti	—	—	—	tute-/tuti-
<b>many<sub>1</sub></b>	opö	opo	*opo	—	—
<b>many<sub>2</sub></b>	mane-	—	—	—	manh-
<b>arrow<sub>1</sub></b>	ya	-ya	*ya	—	—
<b>arrow<sub>2</sub></b>	sa	sa	—	—	sar

# Etymology of the name Pômu<sup>n</sup>da (2)

- WOJ *pômu<sup>n</sup>da* ‘arm-cover’ has narrower distribution and cannot be analyzed further etymologically
- No final consonants in WOJ
- All foreign consonants are either dropped or followed by an echo vowel
- MK *pàrh* ‘arm’
- MK *pàrh* ‘arm’ > WOJ *pô-* in *pômu<sup>n</sup>da* is an expected phonetic development
- MK *mwùt-* ‘cover with, conceal, bury, keep matter under wraps’
- non-leniting consonant *-t-* < PK *\*-nt-* (Vovin 2003: 89ff)

# Etymology of the name *Pômu<sup>n</sup>da* (3)

- WOJ *-<sup>n</sup>d-* in *Pômu<sup>n</sup>da* < PJ *\*-nt-*
- WOJ *-mu<sup>n</sup>d-* < *\*munt-* in *Pômu<sup>n</sup>da* and MK *mwùt-* ‘to cover with’ < *\*munt-*
- WOJ *-a* in *Pômu<sup>n</sup>da* < MK *-ak* (denominal and deverbal nominalizer)
- MK *son karak* ‘finger (lit. hand divider)’ *kar-ak* ‘divider’ is derived from MK *kàrǎ’-* ‘to divide’ (Yu 1964: 523)
- *Pômu<sup>n</sup>da* < *pô-mu<sup>n</sup>d-a* < *\*pǎrh munt-ak* ‘arm-cover’

# Etymology of the name Pômu<sup>n</sup>da (3)

- According to the legend, future Emperor Ōjin was born in Kyūshū after Empress Jingū returned from her military expedition to Korea. It is highly doubtful that he was given a Korean name in order to honor the defeated enemies. This fact brings us to a reasonable suspicion that both Ōjin and Jingū were actually native speakers of Korean.

# Sô<sup>ŋ</sup>ga (蘇我) clan

- Sô<sup>ŋ</sup>ga clan alongside with Nakatömî (中臣), Opötömö (大伴), and Mönönö<sup>m</sup>bë (物部) clans was one of the four most powerful families during the Asuka period. Today Sô<sup>ŋ</sup>ga clan is mostly known for its active role in introduction of Buddhism to Japan, its successive patronage, and finally for the attempt to usurp imperial power. In the power struggle between these four families that took place roughly from mid-sixth century to mid-seventh century, Sô<sup>ŋ</sup>ga and Mönönö<sup>m</sup>bë clans essentially perished, Opötömö clan was delegated to the second role, and Nakatömî clan emerged victorious. One striking difference between Sô<sup>ŋ</sup>ga clan and other families is that while three other clans' names are transparent, Sô<sup>ŋ</sup>ga is opaque and meaningless in Japanese.

# Final resting place of Sônga-nô Umakô (蘇我馬子)



# Sôn̄ga and introduction of Buddhism

- The active role of Sôn̄ga in introduction and successive promulgation of Buddhism should immediately ring a bell, because we know that Buddhism was introduced to Japan from Korea, and more exactly from Paekche.



# Silla, Paekche, and Buddhism in Japan

- Paekche is traditionally perceived as an ally of Japan, and Silla as its enemy, but politics are always politics: there are clearly two accounts in Nihonshoki that demonstrate a cooling-off in relationship between Paekche and Japan in 583 AD (12<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Bidatsu (敏達)) concerning the assassination of a Paekche man called Illa (日羅), and Paekche plans to invade Kyūshū (NSK XX.108-12). Buddhist books and images were normally imported from Paekche, but there is one account in Nihonshoki that tells as about a Silla's mission bringing an image of Buddha, a golden pagoda, relics, and ordination flags in 622 AD (31<sup>st</sup> year of Empress Suiko (推古), NSK XXII.161). Thus, contacts with Silla were not limited to political and military confrontation.

# Silla's royal family surname

- The surname of the main Silla ruling dynasty is 金, read today as Kim.
- In early Silla there seemed to be an alternation of kings coming from Kim (金) and Pak (朴) families, but eventually Pak family disappeared from the scene.
- Silla kings were highly unlikely to have surnames with Chinese reading
- Cf. the royal surname of the Qing (清) dynasty: *Aisin gioro* (Manchu *aisin* 'gold'), also rendered in Chinese as 金 *jīn*

# Etymology of Sô<sup>ŋ</sup>ga (1)

- 金 should be read according to its native *hwuntok* reading (訓讀, Jpn. *kundoku*)
- MK *hwuntok* of the character 金 is *swóy* (ㅅㅗ) ‘metal, gold’
- MK *swóy* ‘metal, gold’ < OK \*sor-i
- WOJ *sô* in Sô<sup>ŋ</sup>ga < OK \*sor
- -<sup>ŋ</sup>ga?
- <sup>ŋ</sup>g < PJ \*nk

# Etymology of Sôᵑga (2)

- Silla royal and high nobility titles frequently end in *-kan* (干), e.g. *marip-kan* (麻立干) or *kese-kan* (居西干)
- The title *kan* is, of course, of Inner Asian provenance (Old Turkic and Middle Mongolian *qan* ‘prince, king’)
- OK *kan* > WOJ *ka* (no final consonants in WOJ)
- The remaining part PJ \*n > WOJ ᵑ is a contraction of PJ \*-nə > -n, contracted form of a genitive marker (WOJ -nö > -n). Therefore, Sôᵑga < \*Sor-n[ö] kan ‘prince of the Sor [clan]’.

# Vielen Dank!

- 如何も有難う御座いました
- 고맙습니다

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## Primary sources

- **Japanese**

- JSK Jinnō shōtō ki (神皇正統記), ca. 1339 AD
- KJK Kojiki (古事記), 712 AD
- MYS Man'yōshū (萬葉集), ca. 759 AD
- NS Nihonshoki (日本書紀), 720 AD
- NT Norito (祝詞), 7-9<sup>th</sup> centuries

- **Korean**

- Hyangka Hyangka (鄉歌) poems, 6-10<sup>th</sup> centuries
- Kyeylim Kyeylim yusa Korye pangen (鷄林遺事高麗方言), 1104 AD
- Sekpo Sekpo sangcel (釋譜詳節), 1447 AD
- WCKCK Welin chen kang ci kwok (月印千江之曲), 1447 AD
- YP Yongpi echen ka (龍飛御天歌), 1445 AD

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