

The multilingual Early Korean states of Silla, Kara (Kaya), and Paekche: Han (Koreanic), Puyŏ, and contact with Serbi-Mongolic, Manchu-Tungusic, Chinese, Nivkh, and others^{*}

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1. Introduction

It has been known for some time that the early Korean kingdom of Paekche 百濟 was multilingual, with speakers of both Han 韓 (Koreanic) and Puyo 扶餘 languages.¹ This paper, analyzing linguistic data recorded in the *Samguk Sagi* 三國史記, the *Samguk Yusa* 三國遺事, and the *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀, demonstrates that the early Korean kingdoms of Silla and Kara were also characterized by multilingualism, with speakers of Han dialects

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¹ Following Beckwith (2007), I write ‘Puyo’ and ‘Koguryo’ in English, for 扶餘 (부여) MSK Puyŏ and 高句麗 (고구려) MSK Koguryŏ.

(related to the modern Koreanic languages, i.e. the language family including Standard Korean, Cheju, and the divergent Hamgyŏng dialects) and Puyŏ dialects (related to Koguryŏ, Puyŏ-Paekche, and distantly related to Japanese). I will also address indications of contact with neighboring language families, including Serbi-Mongolic loanwords in Puyŏ languages, Puyŏ loanwords in Jurchen-Manchu, as well as loanwords from or into pre-modern Nivkh. This paper is primarily based on the glossed Silla and Kara toponymic data transcribed in Korean Peninsular Early Middle Chinese² in the *Samguk Sagi*, with consideration given to the Han-Silla textual data preserved in the *hyangga* 鄉歌 songs in the *Samguk Yusa*. I offer a new perspective on the linguistic diversity of the early Korean Peninsula, emphasizing the rich intercultural and ethnolinguistic contacts that clearly took place in Korea's early history, and work toward a new phonological reconstruction of early languages of the Korean Peninsula.

2. Language ≠ Ethnicity ≠ History ≠ Culture ≠ Genetics

A fact that is often overlooked by scholars working in Northeast Asian historical linguistics is that language, ethnicity, history, culture, and genetics are fundamentally different concepts. Although they often intersect and overlap at different points and at different times, they remain fundamentally distinct concepts. Ethnolinguistic interactions, assimilation, language shift, and borrowing have been part of human life since the beginning. These are not new, 'modern' phenomena. Scholars should not be tempted to homogenize the past. To do so is an oversimplification which obscures the rich ethnolinguistic and cultural exchanges of the past.

Modern Korea is the result of millennia of multicultural ethnolinguistic interactions. To acknowledge this past is to accept Korea's rich and diverse

² On this phonetically conservative variety of Chinese, see *KLJ* and Shimunek (in press).

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heritage. Korea, like all countries on Earth, is the result of the convergence and divergence of many different languages, cultures, and ethnic groups that have interacted, mixed, shared, fought against each other and with each other, learned from each other, and assimilated with each other and with their neighbors since time immemorial. In other words, Korea is not a homogenous genetic construct; it is a heritage of mixing.

3. Language Families of the Early Korean Peninsula

Historically documented languages of the early Korean Peninsula, i.e. Korea before the Koryŏ 高麗 period, include languages belonging to the Koreanic language family, languages belonging to the Puyo-Koguryoic branch of the Japanese-Koguryoic language family,³ and varieties of Chinese.

Koreanic Languages vs. Puyo-Koguryoic Languages

The Puyo-Koguryoic languages are demonstrably divergently related to Japanese, and do not form a cognate relationship with the Koreanic language family.⁴ In the currently dominant tradition, Puyo and Han are seen as two divergent branches of a common proto-language.⁵ The primary motivation for including the Puyo languages as a sister branch to Koreanic seems to be the preconceived view that they *should be* related, rather than a scientific approach to the data. If we examine the earliest attested Puyo-Koguryoic grammatical morphemes and words, they are clearly unrelated to early Koreanic:

³ On the Japanese-Koguryoic language family theory, see *KLJ*.

⁴ See *KLJ* (1-28, 232) and Beckwith (2005: 49-51 et passim).

⁵ As exemplified by Lee Seungjae's summary (2017: 414) of Lee Ki-Moon's view.

Puyo-Koguryoic		Koreanic (Han 韓)
CJK *na ‘genitive-attributive’ > AKog *na : AJpn *nâ > OJpn *nô > MSJ <i>no</i> (KLJ)	≠	CKor *-fiy > HS *-fiy ‘genitive suffix’ > MSK -iy (-의)
CJK *si ~ *ši ‘adjective-attributive’ > OKog *si ~ *ši : OJpn *-si- > MSJ <i>-shi</i> (KLJ)	≠	CKor *-tś ~ *-ts > HK *-s : HP *-(t)s : HS *-tś ~ *-ts > LMK -s (-ㅅ) ‘genitive-attributive’

Comparison of content words in Puyo-Koguryoic and early Koreanic languages also reveals a lack of cognates. Despite the fact that most languages have a large number of loanwords, if Puyo-Koguryoic and Koreanic were indeed related as two branches of a common source node (i.e. a common proto-language) as is commonly claimed, we should expect a significant number of lexical cognates, especially in the highest frequency words. This basic law of language change is summarized below:

THE LAW OF FREQUENCY AND RETENTION

“The highest frequency morphemes in any language have heavy functional load and light semantic load, and are inherited from the proto-language”.⁶

The Puyo languages and the Koreanic languages clearly do not form a language family relationship, as demonstrated by the above-mentioned grammatical morpheme comparisons and by the lexical comparisons below:

⁶ Beckwith (2008: 19), later revised by Beckwith (p.c., October 2010); cited here from *LASM* (283).

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Numerals

	Puyo-Koguryoic		Early Koreanic (Han 韓)
one	Not attested in Puyo-Koguryoic; OJpn *pitō	≠	AHS *fiat _Δ (SS) : HS *...t _Δ : EMK *hat _{Δn} [河屯] (KYS) ~ [カタナ] (Nichūreki) : LMK hanah ᄒ나ᄒ : MSK hana
two	Not attested in Puyo-Koguryoic; OJpn *puta	≠	AHS *tūta > HS *...yir > EMK *tuβur [途孛] (KYS) ~ [ツフリ] (Nichūreki) : LMK 둘ᄒ *tur(h) > MSK tur
three	OKog *mir : OJpn *mi > MSJ (KLJ)	≠	AHS *tsVyɤa : HK *ts ^(w) əy(h) : LMK səyh > MSK set ~ se- ~ sək-
four	Not attested in Puyo-Koguryoic; OJpn *yō	≠ ≠	AHS *mar ‘4’ : EMK *maryan [麻兩] ‘40’ > LMK maz _{Δn} > MSK mahin HS *...ri [四 𐏲] ‘4’ (HW) : EMK *nVy (probably *nəyh) [酒] : LMK 네ᄒ ⁷
five	OKog *ütsi : OJpn *itu (KLJ)	≠	EMK *tasu [打戍] : LMK 다ᄒ
six	Not attested in Puyo-Koguryoic, OJpn *mu	≠	EMK [逸戍] : LMK 여ᄒ
seven	OKog *nan : OJpn *nana (KLJ)	≠	EMK *yirkip/*irkip [一急] : LMK nirkup 닐곱 ~ nirkup 닐곱 ‘seven’
eight	Not attested in Puyo-Koguryoic; OJpn *ya	≠	EMK *yirtVp/*irtVp/*yertVp [逸答] : LMK 여ᄒ
nine	PP *tur ~ *tir [埃] (SS) ≠ OJpn *koko ← Ch. (KLJ)	≠	EMK [鴉好] : LMK 아ᄒ > MSK 아ᄒ
ten	OKog *tək : OJpn *tə ~ *təwo < CJK *təkwo (KLJ)	≠	EMK *yer/*er [噫] : LMK yərᄒ ᄒ
100	Not attested in Puyo-Koguryoic; OJpn *momo (?) ‘100’	≠	HP *fion ~ *kon : EMK *fion [醞] : LMK 온 *fion
1,000 ~ 10,000	PP *ti ~ *tsir ~ *tir ‘1,000 ~ 10,000, abundant’ → OJpn *ti ⁸	≠	LMK 즈ᄒ ‘thousand’ > MSK Ø

⁷ We can entertain the possibility of a loan relationship between Korean *nəyh ‘four’ and Common Nivkh *nə(r)- ‘four.’

⁸ Probably 千 EMC *ts^hẽr → PP → OJpn *ti ‘thousand, thousands, large in number’.

Direction Words

	Puyo-Koguryoic		Early Koreanic (Han 韓)
front ~ south	PS *kur ‘south’ : PP *kuru : AKog *kor ‘front’ : ? OJpn *kö < PJpn *koi ‘this, previous’ (KLJ)	≠ ≠	HS *mak : LMK <i>màh</i> ‘south’ > MSK <i>ma-</i> as in <i>map^haram</i> ‘south wind’ HK/HP *arp : LMK <i>arp^h</i> ‘south, front’ > MSK <i>ap^h</i>
back ~ behind ~ north ~ west ~ above	AKog *tsiar ‘back, behind’ > OKog *tsiri ‘north’ : OJpn *tsiri ~ *siri ‘back, behind; rump, buttocks’ (KLJ) OKog *fiaip ‘west’ : OJpn *yami ‘darkness, evening’ (KLJ)	≠ ≠	HS *tira ~ *tora ‘west’ ~ *tiy ‘north’ : HP *tiruk : LMK <i>tùyh</i> > MSK <i>twi</i> ‘behind; north’ HK/HP *i(w)k : HS *ukuk ~ *uruk : LMK <i>ùh</i> ‘above’ > MSK <i>wi</i>
east	OKog *kati ‘east’, OJpn *kəti ~ *koti ‘east wind’ ~ *pimukatši ‘east’ > MSJ <i>higashi</i> ‘east’ (KLJ)	≠	HK *ša ‘east’ : HS *seyra ~ HS dial. *sey ‘south’ : LMK <i>sáy</i> ‘east’ > MSK <i>sə-</i> ‘east’ (e.g. <i>səbaram</i> ‘east wind’).
root ~ base > below	OKog *tsiəm ‘root, base’, OJpn *tsiməw ‘below’ > MSJ <i>shimo</i> ‘below’ (KLJ)	≠	HK/HP *ari : HS *ara : LMK <i>ara</i> : MSK <i>arə</i> ‘below’
(see also ‘heart’ in <i>Body Part Terms</i> below)			

Body Part Terms

	Puyo-Koguryoic		Koreanic (Han 韓)
tooth	OKog *keyr ‘tooth’: OJpn *ki ~ *gi ‘canine tooth’ > MSJ <i>ki-</i> as in <i>kiba</i> ‘animal tooth’ (< OJpn *ki ‘canine tooth’ + *pa ‘tooth’) (KLJ)	≠	HS *niskim ~ *nitškim ‘tooth’ (possibly morphologically complex, composed of *ni ‘tooth’ + *-s ~ *- tš ‘genitive-attributive suffix’ + *kim ‘word of unknown meaning’) : LMK <i>ni</i> (ㄴ) > MSK <i>i</i> (ㅇ) ‘tooth’
heart > center	PS *kir ‘center, central’ : OKog *kir : OJpn ‘heart’ > MSJ <i>kokoro</i> (KLJ)	≠	HS 心音 (SY) *...m ‘heart’ (genitive 心未 *...m-iy) : LMK <i>młzłm</i> ‘heart’ > MSK <i>maim</i> ‘heart’

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Rocks, Minerals, and Geological Formations

	Puyo-Koguryoic		Koreanic (Han 韓)
mountain	AKog *γapma > OKog *fiaip : MSJ <i>yama</i> (KLJ) OKog *tar ‘mountain, high’ < CJK > MSJ <i>take</i> (KLJ)	≠ ≠	HK *mur (*mur) ~ *pu ~ *pur : HP *mura ~ *more : LMK moyh ~ muru > MSK 모 <i>mwe</i> ~ 메 <i>me-</i> HS *...im : Old Cheju (T’amna) *urim (TNJ)
mountain pass ~ highland	Serbi-Mongolic (cf. MMgl <i>daba’a</i>) → ? CJK *taw ‘pass’ > OKog *taw ‘mountain pass’ : PP ‘highland’ : OJpn *təwpu ~ *təpu ~ *təpaw > MSJ <i>tō-</i> ‘pass through’ (KLJ)	≠	HS *tseyra ‘highland’ : LMK <i>tsay</i> ~ tsay ‘ridge, mountain pass’ > MSK 재 S. <i>tɕe</i> ~ N. <i>tɕe</i>
silver/white ~ gold/yellow	OKog *tšiar ‘silver’ : PS *sira ‘gold’ ⁹ : OJpn *tšira- ~ *širō- > MSJ <i>shiro</i> ~ <i>shira-</i> ‘white, silver’ (KLJ)	≠	HP *kuti ‘gold’ > LMK > MSK <i>kuri</i> ‘copper’

Zoonyms

	Puyo-Koguryoic		Koreanic (Han 韓)
cow ~ cattle ~ ox	OKog *u ‘cow’, cattle’ (SS) : OJpn *usi ~ *utši (KLJ) Serbi-Mongolic (cf. MMgl <i>hüker</i> ~ <i>üker</i>) → ? PP *ker ‘ox’ (SS)	≠ ≠	HS *śu ‘cow, cattle’ (SS) > LMK > MSK <i>so</i>

⁹ PS *sira ‘gold’ also denotes ‘Silla’. With the added Han-Silla word *pur ‘city’, this denotes ‘Golden City (金城)’ (SS), i.e. the capital city of early Silla. As is well known, this capital city was later generalized to become the Middle Korean common noun for ‘capital city’, ultimately the origin of today’s capital city, 서울 ‘Seoul’.

Humanmade Structures

	Puyo-Koguryoic		Koreanic (Han 韓)
fortress ~ city ~ capital ~ mound ~ settlement ~ place	PK *kur (SS) : PS *kir ~ *kur ~ *kutu (SS) : AKog *kuru > OKog *kuær 'walled city, fort' : ? OJpn *kura 'storehouse' (KLJ) PS *na 'area in the vicinity of the capital' (SS) : OKog *na 'land, province, prefecture' : pre-OJpn *na- 'earth' > OJpn *nawi 'earthquake' (KLJ)	≠ ≠ ≠	HK *pur (SS) : HP *puri (SS) : HS *puri ~ *pur ~ *pør 'mound, fortress, city' (SS) HK/HP *(t)sas (NS) : HS *...tś ^h (SY) : LMK *tsás HS *miti (SS) : HP *meti ~ *miti (SS) : LMK <i>mat^h</i> ~ <i>mat</i> : MSK <i>madan</i> (Jpn <i>miti</i> 'street', <i>mati</i> 'town' ← ? early Koreanic)
well (for water)	PS *ir (SS) : OKog *ir (SS) : OJpn *wi 'well' (KLJ)	≠	EMK *umur [烏沒] 'well (井)' (KYS) > LMK <i>ùmŕ</i> 'well' (cf. LMK <i>úm^h</i> 'cellar, hole' + <i>mŕ</i> 'water') > MSK <i>umur</i> 'id.'

Plant Names

	Puyo-Koguryoic		Koreanic (Han 韓)
bamboo	OKog *na 'bamboo' (SS): OJpn *nö > MSJ <i>-no</i> in compounds (KLJ)	≠	HK *tay 'bamboo' (SS) : HS *...r ~ *...ri (???) : LMK <i>tay</i> > MSK 대 <i>tē</i> 'bamboo'
vegetable ~ vine	PS *na 'vines' (SS) : OJpn *na 'vegetable' > MSJ <i>na</i> な (菜) 'greens, vegetables'	≠	LMK <i>nāmŕ^h</i> 'herbs, wild vegetables, sprouts, greens' > MSK <i>namur</i> 'id.' LMK <i>nàts^hŭr</i> 'vine' > MSK 넉출 <i>nənt^hŭr</i> 'vine'

People

	Puyo-Koguryoic		Koreanic (Han 韓)
man ~ boy ~ youth ~ child	OKog *pai 'man' (KLJ), PS *pai 'boy, youth' (SY). Serbi-Mongolic (cf. MKit *ku) → CJK *ku 'child' > OKog *ku 'child' : OJpn *ku > MSJ <i>ko</i> (KLJ)	≠ ≠	HS *puk (SY) : HK *muk 'boy, youth, child' (SS); no cognates in medieval or modern Koreanic.
ruler ~ lord ~ king	OKog *key 'king', OJpn *kimi 'ruler, lord' (KLJ)	≠	HK/HP *nirim (NS) : LMK <i>nŭm</i> (:님) : MSK <i>-nim</i> (님)

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Water and Watercourses

	Puyo-Koguryoic		Koreanic (Han 韓)
water ~ river ~ stream	OKog *mey ‘water, river’ : OJpn *mi ‘water’ > MSJ mizu ‘water’ (KLJ)	≠ ≠ ≠	HK *mur ‘water’ : LMK <i>m̄ir</i> > MSK <i>mur</i> [mul ~ ^m bul] ‘water’ HK *ta ~ *tay ‘river’ : HP *nari ~ *nare ‘id.’ : LMK <i>n̄ayh</i> > MSK <i>n̄e</i> ‘river, stream’ HS *kuər ~ *kur ‘river’ : LMK <i>karam</i> > MSK <i>karam</i> ‘river’
sea ~ ocean	OKog *pa ‘sea’ (KLJ)	≠	HS 海等 *...ta ~ 海惡 *...ak ‘ocean, sea’ (→ Jpn <i>wata</i> ‘sea’ > <i>wada</i> → Nivkh. ¹⁰)

Supernatural Concepts

	Puyo-Koguryoic		Koreanic (Han 韓)
spirit ~ ghost ~ soul	PS *tu ~ *ti : PP *tir ~ *ti : OJpn *ti ‘spirit’	≠	MSK 𐏺 < LMK 𐏺 ‘spirit, soul, ghost’

Adjectives, Adjectival Verbs, and Verbs

	Puyo-Koguryoic		Koreanic (Han 韓)
yellow	AKog *kweru > OKog *kuər ‘yellow’ : OJpn *ki ~ *ku > MSJ <i>ki-</i> ‘yellow’ in <i>kiro</i> (KLJ)	≠	HK *dura ‘yellow’ : MSK <i>nora-</i>
good	OKog *mey ‘good’ : OJpn *mi ‘exalted’ < ‘excellent’ (KLJ)	≠	HK *na- ‘outstanding’ : MSK <i>na-</i> (나-) ‘to excel, be outstanding’
long	CJK *na- ‘long’ > OKog *namey, OJpn *naga- ~ *na ^g ga- > MSJ <i>naga-I</i> (KLJ)	≠	HK *kir ‘long time’ : MSK <i>kir-</i> (길-) ‘long’ (cf. Common Nivkh *gəl- ‘long’)
exist	Not attested in Puyo-Koguryoic; OJpn *ar-	≠	HS *its- ~ *itś- > LMK <i>is-</i> (있-) > MSK 있-
happy	Not attested in Puyo-Koguryoic; OJpn *tanô- ‘enjoy’	≠	HK *ki- ‘praise’ : HS *ki ‘happiness’ : LMK <i>kis-</i> (짓-) < ? HS *ki + *itś- ‘exist’

¹⁰ Kang Kirun considers Nivkh *wada* ‘sea’ to be a cognate to MSK *pada* ‘sea’ (1983: 25), but the phonological form of the Nivkh word suggests that it is a Jpn → Nivkh loan. The reconstructible Common Nivkh word for ‘sea’ is *gerqŋ ‘sea’ (CND); the Nivkh form cited by Kang is likely to be a word attested only in certain dialects of Nivkh.

4. Multilingualism in Silla, Kara, and Paekche

The main objective of this paper is to demonstrate the existence of multilingualism, specifically bilingualism, in both Puyo and Han (Koreanic) languages in the early states of Silla, Kara, and Paekche.

One important methodological question arises: How can we distinguish Puyo from Han (Koreanic)? The simplest solution, though not always ideal, is the identification of cognates in other Japanese-Koguryoic languages. Thus, if a given word has cognates in Koguryo or Japanese, it is highly likely to be a Puyo word or a borrowing from a Puyo language. This methodology is generally reliable with the *Samguk Sagi* data, as most toponyms of early Korea are characterized by two or sometimes more morphemes; thus, if two morphemes are cognate to Japanese or Koguryo, with no cognates in Koreanic, those morphemes, taken together, are identifiable as Puyo. The most solid evidence, of course, is high-frequency functional grammatical morphemes. For the Puyo-Silla and Puyo-Kara toponyms, the corpora are very limited, and no traces of functional morphemes exist in those corpora. Nevertheless, there are very clear cognates among Puyo-Silla, Puyo-Kara, Puyo-Paekche, Koguryo, and Japanese to the exclusion of other languages, clearly indicating a close language family relationship.

In a few very revealing instances, certain toponyms in the *Samguk Sagi* are rendered in three ways: 1) a phonetic transcription of a Puyo form, 2) a phonetic transcription of a corresponding Han (Koreanic) form, and 3) a semantic gloss. For example, note the Han-Silla toponym *mak *kara, corresponding to Puyo-Silla *kur *kara, both semantically glossed in Chinese as ‘South Kara’, i.e. a trilingual designation for a single toponym (see discussion in §4.1.1 and §4.1.2 below).

4.1 Languages of Silla

Previously, it has been widely assumed that the only language spoken in Silla was ‘Old Korean’, termed in Korean as 古代韓國語 *kodae hangugŏ* or 古代國語 *kodae kugŏ*. This is in many ways a direct manifestation of the Korean National Language Family Theory, which intentionally or unintentionally claims that all languages spoken in the past on the Korean Peninsula are Koreanic languages belonging to the Han (Koreanic) language family. The Korean National Language Family approach rejects the reality of ethnolinguistic diversity in Korea’s past.

In fact, the semantically glossed and phonetically transcribed Silla toponyms in the *Samguk Sagi*, the *hyangga* poems in the *Samguk Yusa*, and fragments of early Korean writing on wooden tablets from Silla (q.v. Lee Seungjae 李丞宰 2017) indicate that, in addition to Literary Chinese, two languages were spoken to varying degrees in early Silla territory, i.e. pre-Unified Silla. These were Han-Silla (or ‘Old Korean’), the widespread language of the majority population, and Puyo-Silla, a language or dialect related to Koguryo and distantly related to Japanese, which was an intrusive element in Silla territory imported by the politically influential Puyo peoples. I will demonstrate these below using the available data.

4.1.1. Puyo-Silla

It is overlooked, yet striking, that the Silla national founding myth contains Puyo linguistic elements. Specifically, the birthplace of the national progenitor of Silla is a Puyo toponym with Japanese and Koguryo cognates.

In other words, the national founder of Silla was born in a place that must have been predominantly Puyo-speaking at that time. The relevant glossed toponym is *na *ir [奈乙], glossed as ‘Vine Well (蘿井)’ (SS 3, 32), composed of PS *na [奈] ‘vines, creeping plants (蘿)’, cognate to OJpn *na

‘vegetable’, and PS [乙] ‘well (井)’, cognate to OKog *ir, early PP *ir ~ *ira ‘id.’, and OJpn *wi ‘id.’, from CJK *wir ~ *wira ‘well’.¹¹

It is even more striking that the name of ‘Silla’ itself is Puyo-Koguryoic: In the national foundation myth of Silla contained in the *Samguk Sagi*, Chapter 34, Puyo-Silla *sira ~ *sira [新羅] ~ [斯羅] ~ [徐耶] etc. is semantically glossed as ‘gold (金)’. This is undoubtedly cognate to OKog *tšiar ‘silver’ and OJpn *sira- ~ *sirö ‘white’ (*KLJ* 139). With the Koreanic element *pur ‘settlement, fortress, capital city’ added, the name of the early Silla capital (approximately present-day 慶州 Kyŏngju/Gyeongju), i.e. hybrid Puyo-Han Silla *sira *pur, glossed as ‘Gold City (金城)’ (*SS* 34), later became reanalyzed as a single word. As shown by Lee Ki-Moon and S. Robert Ramsey (2011), this later was reanalyzed as the word for ‘capital’ in Late Middle Korean, and ultimately became the proper noun ‘Seoul’. This linguistic evidence further supports the view that Puyo-Koguryoic-speaking peoples “influenced—and evidently had a hand in establishing the dynasty of—the most resilient of the Han states, the Silla kingdom” (*KLJ* 245). There is “historical evidence for strong early Koguryo influence in Silla” (*KLJ* 47), including the Koguryo title *makrikan ~ *makripkan, used by an early Silla ruler who had been installed by Koguryo (*KLJ* 47 *et vide infra*).

A small number of other revealing Puyo-Silla words can be gleaned from the *Samguk Sagi* toponym corpus:

PS *ir [乙] ‘well (井)’ (*SS* 34) : OKog *ir : OJpn *wi (*KLJ*) : early PP *ir ~ *ira ‘id.’ < CJK *wir ~ wira ‘well’.

PS *kor ~ *kur ‘south’ (*SS* 34) : PP *kur ‘south’ (*SS* 36, 37) : AKog *kor ‘front’. CKJ *kor ‘front’ > ‘south’.

PS *kür ~ *kir ‘central’ (*SS* 34) : OKog *kür ~ *kir ‘heart’ : OJpn *kükürü (*KLJ*) > MSJ *kokoro* ‘heart’. CJK *kir ~ *kiri ‘heart’ > ‘center’.

PS *kur ‘walled city, fortress’ (*SS* 34), see PS *kuto below for cognates.

¹¹ OKog and OJpn forms, and CJK *wir are cited from *KLJ* (142). The CJK form *wira is my proposal based on the early PP cognate.

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PS *kutu ‘great fortress, great walled city’ (SS 34) : AKog *kuru ‘fortress, walled city’. Probably CJK *kutu ‘fortress, walled city’. The variant PS *kor is a reflex of this form. The variation of these forms, i.e. PS *kutu ~ *kor probably indicates some regional dialectal diversity within Puyo-Silla, or some time depth in the transcriptions. Maybe there were different Puyo dialects spoken as invasive elements in Silla.

PS *makrikan ~ *makripan [麻立干] (in the 4th century, Koguryo installed a Silla ruler under this title, kind of a puppet ruler, *q.v.* KLJ 47),¹² from AKog *makri(p) [麻立] ~ OKog *makri [莫離] ~ [マカリ] ‘true’ (KLJ 47) + OKog *kan ‘head’ ~ *ka ‘chief, ruler’ (KLJ 123). This title is clearly ‘Puyo-Silla’ (i.e. Puyo linguistic elements from Silla territory, denoting either the Puyo dialects spoken in Silla territory or Puyo loanwords in Silla territory).

PS *maw ~ *mu ‘east’ (SS 34), superficially resembles OJpn *mape まへ ‘front’ (> MSJ *mae* まえ (前) ‘front’), but the traditional etymology of the Japanese word as ま ‘eye’ + へ ‘locative’, i.e. ‘in front of one’s eyes’, poses a morphophonological challenge to this proposal. Unresolved.

PS *na ‘area in the vicinity of the capital’ (SS 34) : OKog *na ‘place, land’ : OJpn < CJK *na ‘id.’ (KLJ).

PS *na [奈] ‘vines (蘿)’ : OJpn *na ‘vegetable’ > MSJ *na* な ‘greens, vegetables’.

PS *sira ~ *sira ‘gold; Silla’ (SS 34) : OKog *tsiar ‘silver’ : OJpn *sira- ~ *sirō ‘white’ > MSJ *shiroi* 白い ‘white’.

PS *tu ~ *ti ‘spirit’ (SS 34) : PP *tur ~ *tir ‘spirit’ (SS 36, 37) : OJpn *ti ‘spirit, spiritual power’ (JDB 452) < CJK *tir ‘spirit’.

The above-mentioned Puyo words among the Silla toponyms are vestiges of Puyo-Koguryoic dialects that were brought southward to Silla and Kara territory by the invading Puyo peoples.

¹² According to the *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*, the first Silla king to hold this title is King Naemul Maripkan [奈勿麻立干] (4th c. AD) (<http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/SearchNavi?keyword=내물마립간&ridx=0&tot=14>), who also held the Koreanic title [尼師今] *isagūm* (<http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/SearchNavi?keyword=麻立干&ridx=0&tot=721>), the latter of which is glossed in *Samguk Sagi* and *Samguk Yusa* as ‘tooth’ (see discussion in §4.1.2 Han-Silla below).

4.1.2. Han-Silla

The glossed and phonetically transcribed Silla toponyms in the *Samguk Sagi* provide evidence of Han-Silla functional morphology and words with uniquely Koreanic cognates. The Silla *hyangga* songs in the *Samguk Yusa* provide a precious trove of even more functional morphological suffixes undeniably indicating that the majority language, and later (if not to begin with) the dominant language, of Silla was a Koreanic language, i.e. the earliest identifiable Koreanic language known from historical linguistic records.

Han-Silla morphology attested in the *Samguk Sagi* includes (but is not limited to) such morphemes as the following:

- HS *-i ‘nominative case suffix’ (SS 34).
- HS *-key ‘deverbal noun suffix’ (?) (SS 34).
- HS *-r ‘accusative case suffix’ (SS 34).
- HS *-r ‘relative clause forming suffix’ (SS 34).

The *hyangga* songs in the *Samguk Yusa*, which I will not discuss here, provide a wealth of additional data on Han-Silla functional morphology.

Han-Silla words in the *Samguk Sagi* include (but are not limited to) the following:

- HS *kir ~ *k̄ir ‘waterside’ (SS 34) : AHP *k̄ir ~ *k̄iar [鞮] ‘equal, side-by-side (竝)’ (Zhou Shu 886) : LMK *kyət* 곁 > MSK *kyət^h* 곁 ‘side’. CKor *k̄it ‘side’.
- HS *mak ‘south’ (SS 34) : LMK 마ᄃᆞᆫ *mah* ‘south’ > MSK *ma()^h* as in MSK 마파람 *map^haram* ‘south wind’.
- HS *miti [彌知] ‘area in the vicinity of the capital city (畿)’ (SS 34) : HP *meti [未知] ~ *miti [旆知] ‘city (邑)’ (SS 36, 37) : LMK 말 *mat^h ~ 만 *mat ‘plot of land (場)’ + early Chosŏn Sino-Korean 당 (場) > MSK 마당 *madang* ‘plot of land, yard’. CKor *mati ‘plot of land; city’.
- HS *pu- ~ *u- ‘overlook’ (SS 34) : LMK 보- *pu- > MSK 보 *po-* ‘look’. CKor *pu- ‘look’.

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HS **pur* ‘mound, fortress, walled city’ (SS 34) : HP **puri* [夫里] ‘soil mountain, mound (阜); high level ground (敞)’ (SS 36, 37). CKor **puri* ~ **pur* ‘mound’.¹³

HS **par* ‘wind, breeze’ (SS 34) : EMK [孛纚] : LMK 바람 **param* ~ 바람 **param* > MSK 바람 *param* ‘wind, breeze’. CKor **par-* ‘wind’.

HS **sayra* ~ **seyra* ‘east’ (SS 34) ~ HS *...r 東戸 ‘east’ (SY) ~ HS dial. **sey* ‘south’ (SS 34) (the latter is a semantically innovative regional dialectal variant) : LMK ·ㅅ **sáy* ‘east’ > MSK *sɛ-* (as in *sɛbaram* 새바람 ‘east wind’). CKor **sáyra* ~ **sáy* ‘east’.

HS **tseyra* ‘highland’ (SS 34) : LMK *tsay* ~ *tsay* > MSK 재 *tɛ* ~ N. *tɛ* ‘mountain pass, ridge’. CKor **tsayra* ~ **tsayra* ~ **tsayr* ~ **tsayr* ‘id.’

HS **ukok* ~ **uyuk* ~ **uruk* [雨谷] ‘north (北)’ (SS 34) : HP **uk* ~ **uwk* [オコ] ~ [ヲコ] ~ [ウヲコ] ‘above, upper (上); head foremost, honored (上首)’ (NS)¹⁴ : LMK 우ㅎ *ùh* ‘above, upper part’ > MSK 위 *wi* ‘above’. CKor **ukuk* ~ **uruk* ‘above; top’ > ‘north’.

Many more morphemes and words can be identified in the *hyangga* songs in the *Samguk Yusa*, but previous studies of this precious data have tended to pursue pseudoscientific approaches which have obscured the great value of this corpus of early Koreanic data. It is hoped that future work on the *hyangga* songs—extremely important as the earliest literature in any Koreanic language—will pursue scientific approaches to this data to elucidate the historical development of the Koreanic language family, rather than forcing the data into the mold of Late Middle Korean or Modern Standard Korean, as has often been attempted in previous studies.

¹³ See also Beckwith (2005: 47).

¹⁴ Attested with the genitive-attributive suffix *-s [シ] in the forms **uk-s* ~ **uwk-s* [オコシ] ~ [ヲコシ] ~ [ウヲコシ] (NS), cognate morpheme by morpheme to LMK 우ㅎ + -s ㅅ and MSK *wi-s* 위, i.e. *wi* 위 ‘top’ + -s ㅅ ‘genitive-attributive suffix’ as in MSK 위 입술 *wit ipsur* ‘upper lip’, 위層 *wit-tɕʰij* ‘top floor, upper floor, upstairs’, 위 部分 *wit-pubun* ‘upper part’, and 위사람 *wi-s saram* ‘one’s elder, one’s superior’.

4.2 Languages of Kara (Kaya)

Sources of Kara linguistic data include the *Samguk Sagi* and the *Nihon Shoki*. Toh Soo-hee (To Suhŭi) (1987) has geographically identified Kara toponyms within the Silla toponym corpus in the *Samguk Sagi*, Chapter 34, although I respectfully disagree with his phonetic reconstructions of those toponyms.

Careful analysis of the Kara toponym data in the *Samguk Sagi* and the *Nihon Shoki* reveals a widespread Koreanic language, which I term Han-Kara,¹⁵ and an imported minority language demonstrably related to Koguryo, other Puyo dialects, and Japanese, which I term ‘Puyo-Kara’.

4.2.1. Puyo-Kara

The following are some identifiable Puyo-Kara words in the *Samguk Sagi*:

PK *faip [押] (SS 34), unglossed but obviously cognate to OKog *faip ‘mountain’ < AKog *ɣapma : OJpn *yama ‘mountain’ < CJK *ɣapma ‘mountain’ (KLJ, PK data added by me).

PK *ki ‘benevolent’ (SS 34) : ? OKog *kir ‘brave’.

PK *kor [コリ] ‘fortress’ (NS) : PS *kutu ‘great fortress, great walled city’ ~ PS *kor ‘walled city, fortress’ (SS 34) : AKog *kuru ‘fortress, walled city’ > OKog *kuər ‘id.’ CPK *kutu ~ *kuru ‘fortress’.

PK *kusi [コシ] (NS), unglossed but probably cognate to OKog *kusi : OJpn *kudzika < CJK *kusi ‘a kind of deer’ (q.v. KLJ 129).

PK *mey [買] ‘river (川)’ (SS 34) : OKog *mey [買] ‘water (水), river (川)’ (SS) : OJpn *mi ‘water’ < CJK *mey ‘water; river’ (KLJ, PK data added by me).

PK *sar [薩] ‘clear, pure, clean (清)’ (SS 34) : ? Jpn saya さや (清) ‘clear’ < ? CJK *sar ‘clear, pure’.

¹⁵ The term ‘Han-Kara’ is, of course, somewhat of a redundant misnomer, as Kara is the earlier pronunciation of the modern ethnonym 韓, which is read as *Han* in Modern Standard Korean. The latter is nevertheless a useful prefix, i.e. Puyo- + [X state name] for languages of X state belonging to the Puyo-Koguryoic branch of the Japanese-Koguryoic language family and Han- + [X state name] for languages of X state belonging to the Koreanic (Han) language family.

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PK *śar [山] ‘abundant, flourishing, rich (豐)’ (SS 34) : OKog *śa [肖] ‘flourishing, rich, abundant (豐)’ : OJpn *sa- ‘abundance, luck, good fortune’ < CJK *sa- ‘abundance, prosperity, flourishing’ (KLJ).

PK *ta [多] ‘high mountain (嶽)’ (SS 34) : OKog *tar [達] ‘high mountain, tall’ (SS) : OJpn *take > MSJ 岳 (たけ) *take* ‘mountain’ ~ 高い (たかい) *takai* ‘high, tall’ < CJK *tar ‘high; mountain’ (cf. KLJ 136-137, PK form added by me).

PK *tuk [督] ~ [涑] ~ [道] ‘door (門)’ (SS 34, 44; SY 1), a cognate of which was indirectly borrowed into Jurchen-Manchu as *duka* ‘door, gate’ from a northern Puyo dialect, probably Koguryo (cf. Shimunek, in press).

4.2.2. Han-Kara

Han-Kara functional morphology in the *Samguk Sagi* include (but is not limited to) the following:

HK *-s ‘genitive-attributive suffix’ (SS 34) : HS *-ts [叱] (SY) : HK/HP *-s [シ] (NS) : LMK *-s (-ㅅ) > MSK -ㅅ.

Han-Kara words in the SS include (but are not limited to) the following:

HK *amak [阿莫] ‘mother (母)’ (SS 34) : LMK *amh* 암ㅎ ‘female (of an animal)’

HK *iri [一利] ‘star (星)’ (SS 34), probably cognate to the *iri-* in South Ch’ungch’öng dial. *iri-ne* ‘Milky Way’¹⁶ and the *miri-* in Cheju *miri-ne* ‘Milky Way’, probably both from an archaic variant of ‘star’ + *ne* 내 ‘river’. Note also the Hamgyöng dialect cognate 베리 [peri] ‘star’, and the form 별: ‘star’ with long [i:] in certain Chölla, Ch’ungch’öng, and Kangwön dialects.¹⁷ Note LMK *pyər* 별 ‘star’ > MSK 별 ‘star’. I thus reconstruct Common Koreanic *pēr-i ~ *^mpēr-i ~ *pīr-i ~ *^mpīr-i ~ *īri ‘star’.¹⁸ For other

¹⁶ q.v. Lee & Ramsey (2011: 52).

¹⁷ Cited from Yi Sanggyu and Yi Sunhyöng’s recension of Ogura Shinpei 小倉進平 (Ogura 2009 [1944]).

¹⁸ On long *ī ~ *ē in Common Koreanic, see Shimunek (in press). See also Lee Ki-Moon 李基文 (1959) for a similar proposal, although the data supporting his hypothesis is mostly irrelevant as his article is written in the framework of the now-disproven Altaic language family theory.

- examples of initial *p ~ *m ~ *Ø variation, note HS *pu- ~ *u- ‘to overlook’ (cognate to LMK 보- *pu-* > MSK 보- *po-* ‘to look’).
- HK *ki [只] ‘shore, bank of a river (濱)’ (SS 34) : LMK *kisir̥k 기 · 습 > MSK *kisūk* 기습 ‘shore, coast, bank of a river, foot of a mountain, border’ (MSJ *kishi* きし (岸) is probably ultimately a borrowing from Koreanic with the final cluster *rk* deleted as coda clusters are not allowed in Japanese phonotactics; I did not have access to *JDB* at the time of writing and could not check if an OJpn form is attested).
- HK *kir- [吉] ‘long time, eternal (永)’ (SS 34) : MSK *kil-* 길- ‘to be long, to last a long time’. CKor *kir- ‘be long’. (Compare CN *gəl- ‘long’ in §5.4.1 below).
- HK *mur [勿] ‘water (水)’ (SS 34) : HS : LMK 물 > MSK 물 *mur* ‘water’.
- HK *mur [文] ~ *pur [浦] ‘mountain (山)’ (SS 34) : HP *mura [毛良] ‘high (高)’ (SS 36, 37) ~ *mura [ムラ ~ モラ] ~ *mure [ムレ] ‘mountain (山)’ (NS) : LMK *muy ~ *muru ‘mountain’ > MSK 뫼 (but now largely replaced by Sino-Korean 山 산 *san*). CKor *mur- ‘tall; mountain’.
- HK *muk [木] ‘child, son (子)’ (SS 34) : HS *puk [卜] ~ [伏] ~ [福] ‘child, youth, boy (童)’ (SY 4). No known cognates in later Koreanic languages.
- HK *na- [內] ‘excellent, outstanding (善)’ (SS 34) : MSK 나- *na-* ‘to be outstanding, great, to be the best, better’. CKor *na- ‘to be excellent, great’.
- HK *nam- [南] ‘be in surplus (餘)’ (SS 34) : MSK *nam-* ‘to remain’. CKor *nam- ‘remain, be in surplus, be extra’.
- HK *pim [品] ‘ritual, rite (禮)’ (SS 34) : HS *pim [品] ‘plan, method (飫)’ (SS 34) : LMK 품 ‘labor, work’. CKor *pim ‘id.’
- HK *pur [伐] ‘prefecture (州)’ ~ 火 (for [伐]) ‘fortress, walled city (城)’ (SS 34) : HS *pur ‘mound, fortress, walled city’ (SS 34). Possibly etymologically related to CKor *mur- ‘tall; mountain’ (see HK *mur ‘mountain’ above).
- HK *pur ~ *pir 火 (for [伐]) ‘furnace, oven (爐)’ (SS 34) : LMK 불 *pir* ‘fire’ > MSK 불 *pur* [pu] ‘fire’.¹⁹
- HK *śa [沙] ‘east (東)’ (SS 34), attested in the original name of the famous tea-producing Hadong-gun in present-day South Kyōngsang (Gyeongsang), i.e. HK *ta *śa [多沙] ‘East of the River (河東)’ (SS 34).
- HK *ta [多] ~ *tay [大] ‘river (河); brook (谿)’ (SS 34) : HP *nari [那利] ~ *nare [ナレ] ‘river (川)’ (NS) : LMK :내 ㅎ *nàyh ‘river’ > MSK 내 *ne* ‘river, stream’ as in *sine* 시내 ‘stream, brook, rivulet’. CKor *ⁿta ~ *ⁿtàrh̥ ~ *ⁿtàrh̥k ‘river, brook, stream’.

¹⁹ Compare also OJpn *pi ‘fire’ (p.c. Christopher I. Beckwith, June 2021).

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HK *tay [推] ‘bamboo (竹)’ (SS 34) : HS 竹[伊] ~ 竹[利] ~ 竹[尸] (HW) : EMK *tay ‘bamboo’ (KYS) : LMK *tay > MSK 대 *tae* [tè] as in 대나무 *tae namu* [tè namu] ‘bamboo tree’. CKor *tari ~ *tar ~ *tay ‘bamboo’.

HK *ts^(w)əy [推] (error for *[摧], *KLJ*) ‘three (三)’ (SS 34; *KLJ* 15) : AHS *tsVyɤa (SS 1) : EMK *səy(h) [洒] (KYS) : LMK *səyh* > MSK *set-* ~ *se-* ~ *sək-* ‘three’.

HK *tura- [召羅] ‘yellow (黃)’ (SS 34) : LMK : MSK *nora-* ‘to be yellow’. CKor *ⁿtura- ‘to be yellow’.

HK *žwir [舌] ‘flower (花)’ (SS 34), probably cognate to EMK *šwir ‘grass’. No other known cognates in attested Koreanic.

4.3 Languages of Paekche

The bilingualism of the state of Paekche has already been convincingly demonstrated by Kōno Rokurō 河野六郎 (1987), although I respectfully disagree with the phonetic details of some of his reconstructions. To the data discussed by Kōno, many other words and morphemes can be added.

I will not discuss Puyo-Paekche and Han-Paekche data separately in this paper, partly because their status as two separate languages has already been convincingly demonstrated, and secondly, because it would require many pages to adequately address. However, I have included Han-Paekche and Puyo-Paekche throughout this article when relevant.

Historical records unambiguously state that the population of early Paekche included speakers of “Koryō” (i.e. Koguryo), Chinese, Wa (i.e. Archaic Japanese dialects), and Koreanic (*Bei Shi* 北史, *Nan Shih* 南史, *Liang Shu* 梁書; cited from *KLJ* 38).

5. Language Contact with the Early Korean Peninsula

5.1 Contact with Serbi-Mongolic

Early Japanese-Koguryoic peoples in North China and Manchuria, including the Wa 倭 of Liao-hsi 遼西 (Liaoxi)²⁰ and the Puyo as well, were neighbors and subjects of the powerful Serbi 鮮卑 (Xianbei) states.

I have identified a number of early Serbi-Mongolic loanwords in Japanese and Puyo-Koguryoic, e.g. CJK *ku ‘child’ (*LASM*), Jpn *kutsu* 靴 ‘boots’ (*LASM*), and Jpn *waka*- (as in MSJ *waka-i* 若い) ‘young’ (*LASM*).

I have identified the following additional Serbi-Mongolic loanwords in Puyo-Koguryoic:

PP *ker [見] ‘ox (牛)’ (SS 36, 37) closely resembles MMgl *hüker* ~ *üker* ‘ox’ and is probably a truncated borrowing from an early Serbi-Mongolic dialect.

PP *tśirak [珍惡] ‘stone (石)’ (SS 36, 37), undoubtedly the same word as MMgl *čila’u-n* ‘stone’. I thus reconstruct Puyō-Paekche *tśirak [珍惡] ‘stone (石)’ ← unattested Serbi *č^hilay < *č^hilayū > > MMgl *čila’u-n* ‘stone, rock’.²¹

PP *taw ‘highland’ (SS 36, 37) : OKog *taw < CJK *taw ‘pass’ ‘id.’ (*KLJ* 137); probably a borrowing from an early Serbi-Mongolic word cognate to MMgl *daba’a* ‘mountain pass’ < *daba-* ‘to pass, cross over’.

²⁰ q.v. Gisaburo N. Kiyose 清瀬義三郎 (2001).

²¹ Lee Ki-Moon considers the gloss “馬突郡一云馬珍” to be evidence of a ‘traditional’ Korean reading of the character 珍 as “돌”, i.e. *tol* (2008: 48). However, in Chapter 36 of *Samguk Sagi*, it is clear that [突] is a transcription of a word denoting 靈 ‘spirit, spiritual power’, which could easily transcribe foreign *tīr, and which has a good cognate in Old Japanese *ti [智] ‘spirit, spiritual power (靈)’. Likewise, *tśirak [珍惡] closely resembles Middle Mongol *čila’u-n* ‘stone, rock’, and is probably a Serbi-Mongolic loanword in Paekche (on early Japanese-Koguryoic contact with Serbi-Mongolic, cf. *LASM* and *KLJ*). Lee’s proposal, however, requires too many assumptions and exceptions.

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5.2 Contact with Manchu-Tungusic

See Shimunek (in press) for the following etymologies:

Jurchen *taira* ‘Buddhist monastery’ ← OKog ← LOC ← Aramaic.²²

Jurchen-Manchu *duqa* ‘door, gate’ ← Puyo-Koguryoic > PK *tuk ‘door’.

Jurchen-Manchu *sarʒan* ‘lady’ ← OKog *śaryan ‘lady’.

Undoubtedly many more are waiting to be identified.

5.3 Contact with Chinese

It is widely assumed that modern Sino-Korean is a direct linear descendant of the Tang Middle Chinese readings which were adopted by Koreans in the Unified Silla period. It is rarely, if ever, acknowledged that the Chinese varieties spoken on the Korean Peninsula were characterized by diversity in the past. Yet significant evidence indicates that each major political change brought with it a different variety of Chinese: As demonstrated by Beckwith, the Chinese dialect or dialects of the Korean Peninsula before Unified Silla were highly conservative, retaining phonological characteristics of Late Old Chinese (*KLJ* passim); I term this ‘Korean Peninsular Early Middle Chinese’ (q.v. *LASM* passim). The Tang-Silla alliance that led to Silla unifying the entire Korean Peninsula undoubtedly resulted in the prestige of Tang Middle Chinese readings. It has been overlooked, however, that during the Koryŏ, when Korea was part of the Mongol Empire, Yuan Mandarin became the prestigious way of reading Chinese characters. This is inferable from the *Koryŏ-sa* 高麗史 transcriptions of Mongol words, which must be read in Yuan Mandarin, not Sino-Korean (q.v. Pelliot 1930), and from the Mongol

²² Beckwith (2014, 2017).

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titles of Koryŏ kings and nobility transcribed in Yuan Mandarin (q.v. Reckel 2009).

Chinese loanwords are identifiable in Old Koguryo (q.v. *KLJ*), Paekche (*SS* 36, 37), Kara (*SS* 34), and in Silla (*SS* 34). These all require separate studies for adequate treatment.

5.4 Contact with Nivkh and Other Languages

As noted by Rozycki (1994), the Nivkh language was undoubtedly spread over a larger geographic area in the past. The existence of at least one Nivkh loanword in Koguryo and early Koreanic has been noted in the previous literature (q.v. *KLJ* 177-178). In my work on the Puyo-Koguryoic lexical data, I have identified several additional Nivkh–Puyo-Koguryoic correspondences which are probably indicative of early Nivkh → Puyo or Puyo → Nivkh borrowings.

5.4.1. Nivkh-Koreanic contact

It has been known for some time that a small number of Nivkh (‘Gilyak’) words correspond phonetically and semantically to Koreanic words. The most liberal approach to this data has been Kang Kirun 姜吉云 (1983), who proposed that Nivkh and Koreanic are daughter languages of a common proto-language. Although most of Kang’s proposed comparanda and his Nivkh-Koreanic language family theory are untenable, it is likely that a few of the lexical correspondences identified by him could be indicative of early loanwords. I have independently identified the following Nivkh-Koreanic lexical comparanda, basing myself (when possible) on the earliest attested and earliest reconstructible varieties of these languages, i.e. reconstructed Common Koreanic and philologically attested early Koreanic, and reconstructed Common Nivkh (i.e. Fortescue’s “Proto-Nivkh”, *CND*).

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CKor *kir- ‘long’ ? ⇔ CN *gəl- ‘long’ (see HK *kir- ‘long’ above).

MSK 빨강 ‘red’ < LMK *park*- ‘red’ < CKor ? ⇔ CN *bayla- ‘red’ (CND).

MSK 하- *ha*- < LMK *hà- ‘do’ < CKor ? ⇔ CN *ha- ‘be or do such’ (CND).

MSK 다리 *tari* < LMK *ㄷ리* *tàrì ‘bridge’ < CKor ? ⇔ CN *turi ‘bridge’ (CND).

MSK *net* ~ *ne*- ~ *nək*- < LMK *nə- < HS *...ri ‘four’ ? ⇔ CN *nə(r)- ‘4’ (CND).

MSK 오르- *ori*- ‘to move up, be high’ < CKor *ur(i)- ‘be high’²³ ? ⇔ CN *ul- ‘high’ (CND 186).

Some of the other comparanda proposed by Kang Kirun (1983) are worth careful, cautious reconsideration.

5.4.2. Nivkh–Puyo-Koguryoic contact

Beckwith discusses a Nivkh loanword in Old Koguryo [波兮] ‘steep hill; precipitous’ and early Koreanic (KLJ 177-178). To this we may add the attested Han-Silla word [波兮] in the *Song of the Comet* (SY) and the Common Nivkh etymon *bar ‘stone’ (CND) for the following etymology:

CN *bar ‘stone’ (CND) < pre-Nivkh ? ⇔ Okog *pafiiy [波兮] → HS *pafiiy [波兮] (SY) > > LMK 바회 > MSK 바위 *pawi* ‘stone’.

5.4.3. Nivkh contact with early languages of Korea of uncertain affiliation?

Kara (Han or Puyo uncertain) *kar ‘new’ (SS) ⇔ CN *ker ‘news’ (CND).

Silla (Han or Puyo uncertain) *myar ‘dirt, mud’ (SS) ⇔ CN *mar ‘sand’ (CND).

Are these Nivkh loanwords in languages of the Korean Peninsula? Or are they loanwords from the Korean Peninsula to Nivkh? Were early Nivkh speakers among the many peoples who must have been pushed southward during the Puyo invasion of the Korean Peninsula, where they later

²³ Note HS 岳音 *...im (SY), probably denoting ‘mountain’, and Old Cheju (T’amna) *orim [兀音] ‘mountain (岳)’ (TNJ).

assimilated with speakers of Koreanic languages? These questions are still under consideration.

6. Concluding Remarks

This is research in progress; as such, many of my reconstructions and thoughts presented above are exploratory, subject to future revision when I can devote more time and consideration to this topic. Despite the tentative nature of my reconstructions, I believe these comparisons are sufficient to demonstrate my main point—that early Korea was characterized by significant ethnolinguistic diversity, and that Korea has never been a ‘homogeneous’ place, despite the dominant traditional view both in and outside Korea to the contrary.

In conclusion, or more as an open-ended food-for-thought type ending, I would like to mention that there are numerous words, especially those attested in former Kara and Paekche territory, with no identifiable cognates in any language. For example, Kara *nu or *nutu (the exact segmentation is unclear) is the earliest attested word for ‘military, army (軍)’ in a non-Chinese language of the Korean Peninsula. This word has no known cognates in any later languages, nor in other early languages as far as I can tell.

The following is a non-exhaustive list of these intriguing words of uncertain affiliation:

Kara *dɛyk [狄] ‘capital city (都)’ (SS 34).

Kara *dzipi [助比] ‘masculine, yang, south side of a mountain (陽)’ (SS 34).

Kara *ham [含] ‘mountain pass, ridge (嶺)’ (SS 34).

Kara *key [兮] ‘repeat, reply, resume (復)’ (SS 34).

Kara *kida [居陟] ‘leek blossom (菁)’ (SS 34).

Kara *mu ~ *maw [茅] ‘filial (孝)’ (SS 34).

Kara *nu [奴] or *nutu [奴豆] (segmentation uncertain) ‘military (軍)’ (SS 34).

Kara *pVr ~ *pVn [本] ‘new (新)’ (SS 34).

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Kara *pi [彼] ‘peace, peaceful, pacified (安)’ (SS 34).

Kara *sok [速] ‘heaven, heavenly, celestial (天)’ (SS 34).

Kara *toməyk [豆覓] or *məyk [覓] (segmentation uncertain) ‘awe (威)’ (SS 34).

Kara *turam [冬攬] ‘royal tomb (陵)’ (SS 34).²⁴

Paekche *irmu [一牟] ‘swallow (燕)’ (SS 36, 37); etymology unknown.²⁵

Paekche *kuri [仇里] ‘overlooking (臨)’ (SS); no known cognates; resembles Turkic *kör-* ‘look’, though a connection, if any, would be difficult to explain.

Paekche *mar [馬尸] ‘he, she, it (伊)’ (SS 36, 37). This is probably the earliest attested personal pronoun in a non-Chinese language of the Korean Peninsula.

Paekche *sur [述] ‘peak, summit (峯); high hill (岑)’ (SS 36, 37).

Paekche *yör [悅] ‘settled, established (定); connected, strung together (串)’ (SS 36, 37).

Paekche *zi [寺] ‘indigo, blue (藍)’ (SS 36, 37).

These unidentified words may further suggest that Kara and Paekche, and the early Korean Peninsula in general, were even more ethnolinguistically diverse than the data discussed in the preceding sections suggest. One may tentatively propose that these traces of linguistic diversity in the south may indicate that with the Puyo invasion of the Korean Peninsula, many other, probably non-Koreanic peoples fled south, resulting in non-Koreanic, non-Puyo, *other* languages surviving in pockets in the southern states of Paekche and Kara, speakers of which later assimilated to the Koreanic-speaking peoples, especially with the Tang-Silla alliance that unified the peninsula. Summary of known or inferable languages of the early states of the pre-unified Korean Peninsula:

²⁴ No known cognates, although the initial sequence *tur- resembles later Koreanic ‘stone’, e.g. LMK *tòrh : 돌 ‘stone, rock’ > MSK *tor* 돌 ‘stone, rock’.

²⁵ Distinct from PP *tumi [豆仍] ‘swallow (燕)’ (SS 36, 37), which is probably cognate to MSJ *tsubame* つばめ (燕) ‘swallow’.

Languages of Koguryo

- Koguryo (Japanese-Koguryoic language family > Puyo-Koguryoic branch)
- Chinese (archaic Korean Peninsular dialects)
- We may reasonably *speculate* that there were subjects who spoke Koreanic dialects, too, but there is no evidence of this among the toponyms nor among the other Chinese transcriptions from Koguryo territory
- We may also reasonably *infer* that there were probably Tungusic-speaking subjects, probably specifically Archaic Jurchen speakers, but this is not reflected in the toponyms, either, and is only inferable from the identifiable Puyo-Koguryoic loanwords in Jurchen-Manchu (q.v. Shimunek, in press).

Languages of Paekche

- Puyo-Paekche (JK language family > Puyo-Koguryoic branch)
- Han-Paekche (Koreanic language family)
- Wa (Archaic Japanese dialects), although the provenance of these speakers is unclear – were they from the Liaoxi Wa, or were they recent immigrants from the archipelagic Japanese people?
- Chinese (archaic Korean Peninsular dialects)

Languages of Silla

- Han-Silla (Koreanic)
- Puyo-Silla (JK language family > Puyo-Koguryoic branch)
- Chinese (the sources specifically state that Chin Han is a Chinese dialect)

Languages of Kara

- Han-Kara (Koreanic language family)
- Puyo-Kara (JK language family > Puyo-Koguryoic branch)
- Chinese (archaic Korean Peninsular dialects)
- Nivkh?
- Others?

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Languages of T'amna (Early Cheju)

- The early history of T'amna is poorly documented.
- The earliest datable transcriptions are from the 17th century, representing a language that is clearly Koreanic in affiliation, close to modern Cheju; we may thus term the data in *T'amnaji* as representative of 'Old Cheju' (or the T'amna language)
- Certain undated toponyms may be Japanese-Koguryoic, but the data is fragmentary.

Others

- Chinese sources give an enigmatic and tantalizing hint on an early island people living off the southwest coast of Korea who did not speak a Koreanic language, who had Serbi-Mongolic clothing and hairstyles, and who practiced bovine animal husbandry. Were they Serbi-Mongolic immigrants? Or were they former subjects of the continental Serbi-Mongolic peoples? Perhaps a Serbi-Mongolized group of Liaoxi Wa immigrants? The fragmentary data is tantalizing.

Symbols, Sigla, and Abbreviations

~	free or conditioned variation
-	morpheme boundary
:	cognate correspondence
≠	not cognate to
[]	phonetic transcription
//	phonemic transcription
*	linguistic reconstruction
>	language-internal change
→	borrowing across languages of known directionality
↔	borrowing between languages (directionality unknown)
AHP	Archaic Han-Paekche (<i>Zhou Shu</i>)
AHS	Archaic Han-Silla
AJpn	Archaic Japanese
AKog	Archaic Koguryo (cited from <i>KLJ</i>)
CJK	Common Japanese-Koguryoic (cited from <i>KLJ</i> unless otherwise noted)
CKor	Common Koreanic
CN	Common Nivkh (i.e. Fortescue's "Proto-Nivkh", cited from <i>CND</i>)
CND	Fortescue (2016)

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CPK	Common Puyo-Koguryoic
dial.	dialect, dialectal
HK	Han-Kara
HP	Han-Paekche
HS	Han-Silla (i.e. Silla Old Korean)
HW	Ham'an wooden tablets (cited from Lee Seungjae 2017)
JDB	Omodaka et al., <i>Jidaibetsu Kokugo Daijiten Jōdaihen</i> (Tōkyō: Sanseidō, 1967)
JK	Japanese-Koguryoic
KLJ	Beckwith (2007)
KYS	<i>Kyerim Yusa (Jilin Leishi)</i> , cited from Sasse (1976); phonetic reconstructions are my own.
LASM	Shimunek (2017)
MMgl	Middle Mongol
MSJ	Modern Standard Japanese
MSK	Modern Standard Korean
N.	north, northern
NS	<i>Nihon Shoki</i>
OJpn	Old Japanese
OKog	Old Koguryo (cited from <i>KLJ</i>)
PK	Puyo-Kara
PMgl	Proto-Mongolic
PP	Puyo-Paekche
PS	Puyo-Silla
S.	south, southern
SM	Serbi-Mongolic (cited from <i>LASM</i> unless otherwise noted)
SS	<i>Samguk Sagi</i>
SY	<i>Samguk Yusa (Samgungnyusa)</i>
TNJ	<i>T'amnaji</i> 耽羅志 (1653)
V	vowel
<i>Zhou Shu</i>	Linghu Defen (1971)

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ABSTRACT

**The multilingual Early Korean states of Silla, Kara
(Kaya), and Paekche: Han (Koreanic), Puyŏ, and
contact with Serbi-Mongolic, Manchu-Tungusic,
Chinese, Nivkh, and others**

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It has been known for some time that the early Korean kingdom of Paekche was multilingual, with speakers of both Han 韓 (Koreanic) and Puyŏ 扶餘 languages. This paper, analyzing linguistic data recorded in the *Samguk Sagi* 三國史記, the *Samguk Yusa* 三國遺事, and the *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀, demonstrates that the early Korean kingdoms of Silla and Kara were also characterized by multilingualism, with speakers of Han dialects (related to the modern Koreanic languages, i.e. the language family including Standard Korean, Cheju, and the divergent Hamgyŏng dialects) and Puyŏ dialects (related to Koguryŏ, Puyŏ-Paekche, and distantly related to Japanese). I will also address indications of contact with neighboring language families, including Serbi-Mongolic loanwords in Puyŏ languages, Puyŏ loanwords in Jurchen-Manchu, as well as loanwords from or into pre-modern Nivkh. This paper is primarily based on the glossed Silla and Kara toponymic data transcribed in Korean Peninsular Early Middle Chinese in the *Samguk Sagi*, with consideration given to the Han-Silla textual data preserved in the *hyangga* songs in the *Samguk Yusa*. I offer a new perspective on the linguistic diversity of the early Korean Peninsula, emphasizing the rich intercultural

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and ethnolinguistic contacts that clearly took place in Korea's early history,
and work toward a new phonological reconstruction of early languages of
the Korean Peninsula.

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