The Bilingualism of the Paekche 百濟 Language

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From the title of this article one may be apt to think that the language of Paekche can be concretely known to us, but in reality it is better to say that we are almost ignorant of that language, for merely very few fragments of written records have been transmitted upto the present day. This is true not only for the Paekche language, but also for any language spoken in the Peninsula of Korea during ancient times. It was only after the creation of the national alphabet, Hangŭl, that we have sufficient data to get a clear picture of the language of Korea. The conditions of language prior to that time are covered in utter darkness, except for the Silla 新羅 language, that is, the ancestor of the present Korean language, which can be traced back to the period of the Silla dynasty, as some songs have been handed down in Chinese characters. To our great regret the Paekche, the Koguryŏ 高句麗 and other languages remain almost unknown. Especially the fact that the language of the Koguryŏ people who built up once a powerful kingdom cannot be clarified greatly disappoints scholars studying the distribution of the ancient languages of East Asia including Japan.

The records of language are mainly fragmentary words or names quoted in historical documents of China, Korea or Japan. As regards the Silla language, there are so-called "Local Songs (Hyangga 鄉歌)" found in the *Samguk-yu-sa* 三國遺事 and the Biography of Monk Kyunyŏ 均如. They are composed of sentences, but they have not yet been successfully deciphered, as their texts are written in Chinese characters which have complicated readings and meanings. Among these fragmentary records it is very interesting to note that Japanese historical records, such as the *Nihonshoki* 日本書紀, have left some traces of the ancient language of Korea. There are some peculiar readings of Chinese characters in this text, representing local or personal names of the places and people in ancient Korea at that time. These names are transcribed in Katakana alongside the Chinese characters of the text of the *Nihonshoki*, the readings of which are based on the oral tradition. They are very significant in reflecting in a way the contemporary language of Korea in antiquity. But the language which these names represent cannot be easily identified as the language of Silla or of Paekche. From the viewpoint of cultural history the names and words may be ascribed to the Paekche language, but it is perhaps safer to say that they have a variety of origins.[1] For convenience' sake hereafter the language which these names appearing in the *Nihonshoki* represent will be collectively called the Han 韓 language.

It is noteworthy that we find some words related to later Korean among the Han names. For example, the character 嶋 is read as *sema*. In the Chronicles of the Fifth Year of Emperor Yūryaku and of the Fourth Year of Emperor Buretsu[2] there is an instance where the name of a Paekche prince is written as 嶋君 and read as *sema-kishi*.[3] Again as a common noun we find the passage 被放於嶋 of which 嶋 is read as *sema*. This *sema* corresponds to the present Korean (abbrev. N.K.) *sŏm* which was spelt as *syŏm* in Middle Korean (hereafter. M.K.). The *syŏm* is just a descendant of *sema* (or more precisely * *syema*). Many examples show that M.K. *yŏ* regularly corresponds to Japanese *e*. Japanese word *tera* 'temple' is doubtless a borrowing from the Paekche language. In M.K. the word was spelt as *tyŏr*, which changed to *cŏr* in N.K. This borrowing is quite natural from the cultural historical point of view. Besides, in the readings of Chinese characters the Sino-Korean *yŏ* accurately corresponds to Sino-Japanese *e*. For instance, the character 見 is read as *kyŏn* in Sino-Korean and as *ken* in Sino-Japanese. In passing the words *syema* as well as *tyera* were originally dissyllabic and later became monosyllabic, having dropped the final vowel *a*. This dropping of the final vowel *a* is clearly attested. The name of the ancient capital of Paekche 熊津 was known as *koma-nɒrɒ*, as shown in the *Yongbi'ŏch'ŏnga* 龍飛御天歌 (Vol. 3, 15o.) and the word *koma* (熊) meaning 'bear' has become *kom* now.

In the Chronicles of Emperor Yūryaku and Emperor Buretsu just mentioned above a place name called *nirimu-sema* (主嶋) is quoted. This reading *nirimu* of the character 主 is found in several passages of the *Nihonshoki*. For example, the 主 is read as *nirimu* in the phrase 百濟國主 in Bitatsu-12. This *nirimu* has its descendant form in later Korean. In N.K. *-nim* is a honorific suffix as in *sŏnsängnim* (a term of respect used when addressing or speaking of an addressee) and in songs it is independently used as a noun meaning 'dear one'. *Nim* was written with two dots on the left side of the Hangŭl syllable in M.K. records. The two dots here indicate the rising tone in M.K. Among words of the rising tone several are supposed to be contracted monosyllabic forms of earlier dissyllabic X-ri (low-high tone).[4] *nui*, for instance, was a rising tone word meaning 'world'. It had been formerly * *nuri* (low-high tone) which appears still in M.K. documents.[5] Beside this, M.K. *moi* (rising tone) 'mountain' and *nai* (rising tone) 'river' had been probably * *mo-ri* (low-high tone) and * *nari* (low-high tone) at earlier stages respectively. The * *mo-ri* is represented by the characters 茂梨 in the name of a mountain 曾尸茂梨 at the beginning of the Chronicle of God Era (神代紀). In other parts of the *Nihonshoki* the word appears in the form *mu-re*. For example, it is seen in the name of place 谷那鐵山 (*Kokuna no tetsu no mure*) surrounded by Japanese words in Jingū-52. In the same Chronicle it appears as a common noun in the passage 取是山鐵 (*kono mure no kane o toru*).

The * *na-ri* is found in the name of a place 久麻那利 where it is written

with the Chinese characters 那利 which have two readings *koma-nari* and *komu-nari*. Beside this, the characters 那禮 of 阿利那禮河 in Chūai-9 and the reading *nare* for 川 of 熊川 in Keitai-23 should also be taken into consideration. In this connection 久麻那利 and 熊川 represent the same place name, but it is interesting to know that there are three ways of reading the latter, namely, *koma-nari*, *komu-nari* and *kuma-nare*. The original form is probably *koma-nari*. Thus the reading *koma-nari* is the most faithful transcription. *komu-nari* may be the later form that the word had dropped the final vowel *a*. The representation 久麻 or the reading *kuma* seems to indicate that the original Han vowel *o* was pronounced with a strong lip-rounding so that the contemporary Japanese people took it for *u*. The reading *mure* for the above mentioned * *mori* can be likewise explained. Further, the reading *re* for the Han *ri* of * *mori* and * *nari* seems to suggest that the final vowel *i* of Han words was pronounced weekly and laxly so that it sounded as *e* to the ears of the Japanese men.

Again, the character 山 in the place name 帶山城 (*shitoro-mure-sashi*) in Kenzō-3 is also read as *mure*, but it is interesting to note that the character 帶 is read as *shitoro*. In N.K. there is a word *tti* meaning 'belt' which was spelt as *stŭi* in M.K. *shitoro* is probably the ancestral form of this *stŭi* and its original pronunciation was something like * *s(i)'tŭri*. However, the M.K. word *stŭi* had a high tone, not a rising tone. *sashi* will be discussed below.

In the *Nihonshoki* there are several instances where 南加羅 are read as *arihishi-no-kara* (Jingū-49, Keitai-21, Keitai-23, Kimmei-2, etc.). This *arihishi* is supposed to be the antecedent of M.K. *arph-* 'front', which may have been * *arps-* in older stage. M.K. *arph-* has changed into *aph-* in N.K. The word must have also meant 'south'. By the way, the M.K. word *tui* 'back' denoted 'north', too. This change of meaning may be said to reflect the direction of the movement of people in antiquity. In Kimmei-2, 4, and 5, we find the reading *arushi-kara-kuni* for 下韓. The reading *arushi* of 下 is found in other parts: 下多呼利 (*arushi takori*) 縣 in Yūryaku-21, 下哆唎 (*arushi tari*) in Keitai-6, 23, Kimmei-1, 多羅下 (*arushi*) 旱岐 in Kimmei-2, 安羅下 (*arushi*) 旱岐 in Kimmei-5. *aru* of *arushi* may be related to N.K. *arai* 'under'. Against this, 'upper' is indicated by *okoshi*. 上哆唎 (*okoshi tari*) in Keitai-6, Kimmei-1, 加羅上 (*okoshi*) 首位 in Kimmei-2 and 5. *oko-* can be identified with M.K. *uh-* 'upper' and N.K. *ui*. *-shi* may have been a genitive suffix.

The words discussed above may be either Paekche or Kara 加羅. All of them are clearly related to the M.K. words. Beside these, there are some words which are evidently Silla. The personal name 微叱己知波珍干岐 (*mishi-kochi-hatori-kamuki*) of a Silla prince (Chūai-9) is written as 微叱許智伐旱 (*mishikochi-hotkamu*) in Jingū-5. 伐旱 (*hotkamu*) is an abbreviation of 波珍

干岐 (hatori-kamuki). This 波珍干岐 is a Silla title of nobility and is written
also as 波珍湌 or 海干 in the Samguk-sagi 三國史記(職官志). The character
海 of 海干 indicates the meaning of 波珍 (hatori) by means of Chinese char-
acter. The Silla word meaning 'sea' was said as *patɒr. The word is written
as 海等 in the Hyangga (quoted in the Biography of Monk Kyunyŏ) and 等
was read as tɒr in its semantic use. Thus 海等 represents *patɒr (padɒr).
The hatori (波珍) is the exact Japanese transcription of this word. In M.K.
the word 'sea' was parɒr. The change from *patɒr (padɒr) to M.K. parɒr is
an example of the sound change of the intervocalic t (d) to r that took place
during the period of Ancient Korean.[6] M. K. parɒr has been replaced by
pada in N.K. except in some dialects.[7]

In this way the Han words transmitted in the readings of the Nihon-
shoki may be either Paekche, Kara or Silla, but cannot be reduced to any
single language. How can we explain the way in which these Han words
are related to later Korean? Before we answer to this question we shall con-
sider the bilingualism of the Paekche language.

In the section dealing with Paekche in the Account of Foreign Countries
(異域傳) in the Chou-shu 周書, a Chinese historical document, we find the
following passage: 王姓夫餘氏, 號於羅瑕, 民呼爲鞬吉支, 夏言並王也, 妻號於陸,
夏言妃也.[8] According to this description at least we can ascertain that the
ruling class and the common people called their king by different names.
To our regret, it is not mentioned in this passage what term the common
people used for the queen. Naturally it is very risky to argue the bilingualism
of the language of Paekche on the basis of a single word, but the probability
can be admitted. Fortunately several words are found among the Han words
in the Nihonshoki which seem to support this supposition.

First, as regards the word meaning 'king', the most frequent one is kokishi
in the description concerning Japan-Han relations. Among all, the reading
Kudara-no-kokishi for a Paekche king is the most usual (Jingū-49, Ōjin-14,
Yūryaku-9, Keitai-17 and 23, Kimmei-11, 13, 15, Bitatsu-12, etc.). The term
kokishi is applied indiscriminately to the king of Silla (Suinin-3, Chūai-9), of
Koguryŏ (Ōjin-37, Bitatsu-3) and of Kara (Jingū-62) or of Imna 任那 (Suinin-
2). Beside these, the reading kokishi is often used for a common noun mean-
ing 'king'. 我王 are read as waga kokishi (Jingū-5, Suiko-31), 其王 as sono
kokishi (Jingū-49), 立爲王 as tachite kokishi to naru (Ōjin-25) and so on. On
the other hand, the form konikishi is seen in several cases. 百濟王 (Kudara
no konikishi) (Jingū-46, Nintoku-41), 百濟國主 (Kudara no konikishi) (Kō-
gyoku-1, 2). In Kōgyoku-1 the mother of the king of Paekche is read as either
kuni no konikishi no omo (the reading on the right side of the text) or as
kuni no nirin no omo (the reading on the left side of the text), and the king

of Koguryŏ is also read as *konikishi* (the same with Yūryaku-20). This *koni-kishi* clearly corresponds to the 鞬吉支 of the *Chou-shu*. From the phonological point of view this correspondence is justified. The character 鞬 is indicated by the fan-ch'ieh 居言反 in the *Ch'ieh-yün* 切韻 (the third variant manuscript of the Wang Jên-hsü 王仁昫 Edition). From this fan-ch'ieh the ancient pronunciation of this character can be reconstructed as *kïʋn*[1]. This reading is rendered as *kon* in Sino-Japanese Go-on. For instance, the character 建 (A.C. *kïʋn*[3]) had the same segmentals as 鞬 and is read as *kon* in Go-on. The character is now ordinarily read as *ken* based on Kan-on, but in the case of 建立 (establishment of a temple) it is read as *kon-ryū* (*kon-rifu*). Thus, 鞬吉支 are reconstructed as *kïʋn- kiet- tśie* in A.C. (Ancient Chinese) and the Paekche original form is supposed to be something like * *kʋn kici*. The form *konikishi* may be said to reflect faithfully the original form in the Japanese way.

The *koni* of *konikishi* means 'big'. In the quotation of the *Hyakusaiki* 百濟記 in the notes to Yūryaku-20 there is the following passage: 狛大軍來, 攻大城 (*Koma no taigun kitatte koni-sashi o semu*), 大城 here being read as *koni-sashi*. The word *sashi* means 'castle, town' which will be discussed later. In the passage of 'another text (或曰)' quoted in the notes to Saimei-6 we find the sentence: 陷我王城 (*waga koni-sashi o torare*). Here 王城 is read as *koni-sashi*, but it is evident that *koni-sashi* means 'big castle'. In passing *koni* (**kʋn*) is an adnominal form with the ending *n*. This **kʋn* may be related to the N.K. *khŭn* 'big' (adnominal form). In order to ascertain this relation, however, we must corroborate how the initial *k* was aspirated and whether there was any vocalic interchange between **kʋ* and * *kŭ*.

As to the *kokishi* mentioned above, it is supposed to be a compound of the stem *ko-* (big) and the word *kishi*, just like the *ko-* of the *ko-hori* that will be taken up below. Now the *kishi* of *konikishi* or *kokishi* was the word corresponding to the Japanese *kimi*, which was used as a honorific. The famous Paekche nobles, who were naturalized in Japan, Ajiki 阿直岐 and Wani 王仁, are called by the appellations, *Achikishi* 阿知吉師 and *Wanikishi* 和邇吉師, in the Chronicle of the 20th Year of Emperor Ōjin in the Kojiki 古事記. In Yūryaku-5 軍君, the name of royal brother of Paekche, is read as *konikishi*. In the same Chronicle also a personal name 嶋君 is read as *sema-kishi*. In short, *konikishi* or *kokishi* meant literally 'a great prince'. Besides, 旱岐 (* *han ki*) frequently seen in the titles of nobility of Silla and Kara may have been its dialectal form.

As mentioned above, according to the Chinese sources, while the common people addressed the king by the term 鞬吉支 (*konikishi*), the ruling class called him 於羅瑕. The Han word *orikoke* in the *Nihonshoki* corresponds to the term 於羅瑕. This appears twice in the text of the *Hyakusai-hongi* 百濟本記 quoted in the notes to Kimmei-7. The king (王) in the passages: 立中夫人子

為王 and 狛王有三夫人 is read as *orikoke*. The *Hyakusai-hongi* also is cited in Kimmei-6. Here the name of the king of Koguryŏ 狛鵠香岡上王 which is read as *Koma no kokusukusu worikokishi*. *worikokishi* is probably a contamination of *orikoke* and *kokishi*. Contrary to the case of *konikishi*, *orikoke* and 於羅瑕 are phonetically distant from each other. 於羅瑕 can be reconstructed in A.C. as io^1-$lâ^1$-γa^1 which may have become *orake* in the Go-on of Sino-Japanese. However, as the whole the form might be said to bear some resemblance, but it cannot be analyzed as in the case of *konikishi*.

As to this *orikoke*, it is noteworthy to see in what context this word appears in the *Nihonshoki*. While *kokishi* or *konikishi* is used generally for a king, not specialized for a king of Paekche or of Silla, *orikoke* is used only for a king of Koma, i.e. Koguryŏ, in the text of the *Hyakusai-hongi*. This restricted usage must have some significance.

As mentioned above, in the *Chou-shu* only the word meaning 'king' concretely indicates bilingualism. The word for 'queen' is referred to, but the appelation of the people is lacking. In the description of the *Chou-shu* the ruling class called their queen by the term 於陸. We can find the corresponding Han form in the *Nihonshoki*. In Sushun-3 the phrase 狛夫人 is read as both *Koma no iroehito* and *Koma no woriku*. This *woriku* exactly corresponds to 於陸. Moreover, the word here indicates the queen of Koma. Again, in the quotation from the *Hyakusai-hongi* in the notes to Kimmei-7 there is a phrase 中夫人子 read as *naka no orike no tomo*. *orike* is certainly a miscopying of *oriku*. Here, too, it concerns the queen (夫人) of Koma. Further, the *oriku* is also written as *oruku*. In the quotation from the *Hyakusai-ki* in the note to Yūryaku-20 the phrase 大后王子 has three readings: 1) *komuorukoniworukusashi*, 2) *koorukusashimu*, and 3) *koniorukusashimu*. These readings must be three variants of the same phrase. Probably 3) *koniorukusashimu* is supposed to be the most correct reading. This can be analyzed into three parts: *koni* (great), *oruku* and *sashimu*. *sashimu* being a word meaning 'prince' as will be proved later, *konioruku* means 'great queen'. 2) *koorukusashimu* can be analyzed into *ko-oruku-sashimu*. Just as the word *konikishi* had another form *kokishi*, *koni-oruku* also had the variant *ko-oruku*. 1) *komuorukoniworukusashi* is an intricate contaminated form. Since *komuoru-* must be an imperfect mode of writing for *konioruku*, *komu-orukoniworuku-* is an overlapped transcription of *koni(w)oruku-*. *sashi* is no doubt the *sashimu* dropping its final *mu*. Here, the great queen and prince are the queen and prince of Paekche, not of Koguryŏ. In the same passage the word 'king' is read as *kokishi*. Moreover, in Saimei-4 the queen (王后) is read as *koni-oruku*. This is found in a quotation from 'a certain text （或曰）' given in the notes. Here also the queen refers to the Paekche queen, not the queen of Koma. In comparison with the *orikoke* 'king', the usage of *oriku* seems to be broader, but both *orikoke* and *oriku* are restricted chiefly

to the readings of the words 'king' and 'queen' appearing in the special sources in reference to Paekche given in the *Nihonshoki*. From this peculiar distribution we can judge that *orikoke* and *oriku* occupied a special place in the Paekche vocabulary as the legitimate appelations on the side of the ruling class, while the word like *konikishi* was used as the common name prevailing among the subject people. In passing the words *orikoke* and *oriku* or *oruku* must have had some etymological relations from their phonetic shapes, though they cannot be adequately analyzed.

Now, how did the people of Paekche address their queen in the colloquial as opposed to the *oriku?* In the quotation from the *Hyakusai-shinsen* (百済新撰) in the notes to Yūryaku-2 the text runs as follows: 百済莊節慕尼夫人女 (*Kudara Muni-hashikashi no musume o yosohi kazari*). Again, in the quotation from 'a certain text' in the notes to Saimei-6, too, the phrase 君大夫人 (*kokishi hashikashi*) is found. Here the great queen (大夫人) refers to a Paekche queen. *Hashikashi* must be the term used by the common people for the queen. *Kashi* of the *hashikashi* may be related to the M.K. word *kas* 'woman'. Apart from this, 夫人 is read as *iroehito* in 狛夫人 (*Koma no iroehito*) in Sushun- 3 and as *horikushi* in 母夫人 in Tenchi-7.

Among the descriptions relating to ancient Korea in the *Nihonshoki* there is a reading for the word meaning 'prince'. It reads either as *seshimu* or as *sashimu*. In general, the reading *seshimu* is more frequent. For example, *seshimu* is found more than ten times. 百済太子 is read as *Kudara no seshimu* in Kōgyoku-2. This *seshimu* seems to have been used as a general term for 'prince' as seen in 突厥王子 (*Tokkwetsu no seshimu*) in Saimei-7. The form *sashimu* appears in Yūryaku-20 mentioned above. 太子 is read as *koni-seshimu*, which may have meant 'great prince'. In Keitai-7 the phrase 百済太子 is read as *Kudara no koni-seshimu*. The word 太子 is read also as *koki-seshimu* in another reading. In the quotation from the above mentioned 'certain text' in the notes of Saimei-4 the 太子 is read as *koni-seshi,* while another reading *koku-sashi* is found in the 'certain text' in the notes to Saimei-6. These two readings together with the first reading of the three readings for 大后王子 mentioned above have dropped the final *-mu* of the *seshimu* or *sashimu*. The *koni-* of *koni-seshimu* means 'great' as discussed above and *koki-* or *koku-* also may have had the same meaning. The *se-* or *sa-* of *seshimu* or *sashimu* is probably related to the *sʋ-* of M.K. *sʋnahʋi* 'boy'. The *sʋnahʋi* can be analyzed into *sʋ-n -ahʋi* (male child) and thus *sʋ-* is thought to have meant 'man'. *-shimu* might have been a diminutive suffix. If this supposition be correct, *se-shimu* or *sa-shimu* must originally have been a word meaning 'male child'.

The more general use of this *seshimu* or *sashimu* just as that of *kokishi*

or *konikishi* seems to indicate that the word belonged to the idiom of the common people of Paekche. In contrast the term for 'prince' used by the royal class was *tomo*. In the text of the *Hyakusai-hongi* 百濟本記 cited in the notes of Kimmei-7, the sentence: 立中夫人子 is read as *ku no orike no tomo o tate*. In the same quotation the reading *makari tomo* for 世子 is found. The word *makari* seems to denote the meaning 'legitimate', since the 正 of 正夫人 is read as *makari*. Each of them refers to prince of Koma.

We have already seen the case where the character 城 is read as *sashi*. There are other cases where a common noun denoting a castle is read as *sashi*, apart from the proper noun like 帶山城 (*shitoro-mure-sashi*). The sentence 出城 is read as *sashi o ide* in Tenchi-6. And in Saimei-7 we can find the reading of a sentence: *Koma no sashi-moto ni itaru* (至于高麗城下). There are several more instances. This *sashi* is clearly the forerunner of M.K. *cas* and presumably word used by the Han people under the Paekche kingdom. M.K. *cas* was replaced by the Sino-Korean *sŏng* (城) in the course of time from M.K. to N.K.

Apart from *sashi* there is another reading for the character 城: *ki*. In Keitai-23, the 城 is read as *ki* in the passage: 拔刀伽, 古跋, 布那牟羅三城. Again, in Kimmei-4 we can find 百濟郡令, 城主 read as *Kudara no kohori no tsukasa, ki no tsukasa. kohori* (see below) and *ki* seem to have been administrative units of Paekche. Several place names containing *ki* are detectable in the 3rd and the 4th parts of the Chirichi 地理志 of the *Samguksagi* 三國史記 concerning the old domain of the Paekche kingdom. 富城郡 which was the new appelation at the time of the change of place names under the reign of King Kyŏngdŏk 景德 of the Silla dynasty, had been previously called *ki-gun* (基郡). The character 基 was equivalent to the *ki* (城). The older name of 儒城縣 was 奴斯只 (*nosⱴki) of which *ki* also represents the same word. Again, the original 結己郡 (*kyŏl-ki-gun*) was changed into 潔城郡 (*kyŏl-sŏng-gun*). This *ki* (己), too, was the word *ki* (城). On the other hand, this *ki* was borrowed into Japanese and even already Japanized. In the Japanese song by Ōhako 大葉子 (Kimmei-23), *ki* is found as follows: *Kara kuni no ki no he ni tachite* (柯羅俱爾能基能陪爾陁致底). This 基 is undoubtedly the word *ki* (城). The epithet '*Kara kuni no*' suggests the Han origin of this word. Further, there are also cases in which the word appears in the context of having no connection with the Han. In the description concerning the famous coup d'état of Prince Nakano-ōe-no Ōji 中大兄王子 in Kōgyoku-4 the character 城 is read as *ki* in the passage: 中大兄卽入法興寺爲城而備. Besides, there is a case where 城 is read as *shiki*. In Kimmei-12 the 漢城 are read as *Aya-shiki* and in Kimmei-22 築城 are read as *shiki o kidzukite*, as well as *sashi o kidzukite*.

We have already pointed out that the 王城 was called as *koni-sashi* (great castle). The capital of the Paekche kingdom seems to have had various names according to different points of view. It was called 固麻 in the Account of Foreign Countries (諸夷傳) in the *Liang-shu* 梁書 and in the equivalent account (異域傳) in the *Chou-shu*. This name is supposed to have transcribed the upper part of *Koma-nvrv* in Paekche which corresponds to 熊津, the metropolis of Paekche. This is the appelation of the capital named from its original place name. On the other hand, in the section dealing with Paekche in the Account of Easern Barbarians 東夷傳 of the *Sui-shu* 隋書 we are told that its capital was called 居拔. The 居拔 seems to copy the Paekche *kvpvr-* which may be analyzed into *kv-* (great) *-pvr* (town). The *kv-* is the same *kv-* corresponding to *ko-* in *ko-kishi*. The *pvr* must be the same word as the *pŭr* in the old Silla place names which is written as 火 or 伐 in Korean historical documents. The word was probably a native word of the Han people that meant a community as an administrative unit. Seoul, the present capital of Korean Republic, traces its origin back to Silla 徐伐 (*Syŏ-pŭr*). It was also written as 徐羅耶 or 徐耶伐 (*Syŏra-pŭr*) in old Korean documents. 徐羅伐 meant 'the town' of 徐羅 i.e. 新羅 Silla[9] and denoted the present Kyŏngchu 慶州. The Japanese *Shiragi* comes from the appelation of the Paekche people for the *Syŏra-pŭr* 徐羅伐, *Shira* being Silla and *gi* being the *ki* (城).

The *pŭr* can be traced back to a more archaic stage. According to the Account of the Han people in the *Wei-chih* 魏志 of the *Sankuo-chih* 三國志, the area which was later incorporated into the domain of Paekche, had been generally called Ma-han 馬韓 at the time of about the 3rd century A.D. There were fifty and more small countries (國) which in reality were nothing more than communities surrounded by clay walls. Among them we can find one country written as 伯濟 which probably had developed to the Paekche kingdom. Among these fifty and more countries is found a country called 卑離 (*Piri*). Besides, there are several names containing the element *piri*. This may represent the original Han word *piri* which changed into *pŭri* in the course of time. The *pŭri* is 夫里 that is contained in the place names in the old domain of Paekche. The *pŭri* is supposed to have changed into *pŭr* (伐, 火). The *pvr* of the *kvpvr* is the result of the change of the vowel *ŭ* to *v* by the assimilation to the vowel *ŭ* of the preceding syllable *kv* (great).

Now, this *kvpvr* was presumably the appelation of the common people for their metropolis. While the capital was called *koni-sashi* from the fact that is was surrounded by walls, the name of *kvpvr* must have been the legitimate term as the administrative district. As the capital was located in the area of 熊津, it was also called *koma-nvrv*. Besides, there is a quotation from the *Hyakusai-ki* in the notes to Jingū-62 in which the name of the king of Kara was rendered as 加羅己本旱岐 (*Kara-koho-kamki*). This *koho* indicates *kvpvr* and the 己本旱岐 seems to have meant 'the great lord of the metro-

polis'. This is not the proper name of the king of Kara, as written in the text, but the word meaning 'king' in the language of Kara, for the 加羅己富利知伽 found in the text of Keitai-23 is clearly denoting the king of Kara,[10) though the note to the text says that 'it is uncertain (未詳)'. Here the word is correctly written as 己富利 (kohori).

If the *kɒpɒr (great town) was the word for the capital in the language of the common people, how did the ruling class call their capital? There is a passage in the Hyakusai-ki 百濟記 cited in the notes to Yūryaku-20 as follows: 狛大軍來, 攻大城 (koni-sashi), 七日七夜, 王城降陷, 遂失尉禮. Probably this 尉禮 was the name for the capital on the side of the royal class. It is not certain how 尉禮 was read or what meaning had the name. In the 1st Chapter of the Account of Koguryŏ, the 13th Chapter of the Samguksagi, we can find the following description: 王遷都於國內, 築尉那巖城, in October of the 22nd Year of King Yuri 瑠璃, the second king of Koguryŏ. The Chinese characters 尉那 of 尉那巖城 are similar to 尉禮. According to the legend, the royal family of Paekche was akin to that of Koguryŏ.

The word *kɒpɒr during the coverage of time came to denote a town, a bigger administrative unit, not only the capital. The expression: 百濟郡令, 城主 (Kudara no kohori tsukasa, ki no tsukasa) seen in Kimmei-4 shows that kohori was a bigger administrative district than a ki. Both 郡 and 縣 are read as kohori. In the Keitai-6 the 縣 of 四縣 is read as kohori. Again, in Keitai-24 there appears a place name of Paekche written as 背評 (he kohori). In the notes to the text there runs as follows: 背評地名, 亦名能備己富里也. 能備己富里 is a wrong representation of 備能己富里, Japanese particle no being inserted. This 己富里 is the spelling for *kɒpɒr, as correct as the 己富利 in the name of the king of Kara mentioned above. Phonologically speaking, the character 己 represented the syllable kö of Archaic Japanese.[11) The character 富 is adequate for the syllable hö, if the difference of ho and hö were acknowledged, though the difference is not allowed in the present state of Japanology. Further, the Japanese archaic vowel ö is the vowel that corresponded very well to the Ancient Korean vowel ɒ. The use of the character 評 for kohori is entirely Korean.

The *kɒpɒr changed into the M.K. kɒvɒr by the weakening of intervocalic p (b) and this kɒvɒr has come to kōr after the stages of knor and koor. On the other hand, *kɒpɒr was borrowed into Japanese in earlier periods as köhöri, which has become koori by having dropped the consonant h, a very similar change as in Korean.

In this paper we have discussed the fact that there are several words having the same meaning, but represented by different forms in the Han sources

appearing in the *Nihonshoki*. Naturally it will be difficult to say that the Paekche language was bilingual on the basis of the several words treated here. However, one may suppose that these words do suggest the probability of bilingualism, since they belong to the basic vocabulary. Moreover, if we take the legend of foundation of the Paekche kingdom into consideration, the supposition will be more probable. According to the legend, the Paekche tribe was originally one branch of the Fuyü 夫餘 people (or the Mo 貊 people), to which the Koguryŏ people also belonged. This branch moved southward and conquered the aboriginal Han people and finally established their own country there. This legend concerning the foundation of the country may reflect some reality. When we read the description of the Account of Eastern Barbarians in the *Wêi-chih* 魏志 we realize that the language of the Mo 貊 people was not similar to that of the Han and that they are supposed to have belonged to different linguistic groups. If so, it is understandable that the language of Paekche should have been bilingual. If this supposition be allowable, one may say that the Han words found in the names relating to the Han nation in the *Nihonshoki* were in many cases words of the language of the subject people of Paekche or at least of the language of the Han race including the people of Paekche as well as the people of Silla. It is very fortunate for those who are interested in the history of the Korean language to be able to trace out the more archaic stages of Korean, etven if only possible for a few specific words.

NOTES

1) In the *Nihonshoki* no mention is made of the language in concern, except only one case. We can find the passage: 闘將臨城泄而歎曰久須尼自利 in the text of the Chronicle of the 23rd Year of Emperor Kimmei of which the phrase 久須尼自利 is explained in the note as: 此新羅語, 未詳也 (This is of the Silla language, but the meaning is uncertain). To our regret this Silla expression cannot be ascertained as said in the note. We can only say that the character 尼 might be the verb *ni-* 'go'. In Middle Korean there was a verb *ni-* meaning 'go'.

2) Hereafter a chronicle of the *Nihonshoki* will be mentioned only with the name of an emperor or an empress and his or her ruling year, just as Yūryaku-5 for the chronicle of the Fifth Year of Emperor Yūryaku.

3) The name of the prince in the *Hyakusai-shinsen* 百濟新撰 quoted in the notes to Buretsu-4 is written as 斯麻王, Kana not being given, but the character 斯 can be read as *se*.

4) The tone contraction of the former dissyllable (low-high tone) to a monosyllable (rising tone) was not restricted to the dropping of intervocalic *r*, as seen in the case of *koma* meaning 'bear' of *Koma-nʋrʋ* reduced to *kom* (rising tone).

5) M. K. *nuri* (low-high tone) is found in the *Hunmongjahoi* 訓蒙字會 while M. K. *nui* (rising tone) appears in the *Syŏkposyangjyŏl* 釋譜詳節 (Vol. 6, 7 rev.).

6) See the author's article, *Kodai Chōsengo ni okeru boinkan no T(D) no henka* (The Change of Intervocalic T (D) in Ancient Korean), The *Chōsen-gakuhō* Vol. 21–22, 1955.

7) Cf. the late Professor Shimpei Ogura, *Chōsengo hōgen no kenkyū* (The Study of the Korean Dialects), Vol. I (published by Iwanami-shoten, 1944). The forms *parammul*, *parŭmmul*, *parummul* for the word 'seawater' in the Hamnam 咸南 and Hambuk 咸北

dialects are recorded in p. 43. These forms are the results of assimilation of *parʋr-mul, i.e. sea-water.

8) The same description is seen also in the Account of Paekche 百濟傳 in the *Pei-shih* 北史.

9) In Chinese historical records the earliest form of Silla is written with the characters 斯盧 (三國志, 魏志, 韓傳). The character 盧 belonged to Rime *mu* 模 in the Ch'ieh-yün and the sound value of the rime was *-o* in A.C.. But at the time when the *Wei-chih* text was written the rime had the value *-â*. Most probably 斯盧 transcribed *sie-ra* of the Silla language. Meanwhile as the rime had changed its vowel to *-o*, 斯盧 became inadequate for *sie-ra* and was revised to 斯羅 (*sie-lâ*) and then to 新羅 (*sien-lâ*). In Silla *sie-ra* was written with 徐羅 which the Paekche people seems to have called *si-ra* which was borrowed in Archaic Japanese as *Shira-gi*.

10) The name of the first rank of the Silla nobility is written with many variants: 伊伐湌, 伊罰干, 于伐湌, 角干, 角湌, 舒發翰, 舒弗邯 etc., but the exact original form is not certain. From 舒發翰 or 舒弗邯 one can imagine that the name originally meant' great lord of the capital' [Cf. Yang Chu-dong 梁柱東, *Chosŏn koga yŏngu* 朝鮮古歌研究 (The Study of the Old Songs of Korea)]. In one text quoted in Chūai-9 we can find the name of the king of Silla, 新羅王于流助富利智干 (*Urusohori-chika*). This 助富利智干 reflects this title. Here the name indicates the king, but not the first rank of nobility.

11) Archaic Japanese had eight vowels, instead of five. Apart from the five vowels *a, i, u, e, o* which the later Japanese shows, there were three vowels more: *ï, ë, ö*. These vowels are called the vowels of *Otsurui* 乙類 (B Group), while the other vowels *i e* and *o* are known as the vowels of *Kōrui* 甲類 (A Group).