

# SONG FOR THE PEACE OF THE PEOPLE

ORIGINAL TEXT AND RECONSTRUCTION OF prof. YANG CHU DONG

君隱 父也	君은 아버지
臣隱 愛賜尸 母史也	臣은 두수살 어시여
民焉 狂尸恨 阿孩古 爲賜尸 知	민은 얼흔 아히고 후살디
民是 愛尸 知古如	민이 두솔 알고다
窟理叱 大肸 生以支所音 物生	구믈사다히 살손 物生
此肸 喰惡支 治良羅	이흘 머기 다스라
此 地肸 捨遣只	이 싸홀 부리곡
於冬是 去於丁 爲尸 知	어디 갈더 홀 디
國惡支 持以支 知古如	나라기 디니디 알고다
阿也 君如 臣多支 民隱如 爲內尸 等焉	아야, 君다이 臣다이 民隱다이 후놀 둔
國惡 太平恨音叱如.	나라악 太平후니잇다.

## Translation of the Song to modern Korean

「임금은 아버지, 신하는 사랑하실 어미요, 백성은 어린 아이로다! [이러]하실 때 백성이 사랑할 것이로다! [귀하가] 굴사대흘 살려주신 백성, 이들을 먹게끔 다스려라. 이 땅을 버리고 어데 가려고 하겠는가?! 나라도 지켜지기 알 것이로다! 아야, [늘] 임금답게 신하답게 백성답게 할 땐 나라가 태평합니다」.

## Latin transliteration and translation into English

「Kun-ün api-ĭ-a,	«Sir, [You] are the father,
Sin-ün täšä-sĭa-l ešĭ-ĭ-a,	[Your] ministers are a loving mother,
Min-än er-hän ahĭj-i-ko!	And ordinary people are [your] small children!
Hä-sĭa-l ti,	If [You] will act [accordingly],
Min-i täšä-l ti-ko-ta!	Then people will love [You]!
Kul-š tai-hül sali-ki-sĭo-än mul-saiŋ,	Oh, human beings, saved from living in holes,
I-hül mek-ak-ki täšä-rĭa-ra.	Rule them so [that they] can eat enough!
I sta-hül päri-KĪEN-ki	Would [they] want to leave this land,
E-to-ĭ ka-e-tĕ hä-l ti?	To go anywhere?
Nalak-ki čii-ki al-ko-ta!	Also the country will know, how to save itself!

A-ja!

Kun-ta, sin-taki, minün-ta

Hä-nä-l tä-än,

Nalak thaï-phieŋ hä-nä-n<sup>i</sup>-š-ta].

Ah!

The King, ministers and people, –

If each acts allways as he should,

Great peace will prevail in the country».

## COMMENTS

1. 【君】「KUN」“Sovereign”. In Medieval Korean, the word included in the title for sovereigns was *nimkim* < \**ni-ń kũm* “a toothy leader, a sharp-toothed headman”. The Silla’s title 尼斯今 fits well with it. Left part of the title - 尼斯 [MC \**ni-sji*] most likely refers to the Manchu word \**niali* (see Man. *ńalma* “groove on the upper lip”, *ńa-si*, *ńa-ša* “gums of teeth”, MKor. *ni* < \**niali* “tooth”) with possessive affix \*-š < \*-ń, and the right part 今 [MC \**kjim*] can be defined as \**küjũm* < \**kuńum* “leader, headman” (cf.: Man. *uŋgu*, *uŋGa*; S.Man. *uŋan* < \**k’uńugV* “head of a clan”, Jap. *kimi* < \**k’uńumi* “lord, chief”). The assumptions about the reasons and the time of appearance of the name 尼斯今 are contained in the “Samguk Sagi” (see “Enthronement of king Yuri”). In case of hieroglyphic writting 君 we can deal with both \**ni-m kũm*, \**ni-š kũm*, and \**küjũm*.

2. 【臣】「SIN」“Minister”. A person holding a high position in the state. Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify the syllable 臣 with any Korean word.

3. 【民】「MIN」“People”. The Song also captures the form 民隱 (see 民隱如), where the extra character 隱 allows the Silla equivalent of 民 to be defined as a word ending in \*-ün. In Korean, lexemes with such a characteristic are lost. Perhaps studying related languages or other monuments of Korean culture could give us a hint. From our side we can note that Middle Korean had a suffix *-skun*, which indicates an actor and can be regarded as a combination of the possessive marker -š and a common noun *kun* “a person; people”. Most likely it is associated with Mong. \**kuyun* ~ \**küyün* (MMong. *gu’un*, *kuw(u)n*; WMong. *kümün*; Kh. *xün*; Bur. *xün*; Kalm. *kün*; Ord. *kün*, *kümün*; Dong. *kun*; Bao. *kuŋ*; S.-Yugh. *kün*; Mongr. *kun* “a human being”), Turk. \**kün* (OTurk. *elgün*; Karakh. *el kün*; Tur.

*elgün*; MTurk. *el wa kün*, *elgün* “people, nation”) and apparently can be mentioned as Korean (Silla) parallel for *\*kuyun ~ \*küyün*.

4. 【隱】「ÜN」 ~ 【焉】「ÄN」. Topic marker *\*(ü)n ~ \*(ä)n*. It seems that originally the form *\*(ü)n ~ \*(ä)n* is the same as the nominal ending *-n*, which is typical for many Turkic, Mongolian and Tungus-Manchu words (see Turkic *aran* “barn”, Mong. *kulan* “donkey”, Man. *bigan* “field, steppe”, etc.). In Korean *\*ä* can be derived from *\*(i)a* or *\*(i)o*. For example, MKor. *mäšäm* “heart” is motivated from Tungus-Manchu *\*mšanam* “id.”; for correspondence MKor. *täšä-* “to love”, TMA. *daña-* “to make a play; to joke” it is imperative to reconstruct intermediate Korean form *\*täňä-*. MKor. lexem *mär* (mod. *mal*) “horse” has a good parallel in Man. *morin*, Nan. *morĩ*, Neg. *mojin*, WMong. *mori(n)* “horse”. For Korean *mätäi* (mod. *mati*), Mong. *möči* a common archetype *\*mšot’i* “joint (of body)” can be reconstructed.

5. 【父】「PU」 “Father”. A possible candidate for the Silla archetype of 父 is the common Altaic term *\*apaga*, cf.: Neg. *apa* “grandfather; uncle”, WMong. *abaya* “uncle”, OT *apa* “ancestor”, MKor. *api* “father”. At the same time, both forms, with *\*a* and with *\*e* were allowed in the root of the word. The successor of the forms with root *\*e* in the Modern Korean is *əbəi* < *\*ep-eši* “parents; father and mother” (see also mod. dial. *ebi* “father”).

6. 【母史】「MO-ŠI」 “Mother”. The sign 史 [MC *\*šɨ*] indicates the final part of the word - *\*-ši*. In Middle Korean we find lexeme *eši*. It can be compared with TMA *\*eňi* “female; mother”, see: Evk. *eňin*; Evn. *eňin*; Neg. *eňin*; Man. *eňen*; Jurch. *enin*; Orc. *enin*; Nan. *eňin*; Orch. *ani*; Ud. *eni*; Sol. *enĩ*. The fact that transition *\*-ň-* > *\*-š-* already happened in the Silla language thus becomes obvious.

7. 【也】「ĬA」. An indicator of the narrative forms of the final predicativity of neutral style of speech within nouns, abbr. from *\*i-a*. The first *\*i-* is the root of the link-word *\*i-*, and the element *\*-a* is similar to the modern Korean ending *-a*, which forms “informal” speech.

8. 【阿孩】「A-HÄJ」“Child”. The phonetic reading of the characters 阿孩 indicates a Silla form like *\*ahäji*. It is the change of the Turkic common noun *\*(i)oyuli* “son”, which gave the Mong. *ayul* (WMong. *ayul ači* “one’s own grandson or descendant”), MKor. *ahäi* “child”. The transition *\*l > \*j* before *\*i* is confirmed by many Korean examples (MKor. *kui* < *\*kuli* “ear”, MKor. *päi* < *\*päli* “belly”, etc.). An analysis of the survey of the Tungus languages shows that such a phenomenon most often took place among the southern Tungus-Manchus.

9. 【古】「KO」. The morpheme 古 *\*-ko* was placed at the end of a sentence and performed an intonational-expressive function (expression of amazement, strong feeling, excitement, and the like). Apparently, it had a tendency to combine with the intensifying particle *\*-n* and the sign of completeness of the statement *\*-ta* (如), subsequently creating special forms of exclamation *\*-kon* (modern *-kun*) and *\*(k)o-ta*. Both Yang Chu Dong and Kim Wan Chin read the sentence line 民是愛尸知古如 the same way: *Min-i täšä-l (saraŋ-il) al-ko-ta (al kəs-i-lo-ta)* “The people will know [Your] love (literally: the people will know how [You] love [them])”. But this contradicts not only the meaning (purpose) of communication, but also the grammar of the language. Models 愛賜尸 *\*täšä-sĩa-l* “*honorif. loving*”, 爲賜尸 *\*hä-sĩa-l* “*honorif. will act*” show that if the subject of the action is a person who is superior to the author of the speech (for example, *mother* or *sovereign*), then the predicate verb describing the action of this person must necessarily have the form in *\*-sĩa-* (honorific form). In the case of 愛尸 *\*täšä-l* “(Your) love” this does not happen, so the more authentic translation would be “the people will love [You]”. The absence of a noun form (“love”) with *\*-l* derived from the root *\*taña-* in Korean or in some related language (see Ulch. *daña-la-* “to make a play; to joke”, OJap *tanwo-si-*, MJap. *tano-shi-* “pleasant, joyful”) also raises questions. In order for the statement to coincide both logically and grammatically, we consider it necessary to make the following correction in the interpretation of the phrase 民是愛尸知古如: *Min-i täšä-l ti-(i)-ko-ta* “the people will love [You]”.

10. 【是】「SI」. In Chinese, 是 is a link-verb in the copulative-nominal predicate; analogue of copula *i-* in Korean. The use of 是 after 民 is, of course, conditional, it is caused by the similarity between the readings of the copula *\*i-* and the nominative case *\*-i* (the principle of homonymy) in the Silla language.

11. 【狂尸恨】「KWANG-SI-HÄN」 “Small”. The participle form in *\*-n* from the adjective *\*erhä-* > MKor. *ari-* “to be small; to be foolish” (狂). In Chinese, the sign 尸 was read *\*sí*. It corresponds to the Korean reading *si*. Here 尸 is conjugated with *\*r*. Above, when parsing 愛賜尸, 爲賜尸, 愛尸, we also read 尸 as *\*l*, not *\*si*. The use of 尸 to convey *\*r*, *\*l* is most likely associated with the Turkic (Koguryeo?) tradition: it is tempting to see 尸 as Turk. *\*z* or *\*š* < OT *\*r*, *\*l*, which were associated in the speech of the Silla with their relative (Manchu?) *\*r* or *\*l*. Basically, there is no reason for reading 尸 as *\*z*, *\*š* in the Silla Hyangga texts. The reading of 阿孩 as “child” is guessed by the use of 狂尸恨 in front of it.

12. 【爲】「UI」 “To do”. The polite participial form of the verb - 爲賜尸 *\*hā-sīa-l* includes the honorary suffix *\*-si-* and the connecting vowel *\*-a-*. The informal (non-honorific) form was simply 爲尸 *\*hā-l*. The participle ending suffix 尸 could be preceded by affixes, for example, tense affix 內 (MKor. *\*-nā-*), see 爲內尸 等焉 *\*hā-nā-l tā-n* “if they do so...”.

13. 【知】「TI」. A grammatical word that introduces subordinate clauses or forms a complex nominal predicate. It is functionally reminiscent of the modern Korean grammatical words *thə*, *te*, *či*, *čul*, etc. It should not be confused with the autonomous verb 知 “to know, to learn”. Together with 爲賜尸, 愛尸 develops into the phrases 爲賜尸 知 “if You do [so], then ...”; 愛尸 知古如 “[they] will certainly love [You]”.

14. 【知】「TI」. A grammatical question word, akin to modern Korean *či*. In interrogative sentences with 知, the participial forms in *\*-l* act as predicates, see: 於冬是 去於丁 爲尸 知 “Would [they] want to go anywhere?”.

Yang Chu Dong and Kim Wan Chin consider the cases 爲賜尸知 and 爲尸知 as identical, which is unlikely.

15. 【生以支所音】「SAĬNG-I-KI-SĬO-ÄM」“*Honorif. Saved*”. Different authors interpreted this record in different ways. After sign 生 \**sal-* “to live” Yang Chu Dong got only \*-*son*. Another specialist in the study of Hyangga, Kim Wan Chin, also ignored the part 以支, limiting himself only to changing the reading of \*-*son*, proposed by Yang Chu Dong, to \*-*tän*. Other interpreters did not improve the situation either. We propose to recognize unidentified characters 以支 [MKor. *i-ki*] as \*-*i-ki-*, merging with the previously established \**sal-* into the derivative \**sal-i-ki-*, which has a parallel in the MKor. *sal-i-* “to give the opportunity to live; to save”. Phonetic analysis of 所音 [MKor. *sĭo-äim*] inevitably leads us to \*-*si-o-m*. But the Chinese reading \*-*m* during this period, apparently, was already confused with \*-*n*. Putting \*-*n* in place of \*-*m*, we get \*-*si-o-n*. Then, the whole word 生以支所音 can be read as \**sal-i-ki-si-o-n* “*honorif. those who (You) saved*”, or “those who were saved (by You)”. If the amendments proposed above are correct, then the content of the translations of the phrase given earlier by Yang Chu Dong and Kim Wan Chin should be substantially changed.

16. 【窟理】「KUL-LI」“Burrow”. The meaning of 窟理 is definitely incorrect from all the authors of the decryption. In the interpretation of 窟理 majority of researchers follow Yang Chu Dong, who defined it as \**ku-mul* “idleness, poverty; joylessness, sadness”, understanding the phrase 窟理叱大脍生以支所音物生 as “people who lived sadly and joylessly”. This differs from our identification. Compared to Yang Chu Dong, we are making the following changes. Firstly, 窟理 can be well identified as the Korean *kul* “pit, cave, burrow”. If the sign 窟 (in Chinese “pit, cellar, underground, dugout”) is taken as \**kul*, then the following syllable 理 [MC \**li*] can be read as \**l* and considered as the ending of the word \**kul* “pit, cave, burrow” in the Silla language. Secondly, the combination of signs 大脍, recognized by Yang Chu Dong as an auxiliary word \**tahi* “like; as”, here

was most likely *\*tai-hül* “in large quantities (massively) to disperse, flee around the world”. Together with 窟理 in the possessive form (*\*-š*), it gave 窟理叱 大肸 “mass dispersal through holes”. Thirdly, if 生以支所音 is understood as *\*sal-tən* “who lived”, then the logical connections of the words in this syntagma will be placed incorrectly: the subject of action *\*sal-i-ki-* “to save, to let survive” is the *sovereign* (it is evident from the suffix *\*-si-* in the predicate). Recognizing *people* as subject deprives the *\*-si-* suffix (the marker of a high status of an actor) of semantic (and grammatical) meaning. In general, 窟理叱 大肸 生以支所音 物生 “people saved from mass dispersal in burrows” can be understood as “people whom [You] saved from mass fleeing into fields, forests, and mountains”.

17. 【物生】「MUL-SAĪNG」“Living creature”.

18. 【此肸】「ČHA-HÜL」“Them”. Signs 此肸 can be interpreted as a form of the lexeme 此 “this; that, which; he, they”, assuming the segmental composition 此肸 in the form *\*i* “he, they” + accusative ending *\*-hül*. In the 15th century the spelling *-hil* was used for words ending in *-h* (see, for example, *nala-hil* instead of *nalah-il* “country”). In this regard, the question arises whether the pronoun *\*i* had *\*-h* at the end or *\*-hül* was meant for the complex affix *\*-h-ül* (< *\*-y-ül*, see the accusative affix *-y* in Turkic).

19. 【喰】「SIK」“To eat”. The identification of 喰 can be based on the MKor. word *mek-* “eat, feed”. The 惡支 signs in 喰惡支 are similar to *\*-ak-ki*, which makes it possible to look at 喰惡支 as *\*mek-a-k-ki* (modern Korean *mek-ke*) “so that they can eat enough”. But it may also happen that in the case of 喰 we are dealing not with *\*mek-*, but with *\*mak-* (see MJap. *makanaf-*; Mod. Jap. *makana-* < *\*makanap-* “to feed, to provide food”). And then 惡 *\*ak* can be included in the root *\*mak-*, reducing the segment composition *\*mak-ak-ki* to *\*mak-k(e)i* without changing the meaning.

20. 【治】「ČHI」“To rule over”. The sign 治 here is confidently identified as *\*tasäri-* (Mod. Korean *tasiri-* “id.”). The ending part 良羅 (MKor.

*rian-ra*) diagnoses 治良羅 as *\*tasäri-a-ra* “Rule!”. The nasal sound *ŋ* in Silla was apparently irrelevant (ignored).

21. 【地】「TI」“Land”. The form 地 in Middle Korean is fixed as *stah* (Mod. *tan*). The sign 𪛗 assigns 地 *\*stah* to the accusative case *\*-ül*: *\*stah-ül*. The original form *\*stah* should have been *\*sita* (cf. OJap. *sita* “bottom, lower part”). On the basis of one record 地𪛗 the evaluation whether 地 was pronounced as *\*sita* or only *\*stah* in the language of Silla remains impossible to establish.

22. 【捨】「SA」“To leave”. We accept the interpretation of 捨 as *\*päri-* (Mod. Korean *päri-*) “to throw, to leave” purely conditionally, only to support the context. It is also unclear whether the status of the hieroglyph 遣 “to send, to dispatch” is semantic (forms one whole with 捨), or a phonetic sign indicating the reading of the end of the word hidden behind the hieroglyph 捨. Based on the internal logic of the Korean language, it would be expected that 遣 [MKor. *kien*] should have the meaning *\*-ko* (Yang Chu Dong, Kim Wan Chin), although the formal reasons why the syllable should be read this way are not very clear. The remaining character 只 [MC *\*ki*] is viewed as *\*-k*, enhancing the result of an action expressed in the form 捨遣.

23. 【於冬是】「E-TONG-SI」“Anywhere”. Signs 於冬是 [MKor. *e-toŋ-si*] are read as *\*e-to-i*, which is in good agreement with MKor. *etäi* “where; somewhere, anywhere”. The sign 是 here is read similar to the reading in 民是, and ignoring *\*ŋ* in the 冬 sign is consistent with the same manner of the readings of 良, 丁, 等.

24. 【去】「KE」“To go”. In translation, 去 looks like *\*ka-* “to go (away), to leave” (see MKor. *ka-* “id.”). This translation, of course, is conditional. In place of 去, there could be another Silla verb, for example, *\*ni-* (see MKor. *ni-* “id.”). Putting 於丁 [MKor. *e-tieŋ*] after 去, the author of Hyangga thereby informs about the desirability (or undesirability) of the action 去 for the subject: “to want to leave”. This makes it possible to identify 於



丁爲 with the modern Korean construction *-kočə ha-* “to wish to do smth.”. Historically, the part 於 was the optative indicator *\*-ge-*, preserved in the Korean adverbial of manner (forms with *-ke*), as well as the future tense suffix with the meaning of desire *-ket-* (cf. Turk. *-yaj ~ -qaj*, Mong. *-gaj ~ qaj*, TMA *-ga ~ -ka*).

25. 【國】「KUK」“State”. Sign 惡 [MKor. *ak*] indicates the reading of an end of a word. In Middle Korean, 國 is fixed as *nalah* < *\*nalag* (cf. Uz. *jalaŋ*; Hal. *čalaŋ* Kirg. *žalaŋ*; Oyr. *đalaŋ* “field, steppe”; WMong. *nalai*, Kh. *nalaj* “extensive, wide”; Ulch. *nā*, Orc. *nā*, Nan. *nā* “earth, land”). The 支 sign could continue the definition of 國惡 as *\*nalak-i* (nominative), but it could also find an analogy in *\*-k(i)*, which emotionally reinforces the previous phrase (*\*nalak-ki*).

26. 【持】「ČI」“To maintain”. The hieroglyphic form 持 leaves questions about the sound value of a word in the Hyangga language. Judging by the sign 以 [MKor. *i*], its original form probably ended in *\*-i-*. The similarity of readings of sign 支 in all examples of its usage suggests that we have before us the standard for that time sound of sign 支 - *\*ki*. Since the next part of the phrase begins with 知 “to know, to learn”, then for 支 the form of the infinitive type is set here, similar to the modern Korean forms in *-ki*.

27. 【阿也】「A-JA」. An exclamation expressing a strong feeling or emotional excitement.

28. 【如】「ŠE」“Like”. The role that is attributed to the sign 如 “same, similar, equal” is to form adjectives from common nouns that give words the meaning “possessing some quality or property” (for example, *humanly, friendly, kingly* etc.). Functionally, it resembles the Old Korean grammatical word *\*tab-* “to be similar” (MKor. *tap-*), which many experts define as the original form of 如 *\*ta*, 多支 *\*tāk(i)* < *\*tabag(i)*. The origin attributed to 如 *\*ta* is often carried over to the ending *\*-ta* (如), but this is not entirely reliable.

29. 【等】「TÄNG」. The grammatical noun, accompanied by the participle \*-l and the topical marker 焉 \*-(ä)n, forms conditional-temporal sentences of the subordinate type: 爲內尸等焉 \*hā-nā-l tā-n “if they do so, then...”.

30. 【太平】「TAĪ-PHĪENG」 “Great peace”. The character sequence 恨音 can be read as \*hā-nā-n. Since the addressee (listener) of the statement here directly co-incides with the sovereign, the polite suffix is introduced in the right part of the final predicate [太平]恨音叱如, indicating that the social status of the interlocutor (*sovereign*) is much higher than that with whom he speaks. In the 15th century, the suffix 叱 \*-iš- was seen as -ŋi-// -ŋiš-. Usually it was preceded by the neutral-polite speech forms -ni- (see -ni-ŋi-ta > -nida) or -li- (see -li-ŋi-ta > -lida). All this makes it possible to look at 恨音叱如 as \*hā-nā-n(i)-(i)š-ta.