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Abstract:

In this paper, five new Koguryŏ-Tungusic etymologies have been proposed in an attempt to expand the corpus of etymologies linking Koguryŏ lexis to Tungusic and Old Japanese lexis. Where deemed relevant, Middle Korean or Mongolic lexis have been taken into consideration as well. It is found that, irrespective of the precise nature of the relationship between the Koguryŏ language and the Tungusic languages (genetic or contact relationship), the relationship between Koguryŏ and Tungusic is even closer, more profound, and more substantial than previously thought.

Key Words: *Koguryŏ, Tungusic languages, proto-Tungusic, Japanese, Old Japanese, Korean, Middle Korean, language contact, lexis.*

1. The Goal of This Paper

The goal of this paper is to propose hitherto undetected etymologies linking Koguryŏ lexis to (1) Tungusic lexis, (2) Old Japanese lexis, or (3) both Tungusic and Old Japanese lexis. As there are clearly Koreanic elements in Koguryŏ lexis as well, Middle Korean lexis will also be taken into consideration. However, no new Koguryŏ-Koreanic etymologies will be proposed.

In the past, numerous etymologies linking Koguryŏ lexis to Japanese, Korean, and Tungusic lexis have been proposed by various scholars, especially Murayama (1962), Kiyose (1991), Itabashi (2003), Beckwith (2007), Robbeets (2007), Lee and Ramsey (2011), Vovin (2013), and Pauwels (2024).

2. The Koguryŏ Language and Limitations of the Linguistic Corpus

The Koguryŏ language (J.: 高句麗語) is an extinct language that used to be spoken in the northern and central parts of the Korean Peninsula and in the southern and central parts of modern-day Northeast China. Linguistic evidence of Koguryŏ can be found in the *Samguk Sagi* (*Samkwuk Saki*) (三国史記) (literally "*History of the Three Kingdoms*"), which is Korea's oldest extant history, and was compiled by Kim Pusik (金富軾) (1075–1151) in 1145. Specific linguistic information, in the form of Koguryŏ toponyms, can be found in the *Samguk Sagi* monographs on geography. The majority of Koguryŏ toponyms can be found in volumes 35 and 37 of the *Samguk Sagi*. Linguistic data is derived from toponyms mentioned in volume 37. In volume 37, Koguryŏ toponyms are often transcribed in two different ways (Lee & Ramsey 2011: 37). The first

transcription attempts to imitate the actual sounds of the Koguryŏ toponym using Chinese characters (phonograms), while the second transcription uses Chinese characters to express the meaning of the toponym (Lee & Ramsey 2011: 38). By reconstructing the Middle Chinese pronunciations of the Chinese characters used to represent the sounds of Koguryŏ place names, historical linguists attempt to surmise how Koguryŏ words must have sounded (Lee & Ramsey 2011: 39).

There are three problems with the corpus of Koguryŏ linguistic data. The first problem is that the corpus is very limited in terms of the number of lexical items or morphological morphemes. In total, just over 100 words have been found in Koguryŏ place names in the *Samguk Sagi* (Lee & Ramsey 2011: 39). More specifically, Itabashi (2003: 139-162) mentions merely 115 words, whereas Beckwith (2007: 118-143, 250-254) lists 139 words.

A second problem is that, as mentioned above, the sounds of Koguryŏ words and morphemes have been reconstructed based on the Middle Chinese pronunciations of the Chinese characters that were used to transcribe the words. In other words, the sounds of Koguryŏ words and morphemes are merely reconstructions (marked with an asterisk) or approximations (Lee & Ramsey 2011: 39). As a result, different scholars reconstruct different forms for the same etymon. For example, the Koguryŏ word for "mother", which is represented by the Chinese characters "也次", has been reconstructed as **ečі* by Kiyose (1991: 263), as **yac* by Itabashi (2003: 154 (#56)), as **yatsi* by Beckwith (2007: 143, 254), as **yacho* by Lee and Ramsey (2011: 43), and as **iačhɔ* by Nam (2012: 53). Moreover, Murayama (1962: 67 (#14)) reconstructs "mother" as **ya-p'ai* based on different Chinese characters, i.e. "也派" (?) (to which he adds a question mark).

A third problem is that the corpus of Koguryŏ material is fragmentary in the sense that neither texts nor entire sentences in the language have been preserved. The lexical corpus mainly consists of nouns. Barely any morphology or grammar is left (Robbeets 2007: 3). Itabashi (2003: 157) lists only three Koguryŏ grammatical morphemes (J.: 文法形態素), whereas Beckwith (2007: 118-120, 251) mentions six.

3. The Genetic Affiliation of the Koguryŏ Language

Due to the very sparse attestation of the Koguryŏ language, its exact genetic affiliation remains unclear. The consensus among historical linguists is that the language exhibits clear lexical similarities to Koreanic, Japonic, and the Tungusic languages (cf., e.g., Lee & Ramsey (2011: 41) below).

Kiyose (1991: 265) thinks that lexical correspondences between Koguryŏ and Middle Korean, Old Japanese, Tungusic, and Mongolic are "areal and not genetic" and are the result of "language contacts presumably occurring in very early stages". Kiyose (1991: 268-269) claims that an underlying *Ursprache* or protolanguage cannot be reconstructed based on the lexical correspondences. Instead, he proposes that it might be preferable to embrace Denis Sinor's suggestions with respect to the Ural-Altaic languages and explain the phenomenon of lexical correspondences as the result of a "circular pattern of language contacts" between six languages or language families: Koguryŏ, Tungusic, Silla, Korean, Paekche, and Japanese. In other words, common elements in those languages are the result of "ancient borrowing among those languages".

Itabashi (2003: 173) states that Koguryŏ is not only genetically related to Japanese (J.: 親縁関係), but also to Korean (Itabashi 2003: 176). Regarding the relationship between Koguryŏ and Tungusic, he thinks that it is more likely that contact has occurred or that the two languages have a linguistic "borrowing relationship" (J.:

借用関係) due to the limited number of pertinent lexical items (Itabashi 2003: 179). According to Itabashi (2003: 159), 47 out of 115 Koguryŏ words (40.86%) have Japanese cognates (J.: 同源語), 32 out of 115 words (27.82%) have Middle Korean cognates, and 21 out of 115 words (18.26%) have Tungusic cognates. Moreover, all three Koguryŏ grammatical morphemes listed in Itabashi (2003: 157) have corresponding Old Japanese counterparts, but notably no Tungusic counterparts.

Janhunen (2005: 84) considers the Koguryŏ language to be a member of the Tungusic language family. He argues that "[t]he Tungusic identification is supported by the fact that most of the Koguryŏ territory later emerges as Tungusic (Jurchenic) speaking, and there is no evidence suggesting of any major Tungusic expansion in the region after the Koguryŏ period" (Janhunen 2005: 82).

Beckwith (2007: 38, 233) claims that Koguryŏ is not Tungusic, but proposes the theory of "an exclusive close genetic relationship" between Koguryŏ and Japanese (Beckwith 2007: 183). Elsewhere in his book, he writes that it is "abundantly obvious" (Beckwith 2007: 233) that it is "genetically related to Japanese" (Beckwith 2003: 234). Unlike Itabashi (2003: 176-179), Beckwith (2007) barely mentions any Tungusic-like lexical items. Moreover, when he does mention Tungusic words that are clearly similar in form and meaning to Koguryŏ words, he tends to dismiss the comparisons. For example, Koguryŏ **paɨyk* ~ **pɛ:yk* (伯) "to meet, to welcome, to encounter (逢 ~ 迎 ~ 遇)", reconstructed as **paik* by Itabashi (2003: 149 (#37)), can clearly be compared to proto-Tungusic **baka-* "1. to find; 2. to get, to obtain; 3. to meet" (SSTM I, 66b-67a, s.v. *baka-*). However, Beckwith (2007: 182) omits the Tungusic meaning "to meet" and asserts that "semantics rules out acceptance" of the etymology, whereas Murayama (1962: 72), Kiyose (1991: 258, 263), Itabashi (2003: 149 (#37)), and Pauwels (2024: 33-34) endorse this highly plausible Koguryŏ-Tungusic etymology.

Robbeets (2007: 18) thinks that although the Koguryŏ language exhibits "an affinity with Japanese, describing the affinity as "unmistakable" is an overstatement" and concludes that there is insufficient ground to postulate an "exclusive" genetic relationship. Moreover, Robbeets (2007: 18) is convinced that the evidence for a genetic relationship between Japanese and Korean is considerably more robust than for a genetic relationship between Koguryŏ and Japanese because the phonological correspondences between Japanese and Korean are substantially more numerous and regular than those between Koguryŏ and Japanese. After sifting Japanese-Koguryŏ etymologies applying the same sifting criteria as in her earlier study on Japanese genetic relationships (Robbeets 2005), only 36 Japanese-Koguryŏ cognate sets survive the sifting process (Robbeets 2007: 12-13). The number 36 is considerably lower than the number of cognate sets that Itabashi (2003: 159) proposed, namely 47 sets.

Lee and Ramsey (2011: 41) state that "Tungusic look-alikes are numerous" in Koguryŏ. Moreover, regarding the lexical strata in Koguryŏ, they write that the language "contain[s] at least three strains of vocabulary. Some of the words can clearly be linked to Korean; some are Japanese-like; and some others look broadly Altaic and/or Tungusic" (Lee & Ramsey 2011: 43). Lee and Ramsey (2011: 44) conclude that Koguryŏ might possibly have been a "language intermediate" between the languages which later became Japanese and Korean.

Vovin (2013: 223) espouses a view opposite to Beckwith's (2007) in the sense that Japonic-looking Koguryŏ toponyms in the *Samguk Sagi* are not Koguryŏ, but reflect a "pre-Koguryŏ language". He concludes that Koguryŏ is "some variety of Old Korean" (Vovin 2013: 224).

4. Tungusic Elements in the Koguryŏ and Old Japanese Lexicons: New Etymologies

As a rule, Koguryŏ forms reconstructed by Itabashi (2003) and their meanings are listed first. If forms reconstructed by Murayama (1962), Kiyose (1991), Beckwith (2007), Lee and Ramsey (2011), Nam (2012), or other sources, are different from Itabashi's forms, which is mostly the case, or not mentioned by Itabashi (2003), they will be provided as well. Next, corresponding proto-Tungusic forms and their meaning(s) will be provided followed by all attested forms in Tungusic languages and their meanings. Where applicable, corresponding Old Japanese, Middle Korean, and/or Mongolic forms and their meanings will be listed as well.

4.1. Kog. **ceyc* ~ **dzeyc* ~ **cic* (濟次, 斎次) "hole, cave (孔)" (Itabashi 2003: 159 (#35)); **Kog. **tseytsi* ~ **dzeytsi* ~ **tsitsi* (濟次)** "hole, cave (孔)" (Beckwith 2007: 139, 254);
pTg. **čoŋdo-* ~ **čoŋdō-* "pit, hole, cavity, hollow, rut, groove, ditch" (Russ.: "яма, впадина, рытвина, канава") (SSTM II, 407a, s.v. *čoŋdoxo*) (Kog.-Tg. etymology proposed by: the author).

According to SSTM, attested forms and their meanings are:
Neg. *čoŋdoxo* "pit, hole, cavity, hollow, rut, groove, ditch" (Cincius 1982: 300);
Orch. *čoŋdō* "pit, hole, cavity, hollow, rut, groove, ditch, depression in the ground" (Avrorin & Lebedeva 1978: 253b), **Orch. *čoŋdoko*** (SSTM), ***čoŋdokō(n)*** (Avrorin & Lebedeva 1978: 253b) (diminutive form of *čoŋdō*) "little pit, little hole";
Nan. (Najxin, Bikin) *čoŋdō*, (Najxin) *čoŋɕi°ã*, (Kur-Urmij) *čondoqo* "pit, hole, cavity, hollow, depression, rut, groove, ditch, deepening, dent" (Onenko 1980: 514b), **Nan. (Najxin) *čoŋdoli°-*** "to dig a hole, a ditch" (Onenko 1980: 514b), **Nan. (Najxin) *čoŋdo-čoŋdo*, *čoŋdom-čoŋdom*, (Najxin) *čoŋɕi°raō*** (iconic expression) "dug up" (not in Onenko 1980);
Ulch. *čōŋdō* (SSTM), ***čoŋdo(n)*** (Sunik 1985: 258b) "pit, hole, cavity, hollow, rut, groove, ditch, depression in a river where fish gather in winter", **Ulch. *čoŋdola-/i-*** (SSTM), ***čoŋdolo-wu°*** (Sunik 1985: 258b) "to dig, to make a hole, a ditch", **Ulch. *čoŋdom-čoŋdom*** (SSTM), ***čoŋdom-čoŋdom (bi-wu)*** (Sunik 1985: 259a) (iconic expression) "dug up, having many holes";
Ork. *toŋdo* (SSTM), ***toŋdō*** (Ikegami 1997: 208) "1. pit, hole, cavity, hollow, rut, groove; 2. grave" (J.: くぼみ);
Man. *čondoχo* ~ *čontoχo*, *šonto* "1. break, gap, hole, crack, split, cleft, fissure (in a wall); 2. collapse, caving-in, rockfall, opening, hole, pool, gully" (Zaxarov 1875: 672b, 944b, 945a), **Man. *contoho*** "a hole or gap in a wall or dike" (Norman 2013: 59a), "土壁の上の少々缺け崩れた處" [place on an earthen wall that is a bit caved in] (Kawachi & Honda 2018: 211b), **Man. *čontoχožo-*, *šonto gənə-*, *šontoχožo-*** "1. to crack, to chap, to form a crack, a chink, an opening, a hole, a gap; 2. to collapse, to fall, to cave in, to come down, to fall out (said about a piece of something)" (Zaxarov 1875: 672b, 945a), **Man. *contohojo-mbi*** "to form a hole or a gap" (Norman 2013: 59a), "(物の上に) 缺め目ができる" [to form a missing part, broken part (on an object)] (Kawachi & Honda 2018: 211b).

The above-mentioned Tungusic etyma have been linked to Mongolic words which have a different medial consonant cluster: **Wr. Mong. *čongγur*** "full of potholes, bumpy, uneven, rugged, rough" (SSTM II, 407b, s.v. *čoŋdoxo*), "uneven, rugged, rough (of terrain or road)" (Lessing 1960: 198a), **Khal. *congor-* [*цонгор-*]** "id." (SSTM II, 407b, s.v. *čoŋdoxo*), "hollow, sunken, uneven, rough, bumpy" (Ozawa 1983: 536a; Hangin 1997: 752b), **Bur. *хонхор* [*хонхор*]** "1. hollow, depression, rut, pothole, cavity, groove; 2. deep" (Čeremisov 1951:

580b; Šagdarov & Čeremisov 2008: 444a).

Beckwith (2007: 139) considers Kog. **tseytsi* ~ **dzeytsi* ~ **tsitsi* (濟次) "hole, cave" to be "cognate" with J. *tsutsu* "pipe, tube" (JDB 468d; Ōno et al. 2002: 881a; not in Frellesvig, Horn, et al. 2026), attested at the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th century (NKD IX, 356c). Even though both etyma exhibit a more plausible phonological correspondence, especially in the case of the medial consonants, the semantic divergence is problematic. Consequently, Beckwith's etymology should be rejected. Itabashi (2003: 159) puts Kog. **ceyc* ~ **dzeyc* ~ **cic* (濟次, 斎次) "hole, cave" in his list of words that have no corresponding counterparts in other languages, which seems unwarranted.

4.2. Kog. **əsʁ* (於斯) "crosswise, cross" (Germ.: "quer"); "side (横)" (Murayama 1962: 69 (#83)); **Kog. **öš* (於斯)** "side" (Kiyose 1991: 263); **Kog. **esa* (於斯)** "horizontal" (Lee & Ramsey 2011: 43); **Kog. **äsɔ* (於斯)** "to lean" (verb) (Nam 2012: 53);

pNTg. **əlsə-* ~ **əli-* "1. (steep) slope, descent, hill-side; 2. (steep) cliff; 3. valley; 4. bank, shore, precipice; 5. cheek; 6. cheekbone; 7. (anatomy) temple" (Russ.: "1. склон (крутой), спуск, косогор; 2. скала (отвесная); 3. долина; 4. берег, обрыв; 5. щека; 6. скула; 7. висок") (SSTM II, 448a, s.v. *əllānŋā*) (Kog.-Tg. etymology proposed by: the author);

→ **pJ. **ansu*** "cliff, bluff, precipice, fragile shore" (not in Martin 1987) > OJ. *azu* (JDB 23d; Ōno et al. 2002: 29a; Frellesvig, Horn, et al. 2026), attested in the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (ca. 759) (NKD I, 336c) (Tg.-J. etymology proposed by: the author).

Cf. **Midd. Kor. *es-*** "crosswise" (Lee & Ramsey 2011: 43; not in Nam 1997), Kor. *es-* (pre-noun or bound) "crooked, curved, (a)slant, diagonal, deviate, wrong; crosswise, mutual; almost, not quite" (KED 1151b) (Kog.-Kor. etymology proposed by: Kiyose 1991: 263; Lee & Ramsey 2011: 43).

According to SSTM, attested forms and their meanings are:

Evk. *əllānŋā* (*əldəŋi*, *əldəŋə*, *əllənŋū*, *əllərī*) "1. (steep) slope, descent, hillside; 2. (steep) cliff; 3. valley" (Vasilevič 1958: 553b, 554b), **Evk. *əldəkə*** "cheek" (not in Vasilevič 1958);

Neg. *əlisiməx* "bank, shore, (steep) slope, precipice" (Cincius 1982: 305);

Evn. *əlikčən*, *əlin*, *əlrənŋă* (*əldənŋă*, *əldāŋŋö*, *əllānŋă*) "(steep) slope, incline, descent, hillside, steep slope", **Evn. *eliķčēn*** "1. vertical, perpendicular; 2. very steep slope, steep incline (on a mountain)" (Doerfer et al. 1980: 228, 1116), **Evn. *eliņ*** "vertical, perpendicular" (Doerfer et al. 1980: 228), **Evn. *elrenŋe*** "steep slope, precipice, steep (said about a slope, an ascent)" (Doerfer et al. 1980: 232).

The pTg. form **əlsə-* (which is phonologically the closest match to Kog. **əsʁ* (於斯)) is based on Evk. *əllānŋā* (*əldəŋi*, *əldəŋə*, *əllənŋū*, *əllərī*) and Evn. *əlrənŋă* (*əldənŋă*, *əldāŋŋö*, *əllānŋă*), whereas pTg. **əli-* is supported by Neg. *əlisiməx*, Evn. *əlikčən*, and Evn. *əlin*.

Regarding the semantics in the Kog.-Tg. etymology, different scholars provide conflicting translations for the Koguryŏ etymon. Furthermore, there is a discrepancy between "horizontal" in Koguryŏ (the translation provided by Lee & Ramsey 2011: 43) and "slope" in Tungusic. However, Murayama's (1962: 69) translation, i.e. "crosswise, cross" (Germ.: "quer"), and Nam's (2012: 53) translation, i.e. "lean", are plausible semantic matches to Tungusic "(steep) slope".

4.3. Kog. **ir* (乙) "beacon (烽), beacon-fire (烽火)" (Itabashi 2003: 157 (#4); not mentioned in Beckwith

2007);
pTg. **i°la-* “1. (verb) to light (a fire), to set fire to something; 2. (noun) light (of fire); 3. (noun) lighting (the action of setting fire to something), kindling” (Russ.: “1. зажигать; 2. свет (от огня); 3. зажигание”) (SSTM I, 303b-304a, s.v. *ila-* I) (Kog.-Tg. etymology proposed by: the author);
→ **pJ. **ir-*** > OJ. *ir-* (4G) “to roast, to broil, to boil down, to scorch” (JDB 106c; Martin 1987: 698; Ōno et al. 2002: 142c; Frellesvig, Horn, et al. 2026), attested in the *Daichidoron Ten’an Ninenten* 大智度論天安二年点 (858) (NKD I, 1399b) (Tg.-J. etymology proposed by: the author).
Cf. **Ok. *irichun*** “to parch, to roast, to fry, to stir-fry in oil” (J.: “炒る, 油で炒める”) (Sakihara 2006: 72a; Uchima & Nohara 2006: 31a).

According to SSTM, attested forms and their meanings are:
Evk. *ila-*, (Aldan, Nerčin) *e°la-* “1. to light, to kindle, to start, to make (a fire); 2. (Bauntov, North Baikal) to burn (up, down), to cremate; 3. to burn, to be alight (said of firewood); 4. to dry (over a fire); 5. (Aldan, Nerčin) to singe” (Vasilevič 1958: 162a), **Evk. *ilaw-*** “1. to begin to burn (said of a stove); 2. to be kindled (said of a fire); 3. to be burned down (said of a thing)” (not in Vasilevič 1958), **Evk. *ilan*, *ilačin*** “1. (noun) light (of fire); 2. (noun) lighting (the action of setting fire to something), kindling” (Vasilevič 1958: 162b, 163a);
Sol. *ilã* (noun) “light” (Poppe 1931: 54b), **Sol. *ila-*** “to burn (up, down), to cremate” (Poppe 1931: 54b);
Neg. *i°la-* “1. to light, to kindle, to start, to make (a fire, a bonfire, a campfire); 2. to set fire (to); to set on fire; 3. (ethnographic, obsolete) to remember the dead (during ritual gatherings where people light a fire, eat, and drink)” (SSTM), **Neg. *e°la- ~ ila-*** “id.” (Cincius 1982: 219);
Ud. *ila-* “1. to light, to start, to make a fire; 2. to throw on a fire, to keep up a fire” (Kormušin 1998: 237b), **Ud. *ilasikči*** “stoking, furnace, firebox” (not in Kormušin 1998);
Orch. *ila-* “to kindle, to start, to make, to light a fire” (Avrorin & Lebedeva 1978: 187b);
Nan. (Najxin) *i°wan-* (~ (Bikin) *jawon-*) “to kindle (a fire), to light (a stove)” (Onenko 1980: 187a), **Nan. (Najxin) *i°wani°nda-*** “to come and light (a fire), light (a stove)” (not in Onenko 1980), **Nan. (Najxin) *i°wači°-*** “to stoke a stove, to kindle, to keep up (a fire)” (Onenko 1980: 187b);
Ulch. *i°wan-* “to kindle, to light, to keep up a fire” (not in Sunik 1985), **Ulch. *i°wambu°-wu°*** “to kindle a fire” (Sunik 1985: 198a), **Ulch. *i°waču°-wu°*** “to stoke, to keep up a fire” (Sunik 1985: 198a);
Ork. *i°wan-* “to light, to kindle (a fire, a bonfire, a campfire), to light (a stove)”, **Ork. *iwanǰi-ni*** “to make a fire, to feed a fire” (J.: “た(焚)く”) (Ikegami 1997: 82), **Ork. *i°wači°qu°*** “place for a hearth, a bonfire, a campfire” (not in Ikegami 1997).

Even though both Koguryŏ and the Tungusic languages possess both liquid consonants **l* and **r*, in this etymology, the counterpart of Kog. word-final **-r* in pTg. is **-l-*, not **-r-*. This needs to be explained. However, there appears to be variation between **l* and **r* in Koguryŏ words. An example is Kog. **kɨl ~ *kɨr ~ *kɨn* (斤 ~ 斤乙) “tree, wood (木)” (Itabashi 2003: 143 (#15)). Moreover, the same correspondence of Kog. **-r(-)* to Tg. *-l(-)* can be observed in the following three etymologies:
Kog. **kar* (加尸) “to plow (犁)”, Man. *χalχan* “plowshare (犁先)”, Jur. **ufu hal[h]an* (兀浦哈郎) “plow, plowshare (犁鏵)” (Kane 1989: 254 (#598) (etymology proposed by: Itabashi 2003: 142 (#12));
Kog. **sirap* (尸臘) “white (白)” (Itabashi 2003: 151 (#43)), pTg. **silV-* “1. pink, rose-colored; 2. orange” (SSTM II, 85b, s.v. *silei*) (etymology proposed by: Pauwels 2009: 105; Pauwels 2024: 43-44);
Kog. **uyir* ([未]乙) ~ **uir* (於乙) “spring, source (原), well (泉井)”, Orch. *uli* “river, water” (SSTM II, 260a, s.v.

uli II; Avrorin & Lebedeva 1978: 238b) (etymology proposed by: Itabashi 2003: 156 (#63)).

4.4. Kog. **juel* (絶) "north (北); back, behind (後)" (Itabashi 2003: 161 (#71)); **Kog. **tsiar* ~ **tsʷiar* (絶)** "back, behind (後); north (北); name of the Northern Tribe (北部) of the Koguryŏ people" (Beckwith 2007: 139-140, 250);

pTg. **čiā* "what is behind something" (Germ.: "was hinter etwas ist") (Benzing 1955: 99 (1047); SSTM II, 376a, s.v. *čāɣū*) (Kog.-Tg. etymology proposed by: the author).

According to SSTM, attested forms and their meanings are:

Evk. *čāwū* ~ *čāɣū* "following, next, the one that is situated further away" (Vasilevič 1958: 513a, 514a), **Evk. *čāgdā*** "adjacent space, the opposite side of something" (not in Vasilevič 1958), **Evk. *čāɣidā*** "1. side, place that is located at some distance from a given place; 2. near future; 3. further; 4. distant, remote" (Vasilevič 1958: 513b);

Sol. *sāɣīžī* "from that side" (Poppe 1931: 65b), **Sol. *sāɣū°*** "opposite, located on the other side" (Poppe 1931: 65b), **Sol. *sāš'kī*** "further, in that direction" (Poppe 1931: 66b);

Neg. *čāwgi°la* (SSTM), **Neg. *čāwgilā*** (Cincius 1982: 296) (with possessive suffix) "after, afterwards, later (on)", **Neg. *čāwu°n* ~ *čāɣu°n*** (SSTM), **Neg. *čāɣʷun*** (Cincius 1982: 297) "distant, remote";

Evn. *čāɣ* "1. following, next, located at some distance, a little way away, distant, remote; 2. located, living there, in that place; 3. that distant place, the other distant side", **Evn. *čāg*** "distant, at some distance; that which is located at some distance" (Doerfer at al. 1980: 123), **Evn. *čāɣla*** "1. on the next, on the far, behind the distant, behind the next; 2. there, at some distance, a little way away; 3. there, that way, thither, to there, farther, further, a little farther; 4. (postposition) behind; 5. (Arm.) except", **Evn. *čāgla*** "there in the distance, over there, far back there" (Doerfer at al. 1980: 123), **Evn. *čī°da*** "the other back, opposite side, or part, of something" (not in Doerfer at al. 1980), **Evn. *čī°dala*** "1. on the opposite side, on the other side; 2. to the opposite direction, to the other direction; 3. back, backwards; 4. (with possessive affix) behind something, someone; 5. (with possessive affix) after something", **Evn. *čidālā-n*** "1. behind, after; 2. at some distance, a little further" (Doerfer at al. 1980: 139);

Arm. *sāg* "following, next, located at some distance, a little way away, distant, remote; there (in the distance)" (Doerfer & Knüppel 2013: 285a (#2754)), **Arm. *sāgi°lān*** (SSTM), ***sāgīlān*** (Doerfer & Knüppel 2013: 285b-286a (#2759)) "1. on the next, on the far, behind the distant, behind the next; 2. there, at some distance, a little way away; 3. there, that way, thither, to there, farther, further, a little farther; 4. (postposition) behind; 5. (postposition) except", **Arm. *sāgi°dālā*** "1. on the opposite side, on the other side; 2. to the opposite direction, to the other direction" (Doerfer & Knüppel 2013: 285a (#2758));

Ud. *čā* "behind, from behind, from the rear of something, someone" (not in Kormušin 1998), **Ud. *ca:-*** "place behind" (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 934), **Ud. *čāža*** "space behind something, someone" (SSTM), ***cāža*** "behind something, someone" (Kormušin 1998: 309a), **Ud. *čāŋaži*** "from behind something, someone" (not in Kormušin 1998);

Orch. *čādu* (SSTM), ***čādu°*** (Avrorin & Lebedeva 1978: 252a) (postposition) "behind something, from behind something", **Orch. *čāži*** (postposition) "from behind something" (Avrorin & Lebedeva 1978: 252a), **Orch. *čāla*** (postposition) "behind something, behind someone, immediately behind" (Avrorin & Lebedeva 1978: 252a);

Nan. (Najxin) ***čadu°*** (SSTM), ***čado*** (Onenko 1980: 496b) “1. there; 2. then”, **Nan. (Najxin, Bikin)** ***či°alani°*** (postposition) “behind, one behind another” (Onenko 1980: 501b, s.v. *či°a*), **Nan. (Najxin)** ***či°a-ni°*** “1. the back side of an object; 2. the wrong side (of material, clothing)” (Onenko 1980: 501b, s.v. *či°a*), **Nan. (Najxin)** ***či°asi°*** “1. backwards, toward the back, toward the rear; 2. downwind; 3. (Bikin) back, backwards” (Onenko 1980: 502b);

Ulch. ***tē°-ni°*** “space behind someone, behind something” (SSTM), “behind, from behind anything” (postposition) (Sunik 1985: 240a), **Ulch.** ***tē°si°*** “backwards, toward the back, toward the rear, toward the back of the head” (Sunik 1985: 240a), **Ulch.** ***čadu*** “1. there; 2. there, that way; 3. here, at this place” (not in Sunik 1985), **Ulch.** ***čala*** “there, that way, in that direction” (not in Sunik 1985);

Ork. ***čōtči°, čōtčē°ri°*** “afterwards, later (on), then, after that” (not in Ikegami 1997);

Man. ***čala*** “1. there; 2. that way” (Zaxarov 1875: 923b), **Man.** ***cala*** “1. over there, on the other side; 2. previously, before; 3. besides, in addition to” (Norman 2013: 51a), “あちら [= cargi], 那邊, 先年, 数年前” [over there, that side, formerly, former years, several years ago] (Kawachi & Honda 2018: 188b), **Man.** ***čargi*** (< *ča* + *ergi* “side”) “1. the opposite side, the other side, the opposite bank, shore; 2. on the other side; 3. formerly, in former times, before, up to now, hitherto, before that, before” (Zaxarov 1875: 927a), **Man.** ***cargi*** “1. there, over there, that side, beyond; 2. formerly, ago” (Norman 2013: 52b), “あちら, 彼方, 那邊, より以前の, より以前に, 先に, の前に” [over there, the distance, yonder, far away, that side, before, formerly, previously] (Kawachi & Honda 2018: 192a), **Man.** ***časi*** “that way, in that direction, on the other side” (Zaxarov 1875: 928a), **Man.** ***casi*** “in that direction, thither, to there” (Norman 2013: 52b), **Man.** ***časχula-*** “1. to show one’s back, one’s rear, to turn one’s behind, one’s back to someone; 2. to take to flight; 3. to turn away from someone; 4. to rise against someone, to be recalcitrant, to be unruly; 5. to betray one’s oath, to break one’s promise, to change one’s citizenship, nationality; 6. to transgress, to break, to violate the law” (Zaxarov 1875: 928b), **Man.** ***cashūla-mbi*** “1. to turn one’s back on, to stand or sit with one’s back to; 2. to break (an agreement), to go back on (one’s word), to betray; 3. to be ungrateful” (Norman 2013: 52b), “背く, 背を向ける” [to disobey, to act against, to rebel against, to turn one’s back on] (Kawachi & Honda 2018: 193a), **Man.** ***časχun*** “1. from the back, from the rear, from behind, with one’s back towards something, someone; 2. rising against, recalcitrant, unruly; 3. rebel, insurgent” (Zaxarov 1875: 928b), **Man.** ***cashūn*** “1. backward, facing backward, with one’s back toward someone; 2. opposite, contrary” (Norman 2013: 52b).

The following unsuffixed word is not mentioned in SSTM and needs to be added to the above-mentioned data: **Nan.** ***či°á*** “back side, rear side, reverse side of something” (Onenko 1980: 501b).

Cf. **Wr. Mong.** ***čaɣadu ~ čadu*****, Khal.** ***caad*** **[*ц*аад]** “1. opposite, the other, situated on the other or opposite side; 2. beyond” (Lessing 1960: 157b; SSTM II, 376a, s.v. *čāɣū*; Ozawa 1983: 526a; Hangin 1997: 734b), **Bur.** ***saa*** **[*caa*]** “on the other side of something, to the other side of something” (Čeremisov 1951: 392a; Šagdarov & Čeremisov 2008: 127a), **Wr. Mong.** ***čaɣaduki*****, Khal.** ***caadax’*** **[*ц*аадахь]** “located behind, situated beyond, across something, situated on the other side” (Lessing 1960: 157b; SSTM II, 376a, s.v. *čāɣū*; Ozawa 1983: 526a; Hangin 1997: 734b), **Bur.** ***saadaxi*** **[*caaдaxu*]** “1. located on the other side of something; 2. distant, remote” (Čeremisov 1951: 392b; Šagdarov & Čeremisov 2008: 127b).

Both Kog. **tsiar* ~ **ts^{w}iar* (絶), as reconstructed by Beckwith (2007: 139-140, 250), and pTg. **čiā* possess a similar diphthong.

Itabashi (1993: 126; 2003: 161 (#71)) links Kog. **juel* (絶) “north; back, behind” to pTg. **ǯule* “front,

fore-part, front part" (Russ.: "перёд, передняя часть") (SSTM I, 273b-274b, s.v. *ǯulē*). A similar semantic discrepancy can be observed in Japonic, where OJ. *nisi* "west" is cognate with proto-Ryūkyūan ***nisi*** "north" (> Ok. *nishi* "north") (Thorpe 1983: 312 (#149); Martin 1987: 498; Sakihara 2006: 134b; Uchima & Nohara 2006: 204a). However, in Itabashi's etymology, the semantic incongruity is even more extreme and, consequently, his etymology needs to be rejected.

4.5. Kog. **pai* (巴) "male person, man (夫)" (Beckwith 2007: 134, 253; not mentioned in Itabashi 2003);
pTg. **bə(-)jə* "1. human, human being; 2. man; 3. male (of species); 4. personality, person, individual; 5. body, trunk, torso; 6. self, oneself" (Russ.: "1. человек; 2. мужчина; 3. самец; 4. личность; 5. тело, туловище; 6. сам") (SSTM I, 122a-123a, s.v. *bəjə*) (Kog.-Tg. etymology proposed by: the author);
→ **pJ. **wo*** > OJ. *wo* "1. male (of animals and plants); 2. man; 3. husband; 4. yang; 5. manly" (JDB 828b; Ōno et al. 2002: 1451c-1452a; Frellesvig, Horn, et al. 2026), attested in the *Kojiki* 古事記 (712) (NKD II, 798a) (Tg.-J. etymology proposed by: Starostin 1991: 109, 127, 175; EDAL I, 335).
Cf. **Ok. *wū-*** in **Ok. *wū-mun*** (雄物) "male (of animals and papaya)" (J.: "雄") (Sakihara 2006: 212b; Uchima & Nohara 2006: 36b, 356a). Thorpe (1983: 269 (#26)) does not consider the root ****we-*** in proto-Ryūkyūan ****weke*** "male" (Thorpe 1983: 304 (#127)), ****weke-ri*** (< **weke* "male" + collective suffix **-ri*) "brother (woman speaking)" (Thorpe 1983: 269 (#26)), and ****weN-ga*** "boy, (young) man" (Thorpe 1983: 267 (#22)) to be a cognate with **pJ. **wo***.

According to SSTM, attested forms and their meanings are:
Evk. *bəjə* "1. human, human being; 2. man; 3. male (of species); 4. (with a possessive affix) husband; 5. personality, person, individual; 6. body; 7. way of addressing (men and women); 8. generation; 9. age (approximately 75 years)" (Vasilevič 1958: 73b);
Sol. *bəi* ~ *bəjə* "1. human, human being; 2. self" (Poppe 1931: 43b);
Neg. *bəjə* "1. human, human being; 2. man; 3. body; 4. person, personality, individual; 5. ovary (of a flower); 6. self" (SSTM), **Neg. *bə$_o$je* ~ *bə$_o$jə*** "id." (Cincius 1982: 200);
Evn. *bəj* "1. human, human being, creature, being; 2. man; 3. male (of species); 4. (with a possessive suffix) husband; 5. person, personality, individual; 6. body, trunk, torso; 7. self", **Evn. *bei*** (plural ***beḭl***) "1. human, human being; 2. man; 3. husband, married man; 4. person, personality; 5. human" (Doerfer et al. 1980: 74);
Ud. *bəjə* "1. body, frame; 2. trunk; 3. self; 4. present, real, genuine" (Kormušin 1998: 216a), **Ud. *beje*** "body, trunk" (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 914), **Ud. *bəjəku*** "resembling, alike, similar" (Kormušin 1998: 216b), **Ud. *bejeku*** "alike, similar" (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 179);
Orch. *bəjə* "1. body; 2. trunk, torso; 3. self; 4. resembling, alike" (Avrorin & Lebedeva 1978: 170b);
Nan. (Najxin, Bikin, Kur-Urmij) *bəjə* "1. body, trunk, torso, frame, figure; 2. self; 3. personal, own, native" (Onenko 1980: 84b);
Ulch. *bəjə(n-)* (SSTM), ***bəjə*** (Sunik 1985: 179b) "1. body, trunk, torso; 2. self";
Ork. *bəjə* "1. body, trunk, torso; 2. carcass (of a small animal); 3. trunk, stem, stalk", **Ork. *bəjə*** "body" (J.: "からだ(体)") (Ikegami 1997: 19);
Man. *bəjə* "1. body, flesh, trunk, torso; 2. life, being, creature; 3. personality, individual, person; 4. self, of oneself, of one's own accord; 5. one's own, own; 6. measure word to indicate a full set of something (e.g. clothing)" (Zaxarov 1875: 485a; Gorelova 2002: 207, s.v. *beye*), **Man. *beye*** "1. body, self; 2. capital" (Norman

2013: 35a), “身體, からだ, みずから, 自分” [body, self] (Kawachi & Honda 2018: 132a), **Man. *bəjəjŋgə*** “one’s own, own” (Zaxarov 1875: 486b), **Man. *beyeingge*** “one’s own” (Norman 2013: 35b);
Jur. **beye* (背夜) “body (身)” (Kiyose 1977: 124 (#490); Kane 1989: 315 (#887)).

Cincius (1948: 525) claims that the element **-jə* in pTg. **bə-jə* is a “formant of collective meaning” (Russ.: “форматив собирательного значения”). Consequently, the unsuffixed root **bə-* can be considered the donor word of pJ. **wo* “man” (> OJ. *wo*).

Cf. **Wr. Mong. *bej-e(n)*** (plural *bejes*), **Khal. *bije* [*бүе*]** “1. body, physique, stature, organism, health; 2. person, individual; 3. (one)self; 4. side” (Lessing 1960: 94b-95a; SSTM I, 122a, s.v. *beje*; Ozawa 1983: 51a; Hangin 1997: 61a), **Bur. *beje* [*бэе*]** “1. body, organism; 2. person, individual; 3. height, stature; 4. health; 5. side, bank, shore” (Čeremisov 1951: 142a; Šagdarov & Čeremisov 2008: 170b).

5. Conclusion

As a result of the limited number of attested Koguryŏ words and grammatical morphemes, the author prefers to adopt an agnostic attitude towards the exact nature of the relationship of Koguryŏ (genetic or contact relationship) with its neighboring languages or language families (in particular Koreanic, Japonic, and Tungusic).

In this paper, an attempt has been undertaken to propose new Koguryŏ-Tungusic etymologies, or to add Tungusic lexical counterparts to established and plausible Koguryŏ-Japonic or Koguryŏ-Koreo-Japonic etymologies which have previously been proposed by Murayama (1962), Kiyose (1991), Itabashi (2003), Beckwith (2007), and other authors. The following five specific etymologies have been put forward to expand the established corpus of etymologies:
(1) Kog. **ceyc* ~ **dzeyc* ~ **cic* (濟次, 斎次) “hole, cave”; **pTg. **čoŋdo-* ~ **čoŋdō-*** “pit, hole”;
(2) Kog. **əsɐ* (於斯) “crosswise, cross; side”; **pNTg. **ălsə-* ~ **əli-*** “1. (steep) slope, descent, hill-side; 2. (steep) cliff; 3. valley; 4. bank, shore, precipice”; **OJ. *azu*** “cliff, bluff, precipice, fragile shore”;
(3) Kog. **ir* (乙) “beacon, beacon-fire”; **pTg. **i°la-*** “1. (verb) to light (a fire), to set fire to something; 2. (noun) light (of fire); **OJ. *ir-*** (4G) “to roast, to broil, to boil down”;
(4) Kog. **juel* (絶) , **tsiar* ~ **ts^{w}iar* (絶) “north; back, behind”; **pTg. **čiā*** “what is behind something”;
(5) Kog. **pai* (巴) “male person, man”; **pTg. **bə(-)jə*** “1. human, human being; 2. man; 3. male (of species); **OJ. *wo*** “1. male (of animals and plants); 2. man; 3. husband”.

According to Itabashi (2003: 159), 21 out of 115 Koguryŏ words (18.26%) possess Tungusic cognates. (However, the present author prefers not to use the term “cognate” because to do so would exclude the possibility of a contact relationship between Koguryŏ and the Tungusic languages.) Moreover, according to Pauwels (2024: 46), 39 out of 115 Koguryŏ words (33.91%) have Tungusic counterparts. However, in this paper, five Koguryŏ-Tungusic etymologies have been added to the corpus, and, as a result, 44 out of 115 Koguryŏ words (38.26%) are thought to have Tungusic counterparts. Consequently, one is compelled to conclude that, regardless of the specific nature of the putative relationship between Koguryŏ and the Tungusic languages (i.e. genetic or contact), the relationship between them is even closer, more profound, and more substantial than previously thought. In other words, while a contact relationship cannot be excluded, one could assert that Janhunen’s (2005: 84) claim that Koguryŏ should be included in the Tungusic language family has become

slightly more plausible in light of the above-mentioned newly proposed etymologies.

Symbols and Abbreviations

* [before words or suffixes] = reconstructed (proto-)form (i.e., not attested form)
4G = quadrigrade verb
A → B = Form A in one language has been borrowed as form B into another language. Donor form A in one language has become receptor form B in another language.
A < B = Form A genetically originates from form B.
Arm. = Arman
Bur. = Buryat
Evk. = Evenki
Evn. = Even (also called "Lamut")
Germ. = German
J. = contemporary Modern Japanese
Jur. = Jurchen
Khal. = Khalkha
Kog. = Koguryŏ
Kor. = contemporary Modern Korean
Man. = Manchu
Midd. Kor. = Middle Korean
Nan. = Nanai (also called "Gold" or "Goldi")
Neg. = Negidal
OJ. = Old Japanese
Ok. = Okinawan
Orch. = Orochi
Ork. = Orok (also called "Uilta")
pJ. = proto-Japanese
pTg. = proto-Tungusic
pNTg. = proto-North Tungusic (reconstructed based on Evenki, Solon, Negidal, and Even forms)
Russ. = Russian
Sol. = Solon
Tg. = Tungusic
Ud. = Udehe (also called "Udihe", "Udekhe", or "Udeghe")
Ulch. = Ulcha
Wr. Mong. = Written Mongolian

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