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# **A Comparative Morphology of Altaic Languages - Deverbal Noun Suffixes**

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As it is well known, studies revealing the relationship between Korean and Altaic languages were begun in a broad way by G. Ramstedt and continued in a less sufficient way by N. Poppe.

G. Ramstedt, at the end of his article "Remarks on the Korean language" proposed the theory that of the Altaic languages, there is a close relationship between Mongolian and Turkic, as well as between Korean and Manchu-Tungus.<sup>1)</sup> However, about 10 years later he changed his position with the reading of an article, "Über die Stellung des Koreanische", stating that Mongolian, along with being closely related to Turkic, also has the same relation to Manchu-Tungus.<sup>2)</sup>

N. Poppe, a pupil of Ramstedt, on the other hand, gave little credence to the possibility that the Altaic language unit divided into four branches at the same time. Poppe suggested that Mongolian is closer related to Manchu-Tungus than to Korean, and proposing a Chuvash-Turkic-Mongolian-Manchu-Tungus language sub-unit, that the later has an even more distant relationship to the Altaic unit.<sup>3)</sup>

On the other hand, the greatest opponents of the Altaic theory, G. Doerfer<sup>4)</sup> and the late Sir G. Clauson,<sup>5)</sup> while accepting

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<sup>1)</sup> G. Ramstedt, 1928: 453.

<sup>2)</sup> P. Aalto, 1975: 185-6.

<sup>3)</sup> N. Poppe, 1965: 147.

<sup>4)</sup> G. Doerfer, 1963: 94-99.

<sup>5)</sup> G. Clauson, 1956: 181-7.

the existence of a phonetic correspondence between the Altaic languages- Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus - believe rather that the common words in Turkic and Mongolian are actually borrowed by Mongolian from Turkic.

N. Poppe expressed several possibilities with regard to the position of Korean: First, Korean may be related to the other Altaic languages just as Manchu-Tungus and Turkic are related to one other; Second, Proto-Korean may have branched off before Altaic unity had come into existence; Third, Korean may have nothing but an Altaic substratum, originally being an un-Altaic language which absorbed an ancient Altaic language or was imposed upon a medium which had been speaking an Altaic language.<sup>6)</sup>

In this paper, I would like to try to support the Altaic theory that Korean has a genetic relationship with the Altaic languages, adding morphological evidences by comparing deverbal noun suffixes of Korean and the other Altaic languages.

### **1. Ko. -ø // Trk. -ø ~ Mo. -ø ~ Tung. ~ -ø (zero)**

Trk. -ø :

Orkh. āč "hungry" < āč- "to be hungry"

Orkh. bādiz "picture, design" < bādiz- "to design, decorate"

Orkh. qarī "old, aged" < qarī- "to grow old"

// Mo. -ø

Mo. adxu "hollow of the hand, handful" < adxu "to hold in one's hand, squeeze in one's fist"

Mo. arġa "means, method, way out" < arġa- "to use a scheme, find a way"

Mo. arġamzi "rope, tether" < arġamzi- "to tie or fasten with a rope"

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<sup>6)</sup> N. Poppe, 1965: 148.

Mo. čimki “pinch of salt, tobacco, etc”, < čimki- “to pinch, tweak, nip”

Mo. ilbi “magic, witchcraft, sleight of hand” < ilbi “to smooth with the hand, stroke, caress”

// Tung. -ø

Lam. ay “good, beautiful” < ay- “to make good”

Lam. ɔrī “value” < ɔrī- “to cost”

Lam. gē “friend; used” < gē- “to do two times”

// Ko. -ø

Ko. hari “complaint” < hari- “to complain”

Ko. phum “the bosom” < phum- “to embrace”

Ko. sin “shoes” < sin- “to put on shoes”

## 2. Ko. -ɔ // Trk. -a /-ä ~ Mo. -a

Trk. -a ~ -ä (deverbal noun suffix < deverbal adverb suffix)

Orkh. ara “interval” < \*ar- “to pass” (cf. Uig. ar- “to deceive”)

Orkh. basa “then, again” < bas- “to raid, suppress”

Orkh. tapa “toward, in the direction of” < tap- “to find”

Orkh. yana “again” < yan- “to turn, turn back”

Orkh. yämä “and, also, too” < \*yäm “to add” (cf. Mo. neme- to add”)

// Mo. -a

Kalm. cuhla “footcloth” < cuhla- “to bind or wrap one’s feet”, Mo. čuġla- id. (cf. Mo. čuġ “together with, jointly)

Kalm. uya “bond, tie” < uy- “to tie, bind”, Mo. uya- id.<sup>7)</sup>

// Ko. -a ~ -ɔ (deverbal adverb suffix)

Ko. pirosɔ “for the first time, after all” < piros- “to begin from”

Ko. mota “all, together” < mot- “to get together”

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<sup>7)</sup> Benzing 1984:2.

**3. Ko. -i // Trk. -i ~ Mo. -i ~ Tung. -i (Nomen Praesentis)**

Trk. -i/-i

Ork. qalī ‘ramnant’ < qalīsiz ‘completely, altogether’ < qal - i + sız < qal- ‘to remain, stay’

Ork. yazī ‘plain’ < yaz- ‘to spread’

Uyg. köni ‘right, straight’ < kön- ‘to straighten out’

Uyg. yasī ‘even, flat’ < yas- ‘to spread, scatter’

MT(MK) adrī ‘winnowing fork, branched’ < adir- ‘to split, separate’

MT(MK) yarşı ‘somebody who splits something into two’ < yarış- ‘to split’

MT(MK) qonşı ‘neighbor’ < qonuş- ‘to alight side by side, settle something side by side’ < qon-, cf. qonuq ‘guest’ < qon- ‘to alight, settle’

// Mo. -i

Mo. odui ‘going to’ < od- ‘to go to’

Mo. balai ‘dark, obscure, blind’ < \*bala- (cf. balar ‘dark, obscure, blind’)

Mo. bolui ‘becoming’ < bol- ‘to become’

Mo. ğarui ‘passing’ < ğar- ‘to pass, go or come out’ğ

Mo. darui ‘pressing’ < daru- ‘to press, press down’

Mo. söni ‘night’ < sön- ‘to be distinguished’

// Tung. -i

Tung. suli ‘sharp’ < sul- ‘to sharpen’

Tung. dægī ‘bird’ < dæg- ‘to fly’

Lam. əmdi ‘destroyer’ < əmdə- ‘to break’

Lam. tətī ‘clothes’ < tət- ‘to dress’

Even. nuli ‘smoke’ < nul- ‘to burn’

// Ko. -i

Ko. kiri ‘length’ < kir- ‘to be long’

Ko. hari ‘complaint’ < har- to complain’

Ko. nori ‘play’ < nor- ‘to play’

**4. Ko. -i // Trk. -i**

Trk. -i (Gerundial Suffix)

Ork. ägri “crooked, bent” < ägir- “to spin”

Ork. taqī “more” < taq- “to attach”

Ork. tägi “up to, as far as” < täg- to come to contact, touch, reach”

Uig. ulatī “et cetera, and” < ulat- “to put together, unite”

Uig., MT(MK) qaršī “opposite, contrary” < qarış- “to be contrary”

// Ko. -i ( Gerundial adverb suffix)

Ko. orai “long (time)” < ora- “to be long”

Ko. cyǝki “little” < cyǝk- “to be little”

**5. Ko. -u/-o // Trk. -u**

Trk. -u (Gerundial adverb suffix)

Ork. ulayu “and” < ula- “to bind, put together” (cf. Osm. ulayu “continuously”)

Ork. udu “and”, Uig. udu “after” < ud- “to follow”

Uig., Chag. utru “opposite, facing” < \*utur- “to face, meet”

MT(MK) ašru “excessively, excessive” < ašur- “to pass”

// Ko. -o/-u (Gerundial adverb suffix)

Ko. piriso “for the first time, < piris- “to begin from”

ko. nǝmu “surplus” < nǝm- “to be surplus”

Ko. maco “face to face” < mac- “to go to meet”

**6. Ko. -č // Trk. -č ~ Mo. -ča/-če ~ Tung. -čə**

Trk. -č (Deverbal noun suffix)

Uig. tägzinč “roll; section, part” < tägzin- “to wind around; to wander around”

Uig. ĩnanč “belief; a official title” < ĩnan- “to believe”

Uig. irinč “misery” < \*irin- , irintür- “to make misery”

Uig. avinč “being used to” < avin- “to be used to”

MT(MK) sävinč “joy, happiness” < sävin- “to be happy”

MT(CC) qazγanč “gain, profit” < qazγan- “to earn, gain”

W. Bang considered that the deverbal noun suffix in the case of the word *inanč* was not *-č* but *-nč*.<sup>8)</sup> According to Gabain, however, the suffix *-nč* is a compound suffix, consisting of the deverbal reflexive suffix *-n-* and the deverbal noun suffix *-č*, although he agrees that the suffix *-n* is a deverbal reflexive suffix.<sup>9)</sup> Clauson suggested that the suffix *-č* is probably a crasis of *-iš* which seemed not to have been attached to the reflexive suffix in the early period.<sup>10)</sup>

On the other hand, both Ramstedt<sup>11)</sup> and Räsänen, rejecting the suffix *-nč* as a morpheme, argued that the suffix *-n* and *-č* were independent suffixes.

// Mo. *-ča/-če* > kalm. *-c*

Mo. *abuča* “taking, receiving” < *abu-* “to take, receive”. cf. Mo. *abumayai* “receptive, inclined to receive” < \**abu-ma-γai*.

Mo. *bariča* “gift, offering” < *bari-* “to hold”

Mo. *boyuča* “bundle, roll” < *boγu-* “to bind, tie”

Mo. *caruča* “servant” < *caru-* “to nominate, give a duty”<sup>12)</sup>

Mo. *yabuča* “process; course” < *yabu-* “to go”

Mo. *talbiča* “place where one deposits, puts, places something; stand” < *talbi-* “to place, put”

Kalm. *eklc* “beginning” < *ekl-* “to begin”

Kalm. *xäläc* “study, observation” < *xälä-* “to watch, look”

// Tung. *-čə*

Lam. *irčə* “ripe, mature” < *ir-* “to be ripe”

Evk. *γorča* “falled out(hair)” < *γor-* “to fall out (hair)”

<sup>8)</sup> Bang: 1932:17-18.

<sup>9)</sup> Gabain 1941:125.

<sup>10)</sup> Clauson 1972: xlili.

<sup>11)</sup> Ramstedt 1952: 126.

<sup>12)</sup> Poppe 1927: 100, 1964: 142.

// Ko. -(V)ci < \*-c + i

Ko. namaci “remainder, remnant” < nam- “to remain, become surplus”

Ko. kārāci “beggar” < \*kār- to beg”

**7. Ko. -ka/-kə // Trk. -γα/-gä<sup>13)</sup> ~ -γα/-gä**

Trk. -qa/-kä

OT bilgä “knowledge” < bil- “to know”

OT qīsγa “short” < qīs- “to reduce, lower”

OT tamγa “seal” < \*tam- “to burn”. Cf. Uig. tamtur- “to set on fire, scorch”, MT(MK) tamduq, tamdu “flame”

Uig. ögä “a official title”<sup>14)</sup> < ö- “to think”

Uig., MT(MK) yumurtqa “egg” < \*yumur-t-qa < yumur-. cf. Osm. yumur- “to demolish the form”

MT(MK) köligä “shadow” < köli- “to bury”

MT(CC) kolγa “desire, wish” < kol- “to wish”<sup>15)</sup>

// Mo. -γai/-gei < -γα/-gä<sup>16)</sup>

Mo. butarqai “dispersed, scattered” < butar- “to break to pieces”

Mo. keltegei “slanting, inclined” < keltei- “to lean, be crooked”

Mo. qabtayai “flat, even” < qabtai- “to become flat”

Mo. tasurqai “torn off, cut off” < tasura- “to be torn away from”

// Ko. -kai/-kəi > Mko. -kay

Ko. kasikai “scissors” < \*kasi- “to cut off”

Ko. makai “stopper, cap” < mak- “to stop up”

Ko. nalkai “wing” < nal- “to fly”

<sup>13)</sup> G. Ramstedt made this comparison for the first time in 1928. See Ramstedt 1928: 450.

<sup>14)</sup> This title comes from the ancient Turkic öge meaning “sage”. This title is found among the Ancient Korean official titles. The last ruler of Kojosān was called Uge in Sino-Korean which was probably one and the same with the ancient Turkic title.

<sup>15)</sup> Zajaczkowski 1932: 18.

<sup>16)</sup> The original form of the suffix -γai/-gei is -γα/ge, while it appears in the form of -‘ai/-‘a in the Middle Mongolian. cf. Mo. yabuγa “going” < yabu- “to go”, MMo. yabu’ai “going”. See Poppe 1955: 273.



Ko. *pyðikai* “pillow” < *pyði-* “to lay one’s head on”  
 Ko. *tðpkai* “cover” < *tðp-* “to cover with”  
 Ko. *usikai* “jocularity” < *us-* “to laugh”

**8. Ko. -ki // Trk. -γu/gü ~ Mo. γu/-gü ~ Tung. -ku<sup>17)</sup>**

Trk. -γu/-gü, -qu/-kü  
 Orkh. *arīγü* “weariness” < *arī-* “to be weary”  
 Orkh. *kürägü* “disobedience” < \**kürä-* . cf. MT(MK) *kürä-* “to flee, run away from”  
 Orkh. *qorīγü* “quard” < *qorī-* “to defend”  
 Uig. *bälgü* “sign, mark” < *bäl-* . cf. Uig. *bälgür-* “to become evident”  
 Uig. *bīčγu* “knife” < *bīč-* “to cut”  
 Uig. *kitgü* “going” < *kit-* “to go”  
 Uig. *sözlägü* “saying” < *sözlä-* “to say”  
 MT(MK) *yayqu* “raincoat” < *yay-* “to rain”

// Mo. -γu/-gü

Mo. *andaγu* “fault” < *anda-* “to make a mistake”  
 Mo. *bolduγu* “fat” < *boldu-* “to be fat”  
 Mo. *qataγu* “hard” < *qata-* “to dry”  
 Mo. *qariγu-* “return” < *qari-* “to answer”  
 Mo. *ülegü* “surplus” < *üle-* “to remain”

// Tung. -ku

Ma. *aliku* “bowl, dish” < \**alī-* “to give, offer”  
 Ma. *ðlbðku* “cover” < *ðlbð-* “to cover with”  
 Ma. *tðku* “chair” < *tðgð-* “to sit”  
 Lam. *nðku* “warehouse” < *nð-* “to preserve, keep”

// Ko. -ki (substantive suffix)

Ko. *haki* “doing” < *ha-* “to do”

<sup>17)</sup> Ramstedt compared the Altaic suffix with Korean in 1952. He had compared this Altaic suffixes except Korean in 1902 for the first time. See Ramstedt 1952: 89-91.

Ko. kirsiki “writing” < kirsī- “to write” < kīr “letter” + sī- “to write”

Ko. mǝki “eating” < mǝk- “to eat”

**9. Ko. -k // Trk. -q/-k ~ Tung. -ǝk<sup>18)</sup>**

Trk. -(V)q/-(V)k

Orkh. ayuq “dominion, realm” < ay- “to dominate”

OT ämāk “trouble, torment” < ämgä- “to torment”

OT barq “house, building” < \*barīq<sup>19)</sup> < \*bar- “to build, construct”.

Cf. Mo. bari- “to build”

OT bādük “big” < bādü- “to grow”

OT İduq “holiness” < İd- “to send”

OT İraq “remote” < İra- “to go away”. cf. MT(MK) yira- id. < İra-

OT kölük “a baggage animal” < köl- “to harness (an animal to a plough)”

// Tung. -ǝk

Lam. huklǝk “bed” < huklǝ- “to sleep”

Lam. ukcǝnǝk “talk” < ukcǝn- “to talk”

Lam. hörük “trousseau” < hör-, hörü- “to take, go”

// Ko. -Vk (-ak, -ok, -ǝk, -k)

Ko. bčǝk “couple, pair” < bčǝ- “to tear” < bčǝi- id.

Ko. bčok “part” < bčǝ- “to tear”

Ko. ǝrrǝk “spot” < \*ǝr-ǝk < ǝrī- “to be spotted”

Ko. mīsīk “what” < \*mīsī- . cf. mīsīm < mīsī-m, mīsīs < mīsī-s, etc.

Ko. tuk “heap” < \*tu-k. cf. OKo.(Kog.) tu- “to stuff up”, Orkh.

tug “barrier” < Orkh. tu- “to bar, block”

<sup>18)</sup> Concerning these suffixes, G. Ramstedt compared Korean with Turkic in 1952. Ramstedt 1952: 147-150.

<sup>19)</sup> Tekin 1968: 113.

**10. Ko. -l // Trk. -l ~ Mo. -l ~ Tung. -li < \*-l**

Trk. -l

OT Īnal “a high official title” < ĩnal- “to believe”

OT qīsīl “strait, mountain pass” < qīs- “to reduce”

OT tūkel “all” < tūkā- “to be exhausted”

OT tül “dream” < \*tū- . cf. tūšā- “to have a dream” < \*tū-š-ā-

MT(MK), Chag. yāl “evil spirit” < \*yā- “to eat”

Yak. tül “sleep” < \*tū-<sup>20)</sup>

Yak. anal “instruction, direction” < anā- “give a instruction”

Yak. ändäl “danger” < ändā- “to err, go to wrong”

// Mo. -l

Mo. ükül “death” < ükü- “to die”

Mo. medel “knowledge” < mede- “to know”

Mo. töröl “birth” < törö- “to give a birth”

Mo. unal “the act of falling” < una- “to fall”

Mo. čaylal “measure” < čayla- “to measure”

Mo. orkiral “roar” < orkira- “to roar”

Mo. ončulal “separation” < ončula- “to separate”

Regarding the suffix -l, Poppe asserted that the Mongolian deverbal noun suffixes -γul/-γül and -γal/-γäl were compound suffixes, consisting of the deverbal verb suffixes -γu- and -γα- and the deverbal noun suffix +l respectively; Mo. qarayul “watchman” < \*qara -γu- l < qara- “to look”, Mo. maytaγal “praise, eulogy” < \*mayta-γα-l < mayta- “to praise”, etc. On the other hand, according to G. Ramstedt, the Mogolian suffix -γα- is a factitive suffix, while the suffix -γu is a intransitive suffix or a passive suffix.<sup>21)</sup> Besides this, Ramstedt argued that the suffix -l was also found in the nominal suffix -lta/-ltä. In his opinion, the suffix was compounded, consisting of the nominal suffixes -l and -ta; Mo.

<sup>20)</sup> Bang 1919: 39, Gabain 1941:117.

<sup>21)</sup> Ramstedt 1912: 10, 16.

quril “meeting, gathering” < \*quri-l < quri- “to gether, meet”, Mo.  
qurilta “gathering place” < \*quri-l-ta < quri-.<sup>22)</sup>

// Tung. -li < \*-l

Lam. bungnuli “round” < bungu-

Lam. dǝbuli “hairy” < dǝbu-<sup>23)</sup>

Tung. kǝsil, kǝsiri “battle” < kǝsi-<sup>24)</sup>

// Ko. -l > -r

Ko. sǝphǝl “anxiety” < sǝrphǝ- “to be anxious”

Ko. anil “no, negation” < ani- “to be not”

Ko. taǝl “consumption, exhaustion” < taǝ- “to finish, consume”

Ko. pǝrǝl “interval, gap” < pǝr-o-l < pǝr- “to get a crack”

### 11. Ko. -m // Trk. -m ~ Mo. -m ~ Tung. -m<sup>25)</sup>

Trk. -(V)m (-ǝm, -im, -um; -am)

Orkh. batǝm “sinking” < bat- “to sink”

Orkh. kǝdim “dress, cloths” < kǝd- “to dress”

Uig. talǝm “pillage, booty” < talǝ- “to pillage, plunder”

Uig. tuǝm “birth” < tuǝ- “to give a birth”

Uig. istǝm “desire, wish” < istǝ- “to want, wish”

Uig. yem “food” < ye- “to eat”

Osm. yǝldrǝm “thunderbolt, lighting” < \*yǝldrǝ- . cf. Kar. yǝldrǝ-  
“to shine” < \*yǝldrǝ-a-<sup>26)</sup>

MT(MK) bǝčǝm “part, piece” < bǝč- “to cut”

MT(MK) yadǝm “carpet” < yad- “to spread”

Chag. birim “loan” < bir- “to give”

// Mo. -m

<sup>22)</sup> Ramstedt 1952: 147.

<sup>23)</sup> Benzing 1955(a): 41.

<sup>24)</sup> Ramstedt 1952: 145.

<sup>25)</sup> These Altaic suffixes including Korean were compared by G. Ramstedt in 1928. cf.  
Ramstedt 1928: 451, Ramstedt 1952: 113.

<sup>26)</sup> Zajaczkowski 1932: 57-58.

Mo. adayam “speed” < adaya- “to hurry”  
 Mo. alqum “step” < alqu- “to take a step”  
 Mo. togom “a saddle cloth” < togo- “to put a saddle on”  
 Mo. qaram “greed” < qara- “to look”  
 Mo. nayadum “play” < nayad- “to play”  
 Mo. barim “grip” < bari- “to hold”  
 MMo. am “being” (in the sentence yabunam “I am going”) < a- “to be”<sup>27)</sup>  
 Kalm. iškm “writing” < \*išk- . cf. Oir. išk- “to write”  
 Kalm. atxm “pincers” < \*atx- . cf. Oir. atx- “to hold”  
 Kalm. bärm “span” < bär- “to hold”

// Tung. -(ð)m

Lam. zðm “opening” < zðb- “to eat”<sup>28)</sup>

In Tungus, the suffix -m is rare in Mongilian. However, this suffix is found in the following compounded suffixes; Tung. -mgi (Nomen actoris) < \*-m +gi, Ma. -mði < -m +ði, Ma. -msi < -m+si, Go. -mði < -m+ði, Udeh. -mni < -m+ni, etc.<sup>29)</sup>

// Ko. -(V)m

Ko. kīrim “picture, drawing” < kīri- “to draw”  
 Ko. kðrīm “step” < \*kðr-īm < kðt- “to walk”  
 Ko. ðrīm “ice” < ðr- “to freeze”  
 Ko. čum “dance” < ču- “to dance”

**12. Ko. -mây/-mïy < \*-ma/-me<sup>30)</sup> // Trk. -ma/-mä ~ Mo. -ma/-me ~ Tung. -may**

Trk. -ma/-mä

OT yālmä “vanguard” < yäl- “to ride fast, trot”

<sup>27)</sup> Poppe 1964: 47-48.

<sup>28)</sup> Benzing 1955(a): 39.

<sup>29)</sup> Benzing 1955(b): 64.

<sup>30)</sup> This Korean suffix is found as the forms of -ma/-may/-me in some Korean dialects.

MT(MK) kǎsm “broad iron arrowhead, forelock” < kǎs- “to cut”  
 MT(MK) örmä “decorated hair” < ör- “to plait(hair)”  
 MT(MK) tägirmä “rounded” < \*tägir-

According to G. Ramstedt, this Turkic suffix –ma consists of two morphemes, deverbial noun suffix –m and denominal adjective suffix –a. The adjective suffix –a is also found in Mongolian in the same form.<sup>31)</sup>

// Mo. –ma/-me

Mo. γayıqama “marvelous” < γayıqa- “to be embarrassed”  
 Mo. bayıma “a certain place” < bayi- “to be”<sup>32)</sup>

N. Poppe suggested the theory that the Mongolian deverbial noun suffix –maqai(-maγai/-megei; -mqai/-mkei) was a compound suffix which consisted of deverbial noun suffix –m and denominal noun suffix –qai.<sup>33)</sup>

// Tung. –may

Lam. baldıvkanmay “birth” < baldovkan- “to give a birth” < baldı-  
 Lam. baliıvkanmay “making someone’s eyes blind” < baliıvkan- < bali-

Ko. –mǎy/-mǎy < \*-ma/-mä

Ko. karıma “decorated hair” < karı- “to divide”  
 Ko. yǎlmay “fruit” < yǎl- “to bear fruit”

**13. Ko. –mak // Trk. –maq/-mäk ~ Mo. –maγ/-meg ~ Tung. –mki, -mkin < \*-mäk-i-n**

Trk. –maq/-mäk

Orkh. armaq “trick” < ar- “to deceive”

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<sup>31)</sup> Ramstedt 1952: 105.

<sup>32)</sup> Poppe 1964: 165.

<sup>33)</sup> Poppe 1927: 165.

Uig. uqmaq “intelligence” < uq- “to understand”  
 Uig. tutmaq “handle” < tut- “to hold”  
 Uig. ölmäk “death” < öl- “to die”  
 MT(MK) čaqmaq “lighter” < čaq- “to strike(fire), flash”  
 MT(CC) qolmaq “wish” < qol- “to wish”

Mo. –may/-meg  
 Mo. qayurmay “trick” < qayur- “to deceive”  
 Mo. corimay “brave” < cori- “to give a decision”  
 Mo. egedemeg “ferment” < egede- “to ferment”  
 Kalm. irmg “sharp edge” < \*ir-  
 Kalm. tašmg “whip” < taš- “to whip”

Tung. –mki, -mkin < \*mäk-i-n  
 Lam. mulimeki, mulimkin “water place” < muli- “to bring water”  
 Lam. b̄rk̄mkin “trap” < b̄rk̄n- “to put a trap”

Ko. –mak  
 Ko. m̄č̄amak “end” < \*m̄č̄a- “to finish”  
 MKo. or̄imak “slope” < or̄i- “to rise, mount”  
 MKo. nič̄imak “rather late” < nič̄- “to be late”  
 MKo. tur̄imaki “a man’s outer coat” < tur̄i- “to surround with”

#### 14. Ko. –(V)n // Trk. –(V)n ~ Mo. –n ~ Tung. –(V)n

Trk. –(V)n  
 OT tütün “smoke, fog” < tüt- “to smoke”  
 OT tirin “crowd” < tir- “to gather”  
 OT tügün “knot” < tüg- “to knot”  
 OT yalın “flame” < yal- “to flare up”  
 OT kälın “bride” < käl- “to come”

// Mo. –n  
 Mo. šinggen “fluid” < šingge- “to absorb”

Mo. aysun “borrowing or lending” < aysu- “to lend or borrow money at interest”

Mo. orčim “around” < orči- “to turn around”

Mo. orun “place” < oru- “to enter, go or come into”

Mo. tügsin “asthma, tremble” < tügsi- “to palpitate, throb (of heart)”

// Tung. -(V)n

Lam. hupkucin “teaching, instruction” < hupkuc- “to teach”

Lam. tangun “number” < tangu- “to count”

Lam. borin “division, separation” < borī- “to divide”

Lam. nān “target” < nā- “to target”

Lam. nābun “widow” < nāb- “to be widowed”

Ma. fekun “jump” < feku- “to jump”

Ma. karan “watch tower” < kara- “to observe”

// Ko. -(V)n

Ko. ǰrīn “older person” < ǰrī- “to marry off”

Ko. motān “all” < mot- “to gather”

G. Ramstedt, for the first time, compared with Korean -n and Mongolian -n. On the other hand, Ramstedt asserted that the Turkic suffix -γan was compounded of verbal suffix -γa- and nominal suffix -n. In the same way, according to him, Mongolian deverbal noun suffix -dun consists of two morphemes, verbal suffix -du- and nominal suffix -n; Mo. qudaldun “sale” < qudal-, qudaldu- “to sell”.<sup>34)</sup>

### 15. Ko. -Vng // Trk. -(V)ng ~ Mo. -ng

Trk. -(V)ng

Uig. iring “pus” < iri- “to rot”

Uig. yalang “naked, bare” < \*yal-. cf. MK yalīn- “to undress”

MT(MK) bürüng “whirlpool” < bür- “to draw together, twist”

<sup>34)</sup> Ramstedt 1902:109, Ramstedt 1912:47.



MT(MK) čalang “babbling” < čal- “to shout in ear, strike down”  
 MT(MK) čalpang “mud” < \*čalpa- “to be mixed, muddy”. cf.  
 čalpaš- “to quarrel” < čalpa-š-

// Mo. -ng

Mo. berteng “cripple” < berte- “to be crippled”  
 Mo. qaldang “speckle, spot” < qalda- “to touch, be infected”  
 Mo. egedeng “dough” < egede- “to ferment”  
 Kalm. xusrng “barren” < xusr- “to become barren”  
 Kalm. düžng “swing” < düž- “to swing”

// Ko. -Vng (-ong, -ang, -ŏng)

Ko. macong “going out to meet” < mac- “to go out to meet”  
 Ko. kucong “scolding” < kuc- “to scold”  
 MKo. ciphangi “stick” < \*ciph-ang-I < ciph- “to take (a stick)”

#### 16. Ko. -(V)p // Trk. -p

OT qop “all” < \*qo- “to put”. cf. OT qod- “to put, place”  
 OT tolq “all” < tol- “to be filled”<sup>35)</sup>  
 Kar. suvsap “thirsty” < suvsa- “to be thirsty”

Ko. -(V)p

Ko. michâp “knot” < mich- “to bind”<sup>36)</sup>

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<sup>35)</sup> Gabain 1941: 126.

<sup>36)</sup> Huh 1975: 237.

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