

# A comparative study of Manchu and Korean

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*Professor N. Poppe to his 60th birthday*

## Abbreviations

- BT.: J. BENZING, *Die tungusischen Sprachen*. Wiesbaden 1955.  
Ch'ao.: Ch'ao-hsien-kuan-i-yü the Korean portion of the Hua-i-i-yü.  
Chi.: Chi-lin-lei-shih an 12th century Ancient Korean glossary by Sun-mu of Sung Dynasty.  
dial.: dialects.  
Gru.: W. GRUBE, *Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen*. Leipzig 1896.  
Ga.: A. VON GABAIN, *Alttürkische Grammatik*. Leipzig 1950.  
Ish.: The Nüchén portion of the Hua-i-i-yü introduced by Mikinosuke Ishida. Tokyo 1931.  
Jap.: Japanese.  
Ko.: Korean. AK.: Ancient Korean. MK.: Middle Korean. (From the 13th century to the 16th century). ModK.: Modern Korean. PK.: Present-day Korean.  
Ma.: Manchu.  
Mo.: Mongolian.  
Nü.: Nü-chén.  
Pel.: P. PELLISOT, *Les mots à h initial, aujourd'hui amuie, dans le mongole des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*. JA. 1925.  
PR.: N. POPPE's review on RE. HJAS. Vol. 13. 1950.  
PS.: N. N. POPPE, *Materialy po Solonskomu jazy ku*. Leningrad 1931.  
RA.: G. J. RAMSTEDT, *Ein anlautender stimmloser labial in der mongolisch-türkischen ursprache*. JSFOu. XXXII. 1916—20.  
RE.: G. J. RAMSTEDT, *Studies in Korean Etymology*. MSFOu. XCV. 1949.  
Shi.: S. M. SHIROKOGOROFF, *A Tungus Dictionary*. Tokyo 1944.  
Tu.: Tungus.  
Turk.: Turkic.

In the comparative study of the Korean and Altaic languages, a remarkable progress was made recently by the monographs of the late G. J. RAMSTEDT. In his "Studies in Korean Etymology" etc., he compared many Korean words and suffixes with those of Manchu-Tungus, Mongolian and Turkic languages, and established enough convincing correspondences in vocabulary and morphology to demonstrate the affinity of the Korean and Altaic languages, a long unsolved problem. After the death of RAMSTEDT, Prof. N. POPPE displayed an unusual interest in the Korean-Altaic problem. In his review on the above-mentioned RAMSTEDT's work, he established not a few convincing etymologies which corrected or supplemented Ramstedt's etymologies.

However, the Korean language was quite new to the Altaic linguists. The materials on Korean that were cited in the works of the brilliant pioneers were too limited. They had little knowledge of the materials of Ancient and Middle Korean.

This condition led them astray in many of their conclusions. It would seem that this problem is insurmountable for Western scholars for the time being.

Though historically young, the native studies on the Korean language have benefited much from the old documents and dialects. While these efforts have been rather unproductive up to the present due to the lack of methodology, some noteworthy results have been obtained, especially in historical phonology, which is indispensable to studies in comparative grammar. It is the writer's sincere belief that the cooperation of the Altaic studies in the West and the Korean studies in Seoul is required for the further development of Korean-Altaic linguistics. It is to be hoped that this short monograph, which is written with a view of expressing the opinions of a native student on the Korean-Altaic problem, will promote such a cooperation in this new study.

The present article is devoted to the comparative study of Manchu and Korean. (In this article we are chiefly interested in the comparison of words.) The Manchu language was long the immediate neighbour of the Korean language. The geographical point of view does not always coincide with the linguistic point of view. But related languages are usually contiguous. In this sense, we can naively assume that the language in the closest relationship with Korean among the Altaic family is the Manchu language, together with other Southern Tungus dialects such as Goldi, Olcha, etc. It is not in vain to expect that one day we will perceive the existence of a more intimate affinity between the Tungus group and Korean than is now generally conceded. The writer has a desire to devote himself to this research. As one step in this direction, the present article aims to demonstrate the intimate affinity of Manchu and Korean.

Ours is not an easy task. This study is confronted with various difficulties: the remote date of the separation of the two languages (It is estimated that the differentiation of Korean and Manchu-Tungus dates back to the 3th millenium B.C.); the almost complete lack of early records of the languages concerned; the overwhelming influence of the Chinese language; etc.

Nevertheless, Korean and Manchu have large stocks of words of common origin and we find that our efforts are not wholly frustrated. In RAMSTEDT'S "Studies in Korean Etymology" and N. POPPE'S review on this work, many Korean words compared with those of Manchu are found. Though not a few unconvincing relationships are listed, their epoch-making monographs include about 35 comparisons which are, in our opinion, quite convincing. We can add to these many other undoubted comparisons which escaped their attention. The following list includes about 200 new etymologies.

\* \* \*

- 1 Ma. *abuha* 'marshmallow', MK. *aok* id. < \**abok*. cf. dial. *abuk*, *abok* id. The disappearance of intervocalic \**b* occurred in Middle Korean. e. g. AK. \**syebjŕ* 'capital' > MK. *syevjŕ* id. > MK. *sygur* id., AK. \**subur* (Chi. *Su-po*) 'wine' > MK. *suŕjŕ*, *sur* id., AK. \**tubur* (Chi. *t'u-po*) 'two' > MK. *tuŕjŕ*, *tur* id., etc.
- 2 Ma. *aji* 'the first son', MK. *azi* 'the first time'. cf. dial. *asi* id. The intervocalic *z* of Middle Korean goes back to \**s* and corresponds to the intervocalic *s* or *j* of Manchu. cf. 157.
- 3 Ma. *alha* 'spotted, variegated in color', PK. *allak*, *ellek* etc. id. cf. RE. p. 7. In Present-day Korean there are many doubled words such as *allak allak*,

- gllgk gllgk, allak tallak, gllgk tllgk, alluk talluk, glluk tlluk, aron aron, aron taron, gruruy tgruruy*, etc. We think that all these words are etymologically connected with Ma. *alha*. Besides these, *oron (mgr)* 'dappled (horse)', *ugra (mgr)* id., *grjy (ayo)* 'dappled (cow)' are found in the 17th century documents.
- 4 Ma. *anju* 'food taken after a drink of wine', MK. *ancyu* id.
  - 5 Ma. *asi-ha* 'a little small', Ma. *asi-han* 'a child of tender years', Nü. *a-sha* 'young, small' (Ishi.), MK. *azg* 'younger brother'. cf. dial. *asi* id. At the same time, Ma. *aji-ge* 'small', *aji-da* id., *aji-gan* 'a little small, young' seemingly correspond to MK. *azg* < AK. \**asa*. It is not impossible to think that Ma. *asi* and Ma. *aji* are derived from the same root.
  - 6 Ma. *ba* 'region, place', Nü. *päh-d-i* id. (Gru.), MK. *pa* 'place'. We can add to this comparison Goldi *boa*, Olcha *bä*, *bua*, Orokko *bö*, Orochon *bua*, Solon *buy(a)*, Negidal *boya*, Ewenki *buga*, Lamut *bug* 'Welt (Himmel, Erde, Land)' (BT. p. 24). BERNING doubted the correspondence between these Tungus words and Ma. *ba*. But the above-mentioned Nü-ohên form affirms this etymology. It shows that Ma. *ba* is the further development of Nü. \**buai*. < \**buyai*. Both Manchu and Korean experienced the dropping of intervocalic \**g*. Without doubt, Korean experienced this phenomenon in ancient times. For example, the Korean equivalent of Mo. *qayan* 'Khaghan, emperor' was already \**kan* (*kan, han*) in the beginning of Sin-ra Dynasty. In Manchu the same dropping occurred later than in Korean, in about 10th century. On intervocalic \**g* of Manchu-Tungus, cf. BT. p. 30
  - 7 Ma. *be* 'bait, food for birds', Ma. *be-ten* 'food for fishes', MK. *pap* 'food, cooked rice'. From the semantic point of view, Ko. *pap* can be compared with Ma. *buda* 'cooked rice, food', Mo. *budaya* id. But this comparison is improbable from the phonetic point of view. On the existence of final *p* in Mk. *pap*, cf. 64.
  - 8 Ma. *bele* 'rice', Nü. *päh-läh* id. (Gru.), Mk. *pori* 'barley'. Ramstedt compared Ma. *bele* with Ko. *mir* 'wheat', because he hypothesized the phonetic correspondence between Ko. *m* and other Altaic languages *b* in initial position. cf. RE. p. 148. But such a correspondence is, in most cases, difficult to accept. Furthermore MK. *mir* 'wheat' exactly corresponds to Ma. *mere* 'buckwheat'. cf. 151.
  - 9 Ma. *bene-* 'to send', MK. *ponai-* id. In view of Ma. *be-nji-* 'to come to send', the root seems to be \**be-*. On the other hand, the root of MK. *ponai-* is presumed to be \**po-*.
  - 10 Ma. *bet-he* 'legs', Nü. *päh-tih-hëi* id. (Gru.), MK. *par* 'foot, leg'. Ma. *bet-he* is the further development of \**bel-ke*. cf. Solon *beldr* 'legs' (PS. p. 43). On the other hand, Tu. *alga, algan, halgan*, Goldi *palga* 'legs' (Shi. p. 209) can be compared with Ko. *par*. For the time being, we cannot decide which comparison is better.
  - 11 Ma. *bišu-* 'to rub, to stroke with hands', MK. *psuch-* 'to rub with hands'. The initial consonant-group *ps* of *psuch-* goes back to \**pVs*. cf. 17.
  - 12 Ma. *bita* 'slope of a river bottom', MK. *pühar* 'slope of a mountain'. There are many Manchu words without final *r* whose Korean equivalents have it. cf. 64. We find the same phenomenon between Manchu and Tungus.
  - 13 Ma. *biyoran* 'red precipice, precipitous cliff along a beach', MK. *pyero, pyerë, pirgi* 'precipice'. In Manchu there is also *fiyele-ku* 'projecting crags', which is likely comparable with the above Middle Korean words. In our opinion, Ma. *biyoran* makes a better correspondence with the above Middle Korean words and Modk. *pyeran* id.

- 14 Ma. *buru*- 'to sprinkle, to water', MK. *spjri* id. < AK. \**pjri*-. On the doubled initial consonants *sp* of *spjri*-, cf. 17.
- 15 Ma. *buran* 'snow storm', ModK. *pora* in *nun-pora* 'snow-storm'. cf. Ko. *nun* 'snow'.
- 16 Ma. *busu busu* (*agambi*) '(it rains) drizzling', PK. *pusjɾ pusjɾ*, *posjɾ posjɾ*, *posjɾ* id.
- 17 Ma. *buturi* 'the measles', MK. *ptjri* < \**ptjri* < Ak. \**ptjri* id. The consonant clusters in the beginning of words in the Middle Korean documents of the 15th century have been discussed by the writer in "The origin and development of the initial consonant-groups in Middle Korean" (The Chin-tan Hak-po. Vol. 17. Seoul 1955). This problem is very complicate and we can not exhaust our material here. In brief, three types of initial consonant-groups are found in the 15th century documents. i. e. *pt*, *pc*, *ps*, *pth*, representing [*pt*], [*pc*], [*ps*], [*pth*] phonetically; *psk*, *pst*, representing [<sup>P</sup>*kk*], [<sup>P</sup>*tt*]; *sk*, *st*, *sp*, representing [*kk*], [*tt*], [*pp*]. Historically speaking, MK. *pt*, *pc* etc. are the results of the suppression of a vowel between the two consonants in late Ancient Korean. cf. 52, 62. And MK. *st*, *sp* etc. are either the results of the assimilation of \**pt*, \**pk* etc. in early Middle Korean (e. g. MK. *stgr* 'daughter' < AK. \**patar*. cf. Chi. *pao-ta* id., Goldi *patala* id.; MK. *spjɾ* 'horn' < AK. \**pjɾjɾ*, cf. Mo. *eber* id. < \**peber*) or the results of the gemination of single consonants. cf. 14 etc. This gemination was more common after the 15th century. e. g. MK. *koc* 'flower' > ModK. *kkoch* id., MK. *purhui* 'root' > ModK. *ppuri* id. etc.
- 18 Ma. *cejen* 'breast, chest', MK. *cgc* 'breasts'.
- 19 Ma. *cibin* 'swallow', MK. *cyepi* id. cf. RE. p. 26. The etymological connection of Ma. *cibin* and Ma. *cibirgan* 'swallows and sparrows, little birds' is beyond doubt.
- 20 Ma. *cirge*- 'to pound, to beat down (the ground)', MK. *tarko-cir* 'pounding, beating down (the ground)'. Ma. *cirge*- goes back to \**tirge*-. Ko. *cir* is a particle denoting action.
- 21 Ma. *coco* 'penis', PK. *coc* id., *caci* 'penis of a child'. Goldi *čulči*, *čilču*, Olcha *čiču* id. cf. RE. p. 25.
- 22 Ma. *cuku*- 'to be dead tired', MK. *cuk*- 'to die'. This etymology is rather convincing in spite of the semantic difference.
- 23 Ma. *dadara*- 'to spread widely', MK. *tatgr*- 'to reach to, to arrive at'.
- 24 Ma. *damu* 'only', MK. *taman tamgin* id., PK. *taman* id.
- 25 Ma. *dara*- 'to draw a bow', MK. *tgrai*- id.
- 26 Ma. *darhūwa* 'a common reed', MK. *tar* id.
- 27 Ma. *dasa*- 'to rule, to govern', MK. *tasgri*- id. MK. *-ri*- of *tasgri*- might be a suffix of later development. cf. PK. *coa-ri*- 'to bow the head low' from MK. *coza*- id., ModK. *sukj-ri*- 'to bend down' from the stem *suk*- 'to stoop', etc.
- 28 Ma. *dasa*- 'to revise, to amend, to repair', MK. *tasi* 'anew, again'. MK. *-i* of *tasi* is an adverb suffix.
- 29 Ma. *deke*, *deken* 'a height, a hillock', MK. *teḡ* id. This Middle Korean word is attested in various place-names. cf. ModK. *en-teḡ* 'a height'.
- 30 Ma. *dobton* 'a book case, the outer wrap', *dobto-ku* 'a cover', MK. *tuph*- 'to cover' PK. *teḡh*- id.
- 31 Ma. *doorin* 'the bridge between landing-place and boat', MK. *tgr* 'bridge, ladder'. N. POPPE compared Ko. *tgr* with Ma. *tura* 'a wooden pillar supporting

- the ceiling', Goldi *tora* 'alle senkrecht stehenden Balken der Jurte', Olcha *turd* 'Stützbalken der Winterjurte', Mo. *tura* 'fortress', etc. (PR. p. 579), rejecting RAMSTEDT's etymology which compared Ko. *tgr* with Tu. *tāgn* 'bridge' from the phonetic point of view. In our opinion, N. PORRE's etymology is also unconvincing from the semantic point of view.
- 32 Ma. *doryori* 'a wild boar', MK. *tot* 'pig boar' < AK. \**tor* (Chi. *t'u*). Tu. *torōki*, *dorokon* 'wild boar' (Shi. p. 187).
- 33 Ma. *dori-* 'to gallop', MK. *tgr-* 'to go at a gallop'.
- 34 Ma. *doshon* 'love, favor' (*dos-hon* ?), MK. *tgs-* 'to love'.
- 35 Ma. *dulba* 'foolish (man)', PK. *tur-ha-* 'to be foolish'. cf. PK. *ha-* 'to do'.
- 36 Ma. *dulga* 'to be not full', ModK. *tgr*, *tgr* 'less', *tgr-* 'to lessen'.
- 37 Ma. \**e-* in *ere* 'this', MK. *i* 'this'. cf. RE. p. 66. In Ma. *ere*, *-re* is not an essential part, because this *-re* is omitted when plural suffix *-se* or locative-dative suffix *-de* are attached to it. cf. also Ma. *enengi* 'today' from \**e-inengi* 'this day'. This \**e-* corresponds to Ko. *i*. On the other hand, Ma. *-re* in *ere* corresponds to MK. *-rē* in *i-rē* 'thus, in this way'. In Korean there is also *i-ri* 'to this direction'. This *-ri* seems to correspond to Ma. *-ri* in *ama-ri* 'to the north (back)', *jule-ri* 'to the south (front)', *dēle-ri* 'to the east (top)', etc. Ma. \**e-* becomes *u-* in *u-ba* 'this place', *u-tala* 'this much', *u-ttu* 'like this'. In Korean we can see one remnant of such a vowel alternation in MK. *ongr* 'today' < \**o-nar* 'this day'. cf. MK. *nar* 'day', dial. *o* 'this', in *o-pen* 'this time'.
- 38 Ma. *ebci* 'ribs, chest and ribs', PK. *gpoin*, *gpoun* 'flesh in front chest of cattle'. Mo. *ebtīgün* < \**ebtīgün* 'chest', Tu. *ābtilā* 'ribs'. cf. PR. p. 574. N. PORRE said that Ko. *gpoun* and Ma. *ebci* were loans from Mongolian. But this statement holds true only under the assumption that both in Korean and Manchu the evolution \**ti* > *ci* did not occur. This evolution is quite common in Korean and Manchu. Ko. *gpoun* is probably from \**gpcyun* < \**gptyun*.
- 39 Ma. *ebere-* 'to be wearied, to decrease, to decay', MK. *iwjr-* 'to fade' < \**ibjr-*.
- 40 Ma. *ele-* 'to suffice', MK. *gro*, *gru* 'sufficiently'.
- 41 Ma. *eme* 'mother', MK. *gmi* id. Mo. *eme* 'wife'. cf. RE. p. 54.
- 42 Ma. *er-gen* 'vitality, essence, life, breath', PK. *gr* 'spirit' in *gr ppačita* 'to lack sense', *gr tija* 'to lack judgement'. Ma. *oron* 'soul' also has the possibility to be compared with Ko. *gr*. cf. Solon *ergg* 'life', Olcha *örgö* id. (PŠ. p. 50)
- 43 Ma. *erin* 'time, season, occasion', Nū. 'oh-lin id. (Gru.) *ē-li* id. (Ishi.), MK. *gri* 'time, occasion'.
- 44 Ma. *erde* 'day-break, dawn', MK. *irj-* 'to be early'. cf. RE. p. 69. Ramstedt added here Ma. *erin* 'time', which we have compared with MK. *gri*. On the other hand there are MK. *grjn* 'quickly', dial. *gljn* id., which may be compared with Tu. *erti*, *arti*, *artil* id. (Shi. p. 235).
- 45 Ma. *erguwe-* 'to wrap, to tie up', MK. *erk-* id. Ramstedt compared Ko. *erk-* with Tu. *erkg-* id. (RE. p. 53).
- 46 Ma. *eše-* 'to slant', Ma. *ešen* 'slanting, slant', MK. *es* 'askew'. We can add to this comparison Tu. *esikin*, *ešikin*, *ehikin* 'slanting', which Ramstedt compared with Ko. *gkkā* 'the shoulder' (RE. p. 53).
- 47 Ma. *ete-* 'to win', MK. *et-* 'to get'. This etymology is probable even from the semantic point of view. Ma. *ete-* is often used with the meaning 'to get'.
- 48 Ma. *šara* 'sled, sledge', Ko. dial. *pal-gu*, *pal-gi*, *pal-gui* id. Goldi, Olcha *para* id. (RA. p. 3).

- 49 Ma. *fara-* 'to dry (nets, grainstacks, etc.) in the air or in the sun', PK. *parä-* 'to dry in the sun in order to bleach'. We reject Ramstedt's etymology which compared Ma. *fara-* with Ko. *param* 'wind' (cf. MK. *pgrgm* id.). cf. RE. p. 190.
- 50 Ma. *jarangga* 'lattice-door', Ko. dial. *paradi*, *paraŋi* 'a window in the wall'. RAMSTEDT compared this Korean word with Ma. *ja* 'window', Goldi *pa* id., Olcha *pawa* id. (RE. p. 191).
- 51 Ma. *fasak*, *fosok* 'rustling, rattling', PK. *pasak*, *pasjak* id.
- 52 Ma. *fata-* 'to pick (fruits etc.)', MK. *ptg-* id. < AK. *\*pata-*.
- 53 Ma. *fatan* 'bottom, sole', MK. *patay* id., ModK. *patak* id. cf. PR. p. 577. N. POPPE reconstructed Ma. *fatan* < *\*patan* < *\*patak*, in comparison with ModK. *patak*. As mentioned above, the Middle Korean form is *patay*, and the *-ay* in *patay* and *-ak* in *patak* are the nominal suffixes. The suffixes *-ay*, *-gy*, *-ak*, *-gk* are quite common in Korean. e. g. MK. *mat* 'a court' > ModK. *mat-ay* id., MK. *kut* 'a pit' > ModK. *kut-gy* id., MK. *ptj* 'a yard' > ModK. *tjir-ak* id., MK. *kus* 'a corner' > ModK. *kus-gk* id. Therefore, ModK. *patak* does not justify the reconstruction of *\*patak* in Manchu.
- 54 Ma. *fatan* 'a part of a weaving machine', MK. *ptgi* id.
- 55 Ma. *fefe* 'vulva', PK. *poci* id. N. POPPE compared Ko. *poci* with Mo. *ütügün* < *hütügün* < *\*pütügün* id. (PR. p. 578). We can add Ancient Jap. *fodo* id. PK. *poci* goes back to *\*poti*. cf. dial. *podäyi* id.
- 56 Ma. *fehi* 'the brain', MK. *paki* in *tygy-paki*, *męri-s-paki* 'the crown of the head' PK. *paki* in *ęntęk-paki* 'the top of a hill' (*ęntęk* 'hill'), *ima-paki* 'the brow, the forehead' (*ima* 'the brow'). In brief, Ko. *paki* means 'the top'. To this correspondence we can add Dagur *zeki* 'Kopf', Mo. *ekin* < *\*hekin* < *\*pekin* 'Kopf, Gehirn, Anfang', etc. cf. RA. p. 3, Pel. p. 209.
- 57 Ma. *ferehe* (*singgeri*) 'bat', MK. *pgrk* (*cui*) id. Both Ma. *singgeri* and MK. *cui* designate 'rat'.
- 58 Ma. *fioha* 'a young chicken', MK. *piyuk* id. Jap. *hiyoko* < *fiyoko* id.
- 59 Ma. *firu-* 'to pray', MK. *pir-* id. Mo. *irüge-* < *hirüge-* < *\*pirüge-* id. cf. RE. p. 201.
- 60 Ma. *fise-* 'to go aslant, to go obliquely', MK. *pis* 'aslant, obliquely'. cf. Ma. *fise-me agambi* 'it rains obliquely'.
- 61 Ma. *fisi-he* 'millet', Nü. *fei-shé-(po-lé)* id. (Ishi.), MK. *psgr* 'rice'. < AK. *\*pVsVr*. cf. Chi. *p'u-sa* 'rice'.
- 62 Ma. *fihe-* 'to burst, to play on an instrument, to whip cotton', MK. *pthg-* 'to play on an instrument, to whip cotton', MK. *pthui-* 'to burst'. Both in Manchu and Korean *\*pVthV-* indicated the elastic movements.
- 63 Ma. *fiyelen* 'spinach', Nü. *fei-lęng-(su-chi)* id. (Gru.), MK. *pirjm* id.
- 64 Ma. *fodo* 'willow branch of Shaman', Ma. *fodo-ho* 'willow tree', MK. *petjr* id. N. POPPE compared Ko. *petjr* with Mo. *\*hičiyesün* < *\*pitigesün* 'willow tree' (PR. p. 578). We know that the finals of Manchu words are limited to vowels and *n*. On this characteristic N. POPPE remarked, "Final consonants except *n* either vanish in Manchu or become *n*." (PR. p. 577.) We often encounter Manchu words without final *r* whose Korean equivalents have it. cf. 12, 16, 61, 158, 166, 187, etc. On the other final consonants, cf. 7, 63, 99, 108, 118, 179, etc.
- 65 Ma. *foji* 'stockings', Nü. *fuh.č'i* id. (Gru.), MK. *posyen* id. cf. RE. p. 206. The intervocalic *j* of *foji* seems to be the further development of *\*s*. cf. 157.

- N. Poppé compared Ko. *posygn* with Ma. *fomoci* id., Mo. *oyimasun* < *hoymasun* < \**poymasun* id. and said that Ma. *foji* and *fomoci* were derived from the same root. cf. PR. p. 578. But, in our opinion, only Ma. *foji* can be compared with Ko. *posygn*.
- 66 Ma. *foro-* 'to turn one's face towards', MK. *pgra-* 'to look towards, to look with expectation'.
- 67 Ma. *foron* 'the crown of the head', MK. *puri* 'the peak (of a mountain), the beak, the bud (of a flower)'. Mk. *puri* was used with the meaning 'the highest, pointed part of a thing'. To this comparison Goldi *poron*, Olcha *poroni*, Ewenki *horon* < Tu. \**poran* 'Scheitel, Gipfel' (BT. p. 39) are added.
- 68 Ma. *foso-* 'to shine', Ma. *foson* 'sun-shine', MK. *pgzgi-* 'to shine'. Goldi *posénke* 'funken' (RA. p. 5). Mk. *pgzgi-* goes back to \**posai-*.
- 69 Ma. *fufu-* 'to saw', *fufu-n* 'a saw', MK. *pupsi-* 'to rub, to grind up', *pupsi* 'an awl'. Goldi *po-*, Olcha *pü-*, Oroikko *pupula-* < Tu. \**pupu-* 'sägen' (BT. p. 33).
- 70 Ma. *fuka* 'foam', Ko. dial. *pegum*, *pekkum* id. In Middle Korean there was a doublet, *kephim* and *tephim* 'foam', and these two forms still predominate in Modern Korean. On the other hand, *pegum* etc. continue to hold sway in a narrow strip along the South Sea coast. This distribution implies that *pegum* is the survival of an earlier form.
- 71 Ma. *fulcin* 'the cheek bone, the cheek', MK. *por*, ModK. *por-chi* 'the cheek'. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. *por* with Goldi *polöi*, Olcha *püli* 'the cheek'. (RE. p. 205.). cf. also Ma. *ura fulcin* 'fleshy parts of the hips', Ko. *por-ki*, *por-ki-coak* 'hips'.
- 72 Ma. *fulche* 'root', MK. *purhui* id. N. Poppé added Mo. *iruyar* < *hiruyar* < \**piruyar* 'bottom, root' to this comparison. cf. RE. p. 209, PR. p. 578.
- 73 Ma. *fulgiyan* 'red', Ma. *fulahün* 'light red', Nu. *jáh-láh-kiäng* id. (Gru.) *ju-liang* id. (Ishi.), MK. *pirk-* 'to be red'. RAMSTEDT compared Ma. *fulgiyan*, *fulahün* with Ko. *pora* 'a reddish color' (RE. p. 206) and N. Poppé endorsed this comparison (PR. p. 570). But this is an obvious mistake. MK. *pirk-* corresponds also to Mo. *ulayan* < *hulayan* < \**pulayan* 'red'. The vowel *i* after labial consonants becomes *u* in Modern Korean. e. g. MK. *pir* 'fire' > ModK. *pur* id., MK. *phir* 'grass' > ModK. *phur* id., MK. *mür* 'water' > ModK. *mur* id., etc.
- 74 Ma. *fulgiye-* 'to blow (fire etc.)', MK. *pir-* id. > ModK. *pur-* id. Mo. *üliye-* < \**püliye-* id. cf. RE. p. 209.
- 75 Ma. *fulu* 'enough and to spare, superior', MK. *pir-* 'to grow large'. To this comparison we can add Mo. *üle-* 'zu viel sein, mehr sein' (RA. p. 7) < *hülä-* (Pel. p. 236) < \**pülä-*, and Goldi *pulö*, *pulöxö* id., Negidal *hulöxö* id. (Pel. p. 236).
- 76 Ma. *fumere-* 'to stir up, to churn', MK. *pemür-* 'to mix up', ModK. *pemuri-* id.
- 77 Ma. *fungün* 'fart', MK. *paŋkui* id. N. Poppé established the correspondence between Ko. *paŋkui* and Mo. *ungyu-* 'vesser', Middle Mo. *hungasun* 'fart' < \**pungasun* (PR. p. 577).
- 78 Ma. *furu-* 'to cut (flesh) into small pieces', MK. *päri-* id.
- 79 Ma. *fuse-*, *fise-* 'to propagate, to breed', *fuse-n*, *fise-n* 'propagation, a thing which was propagated', MK. *psi* 'seed, a thing which propagates'. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. *ssi* 'seed' with Ma. *fisi-he* 'millet' (RE. p. 231). We have already compared Ma. *fisi-he* with MK. *paŋr* 'rice'. cf. 61.

- 80 Ma. *fuše* 'to fan', *fuše-ku* 'a fan', MK. *puch-* 'to fan', *puch-gi* 'a fan'.
- 81 Ma. *fušu* 'kitchen', MK. *pijgk*, *pijgp* id. As stated in the above, MK. *z* (which appears mostly in intervocalic position) goes back to \*s.c.f. dial. *puşgk*, *puşak*, *puşgp*, *puşap* id.
- 82 Ma. *fuşu* 'to sprinkle, to water', MK. *piş-* 'to pour' > ModK. *puş-* id. cf. RE. p. 209, 212. Goldi *pişuri* 'to water, to squirt' and Mo. *üür-* < \**piür-* 'to sprinkle' are to be added here. But the writer is not inclined to think that ModK. *ppum-* 'to spout out' is from \**pişim-* or \**pişum-* and thus is connected with MK. *piş-*. ModK. *ppum-* and *puş-* are probably of different origin.
- 83 Ma. *gai-* 'to take, to take a wife', MK. *kaci-* 'to take'. cf. Ma. *ga-ji-* 'to bring', *ga-na-* 'to take away', Ko. dial. *ka-* 'to take'.
- 84 Ma. *gar-gan* 'ramification of a tree or stream', Nü. *häh-rh* id. (Gru.), MK. *karg*, *kargr* 'ramification'.
- 85 Ma. *garin* 'blade of a knife, edge of a sword', MK. *kar* 'knife, sword' > ModK. *khar* id. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. *khar* with Ma. \**hal* in *halmari* 'a short blade-like sword worn by the Shaman' (RE. p. 133), but there is no satisfactory interpretation of *-mari*. From Middle to Modern Korean there was a tendency to the aspiration of some initial consonants. e. g. MK. *ko* 'nose' > ModK. *kho* id., MK. *pgr* 'arm' > ModK. *phar* id., etc.
- 86 Ma. *garu* 'heavenly goose, swan', Nü. *häh-rh-wen* id. (Gru.) *ha-lu* id. (Ishi.), MK. *kyyu* 'goose' < AK. \**keru*. MK. *kyyu* resulted from the dropping of intervocalic \**r* in Ancient Korean. A place-name of the Sin-ra Dynasty tells us that 'goose' was designated in those days by \**keru* (*chü-lao*). On the disappearance of intervocalic \**r*, cf. MK. *moi* 'mountain' < AK. \**mori*, MK. *nai* 'rivulet' < AK. \**nari*, etc. RAMSTEDT compared Ma. *garu* and Turk. *gaz* 'goose' with Ko. *kari-sä* 'a kind of heron' (RE. p. 97). We think that AK. \**keru* corresponds to Turk. *gaz*.
- 87 Ma. *geli* 'again, once more', ModK. *kjru* in *kjru-kari* 'a second crop' (*kari* 'crop'), *kjru-tui-* 'to turn over the soil for a second crop' (*tui-* 'to turn over the soil'), *kjru-pyg* 'rice planted after the barley harvest' (*pyg* 'rice'), etc. It is sure that ModK. *kjru* had the original meaning 'again, once more, secondly'. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. *kjru* with Turk. *küz* 'autumn' (RE. p. 118) and N. POPPE mentioned this comparison as a convincing one (PR. p. 569). We doubt this etymology.
- 88 Ma. *goci-* 'to press to separate dregs from wine', MK. *koco* 'a wooden press for separating dregs from wine'.
- 89 Ma. *godo-hon* 'straight, perpendicular', MK. *kot-* 'to be straight'.
- 90 Ma. *golo* 'a river-bed', MK. *kärgm* 'river'. RAMSTEDT compared Ma. *golo* with PK. *kor* 'valley' (RE. p. 121). However, PK. *kor* exactly corresponds to Ma. *holo* 'valley'. N. POPPE compared MK. *kärgm* with Mo. *yorigan* 'brook, rivulet', etc. (PR. p. 574).
- 91 Ma. *gorgi* 'a buckle of belly-band', MK. *korhoi* 'a metal ring, a buckle of belly-band'. Mo. *gorgi* id. cf. RE. p. 126.
- 92 Ma *gu* 'a gem, a jewel', MK. *kusjr* id. On MK. *-sjr*, cf. Tu. *sil* 'glass' (Shi. p. 240).
- 93 Ma. *gukdu* 'a hill, a hillock', *gukdu-hun* 'an elevation', ModK. *kkoktaki*, *kkoktäki* 'the top, the highest part of a thing'. We can add to this comparison Goldi *gogda*, Olcha, Lwenki *gugda*, Lamut *gud* 'hoch' (BT. p. 30).



- 94 Ma. *gūran* 'large deer (male)', MK. *korani* 'large deer'. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. *koranni* with Tu. *guran* 'the Saiga-antelope', Mo. *guran* 'the antelope' (RE. p. 125) but he omitted Ma. *gūran*.
- 95 Ma. *gūran* 'ties of a dress, cord or string used in packing', MK. *korhom* 'ties of a dress', ModK. *korom*, *korim* id. N. POPPE compared Ko. *korum*, *korim* with Mo. *qormaī* 'skirt, tail of a gown' (PR. p. 576), but his etymology is doubtful for semantic reasons.
- 96 Ma. *hacin* 'a kind, a class', MK. *kaci* id.
- 97 Ma. *hala* 'a clan name, relatives', ModK. *kyerqi* 'relatives', PK. *kyere* id. cf. Tu. *xala*, *kala*, *kāla* 'relatives' (Shi. p. 231).
- 98 Ma. *hala-* 'to change, to alternate', Nü. *hāh-lāh-piēh* id. (Gru.), MK. *kar-* id. cf. Mo. *qala-* id. (RE. p. 88).
- 99 Ma. *hara* 'tares, a kind of panic grass', MK. *karas* id.
- 100 Ma. *hasa-ha* 'scissors', Nü. *hāh-tsi-hāh* id. (Gru.) *ha-tsa* id. (Ishi.), MK. *kzai* id. < AK. \**kasigai* (Chi. *ko-tsz-kai*). cf. Ko. dial. *kasigū*, *kasū* id. RAMSTEDT regarded Ko. (dial.) *kasū* and PK. *kawi* as quite different words and said that Ma. *hasaha*, Olcha *xaḡa*, Goldi *haḡa* id. are loans from Korean. (RE. p. 99). On the other hand, he compared PK. *kawi* with Mo. *qayiči* < \**qayiti* < \**qawiti* 'scissors' (RE. p. 100). N. POPPE mentioned this last etymology as a convincing one (PR. p. 569). However, we believe that PK. *kawi* is the further development of ModK. *kgai* < MK. *kzai* < \**ksai* < AK. \**kasigai*, and therefore it does not have anything in common with Mo. *qayiči*. And it is a question that Ma. *hasa-ha* < \**kasi-ka* is the loan of AK. \**kasi-gai*.
- 101 Ma. *helmen* 'shadow', MK. *kīrimgi*, *kīrimgi* id.
- 102 Ma. *heolen* 'lazy', MK. *keḡiri-* 'to be lazy'. < \**keḡiri-*. cf. dial. *keḡiri-* id.
- 103 Ma. *here-* 'to filter', Ma. *herge-* id., MK. *keri-* id., Ko. dial. *kelḡi-* id. To this correspondence we can add Jap. *kosu* id. Korean *r* often corresponds to Japanese *s*. e. g. AK. \**kar* (MK. *kat*) 'a hat', Jap. *kasa* id.; MK. *pyer* 'star', Jap. *josi* id. cf. Tu. *haulen*, *xoglen*, *högölan*, *howlyn*, *ywlyn*, *ḡaula*, Goldi *pöule* id. (Pel. p. 219); ModK. *mar* 'a dry measure', Jap. *masu* id., etc.
- 104 Ma. *her-gen* 'a letter', MK. *kīr* id.
- 105 Ma. *hete-* 'to fold up, to roll up', MK. *ket-* id. RAMSTEDT correctly compared Ko. *ket-* with Mo. *kötür-* 'to lift up', Turk. *kötür-* id. (RE. p. 109).
- 106 Ma. *hetu* 'the side, the width', MK. *kyet* 'the side'.
- 107 Ma. *hobo* 'inner coffin', *hobor-ho* 'outer coffin', MK. *kor* 'coffin' < AK. \**kobor*. This Ancient Korean form is not attested in documents. But we may assume a parallel development with MK. *kor* 'box, case' < AK. \**kobor* (Chi. *k'u-po*). Are the two homophonous Middle Korean words for 'coffin' and 'box' not one and same word?
- 108 Ma. *hofun* 'bubble, foam', MK. *kephim* id. N. POPPE compared Ko. *kephim* with Mo. *kögesün* < \**köfesün* 'foam' and Turk. (Uzbek, Anatolia) *köpük* 'foam'. (PR. p. 575) cf. Ancient Turk. *köpük*, *köpik*, *köbik* 'Schaum, Geifer' (Ga. p. 316).
- 109 Ma. *holbo-* 'to link, to make a pair of', MK. *karp-* 'to stand side by side'.
- 110 Ma. *hoto* 'a lie, a falsehood', MK. *kur-* 'to tell a lie'.
- 111 Ma. *hoto* 'a mountain valley, a furrow, a tile gutter in a roof', MK. *kor* id. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. *kor* with Ma. *golo* 'a river-bed' (RE. p. 121). But we have already compared Ma. *golo* with MK. *karḡam* 'river'. cf. 90.
- 112 Ma. *hošo* 'corner', MK. *kus*, *kus-ek* id.

- 113 Ma. *hoton* 'the wall of a city, a walled city', MK. *kot* 'a place, a locality'. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. *kot* with Mo. *gota, qotan* 'inhabited place, town, city, village' (RE. p. 127).
- 114 Ma. *huju* 'manger', MK. *kuzi* id. < AK. \**kusi*. cf. dial. *kusi, kusu* id. On the correspondence of Ma. *j* and MK. *z* in intervocalic position, cf. 157.
- 115 Ma. *hūlan* 'chimney', MK. *kur* id., ModK. *kur-ttuk* id. Goldi *kolan, Olcha kula, kola* id. cf. RE. p. 129.
- 116 Ma. *ifi-* 'to stitch, to sew', Ma. *ufi-* id., MK. *nupi-* 'to quilt, to stitch in rows', Ko. dial. *nipi-* id.
- 117 Ma. *ili-* 'to stand up, to stop', MK. *nir-* 'to rise, to get up'. We can add to this comparison Solon *iliši-*, Tu. CASTRÉN *ilim* 'to stand up'. (PS. p. 55.) In Korean the evolution *ni* > *i* in initial took place in recent times. e.g. MK. *nir-* 'to rise' > ModK. (18th century) *nir-* > PK. *ir-* id.; MK. *ni* 'teeth' > ModK. *ni* > PK. *i* id., etc.
- 118 Ma. *irun* 'ridge', MK. *irem* id., ModK. *iray* id. cf. RE. p. 72.
- 119 Ma. *jaci* 'slightly, to be apt to', ModK. *cachis, cachi* id.
- 120 Ma. *jafa-* 'to catch, to arrest', Nü. *čāh-fāh-piēh* id. (Gru.), MK. *cap-* id. Goldi *žapa-*, Tu. *žaw-*, etc. id. cf. RE. p. 23.
- 121 Ma. *jahari* 'gravel, stones', ModK. *cakar* id.
- 122 Ma. *je* 'millet', Nü. *če-(po-lé)* id. (Ishi.), MK. *co* id. Nü. *po-lé* is the equivalent of Ma. *bele* 'rice'. The Tungus equivalents are *ja-kta, j'akta, je-kta*, etc. id. (Shi. p. 226).
- 123 Ma. *je-* 'to eat', Ma. *jeŋu* 'eat!' (imperative), MK. *coa-si-* 'to eat', PK. *capsu-* id.
- 124 Ma. *jidun* 'mountain ridge' < \**didun*, Ma. *judun* id. < \**dudun*, MK. *tuten* 'an eminence, a height'. The evolution \**d* > *j* before *i* or *u* is demonstrated by many correspondences between Manchu and Tungus. cf. BT. p. 32.
- 125 Ma. *jiŋu-* 'to pinch', MK. *cip-* id. cf. RE. p. 24-25.
- 126 Ma. *jiŋiri* 'straw mat', MK. *cicirk* id.
- 127 Ma. *jiŋga-* 'to live a tranquil life, to be happy', Nü. *tih-rh-hāh-lāh* id. (Gru.) MK. *cirkep-* 'to be glad, to be happy'. cf. MK. *cirki-* 'to delight in' (transitive). N. PORRE established the correspondence between Mo. *jiŋya-* 'to be happy' and Ko. *cirkep-* (PR. p. 572).
- 128 Ma. *joli* 'a bamboo ladle', MK. *cyorgi* id. (cf. Kun., etc. TMC)
- 129 Ma. *juman* 'a level place on the fire-place', PK. *tumak* in *pu-tumak* id. (*pu-* is *pur* 'fire'). Ma. *juman* seems to go back to \**duman* < \**dumak*.
- 130 Ma. *jumanggi* 'a little cloth bag', MK. *cumēni* 'a purse'.
- 131 Ma. *juŋngitu* 'pheasant', ModK. *caŋki* 'male pheasant'.
- 132 Ma. *juŋ-gan* 'line', MK. *cur* id. N. PORRE compared Ko. *cur* with Ma. *niru-* < \**jiŋu-* 'to draw, to paint', in spite of the semantic difference (PR. p. 574). But it is obvious that our comparison is better from the phonetic and semantic points of view.
- 133 Ma. *juwe* 'two' < \**duwe*, MK. *tuiŋ, tur* id. < AK. \**tubur* (Chi. *t'u-po*). cf. Tu. *dur, dōr* id. (Shi. p. 173) *žūr, žūr* id. (PS. p. 84).
- 134 Ma. *kamtun* 'a piece of cloth wound around the head', *kamtu* 'a soft cap worn under the helm', MK. *kamho* 'a horsehair cap worn by officials'. cf. RE. p. 92.
- 135 Ma. *karka-* 'to scratch with chopsticks, to scrape on the fyoos (a stringed instrument)', Ma. *kerki-* id., MK. *kirk-* 'to scratch', ModK. *kark-* 'to scrape'.

- 136 Ma. *karma-* 'to protect, to preserve', MK. *karm-* 'to keep, to preserve'. We can add here Tu. *karama*, *karma* 'to protect'. (Shi. p. 216.)
- 137 Ma. *katun* 'strong, robust', MK. *kut-* 'to be solid'. To this comparison we can add Mo. *küdür* 'stiff, strong' (PR. p. 576), Tu. *katan*, *kata* id. (Shi. p. 196) and Jap. *kata-i* 'to be solid'.
- 138 Ma. *kilahün* 'sea-gull', MK. *kiryeki*, *kiryek*, *kireki* 'a wild goose', ModK. *kireki* id. cf. PR. p. 575. From the semantic point of view, MK. *kgarmyeki* 'sea-gull' is identical with Ma. *kilahün*, but it is improbable phonetically.
- 139 Ma. *kolongso* 'odor of the armpits', ModK. *kuri-* 'to be of bad odor', *kori-* id.
- 140 Ma. *kor* 'snore' (onomatopoea), MK. *kor-* 'to snore'.
- 141 Ma. *kuile-ku* 'a last, a dress-model', MK. *kor* id.
- 142 Ma. *kumdu* 'hollow', MK. *kumu* 'hole', ModK. *kum-gy* id. We can add to this comparison the following Tungus words: *kojpe*, *kojdu*, *kojdi* 'hole' (Shi. p. 177).
- 143 Ma. *kuri* 'multi-colored, mottled', *kuro* id., MK. *kar* id. cf. Ma. *kuri ihan* 'mottled cattle', *kuro alan* 'specked birch bark', MK. *kar-ugm* (< \**kar-pegm*) 'striped tiger', *kar-oi* (< \**kar-koi*) 'piebald cat'.
- 144 Ma. *malhün* 'unexpectedly distant', MK. *mer-* 'to be distant'. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. *mer-* with Goldi, Olcha *balapti* 'since old times', etc. (RE. p. 145). He established in not a few cases the correspondence between Ko. *m* and other Altaic languages *b*. cf. 8.
- 145 Ma. *mama* 'smallpox', MK. *mama* id.
- 146 Ma. *manggi* 'only', MK. *man* id. cf. Ma. *simbe manggi* 'you only', etc., MK. *ng man* 'you only', etc.
- 147 Ma. *mara-* 'to decline, to refuse', MK. *mar-* 'to cease, to refrain from'. cf. RE. p. 139.
- 148 Ma. *mari-* 'to come back, to turn back', MK. *mirj-* id.
- 149 Ma. *meiren* 'shoulder', *meiherc-* 'to carry on the shoulder', MK. *mei-* 'to carry on the shoulder'. cf. RE. p. 145.
- 150 Ma. *mentuhun* 'foolish, stupid', ModK. *mejthej-i* 'a stupid person', *mejthej-kuri* id., *mejthej-ha-* 'to be stupid'.
- 151 Ma. *mere* 'buckwheat', MK. *mir* 'wheat'. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. *mir* with Ma. *bele* 'rice' (RE. p. 148). We have already compared Ma. *bele* with Ko. *pori* 'barley'. cf. 8.
- 152 Ma. *modo* 'dull, stupid', MK. *mutui-* 'to be blunt, to be dull'.
- 153 Ma. *momoro-* 'to keep still, to sit still', MK. *memir-* 'to stay, to remain'. RAMSTEDT compared Ma. *memere-* 'to be obstinate, to stand on without yielding' with the above Korean word, but our etymology seems to be more probable from the semantic point of view.
- 154 Ma. *monggon* 'the neck', MK. *mok* id. Goldi *monggon*, Olcha *moygo*, Orochon *moygo* ~ *moo*, 'Kehle, Hals' (BT. p. 23).
- 155 Ma. *monji-* 'to rub one's hands', MK. *manci-* 'to touch with the hands, to finger'.
- 156 Ma. *morin* 'horse', Nü. *mù-lin* id. (Gru.), MK. *mar* id. Mo. *morin* id. cf. RE. p. 138.
- 157 Ma. *muji-len* 'mind', *muji-n* 'will', Nü. *méh-zih-lán* 'mind' (Gru.) *mu-jih-lé* id. (Ishi.), MK. *mazám* 'mind'. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. *maám* 'mind' with Goldi *meawan*, Tu. *mēwan* (*mīwan*, *mēgan*) 'mind, thought, heart' and Ma. *niyaman* 'heart' (RE. p. 136). This comparison is doubtful. Ma. *niyaman* is the exact equivalent of MK. *nyem-thoy* 'heart'. cf. 172. And the consonants

of the second syllable raise serious doubts in the correspondence between *Mk. mązəm* < AK. \**mVsVm* and Goldi *meawan* etc. In the intervocalic position, there is a most unique phonetic correspondence between MK. *z* and Ma. *j*. cf. 2, 114, 171, etc. Korean scholars have convincingly proved that MK. *z* is the transitional step in the evolution AK. \**s* > MK. *z* > ModK. zero (in intervocalic position). In fact, MK. *z* often corresponds to Ma. *s*. cf. 68, 100, 190, etc. Then is it possible to say that Ma. *j* in *hujū, niyajiba, mujilen*, etc. is also the further development of \**s*? The following transcriptions seem to demonstrate that the antecedent of Ma. *j* was \**z* in the Nü-chên language. e.g. Nü. *hu-jih* 'manger' (Ishi.), *méh-zih-lân* 'mind' (Gru.), *muh-jih-lê* id. (Ishi.). On the other hand, in 65, MK. *s* corresponds to Ma. *j*, which partly shows the evolution \**s* > *j* in Manchu.

158 Ma. *mu-ke* 'water', Nü. *müh* id. (Gru.), MK. *mür* id. Goldi *muə*, Olcha *müə*, Orokko, Orochon *mū*, Solon, Ewenki, Negidal, Lamut *mū* 'Wasser' (BT. p. 24) and Jap. *midu* 'water' are identical with the above Manchu and Korean words.

159 Ma. *muku-* 'to hold (water) in the mouth', MK. *mək-* 'to eat'. cf. MK. *mək-um-* 'to hold (water) in the mouth'.

160 Ma. *mulan* 'an anvil', ModK. *moru, mori* id.

161 Ma. *mulu* 'mountain ridge, cross-beam', MK. *mąrg* id.

162 Ma. *muri-han* 'a bend of a road', ModK. *morogi* id.

163 Ma. *muru* 'appearance, looks', MK. *mor-kor* id. This Middle Korean word is a compound. cf. MK. *kor* 'appearance'. To this comparison we can add Tu. *murun, muri* 'appearance, looks' (Shi. p. 210).

? 164 Ma. *mulun* 'a mound, a heap', MK. *mulu* id.

165 Ma. *na* 'land, country', MK. *nara* 'country'. cf. RE. p. 161. As yet, no satisfactory explanation was made of *-ra* of MK. *nara*. Concerning the language of Ko-ku-rye we have little knowledge. But it is certain that it is closely related to the Manchu-Tungus languages. Ancient Manchuria constitutes a vast blank linguistically. Only Ko-ku-rye left a few fragments of linguistic records. In this sense, the study of the language of Ko-ku-rye is particularly important. The chief material is the place-names in the Sam-kuk-sa-ki, which recorded the original (vernacular) names and revised (Chinese) names side by side. According to this source we can know that the Ko-ku-rye word designating 'land' was *nei, nu*, and thus is equivalent with Ma. *na*. The writer is preparing an article on the language of Ko-ku-rye.

? 166 Ma. *namu* 'raw vegetables', MK. *namąr* id.

167 Ma. *nar-hün* 'thin, keen', Nü. *näh-rh-hüng* id. (Gru.), MK. *nąr* 'blade'. cf. Ma. *narya* 'a plough'. We can add to this comparison Mo. *narin* 'thin, keen'.

168 Ma. *neme-* 'to increase, to add to', MK. *nəm-, nam-* 'to run over, to pass beyond'. Mo. *neme-* 'to add to, to go over, to increase'. cf. RE. p. 163.

169 Ma. *nerki-* 'to unroll, to unfold', MK. *ner-* 'to spread out, to hang out'.

170 Ma. *nioheri* 'name of an animal resembling a wolf', *niohe* 'wolf', MK. *neyuri* 'badger', ModK. *nekuri* id. cf. PR. p. 577. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. *nekuri* with Tu. *nekə, nekə* 'sable' (RE. p. 163). To this etymology we may add Mo. *noqai* 'a dog'.

? 171 Ma. *niyajiba* 'the shepherd's purse', MK. *nazi* id. < \**nasi*.

172 Ma. *niyaman* 'heart', MK. *nyen-thoy* id. RAMSTEDT compared Ma. *niyaman* with Ko. *maəm* 'mind' (RE. p. 136) and N. POPPE considered this corre-

spondence to be convincing (PR. p. 570). This uncorrect comparison was due to their being unaware of the evolution ModK. *magn* < MK. *mązjm* < AK. \**mVsVm*. This word corresponds to Ma. *muji-len* 'mind'. cf. 157. MK. *thoy* 'tub' is frequently used for designating tublike things.

- 173 Ma. *niyar-hün* 'fresh', MK. *ngr* 'raw, uncooked'. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. *ngr* with Goldi *nealun*, *halun* 'fresh, uncooked', Mo. *nilagun* 'raw, fresh' (RE. p. 159).
- 174 Ma. *niyele-* 'to read', MK. *nirk-* id.
- 175 Ma. *niyere* 'weak, thin', MK. *nyerp-* 'to be thin'.
- 176 Ma. *nora-* 'to pile up woods or grasses', *nora-n* 'wood pile', MK. *nuri-* 'to pile up paddies or grasses', *nuri* 'paddy pile'.
- 177 Ma. *nuhan* 'slow, unhasty', Nü. *nü-hän* id. (Gru.), MK. *nuk-* 'to be loose'.
- 178 Ma. *nure* 'alcoholic liquor-made of millet', MK. *nuruk* 'yeast-a preparation of wheat used in making spirituous liquors'.
- 179 Ma. *sa* 'hemp', MK. *sam* id. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. *sam* with Ma. *samsu* 'blue linen' (RE. p. 222) but this comparison is doubtful for semantic reasons. On the existence of the final *m* in MK. *sam*, cf. 64.
- 180 Ma. *sadun* 'relatives by marriage', MK. *sadon* id. RAMSTEDT omitted this Manchu word, although he established the correspondence between Ko. *sadon* and Goldi *sadun* id., Mo. *sadun* id. (RE. p. 217).
- 181 Ma. *saha-* 'to pile up, to accumulate', MK. *sah-*, *ssah-* id. cf. RE. p. 225. But the correspondence of the consonants in the second syllable is doubtful. Ma. *h* never corresponds to Ko. *h*.
- 182 Ma. *samha* 'the mantis, the wart', MK. *samakoi* id. According to the 18th century Manchu-Korean lexicons, the meaning of Ma. *samha* is 'the mantis'. Therefore, without rejecting RAMSTEDT's etymology that compared Ko. *sam* 'a speck or mote in the eye' with Ma. *samha* 'a dark or red spot on the skin' (this meaning is also attested in the Chinese-Manchu lexicons.), we should like to point out that our etymology is also tenable.
- 183 Ma. *sampa* 'lobster, shrimp' < \**sapa*, MK. *savi* id. < AK. \**sabi*. cf. dial. *säbi*, *sübäji*, etc. id.
- 184 Ma. *sara* 'umbrella', MK. *syurup* id. cf. AK. *chü-li* id. (Chi.), MK. *su-lu* id. (Ch'ao.). Mo. *siyur* id.
- 185 Ma. *sarkü* 'shelf', MK. *saraj* id. < \**sarkaj*, *sirej* id. < \**sirkej*. cf. dial. *salgay*, *silgej* id.
- 186 Ma. *sargiyan* 'scattering, sparse', MK. *seskji-* id. < \**serkji-*. The change of \**r* to *t* (medial *s* of MK. *seskji-* represents *t*) before a plosive consonant is attested in many Korean words.
- 187 Ma. *se* 'age, years', Nü. *séh-köh* id. (Gru.), *sé* id. (Ishi.), MK. *ser* 'age, years, the first day of the year'. This Middle Korean word was differentiated into ModK. *ser* 'the first day of the year' and ModK. *sar* 'age, years'. In the Nü-chên language, too, 'the first month of the year' was designated by *sé-pieh* (in Manchu, *se biya*) (Ishi.). cf. Ma. *aniya inenggi* 'the first day of the year', *aniya biya* 'the first month of the year'.
- 188 Ma. *se-* 'to say, to do', MK. *lut* 'to do, to say'. cf. RE. p. 58. N. POPPE doubted this etymology (PR. p. 571). But, in our opinion, this comparison is rather convincing even from the phonetic point of view.
- 189 Ma. *seire* 'the huckle-bone', MK. *hegi* 'waist'.
- 190 Ma. *sese*, *sesu-ku* 'a die', MK. *saza* id. < AK. \**saso*.

- 191 Ma. *silenggi* 'dew', Nü. *shih-lei* id. (Ishi.), MK. *seri* 'frost'. On the Tungus equivalents, cf. BT. p. 29. According to the Chi-lin-lei-shih, the Ancient Korean words designating 'frost' and 'dew' were equally \**sur* (*shuo*). cf. MK. *isyr* 'frost'.
- 192 Ma. *silgiya-* 'to wash, to girdle', MK. *serkec-* 'to wash (dishes etc.)'. cf. RE. p. 230.
- 193 Ma. *silhi* 'the gall', Nü. *shih-li-hi* id. (Gru.), MK. *psyrkei* id. The initial *ps* of MK. *psyrkei* raises serious doubts, because MK. *ps* in initial is the further development of \**pVs*. cf. 17. In our tentative opinion, the Korean word for 'the gall' may have undergone the popular etymology. The gall is so bitter that MK. *psyrkei* (PK. *seyrke*) is intimately associated with MK. *psj-* (PK. *sej-*) 'to be bitter'. MK. *psyrkei* is not the derivative of MK. *psj-*.
- 194 Ma. *sime-* 'to soak into', MK. *simi-* id. We can add Jap. *simi-ru* id. to this etymology.
- 195 Ma. *sirc-* 'to weave a thread', *sire-n* 'thread, string', *sir-ge* id., MK. *sir* 'thread'. We can add to this correspondence Tu. *siran*, *sirakta*, *sirukta* 'thread' (Shi. p. 209).
- 196 Ma. *sise-* 'to baste', MK. *sjs-* id.
- 197 Ma. *solohi* 'polecat', MK. *sgrk* 'a wild cat'. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. *sgrk* with Tu. *sülaki*, *sulaki* 'the fox', Goldi *söle* id. (RE. p. 221) and N. POPPE added Mo. *solongya* 'polecat' (Pr. p. 579). On the other hand, there are Tu. *solonggo*, *solojko*, *solgi*, *soolgi* 'polecat' (Shi. p. 250), Solon *söligi* id. (PS. p. 67) which seem to be etymologically connected with Ma. *solohi*, MK. *sgrk*, and Mo. *solongyo*.
- 198 Ma. *somi-* 'to shelter, to hide', MK. *sum-* 'to hide oneself, to conceal oneself'. RAMSTEDT correctly compared Ko. *sum-* with Goldi *sumęci-yini-* 'to hide', Olcha *sumaci-* id., Tu. *sume-t-* id. (RE. p. 244). But he did not mention Ma. *somi-*.
- 199 Ma. *soorin* 'the throne', MK. *saori* 'a stool'. cf. Mo. *saguri* id. (RE. p. 224).
- 200 Ma. *sorson* 'tassel, fringe', MK. *sur* id.
- 201 Ma. *sota-* 'to scatter about, to sprinkle', MK. *sot-* 'to throw out'.
- 202 Ma. *sube* 'a tendon', MK. *him* id., ModK. *him* 'strength'. There was a semantic change from Middle to Modern Korean. Tu. *šumu* 'a vein, a tendon', *sumu* id., Olcha *sumuli* 'a sinew, a tendon', Goldi *sumul* id. (RE. p. 63) are more closely connected with MK. *him*.
- 203 Ma. *suiha* 'artemisia', MK. *psuk* id. As to the initial *ps* of MK. *psuk*, cf. 193. Ma. *suku* 'artemisia growing in low bushes' may probably be connected with AK. \**suk*.
- 204 Ma. *sure* 'clever, intelligent', Nü. *sú-léh* id. (Gru.), MK. *sir-kep-*, *sar-kap-* 'to be clever, to be intelligent'. MK. *-kep-*, *-kap-* are adjective stem forming suffixes. cf. MK. *nac-kap-* 'to be low' (*nac-* 'to be low'), etc.
- 205 Ma. *sunja* 'five' < \**susa* < \**tusa*, MK. *tasqs* id. cf. Tu. *tunža*, *tunga*, etc. id.
- 206 Ma. *šara-* 'to be gray-headed', *šari* 'whitely', MK. *hgi-*, *hji-* 'to be white'. cf. Jap. *siro*, *sira* id. MK. *hgi-* *hji-* must have experienced the dropping of intervocalic \**r*. On the other hand, MK. *seyi-* 'to be gray-headed' also may be compared with the above Manchu words.
- 207 Ma. *šerke* 'sledge', MK. *sermei* id. cf. Jap. *sori* id.
- 208 Ma. *šolo* 'an interval, a space', MK. *seri* id. ✓
- 209 Ma. *šolo-* 'to burn', MK. *sgr-* id.
- 210 Ma. *šulhu* 'a wicker trunk', MK. *serk* id.

- 211 Ma. *sun* 'the sun', MK. *hgi* id. cf. Tu. *sigun*, Goldi *siun*, Oloha *siu* id. Both Ma. *sun* and Ko. *hgi* must have experienced the dropping of intervocalic \*g.
- 212 Ma. *surde* 'to revolve', MK. *sur-ur* 'a wagon'.
- 213 Ma. *sunin* 'a chisel', PK. *ssusi* 'to poke' < \**ssuri*.
- 214 Ma. *tahan* 'horseshoe', MK. *takar* id.
- 215 Ma. *tama* 'to put into a dish etc.', MK. *tam* id.
- 216 Ma. *taaga* 'to cook dry', MK. *task* id.?
- 217 Ma. *te* 'to sit down, to ride', MK. *thg* 'to ride'. cf. Goldi, Oloha *te*-, Solon, Negidal *təgə*, Lamut *təg* 'sitzen, sich setzen' (BT. p. 30).
- 218 Ma. *tebeliye* 'to embrace', *tebeliye-n* 'embrace', *tebjir* 'to take with, to be accompanied by'. Mo. *teberi* 'to take in the arms, to embrace'. cf. RE. p. 261.
- 219 Ma. *te-he* 'a loom', MK. *thjr* 'frame on which a machine rests'.
- 220 Ma. *ten* 'site, foundation', MK. *thg* id.
- 221 Ma. \**té* in *tere* 'that', MK. *tyg* id. And Ma *te-re* corresponds to MK. *tyg-rə* 'in that way'. cf. 37.
- 222 Ma. *to* 'a dry measure containing half a peck', MK. *toi* 'a dry measure containing one tenth peck'.
- 223 Ma. *tor* 'round and round' (onomatopoea), *torho* 'to turn round', MK. *tor* 'to turn round'.
- 224 Ma. *tuhe* 'to fall', MK. *ti* id. On the correspondence in vocalism, cf. Orochon *ti*-, Udihe *tijme*-, Solon *tixi*-, *tiki*-, Negidal, Ewenki, Lamut *tik* id. cf. BT. p. 28.
- 225 Ma. *tulum* 'a leather bag worn in the crossing of a river', Ma. *tulume* 'a round apparatus made of creeper worn in the crossing of a river', MK. *turumaki* 'overcoat' N. POPE has compared Ko. *turumaki* with Mo. *tulum* 'a big bag', Turk. (Anatolia), *tulum* 'a bag made from the skin of animals' (PR. p. 580). We can add Tu. *tulum*, *tolum* 'a bag' (Shi. p. 204).
- 226 Ma. *tura* 'pillar', ModK. *tori* 'all of the beams except the main beam'. N. POPE compared Ma. *tura* with Ko. *igri* 'bridge' (PR. p. 579) but this comparison is improbable for semantic reasons. MK. *igri* 'bridge, ladder' is to be compared with Ma. *doorin* 'the bridge between boat and landing-place'. cf. 31.
- 227 Ma. *tuta* 'to lag behind', MK. *tejji* 'to delay'.
- 228 Ma. *tuwa* 'to see', MK. *top* 'to help'. Semantically, cf. Ma. *tuwa-ša* 'to inspect, to watch, to take care of', *tuwa-ša-ra* 'to help'.
- 229 Ma. *tū* 'to strike, to hit', MK. *thi* id.
- 230 Ma. *uce* 'door' < \**urke*, MK. *orai* id. On intervocalic \**rk* > *c* in Manchu, cf. BT. p. 47.
- 231 Ma. *uman* 'fang', MK. *gm* id.
- 232 Ma. *ura* 'to sound, to echo', MK. *ur* 'to cry, to echo'.
- 233 Ma. *uru* 'reasonable', MK. *or-hg* 'to be reasonable, to be true', PK. *orh* id. On the same change from Middle to Modern Korean, cf. *tyo-hg* 'to be good' > ModK. *cyoh* > PK. *coh* id., MK. *ir-hg* 'to lose' > ModK. *irh* id., etc.
- 234 Ma. *urui* 'wholly, exclusively', MK. *oro* id.
- 235 Ma. *uyun* 'nine' < \**ugyun*, MK. *ahop* id. < \**agop*. cf. dial. *agop*, *agup* id. The Tungus equivalents are found in BT. p. 101.
- 236 Ma. *yasa* 'the eye', Nū. *ya-ši* id. (Gru.), MK. *ygs* 'to pry into'. cf. Solon *isal*, Tu. *ša*, *sa* 'eye' (PS. p. 56).

This is the brief list of the word correspondences that our efforts have established between Manchu and Korean. We do not doubt that this list contains mistakes, while missing not a few possible correspondences. We hope sincerely that this list will be corrected and supplemented.

Besides the above etymologies, there are many comparisons excluded in our list, which are doubtful, in our opinion, from the phonetic or semantic point of view. Here we mention some of them for future research: Ma. *aga* 'rain', PK. *aksu*, *eksu* 'heavy rain'; Ma. *bira* 'river', MK. *parq*, *parqr* 'sea, river'; Ma. *bodo-* 'to plan, to think, to calculate', MK. *ptit* 'thought, idea', cf. Mo. *bodo-* 'to think'; Ma. *cira* 'hard, strong', PK. *cirki-* 'to be tough'; Ma. *cola-* 'to boil down', MK. *cori-* id.; Ma. *derhi* 'a grass mat', MK. *tosk* id. < \**tork*; Ma. *fahun* 'a wheel', MK. *pahoi* id.; Ma. *faksi* 'artisan, workman', MK. *paci* id.; Ma. *fiya* 'birch-tree', MK. *pos* id.; Ma. *gele-* 'to fear', Ma. *golo-* 'to fear, to dislike', MK. *skgri-* 'to dislike' < \**kgri-*, cf. Jap. *kira-fu* 'to dislike'; Ma. *gene-* 'to go', MK. *ka-* id.; Ma. *gere-* 'to clear off', MK. *kai-* id.; Ma. *gese* 'alike', MK. *kgi-hg-* 'to be alike', cf. Jap. *gato-si* 'to be alike'; Ma. *halmehen* 'a spider', MK. *hemji* id.; Ma. *ile-nggu* 'the tongue', MK. *nirj-* 'to speak'; Ma. *jing* 'exactly, really', PK. *ogj* id.; Ma. *juru-* 'to vomit' < \**duru-*, ModK. *torj-* id.; Ma. *juwa-* 'to open', MK. *yer-* id.; Ma. *juwan* 'ten', MK. *yer* id.; Ma. *kelfi-* 'to incline, to list', MK. *kiur-* 'to incline' < \**kibur-*; Ma. *kurbu-* 'to roll', MK. *kjur-* id. < \**kubur-*; Ma. *muou* 'grape' < \**murku*, MK. *mgrui* id. < \**merkui*, cf. dial. *melgu* 'wild grape'; Ma. *sirdan* 'arrow', MK. *sar* id.; Ma. *sure-* 'to shout, to call out', MK. *sori* 'sound, shout'; Ma. *tule* 'outside', MK. *tur-* 'to surround'; etc.

In the comparison of words, borrowing raises the most serious questions. We can not deal with this subject exhaustively here. Manchu and Korean both borrowed a great many words from Chinese. Generally speaking, the loan-words in this category are easily recognizable. At the same time, they borrowed not a few words from Mongolian, etc. Above all, there is a distinct possibility that mutual borrowing occurred between Manchu and Korean. Here we give some of the most striking examples: Ma. *ajirgan* (*morin*) 'the male horse', Nü. *'a-ši-rh* (*mü-lin*) id. (Gru.) *a-chala* (*mü-li*) id. (Ishi.), MK. *acirkegi* (*mgr*) id., cf. Mo. *ajirya* id.; Ma. *akta* (*morin*) 'a castrated horse', Nü. *'a-täh* (*mü-lin* id. (Gru.), MK. *aktai* (*mgr*) id., cf. Mo. *ayta* id.; Ma. *burulu* (*morin*) 'a horse of red and white coat', ModK. *puru* (*mgr*) id.; Ma. *ganjuhan* 'a leather saddle string', MK. *kancikai* id.; Ma. *homin* 'a weeding hoe', MK. *homgi* id.; Ma. *jerde* (*morin*) 'a red horse', Nü. *ché-érh-té* id. (Ishi.), ModK. *cyerta* (*mgr*) id.; Ma. *kailun* (*morin*) 'a horse with black mane and tail', Ma. *keire* (*morin*) id., ModK. *kariun* (*mgr*) id.; Ma. *kara* (*morin*) 'a black horse', ModK. *kara* (*mgr*) id., cf. Mo. Turk. *qara* 'black'; Ma. *karcin* 'a falcon with piebald fur', MK. *karcikegi* 'yellow falcon'; Ma. *konggoro* (*morin*) 'a yellow horse', Nü. *k'ung-k'ou-li* id. ('shi.), ModK. *koŋkor* (*mgr*) id.; Ma. *kuren* (*morin*) 'a chestnut-color horse', ModK. *kuregy*, *kurhegy* (*mgr*) id.; Ma. *kurume* 'short overcoat', ModK. *khurimai* id.; Ma. *kulan* (*morin*) 'a yellow horse with black mane', ModK. *kora* (*mgr*) id.; Ma. *musi* 'a beverage made of rice flour', ModK. *misi* id.; Ma. *mušuri* 'a kind of grass cloth of Korea', MK. *mosi* id.; Ma. *nereku* 'outer clothing worn in rain or snow', ModK. *nerkhu* id.; Ma. *nacin* 'a kind of falcon', MK. *nachin* id.; Ma. *olon* 'belly-band of a horse', MK. *oray* id., cf. Mo. *oray* id.; Ma. *soforo* 'a saddle-tree', ModK. *sopuri* id.; Ma. *suru* (*morin*) 'a white horse', ModK. *syera* (*mgr*) id.; Ma. *songkon*, *songkoro* 'falcon', MK. *syonkor* id.; etc. We must point out that some of the comparisons we have listed in the above are subject to the suspicion of borrowing.



The word comparisons listed in the above make it possible to establish the rules of phonetic correspondences between Manchu and Korean. Though all rules of phonetic correspondences are not clear, we can, in most cases, establish rigid rules for the consonants. But for the vowels, we can only establish, so to speak, the general tendencies. Future study must concentrate efforts to throw light on the laws which governed the various shifts of vowels up to the present.

In attempting a comparative morphology of Manchu and Korean, we find that our efforts are often frustrated. We hope to return to this subject in a future article. However, we have a dozen of distinct correspondences in morphology. e. g. the plural suffix (Ma. *-ta, -te*; MK. *-tgr*), the genitive, instrumental suffix (Ma. *-i*; MK. *-i*; Common Altaic *-\*n*), the vocative suffix (Ma. *-a*; MK. *-a*), the converbial suffixes (Ma. *-me*; MK. *mye* and Ma. *-tala, -tele, -tolo*; MK. *tgrok, torok*), the suffix of verbal noun (Ma. *-ra, -re, -ro*; MK. *-r*), the interrogative suffixes (Ma. *-o*; MK. *-o* and Ma. *-ni*; MK. *-ni* and Ma. *-nio*; MK. *-nio, -nyo*) and several others.

The comparative study of Manchu and Korean is only a phase of the Korean-Altaic linguistics. But our present study shows that there are distinct correspondences between Korean and Manchu, together with other Altaic languages, in phonology, morphology and vocabulary, and makes it possible to expect that future research will evidence a deep kinship between Korean and other Altaic languages. Especially, it makes us perceive the possible existence of a close relationship between Korean and Manchu-Tungus.

The Korean language has, still now, many misteries. As stated in the introductory remark, the cooperation of Altaic studies and Korean studies will throw light on these misteries.