A comparative study of Manchu and Korean

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Professor N. Poppe to his 60th birthday

Abbreviations

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.
Ishi.: The Nüchên 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
Ma.: Manchu.
Mo.: Mongolian.
Nü.: Nü-chên.
Pel.: P. Pelliot, Les mots à l initial, aujourd'hui amuie, dans le mongole des XIIIe et
      XIVe siècles. JA. 1925.
RA.: G. J. Ramstedt, Ein anlautender stimmlöser labial in der mongolisch-türkischen
      ursprache. JSFOu. XXXII. 1916—20.
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 estab-
lished 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 supple-
mented Ramstedt’s etymologies.

However, the Korean language was quite new to the Altaic linguists. The mate-
rials 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, Oicha, 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 millennium 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 J. 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. *syebyr 'capital' > MK. syebyr id. > MK. syebyr id., AK. *subur (Chi. Su-po) 'wine' > MK. suyr, sur id., AK. *tubur (Chi. t'u-po) 'two' > MK. tuyr, 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, *allak etc. id. cf. RE. p. 7. In Present-day Korean there are many doubled words such as *allak allak,
glik glik, alles tallak, glik tlglik, alles talluk, glik tlglik, arup arup, arup turen, grupg urupg, etc. We think that all these words are etymologically connected with Ma. aho. Besides these, orup (mér) *dappled (horse)*, ugra (mér) id., grijs (ayo) *dappled (cow)* are found in the 17th century documents.

4 Ma. anju ‘food taken after a drink of wine’, MK. anoyus id.

5 Ma. aswi ‘a little small’, Ma. aswi-han ‘a child of tender years’, Nü. a-ska ‘young, small’ (Ishi.), MK. aqg ‘younger brother’. cf. dial. aqi id. At the same time, Ma. aqi-ge ‘small’, aqi-da id., aqi-kan ‘a little small, young’ seemingly correspond to MK. aqg < AK. *asa. It is not impossible to think that Ma. as- and Ma. aqi- are derived from the same root.

6 Ma. ba ‘region, place’, Nü. puh-đi id. (Gru.), MK. pa ‘place’. We can add to this comparison Goldi boa, Olcha bā, bāa, Orokko bō, Orochon bua, Solon buv(ə), Negidal bōa, Ewenki buga, Lamut bug ‘Welt (Himmel, Erde, Land)’ (BT. p. 24). Benzing doubted the correspondence between these Tungus words and Ma. ba. But the above-mentioned Nü-ohen 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. gayan ‘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’, Ma. 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. puh-əh 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. puh-tih-hei id. (Gru.), MK. par ‘foot, leg’. Ma. bet-he is the further development of *bel-ke. cf. Solon bel she ‘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. bieh- ‘to rub, to stroke with hands’, MK. psuch- ‘to rub with hands’. The initial consonant-group pe of psuch- goes back to *pVe. cf. 17.

12 Ma. biha ‘slope of a river bottom’, MK. pihar ‘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. biyorn ‘red precipice, precipitous cliff along a beach’, MK. pyero, peryo, pir̥i ‘precipice’. In Manchu there is also fyele-ku ‘projecting crag’, which is likely comparable with the above Middle Korean words. In our opinion, Ma. biyorn makes a better correspondence with the above Middle Korean words and Modk. pyen id.
14 Ma. buru- 'to sprinkle, to water', MK. spjiri- id. < AK. *pjiri-. On the doubled initial consonants sp of spjiri- 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. pusjr pusjr, posjr posjr, posjr posjr id.
17 Ma. buturi- 'the measles', MK. pstjiri < *psti < Ak. *pisisjiri id. The consonant clusters in the beginning of words in the Middle Korean documents of the 16th 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 16th century documents. i. e. pt, po, ps, pth, representing [pt], [po], [ps], [ptθ] phonetically; psk, pat, representing [Pkk], [Pτ]; sk, sp, representing [kk], [t], [pp]. Historically speaking, MK. pt, po 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. spjr 'horn' < AK. *pisjr, cf. Mo. eber id. < *peber) or the results of the gemination of single consonants. cf. 14 etc. This gemination was more common after the 16th century. e. g. MK. koc 'flower' > ModK. kkoč id., MK. purhui 'root' > ModK. ppuri id. etc.
18 Ma. cejen 'breast, chest', MK. cge 'breasts'.
19 Ma. cibin 'swallow', MK. cygpi 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 *tiirge-. Ko. cir is a particle denoting action.
22 Ma. culu- '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 taman id., PK. taman id.
25 Ma. dara- 'to draw a bow', MK. tarja- id.
26 Ma. darhūwa 'a common reed', MK. tār id.
27 Ma. dasa- 'to rule, to govern', MK. tasjri- id. MK. -ri- of tasjri- might be a suffix of later development. cf. PK. coa-ri- 'to bow the head low' from MK. coza-id., ModK. suki-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. těk id. This Middle Korean word is attested in various place-names. cf. ModK. en-ťěk 'a height'.
30 Ma. dobton 'a book case, the outer wrap', dobto-ků 'a cover', MK. uph- 'to cover' PK. uph- id.
31 Ma. doorin 'the bridge between landing-place and boat', MK. tgri 'bridge, ladder'. N. POPPE compared Ko. tgri with Ma. tura 'a wooden pillar supporting
the ceiling', Goldi *tora* 'alle senkrecht stehenden Balken der Jurte', Olcha *turd* 'Stützbalken der Winterjurte', Mo. *tor* 'fortress', etc. (PR. p. 579), rejecting Ramstedt's etymology which compared Ko. *tji* with Tu. *tlen* 'bridge' from the phonetic point of view. In our opinion, N. Poppe's etymology is also unconvincing from the semantic point of view.

32 Ma. *dorgori* 'a wild boar', MK. *tot* 'pig boar' < AK. *tor* (Chi. t'u). Tu. *toroki* '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. *tge* '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. *tjr*, *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. *enengyi* 'today' from *e-inengyi* 'this day'. This *e*- corresponds to Ko. i. On the other hand, Ma. -re in *ere* corresponds to MK. -reg in i-reg '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)', dele-ri 'to the east (top)' etc. Ma. *e*- becomes u- in u-ba 'this place', u-tala 'this much', u-tu 'like this'. In Korean we can see one remnant of such a vowel alternation in MK. ong-g today < *o-nar* 'this day'. cf. MK. nar 'day', dial. o 'this', in o-pen 'this time'.

38 Ma. *ebci* 'ribs, chest and ribe', PK. *gpcyn*, *gpcyn* 'flesh in front chest of cattle'. Mo. *ebchigun* < *ebchigun* 'chest', Tu. *abtil* 'ribs'. cf. PR. p. 574. N. Poppe said that Ko. *gpcyn* 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. *gpcyn* is probably from *gpcyn* < *gtyyn*.

39 Ma. *ebere* 'to be wearyed, to decrease, to decay', MK. *ivir* 'to fade' < *iibir*.

40 Ma. *ele* 'to suffice', MK. *gro* 'sufficiently'.


42 Ma. *er-gen* 'vitality, essence, life, breath', PK. *gr* 'spirit' in *gr ppcita* 'to lack sense', *gr tita* 'to lack judgement'. Ma. *oron* 'soul' also has the possibility to be compared with Ko. *gr*. cf. Solon gry 'life', Olcha *org* id. (PS. p. 50)

43 Ma. *erin* 'time, season, occasion', Nu. 'bkh-lin' id. (Gru.) b-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. erin 'quickly', dial. elgin id., which may be compared with Tu. *erti*, *erti*, *artil* id. (Shi. p. 235).

45 Ma. *ergwe* 'to wrap, to tie up', MK. *grk* id. Ramstedt compared Ko. *grk*- with Tu. *grk*- id. (RE. p. 53).

46 Ma. *eke* 'to slant', Ma. *eken* 'slanting, slant', MK. ge 'aspew'. We can add to this comparison Tu. *eskik*, *esikin*, *ekeke* 'slanting', which Ramstedt compared with Ko. *gkka* 'the shoulder' (RE. p. 53).

47 Ma. *ete* 'to win', MK. *gte* 'to get'. This etymology is probable even from the semantic point of view. Ma. *ete*- is often used with the meaning 'to get'.

49. Ma. *fara- 'to dry (nests, grain stacks, etc.) in the air or in the sun', PK. paras- 'to dry in the sun in order to bleach'. We reject Ramstedt’s etymology which compared Ma. *fara- with Ko. *pəram 'wind' (cf. MK. gəram id.). cf. RE. p. 190.


51. Ma. fasak, fosok 'rustling, rattling', PK. *pasak, pasirak id.

52. Ma. *fata- 'to pick (fruits etc.)', MK. *ptə- id. < AK. *pata.

53. Ma. *fata 'bottom, sole', MK. *pataq id., ModK. patak id. cf. PR. p. 577. N. Poffe reconstructed Ma. *fata < *pata < *patak in comparison with ModK. patak. As mentioned above, the Middle Korean form is pataq, and the *-aq in pataq and -ak in patak are the nominal suffixes. The suffixes *-aq, *-gə, *-ak, *-ək are quite common in Korean e. g. MK. mat 'a court' > ModK. mat-əq id., MK. kut 'a pit' > ModK. kut-gə id., MK. ptər 'a yard' > ModK. tər-ək id., MK. kus 'a corner' > ModK. kus-ək id. Therefore, ModK. patak does not justify the reconstruction of *patak in Manchu.

54. Ma. *fata 'a part of a weaving machine', MK. *ptəqi id.


56. Ma. *feh 'the brain', MK. pak in tysq-paki, meri-s-paki 'the crown of the head' PK. paki in gənk-paki 'the top of a hill' (gənk 'hill'), ima-paki 'the brow, the forehead' (ima 'the brow'). In brief, Ko. pak in means 'the top'. To this correspondence we can add Dagur xekin 'Kopf', Mo. ekin < *hekien < *pakin 'Kopf, Gehirn, Anfang', etc. cf. RA. p. 3. Pel. p. 209.

57. Ma. ferehe (singgeri) 'bat', MK. *ptər (cui) id. Both Ma. singgeri and MK. cui designate 'rat'.


62. Ma. *fëhe- 'to burst, to play on an instrument, to whip cotton', MK. *ptəh < ptəh- 'to play on an instrument, to whip cotton', MK. *ptəh- 'to burst'. Both in Manchu and Korean *pVəV indicated the elastic movements.


64. Ma. *fodo 'willow branch of Shaman', Ma. *fodo-ko 'willow tree', MK. *ptər id. N. Poffe compared Ko. *ptər with Mo. *hiiyəsən < *ptigesən 'willow tree' (PR. p. 578). We know that the finals of Manchu words are limited to vowels and n. On this characteristic N. Poffe 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.

N. Poppe compared Ko. posygen with Ma. tomoei id., Mo. oyimasun < *poymasun id. and said that Ma. foji and tomoei were derived from the same root. cf. PR. p. 578. But, in our opinion, only Ma. foji can be compared with Ko. posygen.

66 Ma. faro- ‘to turn one’s face towards’, MK. pūra- ‘to look towards, to look with expectation’.

67 Ma. faron ‘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 koron < Tu. *poran ‘Scheitel, Gipfel’ (BT. p. 39) are added.

68 Ma. foso- ‘to shine’, Ma. foso-n ‘sun-shine’, MK. puji ‘to shine’. Goldi poseñeke ‘funk’ (RA. p. 5). Mk. puji goes back to *puvoi-.


70 Ma. žēka ‘foam’, Ko. dial. pēgum, pēkhun id. In Middle Korean there was a doublet, kəpʰjəm and kəpʰjəm ‘foam’, and these two forms still predominate in Modern Korean. On the other hand, pēgum etc. continue to hold sway in a narrow strip along the South Sea coast. This distribution implies that pēgum is the survival of an earlier form.

71 Ma. ēlvin ‘the cheek bone, the cheek’, MK. por, ModK. por-ki ‘the cheek’. Ramstedt compared Ko. por with Goldi poli, Olcha pūli ‘the cheek’. (RE. p. 205.). cf. also Ma. ura ēlvin ‘fleshy parts of the hips’, Ko. por-ki, por-ki-coak ‘hips’.

72 Ma. žulehe ‘root’, MK. purhui id., N. Poppe added Mo. iruyar < hiruyar < *piruyar ‘bottom, root’ to this comparison. cf. RE. p. 209, PR. p. 578.

73 Ma. žugyen ‘red’, Ma. folkhun ‘light red’, Nü. fūh-lakh-kieang id. (Gru.) žu-liang id. (Ishi.), MK. pōrk- ‘to be red’. Ramstedt compared Ma. žugyen, folkhun with Ko. kor ‘a reddish color’ (RE. p. 206) and N. Poppe endorsed this comparison (PR. p. 570). But this is an obvious mistake. MK. pōrk-corresponds also to Mo. ulayun < hulayun < *pulayun ‘red’. The vowel ŋ after labial consonants becomes u in Modern Korean. e.g. MK. pīr ‘fire’ > ModK. pur id., MK. pōr ‘grass’ > ModK. phur id., MK. mīr ‘water’ > ModK. mur id., etc.

74 Ma. žugyi- ‘to blow (fire etc.)’, MK. pīr- id. > ModK. pur- id. Mo. ūlie- < *pūlie- id. cf. RE. p. 209.

75 Ma. žulū ‘enough and to spare, superior’, MK. pīr- ‘to grow large’. To this comparison we can add Mo. ūle- ‘zu viel sein, mehr sein’ (RA. p. 7) < hūlā- (Pel. p. 236) < *pūlā-, and Goldi pulō, pulōxio id., Negidal hulōxio id. (Pel. p. 236).

76 Ma. ūmure- ‘to stir up, to churn’, DK. pēmūr- ‘to mix up’, ModK. pēmuri- id.

77 Ma. ūmūn ‘fart’, MK. pānkui id. N. Poppe established the correspondence between Ko. pānkui and Mo. ungynu- ‘vessels’, Middle Mo. hungasun ‘fart’ < *pungasun (PR. p. 577).

78 Ma. ūru- ‘to cut (flesh) into small pieces’, MK. p̥gri- id.

79 Ma. ūsū-, sise- ‘to propagate, to breed’, sīsē-n, sīsē-n ‘propagation, a thing which was propagated’, MK. sē ‘seed, a thing which propagates’. Ramstedt compared Ko. sī ‘seed’ with Ma. sī-he ‘millet’ (RE. p. 231). We have already compared Ma. sī-he with MK. pegr ‘rice’. cf. 61.
Ma. *fushe- 'to fan', *fushe-ku 'a fan', MK. *puch- 'to fan', *puch-qi 'a fan'.

Ma. *fushe 'kitchen', MK. *pisêk, pisêp id. As stated in the above, MK. *z (which appears mostly in intervocalic position) goes back to *s. cf. dial. *puesk, *puesak, *puesp, *puesp id.

Ma. *fusu- 'to sprinkle, to water', MK. *pis- 'to pour' > ModK. *pus- id. cf. RE. p. 209, 212. Goldi pisuuri 'to water, to squirt' and Mo. *pisur <- *pisur- 'to sprinkle' are to be added here. But the writer is not inclined to think that ModK. *ppum- 'to spout out' is from *pisim- or *pisum- and thus is connected with MK. *pis-. ModK. *ppum- and *pus- are probably of different origin.

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'.

Ma. gar-gan 'ramification of a tree or stream', Nü. hâh-râ id. (Gru.), MK. karg, karg 'ramification'.

Ma. garin 'blade of a knife, edge of a sword', MK. khar 'knife, sword' > ModK. khar id. RAMSTEDET compared Ko. khar with Ma. *hal in halmarı 'a short blade-like sword worn by the Shaman' (RE. p. 133), but there is no satisfactory interpretation of *marı. 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.

Ma. garu 'heavenly goose, swan', Nü. hâh-râ-wên id. (Gru.) ha-lu id. (Isihi.), MK. kgyu 'goose' < AK. *kgyu. MK. kgyu 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 *kgyu (chû-lao). On the disappearance of intervocalic *r, cf. MK. moj 'mountain' < AK. *mori, MK. nai 'rivulet' < AK. *nari, etc. RAMSTEDET compared Ma. garu and Turk. qaz 'goose' with Ko. kari-sâ 'a kind of heron' (RE. p. 97). We think that AK. *kgyu corresponds to Turk. qaz.

Ma. geli 'again, once more', ModK. kju in kju-kari 'a second crop' (kari 'crop'), kju-tui- 'to turn over the soil for a second crop' (tui- 'to turn over the soil'), kju-pyé 'rice planted after the barley harvest' (pyé 'rice'), etc. It is sure that ModK. kju had the original meaning 'again, once more, secondly'. RAMSTEDET compared Ko. kju with Turk. kûz 'autumn' (RE. p. 118) and N. POPPE mentioned this comparison as a convincing one (PR. p. 569). We doubt this etymology.

Ma. goci- 'to press to separate dregs from wine', MK. koco 'a wooden press for separating dregs from wine'.

Ma. godo-hon 'straight, perpendicular', MK. kot- 'to be straight'.

Ma. golo 'a river-bed', MK. kărđm 'river'. RAMSTEDET compared Ma. golo with PK. kó 'valley' (RE. p. 121). However, PK. kó exactly corresponds to Ma. holo 'valley'. N. POPPE compared MK. kărđm with Mo. yorigan 'brook, rivulet', etc. (PR. p. 574).

Ma. gorji 'a buckle of belly-band', MK. korhô 'a metal ring, a buckle of belly-band'. Mo. gorji id. cf. RE. p. 126.

Ma. gu 'a gem, a jewel', MK. kusîr id. On MK. -sîr, cf. Tu. sîl 'glass' (Shi. p. 240).

Ma. guku 'a hill, a hillock', guku-hun 'an elevation', ModK. kkoktuki, kkoktëki 'the top, the highest part of a thing'. We can add to this comparison Goldi gogda, Olcha, Lwenki gogda, Lamut gud 'hoch' (BT. p. 30).
94 Ma. gūran 'large deer (male)', MK. korani 'large deer'. Ramstedt compared Ko. korani 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', Mod.K. korom, korım id. N. Pope compared Ko. korum, korım with Mo. qormai 'skirt, tail of a gown' (PR. p. 576), but his etymology is doubtful for semantic reasons.

96 Ma. hacin 'a kind, a class', MK. kuci id.

97 Ma. halà 'a clan name, relatives', Mod.K. kyêrgäi 'relatives', PK. kyêrc id. cf. Tu. xala, kula, kula 'relatives' (Shi. p. 291).

98 Ma. halà 'to change, to alternate', Nū. hāh-lāh-piēh id. (Gru.), MK. kari id. cf. Mo. qala- id. (RE. p. 88).

99 Ma. hara 'tarecs, a kind of panic grass', MK. karas id.

100 Ma. hasa-ha 'scissors', Nū. hāh-tə́h-həh id. (Gru.) ha-tsa id. (Ishi.), MK. kazai id. < AK. *kasigai (Chi. ko-tə́-kai), cf. Ko. dial. kasigà, kasì id. Ramstedt regarded Ko. (dial.) kəsə and PK. kəwi as quite different words and said that Ma. hasa-ha, Olcha xaʃa, Goldi haʃa id. are loans from Korean (RE. p. 99). On the other hand, he compared PK. kəwi with Mo. qayiči < *gayiti < *qawiti 'scissors' (RE. p. 100). N. Pope mentioned this last etymology as a convincing one (PR. p. 569). However, we believe that PK. kəwi is the further development of Mod.K. kəgai < MK. kazai < *kəsai < AK. *kasigai, and therefore it does not have anything in common with Mo. qayiči. And it is a question that Ma. hasa-ha < *kəsi-ka is the loan of AK. *kəsi-gai.

101 Ma. helmen 'shadow', MK. kiriŋmì, kiriŋmì id.

102 Ma. heolen 'lazy', MK. keğiř̄ ṭ 'to be lazy'. <*kegiŋ̄- cf. dial. keğiř̄- id.

103 Ma. here- 'to filter', Ma. herje- id., MK. kerj̄- id., Ko. dial. kejḡį- 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. pyēr 'star', Jap. foni id. cf. Tu. haulen, zoglen, högolan, howlyn, wovlyn, faula, Goldi pōule id. (Pel. p. 219); Mod.K. mar 'a dry measure', Jap. masu id., etc.

104 Ma. her-gen 'a letter', MK. kyğ- id.

105 Ma. hete- 'to fold up, to roll up', MK. kət- id. Ramstedt correctly compared Ko. kəl- with Mo. kötürk- 'to lift up', Turk. kötürk- id. (RE. p. 109).

106 Ma. hetu 'the side, the width', MK. kyğ '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?


109 Ma. holbo- 'to link, to make a pair of', MK. kərp- 'to stand side by side'.

110 Ma. holo 'a lie, a falsehood', MK. kur- 'to tell a lie'.

111 Ma. holo '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. kərəm 'river', cf. 90.

112 Ma. hono 'corner', MK. kus, kus-ğk id.
113 Ma. hoton ‘the wall of a city, a walled city’, MK. kot ‘a place, a locality’. RAMSTEIN compared Ko. kot with Mo. qota, qotan ‘inhabited place, town, city, village’ (RE. p. 127).


117 Ma. ili- ‘to stand up, to stop’, MK. nir- ‘to rise, to get up’. We can add to this comparison Solon iliší-, 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.


119 Ma. jací ‘slightly, to be apt to’, ModK. cachí, cachí id.

120 Ma. jafa- ‘to catch, to arrest’, Nú. čah-fah-pięh id. (Gru.), MK. cap-id. Goldi źappa-, Tu. źaw-, etc. id. cf. RE. p. 23.

121 Ma. jahari ‘gravel, stones’, ModK. cakur id.

122 Ma. je ‘millet’, Nú. če-(po-še) id. (Ishi.), MK. co id. Nú. po-se is the equivalent of Ma. bele ‘rice’. The Tungus equivalents are ja-kta, j’akta, je-kta, etc. id. (Shi. p. 226).


124 Ma. jidun ‘mountain ridge’ < *didun, Ma. judun id. < *didun, MK. tuleg ‘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.


126 Ma. jišiši ‘straw mat’, MK. ciešik id.

127 Ma. jirga- ‘to live a tranquil life, to be happy’, Nú. tiš-rh-hág-lág id. (Gru.) MK. čirkep- ‘to be glad, to be happy’. cf. MK. čirki- ‘to delight in’ (transitive). N. Porves established the correspondence between Mo. jirga- ‘to be happy’ and Ko. čirkep- (PR. p. 572).

128 Ma. joli ‘a bamboo ladle’, MK. cyorgi id. (c Eng., cM. 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. jamangu ‘a little cloth bag’, MK. cumenji ‘a purse’.

131 Ma. jugóti ‘peasant’, ModK. caqí ‘male peasant’.

132 Ma. jir-gan ‘line’, MK. cur id. N. Porves compared Ko. cur with Ma. niru-< *jiru- ‘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. tuvř, tur id. < AK. *tubur (Chi. t’u-po). cf. Tu. dur, dör id. (Shi. p. 173) žur, žur id. (PS. p. 84).

134 Ma. kamtu ‘a piece of cloth wound around the head’, kamtu ‘a soft cap worn under the helm’, MK. kamto ‘a horseshair cap worn by officials’. cf. RE. p. 92.

135 Ma. karka- ‘to scratch with chopsticks, to scrape on the fiyoo (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. kätun 'strong, robust', MK. küt - '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. kilâhün 'sea-gull', MK. kirykî, kiryk, kirki 'a wild goose', ModK. kirki id. cf. PR. p. 575. From the semantic point of view, MK. kârmyêkî 'sea-gull' is identical with Ma. kilâhün, 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-ey id. We can add to this comparison the following Tungus words: koyde, koydu, koydi '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-ugm) 'striped tiger', kar-oi (< *kar-oi) 'piebald cat'.
144 Ma. malhûn 'unexpectedly distant', MK. mër - 'to be distant'. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. mër- with Goldi, Olecha 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. mma id.
146 Ma. manggi 'only', MK. man id. cf. Ma. simbe manggi 'you only', etc., MK. neg man 'you only', etc.
147 Ma. maru - '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. mîrî - id.
149 Ma. meiren 'shoulder', meihere - 'to carry on the shoulder', MK. mei - 'to carry on the shoulder'. cf. RE. p. 145.
150 Ma. mentuhun 'foolish, stupid', ModK. meþhey-i 'a stupid person', meþhey-kuri id., meþhey-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. megmîr - '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, Olecha monggo, Orochon mongo ~ moo, 'Kehle, Hals' (BT. p. 23).
155 Ma. monji - 'to rub one's hands', MK. mginci - 'to touch with the hands, to finger'.
157 Ma. muji-len 'mind', muji-n 'will', Nü. mëh-zîh-lân 'mind' (Gru.) mu-jîh-lê id. (Ishi.), MK. mazâm 'mind'. RAMSTEDT compared Ko. mazm 'mind' with Goldi meawan, Tu. mewan (mîvan, mëgan) 'mind, thought, heart' and Ma. niyaman 'heart' (RE. p. 136). This comparison is doubtful. Ma. niyaman is the exact equivalent of MK. ngem-thop 'heart'. cf. 172. And the consonants
of the second syllable raise serious doubts in the correspondence between Mk. *mqgm < AK. *mVelm and Goldi meawam 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 huju, 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.), meh-zihi-lam 'mind' (Gru.), mih-jih-le 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. mjr id. Goldi mua, Olcha múa, Oroko, Orochon mú, Solon, Ewenki, Negidal, Lamut mú '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. mek- 'to eat'. cf. MK. mek-un- 'to hold (water) in the mouth'.

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

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

162 Ma. muri-han 'a bend of a road', ModK. moropi 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. mutun 'a mound, a heap', MK. muti 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-su-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. ngmur id.

167 Ma. nur-han 'thin, keen', Nü. nàh-rh-hang id. (Gru.), MK. ngr '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. nêm-, nam- 'to run over, to pass beyond'. Mo. nem- 'to add to, to go over, to increase'. cf. RE. p. 163.

169 Ma. nerkki- 'to unroll, to unfold', MK. nge- 'to spread out, to hang out'.

170 Ma. nöcheri 'name of an animal resembling a wolf', niohe 'wolf', MK. ngupi 'badger', ModK. ngkuri id. cf. PR. p. 577. Ramstedt compared Ko. ngkuri with Tu. nêkê, nêkê '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. ngun-tho'g id. Ramstedt compared Ma. niyaman with Ko. magun 'mind' (RE. p. 136) and N. Popp considered this corre-
spondence to be convincing (PR. p. 570). This uncorrect comparison was due to their being unaware of the evolution ModK. maqm < MK. mźjūm < AK. *mVēVm. This word corresponds to Ma. muji-len 'mind'. cf. 157. MK. thoŋ 'tub' is frequently used for designating tublike things.

173 Ma. niyar-hünk 'fresh', MK. ngr 'raw, uncooked'. RAMSTEDEDT compared Ko. ngr with Goldi nealun, nulun 'fresh, uncooked', Mo. nilagun 'raw, fresh' (RE. p. 159).

174 Ma. niye-le- 'to read', MK. nirk- id.

175 Ma. nyi-ere 'weak, thin', MK. nyerg- 'to be thin'.

176 Ma. nor-a- 'to pile up woods or grasses', nor-a-n 'wood pile', MK. nuri- 'to pile up paddies or grasses', nuri- 'paddy pile'.

177 Ma. nuhan 'slow, unhasty', Nü. nū-hăn 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. RAMSTEDEDT 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. sedun 'relatives by marriage', MK. sedon id. RAMSTEDEDT omitted this Manchu word, although he established the correspondence between Ko. sedon and Goldi sedun id., Mo. sadun id. (RE. p. 217).

181 Ma. saha 'to pile up, to accumulate', MK. sah-, ssa-h- 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 RAMSTEDEDT'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, sābāyi, etc. id.

184 Ma. sara 'umbrella', MK. syurup id. cf. AK. chū-li id. (Chi.), MK. su-lu id. (Ch'ao). Mo. syur id.


186 Ma. sargiyan 'scattering, sparse', MK. sękji- id. < *sărkgji-. The change of *r to t (medial s of MK. sękji- represents t) before a plosive consonant is attested in many Korean words.

187 Ma. se 'age, years', Nü. sē-h-kōh id. (Gru.), sē id. (Ishi.), MK. sér 'age, years, the first day of the year'. This Middle Korean word was differentiated into ModK. sēr '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 sê-pich (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. hé 'to do, to say'. cf. RE. p. 58. N. Poppè doubted this etymology (I'R. 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. heri 'waist'.

190 Ma. sese, sesu-ku 'a die', MK. səzg id. < AK. *səso.
191 Ma. silenggi 'dew', Nü. shih-lei id. (Ishi.), MK. sər-i *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 *sər* (*shuo*). cf. MK. siş *frost*.

192 Ma. silgiya- 'to wash, to gingle', MK. sərkeɕ- 'to wash (dishes etc.)'. cf. RE, p. 230.

193 Ma. siši *the gall*, Nü. šiš-li-hi id. (Gru.), MK. pejkeɕ id. The initial *p* of MK. pejkeɕ raises serious doubts, because MK. *p* in initial is the further development of *pv*s. 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. pejkeɕ (PK. sojkeɕ) is intimately associated with MK. pei- (PK. soj-) 'to be bitter'. MK. pejkeɕ is not the derivative of MK. pei-.

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', siren 'thread, string', sir-ge id., MK. sir 'thread'. We can add to this correspondence Tu. siran, siräktä, siruktä 'thread' (Shi, p. 209).

196 Ma. sīc- 'to baste', MK. sīc- id.

197 Ma. solohi 'polecat', MK. sa戏曲 'a wild cat'. Ramstedt compared Ko. sa戏曲 with Tu. sūlaki, sulaki 'the fox', Goldi sōle id. (RE, p. 221) and N. Poppe added Mo. solongya 'polecat' (Pr. p. 579). On the other hand, there are Tu. solongo, solongko, solgi, solgi 'polecat' (Shi, p. 250), Solon sōli id. (PS, p. 67) which seem to be etymologically connected with Ma. solohi, MK. sər-keɕ, 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 sum-ɕi-yntɕi- 'to hide', Olcha sum-ɕi- id., Tu. sum-t- id. (RE, p. 244). But he did not mention Ma. somi-.

199 Ma. soorin 'the throne', MK. soori 'a stool'. cf. Mo. saquri id. (RE, p. 224).

200 Ma. sorson 'tassel, fringo', 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. sum 'a vein, a tendon', sumu id., Olcha sum-ɕi 'a sinew, a tendon', Goldi sumul id. (RE, p. 63) are more closely connected with MK. him.

203 Ma. suха 'artemisia', MK. psuk id. As to the initial *p* of MK. psuk, cf. 193. Ma. suk 'artemisia growing in low bushes' may probably be connected with AK. *suk*.

204 Ma. sure 'clever, intelligent', Nü. sù-λeh id. (Gru.), MK. sиր-keɕ-, sar-keɕ- 'to be clever, to be intelligent'. MK. -keɕ-, -keɕ- are adjective stem forming suffixes. cf. MK. nāc-keɕ- 'to be low' (nāc- 'to be low'), etc.

205 Ma. sunja 'five' < *susa < *tusa, MK. tasus id. cf. Tu. tunga, tunga, etc. id.

206 Ma. šara- 'to be gray-headed', šari 'whitely', MK. hāi-, hii- 'to be white'. cf. Jap. siro, sira id. MK. hāi- hii- must have experienced the dropping of intervocalic r. On the other hand, MK. syge- 'to be gray-headed' also may be compared with the above Manchu words.

207 Ma. śerke 'sledge', MK. sərmeɕ id. cf. Jap. sori id.

208 Ma. śolo 'an interval, a space', MK. sər- id.

209 Ma. šolo- 'to burn', MK. sər- id.

210 Ma. šulhu 'a wicker trunk', MK. sərkeɕ id.
211 Ma. ṣun ‘the sun’, MK. ḥgi id. cf. Tu. ẓigun, Goldi riun, Olcha ẓiu id. Both Ma. ṣun and Ko. ḥgi must have experienced the dropping of intervocalic *g.

212 Ma. ṣur-‘to revolve’, MK. sur-ui ‘a wagon’.

213 Ma. ṣusin ‘a chisel’, PK. susi- ‘to poke’ < *susi-.

214 Ma. tahin ‘horseshoe’, MK. takar id.

215 Ma. tama- ‘to put into a dish etc.’, MK. tam-id.

216 Ma. taqga- ‘to cook dry’, MK. task-id.?


219 Ma. te-he ‘a loom’, MK. ṭe jr ‘frame on which a machine rests’.

220 Ma. ten ‘site, foundation’, MK. ṭeh id.

221 Ma. *te in tere ‘that’, MK. tyg id. And Ma te-re corresponds to MK. tyg-re ‘in that way’. cf. 37.

222 Ma. to ‘a dry measure containing half a peck’, MK. tot ‘a dry measure containing one tenth peck’.

223 Ma. tor ‘round and round’ (onomatopoea), torho- ‘to turn round’, MK. tor- ‘to turn round’.


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. Poppe 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, tulum ‘a bag’ (Shi. p. 204).

226 Ma. tura ‘pillar’, ModK. tori ‘all of the beams except the main beam’. N. Poppe compared Ma. tura with Ko. ṭgri ‘bridge’ (PR. p. 579) but this comparison is improbable for semantic reasons. MK. ṭgri ‘bridge, ladder’ is to be compared with Ma. doorin ‘the bridge between boat and landing-place’. cf. 31.

227 Ma. tua- ‘to lag behind’, MK. tọgji- ‘to delay’.


229 Ma. tua ‘to strike, to hit’, MK. thi- id.


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-ḥg- ‘to be reasonable, to be true’, PK. orh- id. On the same change from Middle to Modern Korean, cf. tyo-ḥg- ‘to be good’ > ModK. cyuh- > PK. coh- id., MK. ir-ḥg- ‘to lose’ > ModK. irh- id., etc.

234 Ma. uru ‘wholly, exclusively’, MK. oro id.

235 Ma. uyum ‘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’, N. yâ-ši id. (Gru.), MK. yes ‘to pry into’. cf. Solon isal, Tu. ša, ēa ‘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. aqa 'rain', PK. akru, gksu 'heavy rain'; Ma. bira 'river', MK. parg, parg 'sea, river'; Ma. bodo 'to plan, to think, to calculate', MK. piğ 'thought, idea', cf. Mo. bodo 'to think'; Ma. cira 'hard, strong', PK. cirki 'to be tough'; Ma. cola 'to boil down', MK. corr- id.; Ma. derfi 'a grass mat', MK. tok. id. < *tork; Ma. jahun 'a wheel', MK. paohi 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. sgrı 'to dislike' < *sgrı, 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. ha-ha- 'to be alike', cf. Jap. goto-si 'to be alike'; Ma. helmhen 'a spider', MK. kemji id.; Ma. ile-ngu 'the tongue', MK. nir- 'to speak'; Ma. jing 'exactly, really', PK. egp id.; Ma. jiru 'to vomit' < *jiru-, ModK. torj- id.; Ma. juwa 'open', MK. yer- id.; Ma. juwan 'ten', MK. ygr id.; Ma. kelfi 'to incline, to list', MK. kiur- 'to incline' < *kur-; Ma. kurbu- 'to roll', MK. kjar- id. < *kur-; Ma. muov 'grape' < *mursku, MK. mtryui id. < *mērku, cf. dial. mglu 'wild grape', Ma. sirran '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 cannot 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. ajiqan (morin) 'the male horse', Nü. 'a-t-t-h (më-lìn) id. (Grui.) a-cal (må-li) id. (Ishi.), MK. acirksi (morin) id., cf. Mo. acirya id.; Ma. akta (morin) 'a castrated horse', Nü. 'a-t-t-h (më-lìn) id. (Grui.), MK. akta (mgr) id., cf. Mo. aya id.; Ma. burulu (morin) 'a horse of red and white coat', ModK. puru (mgr) id.; Ma. ganjuhan 'a leather saddle string', MK. kaneikai id.; Ma. homi 'a weaving hoe', MK. homji id.; Ma. jerd (morin) 'a red horse', Nü. chë-rë-të id. (Ishi.), ModK. oytra (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. karcikgi 'yellow falcon'; Ma. kongoro (morin) 'a yellow horse', Nü. k'ung-k'ou-ti id. (ishi.), ModK. kongkor (mgr) id.; Ma. kuren (morin) 'a chestnut-color horse', ModK. kurye, kureg (mgr) id.; Ma. kurenme 'short overcoat', ModK. khurima'i 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. musiri 'a kind of grass cloth of Korea', MK. morsi id.; Ma. nerekhu 'outer clothing worn in rain or snow', ModK. ngrkhu id.; Ma. nacin 'a kind of falcon', MK. nacin id.; Ma. olon 'belly-band of a horse', MK. orap id., cf. Mo. orap id.; Ma. osoro 'a saddle-tree', ModK. sopuri id.; Ma. suru (morin) 'a white horse', ModK. sygra (mgr) id.; Ma. songkon, songkoro 'falcon', MK. syongkor 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 convervbia1 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 mysteries. As stated in the introductory remark, the cooperation of Altaic studies and Korean studies will throw light on these mysteries.