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Choi Han-Woo**

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Evidences of the affinity of Korean and Turkic

Han-Woo Choi

Handong University, Korea

Researches revealing the genetic relationship between Korean and Turkic were begun in a broad way by G. Ramstedt and continued in a less sufficient way by N. Poppe and P. Aalto.

G. Ramstedt, at the end of his article "Remarks on the Korean language" proposed the theory that of the Altaic languages, there is a close relationship between Mongolian and Turkic, as well as between Korean and Manchu-Tungus¹. However, about 10 years later he changed his position with the reading of an article, "Über die Stellung des Koreanische", stating that Mongolian, along with being closely related to Turkic, also has the same relation to Manchu-Tungus².

N. Poppe, a pupil of Ramstedt, on the other hand, gave little credence to the possibility that the Altaic language unit divided into four branches at the same time. Poppe suggested that Mongolian is closer related to Manchu-Tungus than to Korean, and proposing a Chuvash-Turkic-Mongolian-Manchu-Tungus language sub-unit, that the later has an even more distant relationship to the Altaic unit³.

On the other hand, the greatest opponents of the Altaic theory, G. Doerfer⁴ and the late Sir G. Clauson⁵, while accepting the existence of a phonetic correspondence between the Altaic languages- Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus - believe rather that the common words in Turkic and Mongolian are actually borrowed by Mongolian from Turkic.

N. Poppe expressed several possibilities with regard to the position

¹ G. Ramstedt, 1928: 453.

² P. Aalto, 1975: 185-6.

³ N. Poppe, 1965: 147.

⁴ G. Doerfer, 1963: 94-99.

⁵ G. Clauson, 1956: 181-7.

of Korean: First, Korean may be related to the other Altaic languages just as Manchu-Tungus and Turkic are related to one other; Second, Proto-Korean may have branched off before Altaic unity had come into existence; Third, Korean may have nothing but an Altaic substratum, originally being an un-Altaic language which absorbed an ancient Altaic language or was imposed upon a medium which had been speaking an Altaic language⁶.

In the past century, there have been a lot of endeavor to find common elements or common glossaries among Altaic languages, i.e., Turkic, Mongolian, Manchu-Tungus, and Korean. In addition to the findings of both Ramstedt and Poppe, followers such as Aalto, Räsänen, Menges, Miller, etc found more additional evidences and by this way strenthened the Altaic theory. During the last two decades, researchers contented merely to cite or repeat the evidences which had been founded by these senior scholars in the past, rather than to propose new evidences in discussions of the Altaic theory.

In this circumstance, many scholars tend to spend their times in interpreting these evidences in relation with the Altaic theory or Altaic affinity, while some scholars are engaged in reviewing methodologies applied until now.

However, in order to come to any conclusion regarding the problem of the affinity of Altaic languages, we need not only to exert more intensive researches of individual languages, but also continue to purse comparative studies concentrating on finding cognates or common elements among the related languages.

On the other hand, in the Korean language, a lot of Altaic loan words are found. These are supposed to have been borrowed into Korean mainly in two different periods. Most of the Altaic loan words were borrowed into Korean during the Mongolian rule of Korea in the middle of the 13th century AD.

In addition to these Altaic words, which were borrowed into middle Korean via Mongolian, we can find not so many but considerable numbers of Altaic loan words which was passed into Proto or Ancient

⁶ N. Poppe, 1965: 148.

Korean in the earlier periods of Korean history. It is very interesting that most of these Altaic loan words are of Turkic origins.

On the other hand, I think that these Turkic loan words mostly belong to Pre-Turkic rather than Ancient Turkic. According to N. Poppe, Pre-Turkic comprises Hyung-nu and Topa or Tabgach's languages. In my opinion, Hyung-nu was a confederation state of which Altaic tribes consisted, forming Paleo-Asiatic tribes as a substratum. The leading group of this confederation state was probably Turkic tribes. Topa or Tabgach was a Altaic confederation state too. However, it seems that Turkic had a strong leadership in this state.

As is well known, both Hyung-nu and Topa states had close contacts before the 4th century A.D. with Proto or Ancient Korean states, i.e., Kochoson, Puyə, Han, and Koguryə, etc. On the other hand, in Korean peninsular, the first state Kochoson, which is supposed to be a confederation state of Altaic tribes, was established B.C. 4th century. Before the ancient state, diverse Altaic tribes and Paleo-Asiatic tribes had probably lived spreading all over the peninsular. After the last ruler of Kochoson Ugə, whose title name comes from Turkic öge meaning 'sage', yielded over Chinese Han dynasty, in Korean peninsular Buyə in the north and Han in the south were formed around the 2nd century B.C.. While the state name of Buyə comes from the animal name buyu 'dear' which is of Altaic or Turkic origin, Korean "Han" state probably was originated from the Ancient Turkic title name Khan meaning 'state ruler, the great'.

When all this facts are considered, it will not be so surprising that most of Altaic loan words of Korean are of Turkic origins.

In other words, this fact leads us to come to the conclusion that in the earlier periods Korean tribes had closer contacts with Turkic tribes than any other Altaic tribes i.e., Mongolian or Tungus.⁷

In this article, I would like to present additional evidences to relate Korean with Turkic by comparing historical linguistic elements of Korean and Turkic. I am sure that some evidences which I present here

⁷ In connection with this theory, I have already some articles published. See Notes on some Ancient Korean titles, *Central Asiatic Journal* 35, and Notes on some titles of ancient Korean Kingdom Paekje, *Central Asiatic Journal* 36.

to support the Altaic theory that Korean has a genetic relationship with Turkic.

I. Animal Names

At first, I would like to deal with some animal names, which were borrowed from the Altaic languages in the earlier periods. Most of these Altaic animal names are supposed to be borrowed from Turkic. These animal names are additional evidences that Korean tribes were lived having close contacts with Turkic peoples in the earlier period. On the other hand, some of these loan words may be Altaic cognates. However, it is very difficult to discern cognates from loan words in case of animal names.

Followings are Korean animal names, which are supposed to be borrowed from Turkic in the earlier periods:

1. Ko. ori 'duck': In modern Korean, there is the word ori meaning duck, which was probably borrowed from Turkic. The form orh or orhi appears in Middle Korean. In the form orh, /h/ is an additional phoneme which is added to certain noun words in Middle Korean. In the latter form orhi, the suffix -i is a denominal noun suffix which is very common in Korean. On the other hand, this word appears in the Turkic languages. While in the Yakut language, there is the word in the form of or meaning 'duck', Ancient Uighur has the form ördek with the same meaning (Liget 1966: 190). In a Buddhist text, a different form ödirek appears. As for the word ördek, Clauson (1972: 205) supposed that the word derived from the verb ör- 'rise up' with a deverbal noun suffix -dek. In Turkic, however, we can not find the suffix -dek. In my opinion, the word ördek is a compound of two different words being hendiadion i.e. ör and dek. While the word ör is of Turkic, dek is probably of unknown origin.

On the other hand, Menges(1947: 51) was not right in saying that the original form of ördek 'duck' was *üdrök, being based on both the Kirghiz form öderäk and Soyod üderäk. For the forms öderäk and üderäk are nothing but results by hiatus. In Turkic the sound change rt > tr is quite often; i.e., Uyg. ortu > MK orta ~ otra 'middle', Uyg. artuq ~ adruq 'remnant, surplus', etc.

2. Ko. byərok 'flea': This primary insect name was borrowed probably in the earlier period from Altaic. This name appears in middle Turkic in the form of bürge. Various forms for the word occur in modern Turkic languages, i.e., Turk. pire, Trkm. büre, Nog. bürşe, Kumyk bürče, etc. From the modern forms, we can see that the Turkic word bürge is a compound of *büre and *ge. According to Clauson(1972: 362), this word was passed into Mongolian in the IV century A.D.

3. Ko. wəri 'a dog like wolf': In the southern parts of Korea, people call a big and wild dog like wolf wəri. This word occurs in the Orkhon Inscription, which is the oldest Turkic inscription, in the form of böri meaning 'wolf' in the sentence böri teg ermiş "(the Kaghan) was like a wolf" (Orkh. KTE 12, BKE 11). The word also was used in the proper name er böri 'male wolf', as well as in the title böri kayan 'king of wolves' in Ancient Turkic. The word böri is attested in most of the historical languages of Turkic, i.e. Uygur, Karahan, Chagatay, etc, in the form of böri or börü. The word which, as far as I know, never occurs in both Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus, was borrowed into non-Altaic languages, i.e., Yenisey Ostyak börü and Russian birük, etc. (Doerfer II: 333).

4. Ko. kækuri 'frog': This Korean word consists of two words being a hendiadion, kæ and kuri. The former one is of Chinese origin meaning 'a genuine frog'. The latter one probably came from Altaic in the early period. The word kuri appears in the Turkic word kurbaka 'some kind of frog or toad'. Kashgarli Mahmud suggests that this is a compound of baka 'frog' and kur. Mentioning that the status of the latter one is very dubious, Clauson proposed a homonym meaning 'belt' for the word kur. His theory, however, is not persuasive at all. For it does not seem that there is any semantic relation between 'belt' and 'frog'. The word kur, which is never used alone but kurbaka as a hendiadion, is nothing but 'frog'. It is very interesting that the word kurbaka like the Korean word kækuri is used as a hendiadion. While kur is of Turkic, the word baka was probably borrowed from the Middle Chinese word.

I don't think, however, that the word *kur is originally Altaic. This word, probably being of unknown origin, was passed into Turkic and then was borrowed into Korean.

On the other hand, the Korean word *kuri* in *kækuri* consists of two morphemes, *kur* and a denominal noun suffix *-i* which is very common in Korean. In some dialects of modern Korean, *mækuri* occurs for frog besides *kækuri*. In this word the first syllable *mə* probably comes from the above mentioned Chinese word meaning 'frog'.

5. Ko. *ssəkhe* 'bit': This insect name appears both in Turkic and Mongolian; Trk. *sirkä* 'bit', Mo. *sirke* 'a kind of flea'. This word was probably passed into Mongolian from Turkic. Khalkha has the form of *širx*. The Korean form *ssəkhe* was derived from the Altaic word *sirke* with /r/ being dropped.

6. Ko. *tark* 'fowl': This animal name is one of the evidence of contact of Turkic and Korean in the earlier period. In Turkic, ancient Uighur text has the word in the form of *takīyu* meaning 'a domestic fowl'. In his dictionary Kashgarli Mahmud gives the form *takāyu* for the animal name. In my opinion, this Turkic word consists of two words, i.e. *takī* and *yu*. Clauson(1972: 587) suggests that *-yu* is an old animal name ending like *-ya* in the animal names: *koburya* 'owl', *torīya* 'sky-lark', etc. In my opinion, *-yu* was borrowed from the Chinese word *Kiei*(Giles 810): Ach. *kiei* (Karl. 126), Sino-Ko. *kye* meaning 'fowl'. In other words, *takīyu* was used as a hendiadion. It was very common in Old Turkic that Turkic and Chinese were used together as a hendiadion forming a noun.

As for the two syllable forms *takī* or *taka*, this word came from *tark* with /r/ being dropped. In some dialects of modern Korean, we can see the form *tak* for the animal name.

7. Ko. *tonga* 'strong; string': This word occurs only in the phrase *tonga cur* meaning 'a thick and strong cord or string' (*cur* 'string, cord'). The word *tonga* is very common in Old and Middle Turkic. This word appears in the Orkhon inscription (KT N7, BK E 31) for the first time in a ruler's name, *tonga tigin*. In the 12th century, interestingly Kashgarli Mahmud stated in his dictionary that the word originally meant 'tiger'. However, Clauson(1972: 515) suggests 'hero, outstanding warrior' or the like for the meaning, maintaining that Kashgarli's statement is not yet confirmed by any other researcher. Ibnü Mühenna gives 'strong, hard' as opposed to 'weak' in his dictionary. On the other hand, Evenki has the word in the form of *tunga* meaning 'bandage, string'.

In a Chinese source, this word is attested as a title name of Turkic tribe, consisting of two Chinese characters; ACh. d'ung-nga (Sino-Ko. tonga). If we take it into consideration that ancient Turkic tribe would take their titles after animal's names, we can't make light of Kashgarli's statement.

8. Ko. *tok 'eagle': This word is found in the word toksuri meaning 'eagle'. From the other Korean word suri 'a kind of eagle', we can induce that the word toksuri is a compound word, consisting of tok and suri. Besides the word toksuri, in Korean we can find two more compound words made by suri, i.e., suri-mai 'a kind of eagle' (mai 'a kind of eagle'), suri-sai 'a kind of eagle' (sai 'bird').

The word *tok is found in the Turkic word toyan meaning 'falcon'; Uig. toyan 'a kind of bird', Chag. toyan 'falcon', KB toyan 'falcon', Tu. doyan 'falcon', etc. The word toyan is supposed to be a compound word made by two words, tok and an. The animal name toy is also found in the word toyril meaning 'falcon, a bird of prey' which is supposed to be compounded of toy and ril. Clauson(1972: 472) tries to relate the word toyril and the verb toyra- 'to cut, or split into slices or small pieces', arguing that there is a clear semantic connection. However, we can not find a deverbial noun suffix -il or VI both in old and middle Turkic. In my opinion, *ril is probably of unknown origin meaning falcon or the like.

On the other hand, the Turkic word toyan, which was never borrowed into another Altaic languages, passed into Balkan languages, i.e. Bulgarian, Serbian, and Kurdish from Turkish (Doerfer III: 351).

9. Ko. turumi 'crane': This word is probably a Turkic loan-word passed into Ancient Korean. In Orkhon Turkic there is turunya 'crane'. Kashgarli Mahmud contains the word in the form of turna. Of later Middle Turkic languages, Kypchak, Kuman and Osman Turkic have the same word, turna. In many Modern Turkic languages, the word occurs: Azeri and Türkmen durna, Özbek turna, Tuva durya and Yakut turuya, etc. From Yakut, the word passed to Evenki turuya. In Japanese the word appears in the form of turu, the last syllable being dropped. It is interesting that the similar form to the Japanese is found in Ural languages, Wotyak turi, Ostyak tara, etc. The word was borrowed from Oghuz Turkic to Iranian and Kurdish in the form of durna.

II. Shamanistic Terms

In Korean studies Musok(巫俗) or Shamanism takes an important place. Before Buddhism was introduced into Korean peninsular 372 A.D. through Koguryo which was an ancient Korean state, shamanism was the one and only religion and was in great vogue in the Korean peninsular. The ancient people of Korea worshipped heavenly bodies, and nature such as the sun and the moon. They believed that their royal ancestors were born in mysterious ways, being born of natural objects such as gourd, egg, and even animals.

Tangun, the king of sandalwood who was the founder of Kochoson, the first ancient Korean state, was believed to be born through marriage of Hwanung who was the high ascending son of the heavenly god and a woman who became a human through transformation from a bear. Most scholars accept Tangun as a ruler as well as a shaman like many ancient rulers of proto or ancient Korean states. According to a legend, Tangun was said to become a god of mountain after death. Besides Tangun, we can also find easily shamanistic evidences in most of the founders of the ancient Korean states.

Ancient Korean people also believed in the immortality of the soul, and they buried the dead in large coffins and tombs, with rich personal ornaments to accompany the never-perishing spirits in the long travel to the other world of the dead. For this reason they believed Mudang or Shaman uttered words of the spirits. This shamanistic tradition has survived from the proto or ancient Korea to the present day Korea, despite the dominance of several major religion such as Buddhism and Confucianism which opposed shamanism, for over 1500 years in Korean history.

In modern times, regarding the ancient religion of Korea, Musok(巫俗) or shamanism, many studies have been made since the publication of H.B. Hulbert's article titled "The Korean Mudang and Pansu" in the Korean Review in 1903. In 1920s, Korean native scholars such as Nam-Sun Choi, Nyung-Hwa Lee and Cha-Ho Sin started to study Musok or Korean Shamanism. At the same period Japanese scholars also began to be interested in the ancient Korean religion.

Most of the Korean scholars have tended to relate Musok to the shamanism of northern tribes (i.e., Central Asian and Siberian tribes). On the other hand, C. A. Clark, the author of the book 'Shamanism: religion of Old Korea'(1932), was the foreign scholar to consider Musok in connection with Siberian shamanism for the first time.

Nevertheless, there were few scientific works in Korea which studied closely the relationship of Korea and Altaic Area (i.e., Central Asia and Siberia) in terms of shamanism. In this respect, Si-In Park's comparative studies of Ancient Korean and Altaic legendary literatures or myths concerning the founders of Proto or ancient Altaic states is highly evaluated.

There are various evidences showing that Korean Musok was originated from Altaic shamanism and that these two are originally one and the same. In this paper, I would like to present some linguistic evidences for the close relationship of the two. These are Altaic shamanistic terminologies which are found in Modern Korean.

1. Abači 'bogy': Kashgarli Mahmud explained in his dictionary that to frighten a child one said abači keldi ! 'the bogy has come !'. This word is found in Yakut in the forms of abasy and abassy meaning 'an evil spirit, spirit of the dead'.

In Korean there is the word ebi meaning 'bogy or the like'. This word is said to frighten a child or to give a warning to a naughty child. In relation to this word, there are some words in Mongolian; Mo. abla- 'to allure, to hurt through magic incarnations', abtai 'possessing the gift of witchcraft', abagaldai 'a shamanistic idol, mask representing a shamanistic god'. From these Mongolian forms, we can assume *ab as the root of the word. The Korean form ebi probably comes from *abi which consists of the root *ab and the denominal noun suffix {-i}.

2. Bakši 'a male shaman': In Turkic this word appear in Uygur for the first time meaning '(Buddhist) religious teacher'. In Chagatay this word means 'scribe; surgeon'. Among modern Turkic languages, while Uygur and Yakut call a male shaman 'oyun', Kazakh and Kyrgyz people call bakşı. In Manas epic, the phrase kara bakşı appears. In Turkmen, this word means 'saz singer'. This word occurs in Korean too in the form of baksu meaning 'a male shaman'. Mongolian gives 'teacher' for the meaning of the word. It is interesting that Korean and south-eastern

languages of the Turkic language group, i.e. Kazahk and Kyrgyz has the same meaning of the word.

For the ethymology of the word, for the first time Yule(1866: 474) proposed that the word was the Turkish and Persian corruption of Bhikshu, the proper Sanscrit term for a Buddhist monk. Radloff(IV. 1446) said in his dictionary that the word was derived from the Turkic verb bak- meaning 'to look at'. However, Radloff's theory is nothing but a folk etymology, for there is no deverbal noun suffix such as {-şı} in Turkic. Laufer(1916: 485-7) argued that the word was borrowed from the Chinese word bakši 博士. Ramstedt(1951: 73) related this word to Sino-Korean baksa 博士 meaning 'a learned man, a doctor'.

3. Kam 'a shaman; a ruler': Among titles of Silla which was an ancient states of Korea, we can find kam 監(ACh. kam', Sino-Ko. kam) in the titles of high ranking officials such as 大監, 少監, 弟監, etc. While, in these examples, 大, 少, and 弟 are being used as adjectives which mean big, small, and a younger brother respectively, 監(kam) is a Chinese transliteration of the word kam. In my opinion, kam is one and the same with ancient Turkic Kam designating 'shaman': Uyg. qam 'sorcer', MK qam id., Chag. qam 'physician, healer, sage, wise man' (Clauson 1972: 625).

In Middle Turkic, this word was used as a verb with the denominal verb suffix {la-} meaning 'to practice medicine, to heal' which was probably developed from 'to act as a kam, to make magic'. Interestingly, Middle Turkic Kuman gives 'a female shaman' for the meaning of the word. From the Turkic meaning, we can deduce that one of the major role of kam was to act as a healer. This role of kam or shaman is seen often in both Korean shaman mudang and Turkic shaman kam. In this respect, Ramstedt(1949: 90, 1951: 71)'s theory that this Turkic word was borrowed from the Chinese word 監(ACh kam') meaning 'to inspect' is incorrect.

On the other hand, as is seen, in the early shamanism of Altaic Area, shamans or kams acted not only as healers or spiritual doctors but also were engaged actively in politics as politicians or rulers. Many times shamans ruled over their communities as sages or wise counsellors who had the greatest political power. It is well known that Tangun(檀君),

the founder of Kochoson, was a ruler as well as a shaman. This was to reflect the primitive theocratic system which was very common in ancient primitive societies. In connection with this fact, it is not surprising that the last ruler of Kochoson, who ruled in the second century B.C., had *ugə* meaning 'sage, wise man' as his official title. This word was borrowed from Turkic *öge* having the same meaning. The Turkic word *öge* was derived from the verb *ö-* 'to think of' with the deverbial noun suffix {-ge}. This word was also used as a ruler's title in ancient Turkic: Uyg. *Baga Tarkan Öge, El Ögesi*. (Eliade 181, 422; Inan 72 ff, 75, 84, 88; Kim 70).

4. *Kow* 'an evil spirit of nightmare': In Modern Korean *kawi* is a shamanistic word designating an evil spirit which obsesses man by way of nightmares. This word is attested in Middle Korean in the form of *κλω*. From this form, we can understand that Modern Korean *kawi* consists of two morphemes, *kaw* and {-i} which is a denominal noun suffix very common in Korean.

This shamanistic terminology is found in Oghuz dialect of Middle Turkic in the form of *kowuč* or *kowuz*. Kashgarli Mahmud gives 'the symptoms of demonical possession' for the meaning of the word in his dictionary. He gives some explanation about the use of the word; the victim is given treatment, cold water is thrown in his face, and at the same time the words *kowuč kowuč* are recited in order to expel the evil spirit, then he is fumigated with rue and aloes-wood. (Clauson 1972: 581). Dankoff(1985: 144) argues that this word was derived from the Turkic verb *kow-* meaning 'drive out, expel' with the deverbial noun suffix {-uč} or {-uz}.

However, Dankoff's theory is not convincing from the facts that not only the suffix {-uč} or {-uz}, which is rare in Turkic, is always used with an intransitive verb unexceptionally but also that semantic connection between 'the symptoms of demonical possession or the like' and 'drive out' is very slim. From the point of view that the Korean word *kawi* or *κλω* is not a verb but a noun, we can suppose two different possibilities for the word; First possibility is that it consists of the noun **kowu* and the diminutive suffix {-č}, and second is that it used the noun **kow* and the verb *uč-* together. While, in case of the former, the word

means 'an evil spirit exercising the demonical power of possession', the latter case means 'go away! evil spirit'. In my opinion, the latter one is more likely than the former.

On the other hand, among the Korean forms, *kawi* was probably developed later. The form *kawi* was made this way; at first the denominal noun suffix {-i} came to the noun *kʌo* and then *kʌo* became *kawi* by regressive assimilation rendering the vowel /ʌ/ in the first syllable into the unrounded vowel /a/ under the influence of /i/.

5. *Kut* 'an exorcism of shaman or *Mudang*, a shaman ritual': This terminology is very common in Altaic languages. In Turkic this means 'the favour of heaven' originally in a rather mystical sense, thence, less specially 'good fortune' and the like, and thence, more generally, 'happiness'. (Clauson 594). In Mongolian, the word appears in the form of *kutuy* meaning 'sanctity, happiness, benediction'. (Lessing 992). The Mongolian form consists of *kut* and a denominal suffix {-uy}. While there is *xuturi* in the same meaning, the similar form with *kut* is *xutu* meaning 'demon, evil spirit' in Manchu.

The word occurs in Korean in the form of *kus* meaning 'an exorcism, a shaman ritual'. (Ramstedt 132). This Korean form probably comes from *kut*. By the way, it is difficult to disclose the way of borrowing of the word among Altaic languages. However, when considering both the form and the meaning, I reckon that the word *kut* was passed from Turkic into the other Altaic languages including Korean. From the meaning of Ancient Turkic we guess that in Korean the word originally means 'a shamanic performance for benediction'. This meaning must be secondary when comparing with the Turkic one 'benediction, happiness'. This word probably was borrowed directly into Korean from Turkic in the very early stages.

On the other hand, it is very interesting that this word means 'spirit of the dead' in Yakut in Siberia. (Eliade 197, Inan 84, 177),

6. *Pudak* 'the obstacles laid on the way to *Erlık Khan*, the supreme god of the Underworld or Hades': According to Altai shamanism, there is *Erlık Khan* in the Underworld or Hades being opposed to *Bai Ülgen*, a supreme god of the heaven¹). Through a shamanic ritual, Altai *kams* or shamans would descend to the Underworld where *Erlık Khan* rules over

with the absolute authority. To reach Erlik Khan, shamans must pass through seven obstacles which are laid in the seven stairs on the way to the Underworld. Altai people call the obstacles pudak. (Eliade 192, 254, 257). This shamanistic word also appears in Yakut in the form of buudak in the same meaning 'obstacle'.

The word pudak occurs in Korean shamanism. There is an exorcism of shaman called pudak-kəri performed for the purpose of healing a victim from a disease. In the exorcism of pudak-kəri, shaman prays for the patient after offering a chicken as a sacrifice. After the prayer, shaman takes the sacrifice to bury it in the ground. The word kəri in the compounded word pudak-kəri means a scene of the exorcism performed by mudang or a Korean female shaman.

7. Tarkan 'smith, craftman; a title of Ancient Turkic ruler': In Turkic, even though this was a high title probably carrying administrative responsibility, it was not peculiar to the Royal family like tegin and šad. This title cannot be traced in Turkic after the 11th century.

This occurs in the form of darxan in Mongolian where it means 'a person exempt from ordinary taxation'. This word was borrowed into Chagatay probably from Mongolian. In his dictionary, Sanglax stated a person of the title to be a person who is exempt from all government taxes. According to Sanlax, one who has the title can attend the royal court with special permission and can commit up to nine offenses without being called to account. In Manas, an epic of Kyrghyz, the word appears in the form of darkan, meaning 'smith' which was probably borrowed from Mongolian.

On the other hand, this word or title has been used to designate 'smith, craftman, artisan' besides 'person free from taxes and official duties' in Mongolian. Consequently speaking, I think this meaning was original, even though the meaning was seen even later in Mongolian manuscripts. In addition to these meanings, Lessing gives an additional meaning for the word 'area or place set aside for religious reasons and therefore inviolable' in his dictionary. This word also has been used as an adjective meaning 'sacred, celebrated'. This fact indicates that tarkan or darxan had some kind of relationship with a primitive religion or shamanism. Here

we can understand the reason why darxans were exempt from taxes and official duties. This was because they were engaged in religious affairs.

In relation to this, Yakut's common saying that a smith and a shaman are one and the same group is very notable. When seeing a good girl, Yakut people even say that she would make a good wife of either smith or shaman. In Yakut shamanism, smiths are believed to have the power to heal and prophesy. (Jochelson 1933: 172ff). Yakut Dolgans believe that, because smiths always keep their souls in the flames, shamans cannot swallow souls of smiths. But they believed that smiths can burn souls of shamans. (A. Popov 1933: 258-60). According to a Yakut myth, smiths inherit their skills from an evil god K'daai Maqsin. K'daai Maqsin can deal with shamans as well as iron. Thus he is very famous as the teacher of smiths. (Popov 260).

Coming to the etymology of the word tarkhan, we can find some derivations in Mongolian; There are darxad and darxaci which are nouns. While darxad forms a plural with the plural suffix {-d}, darxaci, meaning smith or craftsman, comes from *darxa with the denominal noun suffix {-ci} designating occupations. In addition to these, there is the verb darxala- meaning 'to do the work of a smith, a craftman or an artisan; to exempt from taxes and official duties; to set aside as sacred'. This verb consists of the noun *darxa and the denoninal verb suffix {la-}.

On the other hand, there is the verb tarku- meaning 'to heat a piece of iron in the flames' in Korean. Besides this verb, there is the homonym meaning 'to deal with a thing, matter or somebody' in Middle Korean. I think these are of the same origin. The latter meaning was probably developed from 'to deal with a piece of iron or metal'. Probably the Korean word tarku- and Turkic tarkan or Mo. darxan are all of the same origin.

III. Morphological Evidences

1. Trk. äng // Ko. an (negative)

In Chuvash which is regarded as a descendant of the pre-Turkic, Volga Bulgarian, there is a particle an meaning negation. This particle is used only in imperative sentences: an yula "don't read!", an yulär "let's not read", an yulätär "let him not read", etc.

This particle is also found in the form of äng in the Kashgarli Mahmud's dictionary in the 12th century. According to the dictionary, the word äng meaning "no, not" was used in Oğuz dialect: äng äng "no!, no!"(MK I), ang "no"(MK32, Dankoff)

In Middle Korean, there are two forms, ani and ani- which are supposed to be derived from the morphem *an meaning negation. The former one ani meaning "no" which is an adverb is made of *an and the denominal adverb suffix -i, an suffix rendering an adverb: ani hä- "not to do". The latter one ani- which is an adjective consists of *an and the designative verb i- meaning "to be". This designative suffix i- is one and the same as the Turkic verb i- "to be". On the other hand, in both Modern Korean and dialects the original form an is widely used; an ka- "not to go", an ka-ni? "not to go?"

2. Trk. γu // Ko. ko (interrogative)

In Orkhon Turkic there is an interrogative particle γu ~ gü. This particle is used only two times in the Orkhon inscriptions: azu bu sabimda igid bar γu "or, is there any falsehood in these words of mine?" (KT S 10), bödkä körügmä bäglär gü yangiltači siz "you lords, you who have so far been obedient to the throne, are you going to betray?" (KT S 11). As is seen in these examples, the particle γu has an emphatical aspect of interrogation. In this respect there is a difference between this particle and the other interrogative particle mu ~ mü which was widely used in the ancient Turkic.

This Turkic particle probably has the same origin of the Korean word ko. In Korean there are two interrogative particles ko and ka which are similar to each other in terms of both its form and function. However, they are slight different in use; The particle ko is always used together with interrogative pronouns such as əni "which", nugu "who", muəs "what", etc., while the particle ka is alone used without any interrogative pronoun.

3. Trk. gu / Ko. ku (interrogative)

In Ancient Turkic the interrogative pronoun nāgü appears. This consists of two morphemes, nā and gü. The former one meaning "what" is an interrogative pronoun which is very common in both historical and modern Turkic languages. The latter one is used here in the function of

an denominal noun suffix. This suffix occurs in the interrogative suffix *nägül* "how". This consists of three different morphemes, *nä*, *gü*, and *l*. The suffix *-l* which is never found in other places, is an denominal noun suffix. The morpheme *gü* also occurs in the word *nägülük* "how, why" which consists of three morphemes, *nä*, *gü*, and *lük*. The morpheme *-lük* is a very productive denominal noun suffix in Turkic languages. Besides these, another interrogative suffix *nägüdä* "why" appears in an Uygur script. In the word, *-dä* is locative-ablative suffix. This is compared to the word *nädä* in the same meaning.

On the other hand, this morpheme appears too in Mongolian in the form of *gün*, in the pronouns such as *kegün* "who" < *ke + *gün*, *yagun* "what" < *ya + *gün*, *kegüme* "anything" < *ke + *gün* + *me*. In Buriat, there is the word *yüme* meaning "thing". This came out from the process of development, *yüme* < *ye + *gü* + *me* < *ye + *gün* + *me*.

From the examples in Turkic, we can see the fact that the morpheme *gü* is always used with the interrogative pronoun *nä* meaning "what". In Mongolian, the variant form of *gü* also is always used with pronoun or the like. This fact gives us a hint that the morpheme *gü* has something with interrogatory form of word. In my opinion, this suffix is originally developed from the Altaic interrogative particle *gu ~ ku.

From this point of view, the Korean pronoun *nuku* "who" is very interesting. This consists of two morphemes, the interrogative pronoun *nu* "who" and *ku*. In this word, the morpheme *ku* is used as a denominal noun suffix. The morpheme *ku* which is unknown so far, in my opinion, is one and the same as the Turkic suffix *gu*. Being originally an interrogative particle, it remains fossilized only in the pronoun *nuku*.

4. Trk. *kök* // Ko. *kok* (intensive)

In the Orkhon inscription, there is *kök* which is the particle expressing intensiveness: *ol bizni ölürtäçi kök* "he will definitely kill us" (TI N6), *yolta yämä ölti kök* "he certainly died on the road too" (TI S8), *özürtäçi kök tir män* "I say, he will kill definitely" (TI S3-4).

Interestingly, in Korean there is the adverb *kkok* meaning "absolutely". I think this has the same origin with the Turkic word.

5. Trk. *mu* // Ko. *mu* (interrogative particle)

The most popular interrogative particle in Turkic is *mu* or its variants. In Ancient Turkic, the two forms *mu* and *mü* are used according to the rule of vowel harmony. In Middle Turkic the forms such as *mu*, *mü*, *mī*, and *mi* is used. In Chuvash which is considered as Pre-Turkic, there are interrogative pronouns such as *měn* "what", *miše* "how much", *měšěn* "why". The word *miše* goes to the Common Turkic **mičä*, for Chuvash /š/ corresponds to Common Turkic /č/. The reconstructed form *mičä* consists of two morphemes, **mi* and *-čä*. The former one is an interrogative particle and the latter one is a commitative suffix. The word *měšěn* "for what, why" consists of **mi* "what" and *ičün* "for". I think that the two morphemes *mu* and **mi* go to the same origin.

On the other hand, according to Ramstedt, *-m* and *-mä* which occurs in some pronouns of Ancient Turkic such as *käm* and *nämä* probably have something with the particle *mu*.

In Korean, there are interrogative pronouns which have the syllable **mu* : *muəs* "what" < **mu + əs*, *musəs* "what" < **mu + səs*, and *mušik* "what" < **mu + šik*. In addition to these, there are another interrogative pronouns meaning "which" in Modern Korean : *mušin* < **mu + šin*. Besides this, in Modern Korean the word *muə* "what" is found. From this form, we can extract the morpheme **mu* in the above examples. In my opinion, **mu* in these pronouns has the same origin with the interrogative particle *mu* in Turkic.

IV. Morphological Evidences - Deverbal Noun Suffixes

1. Ko. *-ə* // Trk. *-a /-ä ~ Mo. -a*

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

Orkh. *ara* "interval" < **ar-* "to pass" (cf. Uig. *ar-* "to deceive")

Orkh. *basa* "then, again" < *bas-* "to raid, suppress"

Orkh. *tapa* "toward, in the direction of" < *tap-* "to find"

Orkh. *yana* "again" < *yan-* "to turn, turn back"

// Mo. *-a*

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

Kalm. uya “bond, tie” < uy- “to tie, bind”, Mo. uya- id.⁸

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

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

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

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

Trk. -i/-i

Ork. qalī “ramnant” < qalīsīz “completely, altogether” < qal - ī + sīz
< qal- “to remain, stay”

Ork. yazī “plain” < yaz- “to spread”

Uyg. köni “right, straight” < kön- “to straighten out”

MT(MK) adri “winnowing fork, branched” < adir- “to split, separate”

MT(MK) qonši “neighbor” < qonuš- “to alight side by side, settle something side by side” < qon-, cf. qonuq “guest” < qon- “to alight, settle”

// Mo. -i

Mo. odui “going to” < od- “to go to”

Mo. bolui “becoming” < bol- “to become”

Mo. söni “night” < sön- “to be distinguished”

// Tung. -i

Tung. dægī “bird” < dæg- “to fly”

Lam. tətī “clothes” < tət- “to dress”

Even. nuli “smoke” < nul- “to burn”

// Ko. -i

Ko. kiri “length” < kir- “to be long”

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

Ko. nori “play” < nor- “to play”

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

Trk. -i (Gerundial Suffix)

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

Ork. taqī “more” < taq- “to attach”

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

⁸ Benzing 1984:2

// Ko. -i (Geundial adverb suffix)

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

Ko. cyæki “little” < cyæk- “to be little”

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

Trk. -č (Deverbal noun suffix)

Uig. tǎgzinč “roll; section, part” < tǎgzin- “to wind around; to wander around”

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

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

// Mo. -ča/-če > kalm. -c

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

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

Mo. caruča “servant” < caru- “to nominate, give a duty”⁹

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

Kalm. xālāc “study, observation” < xālā- “to watch, look”

// Tung. -čə

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

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

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

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

Ko. kərəci “beggar” < *kər- to beg”

6. Ko. -ka/-kə // Trk. -γα/-gā¹⁰ ~ -γα/-gā

Trk. -qa/-kā

OT bilgā “knowledge” < bil- “to know”

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

Uig. ögā “ a official title “¹¹ < ö- “to think”

⁹ Poppe 1927: 100, 1964: 142

¹⁰ G. Ramstedt made this comparison for the first time in 1928. See Ramstedt 1928: 450.

¹¹ This title comes from the ancient Turkic öge meaning “sage”. This title is found among the Ancient Korean official titles. The last ruler of Kojosən was called Uge in Sino-Korean which was probably one and the same with the ancient Turkic title.

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

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

// Mo. -γai/-gei < -γα/-gä¹²

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

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

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

// Ko. -kai/-kəi > Mko. -kay

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

Ko. nalkai “wing” < nal- “to fly”

Ko. pyəikai “pillow” < pyəi- “to lay one’s head on”

Ko. təpkai “cover” < təp- “to cover with”

Ko. usikai “jocularity” < us- “to laugh”

8. Ko. -k // Trk. -q/-k ~ Tung. -ək¹³

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

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

OT barq “house, building” < *barīq¹⁴ < *bar- “to build, construct”.

Cf. Mo. bari- “to build”

OT iduq “holiness” < id- “to send”

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

// Tung. -ək

Lam. huklək “bed” < huklə- “to sleep”

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

// Ko. -Vk (-ak, -ok, -ək, -k)

Ko. bčák “couple, pair” < bčā- “to tear” < bčāi- id.

Ko. bčök “part” < bčā- “to tear”

Ko. ərrək “spot” < *ər-ək < əri- “to be spotted”

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

¹² The original form of the suffix -γai/-gei is -γα/ge, while it appears in the form of -‘ai/-‘a in the Middle Mongolian. cf. Mo. yabuḡa “going” < yabu- “to go”, MMo. yabu’ai “going”. See Poppe 1955: 273.

¹³ Concerning these suffixes, G. Ramstedt compared Korean with Turkic in 1952. Ramstedt 1952: 147-150.

¹⁴ Tekin 1968: 113

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

9. Ko. -m // Trk. -m ~ Mo. -m ~ Tung. -m¹⁵

Trk. -(V)m (-im, -im, -um; -am)

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

Orkh. kädim “dress, cloths” < käd- “to dress”

Uig. talim “pillage, booty” < talī- “to pillage, plunder”

Uig. istäm “desire, wish” < istä- “to want, wish”

Uig. yem “food” < ye- “to eat”

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

Chag. birim “loan” < bir- “to give”

// Mo. -m

Mo. adayam “speed” < adaya- “to hurry”

Mo. togom “a saddle cloth” < togo- “to put a saddle on”

Mo. nayadum “play” < nayad- “to play”

MMo. am “being” (in the sentence yabunam “I am going”) < a- “to be”¹⁶

Kalm. išk- “writing” < *išk- . cf. Oir. išk- “to write”

Kalm. atxm “pincers” < *atx- . cf. Oir. atx- “to hold”

// Tung. -(ə)m

Lam. zəb- “opening” < zəb- “to eat”¹⁷

In Tungus, the suffix -m is rare in Mongolian. However, this suffix is found in the following compounded suffixes; Tung. -mgi (Nomen actoris) < *-m +gi, Ma. -məi < -m +əi, Ma. -msi < -m+si, Go. -məi < -m+əi, Udeh. -mni < -m+ni, etc.¹⁸

// Ko. -(V)m

Ko. kīrim “picture, drawing” < kīri- “to draw”

Ko. kərim “step” < *kər-īm < kət- “to walk”

Ko. ərim “ice” < ər- “to freeze”

¹⁵ These Altaic suffixes including Korean were compared by G. Ramstedt in 1928. cf. Ramstedt 1928: 451, Ramstedt 1952: 113.

¹⁶ Poppe 1964: 47-48

¹⁷ Benzing 1955(a): 39

¹⁸ Benzing 1955(b): 64

Ko. čum “dance” < ču- “to dance”

10. Ko. –mây/-mïy < *-ma/-me¹⁹ // Trk. –ma/-mä ~ Mo. –ma/-me ~ Tung. -may

Trk. –ma/-mä

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

MT(MK) kasm “broad iron arrowhead, forelock” < käs- “to cut”

MT(MK) örmä “decorated hair” < ör- “to plait(hair)”

According to G. Ramstedt, this Turkic suffix –ma consists of two morphemes, deverbal noun suffix –m and denominal adjective suffix –a. The adjective suffix –a is also found in Mongolian in the same form.²⁰

// Mo. –ma/-me

Mo. γayiqama “marvelous” < γayiqā- “to be embarrassed”

Mo. bayima “a certain place” < bayi- “to be”²¹

N. Poppe suggested the theory that the Mongolian deverbal noun suffix –maqai(-maγai/-megei; -mqai/-mkei) was a compound suffix which consisted of deverbal noun suffix –m and denominal noun suffix –qai.²²

// Tung. –may

Lam. baldivkanmay “birth” < baldovkan- “to give a birth” < baldi-

Lam. balivkanmay “making someone’s eyes blind” < balivkan- < bali-

//Ko. –mây/-mïy < *-ma/-mä

Ko. karīma “decorated hair” < karī- “to divide”

Ko. yəlmay “fruit” < yəl- “to bear fruit”

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¹⁹ This Korean suffix is found as the forms of –ma/-may/-me in some Korean dialects.

²⁰ Ramstedt 1952: 105

²¹ Poppe 1964: 165

²² Poppe 1927: 165

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