Plural Suffixes in the Altaic Languages

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1. One of the peculiar features of some of the Altaic languages is the relatively great number of plural suffixes, namely in Mongolian and Tungus. Written Mongolian has the suffixes -nar, -s, -d, -ud, and -nuɣud[1] to which the suffixes -čud,[2] -n,[3] and several other endings can be added.[4] In the Tungus languages, too, several suffixes exist, namely -l, -r, -sal (>-hal), and -nasal (>-nahal).[5] The remaining Altaic languages possess a limited number of plural suffixes. Thus, the only „living" suffix of the plural in the Turkic languages is -lar,[6] in Chuvash -sɛm < *sayun,[7] while the Korean language does not have plural suffixes at all.[8] However, survivals of other plural suffixes in Turkic are evidence that formerly there were several suffixes of the plural. The formation of the plural in the Altaic languages, therefore, displays a rather complicated picture, it being impossible to establish definite rules in all cases, because the use of certain suffixes depends neither upon the structure of the words concerned nor upon the final sounds of the stems, nor upon the meanings of the words. Thus Khalkha axɐ ,elder brother' has the plural form axɐnɐr while erə ,man' has erəs.[9] The same, Manchu displays similar irregularities:[10]

Singular	Plural
aɣu ,master'	aɣu-se
sefu ,teacher'	sefu-ta

Another peculiar trait of the Altaic languages is the frequent combinations of several plural suffixes. This results in compound suffixes, e. g. Khalkha lamɐnɐrūt ,the lamas' (<lama-nar-ud with the suffixes -nar and -ud);[11] Tungus ačinasal ,the cousins' (< ači-na-sal with the suffixes -na and -sal).[12] It should also be noticed that the plural forms easily lose their plural meaning and become new words with the meaning of singular forms, e. g. Khalkha xuɯɯxɐt ,boy' (xuɯɯxɐŋ ,girl, child'), exənər ,woman' (exə ,mother'), etc.[13] These preliminary remarks lead us to expect that at least some of the plural suffixes might be compound endings not only in Mongolian or Tungus, while ancient, fossil plural suffixes, now not felt as such, might be found in certain words expressing the idea of a singular. We shall see that this is the case.

I. Suff. -*t

a. Mongolian -d

2. This suffix is taken by stems ending in n and sun;[14] by a large number of stems ending in r;[15] by a few stems ending in l; by a few stems ending in vowels;[16] and by the nomen actoris in -γči / -gči and nouns ending in -či.[17] These rules can be illustrated by the following examples taken from Written Mongolian:

> modud ‚trees' from modun,
> nuγud ‚ducks' from nuγusun,
> nököd ‚friends' from nökör < *nöker,
> tüsimed ‚officials' from tüsimel,
> busud ‚the others' from busu,
> iregčid ‚the comers' from iregči,
> temürčid ‚the blacksmiths' from temürči.[18]

Many forms ending in -d became tribal names, e. g. dörbed (the name of an Oirat, i. e. a West Mongolian tribe) from dörben ‚four', bayid,[19] buriyad ‚Buriat', oyirad ‚Oirat', cf. also the names of the Khori Buriat clans γaljud, kübdüd, γučid, šarayid, and bodoŋγud,[20] etc.

3. Words ending in the remaining consonants form the plural in Written Mongolian with the suffix -ud. Many words ending in r also take this suffix,[21] e. g.

> jobalaŋ-ud ‚sufferings' from jobalaŋ,
> kereg-üd ‚affairs' from kereg,
> bulaγ-ud ‚springs, wells' from bulaγ,
> galab-ud ‚the kalpa-periods' from galab,
> arad-ud ‚ordinary people' from arad,
> ulus-ud ‚peoples' from ulus,
> aral-ud ‚islands' from aral,
> nom-ud ‚books' from nom,
> üker-üd ‚cows, oxen' from üker, etc.

The suffixe -ud is, of course, the same as -d, but it has a connective vowel -u-.

4. In the Ordos (Urdus) dialect the suffix -d has become -D or -t. It replaces the final consonants n, l, r, and the suffix -ud has become there -üt.[22] The corresponding suffixes in Khalkha are -D (-t) and -üt,[23] in Buriat -D (-t),[24] in Kalmuck -D (after n, l, r) and -üD (after the remaining consonants).[25] It goes without saying that the suffix -d / -ud occurs also in Middle Mongolian, e. g. in the language of the ḥP‘ags-pa script.[26] In the latter the suffix -ud transforms the final q/g of the stem into a glottal stop, e. g. č‘èri'udun ‚of the soldiers'. The same occurs in the language of the Hua-yi yi-yu, e. g. χuya'udi ‚the coats of mail',[27] and in the Secret History, e. g. uru'ud-ača ‚from the descendents'.[28] In the language represented in the dictionary

Muqaddimat al-Adab stems ending in n, r, and -či also form the plural with the suffix -t (in intervocalic position it is d), e. g. e'ület ‚clouds', nököt ‚comrades' ,tabuqčit ‚servants', and after the remaining consonants of the stem the suffix is there -ūt, e. g. baɣūt ‚ties'.[29]

The suffixes -t and -ūt occur also in the Mogol language.[30] In Dagur all the final consonants of a syllable or stem (b, d, ɣ, g, and s) have become r, e.g. lar'ťši ‚leaf' = Written Mongolian nabči id., ɣarχu- ,to sting' = qadqu- id., and so on.[31] Hence the suffix -d has become in Dagur -r, e. g. ɯgīr ,daughters' (sing. ɯgīn), k'eɯ'k'er ‚children' (sing. k'eɯ'k'e), and so on.[32]

5. In Written Mongolian there is a rare plural suffix -ɣud / -güd, not mentioned in Mongolian grammars. It occurs, for instance, in čaɣaɣčiɣud ‚white' (mares) from čaɣaɣčin.[33] Cf. also alaqči'ut qonit ,motley sheep' in the Secret History[34] and qongqoqči'ut ‚the dark-brown'[35] from qongqoqčin, a feminine form of qongqor. The same suffix -'ut < -*ɣud can be found in many tribal names, e. g. baya'udiyar, an instrumental of baya'ut (stem bayan ,rich'),[36] salǰi'ut derived from salǰi, a proper name,[37] and so on. The forms ending in -*ɣud are primary stems ending in vowels or in n alternating with zero. Therefore, it is improbable that alaqči'ut is a plural of a hypothetic *alaqčiq (*alaɣčiɣ) or *alaɣčiɣun as HAENISCH thinks.[38] On the contrary, the suffix is -ɣud and -ɣ- fills the hiatus between the final vowel of the stem and the vowel of the suffix -ud (where -u- is originally a connective vowel). This suffix will be found later on in Turkic in the form -ɣut.

6. In Written Mongolian there is also a suffix -nuɣud[39] which joins stems ending in l, r, and sometimes in n, e. g. ɣal-nuɣud ‚the fires' (ɣal), ɣar-nuɣud ,the hands' (ɣar), burqan-nuɣud ,the Buddhas' (burqan). This suffix is known in Ordos (-nūt),[40] Khalkha,[41] and Buriat.[42] In Kalmuck its correspondence is -mūD[43] which in my opinion is a contamination of -nūD < -*nuɣud and -mad (cf. Written Mongolian aqamad).[44] In Mogol we find -nūt.[45] The suffix -nuɣud consists of that same -*ɣud with -n- by analogy with the stems ending in n.[46] It is to be noticed that many tribal names are derived with this suffix, e. g. χabarnūt, χaranūt (Alar Buriat clans), χaranūt, šarganūt (Ordos clans),[47] etc.

7. A characteristic of the Mongolian languages is plural suffixes combined into one compound suffix. There are the following compound suffixes containing the primary suffix -*d: Ordos und Khalkha -narūt (<-*nar-ud), -dūt (<-*d -ud), -sūt (<-*s-ud),[48] Buriat Alar -hūt (<-*d-ud and -*s-ud) and -nhūt (<-*nuɣud-ud).[49] These are productive suffixes, and their compound nature is felt. However, there are a few suffixes which are no longer felt as compounds, though they are such from the point of view of historical linguistics. In the first place I mention the Written Mongolian suffix -čud, Ordos[50] and Khalkha -ťšūt,[51] Buriat -šūt,[52] and Kalmuck -tšūD.[53]

The Written Mongolian suffix -čud consists of -d (plural suffix) and -ču which is found in qaraču ,commoner' — plural qaračus or qaračud. There is also

is possible. This full consisting of the same -°tu and another plural suffix -°l which will be discussed below.

Another compound suffix is -nad (<-°na-d)° which is not mentioned in the grammars of Written Mongolian. It occurs in spoken Mongolian languages, namely in West Buriat dialects, e.g. EXBurt aganat "the elder brothers", unanset "the younger brothers", cf. also the names of Buriat clans abaγanad (derived from abaγa "paternal uncle"), segénéd, ornégéned, and so on.°

Similarly, the primary plural suffix -d is contained in the well-known Written Mongolian suffix -nad; cf. eceuned "enemies", cf. egeuéned "elder" and döunéned "younger" in the Secret History (cf. Written Mongolian egedi "the elder sister" and degti "the younger sister or brother").° At the present time, the suffix -nad is no longer a productive plural suffix. It has lost its original meaning and has become a derivation suffix. Historically words ending in -nad "-nad are plural forms (with the suffix -d) of stems ending in -na "-ne. The latter can be compared with the adjective suffix -na "-ne in the Manchu-Tungus languages, cf. Barguzin Tungus hulama "red", baγdana "white", seleme "made of iron" (cele "iron"), etc. Thus, Written Mongolian egedneni is a plural of *egeued-ne (primary stem egeud).

The suffix -nad has been preserved in a few words, but it has greatly influenced the plural formation in Kalmuck, where it contaminated with the suffix -°d and resulted in a new suffix -nd.° The latter in turn has become semantically a singular form in the same manner as kelöked "son", originally a plural of kelöken "child", girl, etc.

The plural suffix -ad is contained in the suffix -diin which forms the names of groups of individuals connected with the original idea of the basic word, e.g. Ordos girindiin "wedding party guests"° Khalkha xudindu "wedding party guests", Buriat Alar xudiniin "wedding guests" (xuda "wedding guests"). The suffix -dii = Written Mongolian -di is well known and forms the professional names, e.g. saxindii "carrier from modern xan, mod, The forms in -dii are the same forms but derived from the plural stems with the suffix -ad. This type resembles much the Tungus names of professions with the suffix -lči, e.g. namalči, carrier from manga "hunt, game, hide" (plural namasi)

b. Turkic:°

The plural suffix -t has been preserved in Turkic only as an ending of a few fossil words. It occurs mainly in Ancient Turkic. The plural suffix -°t with the connective vowel -a-/-ä- is present in the name of the Turks in the VI-, VIII centuries °türküt° Other forms with -t are known: tarqat,° a plural of tarqan, a high rank of a nobleman° (cf. Mo. darqan, a free person exempt from tax°); δünkat, δunqat,° cf. also Mo. tümen, myriad;° aṭγät, cf. also Mo. ? suni tün?? ?(used ?, ?? ?) ?; others?? ?taṭ, δünkatur ? daragat the same the meaning sub??? semblety (Mo. daraqat);° others? ?? The loose-?? ?fossil Turkic forms we may add the Yakut word yotur, a gathering or assembly of women, cf. yotun "wife" — other Turki languages gatin — gatin

— Written Mongolian *qatun*, *gen. lady* (plural *qatud*); another Turkic word meaning *a lady* is Turkic *jigit*, Kirgiz *d'igit*, a young woman, a brave young man, a knight' derived from Turkic *yigän*, Osmanli *yigit*, Kirgiz *d'ägän*, two men who have married two sisters — Written Mongolian *jige* 'the child of the younger sister or daughter' — Kaimuck *ǯ̌i id̥* cf. also Tatar narat *pine tree* = Written Mongolian *naraun id*, plur. narad."'To Yakut suffix *-it~-t*," in the other Turkic languages *-t* of the predominant names, also belongs into this group, e.g. *takat altaïd*, *copper* smith from altan, balkuct *fisher* from balīk (in other Turkic languages *altnči*, *balīqči*). I find the ancient plural suffix *-t* in the Mongolian word *čäräut* (for the brave men), *kkegmut* 'the warriors', and *bayarut* 'the rich men' PELLIOT and VON GABAIN are inclined to see in *čäräut* and *bayarut* plural forms ending in *-t* derived from *čäjärä* 'brave' and *bajara* 'rich'. This contradicts the Mongolian data where we find in the Secret History such tribal names as *baya'ud* (cf. *bayan* 'rich'). Above we met with the Mongolian suffix *-nud* and, therefore, it is to be assumed that in Ancient Turkic there was a suffix *-t* (*-d*) and another one *-ut*. Such a word derived with the suffix *-ut* (originally a plural suffix like in Written Mongolian *eke-ner* 'woman') is *Uigur ururan*, *womay*."

Ancient plural forms are also the Turkic tribal names ending in *-t*, e.g. *Tälägit*, *Soyot*, *Sarut*, and so on.

To conclude this section it should be added that though the corresponding Mongolian suffix is *-d*, the Turkic suffix *-t* reflects the ancient pronunciation. This is due to the fact that in Mongolian final strong (voiceless) consonants of syllables or stems have become weak sounds (medial lenes). In other words, Mongolian *-d* (-*ud*, -*nud*) < *-t* (-*ut*, -*nut*). If *-d had been the original sound it would have participated in the Turkic developments *d (*δ,)~ and *y,"* but this has not happened and testifies to the fact that the ancient consonant was *t and not *d.

c Manchu-Tungus

9. There is no plural suffix *-t in Modern Tungus. However, traces of this suffix can be easily found. I have in mind the possessive suffix of the third person of the plural *-tin*, cf. Tungus (Nerchinsk dialect) *baga- toved*, *oŋ?-baga- kin? bovel'* — *baganin* *their bovel*. The possessive suffix is in Tungus languages *-n*, that of the third person of the plural is *-tin*." The *nved -ti* is the possessive word, *-t is the ancient plural suffix, -n and the final *-n is the possessive suffix of the third person. It is possible that the *ti in the ancient plural suffix *-ti-n*. The *nved -ti* is the possessive suffix of the third person, the *-t is the ancient plural suffix like in Tungus *bunäii_girl*, *dughter* were formerly plural forms though this is difficult to prove.

Traces of a plural ending *-t can be found also in Tungus tribal names, e.g. *brugat*, *buldet*, and so on."

10 *Tatar suffix *-t*; or, to say better, its vocalised variety *-ta*

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(-*te) has been preserved in Manchu where it forms the plural of quite a number of nouns, e.g.

Singular	Plural
aχun ‚the elder brother'	aχuta
ama ‚father'	amata
amǰi ‚uncle'	amǰita
da ‚prince'	data
sarɣan ‚wife'	sarɣata
sefu ‚teacher'	sefuta
ge ‚the elder brother of the husband'	gete, etc.

The plural forms in -ta are thus formed from names of the relatives and a few professional names.[71] It is possible that the same suffix -*ta is contained in the J̌urči suffix -t'àh-ì.[72]

To conclude this chapter I must mention that the Manchu-Tungus suffix -*ta was compared long ago with the Mongolian suffix -d (and also Turkic) by MUNKÁCSI though not everything he states about it is correct.[73]

II. Suff. -s

a. Mongolian -s

11. The suffix -s forms in Written Mongolian the plural of stems ending in vowels und diphthongs. The only stem ending in n which forms the plural with this suffix is kümün ‚person, man', plur. kümüs ‚people'. Examples: emes ‚women', eres ‚men', aɣulas ‚mountains', üges ‚words', erdenis ‚jewels', moɣas (sing. moɣai) ‚snakes', činos (sing. činoa < *činua) ‚wolves'.[74] This suffix occurs in colloquial Mongolian languages: in Ordos,[75] Khalkha,[76] and Kalmuck.[77] In Mogol -*s usually results in -z, e. g. činōz ‚wolves'.[78] This suffix is also attested in Middle-Mongolian, e. g. in the language represented in Mongolian glossaries by Moslem authors[79] or in the language of the ḥP'ags-pa script (cf. there ėrdinis ‚jewels').[80]

In Buriat the final *s (at the end of syllables and stems) has resulted in D (t), e. g. boD- ‚to rise, to get up' = Written Mongolian bos- id., ulɐt ‚people' = Written Mongolian ulus, etc.[81] Consequently, the plural suffix -*s has also developed into -d and converged with the other plural suffix -d <-*d, e. g. aχɐt ‚the elder brothers' = Written Mongolian aqas; erɐt ‚men' = Written Mongolian eres, etc. In intervocalic position -d becomes -h-, e. g. burūt ‚calves' — burūhī (genitive of the plural), hejēt ‚the felts' — hejēhī (gen. plur.), etc.[82]

The suffix -s is the only surviving plural suffix in the Monguor language. There it is -s (only the dative case), e. g. Derāseni sGesDu wari ‚present liquor to the superiors!'. In all the other cases the suffix is -sGi, which is correctly analysed by the Reverend MOSTAERT as -s (plural suffix) and -Gi, an additional element of unknown origin.[83] This element -Gi is probably a deictic one.

The suffix -s occurs as part of several compound suffixes. In Ordos there is a suffix -ūs which is analogic to the suffix -ūD <-*ud discussed above. The suffix -ūs has developed from -*us. We find it only in personal pronouns: Ordos BiDanūs ‚we',[84] Khalkha t'anūs or t'anᴇs ‚you' (used in a derogatory sense).[85]

b. Manchu-Tungus -*sa

12. The suffix -sa (Barguzin -ha) forms in Tungus collective nouns, e. g. Barguzin mōha ‚forest' from mō ‚tree'. In Manchu the suffix -sa (-se, -si, -so) is the usual plural suffix of that language, e. g. ambasa ‚the officials' from amban, sakdasa ‚old men' from sakda, agese ‚princes' from age, etc.[86]

The suffix vowel changes in Manchu, but definite rules cannot be established, e. g. omosi ‚grand children' from omol. The suffix -sa is the same as Tungus -sa in mōsa ‚forest', though it is also possible that Manchu -sa < -*sal = Tungus plural suffix -sal (-hal), because the final l of the stem was dropped in Manchu. In the Tungus languages the suffix -sal forms the plural of stems ending in n or r. The latter are dropped, e. g. ädžäsäl ‚masters' from ädžän, samāsal ‚shamans' from samān, nojōsal ‚masters' from nojōn, ūkūsäl ‚cows' from ūkūr,[87] etc.

The Tungus plural suffix -sal is a compound and consists of -sa (cf. mō-sa ‚forest, woods') and another plural suffix -l (cf. bira-l ‚rivers', sing. bira) which will be discussed below.

In the Solon language the suffix is -sal (-sel) or -sul (-sᴜl), e. g. χolēsal ‚snakes', samāsul ‚shamans',[88] etc. The suffix -sal is a combination of -*sa + -*l, and the suffix -sul has developed from -*s and -*l with a connective vowel -u-.

The suffix -sal occurs in Tungus as a component of the suffix -nasal (>-nahal), e. g. ačinasal ‚the cousins' from ači, badžanasal ‚the brothers-in-law' from badža, bärigänäsäl ‚the wives of the elder brothers' from bärigän, etc.[89] The suffix -nasal is analysed as -na (plural suffix, cf. Mongolian -na-r, -na-d), -sa (cf. the Tungus suffix -sa in mōsa ‚forest, woods', Manchu plural suffix -sa), and -l (cf. Tungus bira-l ‚rivers', vide infra).

The suffix -sa differs from the Mongolian plural suffix -s by its vocalisation. We shall see further below that the plural suffixes occur in two forms: 1. in the unvocalised form and 2. in the vocalised form. The suffix -sa is analogic to certain other plural suffixes in the Manchu-Tungus language group. Cf. the following parallels:

Manchu -ta : Mongolian -d (Turkic -t) = Manchu -sa : Mongolian -s = Tungus -na : Mongolian -n (vide infra).

c. Turkic -*s

13. The plural suffix -s occurs in Turkic only as a fossil ending of certain tribal names, e. g. ĭšbaras from ĭšbara,[90] töläs, and others. Besides, KOT-

WICZ has demonstrated that this suffix is contained in the possessive suffix of the third person -si $<$ -*s (plural) $+$ -i $<$ -*i ‚he'.[91] This plural suffix -*s can be found also in the Chuvash suffix of the third person of the plural -ĕsĕ.[92]

To conclude this section may I observe that the suffix -*s continues to exist in all the branches of the Altaic languages (except Korean): in Manchu-Tungus languages (-sa, -sa-l, -na-sa-l), in Mongolian (-s, -us), and in Turkic (-*s).

III. Suffix -*l

a. Tungus -l

14. The Tungus suffix -l forms the plural of stems ending in vowels. With the connective vowel -i- it occurs on stems ending in consonants. Stems ending in w require the connective vowel -u-, e. g. mōl ‚trees' from mō, mūl ‚waters' from mū, biral ‚rivers' from bira, takšil ‚bowls, cups' from tak-ši, oktol ‚roads' from okto, etc.

In a few cases certain changes occur in the stem, e. g. näkŭn ‚the younger brother' — plural näknil (and also näŋnil).[93]

There is no plural in -l in the Solon language, but this suffix occurs there as part of the plural reflexive possessive suffix: singular -wi and plural -*wil $>$ Solon -weli.[94]

The suffix -l is contained in the Tungus plural suffixes -sal $<$ -*sa-l and -nasal $<$ -*na-sa-l. The suffix -sal exists as a loan in the Dagur language, e. g. Dagur berēsel ‚the daughters-in-law', k'ɯɯsɯl ‚people', etc.[95]

There is no such suffix in Manchu, because the final *l has been dropped in Manchu in all words.

b. Mongolian -l

15. The suffix -l exists in Mongolian as such only in the oldest documents although not in Written Mongolian.

The suffix -l of the plural was discovered in Mongolian by LEWICKI. He found it in a few words ending in -sun (which is in my opinion a singular mark), -'ulsun $<$ -*ɤulsun, and vowels in the language of the Secret History, e. g. nengǰi'üli ‚the searchers', kimul ‚nails', daba'al ‚mountain passes', etc.[96] Possibly the words arɤal ‚dry dung' and ɤutul ‚boots' belong also in this category.[97]

16. In certain spoken Mongolian languages there is besides the plural suffix -čud (-'t'šūD or -'t'šūt) also a suffix -tšūl, e. g. Khalkha -'t'šūl in Bagɐ't'šūl ‚children',[98] Alar Buriat -šūl (e. g. bajɐšūl ‚rich people'),[99] etc.

The suffix -tšūl $<$ -*čul is a compound and consists of -l which is a plural suffix and -ču (e. g. Mo. qaraču ‚subject, an ordinary man, commoner').[100]

c. Turkic -*la

17. The plural suffix -*l does not occur in this form in Turkic. It is, however, possible that it has been preserved in certain words where it is no longer felt as a plural ending. There is in the Turkic languages a plural suffix -*la as a component of the usual plural suffix -lar. The latter is at the present time the only active plural suffix in Turkic. Its initial consonant l assimilates and dissimilates, in various Turkic languages, with the final consonant of the stem and results in -tar, -dar, and -nar.[101] The origin of the suffix -lar is believed to be obscure.[102] It is usually compared with Mongolian -nar,[103] but this correspondence raises great doubts, because the Mongolian intervocalic n corresponds to n in Turkic and not l.[104]

According to FOKOS the Turkic plural forms in -lar are by origin verbal nouns (with the suff. -r) of denominal verbs (with the suff. -la-).[105] This interpretation raises objections, because it is hard to understand how a verbal noun can become a plural of a substantive noun. Besides, one should not disregard that the vowel of the verbal suffix -la- was long (cf. Yakut -lā-), while it is short in the plural suffix.

We shall see below that the Mongolian suffix -nar consists of an ancient plural suffix -*na and another plural suffix -*r. As for the Turkic suffix -lar I consider it a compound composed of -*la and the plural suffix -*r mentioned here. The relation of the element -la- to the remaining plural suffixes can be demonstrated in the following proportion:

-*la:-l = Manchu -ta:-*t (Turkic -t, Mongolian -d) = Manchu -sa:-*s (Mongolian -s).

Thus we can state that the suffix -lar contains an element -*la which is related to the plural suffix -l (Mongolian and Tungus) and differs from the latter in its vocalisation in the same manner as Tungus -sa and Manchu -ta differ from Mongolian and Turkic -s and -*t.

IV. Suff. -*n

a. Mongolian -n

18. The plural suffix -n was found by the Reverend MOSTAERT on stems ending in the diphthong ai̯. Thereby the words concerned drop their i̯, e. g. Ga‍χan ‚pigs' from Ga‍χā̆ < *ɤaqai̯. He quotes also a few examples from the Secret History and Hua-yi yi-yu.[106] Professor HAENISCH demonstrated that the so called nomen futuri in -qui̯ also forms a plural with the suffix -n, the form in question ending in -qun.[107] Finally I found that not only forms in -qui̯ have a plural in -n[108] but also the so called nomen actoris (with the suffix -či̯ ∼ -gči̯), e. g. yabuqč'in ‚those going' in the ḩP‘ags-pa script.[109] Later on, the existence of the plural suffix -n was also acknowledged by other authors,[110] and Haenisch demonstrated in a summarizing article that the plural in -n is formed from stems ending in ai̯, ui̯, -qui̯, -küi̯, -či, -ɤči, and in general from all stems ending in i (i̯).[111]

b. Tungus -na

19. Just as the Manchu-Tungus suffixes -ta, -sa, and the Turkic suffix -*la
exist parallel with the suffixes -t, -s, and -l, differing from the latter by
their vowel a, a vocalised plural suffix -na exists in Tungus, parallel with
the unvocalised Mongolian suffix -n. I find it in the compound plural suffix
-nasal,[112] which consists of the plural suffix -sal discussed above and an-
other plural suffix -na. Its relation to the Mongolian plural suffix -n can be
represented in the following proportion:
Tungus -na : Mongolian -n = Tungus -sa : Mongolian -s = Manchu -ta :
Mongolian -d ($<$ -*t).
I find the element -na also in the Mongolian plural suffix -nar[113] $<$ -*na +
-*r (vide infra), e. g. aqa-nar ,the elder brothers'. It should be noted that d
is also found in the dialects instead of a final r (which is another plural
suffix), i. e. here the plural suffix is -nad and not -nar. This occurs in West
Buriat dialects, e. g. in Ekhirit where we find such forms as axanat ,the
elder brothers', dɯɯɯnet ,the younger brothers', etc. The suffix -nad consists
of -na and -d and not -nar and -d (with the final r dropped as in nɣxət, plur.
of nɣxər ,comrade, friend'), because the combination of the suffixes -nar and
-d exists in the form -narūt.

c. Turkic -an

20. The suffix -an was first mentioned as a possible plural suffix by KAARE
GRØNBECH in his book „Der türkische Sprachbau". He pointed out such
words as ärän (sing. är ,man') and oɣlan (sing. oɣul ,son'). Afterward, other
examples became known, such as ärän qīrqïn ,young men and girls' and
örtän ,flames' (sing. ört ,fire').[114] It is beyond doubt that the forms ending
in -an are plural forms, because in the dictionary of Maḥmūd al-Kāšɣarī
the word ärän is explained as a multitude of men.[115]
It is improbable that the vowel a/ä in -an/-än is a connective vowel, be-
cause a connective vowel is always a narrow one (ï/i or u/ü). We have
seen above that the suffix -n is taken by stems ending in diphthongs with
i̯ (ai̯, ui̯) or in the vowel i. It is possible, therefore, that the forms ending in
an/än are plural forms of stems ending in ai̯/äi̯. The latter can be a dimi-
nutive or caressive suffix = Mongolian -ai̯/-ei̯, e. g. abai̯ ,daddy, dearest',
ebei̯ ,mommy', aqai̯ ,my dear' (primarily ,little elder brother', cf. aqa ,elder
brother'), etc. The plural of aqai̯ would be in Mongolian *aqan and in the
same manner the plural of *äräi̯ ,man' or *oɣulai̯ ,little son' should be *ärän
and *oɣulan or *oɣlan.
There is, however, another possibility that Turkic -an is the same as the
Tungus suffix -an acting as a sort of conjunction, e. g. akīnan nekɯɯnen ,the
elder and the younger brother' (akīn ,elder brother', nekŭn ,the younger

brother'), atirkānen etirkēnen ,the husband and the wife'. This Tungus suffix contains the same n as the plural suffixes.[116]

No matter what the vowel a/ä in -an/-än is, the final consonant n is a plural suffix and corresponds to Mongolian -n.

V. Suff. -*r

a. Tungus -r

21. The plural is formed in Tungus with the suffix -r of stems ending in n. The latter is dropped, e. g. oror ,reindeers' from oron, halgar ,feet' from halgan, cf. also Barguzin Tungus -war, the reflexive-possessive plural suffix = Mongolian -ban, primarily only a singular.[117]

Many Tungus tribal names ending in -gir are originally plural forms of singular stems ending in -gin, e. g. Kimagir, Putugir, etc. derived from Kimagin etc., which according to VASILEVIČ means ,a woman of the clan Kima'.[118] The clan names ending in -gir are numerous, and among the Barguzin Tungus I encountered such as the Limāgir, Čapōgir, Samāgir, Balikāgir, etc. The ending -gir of these names was mentioned in one of the articles of Kotwicz.[119] I agree with him that the origin and exact meaning of -gir need further elucidation.[120] It is beyond question, however, that -r in -gir is a plural ending, and the primary singular ending of the clan names concerned is -gin. I find this -gin in numerous Mongolian clan and tribe names, such as Borǰigin, Qatagin, Adargin, etc., known in the Secret History and other sources.[121]

The ending -r of the plural can be found in Solon only in a few words, e. g. elūr ,these' and talur ,those'.[122]

The suffix -*r exists also in Manchu where a number of nouns form a plural with -ri, e. g mafari ,the grand fathers' (sing. mafa), mamari ,the grandmothers' (sing. mama), and many words ending in -χon, -χun, and -χûn (their plural forms ending in -χori, -χuri, and -χûri).[123]

b. Mongolian -*r

22. There is no plural suffix -r as such in Mongolian, but it forms part of the suffix -nar, e. g. aqanar ,the elder brothers'. I already mentioned above that along with the suffix -nar there is also a suffix -nat < -*nad in Buriat dialects. This demonstrates that the elements -r and -d can be disconnected from -na.

c. Turkic -*r

23. The plural suffix -r can be found in the usual Turkic plural suffix -lar. The element -la has been explained above and corresponds to Mongolian and Tungus -l.

The suffix -*r without the element la does not occur as -r in Turkic. The consonant *r with a vowel causing palatalisation (namely *ï or *i) developed,

as Ramstedt has demonstrated, into *ŕ. The latter can be found there where Mongolian and Tungus have the consonant r preceded or followed by the vowel i, i. e. ir or ri. This *ŕ has developed into *z in Proto-Turkic.[124] This observation is important, because it enables us to identify the ancient plural suffix -*r with the final z of the possessive suffix of the second person of the plural -ŋïz (in Uzbek and other Turkic languages), e. g. Uzb. ataŋïz ‚your father', Uzb. änäŋïz ‚your mother', Uzb. sözüŋüz ‚your word', etc., while the possessive suffix of the second person of the singular is -ŋ, i. e. without a final z.

The same suffix can be found in the ending of the second person of the plural of the imperative, e. g. Uzb. barïŋïz ‚go!', Uzb. keliŋiz ‚come!', etc.

It is tempting to identify the final consonant z of these suffixes with the consonant r of the same suffixes in the dialects of the Altai Turks, the so called Altai Kiži („the Altai People") who live in the Oirot Soviet Republic. The possessive suffix of the second person of the plural is there -ɣar < -*ŋar, e. g. adaɣar ‚your father', änägär ‚your mother', sözigär ‚your word'; cf. also the suffix of the plural of the imperative -ɣar.[125] It is, however, doubtful that Altai Turkic -ɣar is a further development of -*ŋ + -*ar. I agree with Dr. J. BENZING that Altai Turkic -ɣar < -*ŋ + -*lar: -ɣar < -*ŋnar < -*ŋlar.[126]

The consonant z of the suffix -ŋïz and the consonant r of the plural suffix -lar are nevertheless developments of the same *r: the consonant *r remained r in -lar, because the vowel a of the element *la did not palatalize it, while *r developed into z in -ŋïz, because the vowel ï palatalized it.

The Turkic z regularly corresponds to r in Chuvash and all the remaining Altaic languages (Korean l/r),[127] e. g. Korean kalbi ‚ribs', North Korean karbi id. = Manchu qalbin ‚fleshy parts on both sides of the abdomen' = Mongolian qarbiŋ id. = Turkic qazï ‚fat on the stomach' = Chuvash jur < *χ'ur < *qar < *qaŕ ‚fat';[128] Korean kari ‚a water fowl, a gray swan, wild goose' = Manchu ɣaru ‚swan' = Chuvash χur ‚goose' = Turkic qaz id.[129]

It was observed long ago that z in -ŋïz and at the end of certain words is a plural or, to be more precise, a dual suffix.[130] At the present time nobody doubts that -z is an ancient dual suffix. It can be found in such words as köküz ‚breast', biz ‚we', siz ‚you', müŋüz ‚horns', köz ‚eyes', etc.[131]

General Conclusion

24. The above stated plural suffixes -*t, -*s, -*l, -*n, and -*r can be traced in all the Altaic languages except the Korean language which does not have a grammatical plural.[132] These suffixes are common Altaic suffixes, inherited from the Common Altaic language. It is to be noted that similar suffixes namely -t and -n exist also in Finno-Ugrian.[133]

In summarising the results of this article may I remark that the plural suffixes occur in two forms: 1. in an unvocalised form, e. g. -s and 2. in a

vocalised form, e. g. -sa. Both forms occur as such (the connective vowel does not count), e. g. Mongolian -d or -ud, and as part of combined suffixes, e. g. Mongolian -na-r and -na-d, Turkic -la-r, and so on.
This can be represented in the following manner:

      1. Unvocalised -*t:
          Mongolian -d, -ud, -ɣud, -nad, -nuɣud, -čud
          Turkic -t, -ɣut, (Yakut) -čït⁓ -sït
          Tungus -t, (possessive ending) -tin
        Vocalised -*ta:
          Manchu -ta

      2. Unvocalised -*s:
          Mongolian -s, -us
          Turkic -s, (possessive ending) -si
          Chuvash -ĕsĕ
        Vocalised -*sa:
          Manchu -sa, Tungus -sa, -sal, -nasal

      3. Unvocalised -*l:
          Mongolian -l, -tšūl < -*čul
          Tungus -l, -sal, -nasal
        Vocalised -*la:
          Turkic -lar

      4. Unvocalised -*n:
          Mongolian -n
          Turkic -n, -an
        Vocalised -*na:
          Mongolian -nar, -nad
          Tungus -nasal

      5. Unvocalised -*r:
          Tungus -r
          Chuvash -r
          Turkic -r (in -lar) ⁓ -z (in -ŋiz)
          Mongolian -r (in -nar)

As observed above plural forms sometimes become singular forms. Such a form is, for instance, Mongolian sayid ,minister', ,high official' (sing. sayin ,good'). The general rule is that to acquire the meaning of a substantive words acting as attributes (words which are adjectives, participles, etc. in other languages) form a plural. In other words, the singular of such a word is an attributive word, its plural is a substantive. Examples:
erdemten ,scholar, scientist' from erdemtei ,virtuous, learned',
erketen ,organ' (of the body) from erketei ,strong, powerful',
erketen ,citizen' (in the Modern language) from erketei ,possessing politi-cal rights' (the primary stem is erke ,right'),
amitan ,living being, creature, animal' from amitai ,living',

oyutan ,student' (of a university), cf. oyutan-u surɣaɣuli ,university' from
oyutaǰ or oyutu ,clever, intelligent, possessing intelligence',
oroɣsad ,a graduate', a plural of the nomen perfecti in -ɣsan of the verb
oro- < *ora- ,to enter', a loan translation of Chinese chin-shih ,a scholar
who has passed the final examinations in the capital',[134] etc.

NOTES:

1. I. J. SCHMIDT, Grammatik der mongolischen Sprache, St. Petersburg,
   1831, pp. 25—27.
2. LOUIS HAMBIS, Grammaire de la langue mongole écrite (Première
   partie), Paris, 1946, p. 4.
3. ANTOINE MOSTAERT, C.I.C.M., Textes oraux ordos, Peip'ing, 1937, pp.
   XXII—XXIII.
4. Vide infra.
5. M. ALEXANDER CASTRÉN's Grundzüge einer tungusischen Sprach-
   lehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss herausgegeben von ANTON
   SCHIEFNER, St. Petersburg, 1856, pp. 6—8.
6. E.g. in the Uzbek language, cf. A. VON GABAIN, Özbekische Grammatik,
   in: Porta Linguarum Orientalium XXV, Leipzig-Wien, 1945, p. 53.
7. G. J. RAMSTEDT, Zur Frage nach der Stellung des Tschuwassischen,
   in, JSFOu, XXXVIII:1, p. 22.
8. G. J. Ramstedt, A Korean Grammar, Helsinki, 1939, p. 35.
9. N. POPPE, Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik, Wiesbaden, 1951, p. 53.
10. P. Dr. H. PEETERS, O.F.M., Manjurische Grammatik, in: Monumenta
    Serica, vol. V (1940), p. 359.
11. Poppe, op. cit., p. 55.
12. Castrén, op. cit., p. 7.
13. Poppe, l. c.
14. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 26; A. BOBROVNIKOV, Grammatika mongoľsko-kal-
    myckago jazyka, Kazań, 1849, § 158—159. The Russian titles of books are
    transcribed here according to the system adopted by the editors of this
    journal.
15. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 27.
16. B. JA. VLADIMIRCOV, Ob odnom okončanii množestvennogo čisla v
    mongoľskom jazyke, in: CRAS-B, 1926, p. 61.
17. In the Yakut language forms in -čït ~ -sït correspond to the Mongolian
    plural forms ending in -čid, cf. S. V. JASTREMSKIJ, Grammatika jakuts-
    kago jazyka, Irkutsk, 1900, § 95. However, the former have already ac-
    quired the meaning of singular forms. Mo. -či and Yakut -sït ~ -čït have
    been compared by G. J. Ramstedt, Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-
    Mongolischen, in: MSFOu, XIX (1903), p. 104.

18. The plural forms in -d of nouns ending in -či and -γči should be considered as examples of plural forms of stems ending in n rather than in vowels. The point is that nouns ending in i, as we shall see later on, form the plural with the suffix -n. Thus, the plural forms of temürči and iregči are temürčin and iregčin. After the suffix -n had ceased to be felt as a plural ending, the forms ending in -čin and -γčin were no longer understood as plural forms, and secondary plural forms with the suffix -d replaced them. They form the plural in -d in the same manner as čikin ‚ear' forms čikid ‚ears'.

19. PAUL PELLIOT, Histoire Secrète des Mongols, Paris, 1949, § 239.
20. N. N. Poppe, Letopisi chorinskich burjat, vyp. 1, Chroniki Tugultur Toboeva i Vandana Jumsunova, Moskva-Leningrad, 1935, p. 5.
21. Schmidt, l. c.
22. Mostaert, op. cit., p. XXI.
23. Poppe, Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik, p. 54.
24. G. D. SANŽEEV, Grammatika burjat-mongoĺskogo jazyka, Moskva-Leningrad, 1941, p. 86; N. N. Poppe, Alarskij govor, časĺ I, Leningrad, 1930, p. 85.
25. G. J. Ramstedt, Kalmückisches Wörterbuch, Helsinki, 1935, p. XVI.
26. N. Poppe, Die Sprache der mongolischen Quadratschrift und das Yüanch'ao pi-shi, in: Asia Major — Neue Folge, I. Jahrgang, 1944, p. 102.
27. MARIAN LEWICKI, La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIVe siècle, Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389, Wrocław, 1949, p. 121.
28. Pelliot, op. cit., § 255.
29. N. N. Poppe, Mongoĺskij slovaŕ Mukaddimat al-Adab, I—II, Moskva-Leningrad, 1938, p. 69—70.
30. G. J. Ramstedt, Mogholica, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Moghol-Sprache in Afghanistan, in: JSFOu, XXIII:4, p. 59.
31. N. N. Poppe, Dagurskoe narečie, Leningrad, 1930, p. 140—141.
32. Poppe, op. cit., p. 150.
33. Isaac Jacob Schmidt, Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses von Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi der Ordus, St. Petersburg, 1829, p. 136. In the original there is a misprint: čaγčiγud instead of čaγaγčiγud.
34. Pelliot, op. cit., § 124.
35. Pelliot, l. c.
36. Pelliot, op. cit., § 120.
37. Pelliot, op. cit., § 42.
38. E. HAENISCH, Grammatische Besonderheiten in der Sprache des Mangḥol un niuca tobca'an, in: Studia Orientalia XIV:3, p. 12.
39. Schmidt, Grammatik der mongolischen Sprache, p. 29.
40. Mostaert, op. cit., p. XXII.
41. Poppe, Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik, p. 55.
42. Sanžeev, op. cit., p. 87; Poppe, Alarskij govor, p. 85.

43. Ramstedt, Kalmückisches Wörterbuch, p. XVI.
44. Vide infra.
45. Ramstedt, Mogholica, p. 59.
46. G. J. Ramstedt, Das Schriftmongolische und die Urgamundart phonetisch verglichen, in: JSFOu, XXI:2, p. 31, note. Cf. G. I. Ramstedt, Sravnitel'naja fonetika mongol'skago pis'mennago jazyka i chalchasko-urginskago govora, S. Peterburg, 1908, p. 35, note 1.
47. A. Mostaert, C.I.C.M., Ordossica, Reprint from Bulletin No. 9 (1934) of the Catholic University of Peking, p. 24—25; cf. Textes oraux ordos, p. XXII.
48. A. Mostaert, Textes oraux ordos, l. c.; Poppe, Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik, p. 55.
49. The consonant -d- of the plural suffix alternates in intervocalic position in West Buriat dialects with -h-: cf. Poppe, Alarskij govor, p. 85, cf. p. 24—25.
50. Mostaert, op. cit., p. XXII.
51. Poppe, Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik, p. 55.
52. Poppe, Alarskij govor, p. 86.
53. Ramstedt, Kalmückisches Wörterbuch, p. XVII.
54. The element -na- will be discussed below.
55. Cf. A. I. VOSTRIKOV i N. N. Poppe, Letopiś barguzinskich burjat, in: Materialy dlja istorii burjat-mongolov I, Moskva-Leningrad, 1935, p. 45.
56. Pelliot, Histoire Secrète, § 186.
57. Ramstedt explains the origin of this suffix in another manner: cf. Kalmückisches Wörterbuch, p. XVI.
58. Mostaert, op. cit., p. XXII.
59. P. Pelliot, L'origine de t'ou-kiue, nom chinois des turcs, in: TP, XVI (1915), p. 687.
60. A. v. Gabain, Alttürkische Grammatik, in: Porta Linguarum Orientalium XXIII, Leipzig, 1950, p. 338.
61. v. Gabain, op. cit., p. 63.
62. G. J. Ramstedt, Zwei uigurische Runeninschriften, in: JSFOu, XXX:3, p. 7. This word is interpreted by KOTWICZ in another manner. He believes that yigit < *tigit (plural of tigin), but this is very doubtful. Vide Wł. Kotwicz, Contributions à l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale, Rocznik Orientalistyczny XV (1948), p. 189. It should be remarked that *t never develops into ǰ or y in Turkic.
63. The suffix -sun in Mongolian is an ancient singular ending, cf. Mo. aduɣun ‚horses (= Russian 'tabun') and aduɣusun ‚animal' etc.
64. Jastremskij, op. cit., § 95; cf. Ramstedt, Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-Mongolischen, p. 104.
65. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 688; v. Gabain, l. c.
66. Pelliot, Histoire Secrète, § 120.
67. BESIM ATALAY, Divanü Lûgat-it Türk Dizini „Endeks", Ankara, 1943, p. 695.

68. MARTTI RÄSÄNEN, Zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen, Helsinki, 1949, p. 162—164.

69. Castrén, op. cit., p. 24.

70. G. M. VASILEVIČ, Drevnejšie ètnonimy Azii i nazvanija èvenkijskich rodov, in: Sovetskaja Ètnografija 4 (1946), pp. 35, 48.

71. Peeters, op. cit., p. 359.

72. WILHELM GRUBE, Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen, Leipzig, 1896, (Reprinted in Tientsin, China, 1941), p. X.

73. Munkácsi, Bernát, Az altáji nyelvek számképzése, in: Budenz-Album, Budapest, 1884, pp. 307, 310—311.

74. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 26.

75. Mostaert, op. cit., p. XXI.

76. Poppe, Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik, p. 54.

77. Ramstedt, Kalmückisches Wörterbuch, p. XVI.

78. Ramstedt, Mogholica, p. 59.

79. Poppe, Mongoľskij slovaŕ Mukaddimat al-Adab, p. 69.

80. N. N. Poppe, Kvadratnaja piśmennosť, Moskva-Leningrad, 1941, p. 150.

81. Poppe, Alarskij govor, p. 24—25.

82. Poppe, op. cit., p. 85; cf. Sanžeev, op. cit., p. 86.

83. A. DE SMEDT, C.I.C.M. et A. Mostaert, C.I.C.M., Le dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental, IIe partie, Grammaire, Péking, 1945, p. 12—13.

84. Mostaert, Textes oraux ordos, p. XXII.

85. A. R. RINČINE, Kratkij Mongoľsko-russkij slovaŕ, Moskva, 1947, p. 191.

86. Peeters, op. cit., p. 359.

87. Castrén, op. cit., p. 7.

88. N. N. Poppe, Materialy po solonskomu jazyku, Leningrad, 1931, p. 111.

89. Castrén, l. c.

90. Pelliot, L'origine de t'ou-kiue, noms chinois des turcs, p. 688.

91. Wł. Kotwicz, Les pronoms dans les langues altaïques, in: Prace Komisji Orjentalistycznej Nr. 24, Kraków, 1935, p. 23.

92. Kotwicz, op. cit., p. 27.

93. Castrén, op. cit., p. 7—8.

94. Poppe, Materialy po solonskomu jazyku, p. 119.

95. Poppe, Dagurskoe narečie, p. 150.

96. Lewicki, op. cit., p. 123.

97. Antoine Mostaert, Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire Secrète des Mongols (1), in: HJAS 13 (1950), p. 292.

98. Poppe, Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik, p. 55.

99. Poppe, Alarskij govor, p. 86. The suffix -šūl occurs also in other Buriat dialects, cf. Sanžeev, op. cit., p. 88.

100. Poppe, Materialy po solonskomu jazyku, p. 112; Lewicki, l. c.

101. Räsänen, op. cit., p. 221—222.

102. v. Gabain, Alttürkische Grammatik, p. 84.

103. Hambis, op. cit., p. 3. The same opinion is also expressed by Ramstedt in his posthumous article „Kleine altaistische Beiträge" written in 1931 but published in 1951. Vide: Aufsätze und Vorträge von G. J. Ramstedt, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Pentti Aalto, JSFOu, LV:2, p. 35.

104. The suffix -lar exists as a loan in the language represented in the dictionary Muqaddimat al-Adab, e. g. kelekčiler ,the tellers', abalabalar ,they hunted', etc. cf. Poppe, Mongoľskij slovať Mukaddimat al-Adab, p. 70.

105. FOKOS, DAVID R. A török -lar, -lär többesképző eredetének kérdése, Különlenyomat az Antal Márk Emlékkönyvből, Kolozsvár, 1943, p. 9 of the reprint. I am indebted for this reference to my friend, Dr. ALO RAUN, Bloomington, Indiana.

106. Mostaert, Textes oraux ordos, p. XXII.

107. Erich Haenisch, Steuergerechtsame der chinesischen Klöster unter der Mongolenherrschaft, in: Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig (Phil.-hist. Klasse 92. Bd., 1940, 2. Heft), Leipzig, 1940, p. 71, note 31.

108. Poppe, Kvadratnaja piśmennosť, p. 47.

109. Poppe, op. cit., p. 48; cf. also Poppe, Die Sprache der mongolischen Quadratschrift und das Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi, pp. 102—105.

110. Lewicki, op. cit., p. 121—122.

111. Haenisch, Grammatische Besonderheiten in der Sprache der Manghol un niuca tobca'an, pp. 5—12.

112. Castrén, op. cit., p. 7—8.

113. Schmidt, op cit., p. 25. According to Ramstedt the suff. -nar is a further development of *nar ,totality' > ,together' (cf. Mo. narmaį ,total, entire') and Turkic -lar < -*nar (cf. Kleinc altaistische Beiträge, JSFOu, 55:2, p. 35—36). The same explanation of the origin of this suffix is also found in Ramstedt's posthumous work „Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft, Bd. II, Formenlehre", § 28. I received the galley proofs of Ramstedt's book when this article was already in print. However, I have not changed my opinion. In the same book Ramstedt discusses all the remaining plural suffixes (§§ 25 — 32). I hope to return to the problems, raised by Ramstedt, in a review of his book.

114. K. GRÖNBECH, Der türkische Sprachbau, I. Bd., Kopenhagen, 1936, pp. 58—59, 67; v. Gabain, op. cit., p. 61. Ancient Turkic qïrqïn is of special interest, because in Yakut there is a parallel form kïrgïttar < *kïrgït-lar in which -t is the ancient plural suffix = Mongolian -d (vide supra).

115. Besim Atalay, Divanü Lûgat-it Türk Dizini „Endeks", p. 187.

116. On this suffix vide: N. Poppe, Über ein Verbindungssuffix im Tungusischen, in: Commentationes Litterarum Societatis Esthonicæ XXX, Litterarum Societatis Esthonicæ 1838 — 1938 Liber Sæcularis, Tartu, 1938, pp. 508 — 510; cf. K. H. MENGES, Zu einigen Problemen der tun-

gusischen Grammatik, in: Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, Bd. XXIV, Heft 1 — 2 (1952), pp. 114 — 118.

117. N. N. Poppe, Materialy dlja issledovanija tungusskogo jazyka, Leningrad, 1927, p. 5 ff.; cf. Poppe, Dagurskoe narečie, p. 157.

118. G. M. Vasilevič, Drevnejšie ètnonimy Azii i nazvanija èvenkijskich rodov, p. 35.

119. Wł. Kotwicz, Contributions à l' histoire de l' Asie Centrale, p. 185.

120. Kotwicz, l. c.

121. Pelliot, Histoire Secrète des Mongols, § 42, 46.

122. Poppe, Materialy po solonskomu jazyku, p. 118, note 1.

123. Peeters, op. cit., p. 359.

124. G. J. Ramstedt, Zur Frage nach der Stellung des Tschuwassischen, in: JSFOu, XXXVIII: 1, p. 29.

125. AHMET CEVAT EMRE, Türk lehçelerinin mukayeseli grameri (ilk deneme), Istanbul, 1949, p. 285.

126. Dr. Benzing expressed this opinion in a private letter to me.

127. Ramstedt, op. cit., p. 29; Räsänen, op. cit., p. 22.

128. G. J. Ramstedt, Studies in Korean Etymology, Helsinki, 1949, p. 89.

129. Ramstedt, op. cit., p. 97.

130. Munkácsi, op. cit., p. 306, note 1.

131. v. Gabain, op. cit., p. 64.

132. Ramstedt, A Korean Grammar, p. 35.

133. JOSEF SZINNYEI, Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft, in: Sammlung Göschen 463, Leipzig, 1910, p. 58 — 59.

134. Mongolian oroγsad, identified with Chinese chin-shih, is translated in GOLSTUNSKIJ's dictionary, vol. I, p. 205 as ‚magister', i. e. master of sciences. I am indebted for the translation given above to Professor FANG-KUEI LI, University of Washington.

When this article was in print, I received the vol. XXIV, facs. 1 — 2 of this journal, containing the first part of the interesting article of Dr. O. PRITSAK, „Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der altaischen Völker" (pp. 49—104). Large portions of his work are devoted to the plural suffixes. Another important article dealing with the plural suffixes is that of Dr. D. SINOR „On Some Ural-Altaic Plural Suffixes", in: Asia Major, A British Journal of Far Eastern Studies, New Series, vol. II, Part 2, London, 1952, pp. 203 — 230. I am glad to state that Dr. Sinor's viewpoints are close to those expressed in my article, though we disagree in details. The appearance of several works dealing with the Altaic plural suffixes evidences to the fact that this problem is really important.