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THE ALTAIC PLURAL SUFFIX $-*t$

1. Most Altaic languages possess several plural suffixes the use of which, at the present time, depends, with a few exceptions, upon the final sound of the stem, e.g., Mo.¹ $-s$ on stems ending in a vowel, Ev. $-r$ on stems with a final n , etc.²

A peculiarity of the Altaic plural forms is their frequent functioning as singular forms, e.g., Kh. *exner* 'woman' from *ex* 'mother'. Another feature is that the languages in question can do without plural suffixes, e.g., Mo. *ebügen qoni qariyulumui* 'the old man pastures sheep', Kaz. *qoj manyrap tüjä bozdap* 'sheep bleated, camels bellowed'³ which examples resemble Engl. *to raise sheep*, *to catch fish*, etc.

A peculiar characteristic of the Altaic plural suffixes is their frequent compounding which results in so-called "double" plural forms, e.g., Kh. *lamarūd* (with $-nar$ and $-ūd$) 'lamas',⁴ Yak. *tojottor* (with $-t$ and $-tor$ < $-lar$) 'officials'.⁵ Ev. *ōrasal* (with the collective $-sa$ and plur. $-l$) 'rapids',⁶ etc.

In this article only the suff. $-*t$ will be discussed.⁷

2. The suff. $-*t$ is Mo. $-d$. It is used on stems ending in n , l , r , and a few stems ending in a vowel. In older documents $-d$ is mechanically added to the stem-final n , e.g., SH *qonint* 'sheep', *qonindi* (acc.), *qonindiĵan* (acc. with the refl. poss. suff.);⁸ Mu. *xatundun* 'of the women', *xatundĵn* id.;⁹ Saghan Secen's work *eldeb kedi tonĵi* 'various objects (things), garments',¹⁰ where *tonĵi* is the acc. plur. of Tu. *ton* 'garment, topcoat', etc.

In Mo. the suff. $-d$ replaces the stem-final n , sometimes r , and l , e.g., *nojad* 'princes' from *nojan*, *qažad* 'lands' from *qažar*, (pre-classical) *möd* 'ways' from *mör*, *tuğud* 'calves' from *tuğul*, etc. A few stems ending in a vowel also take the suff. $-d$, e.g., *busud* 'others' from *busu*, *berid*

'daughters-in-law' from *beri*, *šined* 'the first days of the new moon' from *šine* 'new'. The so-called *nomen actoris* in *-gči* and the professional names with the suff. *-či* also take the plur. suff. *-d*, e.g., *biči-gči-d* 'those who write', *modu-či-d* 'carpenters'.

On stems ending in consonants other than the three mentioned ones the suffix is *-ud* in Mo., i.e., the same *-d* with a connective vowel, e.g., *ulus-ud* 'peoples, nations'.

The suff. *-d* ~ *-t*, *-ūd* ~ *-ūt* occurs also in Kh.,¹¹ Urd.,¹² Bur.,¹³ Kalm.,¹⁴ and Mog.¹⁵ In Dag. the suff. is *-r* < *-*d*, cf. *ugīr* 'daughters' from *ugīn*, *učiķer* 'children' from *čiķen*, etc.¹⁶ Monguor lacks this suffix.¹⁷

2a. The plural forms with the suff. *-*t* function in a few cases as singular forms in Mongolian but, except for cases of *pluralis majestatis*,¹⁸ they have a different lexical meaning than the forms without *-*t*. In other words, *-*t* functions as a derivation suffix, forming nouns from nouns, cf. Mo. *sajid* 'high official, minister', Kh. *said* id. from Mo. *sajin* 'good', Kh. *sain* id. respectively; Urd. *kūxet* 'child' from *kūxen* 'little boy, little girl, daughter'; Mo. *orogsad* 'scholar of the third rank in the old Chinese examination system' = Chin. *chin-shih* from Mo. *orogsan* 'one who entered', nom. perf. of *oro-* 'to go in'.

The following words are plural forms in origin but have the lexical meanings of singular forms: Mo. *arad*, Kh. *ard* 'arad, a free nomad who has his own household, a working person' from pre-classical Mo. *aran* < *haran* 'person, people'; *balqad* 'city, cities' from *balqasun* 'city'; *subud* 'pearl, pearls'; *kitad* 'Chinese, slave' from **kitan*, cf. AT *qytaj* ~ *qytañ* 'a people or nation whose chieftain founded the Kitan dynasty in China (907-1125)'; *dogšid* 'a cruel deity, cruel gods' from *dogšin* 'cruel, tempestous', etc.

Some of these plural forms may have acquired their singular meanings from having originally functioned as *pluralia majestatis*, e.g., Mo. *tüšimed*, Kh. *tušmed* 'official' from Mo. *tüšimel*, Kh. *tušmel* 'official'.

2b. An interesting feature is that the plural forms with the suff. *-*t* take the suff. *-či* of professional names.¹⁹ The following examples are known: Mo. *qurim-ud-čin* 'those invited to a wedding festival' from *qurim*;²⁰ Urd. *xurimūtšin* 'those invited to a festival';²¹ SH *nuntu'učin* *nuntu'ud* + *-čin* 'those occupying a camp';²² Kh. *aṅgūč* 'hunter' from *aṅgūd*, plur. of *aṅ* 'wild animal, game'; Bur. Alar *emūšen* 'physician' from

emūd, plur. of *em* 'medicine'.²³

It is possible that forms as *modučī* 'carpenter', *qoničī* 'shepherd', etc. in Mo. go back to **modudčī*, **qonidčī* respectively, with *d* of the plural having disappeared as in Mo. *očī* < preclassical Mo. *odčī* 'spark', Kh. *oč-* < **odčī-* 'to go away' (intensive verb) from *od-* 'to go away'.

Nouns denoting professions are also derived from plural stems in the Barguzin dialect of the Evenki language, e.g., *nannalčī* 'currier' from *nanna* 'hide', *-l* being the plur. suffix, and *-čī* = Mo. *-čī*.²⁴

2c. The suff. *-*t* occurs as a component of compound plural suffixes in Mongolian. The compound suffixes can be classified into two main groups, namely, reduplication of the suff. *-*t*, and compound suffixes with *-*t* as the second element added to another plural suffix.

A. Reduplication of *-*t*. The suffix is *-ūd ~ -ūt* added to *-d*. It occurs in most spoken Mongolian languages, cf. Kh. *xādūd* 'khans' from *xād* (plur. of *xān* 'khan');²⁵ Urd. *kūxcedūt* 'children';²⁶ Bur. East *xonidūd*, Bur. West *xonihūd* 'sheep';²⁷ Kalm. *mörūdūd* 'horses', *nojūdūd* 'princes'.²⁸

B. The suff. *-*t* is found as the second component in several compound suffixes.

1) Suff. *-nar-ud*, cf. Kh. *lamnarūd* 'lamas' from *lamnar* id. from *lam*, Mo. *bla-ma* < Tib. *bla-ma* 'lama';²⁹ Bur. *lamanarūd* 'lamas'.³⁰

2) Suff. *-nad* where *-d* has replaced the final *r* of *-nar*, cf. SH *berinet* 'daughters-in-law';³¹ Bur.Ekh. *axanad* 'elder brothers', Bur.Bokh. *dūned* 'younger brothers'.³²

3) Suff. *-sūd ~ -sūt* < *-s + -ūd ~ -ūt*, cf. Kh. *ersūt* 'men' from *ers* 'men' from *er* 'man';³³ Kalm. *mörūsūd* 'horses', *ikasūd* 'the great ones', *zalūsūd* 'youths, young men'.³⁴

4) Suff. Mo. *-čūd*, Kh. *-tšūt*, Bur. *-šūd*, etc. < *-*čul, -tšul, -šul* respectively, with final *l* replaced with *-*t*, cf. Kh. *dzalūtšūt* from *dzalū-tšul* 'youths, young people' from *dzalū* 'young'; Bur. *bajašūd* from *bajašul* 'rich people' from *bajan* 'rich', etc.

The suff. *-*čul* goes back to *-*čī* of professional names to which the suff. *-l* with the connective element *-*gū-* is added.³⁵

3. The suff. *-*t* is also found in Turkic, namely, in AT, MT, Yak., and in a few words in other Tu. languages. It is taken by a few stems ending in a vowel or *n*.

The suff. *-t* was already rare in MT. The few known examples are MT *alpa-yut* 'elite warriors who belonged to the retinue (plur.), hero, knight (sing.)' from *alpaγu* 'hero, knight';³⁶ AT *uruγut* 'chief(?)' from *uruγu* 'a title';³⁷ AT *tegit* plur. of *tegin* 'a title added to the name of a junior member of a khan's family';³⁸ AT *tarqat* 'tarkhans' from *tarqan* 'a title'.³⁹

Of modern Tu. languages Yak. has preserved a number of forms with *-t*. As in AT and MT, such Yak. forms have often the sing. meaning. Cf. the following Yak. examples: *xotut* 'an assembly of women' from *xotun* 'mistress, wife of the landlord'; *ojut* 'shaman' from *ojun* id.; *tojot* 'official' from *tojon* 'lord, manager, prince, official'; *kütüöt* 'bridegroom' from *kütüö* 'brother-in-law'; *törküt* 'the arrival of a young couple at the home of their relatives', cf. Kaz. *törkün* 'the relatives of the wife', Mo. *tör-küm* id.; Yak. *sajyt* 'summers' from *sajyn* 'summer' (an instr. form of Tu. *jaj* 'summer'); *kinit* ~ *kijit* 'daughter-in-law' from AT *kelin* id., etc.

3a. The Yak. suffix of professional names *-syt* < *-čyt* goes back to *-*čy* + plur. suff. *-t*,⁴⁰ e.g., Yak. *yryasyt* 'singer' from *yrya* 'song', *balyk-syt* 'fisherman' from *balyk* 'fish', etc.

3b. The suff. *-*t* occurs as a component of some Yak. compound plural suffixes. These can be classified in two groups, namely, in compound suffixes with *-*t* as the first component, and the suff. *-*t* added to another plural suffix.

A. The suff. *-*t* as the first component, cf. Yak. *inättär* 'the younger brothers' from **inät*, plur. of Yak. *ini* 'younger brother', with the regular plur. suff. *-lär* added; *ämäxsittär* 'old women' from *ämäxsin* 'old woman' < Mo. *emegčün* 'female of an animal'; *tojottor* 'lords' from *tojot* from *tojon* 'lord, official'; *kärgättär* 'members of a family' from **kärgät* from *kärgän* 'family'.⁴¹

B. The suff. *-*t* occurs as the second element in the compound suffixes *-*gyt* and *-*at* with *t* replacing the final *n* of the first components which represent the plur. suffixes *-*gyn* and *-*an* respectively.⁴² Cf. the following examples: Yak. *kyrgyttar* 'girls', plur. form of *kjys* 'girl' but formed from MT *qyrqyn* 'female slave', the latter being a plural in *-*gyn*; Yak. *ärättär* 'men' from *är* 'man', cf. AT *ärän* 'men, man'; Yak. *uolattar* 'young men' from *uol* 'son', cf. MT *oγlan* 'boys, boy'.⁴³ In all these cases the plural marks *-gyttar* and *-attar* are compound suffixes, each composed of three elements, namely, *-gyttar* < *-*gyn* + *-t* + *-lar*, *-attar* < *-*an* +

-t + -lar.

3c. Some fossilized plural forms have the meaning of singular forms, e.g., MT *urayut* 'woman', Chag. *urawut* id., with the suff. -t from **urayu* or **urayun*, cf. Chag. *urayäy* 'woman, female of an animal', Kaz. *urayäy* id.; Tat. *narat* 'pine tree', plur. of Mo. *narasun* id.; Trkm. *süjt*, Osm. *süd*, Yak. *üt* 'milk', plur. of **sün* = Mo. *sün*, Kh. *sū* 'milk';⁴⁴ Leb. *jāt* 'youth, young man', cf. MT *jigit* id., plur. of Osm. *jägän* 'nephew, grandson', cf. Mo. *žige*, Kh. *dzē* 'son of the sister'.

3d. Some Turkic clan names, e.g., Khakas, Oïrot, etc. are obvious plural forms in origin, e.g., Kha. *bürüt*, *irgit*, *münget*;⁴⁵ Oïr. *aq tumat*, *telen-güt*, *telengit*, *burut*, *irkit*, *almat*, *čobot*;⁴⁶ Karakalpak *qonyrat*, *qyjat*, *šylžuyyt*, etc.⁴⁷

4. The Manchu-Tungus languages seem not to have preserved the consonant *t at the end of syllables or words, and final t in Evenki occurs only in words which have lost their final *i or *u.⁴⁸ For this reason, a final vowel is to be reconstructed in words of the type Ev. *amut* 'lake'.

There are some Ev. clan names ending in n in the singular, and t in the plural. Some of them are of foreign origin and must have been taken over at the time after the disappearance of the final *i and *u. Such names are *asiwagat*, *dolot*, *nogat*, *sartot*, *uleť*, *haranūt* (all of Mo. origin), *branġat*, *tumat* (both of Yak. origin), *dongot* (of Dolgan origin).⁴⁹ Those Ev. clan names which are not foreign are found in areas inhabited either by Buriats or Yakuts, and therefore are probably Bur. or Yak., respectively, forms of the clan names in question. What is meant here is that the names may be native Tungus but their grammatical forms may be either Bur. or Yak. like *Turks* or *die Türken* are English or German, respectively, plural forms of *Türk* which is the native Turkish word, its Turkish plural form being *Türkler*. Such clan names are *dulegat*, *kačit*, *kučit*, *ňamat* (all in Bur. areas), *kinžagat*, *koltagat*, *memeť*, *ňinagat*, *ňurmagat*, *počogot* (all in Yak. areas).⁵⁰ Consequently, the existence of the plur. suff -t directly added, without additional elements, to stems in Evenki cannot be proven.

We have seen that the Mo. suff. -d is added, i.a., to stems ending in n, and replaces the latter. In Tungus, stems ending in n take the suff. -r, e.g., *oror* 'reindeer' from *oron*. Ramstedt has expressed the tempting opinion that this -r might have developed from -*d < -*t.⁵¹ However, the de-

velopment $-*t > *d > r$ is unknown in Tng., not to mention that Ma. $-ri$ in *mafari* 'grandfathers' from *mafa*, and *mamari* 'grandmothers' from *mama* shows that the suffix originally was $-*ri$ which is to be compared with Tu. $-z < -*r$ which Räsänen has reconstructed.⁵²

The conclusion drawn from the above discussion is that the suff. $-*t$ has not survived as such in Manchu-Tungus. However, it is possible that $-*t$ can be traced as the first element of compound suffixes.

Thus, Ev., Lamut, and Negidal have the rare compound suff. $-t\bar{i}l$ ⁵³ which is taken only by three nouns, namely, *am̄in* 'father', *eñ̄in* 'mother', and *ak̄in* 'elder brother'.⁵⁵ It is tempting to analyse $-t\bar{i}l$ as $-*t$ + plur. suff. $-l$ with the connective vowel $-i-$. However, such an analysis is to be rejected because, in correct transcription, the suffix is not $-t\bar{i}l$ but $-t\bar{i}l$.⁵⁶ Consequently, if the final l can be identified as the plur. suff. $-l$, the other component of the suff. is $-t\bar{i}-$ which Benzing regards as an ancient suffix of the dual which is still found in words as Ev. *inmek̄t̄i* 'a pair of saddle bags' from *inmek̄*.⁵⁷ The suff. $-t\bar{i}$ probably goes back to $-*tai$ because \bar{i} is the usual development of ancient \dot{i} -diphthongs. Menges divides $-*t\bar{i}l$ in $-*ta + yl$,⁵⁸ although after a vowel the plur. suff. is $*l$ but not $-*il$, i.e., it does not have a connective vowel. Therefore, $-*tai + -*l$ is better.

Ramstedt compared Ev. $-t\bar{i}l$ with Ko. $-t\bar{i}l$, cf. *saramd̄il* 'people',⁵⁹ the plural mark $-t\bar{i}l$ having been identified — with a question mark — with Tu. *tür* 'species, kind',⁶⁰ which identification raises doubts.

The conclusion from the above discussion is that Ev. $-t\bar{i}l$ has nothing common with $-*t$.⁶¹ It can be added that the element $-t\bar{i}-$ can be compared with Mo. $-tai$ which forms possessive nouns, e.g., Mo. *aqatai* 'having an elder brother'.

4a. A compound Ev. suffix which contains $-*t$ is $-tin$ of the 3rd p. plur. of verbal forms based on verbal nouns or participles,⁶² e.g., *wāčāt̄in* (*wā-čā-t-i-n*) 'they killed', *wāžanāt̄in* (*wā-žanā-t-i-n*) 'they will kill'. The suff. $-tin$ is analysed as $-*t$ of the plural + $-n$ of the 3rd p. (cf. *žū-n* 'his house') with the connective vowel $-i-$. The Ev. verbal forms of the type *wā-čā-t-i-n* are formed exactly as the Buriat (Alar) forms *jer-be-d* 'they came', *jer-ne-d* 'they come', etc.⁶³ The suff. $-tin$ serves also as the possessive suffix of the 3rd p. plur., e.g., *žū-tin* 'their house',⁶⁴ i.e., one house but several possessors, like Turkish *kitaplary* 'their

book' (but also 'his books').⁶⁵ In other words, the suff. *-*t* in *žū-t-i-n* is added to *žū* 'house' but indicates the plurality of possessors, not the plurality of objects possessed. However, whereas Turkish forms as *kitap-lary* are ambiguous as far as their exact meaning is concerned, the Ev. forms are not, cf. Ev. *žū-tin* 'their house' - *žū-l-tin* 'their houses', *žū-n* 'his house' - *žū-l-i-n* 'his houses'.⁶⁶

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- ¹ Abbreviations: AT - Ancient Turkic, Bur. - Buriat, Bur.Bokh. - Buriat of Bokhan, Bur.Ekh. - Ekhirit dialect of Buriat, Chag. - Chagatay, Dag. - Dagur, Engl. - English, Ev. - Evenki or Ewenki, Kalm. - Kalmuck, Kaz. - Kazakh, Kh. - Khalkha, Kha. - Khakas, Ko. - Korean, Leb. - Lebed, Ma. - Manchu, Mo. - Script Mongolian, Mog. - Moghol, MT - Middle Turkic, Mu. - *Muqaddimat al-Adab*, Oir. - Oirots, Osm. - Osman, SH - *Secret History*, Tat. - Volga Tatar, Tib. - Tibetan, Tng. - Tungus, Trkm. - Turkmenian, Tu. - Turkic, Urd. - Urdus (Ordos), Yak. - Yakut.
- ² See G. J. Ramstedt, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft II: Formenlehre*. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Pentti Aalto (= *MSFOu* 104:2) (1952), p. 54. Cf. N. Poppe, "Plural Suffixes in the Altaic Languages", *UAJb* 24 (1952), p. 65.
- ³ *Sovremennyj kazaxskij jazyk. Fonetika i morfologija*, Alma-Ata, 1962, p. 135.
- ⁴ N. Poppe, *Khalkha-mongolische Grammatik. Mit Bibliographie, Sprachproben und Glossar*, Wiesbaden, 1951, p. 55.
- ⁵ É. K. Pekarskij, *Slovar' jakutskogo jazyka*, t. III, Leningrad, 1927, p. 2706.
- ⁶ G. M. Vasilevič, *Èvenkijsko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva, 1958, p. 788.
- ⁷ Cf. D. Sinor, "On Some Ural-Altaic Olural Suffixes", *Asia Major*, New Series, vol. II, part 2, 1952, pp. 211 ff.
- ⁸ I. de Rachewiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*, Bloomington, Indiana, 1972, p. 95.
- ⁹ N. N. Poppe, *Mongol'skij slovar' Mukaddimat al-Adab*, čast' I-II, Moskva-Leningrad, 1938, p. 384.
- ¹⁰ E. Haenisch, *Eine Urga-Handschrift des mongolischen Geschichtswerkes von Secen Sagang (alias Sanang Secen)*, Berlin, 1955, fol. 75 r.
- ¹¹ Poppe, *Khalkha-mongolische Grammatik*, p. 54.
- ¹² Antoine Mostaert, C.I.C.M., *Textes oraux ordos recueillis et publiés avec introduction, notes morphologiques, commentaires et glossaire*, Peip'ing, 1937, p. XXI.
- ¹³ *Grammatika burjatskogo jazyka. Fonetika i morfologija*, Moskva, 1962, p. 73.
- ¹⁴ G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, Helsinki, 1935, p. XVI.
- ¹⁵ G. J. Ramstedt, "Mogholica, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Moghol-Sprache in Afghanistan", *JSFOu* 23:4 (1906), p. 59. M. Weiers, *Die Sprache der*

- Moghol der Provinz Herat in Afghanistan (Sprachmaterial, Grammatik, Wortliste)*, Opladen, 1972, p. 113.
- 16 N. N. Poppe, *Dagurskoe narečie*, Leningrad, 1930, p. 150.
- 17 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*, Peking, 1945, pp. 12-13.
- 18 N. Poppe, "On Some Honorific Expressions in Mongolian", *Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics Presented to Shirō Hattori on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, Tokyo, 1970, p. 485.
- 19 N. Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, Wiesbaden, 1954, pp. 40-41.
- 20 N. Poppe, "Geseric, Untersuchung der sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten der mongolischen Version des Gesserkhan", *Asia Major*, vol. III (1926), p. 31.
- 21 Mostaert, *Textes oraux ordos*, pp. XXII-XXIII.
- 22 de Rachewiltz, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
- 23 N. N. Poppe, *Grammatika burjat-mongol'skogo jazyka*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1938, p. 92.
- 24 N. N. Poppe, *Materialy dlja issledovanija tungusskogo jazyka (Narečie barguzinskix tungusov)*, Leningrad, 1927, p. 7.
- 25 Poppe, *Khalkha-mongolische Grammatik*, p. 55.
- 26 Mostaert, *op. cit.*, p. XXIII.
- 27 *Grammatika burjatskogo jazyka*, p. 73. In western dialects of the Buriat language, -d- > -h-, cf. *buřād* 'Buriat' - *buřāhār* 'in Buriat'.
- 28 Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, p. XVI.
- 29 Poppe, *Khalkha-mongolische Grammatik*, l.c.
- 30 Poppe, *Grammatika burjat-mongol'skogo jazyka*, p. 115.
- 31 de Rachewiltz, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
- 32 Poppe, l.c.
- 33 Poppe, *Khalkha-mongolische Grammatik*, l.c.
- 34 Ramstedt, l.c.
- 35 Cf. SH *alaqči'ut* 'the motley ones' from *alaqči* 'motley' (fem.) + -'ut, see de Rachewiltz, *op.cit.*, p. 181.
- 36 *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*, Leningrad, 1969, p. 37.
- 37 *ibid.*, p. 615.
- 38 *ibid.*, p. 547.
- 39 *ibid.*, p. 538. A survey of etymologies of this title in G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit*, Bd. II: *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden, 1965, pp. 469 ff.
- 40 Böhntlingk was the first to analyse the Yak. suff. -syt as -*čy + plur. suff. -t, see O. Böhntlingk, *Über die Sprache der Jakuten*, St.Petersburg, 1851, p. 199.

- ⁴¹All examples from Pekarskij, *op. cit.*
- ⁴²M. Räsänen, *Materialien zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen* (= *St. Or.*, ed. *Soc. Or. Fenn.*, XXI) (1957), p. 94.
- ⁴³Räsänen, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55. Cf. A. von Gabain, *Alt türkische Grammatik*, 3. Auflage, Wiesbaden, 1974, p. 85. Cf. Ramstedt, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 54.
- ⁴⁴Tu. *sūt 'milk' which is a plur. form has its correspondance in Finnish dialects, cf. *mai jot* 'milk'. In Estonian *maidud* is 'skin of milk', see *Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja*, II, Helsinki, 1958, p. 328.
- ⁴⁵N. A. Baskakov i A. I. Inkižekova-Grekul, *Xakassko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva, 1953, pp. 357 ff.
- ⁴⁶N. A. Baskakov i T. M. Toščakova, *Ojrotsko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1949, pp. 215 ff.
- ⁴⁷*Karakalpaksko-russkij slovar'*, pod redakciej prof. N. A. Baskakova, Moskva, 1958, p. 780 ff.
- ⁴⁸Prof. V. I. Cincius, *Sravnitel'naja fonetika tunguso-man'čžurskix jazykov*, Leningrad, 1949, p. 185. Cf. Dr. J. Benzing, *Die tungusischen Sprachen, Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik* (= *Ak. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit., Abh. d. geistes- u. sozialwiss. Kl.*, Jhg. 1955, № 11), Wiesbaden, 1956, p. 980.
- ⁴⁹G. M. Vasilevič, *Ėvenki. Istoriko-ětnografičeskie očerki (XVIII- načalo XX v.)*, Leningrad, 1969, pp. 262 ff.
- ⁵⁰Vasilevic, *op. cit.*, pp. 268 ff.
- ⁵¹Ramstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
- ⁵²Räsänen, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
- ⁵³Cincius, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
- ⁵⁴O. A. Konstantinova, *Ėvenkijskij jazyk*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1964, p. 45.
- ⁵⁵Vasilevič, *Ėvenkijsko-russkij slovar'*, p. 793.
- ⁵⁶Poppe, *Materialy dlja issledovanija tungusskogo jazyka*, p. 38 (see *am-til*). Benzing, *op. cit.*, p. 1026. Vasilevič, *op. cit.*, l. c.
- ⁵⁷J. Benzing, *Lamutische Grammatik. Mit Bibliographie, Sprachproben und Glossar*, Wiesbaden, 1955, p. 52. Cf. Vasilevič, l. c.
- ⁵⁸K. H. Menges, "Die tungusischen Sprachen", *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Fünfter Band, *Altaistik*, Dritter Abschnitt, *Tungusologie*, Leiden/Köln, 1968, p. 58.
- ⁵⁹Ramstedt, *op. cit.* p. 59.
- ⁶⁰G. J. Ramstedt, *Studies in Korean Etymology*, Helsinki, 1949, p. 266.
- ⁶¹Konstantinova, *op. cit.*, p. 45, note 22, mentions the article by V. I. Cincius, "Množestvennoe čislo imen v tunguso-man'čžurskix jazykax" which is inaccessible to the author of this article.
- ⁶²Ramstedt, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 56.
- ⁶³N. N. Poppe, *Alarskij govor, čast' pervaja*, Leningrad, 1930, p. 114. *Grammatika burjat-mongol'skogo jazyka*, p. 208.
- ⁶⁴Konstantinova, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁶⁵A. N. Kononov, *Grammatika sovremennogo tureckogo literaturnogo jazyka*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1956, p. 75.

⁶⁶Konstantinova, *l. c.* Vasilevič, *op. cit.*, p. 681.