(tous les mots cités ici de ce dictionnaire sont traités par L. Ligeti dans son livre *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai . . .*)

TMEN = G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, I–IV.* Wiesbaden 1963–1975

Todaeva, B., *Jazyk mongolov Vnutrennej Mongolii.* Moskva 1981

tum. = tumute, le dialecte des Tümed de l'Est, Josutu, après Todaeva, etc.

V = Zhiyuan yiyu, la copie incomplète de la Bibliothèque Vaticane

VdI = le vocabulaire moyen mongol d'Istanboul, édité par L. Ligeti: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIV (1962), pp. 3–99, voir encore XVI (1963), pp. 107–174

Wuti = *Wuti Quingwenjian des Qing*, édition de Beijing 1957; édition japonaise par Tamura, Jitsuzō, et al., Kyôto 1966

Y = la copie de la xylographie japonaise du Zhiyuan yiyu

yogor = la langue mongole des Ouigours jaunes ou yugu orientaux, voir Potanin, Mannerheim, Kotwicz, Todaeva, etc., mais surtout Zhaonasitu [Jaγunnasutu], *Dongbu yugu yu jianzhi*, Beijing 1981, et Bulučilaγu et al., *Jegün yoyor kelen-ü üges*, Kökeqota 1985

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus XLIV (3), 345–379 (1990)

NOMINAL PLURAL FORMATIONS IN THE *SECRET HISTORY*

JOHN C. STREET

(Madison)

Early Middle Mongolian had three different systems for producing what may be called, in the broadest sense, plural forms.

(1) Personal pronouns show singulars with *i* in the initial syllable, but plurals with *a* in place of *i*: *bi/min(na-/nama-)* vs. *ba/man-* for 'I' and 'we (exclusive)': *ci/cin-(/cima-)* vs. *ta/tan-* for 'you': **i/in-(/ima)* vs. **a/an-* in the third-person.

(2) Some finite verbs form plurals by adding a final *y* to the masculine singular form: *ire-be* 'he came', *ire-bey* 'they came' (with feminine singular *ire-bi* 'she came').

(3) Nouns, adjectives, postpositions, etc. share a variety of plural formations entirely different from those above. E.g. *noyan/noya-d* 'prince/princes' and *a-qsan/a-qsa-d* 'having been'; *eke/eke-s* 'mother/mothers' *'qoa/qoa-s* 'beautiful', and *metü/metü-s* 'like' (postposition); *cerig ceri-üd* 'soldier/soldiers'.[1]

The present article deals only with the third of these systems, the term *nominal plural formations* being used rather loosely to cover any means of producing a plural form any base-form that is neither a personal pronoun nor a finite verb.[2] This article will not discuss the semantics or syntactic uses of the forms here described; such matters — especially agreement between an adjectival modifier and its head — require extended consideration elsewhere. Here it is simply assumed that a plural refers to more than one member of some class, whereas (as in Mongolian generally) a form not marked as plural may refer indiscriminately to the class as a whole or to one or more of its members.

[1] In citing forms from the Secret History I essentially follow the text established by de Rachewiltz 1972, but employ a somewhat different system of romanization. Forms marked as names in the Chinese text-editions (and all component words of such names) are here capitalized.

[2] Hence forms such as the following are not discussed: *yabu-d* (*tede*) 'they go' (7340), *bu tebci-dkün* 'do not abandon' (2103), *bu tebci-ldü-gtüd* 'do not abandon one another' (2354). The first of these may be historically a *-d* plural of a praesens imperfecti in *n* (IMCS 263, 267, 276), while the *-gtüd* may be plural of a metathesized form of *-dkün*, itself perhaps historically a plural (IMCS 253).

Each of the first seven sections below discusses one of the nominal plural formations. Within each, examples are separated into four categories differing in their reliability with respect to the determination of regularity of plural formation in the language of the *Secret History*.[3] These categories are defined as follows.[4]

(A) A unique, non-complex plural form occurs in the SH for a base found either in the SH or (if parenthesized) in some other MM text; neither of the forms seems problematic, and their interrelationship may be considered regular.

(B) A unique, non-complex plural form occurs in the SH for a base (or two alternate bases) found in the *SH* or in some other MM text;

[3] The following abbreviations are used below, in addition to the bibliographical and text abbreviations listed in the References section at the end of this article:

CM = Classical Mongolian
HP = hP'ags-pa documents (cited from Poppe 1957 unless otherwise noted)
MM = Middle Mongolian
SH = the Secret History of the Mongols
SMI = Sino-Mongolian Inscription (as specified in footnotes)
YCPS = *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*: the Chinese text-edition upon which our romanized text of the Secret History is based.

Note also the following conventions:

\+ marks a few of the more obvious morpheme divisions within stems (before a deviational suffix). A hyphen or equals sign (see category **[D]** just below) is used for all other morpheme divisions, including those before the plural morpheme.

* marks an unattested form reconstructed as having propably occurred in prior to 1400 AD.

† marks an unattested form which might theoretically have existed at some stage of Mongolian; the present writer does not necessarily believe that such a form ever actually existed in MM.

(*n*) indicates that a stem is probably a "variable n-stem": one that drops the nasal in certain cases, e.g. when occurring alone as a direct object.

γ is distinguished from *q* only in reconstructed forms (with *), hypothetical forms (with †), and forms (MM or CM) cited from sources written in the vertical script. In all other cases, the symbol *q* refers ambiguously to a voiced or a voiceless velar.

[4] In the following statements the term "non-complex" is intended to exclude the well-known double plurals of Mongolian: plurals formed on a base that is already plural. Such forms are here included in category **(D)**.

Ethnonyms referring to Altaic tribes. clans, etc., are generally relegated to footnotes, unless their morphology is transparent within MM. (Full discussion of such forms would greatly lengthen the present article without adding to our understanding of the regularity of nominal plural formations in the SH. For a listing of the chief works dealing with ethnonyms, see Bese 1988. 40—42.) Possible plural forms occurring within personal names (e.g. *Alaquš Digid Quri*, *Qacauratu Subcid*) are totally ignored in this article.

one of these forms, or the interrelationship between base(s) and plural, seems somewhat problematic for either formal or semantic reasons.

(C) A unique, non-complex plural form occurs in the SH for a base not known to occur in MM but probably reconstructible as having existed at some stage of MM.

(D) Residual forms are included here. In a few cases more than one plural form occurs in the SH for a single base attested in MM; some other forms are, or may be, double plurals. Of the remaining forms, some are surely plurals of bases that happen not to be attested; some may not be plurals at all. (An equals sign rather than a hyphen marks forms which might theoretically be plurals, but whose plurality seems doubtful or merely speculative.)

Of these four categories, only the first two offer reasonably firm evidence for regularity of plural formation, and only the first is absolutely trustworthy. Examples in class **(C)** are not entirely reliable, since any given base could theoretically be a late back-formation, created form the old plural by analogy to regular base/plural pairs.

In the exemplification within each section, information of the following sorts is given, in five columns.

(1) Base form. (This is parenthesized if not found in the SH, preceded by * or † if not yet found in any MM text, and sometimes followed by a text- or period-abbreviation).

(2) Number of occurrences of the base in the *SH*, if fewer than 16. (A form not attested in the *SH* is marked with a minus-sign; one occurring more than 15 times with a plus-sign.)

(3—4) Plural form found in the *SH*, and number of occurrences. (A line-reference is given for any plural that occurs only once.)[5]

(5) Gloss for the base form.[6]

At the beginning of each of these sections is given a characterization of the factors conditioning the use of the specific formation being discussed.

[5] Four-digit numbers (cf. Street 1986. 14) are used to refer to "lines" of the *Secret History* text as represented in the *YCPS*: the first digit shows the chapter number (with X, Y, Z representing chapters 10, 11, 12), the second and third digits together refer to a leaf ("page") of that chapter, and the last digit (0—9) reflects one of the columns on that leaf. (Thus "line" 2159 is the last column on the verso side of leaf 15 of chapter 2.) Such numbering makes it relatively easy to locate a particular passage in the Commercial Press or Yeh editions of the *YCPS*, the romantized texts of Haenisch, Shiratori, and de Rachewiltz, and the translation of Cleaves 1982.

[6] A parenthetical *s* is added to a few of the glosses, to indicate that an English word, ambiguous as to part of speech, is to be taken as a count-noun. Note that a gloss is not intended to cover all meanings found in the text, but serves merely as a convenient label for a specific lexical item of MM.

§8 presents a synchronic summary of the relative distribution of the various plural formations, with a few notes on their history; §9 adds some remarks on plural formation in later stages of MM.

In the citation of suffixal morphemes below, capital letters are used to represent back/front harmonic alternations. The symbol *A* represents alternation of *a* with *e*, *U* that of *u ü*; *K* alternation of *q* with *k*; *G* that of *q* (= *γ*) with *g*.

It should be mentioned that the YCPS glossing system is of no real help in determining which *SH* forms are plurals and which are not. The morpheme division between a stem and a plural allomorph is almost never overtly marked as such in the YCPS, and while glosses for plural stems do sometimes include the character 每 (*mei* 'each, every'), use of this character is too unsystematic to be probative. (In Chapter 1, for example, this character is included in the glosses of only 54% of the words — 75 out of 140 — which are undeniably plural in both form and meaning.) Hence the use of *mei* in glosses is ignored in the remainder of this article; judgments as to whether or not a particular form is a nominal plural must depend on the Mongolian text itself, in its historical and linguistic context.

1. Plurals in *-nAr*. Bases are kinship terms referring to non-lineal kin (related by blood or marriage)

(A):

aqa	+	*aqa-nar*	15	elder brother
deü	+	*deü-ner*	51	younger sibling
(*naqacu* HY)	—	*naqacu-nar*	2	mother's brother

(D):

beri	1	*beri-ne-d*[7]	3	younger female in-law

As we shall see below, lineal kin-terms form their plurals differently; see 'father' and 'mother' in §2.2, 'son', 'daughter', and 'grandmother' in §4.1. (See §4.1 [B] for what seems an exceptional *-d* plural of *güregen* 'son-in-law'; see §9.1 for the use of *-nAr* in later MM, and for *haci-nar* 'grandsons'.)

2. Plurals in -s. With one exception (§2.3) bases end in vowels other than *i*. The examples below are separated into two major categories defined by the height of the final vowel.

[7] A double plural, with *-ner* plus *d* (see § 4.2[D]). The gloss is intended to cover both 'younger sister-in-law' and 'daughter-in-law'; see discussion in *SQP* 110, 235.

2.1 -s plurals after a high vowel[8]

(A):

(**Hindu SMI*)[9]	—	*Hindus-s*	4	Indian (ethnonym)
metü	+	*metü-s*	7	like (postposition)
mürü	3	*mürü-s*	1 (9478)	shoulder
ötögü	3	*ötögü-s*	17	ancient; elder(s)
(**qadana+du*)	—	*qadana+du-s*	6	outside[10]
qaracu	2	*qaracu-s*	2	commoner
qoyi+tu	4	*qoyi+tu-s*	1 (2326)	being in the rear
üldü	5	*üldü-s*	1 (3466)	sword
uridu	4	*uridu-s*	2	former, earlier; predecessor(s)
urtu	8	*urtu-s*	1 (Z270)	long (in space)

(B):

jalau/jalauy[11]	3	*jalau-s*	1 (2354)	young; youth(s)
Suldu(+day)[12]	1	*Suldu-s*	2	(ethnonym)

2.2 -s plurals after a non-high vowel[13]

(A):

aqta	+	*aqta-s*	27	gelding(s)
arqa	4	*arqa-s*	1 (6420)	plan. stratagem
aula	—	*aula-s*	1 (Z320)	mountain
berie	4	*berie-s*	6	stroke of the rod (as punishment)
beye	+	*beye-s*[14]	8	body

[8] Many additional forms could be cited from other MM texts. E.g. *HP umsu-s* '(hybrid of yak)' (Poppe 1957. 132); *BCA šimnu-s* 'devils' (*HJAS* 17.93 [fn. 31]) and *yirtincü-s* 'worlds'; *SMI* 1362 *ayalyu-s* 'sounds' (= 'text'; *HJAS* 12. 69, 83).

[9] The base, spelled *Indu*, occurs in the *SMI* of 1335; see *HJAS* 12.93–4. (The vertical script had no way of writing the initial *h-* of MM.)

[10] In 'outside commanders (of thousands, etc.)', i.e. those not belonging to the imperial guard. For the suffix, cf. *HY dotora+du ulus* 'the inside empire' (i.e. 'China proper'), *emüne+dü qaja-d* 'countries of the south'; and *MA yadādu dēl* 'outer clothing' (< **yadayā+du*). Analogous plurals occur in later MM documents: *cinadu-s* 'adversaries', *dorodu-s* 'inferiors' (*IVLMMT* 2.173, 2.91).

[11] The former solely in *jalau-tu* (1027); the latter occurs twice, without ending.

[12] *Suldu+day* 'of the Suldus' occurs in 7012. Additionally the ethnonym *Negü-s* (3) might be included here; cf. *Neü+dey* 'of the Negüs' (4050).

[13] Many additional forms could be cited from other MM texts; e.g. *HP nere-s* 'names', *oŋgoča-s* 'boats'.

[14] Once spelled *bes-iyen* (4200), which Pelliot emended to *be[ye]s-iyen*.

bõe	1	*bõe-s*	5	shaman
bõkõ	+	*bökö-s*	3	strong man, wrestler
(*daruγa SMI*)[15]	—	*daruqa-s*	2	(official title)
ebüge	3	*ebüge-s*[16]	8	ancestor
ecige	+	*ecige-s*[17]	9	father
eke	+	*eke-s*	4	mother
eme	+	*eme-s*	7	wife
ere	+	*ere-s*	2	man, male(s)
inje	1	*inje-s*	2	slave (acquired as part of dowry)
irge	4	*irge-s*	1 (6441)	wether
jaqa	10	*jaqa-s*	1 (4278)	collar
mese	1	*mese-s*	1 (Z181)	weapon, sword
nemürge	1	*Nemürge-s*[18]	5	(felt) cloak
nudurqa	4	*nudurqa-s*[19]	1 (9145)	fist
õlke	1	*õlke-s*	1 (7273)	south side of a mountain
ordo	+	*ordo-s*	3	palace
qoa	4	*qoa-s*	2	beautiful
süke	3	*süke-s*	1 (Z481)	axe; ingot[20]
(*süme HY*)[21]	—	*süme-s*	1 (Z097)	image of Buddha
tana	1	*tana-s*	3	(large) pearl
tusa	+	*tusa-s*	3	help, service
üge	+	*üge-s*	52	word
üyile	13	*üyile-s*[22]	6	deed

[15] *SMI* of 1335, and one other text; the plural is more widely attested. See detailed discussion in *HJAS* 16. 237—55.

[16] The plural occurs always before *ecige(s)* 'father(s)'. (Note that *ebüge* is 'ancestor', but *ebügen* 'old man'.)

[17] *SQP* 64 points out that *ecige-s köü-d* twice means properly 'father and sons': the first word seems a plural by attraction to the second. (The same phenomenon may perhaps be seen in instances of *eke-s köü-d*, seemingly referring to one mother and several children.)

[18] Occurs only in the toponym *Dalan Nemürge-s*, lit. '70 felt cloaks' (*PFEH* 13.64).

[19] The form actually occurring is *nudurqa-š-iyan*, which is unique in showing palatalization of the plural *s* before initial *i* of an ending

[20] For the semantics, see *PFEH* 31.82, *HJAS* 13.118 (fn. 123).

[21] For occurrences (in *HY* and other texts) and meanings ('temple; image'), see *SQP* 223.

[22] Once an emendation, *üyi*[*le*]*s* (Z559).

yara	2	*yara-s*	1 (6189)	wound
yeke	+	*yeke-s*	5	big, great[23]
(B):				
bariya[24]	1	*baria-s*	2	fetters
Barula	4	*Barula-s*[25]	5	(ethnonym)
Genige(+*dey*)	1	*Genige*-s	3	(ethnonym)
(C):				
(**alaša*)	—	*alaša-s*[26]	1 (Z260)	(type of horse)
(**darda*, as CM)	—	*darda-s*	3	(type of damask)
(**nura* CM)	—	*nura-s*	1 (4358)	ravine
(**Qabqana*)[27]	—	*Qabqana-s*	1 (X148)	(ethnonym)
(**serke* CM)	—	*serke-s*	1 (Y524)	castrated goat
(*Seüse* [name])	1	*seüse-s*	1 (Z261)	slave
(**Solaŋqa* CM)	—	*Solaŋqa-s*	1 (Z280)	Korean (ethnonym)[28]
(**sübe* CM)[29]	—	*sübe-s*	1 (X192)	mountain pass
(D):				
cinô (?)	6	*Cino-s*[30]	2	wolf/(ethnonym)
(?†*hünjiüle*)	—	*hünjiüle-s*	1 (1172)	dead tree
(?†*itüge*)	—	*itüge-s*	1 (4104)	leather bucket
(*lausa* HY)	—	*lawsa-s-ud*[31]	1 (Z272)	(type of mule)

[23] Also 'elders, ancestors'; for the meanings, see *SQP* 21—22, 245; *PFEH* 26.55.

[24] Base occurs only (once) in *bariya güün* 'prisoner' (2184); see *SQP* 24, and cf. *CM bariya* 'fetters'.

[25] This morpheme division, rather exceptionally, is shown in the *YCPS* text. The plural, however, refers to more than one *Barula* tribe rather than to several members of one tribe.

[26] Discussion and further references in *PFEH* 31.67; **alaša*, probably referring to a particular type of piebald horse, was borrowed from Turkic.

[27] The base, spelled *Qamqana*, occurs in Chinese texts: cf. *HJAS* 19.390—406, esp. pp. 399—401, with a Turkic etymology in fn. 81. *PFEH* 26.67 provides additional bibliographical references. For the syllable-final *b* ~ *m* alternation cf. *SH Kibca-ud* ~ *Kimca-ud* 'Kipchaks'.

[28] See *PFEH* 31.71, and Ledyard in *CAJ* 9.17—19. The base is listed in Kowalewski (1400); *SH* has once a homonymous base meaning 'weasel'.

[29] Lessing: 'eye of a needle; narrow pass, defile'.

[30] It is not certain that this ethnonym is etymologically 'the Wolves' (cf. Bese 1988. 23). Several additional ethnonyms might perhaps be included here: *Ikire-s* (4), *Qaŋqa-s* (1), *Qabturqa-s* (1), *Ta-s* (1), *Tuba-s* (1), *Tuqa-s* (1), *Uwa-s* (*Merki-d*) (5) and *Qoa-s* (*Merki-d*) (1; cf. *PFEH* 18.79), *Qorola-s*/*Qorula-s* (3/2).

[31] Base from Chinese *lo-tzu* 'mule' (*PFEH* 31.70, Cleaves 1982.214—5 [fn. 55]). The double plural is listed also in §6.3 below.

qabirqa	2	**qabirqa-s*[32]	1 (1083)	rib
(*?†qojiula*)	—	*qojiula-s*	1 (1172)	dead tree
(*†tura*)	—	*tura-s*[33]	1 (4376)	rectangular shield

2.3 An exceptional case

(D):

noqay	12	*noqa-s*[34]	5	dog

3. Plurals in *-n*.[35] Most bases end in the vowel *i* or the consonant *y*; these two types of bases are separately exemplified below, with a miscellaneous category following. (Within each type and category, bases containing an inflectional ending or high-frequency derivational suffix are listed before bases that are monomorphemic or contain some rarer derivational suffix.)

3.1 *-n* plurals of i-stems

(A):

ab-uqci	1	*ab-uqci-n*	1 (7355)	taker
(**tono-qci*)	—	*tono-qci-n*	1 (7354)	plunderer
And:				
aduu+ci	2	*aduu+ci-n*	4	horseherd
aqta+ci	7	*aqta+ci-n*	1 (3469)	horseherd[36]
(*daruya+ci* SMI)	—	*daruqa+ci-n*	3	(official title)[37]
(*eüte+ci*)[38]	1	*eüde+ci-n*	3	door-keeper
(*hüge+ci* HY)[39]	—	*hüke+ci-n*	2	cow-herd
(*jiqa+ci* HY)	—	*jiqa+ci-n*	1 (3141)	fisherman
**nuntu+uci*[40]	1	*nuntu+uci-n*	4	camp master

[32] *qabirqas* is Pelliot's emendation for an otherwise baffling *qabirqar* (1083).

[33] An emendation proposed by Pelliot changes this form to part of a toponym; see *PFEH* 10. 81. (See Poppe 1955. 41 for the putative base-form.)

[34] Three times spelled *noqa⟨y⟩s/noqa⟨y⟩si*. Two other plural forms are found: *noqa-n* (twice) and *noqo-d* (once, Y470). See §8.3 below.

[35] Such plurals were discussed at some length in Haenisch 1950. 4—13, and other works there cited.

[36] Also 'groom; equerry' (*PFEH* 18.62).

[37] Lit. 'oppressor' (*PFEH* 30. 157); based on *daruya*, for wich see §2.2 (A). The form in *SMI* 1338, 1362.

[38] Base is spelled *eüte⟨n⟩ci* in its sole occurrence (7205); the emendation is mine (*JCS*). The root is *eüten/eüden*, occurring 22 and 7 times, respectively.

[39] The root is *HY hüger* 'cow' (= **hüker*).

[40] Only *nutucitani* actually occurs (Z479), perhaps for *nutūci-ta-n-i* < *†nuntuy-ūci-ta-n-i*. For what appears to be a long connecting vowel here see *HJAS* 15. 438 (fn 23), and cf. *PFEH* 31. 82.

qoni+ci	2	*qoni+ci-n*[41]	3	shepherd
qor+ci	+	*qor+ci-n*	32	quiver bearer
(*tariya+ci* HY)	—	*tariya+ji-n*[42]	1 (Y380)	farmer, peasant
(*tōlge+ci* HY)	—	*tōlge+ci-n*	1 (Z213)	soothsayer[43]
(*ulā+ci* HY)	—	*ulaa+ci-n*	5	posthorse keeper
And:				
bawurci[44]	10	*bawurci-n*	6	cook, steward
büri	9	*büri-n*[45]	13	each, all
cerbi	+	*cerbi-n*	6	(title)[46]
doromji	2	*doromji-n*	1 (7104)	lowly one(s)[47]
elci	+	*elci-n*[48]	33	envoy, courier
(*sāli* MA)	—	*saali-n*[49]	1 (Z540)	milch-animal

(B):

oloŋ+ki	1	*oloŋ+ki-n*	2	a majority[50]

(C):

(**amu+ci*)[51]	—	*amu+ci-n*	2	grain-keeper
(**balaqa+ci*)	—	*balaqa+ci-n*	2	storeman[52]

[41] A double plural *qoni+ci-d* also occurs (with *+ci* plus plural *-n* plus plural *-d*); it is spelled *qoni⟨n⟩+ci-d* in both occurrences (3301, 3307). For such spellings see footnote 78 below.

[42] For **tariya+ci*.

[43] For the root see *SQP* 227—8.

[44] Historically this is probably a *+ci* derivative based on hypothetical **bayur* 'liver', which is found throughout Turkic languages (see *TMEN* 1. 202—5 for details).

[45] One might perhaps think that *büri/bürin* represented a variable *n*-stem were it not for the phrase *aqa-nar deü-ner büri-n* 'all the elder and younger brothers' in Z520 (cf. *üdür büri* 'every day' in 2511, etc.). Cf. line 21 of *SMI* 1362: *bürin qadqulduqui-tur* 'when all [of them] engaged in battle with one another'.

[46] See *PFEH* 26.57, *SQP* 145.

[47] Cf. *PFEH* 18.74.

[48] In 6487 not plural in meaning. Historically this is from *el* plus *+ci*; see *TMEN* 2.203–7 for this and many other details.

[49] Western romanized editions have erroneously *saarin* here; only Shiratori's edition correctly romanizes the *l*-form found in both of the earliest Chinese text-editions. MA (p. 305a) *sāli* 'milking(s)', CM *sayali* (Lessing) 'milch animal; milking', and forms in Khalkha and Kalmyk agree in having *l* in this word.

[50] Cf. *HJAS* 13.111 (fn. 58). Within the *SH* the forms might be taken as a variable *n*-stem, but the present analysis is supported by the following forms found in later MM documents: *tende+ki-n* 'those [who were] there' (loc. cit.), *ende+ki-n* '[those who are] here' (*HJAS* 25.51 [fn. 12]), (*HJAS* 25.51 [fn. 12]), *delekei degere+ki-n irgen* 'people [who are] on earth' (*IVLMMT* 2.90).

[51] The root is *HY amun* 'rice, millet'.

[52] I.e. 'storehouse keeper'; cf. *balaqa-d* 'cites; storehouses' in §4.1. (B).

(**buluqa+ci*)	—	*buluqa+ci-n*	1 (3141)	sable-hunter
(**görööülü+ci*)[53]	—	*görööülü+ci-n*	1 (3141)	game hunter
(**jam+uci*)[54]	—	*jam-uci-n*	3	post-station keeper
(**saali+ci*)	—	*saali+ci-n*[55]	1 (Z478)	mare-milker
(**tamma+ci*)	—	*tamma+ci-n*	3	garrison troops[56]
(**temee+ci*)	—	*temee+ci-n*[57]	2	camel keeper
And:				
(**kötöci*)	—	*kötöci-n*	3	servant, attendant[58]
(**Qaŋli*)	—	*Qaŋli-n*[59]	3	Qangli Turk(s)
(D):				
(?†*arbi* CM)[60]	—	*arbi=n*	2	sufficient in number
(?†*ere+bi*)	—	*ere+bi-n*	1 (Z060)	male (or 'manly'?)
jabaji (?)	1	*jabaji-n*[61]	2	corner (of mouth)
Jürki/Yürki	2/3	*Jürki-n*	23	(ethnonym)[62]
(?†*hööši*)[63]		*hööši-n*	1 (X087)	(hunting) net
Qatagi[64]	8	*Qatagi-n*	2	(ethnonym)
(?)	—	*qauci-n*	2	old (cf. fn. 79)

[53] The root is spelled *görüüli* in 1063.

[54] The base seems (occur in MM only as a person's name; cf. *HJAS* 12. 122 (fn. 185), with discussion *HJAS* 15.438. For the literature on this form and *ulaa+ci* (just below), see *PFEH* 31.83.

[55] The plural occurs only in the form spelled *saari⟨n⟩cintani*; the emendation is mine [*JCS*]); see the note to *saali-n* 'milch-animals' in (A) above.

[56] The root *tamma* was borrowed from Chinese, and meant properly 'scout horse'. For the meaning of the MM derivative in *+ci* see *PFEH* 31.67—8.

[57] Once spelled *temeci-n* (= *temēci-n*).

[58] *PFEH* 23.145. Perhaps this was historically *kötöl + ci*, originally 'one who looks after the reserve horses'; but if so, it had become idiomatized.

[59] One further occurrence spelled *Kaŋlin*. For these people see *PFEH* 21.35.

[60] Lessing lists *arbi* as 'abundance; thriftiness'; Kowalewski (156b) has only *arbin*. *SH arbin* occurs in 8189, Z177, and may well be monomorphemic.

[61] This and the putative base may rather represent a variable *n*-stem.

[62] See note to *Qatagi*, just below. Several further ethnonyms might perhaps be added here (*pace* Poppe 1975, 165): *Adargi-n* (1), *Baari-n* (7), *Borjigi-n* (1), *Jirgi-n* (12), *Jüyi-n* (5), *Noyaki-n* (2), *Qasi-n* (5; but twice glossed as toponym), *Ünji-n* (1).

[63] Lessing lists a CM form *ögesi(n)*, a variable *n*-stem; but an *n* plural was often reinterpreted as variable *n* (in the CM suffix *+ci(n)* for example).

[64] Base occurs only in *Buqu Qatagi* (once *Buqu Qadagi*), probably to be interpreted as 'Buqu the Qatagi'; cf. *Yisügey Kiyan* in 1480, and *Sorqatu Jürki/Yürki*. There are three additional occurrences of the putative plural showing *d* rather than *t*.

(?)	—	*unuquci-n*	3	herder of milch-mares[65]

3.2 *-n* plurals of y-stems[66]

(A):				
qaan-u-ay[67]	3	*qahan-u-a-n*	1 (7484)	(something) belonging to the khan
And:				
kedüy	5	*kedü-n*	1 (8335)	how many?
maŋlay	11	*maŋla-n*	5	forehead; vanguard
šiliuy[68]	1	*šiliu-n*	2	upright, honest
(B):				
-KU/-KUy	+	*-KU-n*	170	(nomen futuri)[69]
-tU and *-tAy*	+	*-tA-n*[70]	246	(possessor ending)
And:				
dutau/dutauy	3 : 1	*dutau-n*	2	lacking
edü/edüy	1 : 15	*edü-n*	3	this many
gergey 'wife'	7	*gerge-n*	1 (3464)	domestic(s)[71]

[65] This gloss simply translates that in the *YCPS* (cf. *PFEH* 31.82); either that gloss or the transcription may perhaps be incorrect.

[66] The clearest example of this formation is *HY qulaqa-n* 'robbers', with base *qulaqay* (*SH* bis).

[67] There are two additional occurrences of *qan-u-ay*. The suffix *-Ay* is one occurring most commonly after the genitive; cf. *Bi Temüjin-ü-ey buy* 'I belong to Temüjin' (2450). A plural *-A-n* seems to occur only in the one form here cited.

[68] Base form occurs only in the dative (3316): *šiliuy-a* 'straightforwardly' (or, as *PFEH* 5.160, 'completely').

[69] The 170 plural-occurrences involve sequences formed from 84 different stems, most of which occur also with the bare (non-plural) nomen futuri morpheme. E.g. the form *bü-küy* (formed on the copular verb *bü-*) has plurals *bü-gü-n* (before a vowel-initial ending; 4 occurrences) and *bü-kü-n* (without ending; 13 occurrences); *bayi-qu* and *bayi-quy* have *bayi-qu-n* as their plural. (Note that occasional transcriptions of the nomen futuri by means of characters representing voiced-initial *gü* and *gün* reflect a purely orthographical problem.)

[70] Back *-ta-n* in 116 instances, front *-te-n* in 130. Phrases ending in *-tA-n* after an animate noun refer most often either to a group of male beings or to a mixed class of males and females. That the sequence is sometimes a true plural of the feminine *-tAy* is shown by *qor-ta-n emege-d* 'women with quivers' (Z301).

[71] See *HJAS* 12.523—5 for discussion. Cleaves assumes that *gergey* originally meant 'one who is connected with the house; a domestic, a servant' and hence 'she who stays at home; the wife'. Both de Rachewiltz and Cleaves translate *gergen tudqar* as 'domestics and servants', without commenting on the lack of plural-marking on the second word.

mawu/mawuy	4 : 17	*mawu-n*[72]	4	bad
ügeü/ügeüy	12 : 3	*ügeü-n*[73]	8	without, lacking; poor
(C:)				
(**degeley* CM)	—	*Degele-n*[74]	2	jacket, coat
(D):				
noqay	12	*noqa-n*[75]	2	dog
Uryaŋqay	1	*Uryaŋqa-n*	1 (3347)	(ethnonym)[76]

3.3 Residual *-n* plurals

(A):				
eyimü	11	*eyimü-n*	2	such
keceü	1	*keceü-n*	1 (Z179)	hard (obstinate)
sacau	4	*sacau-n*	9	equal
ɩeyimü	18	*teyimü-n*	3	such
(D):				
(?)	—	*erekü-n*[77]	4	valiant (?)
(?)	—	*omoqu-n*	4	bold (?)

4. Plurals in *-d*. Most bases end in *n* (stable or variable), *r*, or *l*, each of which disappears before the *-d*.[78] These three types of bases are separately exemplified in the subsections below, with a miscellaneous category following. (Forms ambiguously interpretable as containing either *-d* or *-Ud* are included only under the latter plural formation, in §6.8.)

[72] Clearly plural in meaning; cf. *SQP* 183—4, 158.

[73] In 50% of their occurrences, the base(s) and plural are spelled with an otiose *y*: *üge⟨y⟩ü* etc. *HY* and *HP* (*IVLMMT*) have only forms without the *y*. Note that of the two base-forms here, the first is masculine, the second feminine.

[74] Only in *Hulaan Degele-n* (Y124, Y131) 'Red Coats' (*PFSH* 30.122).

[75] Two other plurals occur: *noqa-s* (five times) and *noqo-d* (once, Y470). See §8.3. below.

[76] Three more ethnonyms might perhaps be included here: *Quŋqota-n* (11). *Sükeke-n* (1; cf. man's name *Sügegey/Sükegey* [5/4]). *Tübe(g)e-n* (8/[1]).

[77] Possibly cf. *ere+bi-n* in §3.1 (D) above. The form is always directly followed by *omoqu-n* (just below), twice with no indication (in the *YCPS*) of intervening word division.

[78] It used to be thought that forms such as *qoni⟨n⟩cid* (3307), *qoni⟨n⟩di* (3456), *ho⟨n⟩d* (Y518), *mori⟨n⟩tu* (1189) represented actual and archaic pronunciations; but it is now seems rather that they result from a conflict of orthographic principles in the *YCPS* (which matter will be discussed in a separate article). *Ho⟨n⟩d* 'years' (based on *hon*), for example, must have been so written to distinguish it from *hod* 'stars' (6460; base *hodun*).

4.1 *-d* plurals of n-stems[79]

(A):				
aurasu(n)	14	*aurasu-d*	1 (Y058)	satin(s)
buluqan	15	*buluqa-d*	3	sable(s)
cöe+ken	2	*cöe+ke-d*	1 (7110)	rather few
dabaa(n)	5	*dabaa-d*	2	(mountain) pass
(*darqan* SMI)[80]	—	*darqa-d*	2	freeman
ebceün	5	*ebceü-d*	1 (Z301)	bosom, breast
eje(n)	9	*eje-d*	3	lord
emegen	7	*emege-d*	2	paternal grandmother; old woman
erkin	4	*erki-d*	4	important
etügen[81]	4	*etüge-d*	1 (7167)	Earth; place
(*gešiün* HY)	—	*gešiü-d*	1 (4104)	branch (of tree)
geü(n)	3	*geü-d*	4	mare
-GsAn	+	*-GsA-d*[82]	99	(past participle)
güjüü(n)[83]	5	*güjüü-d*	1 (3467)	neck
güreen[84]	13	*güree-d*	1 (4043)	circular camp
hara(n)	+	*hara-d*	1 (3441)	people
harban	+	*harba-d*	9	ten; squad
helige(n)	9	*elige-d* (= *he.*.)	1 (4224)	liver
hon	15	*ho-d*	1 (Y518)	year
(*imaan* HY)	—	*imaa-d*	3	goat

[79] Many additional forms might be added from other texts, e.g. *BCA toyi-d* (base *toyin* 'monk'); *HP tegirme-d* 'mills' (base *tegirmen* [*IVLMMT* 2.229; from Turkic (Poppe 1957. 93)]). From letters written in the vertical script (Mostaert/Cleaves 1962) *sulta-d* (base *sultan* 'sultan') and *qayuci-d* (base *SH qaucin* 'old', which might itself be historically a plural). And from *SMI* 1340 (*HJAS* 25.43, line 5) *irge-d* (*manu*) '(our) peoples'.

[80] *SMI* 1362. See *HJAS* 12.51 (fn. 95) and *TMEN* 2.460—474 for historical details. In the *SH* the plural is cone spelled *darqa⟨n⟩dun* (3120), but is written without the nasal in 9256.

[81] One further occurrence in the spelling *ötögen* (Y301).

[82] Both bases and plurals occur also with a connecting vowel: *-UGsAn*, *-UGsA-d*. The *-d* plural occurs after a total of 50 different sequences of verb-plus-participal-ending; there are 67 occurrences of 34 back-harmonic stems, 32 of 16 front-harmonic ones.

[83] One further occurrence in the spelling *güjühün* (4474).

[84] Two further occurrences in the spelling *gürien*. For the gloss, see *PFEH* 4.161.

jaarin	2	*jaari-d*	2	heavenly sign
jau(n)	13	*jau-d*	24	hundred
ken	+	*ke-d*[85]	5	who?
Kiyan	4	*Kiya-d*	1 (1441)	(ethnonym)
kökö(n)[86]	3	*kökö-d*	2	breast
köü+ken	9	*köü+ke-d*	1 (2111)	young boy
köü(n)	+	*köü-d*	165	boy, son
minqa(n)[87]	+	*minqa-d*	49	thousand
modu(n)/mudu(n)	6 : 3	*modu-d/mudu-d*	2:1	tree
mori(n)	+	*mori-d*[88]	6	horse
mün	+	*mü-d*	14	the same (one)
müren	+	*müre-d*	6	river
niruu(n)[89]	11	*niruu-d*	1 (6452)	spine; ridge
noyan	+	*noya-d*	48	prince
numu(n)	4	*numu-d*	1 (Z481)	bow (weapon)
nuun	3	*nuu-d*	1 (Z098)	boy
öe+sün	+	*öe+sü-d*	2	self (root *öer*)
öki(n)	+	*öki-d*	19	girl, daughter
(*önecin* MA)	—	*öneci-d/önöci-d*	3 : 2	orphan
qa(n)	+	*qa-d*[90]	9	khan
qatu(n)/qadu(n)	+	*qatu-d/qadu-d*[91]	4 : 2	princess, queen
qalawun	1	*qalawu-d*	2	goose
Qaldun[92]	+	*qaldu-d*	1 (5362)	cliff
qancu(n)	3	*qancu-d*	3	sleeve
qonin	8	*qoni-d*[93]	10	sheep
qoton	2	*qoto-d/qota-d*	4 : 2	town
qulan	1	*qula-d*	4	wild ass
qun	11	*qu-d*[94]	2	cliff, bluff
quruun	1	*quruu-d*	4	finger

[85] Once *ke*[*d*] (4343).

[86] The only *SH* forms occurring are *köken* (once) and *kökö* (twice: as direct objects); from these the base *köke(n)* or *kökö(n)* is reconstructible.

[87] Equivalent to */miŋqan/*; the *YCPS* syllabary had no character representing *miŋ*.

[88] Twice *mori*[*d*].

[89] Two further occurrences in the spelling *niriu(n)*.

[90] Twice spelled *qa⟨n⟩d*.

[91] Twice spelled with otiose ⟨*n*⟩: *qadu⟨n⟩* (8012), *qadu⟨n⟩daca* (Z014). The base is written 19 times with *t*, 27 times with *d*.

[92] Occurs solely as a toponym (= *Burqan Qaldun* = *Qaldun Burqan*).

[93] Five of the ten occurrences are spelled with otiose ⟨*n*⟩: *qoni⟨n⟩d-i* (3456, 3457), *qoni⟨n⟩d* (3458, 3459), *qoni⟨n⟩d-iyan* (7172).

[94] The plural occurs only in toponyms, the base usually so; cf. *PFEH* 16.52.

sau+ri(n)	+	*sau+ri-d*	3	seat; station
sayi(n)	+	*sayi-d*	9	good
secen	+	*sece-d*	1 (2063)	wise
sumu(n)	13	*sumu-d*	2	arrow
(*tariyan HY*)[95]	—	*tariya-d*	1 (6281)	grain, crop
(*tarqun* HY)	—	*tarqu-d* [96]	2	fat (= not thin)
temeen	8	*temee-d*	6	camel
terge(n)	+	*terge-d*	5	wagon
teriü(n)	+	*teriü-d*	1 (6421)	head
toqoan	1	*toqoo-d*	1 (4049)	cauldron
Toquraun[97]	7	*Toqurau-d*	1 (9081)	(ethnonym)
torqan	1	*torqa-d*	2	silk
(*turuqan* HY)	—	*turuqa-d*	6	thin (= not fat)
tüme(n)	+	*tüme-d*[98]	16	ten thousand
ücügen[99]	12	*ücüge-d*	6	small
ünien	1	*ünie-d*	1 (7121)	cow
unuqan	1	*unuqa-d*	1 (7352)	foal
usu(n)	+	*usu-d*	2	water
yabuqan	6	*yabuqa-d.*	2	on foot
yau(n)	+	*yau-d*	3	what?
yisün	+	*yisü-d*	4	nine

(B):

balaqa+su(n)[100]	+	*balaqa-d*	25	city; storehouse
burqasun	1	*Bur⟨u⟩qa-d*[101]	2	willow (branch)
cigörsün[102]	1	*cigö-d*	2	juniper

[95] In *HY* 'cultivated field'.

[96] Plural occurs also three times as ethnonym; base occurs in *SH* only in *Botoquy Tarqun* (3), presumably 'Botoquy the fat'.

[97] *toquraun* 'crane' also occurs twice.

[98] Spelled *tüme⟨n⟩diyer* in 3107.

[99] Two further occurrences in the spelling *üciüügen*.

[100] Morpheme division proved by *balaqa+ci-d* (§3.1 [C]); the root is presumably **balaqa* (cf. Turkic *baliq* [*TMEN* 1.216, 2.257–8]). They *HY* has additional plurals that would belong in this section: *anjasun/anja-d* 'plough', *qubcasun/qubca-d* 'clothes', and *qulu-d* with base *CM qulusun* 'bamboo'.

[101] Only in the toponym *Hulaan Bur⟨u⟩qa-d* (once *Hulaan Bor⟨u⟩qa-d*), whose literal meaning seems guaranteed by an Arab source (*TMEN* 1.225). For the base form see *SQP* 37–38.

[102] Only the form with *-n* occurs in the *SH*, but this (with *narasun, noqosun*, etc.) must be historically a derivative in *+su(n)*. Presumably *čigö-d* is historically the plural of a **cigör* (cf. *HJAS* 14.103 [fn. 161]).

coorqa(n)[103]	2	*Coorqa-d*	2	lock
eki/eki(n)[104]	2	*eki-d*	2	head(s)
(*elesün* HY)	—	*Ele-d*[105]	5	sand, dune
genen	1	*gene-d*[106]	5	unprepared, unaware
güregen	14	*gürege-d*[107]	4	son-in-law, bridegroom
hodun	5	*ho-d*[108]	1 (6460)	star
(*narasun HY*)	—	*nara-d*	2	pine
nicügün	6	*Nicügü-d*	1 (5017)	naked[109]
noqosu(n)[110]	1	*noqo-d/noqu-d*	2 : 1	duck
neü+ri(n)[111]	2	*neü+ri-d*	1 (1033)	migrating camp

[103] *SH* and *HY* have each one occurrence of the form without *-(n)*, *SH* probably one occurrence of the *n*-form (*corqan* ? = *cōrqan* 3247). The putative plural occurs only as a place name, with 'locks' applied figuratively to a strong position; cf. *PFEH* 31.45, 5.171.

[104] *SH* shows once *eki*, once *heki*, as direct objects that could represent *eki(n)*; *HY* has once *heki* (and *heki-d*). The expected *n*-forms seems to occur im *MM* only in the "countersign" of a letter to Pope Boniface VIII (*HJAS* 15. 478ff): *Üredün kesigün ekin ödür* 'first day of the *kesig* of Üred'. But in two other *MM* texts (*IVLMMT* 2.275) the nasal is missing in this construction: *namur-un/übül-ün eki sar-a* 'the first month of fall/winter'.

[105] Occurs only in toponyms.

[106] See *SQP* 87—8. In 6505 the form seems singular in meaning.

[107] SH has *güregen/gürigen* for the singular (11 : 3), *gürege-d/gürige-d* (6 : 3) for the plural. These forms are problematic for several reasons, and deserve separate treatment elsewhere.

(a) In five occurrences, *gürVge-d-te* (twice emended from a form lacking the *-d*) is singular in meaning; *gürege-d-te talbi-* 'leave as a son-in-law' occurs four times (1469, 1470, 1472; with *i* 1491), *gürige-[d]-te yabu-* 'live as a son-in-law' once (3357). Presumably this form had some special idiomatic meaning or usage.

(b) Since this seems to be a non-lineal kinship term, one would expect a plural in *-ner* rather than *-d*; possibly the fact this is an *n*-stem prohibited such a plural formation; or perhaps the basic sense was 'bride-groom', so that the form was not considered a kinship term.

(c) Except for the cases noted in (a) all *SH* occurrences refer to the imperial sons-in-law of Chinggis Qan, and hence may, in effect, represent a title rather than a true kinship term.

[108] In spoken *MM hod* (possibly haplologized from **hodu-d*) was homonymous with the plural of *hon* 'year' (§4.1[A]); the latter is spelled *ho⟨n⟩d* in its sole occurrence, presumably to distinguish it from 'stars'. See §8.2 (e) below, and note there.

[109] Plural only is ethnonym *Nicügüd Baarin* 'the Naked Baarin' (*PFEH* 13.59, *HJAS* 19. 202).

[110] *SH* has only *noqosu*; *HY* has the full form with *-n*.

[111] The form with *-n* occurs only in a name, which may be unrelated to the stem here; but this base is certainly a deverbal *+ri(n)* derivative.

sŏni/sŏni(n)[112]	+	*sŏni-d*	5	night
(C):				
(**doryun* CM)[113]	—	*dorqu-d*	2	unfinished
(**Jürchen*)	—	*Jürce-d*[114]	5	(ethnonym)
(**omoriyu*[*n*] CM)	—	*omoriu-d*	1 (3467)	breastbone
(**subusun* CM)[115]	—	*subu-d*	3	(small) pearl
(**tere+ken*)	—	*te-de+ke-d* [sic !]	2	those (derogatory)
(**törkün*)	—	*törgü-d*[116]	1 (1421)	wife's kin
(D):				
deresün	1	**Der*[*e*]*sü-d*[117]	1 (5090)	feathergrass
(†*Kitay**/*Kita-n*)	—	*Kita-d*[118]	28	(ethnonym)
noqa-n (pl.)	12	*noqo-d*[119]	1 (Y470)	dog
qoni+ci-n (pl.)	3	*qoni⟨n⟩+ci-d*	2	shepherd (simple base *qoni+ci*; see §3. [A])
(**quriya+ci-n* pl.)	—	*quriqa+ci-d*	2	lamb-herd (simple base HY *quriqan*)

[112] There are many instances of *söni*, but only one with *n* (*sönin-ü*, 8186). One of the instances here counted as a plural is the result of emendation: *söni*[*d*] (6510).

[113] Cf. *PFEH* 31.59. The base seems not to occur in MM.

[114] ". . . the so-called 'Eastern Jurchens' of Manchuria" (*PFEH* 31.71, 86).

[115] Kowalewski 1391b; existence of this word in older stages of Mongolian seems assured by occurrence of a cognate in Kalmyk and a borrowing in Chagatai. But Ibn al-Muhannā may have a *subun* (*HJAS* 12.125 [fn. 213].)

[116] See *HJAS* 12.509—510. *CM* has apparently only *törküm* (or *törgüm*); but the existence of *törkün* in both Middle Turkic (Kashgari: 'family, kin') and Kalmyk ('relatives of one's wife and her father') seems to indicate the existence of this base also in *MM*.

[117] Emendation proposed (by Pelliot) for the text's *Tersüd*; see *PFEH* 13.60. The base occurs in Y094; the plural *deresü-d* in the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi.

[118] *SH Kitad* refers to "the Jurchen people of China and the Chin dynasty" (*PFEH* 31.85). *HJAS* 12.523 cites Mostaert to the effect that (*)*Kitan* is a plural of †*Kitay*; but neither form seems attested in *MM*. (A *Qitad* occurs once, in the *SMI* of 1338; cf. *HJAS* 14.104 [fn. 176.]) Presumably *Kita-d* is a double plural: †*Kitay* plus *-n* plus *-d* The 28 occurrences include two of *Qara Kitad*, six of *Qara Kidad*; both refer to "the Qara Khitai, or Western Liao, empire of central Asia" (*PFEH* 13.62).

[119] Inclusion of this form here (rather than in §4.4 [D]) assumes that it is a double plural formed on the *-n* plural. But the form occurs only once, in *töbüd-üd noqo-d* 'Tibetan dogs' (Y470), and is perhaps simply an error — with *-d* written because of the prior *-üd*. (Note that this *noqo-d* is identical to the plural of *noqosu*[*n*] 'duck', for which see §4.1 [B].)

4.2 -*d* plurals of r-stems[120]

(A):

baatur	+	*baatu-d*	11	brave warrior
büleür	1	*büleü-d*	1 (4104)	churning staff
Gücügür	1	*Gücügü-d*[121]	1 (5280)	(ethnonym)
nökör	+	*nökö-d*	19	comrade
öer	+	*öe-d*	1 (5465)	self
qor	+	*qo-d*	1 (Z481)	quiver
šiŋqor	4	*šiŋqo-d*	2	gerfalcon
üdür	+	*üdü-d*	4	day
ündür	+	*ündü-d*	1 (5361)	high, height(s)

(B):

qar	+	*qa-d*[122]	2	hand

(C):

(**Bajigir*)[123]	—	*Bajigi-d*	4	Bashkir (ethnonym)

(D):

(**beri-ner* pl.)	—	*beri-ne-d*	3	younger female in-law (see §1)
(?†*kicir*)	—	*kici-d-ud*[124]	1 (Z271)	(type of camel)
(*qacir* MA, L)	—	*qaci-d-ud*[125]	1 (Z272)	(type of mule)

[120] Additional clear instances from *HY*: *amasar/amasa-d* 'opening, pass', *qaǰar/qaǰa-d* 'country', *temür/temü-d* '(of) iron', *yoŋqor/yoŋqo-d* '(type of silk fabric)'. *SMI* 1338 has also *üker/üke-d* 'cows'.

[121] Plural also once *Gücüü-d*, in *Gücüü-d Nayman-u Buyiruq Qan* (4307). This is equivalent to a phrase showing the single clear occurrence of the base: *Gücügür+tey Buyiruq Qan* (6284) 'Buyiruq Khan [of] the Gücügür'. See Bese 1988. 26—7.

[122] Occurs only in an idiom: 9423 has *beye qad ebecin ügey* 'without being sick in body', 3456 has *beye qad-iyer* 'by himself'. Though *qa-d* is probably historically a plural of *qar* (= *γar*) 'hand', Cleaves (*HJAS* 12.126 [fn. 222]) notes that reflexes of *beye qad* (idiomatically 'stature') in Urdus and Khalkha have a voiceless initial for the second word.

[123] See *PFEH* 30.156 for references to the literature.

[124] Cleaves 1982.214 (fn. 54) suggests that this may be a double plural of a †*kicir* (plus *-d* plus *-ud*). De Rachewiltz (*PFEH* 31.70) thinks the term refers to the single-humped dromedary, as opposed to the double-humped Bactrian camel (*elöüd*).

[125] See *PFEH* 31.70, Poppe 1955. 40, *TMEN* 3.391—2, and § 6.5 below.

Uyur(+*tay*)	2	*Uyu-d*	4	Uighur (ethnonym)
	Also	*Uyiqu-d*[126]	1 (5114)	Uighur (ethnonym)

4.3 -*d* plurals of l-stems[127]

(A):

köl	15	*kö-d*	1 (2466)	foot
kötöl	3	*kötö-d*	1 (7325)	led horse

(D):

+*Al*	—	*qori*+*a-d*[128]	1 (Z539)	by 20s, 20 each

4.4 Residual -*d* plurals

(A):

busu	+	*busu-d*[129]	6	different; other(s)
edöe	+	*edöe-d*(*-tür*)[130]	1 (Y053)	now

(D): See also §6.8; plurals that could be interpreted as containing either *-d* or *-Ud* are listed only in that section.

(?)[131]	—	*abi-d*	1 (1083)	entrails
(?)	—	*aci-d*	1 (Z430)	bodyguard(s)
(?)	—	*Arula-d*	2	(ethnonym)[132]

[126] Occurs in genitive *Uyiqud-un*, probably an error for *Uyud-un* (occurring 4 times) resulting from a misinterpretation of the script spelling *Uiγud-un* (*IVLMMT* 2.63) formed on base *Uiγur* (*IVLMMT* 2.213).

[127] Later texts show also *tüsimel/tüsime-d* 'high official' (*HY* and other documents), *boγol/boγo-d* 'slave' (*SMI* 1338, etc.).

[128] Based on *qorin* '20'; according to *IMCS* 250 +*A-d* is plural of the suffix found in *niji*+*el* 'one by one, individually'. (But *HY* has *niji*+*e-d* 'one each', by analogy to the higher numbers; loc. cit.)

[129] There are (in lines 3041—3125) three additional instances of interrogative forms which, in the present system of romanization, must be written *busu-t-ū* (vs. the direct object form *busu-d-i* in 2140, for example).

[130] The plural is found only in *edöe-d-tür* (occurring also in *HY*, *TDB*, and *SMI* 1362), apparently 'for the present'.

[131] See *SQP* 228—30 for discussion.

[132] Several additional ethnonyms might be included here: *Bayi-d* (1); *Belgünü-d* (1); *Besü-d* (4); *Bügünü-d* (1); *Buriya-d* (1); *Doŋqayi-d* (8); *Jaqu-d* (2; *PFEH* 31. 86); *Jeüre-d* (1); *Jewüreyi-d* (1); *Kereyi-d/Gereyi-d* (20/2); *Maŋqu-d* (14); *Merki-d* (+); *Oŋgira-d* (9); *Öŋgü-d* (5); *Oŋqoji-d* (*Kereyi-d*) (1); *Oyira-d* (9); *Qaa-d* (*Merki-d*) (3); (*Qori*) *Tuma-d* (5+); *Saqayi-d* (1); *Söni-d* (1); *Uduyi-d* (*Merki-d*) (6). Note also the ethnonym *Budaa-d* (1), which is folk-etymologized as a plural of *budaan* 'rice-gruel, millet' in line 1280.

(?)	—	*Balju-d*[133]	3		(in toponym)
(?)	—	*geyi-d*[134]	3		dwellings
(??*Majar*)	1	*Majara-d*[135]	1	(Y495)	Hungarian (ethnonym)
(?)	—	*naci-d*[136]	2		(type of brocade)
(?)	—	*Qalaqalji-d*	3		(in toponym)[137]
(?)	—	*qaulqa-d*	1	(2066)	(?)[138]
(?)	—	*qoluqa-d*	1	(2135)	(?)[139]
(?)	—	*šilüge-d*	1	(2135)	(?)[140]
(?)	—	*Šilügelji-d*[141]	2		(in toponym)

5. Plurals in *-de*. The demonstratives *ene/eün-* 'this' and *tere/teün-* 'that' form plurals *e-de/e-den-* and *te-de/te-den-*. Historically these must be *-d* plurals of roots **en* and **ter*, with addition of a deictic or emphatic **-e-* (plus pronominal *-n-* in most case forms); cf. *IMCS* 225—8.

(A):

ene(/eün-)	+	*e-de/e-den-*	77	this
tere(/teün-)	+	*te-de/te-den-*	99	that

[133] Only in the toponym *Dalan Balju-d* 'The Seventy Marshes' (*PFEH* 10.56, *HJAS* 18.375 [fn. 98]). Possibly the base occurs in the toponym *Baljun Aral* 'Baljun Island' (1158).

[134] Glossed as though a plural of *ger*, which otherwise has no plural form; but formal relationships between these words seems most unlikely. (Note that the meaning 'dwellings' is older than 'monastery' [Poppe 1957. 88].)

[135] Less likely is the morpheme division *Majad-ad*. De Rachewiltz (*PFEH* 30. 156) states that *Majarad* is plural of *Majar* 'Magyar, Hungarian'; but within Mongolian, this plural would have to have the unattested and unlikely base †*Majaran*. Possibly *Majar-ad* is an error for †*Maja-d*. (Note, however, that a parallel passage has simply *Majar* in Z159.)

[136] Cf. *naci d-ud* in § 6.5, and see *PFEH* 31.69.

[137] Occurs only in the toponym *Qalaqaljid Eled* 'The Qalaqaljid (?) Sands', which is probably to be emended in some way (*HJAS* 18.379, *PFEH* 16.45).

[138] In *qaul⟨u⟩qad köüd*: the first word is not glossed and not elsewhere attested (Cleaves 1984. 21 [fn. 6]).

[139] De Rachewiltz translates 'the chicks', Cleaves 'the wicked'. See next footnote.

[140] The form is used metaphorically, referring to children. Cleaves (following the *YCPS* gloss) translates 'the drivellers'. De Rachewiltz, in translating rather 'the lambs' (*PFEH* 4.138), has presumably interpreted this plural as based on an *n*-stem of the *šilüge* (*qonin*) '3-year-old sheep' found in Kowalewski 1497a. For discussion of *šilüge-d* and *qoluqa-d* (above) see now Vietze (forthcoming), where it is duggested that the forms are plurals — presumably double plurals — of adjectives **šilügey* and **γoluqay*.

[141] Occurs only in the name of a river: *Ulquy Šilügeljid*.

6. Plurals in *-Ud*. Bases end in consonants other than *n, r, l, y*; i.e. in *m, ŋ, s, b* (?), *d, g*, and voiced *q*. The last two consonants drop before this ending, showing that this ending contained a primary long vowel.[142] Each of these base-types is separately exemplified below, with a miscellaneous category following.

6.1 *-Ud* plurals of m-stems[143]

(A):

jam	5	*jam-ud*	4	post-relay station

(B):

erdem	5	*erdem-üd*[144]	4	skill, ability
jarim	4	*jarim-ud*[145]	6	half
qorum	2	*qorum-ud*[146]	4	minute, short time

6.2 *-Ud* plurals of ŋ-stems[147]

(B):

(**saŋ* HY)[148]	—	*saŋ-ud*	1 (Z482)	public granary

[142] Since th vowel was long, it is unlikely to have been originally just a connective vowel (*pace* Poppe *IMCS* 179, where one notes that the vowel is also long in modern dialects). More likely *-Ud* was historically a *-d* plural either of a collective in *-Ul* < **-GUl*; cf. *Sarta+ul* 'Moslem[s], *qoyitu+ul* [hapax X410] 'those behind'), or of some †*-GUn* suffix.

[143] Examples from later *MM* are *em/em-üd* 'medicine', and *nom/nom-ud* 'book', both found in *BCA* (*HJAS* 17.60, 64). Also *gem/gem-üd* 'diseases' (*HP*) and *töküm/töküm-üd* 'valley, hollow' (*IVLMMT* 2.259).

[144] Occurs only in *erdemüdten*, three times spelled without the *d*, i.e. *erdemü[d]ten*; see *SQP* 250.

[145] Though formally a plural of *jarim* 'half', the form seems usually singular in reference; e.g. *jarimud irge(n)* is 'half of the people'. But in X061—2 *Tergen-tür jarim-ud-iyan caqla-ju talbi-tuqay* is literally 'measuring their halves, let [them] leave [one] at the cart[s]'.

[146] Once spelled *qurumud* (X382). It is not clear that the plural form differs in meaning from the base.

[147] From texts written in the vertical script also forms such as *BCA*-3 *amuγulang/amuγulang-ud* 'well-being' (line 32c), *BCA jirγalang/jirγalang-ud* 'joy', *jobalang/jobalang-ud* 'suffering'; and *HP senši ŋ/senši ŋ-ud* 'Taoist monk', based on Ch. *hsien-sheng* (Poppe 1957. 83). Less clear is the form *Berenggüd/Wirenggüd* 'Franks' of letters edited in Mostaert/Cleaves 1962 (see their pp. 44, 59).

[148] This borrowed root is written logographically in the *HY* and *SH*, with Chinese 倉 = *ts'ang*. *HP* documents write the initial with a foreign letter (Poppe 1957. 83 et passim). Monolingual speakers of *MM* probably pronounced the root with /s/ rather than /č/ or [ts]; cf. *CM sang* = Khalkha *saŋ*.

6.3 -*Ud* plurals of s-stems[149]

(A):				
ulus	+	*ulus-ud*	1 (6388)	people(s), nation
(C):				
(**Kirgis*)[150]	—	*Kirgis-ud*	4	Kirghiz (ethnonym)
(**Orus*)	—	*Orus-ud*	8 (Y495)	Russian (ethnonym)
(D):				
(**lausa-s* pl.)	—	*lawsa-s-ud*	1 (Z272)	(type of mule; see §2.2 [D])
(†*Serkes*)	—	*Serges-üd*	2 (Y495)	(ethnonym)[151]
(†*Urs*/†*Urus*)[152]	—	*Urs-ud*	1 (X143)	(ethnonym)

6.4 -*Ud* plurals of b-stems

No examples, unless the *kibuud* of §7 **(D)** be emended by deleting one of the *u* vowels. Note however MA *yarib*/*yarib-ud* 'strange; poor (?)' (borrowed from Turkic, which got it from Arabic), and *HP*, *BCA*-3 *kalb-ud* 'aeons' (formed on Uighur *kalp* [Sanskrit *kalpa*]). For discussion of the latter form see p. 1189 [note 25] of *BCA*-3. For three other such forms — plurals of Persian bases in *b* — see *HJAS* 16. 37, 39, with discussion on pp. 60 (fnn. 11—12) and 68—9.

6.5 -*Ud* plurals of d-stems

(A):				
Taŋud	+	*Taŋud-ud*[153]	3 (Z060)	(ethnonym)
(B):				
(**Töbüd*)	—	*Töböd-üd*	1 (Y470)	Tibetan (adjective)
(D):				
(**kici-d*)	—	*kici-d-ud*	1 (Z271)	(type of camel); cf. §4.2 (D)

[149] A further example is *BCA luus-ud*, plural of *luus* 'dragon', itself a plural of *luu* (borrowed from Turkic, which got the word from Chinese); see *HJAS* 17.110 (fn. 208), 15.85 (fn. 3).

[150] Borrowed from Turkic (Poppe 1955.39—40).

[151] "Serkes = Cherkes, i.e. the Circassians" (*PFEH* 30. 156); cf. pp. 127, 129 of Paul Pelliot, *Notes sur l'Histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Paris; 1950).

[152] Cf. *HJAS* 19.394 (fn. 20).

[153] The Tanggud = the Hsi-Hsia; see *HJAS* 19.246 (fn. 504), and references there. The base is once spelled *Taŋqud*.

naci-d	2	*naci-d-ud*	1 (Z270)	(type of brocade); cf. §4.4 (D)
(**qaci-d* pl.)	—	*qaci-d-ud*	1 (Z272)	(type of mule); cf. §4.2 (D)

6.6 -*Ud* plurals of g-stems[154]

(A):				
esüg	2	*esü-üd*	1 (4399)	mare's milk, kumiss
kešig	+	*keši-üd*	14	portion; company (of soldiers); turn (of duty)[155]
külüg	5	*külü-üd*	13	hero; bravery
(C):				
(**örlüg* SQP 70)	—	*örlü-üd*	1 (8194)	brave, valiant, fierce
(D):				
(**minqa+lig*)	—	*minqa+li-ud*[156]	*4*	commander of 1000
(?**tübüg*)	—	*tübü-üd*	1 (5321)	difficulty (?)[157]
(?**Tülkinceg*)	—	*Tülkince-üd*	1 (7150)	(toponym)[158]

6.7 -*Ud* plurals of q-stems (with voiced q)[159]

(A):				
alaq	3	*Ala-ud*[160]	1 (4039)	multi-colored, mottled

[154] Further examples from vertical-script texts include *BCA čečiglig-üd* 'gardens', *BCA*-3 *bürküg-üd* 'darknesses' (p. 1198 [fn. 126]). *HP* has also *kereg-üd* 'deeds, affairs'.

[155] See *SQP* 244—9 for discussion.

[156] Cf. *PFEH* 23.145. In two instances we find *minqaliuday* with the ending seen in the first entry of § 3.2 above. Cf. *HY noya⟨n⟩li-ud* 'officers'.

[157] Although the *YCPS* gloss is 'main points, essentials', de Rachewiltz (*PFEH* 13.70) follows Damdinsüren in assuming that the base is an unattested †*tübüg* = *CM tübeg* 'difficulty, trouble'.

[158] 'The Tulkin (?) Hills' (*PFEH* 18. 66). For the hypothetical *ceg* cf. the last syllable of *Šilinceg* (*SQP* 260).

[159] Further examples are *HY caq*/*ca-ud* 'time, period', *joriq*/*jori-ud* 'intention', and *quyaq*/*quya-ud* 'cuirass'; *MA* has *bay*/*bay-ud* 'bunch'. In vertical-script texts we find also *quwray*/*quwray-ud* 'community [of monks]' (*HJAS* 17.101 [fn. 118]) and *širawag*/*širawag-ud* 'disciple' (ibid. 111 [fn. 214]) in *BCA*; also *tangsuy-ud* (Mostaert/Cleaves 1962. 44—5; base *HP taŋsuq* 'marvelous').

[160] Occurs only in *Ala⟨u⟩ud Turqaud* 'Mottled Sentinels' (*PFEH* 10.72).

auruq	6	*auru-ud*	5	base camp[161]
ayimaq	6	*ayima-ud*	1 (5256)	camping-group, tribe (cf. PFEH 13.66)
Boldaq	5	*Bolda-ud*	2	hill[162]
(*inaq* MA)[163]	—	*ina-ud*	2	trusted friend or adviser
(*quduq* MA, IM)	—	*qudu-ud*	2	well(s)
turqaq	10	*turqa-ud*	42	bodyguard, day-guard
uruq	+	*uru-ud*	1 (Y309)	family; descendant

(C):

(**Kibcaq*)	—	*Kibca-ud*[164]	5	Kipchak (ethnonym
(**Qarluq*)[165]	—	*Qarlu-ud*	3	Qarluq (ethnonym)

6.8 Other *-Ud* (or *-d*) plurals

(D):

(?)	—	*alaqci-ud*[166]	2	multi-colored
(†*As*/†*Asun*)	—	*As-ud*/*Asu-d*	3	(ethnonym)[167]
(?)	—	*Cakirma-ud*/. .*u-d*	2	(toponym)[168]
(?)	—	*elõ-üd*/*elöü-d*[169]	1 (Z271)	(type of camel)

[161] For meaning see *PFEH* 10.75, *TMEN* 2.77, *HJAS* 12.112–3.

[162] Both the plural and its base occur only in toponyms; cf. *SQP* 258.

[163] A borrowing from Turkic (Poppe 1955.39).

[164] One additional occurrence spelled *Kimcaud*. For the base see *PFEH* 30.156, Poppe 1955.39. *SH* has only *Kibcaqcin ayan* 'the Kipchak campaign' Z288.

[165] See *TMEN* 3.385 for Middle Turkic forms.

[166] On the vexing problem of the bases for such color terms, see § 8.2 (f) below.

[167] Probably refers either to the Alans (*TMEN* 1.221; with citation of Wilhelm von Rubruk) or the Iranian Ossets (Poucha 1956.69; with a reference to Rašīd-ad-Dīn).

Many additional ethnonyms could be included here, each perhaps to be segmented either before the *d* or the *ud*/*üd*: *Ayiriud* (1); *Bayaud* (5); *Buyruud* (1; perhaps cf. the man's name *Buyiruq*); *Caŋšiud* (2); *Dutaud* (*Tatar*) (2); *Jarciud* (1 [1228]); *Olqunuud* (4); *Sasud*/*Sesüd* (1/2; cf. *PFEH* 30.156); *Uruud* (16). Three further forms are more interesting: *Salǰiud* (4; cf. *Buqatu Salji*, perhaps 'Buqatu the Salji'); *Tayciud*/*Tayiciud*/*Tayijiud* (1/38/2; Poppe 1975.165 suggests that the base may be *tayiji* 'prince', borrowed from Chinese); *Teleŋgüd* (1; cf. *Tenleg*, perhaps to be emended to †*Teleŋ*).

[168] Base possibly a word corresponding to Kirghiz *chaghïrmaq* '3-year-old deer' (*PFEH* 18.73).

[169] *PFEH* 31.69 suggests a possible base †*elöür*.

(?)	—	*hüŋši-üd*/. .*u-d*[170]	1 (1173)	stench
(?)	—	*müs-üd*/*müsü-d*	7	rod, arrow-shaft
(?)	—	*naq-ud*	1 (Z270)	(?)[171]
(?)	—	*nendü-üd*/. .*ü-d*	1 (X040)	(?)[172]
(?)	—	*qara*+*qci-ud*	1 (6036)	black
(?)	—	*qoŋši-ud*/. .*u-d*	1 (1172)	stench
(?)	—	*qoŋqo*+*qci-ud*[173]	1 (3457)	yellow(ish brown)
(?)	—	*Teles-üd*/. .*ü-d*	1 (6251)	(in toponym)[174]

7. Plurals in *-uud*, *-nuud*[175]

(B):

caqaan	+	*caqaan-uud*[176]	4	white
qal	7	*qal-nuud*[177]	5	fire
qara	+	*qara-nuud*	2	black

(D):

hulaan	7	*hulaan-uud*[178]	1 (6220)	red
(*kib*/*kibu*)[179]	—	*kib-uud*/*kibu-ud*	1 (Y072)	(type of fabric)

[170] The present writer originally thought that this word and *qoŋšiud* (below) were probably *-Ud* plurals of *+g* derivatives of verbs in *-ši-*; cf. *HY nigšig* 'rank, fetid' based on *CM nigši-* 'become spoiled (of food)'. But Vietze (forthcoming) points out that the *Altan Tobči* has *öngši'ün* and *qongši'ün* in this passage, and believes the latter to be a back-harmonic form of *CM kengšigün* 'smell of burning' (Lessing).

[171] *PFEH* 31.69 takes this as a "plural of *naq* < Persian *nakh* (*nax*), a word designating a kind of gold brocade . . ."; so Cleaves 1982.214, following Pelliot. Poppe 1955.40, while agreeing that the *YCPS* gloss 'gold ore' is incorrect, takes the form as rather 'money, coins'; he compares it with an Arabic loanword *naqd* 'cash, ready money' found in *MA* and in Middle Turkic. *TMEN* 4.37 states that the base here (**naq*) was more likely borrowed from a Persian word referring to a type of carpet.

[172] See discussion *PFEH* 21.53–4; the form is not known outside the *SH*, and is there left unglossed.

[173] Root is *qoŋqor* 'light bay (of horses)'.

[174] Occurs only in the toponym *Qurban Telesüd* 'The Three Teles/Telesün (?)'

[175] For additional examples in later texts, see § 9.2 below. Note that *MM* offers no clear evidence for front-harmonic alternants of these suffixes.

[176] The only instances of *caqaanuud* and *qaranuud* occur on a sinle page (X15) of the *YCPS*. (In the Altan Tobči these forms were replaced by simple *čayan* and *qara*.) Quite possibly such forms contrasted in meaning with the regular plurals, some of which occurred at least in later stages of *MM* (cf. § 8.2 [g] below). But it is conceivable rather that *-uud* was simply an aberrant spelling for the *-Ud* plural ending, and reflects a Uighur-script writing with a space between the stem and the suffix.

[177] Note that this plural occurs solely before *tüle-* 'to light [fires]'.

[178] The base occurs in toponyms, as well as in the 7 instances noted. The plural occurs only in *Jorqal Qun-u Hulaanuud Boldaud*. De Rachewiltz (*PFEH* 16.52) states

8. Synchronic summary. The facts presented above may be summarized by the following descriptive statements. These statements (intended to replace the first paragraph of §4. 112 of Street 1957) are claimed to be valid only for the SH; texts from a somewhat later stage of MM show even more irregularity in plural formation than does the *SH*.

8.1 Regular formations. Nominal plurals are formed with either of two plural morphemes, {*-nar*} and {*-s*}. The first of these occurs only with non-lineal kinship terms (examples in §1), the second after bases of all other sorts.

The plural morpheme {*-s*} has six allomorphs, of which two (*-uud* and *-nuud*; see §§7, 8.2 [g], 9.2) are extremely rare and probably represent late innovations. The four common allomorphs are, for the most part, in complementary distribution. These are:

-n after bases ending in *i* or *y*. See §3.1—2 **(A)** for examples.

-s after bases ending in a vowel other than *i*. See §2.1—2 (A) for examples.

-d after bases ending in an apical sonorant (*r*, *l*, or *n* [stable or variable]), any of which drops before this allomorph of {-s}. See §4.1—3 **(A)** for examples.

-Ud after bases ending in a consonant other than those mentioned above (i.e. after *b*, *d*, *g*, *q* [$=\gamma$], *s*, *m*, *ŋ*). Inasmuch as the voiced velars *g* and *q* drop before this allomorph, it certainly contained a primary long vowel. See §6.1—7 **(A)** for examples.

8.2 Exceptions. There are a number of exceptions to the distributional statements just above.

(a) The demonstratives *en-e* 'this' and *ter-e* 'that' take an internal *-d-* in their plurals: *e-d-e* and *te-d-e*. See § 5 above.

(b) Two vowel-stem bases apparently form plurals in *-d* rather than *-s*:
busu 'other', plural *busu-d*
edöe 'now, the present', plural *edöe-d(-tür)*
Both of these plurals (§ 4.4) are found also in later MM texts, though the latter — found only in the case-form cited — is rare. Perhaps the bases were once variable *n*-stems, or could take pronominal *-n*.

that this, 'Red Hills of the Deer [?] Cliff', is the same as the place called *Hulaan Qud* or 'Red Cliffs' in section 163 (line 5342).

[179] The form refers to a fabric of heavy silk or taffeta. The base (possibly a borrowing from Korean) occurs as *kib* in *HY*, *SMI* 1453 (*HJAS* 13.445—6, with references), and *TDB*. But *SMI* 1338 has twice *kibutan törges*, once *qibutan törges* (*HJAS* 14.98 [fn. 137]). Since *bt* is not a prohibited sequence in *MM* (cf. *SH kebte-esü*, *ilübte*, *dab+tuar*) and since *-tU/-tAy/-tA-n* never has a vowel-initial allomorph, these forms must represent *kibu* plus *-tan*. The base must probably be assumed to be *kib* ~ *kibu*.

(c) Bases ending in *u* or *ü* that have any sort of alternate shape with final *y* — whether or not the shapes differ in meaning — use plurals (§ 3.2 [B]) formed on the *y*-variant rather than the vowel-final one:[180]
-tA-n is plural of the possessing endings *-tU* (masculine) and *-tAy* (feminine). E.g. *qal-ta-n* '[those] having . . . fire[s]' functions as plural of both *qal-tu* and its feminine *qal-tay*.
-KU-n is the plural of the nomen futuri forms in *-KU* (adjectival?) and *-KUy* (nominal?). E.g. *ab-qu-n* is the plural of *ab-qu* and *ab-quy*.
edü-n is the plural of *edü* ~ *edüy* 'this many'
mawu-n is the plural of *mawu* ~ *mawuy* 'bad, evil'
ügeü-n is the plural of both *ügeü* (masculine) and *ügeüy* (feminine) 'without'.
There are a few additional instances (§ 8.3 **[A]**) of *-n -n* plurals formed on bases ending in a high rounded vowel; probably all of these had *y*-final alternate shapes that happen not to be attested in MM. These are:
eyimü-n, plural of *eyimü* 'such, so' (and ?†*eyimüy*)
keceü-n, plural of *keceü* 'hard' (and ?†*keceüy*)
sacau-n, plural of *sacau* 'equal' (and ?†*sacauy*)
teyimü-n, plural of *teyimü* 'such' (and ?†*teyimüy*)
Note hat these four actually-occurring bases appear in contexts such that they could be taken either as masculines (vs. hypothetical feminines in *y*) or as adjectives (vs. hypothetical nominal forms in *y*).

(d) While a few bases ending in $+sU(n)$ have their expected plurals in *-d* (e.g. *öe+sün/öe+sü-d* 'self'), most apparenty drop that suffix before adding *-d*. Historically such forms must be plurals of the underlying root, without the suffix, though in many cases we cannot tell whether that root ended in *n*, *r*, or *l*. See § 4.1 **(B—C)** above for full exemplification.

(e) One base apparently suffers haplology in its expected *-d* plural:
hodun/ho-d 'star'. Contrast this with regular *modun/modu-d* 'tree'.[181]

[180] This seemingly odd situation may be likened to that involving variable n-stems. In effect the term *variable n-stem* could be interpreted to mean 'a vowel-final base having an alternate shape with final *n*'.

[181] However *mo-d* 'trees' occurs in one hP'ags-pa text (*IVLMMT* 3.73), as well as in later stages of Mongolian. *HJAS* 14.99 (fn. 152) suggests that *mod* is not a reduced version of *modu-d*, but plural of the *mo* (or †*mo*[*n*]) of *mo+ci* 'carpenter'. Possibly both *modu*(*n*) and *hodu*(*n*) contained a suffix †$+du(n)$, which should be treated in the same manner as the $+su(n)$ in the paragraph just above. Note, however, one occurrence of *hodu-d* 'stars' in *HP* (Bosson, writing in *CAJ* 6.98); this is distinct from HY *ho-d/ho⟨n⟩-d* 'years'.

(f) Three color terms containing some indeterminate suffix form plurals in *-ud*: *alaq+ci-ud* 'multi-colored, pied', *qara+qci-ud* 'black', *qoŋqo+qci-ud* 'yellow(ish brown)'. Poppe (1952. 67, GWM § 274, IMCS 180, MA 64) believed that the usually-feminine *-qci(n)* was included in such bases, and that the initial gamma of script-writings of this plural suffix (later *ca*[*γa*]*γčiγud* 'white [mares]', for example), was merely a hiatus-filler. One cannot help wondering, however, whether the base of SH *alaqciud* was not †*alaq+ciq*, with †+*čiq* a variant of the +*šig* mentioned in footnote 170 above. If we could assume that †+*ciq* (after a stop) and +*šiq* (after a nasal) were allomorphs of a single SH morpheme, then this would be equivalent to the Modern Mongolian attenuative suffix +*šig* '-ish'. (Forms such as hypothetical †*qaraqciq* might have been created by false analogy to †*alaq+ciq*, with the root-final *q* of the latter misinterpreted as part of the suffix.[182])

(g) Three color terms and *qal* 'fire' form plurals in *-uud* (after an n-stem) or *-nuud* (otherwise): *caqaan-uud* 'white', *hulaan-uud* 'red', and *qara-nuud* 'black', *qal-nuud* 'fire(s)'.[183] (The *-nuud* allomorph must have been created by false analogy to *-uud* after n-stems; but the origin of *-uud* remains obscure.) Note that the expected plurals of two of the bases here do occur in later MM: *caγaγa-d* (*Alexander Saga*, *HJAS* 22.95 [fn. 417]) and *no*[*γo*]*γa-d* (TDB 55v19).

(h) Certain forms show, unexpectedly and unpredictably, an allomorph of {*-s*} immediately following either {*-nar*} or a first occurrence of {*-s*}; in such double plurals {*-s*} has always its phonologically correct allomorph. It is by no means clear whether these double plurals were felt by speakers of MM to be "set forms", or whether such pluralization was to some extent productive. The following are probably the only such plurals actually occurring in the SH.

beri-ne-d 'younger female in-laws'; formed on **beri-ner*, the expected plural of *beri*.

kici-d-ud 'a type of camel'; seemingly formed on †*kici-d*, the expected plural of a possible base †*kicir*.

Kita-d (ethnonym); formed on **Kita-n*, plural of presumed †*Kitay*.

lawsa-s-ud 'a type of mule'; formed on **lausa-s*, expected plural of a presumed **lausa*, borrowed from Chinese.

naci-d-ud 'a type of brocade'; formed on *naci-d*, which may be already a plural.

[182] Poppe writing in *UAJb* 46.125 (and earlier in *Keleti Szemle* 20.115 [1927]), considered such velars "of unknown origin", and "rätselhaft".

[183] The regular plural of *qal* would be †*qa-d* (= †*γa-d*), homonymous with that of *qar* 'hand'.

noqo-d 'dogs'; if not merely a textual error in its one occurrence, this is formed on *noqa-n*, regular plural of *noqay*. See footnote 119.

qaci-d-ud 'a type of mule'; formed on **qaci-d*, expected plural of **qacir* (§ 4.2 [D]).

qoni+ci-d 'shepherds'; formed on *qoni+ci-n*, regular plural of *qoni+ci* (root *qonin* 'sheep').

quriqa+ci-d 'lamb-herds'; formed on **quriγa+ci-n*, expected plural of unattested **quriγa+ci* (root HY *quriqan* 'lamb').

(For two possible additions to this list see footnote 140 above.)

8.3 Anomalous forms. There are a very few plurals forms whose status remains unclear; either they are utterly anomalous exceptions to the rules and exceptions just stated, or they represent errors in the SH text that has come down to us in the YCPS.

ǰalau-s 'youths, adolescent males' (vis-à-vis the base *jalauy*; but the formation would be regular for the alternate base *jalau*).

kibuud 'silk fabrics' (vis-à-vis base *kib* or possibly *kibu*; these forms are so rare [§ 7 **(D)** above] that there seems no way of accounting for the plural formation).

Maǰarad 'Hungarians' (vis-à-vis possible base *Majar*; see § 4.4 and note there).

noqa-s 'dogs' (vis-à-vis base *noqay*, with its regular plural *noqa-n*, and *noqo-d* — which is either an error or a double plural).

However one may explain *noqo-d*, the base *noqay* remains the sole SH instance of a base apparently permitting two simple plurals: *noqa-s* and *noqa-n*. It seems likely that this situation represents a last remnant of an older distinction between masculine and feminine singulars and plurals; one suspects that earlier †*noqa* and its plural *noqa-s* were of masculine gender, *noqay* and *noqa-n* feminine.

The form *jalau*(*-tu*) seems to refer to a young male (a servant) in 1027; in 7101 *jalauy* is either 'a young woman' or 'young' (in reference to a woman). If we allowed ourselves to exclude an occurrence of *jalauy* in 5255 (which seems an abstract noun 'youth').[184] Then this set of forms would parallel the 'dog' forms, and we might hypothesize an older paradigm of the following sort:

Masculine base	Feminine base	Masculine plural	Feminine plural
†*noqa*	*noqay*	*noqa-s*	*noqa-n*
jalau	*jalauy*	*jalau-s*	†*jalau-n*

[184] The pertinent phrase is *niken jalauy sayin gürümele güün*, lit. 'a youth-good alert man'; cf. *niken gürümele köün güün* 'an alert young man' (2289) and *öŋge sayid ökid*, lit. 'complexion-good girls; girls good with respect to complexion' (1450).

This hypothesis must remain speculative, however, until all the *y*-variants of section § 8.2 (C) above have been somehow accounted for.

8.4 Forms of indeterminate status. In addition to the above exceptional and anomalous forms, there remain many words whose synchronic status (as plurals or simple stems) is indeterminate; in the text and notes above these have been marked with an equals sign in lieu of the hyphen placed before what the present writer believes to be clearly an allomorph of one of the plural morphemes. (See, for example, footnote 30.)

Many additional forms have sometimes been treated as possible plurals (synchronically or diachronically) in the scholarly literature. Omission of any such form from the lists above indicates that the present writer believes it is not synchronically a plural. The following are just a few of the many instances that could be cited.

kimul 'fingernail' (cf. *SQP* 8; see *IMCS* 177 for this and for a *YCPS dabaal* which, however, must be emended to *dabaan* 'mountain pass')

haran and *irgen* 'people' (Haenisch 1950. 4—5, with unlikely bases †*haray* and †*irgey*!)

Moŋŋol 'Mongol' (base †*mongo* according to Sinor, in an article cited by Doerfer in *CAJ* 14. 76 [1970]; Doerfer correctly states "Es gibt jedoch in Mongolischen keinen Plural auf *-l* . . .").

8.5 Frequency. Nominal plurals are of very high frequency in the SH. The full text contains approximately 30,620 phonological words, and of these 2217 are the plurals enumerated in the text and footnotes above. (Excluded from this count are all forms marked with an equals sign above, and those whose meaning is unknown.) Thus nearly one out of fourteen phonological words in the *SH* text is a nominal plural. No comparable statistics seem available for Modern Mongolian, but examination of a few pages of a *SH* translation published in Ulaanbaatar in 1976 leads the present writer to think that nominal plurals in 13th century Mongolian were about four times as frequent as in the modern written language.

Because of the uncertainties represented by categories **C** and **D** in the lists above (not to mention the anomalous and indeterminate cases just discussed), raw frequency-of-occurrence figures for the various plural shapes seem of little significance. But one pattern does emerge from examination of such figures, and that involves rank-order in frequency of the different plural shapes. Whether one sums just occurrences in categories **A** and **B**, or adds to these either category **C** or category **D** — or both —, it turns out that:

(1) the *-d* shape accounts for over one-third of all occurrences of nominal plurals in the *SH*;

(2) *-n* accounts for somewhat less that one-third of such occurrences;

(3) *-s, -de, -Ud,* and *-nAr* are much less common, and together account for roughly one-third of such occurrences, with *-s* the most common of these four, and *-nAr* much rarer than the rest;

(4) *-uud* and *-nuud* are vanishingly rare, together accounting for much less than 1% of all nominal plurals.

But it is notable that the plurals of three inflectional endings are so extraordinarily frequent that together they account for about 23% of all nominal plurals; these are *-GsA-d* (4.5%), *-KU-n* (7.7%), and *-tA-n* (11%), plurals of the past participle *-GsAn*, the nomen futuri *-KU/-KUy*, and the possessing *-tU/-tAy*. If these plurals were excluded from frequency counts, *-d* would remain the most frequent plural shape, but *-n* would be demoted to third rank, becoming somewhat less frequent than *-s*.

9. Notes of plural formation in later Middle Mongolian. The complexity and irregularity of nominal plural formations in the language of the *SH* is quite striking when contrasted with the relative simplicity of morphology in Mongolian as a whole. The plural shapes *-nAr, -s -n, -d, -Ud* (with secondary *-de, -uud,* and *-nuud*) are not relatable by phonological rules, and appear to have originated from different sources.

Within a century or so after the *SH* was written, however, plural formation became still more irregular. An influx of foreign loanwords seems to have been largely responsible for this increasing irregularity; but it appears also that the *-s* plural and those plural-shapes that contained a vowel became more highly favored than the morphologically ambiguous *-n* and the stem-altering *-d*.

9.1 The ending *-nAr* came to be used not just after non-lineal kinship terms (a SH restriction not apparently noted by earlier researchers), but also after terms referring to divinities and human beings — or later reincarnations of humans — directly associated with Buddhism. A few examples are the following:[185]

baγsi-nar (IVLMMT 2. 164, 2.267, 5.40) 'teachers', formed on base *baγsi*

bodistv-nar (*BCA*) 'Bodhisattvas', formed on base *bodistv(a)* (borrowed < Uighur < Sogdian *pwtystβ* < Sanskrit *bodhisattva*; *HJAS* 17.94 [fn. 42]. Note that an *-ud* plural of this base is attested in *HP*).

[185] Stems ending in a velar apparently could not take *-nAr*; cf. *BCA bursang quwray-ud* 'monks and clergy', *ayayqa tegimlig-üd* 'monks' (*HJAS* 17.100 ff [fn. 118, 125]).

šimnanca-nar (*BCA*) 'nuns' formed on **šimnanca* (< Uighur *šimnanč* < Sogdian, eventually from Skt. *śramaṇerī*; *HJAS* 17.66, 102 [fn. 128])
tngri-ner (*BCA*; also *tngri-s* as below) and *HP dėŋri-ner* 'gods', based on *SH teŋgeri/teŋgiri* (with no plural occurring)
ubasi-nar (*BCA*) 'lay disciples' (< Uighur, eventually < Skt. *upāsaka*; *HJAS* 17.117 [fn. 290])

This extension of *-nAr* must surely have represented, at the start, a conscious and subtle attempt on the part of early Buddhist proselytizers to instill into their Mongol audiences a sense of kinship with Buddhist teachers, nuns, Bodhisattvas, etc.

Despite such usage, which was continued in later stages of the language, a trace of the earlier restriction can be detected in Classical Mongolian, for example. There we find that a kinship-term base takes on a non-kinship sense when occurring before a plural ending which is wrong from the point of view of the SH: *eke-ner* is never 'mothers', but 'woman', and *aqa-s* is not 'elder brothers' but 'older people' (*GWM* § 261 [end], § 277).

One *-nAr* plural may perhaps not involve a neologism, though it does seem a possible exception to the above-stated restriction on use of this morpheme: *HY* has *haci köün* for 'grandson' (= *SMI* 1338 *ači kōbegün*), and *köün haci-nar* for 'son[s] and grandchildren' (cf. *SMI* 1335, 1338 *kōbegü-d ači-nar*). While *haci* can indeed refer — as in these texts — to a man's son's child, the essential meaning of the word probably did not include the semantic component 'lineal kin'. For in modern dialects reflexes of the form can refer to children not only of a man's son, but also to children of his own brother, or of his father's brother. (See pp. 331—35 of Herbert H. Vreeland: *Mongol community and kinship structure* [Human Relations Area Files. New Haven, 1957]; this multiple reference of modern *aca* is there reconstructed for the Mongol prototype kinship system of ego's patri-lineage.)

9.2 The rare ending *-nuud* (surely formed by analogy to the *-uud* ending used after n-stems) became more productive. Some examples are as follows.

From documents in the vertical script (where only back-hamonic *-nuγud* was written):

arslan-nuγud (*IVLMMT* 2.163) formed on base *arslan* 'lion'
burqan-nuγud (*BCA*, *SMI* 1346, etc.) formed on base *burqan* 'Buddha' (*HJAS* 15.92 [fn. 48], 17.91 [fn. 29])
buyan-nuγud (*BCA*; also HP) formed on *buyan* 'merit' (borrowed < Uighur < Skt. *puṇya*; ibid.)
čöl-nuγud (*SMI* 1362) formed on *čöl* 'desert'
qara-nuγud (*moγai*) 'black (snakes)' (*IVLMMT* 2.186), formed on base *qara* 'black'

sudur-nuγud (*SMI* 1346; also *HP*) formed on *sudur* 'sutra' (< Uighur *sudur* < Skt. *sūtra*; *HJAS* 17.94 [fn. 49])
višai-nuγud (*BCA*) formed on †*višai* 'objects of sense' (< Uighur < Skt. *viṣaya*; *HJAS* 17.104 [fn. 157])

From HP documents (Poppe 1957. 123—133 passim):

ėši-nuud 'empresses' (for base see Poppe 1957. 114, where the form is romanized with *uu* rather than *üü*)
mandal-nuud 'mandalas' formed on base **mandal* (Skt. *maṇḍala*)
maqarač-nuud (read *maqaraŋ-nuud* by Poppe) 'maharajas' formed on a base unattested in MM (Skt. *mahārāja*)
purqan-nuud (as well as the expected *purqa-d*) formed on *purqan* 'Buddha'
šarir-nuud 'relics', formed on base borrowed from Skt. *śarīra*
zara-nuud 'moons', formed on base *zara* (= *SH sara*)

9.3 The *-n* plural lost whatever slight productivity it may have had at the time the *SH* was written, and began to be replaced by *-s*, particularly after stems ending in *i*:

asuri-s 'evil spirits' (*BCA*; base from Uighur *asuri* < Skt. *asura HJAS* 17.109 [fn. 204])
dakini-s 'imps' (*BCA*; base from Skt. *ḍākinī*, *HJAS* 17.99 [fn. 101])
darni-s or *tarni-s* 'magic formulae' (*BCS*, etc.; base from Skt. *dhāraṇī*, *HJAS* 17.99 [fn. 100])
erdini-s 'jewels' (*HP*, etc.; base from Skt. *ratna*)
gandarvi-s 'Gandarvas' (*BCA*; *HJAS* 17.109 [fn. 205])
kōrsi-s 'neighbors' (*HY*)
güri-s 'stones' (*Alexander Saga*) = *gürü-s* (*Aryun letter*; for discussion see Mostaert/Cleaves 1962. 46 [and fn. 161]). The base is *gürü* in *SH*, *güri* in MA.
nisvani-s 'passions' (*BCA*-3 [p. 1198, fn. 124])
qari-s 'foreign realms' (*SMI* 1346)
tngri-s 'gods' (*IVLMMT* 2.210 [*Mahākāli hymn*])

Also notable — probably as a survival rather than a neologism — is:

mayu-s (*BCA*) 'evil ones' formed on base *mayu* (= *SH mawu* rather than *mawuy*; § 8.2 (C) above). Cleaves in *HJAS* 17.90 (fn. 19) notes that *mayu-n* also occurs in *BCA*.

9.4 As the *-n* plural became rarer, double plurals such as *qonici-d* 'shepherds' and *quriqaci-d* 'lamb-herds' (§ 8.2 [h] above) became more common, paving the way for the later reinterpretation of the original *+ci-n* and *-Gci-n* plurals (with their bases) as variable n-stems. The *Twelve Deeds of Buddha*, for example, shows *saki-γči-d* 'protectors' (rather than the *saki-γči-n* found in *HP*); the text has ten such *-γči-d* plurals, but only one instance of *-γči-n*. And that same text shows both *qudaldu+ci-d* and *qudaldu+ci-n* for 'merchants'.

In the letter of Nūr ad-Din (*IVLMMT* 2.350) we find two more forms of this sort:

ayta+ci-d 'horse-herders'
bayurci-d 'cooks, stewards' (cf. § 3.1 above)

9.5 Certain loanwords formed plurals in *-Ud* rather than the expected *-d*:
bor-ud 'wines' (*IVLMMT* 2.269); formed on base *bor* (borrowed from Persian *bōr* [*TMEN* 1.2, § 780])
güŋgon-ud (and once *güŋgon-uud*) 'temples' (*HP*)
yaman-ud 'offices' (*SMI* 1348; *HJAS* 27.99 [fn. 9], *HJAS* 12.126 [fn. 215]; base from Chinese)

References and Abbrevations

(see also footnote 3 above)

BCA = the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, as presented in Francis W. Cleaves: "The *Bodistw-a awatar-un tayilbur* of 1312 by Čosgi odsir", *HJAS* 17. 1–129 (1954).
BCA-3 = Igor de Rachewiltz, "The third chapter of Chos-kyi 'od-zer's translation of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*: a tentative reconstruction" In *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata.*: *Serie Orientale Roma* 61, 3 1983. pp. 1173–1200.
Bese 1988 = Lajos Bese, "On some ethnic names in 13th century Inner-Asia" *AOH* 42. 17–42.
Cleaves 1982 = Francis W. Cleaves, *The Secret History of the Mongols, Vol. I* (translation). Cambridge, Mass.
de Rachewiltz 1972 = Igor de Rachewiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols. Uralic and Altaic Series* 121. Bloomington, Ind.
GWM = Nicholas Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*. Wiesbaden, 1954.
Haenisch 1950 = Erich Haenisch, "Grammatische Besonderheiten in der Sprache des Mangḫol un Niuca Tobca'an". *Studia Orientalia* 14: 3 (Helsinki).
HJAS = *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. References are to articles on Middle Mongolian topics written by Francis W. Cleaves, and published between 1949 and 1967.
HY = the *Hua-i I-yü*, as presented in Antoine Mostaert, *Le matériel mongol du Houa I I Iu de Houng-ou (1389)*, édité par Igor de Rachewiltz, avec l'assistance de Anthony Schönbaum. *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddiques* 18. Bruxelles, 1977.
IMCS = Nicholas Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian comparative studies. MSFOu* 110. Helsinki, 1955.
IVLMMT = Louis Ligeti (ed.), *Indices verborum linguae mongolicae momumentis traditorum*. Budapest, 1970–74.
Kowalewski = Joseph Étienne Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire Mongol–Russe–Français*. 3 vols. Kasan, 1844–9.
L = N. Poppe, "Das mongolische Sprachmaterial einer Leidener Handschrift". *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 1927–8.
Lessing = Ferdinand D. Lessing, et al., *Mongolian–English dictionary*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960.
MA = N. N. Poppe, *Mongol'skij slovar' Mukaddimat al-Adab*. Moskva, 1938.

Mostaert/Cleaves 1962: *Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Aryun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel*. Harvard University Press.
PFEH = *Papers in Far Eastern History*. References are to Igor de Rachewiltz, "[English translation of] the Secret History of the Mongols". In vols 4–31 passim (1972–1985).
Poppe 1952 = Nicholas Poppe, "Plural suffixes in the Altaic languages". *UAJb*24.65–83.
Poppe 1955 = Nicholas Poppe, "The Turkic loan words in Middle Mongolian". *CAJ* 1. 36–42.
Poppe 1957 = Nicholas Poppe, *The Mongolian monuments in hP'ags-pa script*. Second edition translated and edited by John R. Krueger. Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, 8 (1957).
Poppe 1975 = Nicholas Poppe, "On some proper names in the Secret History". *UAJ*47. 161–167.
Poucha 1956 = Pavel Poucha, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen als Geschichtsquelle und Literaturdenkmal*. Prague.
SQP = Antoine Montaert, *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire Secrete des Mongols*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1953. Reprinted (with new preface [pp. vii–xx], and continuous pagination) from *HJAS* 13–15.
Street 1957 = John C. Street, *The language of the Secret History of the Mongols. American Oriental Series*, vol. 42. New Haven, Conn.
Street 1986 = John C. Street, *On the 14th century punctuation of Mongolian in the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih. Mongolia Society Occasional Papers*, No. 12. Bloomington, Ind.
TDB = the *Arban qoyar jokiyangyui*, as presented in Nicholas Poppe, *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha, A Mongolian version of the Lalitavistara*. Wiesbaden, 1967.
TMEN = Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolischen Elemente im Neupersischen*, vols, 1–4. Wiesbaden, 1963–75.
Vietze (forthcoming) = Hans-Peter Vietze, "Hapaxlegomena auf *γ-* und q- in der 'Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen'."