




Cushitic nominal number morphology

- (a) rich and complex,
- (b) up to three noun forms: basic/general number  plurative PLV
singulative SGV
- (c) sequences of number suffixes can be affixed to a single basic form,
- (d) number can overlap with gender marking,
- (e) number marking is mostly optional,
- (f) less usage of the number-derived forms has been reported. Possible consequences:
 - encourages reinterpretation,
 - make the markers prone to change,
 - extensive renewal results in varying numbers of PLVs

Pluratives in Cushitic

The term plurative (PLV) is used for the morphologically derived number plural forms in Cushitic to avoid confusion with the term plural which refers to gender in some Cushitic languages (cf. Mous, 2021).

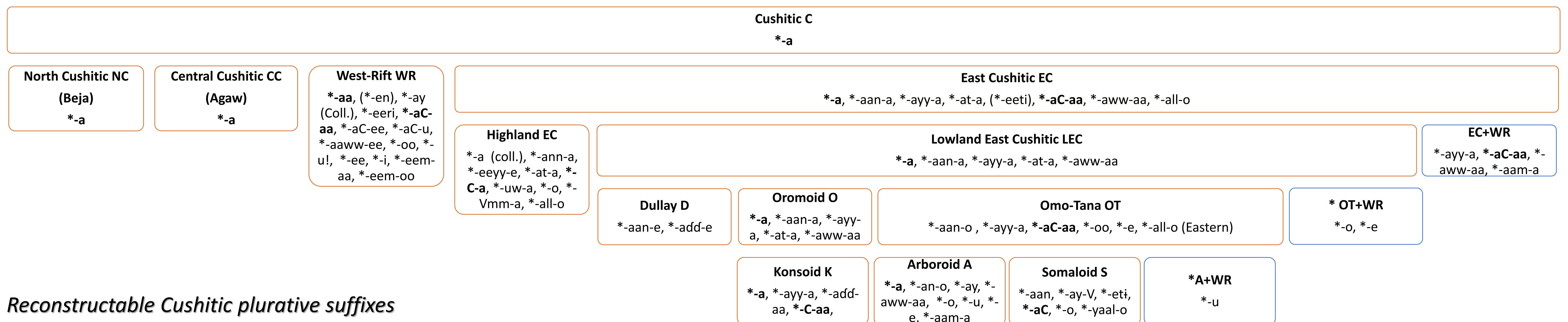
The phonological shape of the plurative PLV suffix: -V (vowel-based VB)

-V(V)C(C)-V(V) (consonant-based CB)
*-aC-aa (reduplicated final syllable RD)

The PLV forms are decomposable.

NC	CC	Saho-Afar	Somali	Somaloid, OT	Bayso, OT	Arbore, OT	Arboroid, OT	Elmolo	Oromo, O	Konso	Konsoid, O	Dullay, LEC	Gawwada	Ts'amako	Hadiyya	Kambaata	Sidaama	Gedeo	Burji	Iraqw	West-Rift, SC	Alagwa	Burunge	Dahalo
Beja	Agaw	Saho-Afar	Somali	Rendille	Aweer	Bayso	Arbore	Arboroid, OT	Oromo	Konso	Dirayata	Muccal	Gawwada	Ts'amako	Hadiyya	Kambaata	Sidaama	Gedeo	Burji	Iraqw	Gorwaa	Alagwa	Burunge	Dahalo
-a (p-ya /-V-)	-a, aa	-a, (p-wa /-V-)	-aC	-aC	-nyl	-VVC	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-Ca	-adde, -idde	-add-e	-a	-Cata	-a	-Ca	-yyee/yyaa -Vn(n)V (-naa, -nee, -maa, -nnee, -moo)	-a	-a/ā /aa	-a	-a/aa	-a
-uu, -w	-VC	-aay	-(V)nye	-nyoobi	-V-CC-o	-Ca	-(C)u	-ay-ne	-lyye, -eyyi -owaa, -owaan, -woon	-Caa	-Ca	-yya	-imme	-inn-e	-uwa, -uwwa/-ewwa	-annu	-Ca	-eeyye	-yyee/yyaa -Vn(n)V (-naa, -nee, -maa, -nnee, -moo)	-ay	-aCu	-aCaa	-aCa	-aCa, -uCa
-lw, -d-lw	-wa	-aan-yo, -daan-yo	-Ci	-t-oobi	-aal	-t-e	-to (tu)	-ay (y)	-lyye, -eyyi -owaa, -owaan, -woon	-ayaa	-yya (-yya/-ayya)	-wwe	-Ce	-ann-e	-a7a	-aakkata	-eeyye	-uwa/-ba/-bba, -Vwaa/-ubba	-omma	-iya?	-keeo-aCu	-aCu	-aCu	-aCu, -aCci
-aat-ān	-oowa, -uwwa	-yaa	-Ce	-t-oobi	-aal	-t-e	-to (tu)	-ay (y)	-lyye, -eyyi -owaa, -owaan, -woon	-ayaa	-yya (-yya/-ayya)	-wwe	-Ce	-ann-e	-a7a	-aakkata	-eeyye	-uwa/-ba/-bba, -Vwaa/-ubba	-omma	-aawee	-iyyo	-ayoo	-<ee> a	-udda
-t, -VL, -tV	-ta	-yāw	-o / -yō	-yaami	-laal	-mē	-im, -mu	-ma	-oota, -ota	-waa	-ada	-adda	-dane	-n-e	-e7e	-a	-e	-adda/udda	-e	-?i	-ay, -āy	-aawee	-yayyu	-addi
-t-ay	-it	-daa	-Ci, V, C																					

Inventory of Cushitic plurative suffixes



Reconstructable Cushitic plurative suffixes

Conclusions and hypothesis

Hypothesis 1 (archaic PLVs)	Hypothesis 2 (core *-a(a))	Hypothesis 3 (1+2) (analogical renovation)
6-archaic forms *CB *-y-, *-w-, *-t-, *-m-, *-n-, *-l- *VB (*-a) → VB (-a) *RD + (*VB) → RD+VB	*VB + *RD → CB (analogy of form & meaning) *RD + (*VB) → RD+VB *VB → VB (variation: syllable, gender, case, etc.)	*6-CB moribund → Utilized *RD mechanism+(VB) → CB renovated *RD + (*VB) *VB → VB
+ accounts for the AA cognates + more plausible: cognates & intermediate stages - AA links might not be concrete - the fate of all the CB suffixes of NC Beja?	+ theoretical categorization framework + RD central to the PLVs development + varying levels of RD utilization → varying PLVs + promising to address gender development - an oversimplification of synchronic evidence - no controller: unlimited number of PLV is possible	+ accounts for the synchronic variation in the number of PLVs + the *6-CB limits the revivable CB utilizing the RD mechanism + address the NC Beja case where the RD has been confined to ADJ
All PLVs are archaic → WR and EC retentions	CB suffixes → shared EC-WR innovations WR variation in VB is WR innovation	Possible to argue for shared CB renovation in WR and EC

Main rules

Terminal vowel deletion: Base/Stem -V → ∅ / _ PLV SFX

Cushitic Regressive Assimilation Rule: V- → a- / _ *-Ca(a)

*-t- lenition?

PC -t- → PEC -t- → PSC -d- → PD/PK -d- → PWR -r-

PC→SC

EC→D/K

SC→WR