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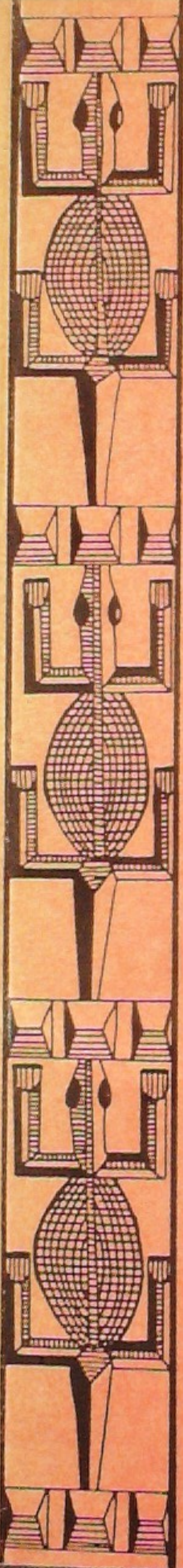
Andrzej Zaborski

The Morphology of
Nominal Plural
in the
Cushitic Languages

BEITRÄGE ZUR AFRIKANISTIK

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ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI

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CUSHITIC LANGUAGES

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Beiträge zur Afrikanistik

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FOREWORD

This book has been written as one of the products of my stay at the Institute of African Studies of the University of Cologne on a research grant of the Humboldt Foundation from September 1983 till August 1984, from February till 15th April and from 15th July till the end of December 1985. I wish to express my very deep gratitude to the Foundation and all the members of its staff for their immense help and a very efficient and cordial assistance. I am also greatly obliged to Bernd Heine for his initiative and help.

This monograph is only a synopsis of the nominal plural morphology in the Cushitic languages and because of its shortcomings the results are only general and preliminary. It is based on most if not all the existing published sources as well as, in the case of Konso and Dirayta, on the still unpublished dictionaries by Paul Black and, in the case of Dahalo, on my field notes supplemented by the unpublished MA thesis by Derek Elderkin. I have checked also the existing dictionaries even of languages for which we have relatively good grammatical descriptions like Sidamo. This enabled me to find some rare forms and to make some quantitative conclusions though no statistic study has been undertaken. It has to be emphasised that the data on several languages which remain very little known are quite rudimentary and therefore this synopsis and its final results will have to be revised.

I have practically disregarded the Omotic languages since we largely lack even basic data on so many of them. This does not mean, however, that I reject the possibility that the Omotic group is simply a branch of Cushitic i.e. West Cushitic. We need data and an internal comparative study of Omotic before the final decision on how to classify it is made.

I have arranged the material into chapters corresponding in the principle to the generally accepted though certainly not final but provisional genetic classification of the Cushitic languages but it does not mean that I accept this classification without reservations concerning e.g. the existence of a separate South Cushitic branch from which I have hypothetically excluded Dahalo which belongs probably to Lowland East Cushitic. Also Konso and Dirayta (Gidole) are grouped together with Oromo though this classification is only provisional. I prefer the name "Somaloid" which is certainly not ideal but in my opinion better than "Sam".

Andrzej Zaborski

Cologne, December 1985

B E J A

(North Cushitic)

B E J A

A. Singulative, Collective, Paucal Plural

There are only remnants of singulative forms and of paucal plurals (cf. Roper 1928, 13). In the existing sources there are the following examples:

taweg m.	mosquitos (coll.)
tawīg, tawig (Reinisch) id.	
tawīg-ay f.	a mosquito (singulative)
tawīg-ey pl.p.	a few mosquitos (paucal plural)
hami c.	hair; wool (coll.)
hamo-t f.pl.	hair of human head
hamo-b m.pl.	all other hair; wool
hamoyī-ay f.	a single hair (singulative)
hamoyī-ey f.pl.	a few hair (paucal plural)
āšī m.	fish (coll.)
āšōy-ay f.	a fish (singulative)
āšōy-ey pl.p.	a few fishes (paucal plural)

Reinisch (1895) provides also āša, āše (coll.) and singular āšo, pl. āsaw-a, i.e. with the plural suffix -a (see below) which occurs quite exceptionally with the noun having -o in the singular.

kutān m.	bugs (coll.)
kutānī-ay f.	a single bug (singulative)

arab m.	hillmen (coll.)
arabīn-ay m.	a hillman (singulative; note -īn-!)

Roper (ibid.) says: "Nouns ending in a vowel other than -a often have two forms of plural in the indefinite" but he quotes only one example:

ārsīt	fleeces
arsi f.s.	fleece
arsīt	a fleece (singulative)
ārsiāt pl.p.	a few fleeces (paucal plural)

It is difficult to say whether -ī- may go back to *-i-ay in this case. The singulative suffix -ay making also verbal nouns goes back to Hamito-Semitic though there could be some interference with Tigre where -ay also makes singulatives. The plural forms with -ey are a Beja development (cf. below).

Lexicalized -ay occurs also probably in some words like:

be'rāy	bull	be'rāy pl.
abalāy	monkey	abalāy pl.

B. Reduplicated Plural

As indicated by Reinisch (1893, § 119), there are only traces of nominal plurals with reduplication. The examples are, as a matter of fact, limited to adjectives:

di', de' s.	small, little	dāde' pl.
dis s.	small	dādis pl.

wun (in Barka) big, large	wāwun, wāwin pl.
win, wēn	

Actually the reduplication is accompanied by i : a, u : a (Roper provides plural forms without length, i.e. dadis, wawin). Reinisch (ibid.) supposes that the numeral tagūg (Roper: tāgug) "twenty" is also a partial reduplication - this hypothesis is quite probable. Cf. Oromo dīgdamā "twenty" explained as *dīg-ta-ma as explained already by Praetorius.

C. External Plural

1. -A.

According to all the authorities (Almkvist 1881, 61; Reinisch 1893, § 115; Roper 1928, 11; Hudson 1964, 127; Hudson 1976, 107) this is the most widely used suffix as far as nouns ending in a consonant are concerned, e.g.:

Sing.			Plur.
yaf	m.	mouth	yafa
san	m.	brother	sana
ab	c.	kid	āba
fir	m.	face	fira
mīd	m.	penis	mīda
sar	m.	skin	sara
gaw	m.	tent, house	gāwa
daw	m.	thicket, forest	dāwa
yat	f.	death	yata
ṣā'	f.	cow	ṣā'a
yīn	f.	sun, day	yīna
bāl	f.	cloud	bāla
būr	f.	earth, land	būra
ragad	m.	leg	ragada

dāngar	f. place	dangara
gwib	c. mouse	gwiba
ambarôy	f./m. lip	ambarôya

In bisyllabic words ending in y Roper transcribes usually -ey in the singular and -ay-a in the plural. It is possible that his singular -ey is only a phonetic interpretation of phonemic /ay/. Another possibility, namely that there is an assimilation of -ey to -a resulting in -ay-a is less probable. Roper lists the following examples in which Reinisch (1895) has -ay in the singular:

Sing. héley	hare	Pl. helâya
koley	stick	kolayya
lôkey	stick	lokâyya
samey	sort, style	samaya
āmsey	present	āmsaya

In bisyllabic words (cf. Almkvist 1881, 61; Roper 1928, § 36) short /i/ and /e/, sometimes also /a/ in the last syllable of the singular are elided:

Sing. dirim	herd	Pl. dirma
kelib	ankle	kilba
adif	bark, rind	ādfa
dārab	way, road	dārba
gedim	edge, bank	gidma (also umlaut!)
lolīš	cat	lólša

At least in one example the penultima is stressed and this, automatically, prevents elision:

Sing. kaleb	fence	Pl. kalēba
-------------	-------	------------

There are some dialect differences, e.g.:

Sing.		Pl.
Reinisch: hāwil	year	hāwla
Roper: hawil	"	hawila
Reinisch: gedām	root	gādma
Roper: gādam	"	gadama

It is to be emphasised that in the Bishari dialect the stress is usually on the first syllable while in the south it is on the second syllable, e.g. in:

Sing.		Pl.
Almkvist: hārib	gourd	harba
Reinisch: harīb	"	"

There is at least one example of the elision of -ū-, namely:

Sing.		
Roper: dirūk [˘] w	water-trough	dirkwa
Reinisch: derūk	"	"

though this may be, perhaps, interpreted as a metathesis like in

Sing.	merūk [˘]	shoe	Pl.	mérkwa
-------	--------------------	------	-----	--------

The elision does not occur in every case even if the first syllable is long and stressed:

Sing.	idir	m. sickness	Pl.	idira
	āgir	f. virgin		āgira
	hibib	f. foam		hibba (since this is is a mass noun, the plural probably means "a lot of foam")

The plural ending -a is used also with words ending in the singular in -i. Almkvist (1881, 61) says that these words consist of three or more syllables. This rule may be valid for the Bishari dialect but Roper's Vocabulary contains also bisyllabic words:

Sing. arsi, arisi	f. sheep skin	Pl. arsia
b'adi	m. palm stick	b'adia
b'iti	f. forehead	b'itia
dāfi	f. large pot	dāfia
gwirri	f. stripe, patch	gwirria
halkwi	c. foal of donkey	halkwia
hami	m. gall-bladder	hāmia
kuhī	m. egg	kuhī/a/ (Almkvist lists only kuhī for sing. and plural)
berāri	m. mane	beraria
garābi	f. footpath	garābia
mi'ari	f. food	mi'aria (Hudson 1964, 127, with the meaning "foods"; Roper and Reinisch do not provide a plural form of this collective).
di'abi	m. male animal	di'abia

According to Hudson 1964, 161, nouns with -i and -oy make their plural forms only with -a, but there are at least some nouns with -i (see below) which do not take this suffix.

I have found in Roper's Vocabulary two words with final -e (original *-ay?) which also make their plural forms with -a :

Sing. nage	m. desert	Pl. nagia
nawe	f. thorn	nawia (not mentioned by Reinisch)

Arabic and Tigre (eventually even Ge^Cez i.e. directly from Ge^Cez and not through Tigre) loan-words frequently make their plural forms with -a. Apart from some loans mentioned above the following words may be quoted as examples:

Sing. dor	m. turn, time	Pl. dora
sūg	m. market	sūga
darab	m. way, road	darba
herib	m. war	harba (with umlaut!)
térig	m. month	térga
bekīr	f. virgin	bíkra " "
debīb	m. grape	debība
gedīr	m. big pot	gīdra " "
gādi	m. judge	gādia
hakīmi	m. doctor	hakīmia
hākim	m. governor	hākma
fagīri	m. learned man, saint	fagra
šera'	m. sail	šir'a
halbāti	m. bag	halbātia
nugūs	m. king	nugūsa
bagul	m. plant, herb	bagula
ambilhōy	f. trumpet	ambilhōya

It is to be emphasised that the same -a is used also to make verbal nouns (abstracts), e.g.:

fira	f. flight	cf. for to flee
dīra	f. killing	dir to kill
arda	f. dance	ard, arid to dance
gwāya	f. inability	gwoy to be unable

and also adjectives (cf. Almkvist 1881, 276), e.g.:

hamira	poor	cf. hamir to be poor
gab	rich, satiated	gab to be rich

gwoya	unable	gwoy to be unable
nehawa	weak	nehaw to become weak; nehaw weakness

2. -Ø and tone/accent

According to Reinisch (1893, § 118; cf. Almkvist 1881, 61), all the nouns ending in a vowel have only one form for both plural and singular but this is obviously not true since there are many words having -i in the singular that have -a in the plural (see above for examples). Roper (1928, 11-12) says only that "Most (spacing mine - A.Z.) nouns ending in the singular in a vowel remain unchanged in the plural when accompanied by the definite article", e.g.

Sing. tū-fena	lance	Pl. t̄a-fena
t'ala	bead	t'ala

As a matter of fact, the definite article has taken over the function of indicating the plural when the word ends in a vowel (cf. Hudson, 1976, 107-108). This pertains also to possessives. The plural ending -a (an original collective?) is perhaps lexicalized at least in some words which have now -a as an inherent part of the stem. The latter is indeed ambivalent since it may be interpreted either as a part of the stem or as a suffix, i.e. the suffix of plural. It is possible also that other short vowels (Hudson, 1976, 100 and note 8 indicates that "In Arteiga, and possibly also in Hadendiwa, only two short vowels are distinguished, one corresponding morphophonemically to /aa/, the second to all other long vowels respectively..") i.e. /i/, /e/ and /o/ go back to original vowel morpheme/s/ of the plural which have been lexicalized. Much more research is needed in this case, e.g. the different variants of the indefinite forms should be investigated in different dialects. Hudson (1964, 127, 162) provides one very interesting example of two parallel plural forms with the indefinite article:

Sing. yoo	ox	Pl. yoo ^Y b/yoo ^Y ab (cf. Roper 1928, 249)
-----------	----	--

The plural differs from the singular in accentuation (see Hudson, 1976, 107; 1964, 127 and 162) but unfortunately Hudson who has done the most important study of the accent in Beja does not provide clear examples. Roper (1928, 13) who was unable to provide a strict analysis of the rules of accentuation provides the following rules: "Nouns ending in a vowel usually show the plural, when undefined, thus: a. monosyllables - the vowel is made very long, b. bi- and polysyllables - the stress is moved back one syllable" and he provides the following examples:

Ÿ'āb abāri	"I have a cow"
Ÿ'āb abāri	"I have cows"
hadāb adīr	"I have killed a lion"
hādāb adīr	"I have killed lions"

Evidently Roper's "very long" vowel is most probably a phonetic realization of the accentuated long vowel (the accent being phonetically realized as tone or pitch, cf. Hudson 1976, 102) and his "rather long vowel" (cf. p.3) is just a long vowel. The problem needs further research since Roper Hudson have not dealt with exactly the same dialect. A comparison of nouns ending in vowels other than /a/ listed in the dictionaries reveals a number of differences which are most probably dialectal. There is a possibility that actually the forms with the indefinite article contain traces of the older formations of plural. Only long vowels occur before suffixes (with some exceptions - cf. Hudson, 1976, 100) - this may be, perhaps a clue to an interpretation of -ā- as historically *-a plus -a of the plural. It is, perhaps, significant that at least Roper's Vocabulary does not contain a single noun with -u in the singular.

D. Internal Plural

Internal plurals are still relatively well represented in Beja. This is certainly an archaism.

1. Sing. -v- : Plur. -v-

This type seems to be the most widely spread:

Sing.	yām	belly	Plur.	yam
	kām	camel		kam
	tāt	louse		tat
	dāt	flea		dat
	yās	dog		yas
	fār	flower		far
	gāf	dreg		gaf
	kār	hill		kar
	kār	plain, lowland		kar (Reinisch)
	nāy	goat		nay
	rāt	question		rat
	rāt/lāt	leaf		lat
	kwān	stream		kwan
	fās	axe		fas
	ṣāy	cloud		ṣay
	nāl	knot		nal
	sām	wall		sam
	ihām	leopard		ihām
	mītāt	bone		mītāt (-ī- !)
	sarāt	back		sarat
	darāg	cheel		darag
	gulām	mustache		gulam
	siyām	grass		siyām
	āga	durra		āga
	alāl	whirlwind		alal
	baram	wind, weather		baram
	hawād	late evening		hawad
	gwārār	colon		gwārār
	malāl	chor; town		malal
	mīdāb	tongue		mīdab "

Many loan-words from Arabic and from Tigre follow the same pattern, i.e. Arabic internal plurals are not normally borrowed:

Sing.	kitāb	book	Plur.	kitab
	barrād	tea-pot		barrad
	fiṣṣān	cup		fiṣṣan
	daman	time		daman
	hilāl	comb		hilal
	kalām	talk		kalām
	hiṣṣāb	curtain		hiṣṣab
	iyāl	family, clan		iyal
	minṣār	saw		minṣar
	midān	scale		midān
	derār	supper		derār
	herār	march		herar
	serām	wheat		seram

With the apophony -ī- : -i- :

Sing.	angwīl	ear	Plur.	angwil
	ad'ir	grip, handle		ād'ir, adir
	dīn	thorn		din, also dāne !
	ebrik	tea-pot		ébrik

Almkvist (1881, 62) provides also a few examples of what looks like apophony (ablaut) -ā- : -e- and may be typical for the Bishari dialect or it may be phonologically wrong, i.e. a case of a misinterpretation of /ā/ :

Sing.	derār	supper	Plur.	derēr cf. Roper: dirār/dirar
	segāf	door curtain		segēf, cf. Roper: segāf/segaf

Roper (1928, 12) says also that nouns ending in the singular in -ay make their plural in ey - the following examples are found in his Vocabulary:

Sing. á ^Y ay	site, place	Plur. á ^Y ey
ílay	pod	íley
belay	seed-pod	beley
bīyay	leather thong	bīyey
dangālay	lizzard	dangāley
day	root	dey
fay	nose-ring	fey
gānay	gazelle	gāney
hangay	popliteal place	hangey
hātay	horse	hātey
kībālay	finger	kibāley
kīkay	crow	kīkey
kēlay	bird	kēley
kelay	muscle	kēley
kāray	hyaena	kārey
kwomālay	socket of the eye	kwomāley
mangay	khala, isolation	mangey
nāday	orphan	nādey
n'ay	goat	n'ey
sānay	stream of water	saney
sarīmay	femur (anat.)	sarīmey
šikhay	upper jaw-bone	šikhey
yay	rope	yey
simariāy	incisor tooth	simariēy

There is a chance that this is only a phonological misinterpretation i.e. that Roper has phonetic -ey instead of phonemic -ay and, on the other hand, -ay instead of -āy but it is more probable that this is a dialect difference. Reinisch has e.g. kerāy "hyaena", plur. kerāy, Almkvist has kerēy; kelāy "bird", plur. kelāy, genāy "gazelle", plur. genāy which clearly show the different accentuation. It has been a shift of accent that caused

a secondary differentiation -ay : -ey. In some loan-words the final -/a/y may actually be an original suffix (e.g. from Tigre).

Cf. also tawāy "acacia spirocarpa", plur. tāwi (from Ge^Cez?, Reinisch 1895, 233).

With the apophony -ū- : -u- :

Sing. ginūf	nose	Plur. ginūf (Roper and Reinisch genif)
(Roper also genūf)		
adūm	word	adūm (Reinisch adīm)
nūg	female breast	nug
hayūk	star	hayuk (Roper hayīkw)

2. Sing. -ū- : Plur. -i-

Sing. genūn	gum (of teeth)	Plur. genin
anbūr	wing, side	ānbir
atmūr	plain	atmīr
b'anūn	edge, margin	b'ānin
karrūk	hut	karrīk
asūl	blister	asīl
banūn	eyebrow	banīn
ferūk	grave	ferīk, firīk (!)
hawūd	night watch	hawīd (cf. hawād above)
kelūs	cub, pup	kelis, klis
hūm	brain	him, hum (Roper hūma)
fū'	smell	fi'

Also in Arabic and Tigre loan-words:

Sing. aḡūl	bail	Plur. aḡīl
------------	------	------------

gaddūm	axe	gāddim, gaddum
kabūr	drum	kabīr
šeltūt	rag	šeltit (Reinisch also šiltet)

3. Sing. -e- : Plur. -a-

Sing. mēk	donkey	Plur. mak
šey, še	rhinoceros	šay, ša
kwelēl	ring	kwulāl (Almkvist has kūlel)
emberēs	calotropis pro-	emberās, emberāsa
	cera	

Also in loan-words:

Sing. mēs	table	Plur. mas, mēsa
gēf	bank, coast	gaf

4. Sing. -o-/-ō- : Plur. -a-

Sing. ōr (Roper or)	son	Plur. ar
bōk (Roper bok)	he-goat	bak
dōf (" dof)	piece of meat	daf, dāfa
mōk (" mok)	neck	mak, mōka (Roper moka)

The difference -ō-/-o- is probably dialectal or the length is conditioned by stress/tone.

The theory which explains the origin of internal plurals in the most satisfactory way traces them back to collectives which are, in their turn, original verbal nouns (abstracts). In structural terms the process has been well described by J. Kurylowicz (1961, 179-194; 1972, 139-144, 203). It is especially important that Beja internal plurals show to a considerable extent the same apophony (ablaut) as verbal nouns. As far as bi-

consonantal roots are concerned, we find regularly:

Verbal Nouns			Verbs	
Sing.		Plur.		
lāw	fire	law	luw	to burn
wāk	cut	wak	wik	to cut
rāb	hate	rab	rib	to hate
dān	beginning	dan	din	to begin

and so on. According to Reinisch (1893, § 296), singular forms have a more concrete meaning while the plural is more abstract, e.g. bās "burial" (das Begräbnis) bas "burying" (das Begraben).

In triconsonantal roots we have e.g. :

Verbal Nouns			Verbs	
Sing.		Plur.		
abūk	grasp	abik	holding	abik
kehūn	love	kehān	loving	kehān
senūy	sejourn	seni	staying	seni
felū	fissure, slot	felā	splitting	felā

All this evidence indicates that internal plurals in Beja have to be considered as a very archaic feature, though there are different strata.

Addenda: According to Roper 1928, 12, § 40, the following names of liquids are used in the plural only: yam (masc.pl.) "water"; ā (fem.pl.) "milk"; iša (fem.pl.) "urine"; sīl (masc.pl.) "saliva"; hit (masc.pl.) "vomit"; sī (masc.pl.) "semen". The words kor "saddle", fīr "face", behale "word", "are all treated as plurals, even though a single saddle, face or word is meant".

Lowland East Cushitic

Lowland East Cushitic

A F A R - S A H O

A. Singulative and Collective

1. -to, -ta, -tu

The opposition singulative : collective is still functioning parallel to the opposition singular- : plural so that there are some nouns (cf. Reinisch 1878a, 33-34, 1878b, 112-113) that have four forms in Saho:

Coll.	ad-ám	man	Singulative masc.	adám-to
			"	fem. adám-tó
Pl.	adám-um		Paucal pl.	adám-tit

The opposition masculine : feminine is marked here by a stress morpheme and is most probably secondary. Whether the feminine suffix goes back to *-tôtV is an open question. Cf. also the following examples in which also the gender distinction is made :

Sing.	masc.	lubak-to	Pl.	lubāk-tit
	fem.	lubak-tó		
	masc.	okolóy-ta	Coll.	okoló
	fem.	okoloy-tà		okolol

Sing. basál-to	onion	Coll. basal
mulhúy-ta	salt	mulhu
safáry-ta	traveller	safari
baryá-to	slave	barya

Similar rules are valid also in Afar (cf. Bliese 1981, 175-176; Hayward 1983, 223-224; Morin 1977, 368-369; Colizza 1887, 66 was the first to draw attention to the vowel dissimilation rule) e.g.:

Sing. bārray-to	woman	Coll. bārra	Pl.
aduway-to	young fem. donkey	aduwa	adu-w-itte
takay-to	mangrove	takay	
kullún-ta	fish	kúllum	
ayyú ^C -ta	boil	áyyu ^C	

Some of these nouns change the gender in the plural, e.g.:

Sing. hutúk-ta m.	star	Pl. hutūk-a f.
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As explained by Hayward (1983, 223), unaccented final *-o changed to -u in Afar and hence masculine nouns are not *-yto, -*to but -ytu, -tu, e.g.:

Sing. Cány-tu	locust	Coll. Cānay	Pl.
rēdān-tu	chief	rēdon	
duwāy-tu	herdsman	duwēn-itte	
barāy-tu	evening	bāra	
anā ^C -tu, an ^C āy-tu	lamb	anā ^C e	
ḍaliy-tu, dayli-tu	calf m.	ḍayīla	
ḍaliy-to, dayli-to	" f.	"	

The same suffixes occur with Arabic loan-words, e.g.:

Sing. tamir-to	date	Coll. tamira	Pl. tamir-itte
igīn-tu	ignorant	igim	igin-titte
sabk-at	black scarf	sabok, sabōku	

masc. Ceydōy-ta	Coll. Ceydo
fem. Ceddoy-tá	

It is possible that mainly nouns denoting animates with natural sex distinction make masculine and feminine singulatives though this is not explained by authors dealing directly with Saho. E.g. Welmers (1952, 156) says only that "In some cases, unit form exists for both genders, indicating sex difference unless otherwise specified".

The occurrence of -to and -ta variants is conditioned phonologically: when the final root vowel is low, it is -to and it is -ta when the final vowel is not low; but there are both -to and -ta when the root ends in a consonant or semivowel (cf. Hayward 1983, 223-224; Reinisch 1878a, 34), e.g.:

	Sing.		Coll.	Pl.
-to	allulāy-to	animal	allula	
	furtāy-to	ant		
	sa ^C āy-to	cattle	sā ^C a	
	dagār-to	hair	dagar	
	ilāw-to	grain	ilaw	ilow
	dadāy-to	sprout	daday	
	Cimbōbay-tō	flower	Cimbōbā	
-ta	bak'liy-ta m.	mule	bak'li f.	
	siyyē-ta	palm-tree	siyye	
	unk'ok'ohoy-ta	egg	unk'ok'oho	
	k'ani ^C oy-ta	mosquito	k'ani ^C o	
	hutūk-ta	star	hūtuk	

According to Welmers (1952, 156), the gender of the singulative is not predictable from anything in the stem but masculine singulatives predominate.

The same singulative suffixes are used also with loans (mainly from Arabic), e.g.:

The last example indicates that Arabic -at is also taken over in some instances.

According to Hayward (ibid.), there is no obvious morphological rationale why is it that in Afar only masc. singulatives should appear with -y-tu, -tu. His purely phonological explanation is probable but still we should not forget that there is a -tu suffix in other Cushitic languages.

There are, perhaps, some dialect differences since Colizza mentions the -tu variant only in a note (1887, 66, n.1) and I have found only one example in his Vocabulary, namely (p.126) labahây-to or labahây-tu "man", coll. labahâ. Morin (1977, 369) speaks only about a tendency: "-ytu et -yto paraissent plus souvent suffixés à des noms dont la syllabe finale est de timbre /a/ ou /e/, -yta à ceux dont la voyelle de la dernière syllabe est de timbre e/, /i/, /o/, /u/". In any case the rule provided by Bliese (1981, 175-176) contains both a morphological (masculine !) and a phonological (unstressed mid-vowel) conditioning and hence it is, as a matter of fact, morphonological. Therefore it should not be called alternation. Cf. Southern Afar example provided by Morin (1977, 369) - fi'mâytu or fi^cintu "a member of fi^cma", cf. idâl-tu "an elderly man", idal-to "an elderly woman".

In Southern Afar there are also variants with -n-, i.e. -ntu, -nta with masculine and -nto and also -nta with feminine nouns. The origin of these variants seems to be uncertain. Morin (ibid.) provides optional variants :

Sing. ilmôy-ta/ilmôn-ta	bastard m.	Coll./Pl. ilim-u
ilmoy-ta/ilmon-ta	" f.	(ilmu and ilmoytite by Parker and Hayward)
^c allumêy-ta, allun-to	vulture	^c allum(ũ)
^c idmon-ta	beginning	^c idmo

It is probable that both variants are phonetically related.

In Southern Afar (but probably also in the North) the -t- of the suffix is sometimes assimilated "to the root-final consonant" but his examples show only liquids:

Sing. baduw-wa	young girl	Coll./Pl. bādūw(u) m.
gōroy-ya	ostriche	gōray(a); also goroyyāyi by Parker and Hayward)

Parker and Hayward (1985) mention also e.g. :

Sing. hangal-la	brain	Coll./Pl. hangal-itte, hangal-wa
kurdūd-da	unground grain	kurdud
gabid-da	griddle cake	gabid
kudkūd-da	soft tick	kúdkud
koḏba ^c ḏ-du	sea lizard	koḏba ^c ḏa

Cf. in Saho (Welmers 1952), e.g. :

Sing. kabel-la	shoe	Coll./Pl. kâbel
ḥabúb-ba	baboon	ḥābub
kabbūd-da	rib	kābbud

As it has been already shown above, there are nouns with singulative suffixes which have forms with plural suffixes as their counterparts, e.g. in Afar :

Sing. adday-tu	skin	Pl. addāy-ā, adday-titté; āday
alliggey-ta	bridesmaid	alliggey-titte, alliggēga
arkay-tó	bed	arkay-tōta
makābān-tu	chief	makābān-titte, makāb-ōnu
agaboy-ta	woman	agāb-u, agābu
aflenta	water-bag	aflen-titte
alum-to	animal footprint	alūm-a

Just like in Saho (see above) there are also some nouns having four forms, e.g. (Colizza 1887, 66, cf. Parker and Hayward 1985, 156) :

Coll. lubak m.	lion	Singulative masc. lubák-to, lubók-ti
	"	fem. lubak-to
Pl.	lubák-tit, lubak-wa, lubōka	

It is possible that lubák-tit is actually a paucal plural.

2. -a

There are at least traces of this suffix in Saho - cf. Conti Rossini, 1913, § 28 e, e.g. :

Sing. yangul-ā	hyena	Coll. yangúl
lakwto-ā	"otre"	lakwót
durut-ā	ox	durút-i (!)

Cf. also the examples quoted by Welmers (op.cit.) :

Sing. birt-a	iron	Coll. birit
lifēn-a	comb	lifēn (!)

and the examples provided by Reinisch (1878a, 35-36) :

Sing. yangūl-a	hyena	Coll. yāngul
lak'ot-ā	bag	lák'ot
kabel-ā	sandal	kábel
habuk-ā	gum	hábuk

In Afar we find in Colizza's grammar (1887, 66) the following examples :

Sing. yangūl-ā	hyena	Coll. yāngul (Parker and Hayward: yangul-itte, yangul-wa)
aror-ā	snake	ārōr
dama ^C āt-ā	baboon	dāma ^C at (Parker and Hayward: damā ^C e)

baluw-ā	young woman	báluw. bālū
ank'ar-ā	word	ānk'ar
boddin-a	tooth	bóddin
badir-ā	mare	bādir

and also with corresponding plurals with -it :

Sing. dirābil-a	liar	Pl. dirābil-it (Parker and Hayward: dirablēla)
awk-a	boy	awk-it, awak
egid-a	star	egid-it

Parker and Hayward (1985) provide also the following examples :

Sing. abin-a	work	Pl. abni
datārrāb-a	lip	datārrāba, datārrobu
sakr-a	type of crab	sakor
labk-a	back of shoulder	labok
dalk-a	disease	dalok
dakh-a	pastry	dākoh
gabī-a	cave	gābol, gablōla
targa	leather water bucket	tarog, tagrōri

Coming back to Colizza's examples it must be mentioned that he actually follows Reinisch considering forms without -a and without the shift of the accent as internal plural but probably only the shift of accent is involved and their transcriptions of accent together with length (e.g. yāngul) are phonetic but not phonemic i.e. the length is only a phonetic feature conditioned by accent. Certainly the different accentuation of the collective and its corresponding singulative was one of the sources of ablaut i.e. of the internal plurals, cf. below on this problem.

3. -o

It is possible that historically this is only a variant of the preceding suffix. Reinisch (1878a, 35-36) mentions the following Saho

example:

Sing. kimbir-ó bird Coll. kimbir

In Afar Colizza mentions (1887) only :

Sing. engir-ó youth Coll. éngir

while I could find in the dictionary by Parker and Hayward the following examples:

Sing. kimbir-o	bird	Coll. kimbir
gadb-o	plate made	gádob
	of reeds	
mā ^c iy-o	canine tooth	mā ^c iy

4. -í (?)

In Saho Welmers(1952) lists the following examples :

Sing. masangal-í	side	Coll. masángel
gúnd-í	log	gúned

cf. in Afar (Parkaer and Hayward 1985) dab^ce "armpit", pl. dabe^c.

B. Reduplicated Plural

Like in other Cushitic languages, this is a partial reduplication i.e. a repetition of the last consonant either after the final vowel as in Saho (Reinisch 1878a, 34-35; Welmers 1952, 160; Conti Rossini 1913, § 28 a), e.g. :

Sing. ikó	tooth	Pl. íkok
hadó	meat	hádod
amú/amu	head	ámum/ámom
gili	finger	ílol
angu	breast	ángug
dummu	cat	dúmmum
ayti	ear	áytit (?)

inti	eye	íntit (?)
illa	spring	íllal

or with a change of the vowel, e.g.:

Sing. gaba	hand	Pl. gábob
lafa	bone	láfof
abba	father	ábbob
bōdo	hole	bōdad

The repeated consonant is preceded by either -o- or -u- when the stem vowel is -a-, and it is preceded by -a- when the stem vowel is not -a-, cf. also the following examples of nouns ending in a consonant :

Sing. af	mouth	Pl. áfof, Irob: afóf
bar	night	báror, Irob: barór
lak	foot	lakok
nef	face	nefof
san	nose	sanon
dik	village	dikák
bus	vulva	busas
ǵib (Ar.)	pocket	ǵibōb

In Asa Lisan Conti Rossini (1913, § 28 a) has found also the following forms with a vowel after the repeated consonant :

Sing. lak	foot	Pl. lakôki
angù	female breast	angûgu

and the following exceptional forms:

Sing. ^c ok'k'wā	ear	Pl. ^c ok'k'āk'
^c ewré	"guancia"	^c eròr

as well as nouns with partial reduplication with the vowel change :

Sing. ^c arā	tooth	Pl. ^c arīr
galé	"ala"	galīl

dale sore dalēla

These transcriptions should be verified but perhaps dialect differences are responsible for this discrepancy. Colizza (1887) lists, among others, the following forms in his Vocabulary :

Sing. af	m.	mouth	Pl. áfof (Parker and Hayward also af-itte)
hān	m.	milk	hānun (Parker and Hayward hanona)
bār	m.	night	bārur, bārur
il	m.	eye	ilal
lak	m.	foot, leg	lákik (Parker and Hayward: lak-itte, lak-wa)
bōr		edge, side	bōrar (Parker and Hayward: bor-wa)
adagā	f.	market	adāgag, adāg-it
balō		earth	bálol
haydō		shop	háyodod (Parker and Hayward: hadōda)
kēna		back	kenān (Parker and Hayward also kēnāni)
nūke		place	nūkek
ayda		sheep	āydōd
abesā		viper	abēsis (Parker and Hayward: abēsas, abēsos)

There are some examples of nouns with an abstract meaning which probably indicate a connection with deverbal nouns, e.g. :

Sing. ukta	raising	Pl. uktat
alā	"volto, viso"	ālōl-alo-wa
gide	possession	gided (Parker and Hayward: gidēda)

ina	mother	ināni
bōda	meadow	bōdādi
buda	village	budādi
aboyya	grandmother	aboyyāyi
bōha	hole	bōhāhi
marēta	lover	marētāti

tarabēda (Ar.)	table	tarabēdāda
gile	knife	gilēla
tā ^C e	throne	tā ^C e ^C a
abre	reaction	abrēra
hane	revenge	hanēna
rike	part	rikēka
bu ^C re	cultivation area	bu ^C rēri
diyi	charcoal	diyīya
barti	party	bartīta (loan !)
ayti	ear	aytīta (?)
inti	eye	intīta
addi	young heifer	addīda, addīd-itte
angu	breast	angūga
sunku	shoulder	sunkūka

Mahaffy (1952, 41) sometimes transcribes short vowels where there are long vowels in other sources (Bliese, Parker and Hayward), e.g. :

Sing. gaba	hand	Pl. gabob
iba	foot	ibabo
inti	eye	intita
sunku	shoulder	sunkuk
mago	debt	magoga
gira	fire	girari
^C ale	mountain	^C alēla (Parker and Hayward also ^C alelwa, ^C alwa)

In Afar the partial reduplication usually involves also vowel change which is at least partially conditioned by morphological factors and hence it is morphonological so that the vowel change may be interpreted partially as ablaut and not as an alternation. Bliese (1981, cf. also 1977) has rather purely phonological rules governing the vowel change but these have been criticized by Hayward (1983, 224-226). These plurals actually belong already to the internal plural class, partial reduplication being one of the sources of the internal plurals. Parker and Hayward (1985) provide the following rules for reduplication with -a : "The suffix vowel is -i, providing the double vowel is ā; otherwise it is -a. For C-final singulars the double vowel of the plural is ō if the vowel preceding it is a (ā) but ā otherwise. For V-final singulars the double vowel is identical to the final vowel of the singular unless both it and the vowel that precedes it are a; in which case it will be ō. This type of plural is always feminine." They mention however (1985, 231) also a "minor pattern" in which -i occurs also after -ē- and -ō-. Let us see the following examples:

Sing. amo	head	Pl. amōma
magāla	town, village	magalōla
^c asbo	salt	^c asbōba
bada	lake	badōda
tellemmo	trade	tellemōma
tiko	black kite	tikōka
tiro	liver	tirōra
arrāba	tongue	arrābōbi
^c arsa	forehead	^c aršōsi (^c ansōsa in SA)
lafā	bone	lafōfi
dala	gourd	daloli
^c dāga	market	^c adāgōgi
hāra	faeces	harori
awla	guardian	awlōli
hayso	urine	haysōsi

Some Arabic loan-words follow this pattern, e.g. :

Sing. kīs	m.	bag	Pl. kisās, kisā (Parker and Hayward: kīs-itte)
sandūq		box	sandūquq (Parker and Hayward have Arabic sanādīg)

There are also some irregular reduplicated plurals:

Sing. segēri	dikdik	Pl. seggēri
sagāl	nine	sagaggāl
bōroy	flower	borayiyya
būyi	shallow well	buyyāya, buyya

C. External Plural

1. -a/-wa (after a vowel)

In Saho (Reinisch 1878a, 34; 1878b, 27); Conti Rossini 1913, §28 n; Welmers 1952, 161) we find the following examples :

Sing. egil	stream	Pl. egil-ā
dik	village	dik-ā
awr	bull	awr-a

and in the Assaorta dialect:

Sing. gulúb	"gomito"	gulub-ā
saḥīb (Ar.)	companion	saḥīb-ā

and after a vowel:

Sing. gāli	wing	Pl. galu-wa
gāde, gāda (Irob)	wadi	gado-wā
illó	corn	illā-wa
heyó	man	heyā-wa

ēla	cistern	ēlo-wá
ḥāre	house	ḥar-wa (*ḥaru-wa ?)
kāre	god	kar-wa(*karu-wa ?)
maru	ram	mar-wa (*maru-wa ?)

It is possible that illō goes back to *illaw and heyō to *heyaw. Final -i is changed to -u before -wa and -e with -a to -o, cf. above. See below for -wa.

In Afar (Colizza 1887, 67-68; Bliese 1981, 178-180; Mahaffy 1952, 40; Morin 1977, 367) the situation is similar, e.g. :

Sing. ulu ^C	small intestine	Pl. ulu ^C -a
alkāf	war dance	alkāf-a
alkum	price for a wife	alkūm-a (Parker and Hayward also alkum- itte)
awr, awūr, abur	bull	awr-a, abur-wa
bulūl	flour	bulūl-a (Parker and Hayward only bulul- wa)
hēr	cliff	hēr-a
sāhad (Ar.)	testimony	sāhad-a
kis (Ar.)	bag	kis-a, kisās

Before -wa the last vowel changes to -a if it is -o or -u, and -a, -e change to either -o or -u (Colizza 1887, 67), e.g. :

Sing. heyó	man	Pl. heyā-wa
ḥēla	well	ḥēlu-wá, ḥel-wá
miga ^C	name	miga ^C -wa, migā ^C iyōwa
ḥāri	house	aro-wá, ḥarirā, ḥar-wa

Sometimes a shortening of the vowel accompanies the suffixation, e.g.:

Sing. dabēla	buck goat	Pl. dabel-wa
bōr	edge, side	bor-wa

ḥarīs	wood-framed house	ḥaris-wa
bakkēl-a	hare	bakkēl-wa
balīl-a	car	balīl-wa

Note the disappearance of the singulative -a in the last examples.

There is a number of forms with variants, e.g. :

Sing. idal-to	old lady	Pl. idal-wa, idōla
alib	tendon	alib-wa, alība
akar	top of the foot	akar-wa, akōra
falum	camel	falūm-wa, falūma
bus	vagina	bus-wa, busūsa
ḥale(-yta)	hill	ḥalel-wa, ḥal-wa, ḥalēla
gadiri (Ar.)	island	gadir-wa, gudur (Ar.)

There are also some examples of nouns making plurals with both partial reduplication and the -wa suffix, e.g. :

Sing. ilo	stick	Pl. ilolo-wa, ilōla
ḥale	hill	alel-wa
ina	mother	inana-wa, inun

It has to be emphasised that both Mahaffy and Luc transcribe -wa (and not -uwa, -owa) also when the stem ends in -a, -e, -i, e.g. ḥari "house", pl. ḥarwa. ribōda (Parker and Hayward: ribbōda) "mat", pl. ribod-wa), daggē "compound" pl. dagge-wa. This may be a dialect difference or, at least sometimes, a different phonological interpretation of -uwa/-owa (but cf. ragādu "leather thong", pl. ragadu-wa, Parker and Hayward: ragād-a), though the latter does not explain e.g. dagge-wa. In some cases the final -a may be an original suffix of singulative and the plural has -wa added to the original collective, e.g. "porcupine". Cf. also Welmers 1952, 249 for Saho.

There is no doubt that there is a certain overlapping of -wa as a variant of -a (after a vowel) and of -wa as a suffix of plural that occurs also with consonant-final stems (see below); this is one of the reasons why

Bliese (1976, 153) tries to expand -a from an underlying suffix $-\bar{o}/w/\bar{a}$. I do not think that this is at least historically justified and correct since Bliese takes only examples of -a together with internal inflection or ablaut. There are also some exceptions to his rules (Bliese 1981, 179).

There is also some dialect differentiation. Morin (1977, 367 and note 23) suggests rather that it is -wa that occurs after consonants, the final vowel being elided, e.g. gôli "le renforcement dans la tente pour les époux", pl. gol-wa, but also san "nose", pl. san-wa (or san-itte). He says also that it is rather -wa that is preferred in Tadjoura, i.e. lē "water", pl. lel-wa rather than lēl-a, gob(ō) "shield", pl. rather gob-wa than gōb-a.

One of the arguments against a full identification of -a as a variant ("an expansion") of an underlying suffix $-\bar{o}/w/\bar{a}$ is that -a makes also verbal nouns or abstracts (Bliese 1981, 149-150; Colizza 1887, 59; Luc 1967, 27), e.g. rāb-a "dyinh", barūg-a "extinguishing", angār-a "meeting", diw-a "promise" etc. The same happens in Saho (Reinisch 1878, 28-29, 1878b, 19-20; Welmers 1952, 249 on "participle"; Conti Rossini 1913, § 20 and 21) e.g. dal-ā "birth", pl. dālal (dal "to bear"), orb-ā "return", pl. orbab, (orob "to come back"). ogur-ā "blow", pl. ugurar (gara "to beat"), in Irob ugr-ā, pl. ūgrar.

2. -wa

It seems that this suffix does not occur in Saho at least after consonants but more research is needed. In Afar the following nouns may be mentioned (above 70 in the Dictionary by Parker and Hayward who also say that all plurals with -wa are feminine, 1985, 230) :

Sing. dagar	body	Pl. dagar-wa
minin	eyebrow	minin-wa, minīna
alil	chest	alil-wa
būs	vagina	bus-wa, busūsa
alīb	tendon	alib-wa, alība

misil	chief	misil-wa
bulul, bulūl	a flour	bulul-wa
agur	young steer	agur-wa
lubāk	lion	lubak-wa, lubōka
dirar	supper	dirar-wa
ulla	new mother	ullal-wa, ullāli
wākri	jackal	wakar-wa
mīdān (Ar.)	scale	mīdān-wa, mīdān-itte
tārik (Ar.)	history	tārik-wa
mōtar	car	mōtar-wa (loan)

3. -ōwa, -uwwa

According to Bliese (1981, 179), this suffix is normally chosen in the Aussa dialect when the noun is monosyllabic with a short -a- (in northern dialects there is only -wa), e.g. :

Sing. āf	language	Pl. af-ōwa (Parker and Hayward only af-itte)
san	nose	san-ōwa (Parker and Hayward: san-itte, sanōna)
lak	leg, thigh	lak-ōwa
han	milk	han-ōwa (Parker and Hayward only hanōna)

but there are also (Bliese, ibid.) two nouns with -ā- :

Sing. rāt	path	Pl. rāt-ōwa (rāt-itte, rāt-wa)
kāy	noise	kāy-ōwa (Parker and Hayward: kāy-itte)

Parker and Hayward (1985) mention also e.g. :

Sing. wadar	goat	Pl. wadāriy-ōwa
subah	clarified butter	subāhiy-ōwa
madarfa (Ar.)	spade	madarf-ōwa, madrafōfa

There are also some examples with -uwwa :

Sing. ála	animal	Pl. all-uwwa
^C assála	bedbug	^C asall-uwwa
^C adála	white man	^C adall-uwwa

It is to be emphasised that all these nouns have -ala and -l- is geminated in the plural.

4. -it

This suffix occurs in Saho with vowel-final nouns (Reinisch 1878a, 34; 1878b, 26; Welmers 1952, 160-161; Conti Rossini 1913, ; 28 c), e.g. :

Sing. áb-o	grandfather	Pl. áb-it
dahín-ta	morning	dahín-it
áy ^C a	male baby	áy ^C -it
alfén-t-a	lid	alfén-t-it
dísti	pan	díst-it
dā	stone	dā-it
iggíd-a	year	iggíd-it
lōyn-a	herdman	iggíd-it
^C edád-o	wood-worker	^C edád-it
sánti	knife	sánt-it

and also together with partial reduplication :

Sing. áda	back tooth	Pl. adíd-it
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In the feminine singular nouns Welmers misses the fact that most of his examples are loan-words from Arabic and this explains their deviant plural shapes, e.g. daqīqa "minute", pl. daqāyit; here the Arabic internal plural has been borrowed but adapted to the Saho pattern with -it. In ḥada "tree", pl. ḥōdit there is already an ablaut and this form actually belongs to the internal plural class.

In the Assaorta dialect Conti Rossini mentions e.g. :

Sing. als-ā	mouth	Pl. als-it
dā'	stone	dā'it

and also a form in which -it occurs after a vowel (cf. Welmers, 1952 161) :

Sing. sawhē	meadow	Pl. sōhē-it
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Welmers (1952, 160) considers plurals like intit (sing. inti) "eye" as reduplicated plurals (cf. above) but this is rather arbitrary.

There are also some examples in Afar (Colizza 1887, 68; Morin 1977, 367) :

Sing. awk-a	boy	Pl. awk-it, awkak
awdi	window	awd-it
abu	uncle	áb-it, ab-ite
awi	medicine	aw-it
egīda	year	egīd-it

It is possible that in nouns ending in -i it is rather -t that should be considered as pluralizer; the same in e.g. arki "husband's friend", pl. ár-k-it, cf. uray "shop", pl. uray-t.

5. -t-it

The suffix -it makes plural forms also from singulatives with -tā and -tō in Saho (Reinisch 1878a, 34, 1878b, 26; Conti Rossini 1913, 66), e.g. :

Sing. tagār-to	hair	Pl. tagār-t-it
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There are also some examples in Afar (Mahaffy 1952, 30; Morin 1977, 367; Colizza 1887, 66) :

Sing. lubāk-to	lion	Pl. lubāk-t-it
daboy-ta	tent	dabóy-t-it
wakāliy-ta	companion	wakalén-t-it (Parker and Hayward: wakliy-t-itte)

The -t-it suffix makes also plurals of nomina agentis of strong verbs with -tu in the singular (Colizza 1887, 37) :

Sing. harás-tu	m. peasant	Pl. harás-t-it
harás-tu	f. "	
katáb-tu	m. scribe	katáb-t-it
redán-tu	m. chief	redán-t-it

These nouns are loan-words but the morphological process seems to be Afar. With weak verbs the nomina agentis have -ána (sing. masc.), -aná (sing. fem.) and -an-it (pl.).

6. -it-te, -it-ti, -it-i; -et-ti, -et-ti-ti etc.

There are at least traces of this compound suffix in the Asa Lisan dialect of Saho (Conti Rossini 1913, § 28 c) :

Sing. loyn-a	herdman	Pl. loyn-it-ti
iggid-ā	year	iggid-i-ti

In Asa Lisan Conti Rossini mentions also compound suffixes -et-ti and -etti-ti :

Sing. qwelh-en-to	"zoccolo"	Pl. qwelh-en-t-ét-ti
tikl-ā	plant	tikl-ét-ti-ti

and -t-ti-te, -t-it-te (ibid.) :

Sing. baryā	slave	Pl. baryā-t-ti-ti
guzú	"suddito"	guzó-t-ti-ti

In Afar (Bliese 1981, 177, 1976, 152; Mahaffy 1952m 41; Luc 1967, 32; Morin 1977, 367; Parker and Hayward 1985, 230) -itte is the only variant (but cf. -at-te below). Parker and Hayward (there are more than 350 examples in their Dictionary) say that plurals in -itte are all feminine, the suffix replaces any final vowel in the singular and in the case of plurals paired with singulatives the forms are always in

-itte. E.g. :

Sing. san	nose	Pl. san-it-te, san-wa, sanōno
git-a	way	git-it-te, gita-te, git-wa
af	mouth	af-it-te, af-it-tē-ta
^C ellāma	one who has	^C ellam-it-te
	killed ten men	
^C andābb-a	jaw	^C andabb-itte
ālsa	moon	als-it-te, ālāsa
illi	sheep	ill-it-te
lak	leg	lak-itte, lak-wa
tukul	a circular	tukul-itte, tukūla, tukulwa
	house	
būk (loan)	book	būk-itte, būk-wa, abwāk
ālat (Ar.)	tool	ālat-it-te, ālōta
helem	champion	helem-it-te
bāg-u	abdomen	bag-it-te
dāg-u	news	dāg-it-te
^C ūwk-a	load	^C uwk-it-te

Both Mahaffy and Colizza (cf. his Vocabulary) do not mention the variant -it-te, -it-ti (and also -i-ti) i.e. with gemination; this is probably a dialect difference and not a faulty phonological interpretation since both transcribe geminated consonants elsewhere.

7. -ti

In Saho Welmers (1952, 162) mentions two examples of "irregular" plural forms with -ti (and internal inflection in one example) which are Arabic loan-words and there is a very high probability that these plural forms have been strongly influenced by the Arabic morphology if not borrowed from Arabic :

Sing. danya	m. judge	Pl. dānāy-ti	f.
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mar^Cāwi m. bridegroom mar^Caw-ti f.

Morin (1977, 367) also mentions -ti in Southern Afar but he provides examples only either with internal inflection or with partial reduplication, namely :

Sing. sa ^C al	m. elder brother	Pl. sa ^C ol-ti (sā ^C ol and sā ^C oylā by Colizza)
nangāl-u	m. cousin	nangol-ti, nangol-ta
abba	m. father	abbob-ti (Colizza: ābōb)
ba ^C āl-a	m. husband	ba ^C ol-ti (Colizza: bā ^C il; Parker and Hayward: ba ^C al-wa, ba ^C ol-ti, ba ^C ōla, ba ^C ōl-it-te

8. -ot

This suffix makes plural forms of abstract nouns derived from strong verbs at least in the Afar dialect described by Reinisch and Colizza (1887, 36) :

Sing. aman-ā-t	m. protection	Pl. amān-o-t
rahas-ā-t	wealth	rahās-o-t
kahan-ā-t	love	kahān-o-t

It is probable that this is only a loan from Semitic.

9. -ōta

Mainly loan-words use this suffix for which there are about 35 examples in the Dictionary by Parker and Hayward, e.g. :

Sing. agab-to	small basket	Pl. agabt-ōta
wagar-to	olive tree	wagar-t-ōta
tarmān	ridgepole	tarmān-ōta, tarāmin
sana-t	year	san-ōta
sa ^C at	hour, watch	sa ^C -ōta

tanak large tin tank-ōta

This is probably a loan like -āta:

Sing. dollar-e	dollar	Pl. dollariy-āta
forārri	25 cents	forarriy-āta

10. -ut (?)

There is only one example in Saho (Conti Rossini 1913, § 28 c) and it is possible that this is only a loan:

Sing. ḥalaq-a	governor	Pl. ḥalaq-ut
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11. -ut-te, -ūte

The following examples have been found in the Afar dictionary by Parker and Hayward :

Sing. sangayya	type of crab	Pl. sangayy-ūte
abud	loan	abud-ut-te
uddur	time	uddur-ut-te

12. -ta

There are the following examples:

Sing. inti	eye	Pl. intī-ta
^C unti	Adam's apple	unti-ta, ūtit

13. a-

This prefix is borrowed from Arabic. I could find only two examples in Afar and Saho (Reinisch 1878a, 34, 1878b, 26; Colizza 1887, 68; Conti Rossini 1913, § 28 d) :

Sing. lāḥ	goat	Pl. ā-lāḥ
ruh	spirit	ā-ruh, ā-ruwah

D. Internal Plural

1. Sing. CaC(C)aC : Pl. CáC(c)oC

There are the following examples in Saho (cf. Welmers 1952, 158; Reinisch 1878a, 35, 1878b, 29; Conti Rossini 1913, § 28) :

Sing. haray	arm	Pl. hároy
salaf	thigh	sálof
arrab	tongue	árrob
gamad	milk basket	gâmod
sa ^C ala	brother	sâ ^C ol

and also in Arabic loan-words :

Sing. kitab	book	Pl. kítob
mabrad	file	mâbrod
sa ^C at	hour	sâ ^C ot

Reinisch (op.cit.) transcribes the vowel in the second syllable always as -â- but it is quite probable that the length is only a non-phonemic feature conditioned by the accent.

2. Sing. CaCCa : Pl. CáCoc

Welmers (1952, 158-159) provides the following examples from Saho:

Sing. labka	top of shoulder	Pl. lábok
sarba	lower leg	sârob

In Afar only the following examples have been found:

Sing. dákha	pastry	Pl. dâkoh
dalka	disease	dâlok
âlsa	month	âlos (Colizza; Parker and Hayward: alōsa)

3. Sing. CaCaC-a/o : Pl. CáC(C)oC

The following examples are listed by Welmers (1952, 158) and by Reinisch (1878a, 36) in Saho :

Sing. anad-a	skin	Pl. ánod
^C andaw-a	arm	^C ândow
halág-a	rat	hálog
wagab-a	lip	wágob
gafa ^C -o	large jar	gáfo ^C
ma ^C ad-o	door	mâ ^C od
mahád-o	spear	mâhod

In Afar there are only very few examples (Colizza 1887 and Parker and Hayward 1985) :

Sing. ^C abal, ^C abâla	blood	Pl. ^C abol, ^C abol-a
basâl (Ar.)	onion	basól

The non-plural forms most probably contain the original singulative suffix -a/-o.

4. Sing. CVC(C)aC : Pl. CúC(C)uC

There are the following examples from Saho (Reinisch ibid., Welmers 1952, 159) :

Sing. hangal	brain	Pl. hângul
lubak	lion	lúbuk
miga ^C	name	mígu ^C
danan	donkey	dânun

The same type is found in the Afar dialect described by Reinisch and Colizza (1887, 69) :

Sing. lúbak	lion	Pl. lúbuk (Parker and Hayward: lubak-wa, lubōka)
danân	donkey	dânun

5. Sing. CVC(C)VC : Pl. C6C(C)aC

This pattern of plural occurs in Saho with nouns having a vowel other than -a- in the last syllable which is closed (Reinisch 1878a, 35; Conti Rossini 1913, § 28 h) :

Sing. kobér	heel	Pl. kóbar
madír	a pale	mádar
gomól	bark (of tree)	gómál
modód	a stone	módad
hotúk	star	hótak
qonqór	hole	qónqar, qonāqor
gombód	ashes	gómbda
kurkúr	young dog	kurkar, kurākur

and also with some Arabic loan-words:

Sing. qamīš	shirt	Pl. qāmaš (Welmers: qamāiš)
zembīl	basket	zēmbal, zenābil

The alternative plurals in these two examples have been borrowed from Arabic.

6. Sing. CvCC-ó/-á : Pl. CVCaC

The first vowel in both singular and plural is either -o- or -u-. The dissimilation rule has been formulated already by Reinisch (1878a, 36, 1878b, 27-28). E.g. in Saho:

Sing. bors-ó	a rag	Pl. bóras
dorh-á (Eth.)	hen	dórah
kurm-á	hunch-back	kúram (Irob)
korum-á	"	kóram
gómb-u	youth	gómab

Cf. also Colizza 1887, 69 for Afar. The non-plural forms contain the original singulative suffixes.

7. Sing. CiCC-á : Pl. CiCuC

The following examples have been found in Saho :

Sing. dibn-á	chin	Pl. díbun
kird-á	bracelet	kírud

The non-plural forms contain the original singulative suffix -a.

8. Sing. CvCvC-a : Pl. CéCuC

The following examples are quoted by Welmers (1952, 159) from Saho :

Sing. de ^C er-a	thigh bone	Pl. dé ^C ur
^C ebin-a	bride	^C ébun

Also here we find the singulative -a.

9. Sing. CaCaC-a/o : Pl. CáCuC

The following examples are from Saho (Welmers 1952, 159; Reinisch 1878, 36) :

Sing. da ^C ayn-a	old man	Pl. dá ^C un
kabar-ó	drum	kábur (loan)
galab-à	cave	gálub

Also here we find the singulative -a/-o.

10. Sing. CuCuC : Pl. CuCūC-a

The following examples have been found in the Afar dictionary by Parker and Hayward :

Sing. uguh	pen for goats	Pl. ugūh-a
ufuy	air, breathe	ufūy-a
gu ^C ul	bribe	gu ^C ūl-a

gulub	knee	gulūb-a
suhul	elbow	suhūl-a

11. Sing. CaCāCuC : Pl. CaCāCūC-a

The following examples have been found in the Afar dictionary by Parker and Hayward :

Sing. ganāhur	a greedy person	Pl. ganāhūr-a
agāgul	indecision	agāgūl-a

12. Sing. CvC : Pl. CūC-a

The following examples are listed by Welmers for Saho (1952, 161) :

Sing. dik	family	Pl. dīk -a
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with the following loans from Arabic:

Sing. kis	bag	Pl. kīs-a
luḥ	board	lūḥ-a

and in Afar (Parker and Hayward 1985) :

Sing. kut	dog	Pl. kūt-a
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13. Sing. CvC-o : Pl. CūC-a

Only the following Saho example has been found (Welmers 1952) :

Sing. sīd-o	skin rug	Pl. sīd-a
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14. Sing. CvC(C)vC : Pl. CvC(C)ūC-a

Welmers (ibid.) quotes the following feminine Saho nouns :

Sing. ar ^C ot	yoke	Pl. ar ^C ōt-a
dudub	plain	dudūb-a

gulub	knee	gulūb-a
huluf	cubit	hulūf-a
hōlim	corner	hōlīm-a
igil	lake	igīl-a
rimid	root	rimīd-a

This type occurs also in Afar in the dialect described by Bliese (1981, § 8.5.3.1) though it is absent in the dialect described by Reinisch and Colizza. Probably it is rare (as far as it is possible to judge) in Sothorn Afar, e.g.:

Sing. hutuk	star	Pl. hutūk-a
mutuk	butter	mutūk-a
nadūr	glass	nadūr-a
duskum	bracelet	duskūm-a
carum	belt	carūm-a
alib	tendon	alīb-a
lifi ^C	nail, claw	lifi ^C -a

About 20 examples have been found in the Afar dictionary by Parker and Hayward, e.g. :

Sing. deben	beard	Pl. debēn-a
rigid	foot	rigīd-a
tuful	fibre	tufūl-a
tifi ^C -to	drop	tifi ^C -a
ri ^C id	gums	ri ^C id-a
radid	full beard	radīd-a
du ^C ur	fool	du ^C ūr-a

There are also trisyllabic nouns:

Sing. danānow	hurt	Pl. dananōw-a
ma ^C awwid	loin cloth	ma ^C awwīd-a

No example with sing. -o- : Pl. -ō- in this group. Mahaffy (1952, 43) short vowels in the plural, e.g. gulub-a "knees" and only adim "hide", pl. adīm-a.

15. Sing. CaCâC : Pl. CaCōC-ā

The following example has been found in Saho (Welmers 1952, 161) :

Sing. akāt rope Pl. akōt-ā

and the following examples are found in Afar in which it is the most numerous group of internal plural:

Sing.		Pl.
akat, akāt-ta	rope	akōt-a
^C abal	blood	^C abōl-a
^C Afar	Afar	^C Afōr-a
da ^C ar	river	da ^C ōr-a, dá ^C or
ragad	thong	ragōd-a
maga ^C	grave	magō ^C -a
halas	oxe	halōs-a
hagay	hot season	hagōy-a
la ^C ab	udder, teats	la ^C ōb-a
gáyran	rain-clouds	gayrōn-a
galab	body	galōb-a
malah	pus	malōh-a
dambar	eyelash	dambōr-a
dada ^C	short rainy season	dadō ^C -a
daba ^C	home, house	dabō ^C -a
arab	skin	arōb-a
ángad	thunder	angōd-a
daban	cheek	dabōn-a
faras (Ar.)	horse	farōs-a
darag	" step	darōg-a
dahab	" gold	dahōb-a
wasak	" dirt	wasōk-a
kálam	" throat	kalōm-a
silah	" arms	silōh-a
ayyam	" weeks	ayyom-a

maftah (Ar.) key maftōh-a, mafātiḥ (Ar.)

16. Sing. CaCC-a : Pl. CaCōC-a

The following examples have been found in the Afar dictionary by Parker and Hayward:

Sing. ádha back-bone Pl. adōh-a
 álsa month alōs-a, als-itte

17. Sing. CaCCv : Pl. CaCāCa

In Saho (Welmers 1952, 161) we find :

Sing. bādna corpse Pl. badāna
^Carke companion ^Carāka

and in Southern Afar (Morin 1977, 368) :

Sing. gār^Ca thief Pl. garā^Ca
 wakri jackal wakāra, wakar-wa
 dálhu hyena dalāḥa

18. Sing. CvCCv : Pl. CvCVC-a

In Afar (Parker and Hayward 1985) we find e.g. :

Sing. bé^Cra steer Pl. be^Cer-a
 bakli mule bakīl-a
 birta metal birīt-a

All these nouns are loan-words.

19. Sing. CúC(C)v : Pl. CuC(C)-ā

In Southern Afar (Morin 1977) we find also :

Sing. kúta dog Pl. kūtā
 búyyi shallow well būyyā, buyyāya

20. Other forms found in Saho are:

Sing. sunku	shoulder joint	Pl. súnuk	CúCuC
gúnde	log	gúned	CuCeC
hada	tree	hód-it	

21. Other rare forms in Afar:

Sing. da ^C ar	valley	Pl. dá ^C or
dās-a	hut	dōs, dās-itte, dāsōsa
gob(o)	shield	gōb-a
tik-o	hawk	tīk-a
abur	bull	abūr-a
had-a	tree	hōd
hādda (*had-ta)	stick	"
ul ^C i	small intestine	ulū ^C a, ulū ^C -itte
kudan	palm-leaf strip	kudon
sokto	lip	sokāti
sodba	gruel	sodāba
tifi ^C -to	drip, drop	tifi ^C -a

and in Southern Afar (Morin, op.cit.) :

Sing. dārdar(a)	chief	Pl. dardor-a, dardori, dardor-ti
dāb-a	brow of a hill	dābōbi
^C ibn-a	married woman	^C ibin(i)
sa ^C al	elder brother	sa ^C ol-ti, sá ^C al
nangāl-u	cousin	nangol-ti, nangol-ta

and one form from Parker and Hayward 1985 :

Sing. bakal-o	she-goat	Pl. bokoyle, bokōla
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22. Apart from the forms that have been mentioned above there is a number of internal ("broken") plurals borrowed by both Saho and Afar from Arabic (cf. Parker and Hayward 1985, 231), e.g.:

Sing. maraba ^C	house	Pl. marābi ^C
waraqat	paper	warāqit
barrad	tea kettle	barārid
sirwāl	pants	sirāwil
bismar	nail	bisāmir
madhan	millstone	madāhin
figan	cup	figāgin
mizan	scale	mizaun
fānus	lamp	foānis
kofyet	cap	koāfi
torbāl	canvas	torābil
šarmota	whore	šarāmit
mos	knife	mōsasi

It is remarkable that the number of Afar or Saho nouns following the pattern of Arabic internal plural is minimal (cf. Parker and Hayward 1985, 231) while there is a number of Arabic loan-words which follow an Afar-Saho internal plural pattern (see above) and also e.g. :

Sing. bab	door	Pl. báob (Saho)
fas	axe	fāos "
safúr	trip	safor-a (Afar)
tāmini	believer	tāmano

E. Accent as Pluralizer

Mahaffy (1952, 42-43) mentions a few forms that differ only in accentuation and, consequently, in gender :

Sing. ayró	f.	sun, day	Pl. áyro	m.
alfénta	m.	lid, cover	alfenti	f.
^C amidda	m.	house pole (Ar.)	amiddá	f.

S O M A L I

The opposition of the categories singulative : collective has almost disappeared from the Somali language. It is probable that the development of the definite article especially with its feminine form has played a crucial part in this process. The remnants of the singulatives and collectives have been studied in the best way by Puglielli (1984, 71, 80-85, 87-92 and 93).

As indicated by Puglielli, askari (masc.) means "a military", askar-ta (fem.) means "the military" (coll.); hawēney-da (fem.) means "a woman" but hawēn-ka (masc.) "women". It has to be emphasised, however, that in the second example there is also the singulative suffix -ey that we find (hypothetically !) in Beja as the suffix of paucal plural forms (see above).

Puglielli (op.cit.) analyses the use of collective nouns in Standard Somali which allows concord usually with the 3rd person singular but eventually also with the 3rd person plural. Non-abstract and noun-countable nouns belong here, e.g. :

geel	f.	camels
ári	m.	goats and sheep
dúmar	m.	women
rag	m.	men
dad	m.	people
lo'	f.	flies
ugéib	m.	young goats

^C aw	f.	palm leaves
^C ambe	m.	mango
dabato	f.	hunters
falato	f.	peasants

There is also a group of nouns which occur only in plural (they have the ending -ó on which see below and are masculine) i.e. occur only with the 3rd person plural, e.g. :

habló	girls
ilmó	children
hóló	herd, flock

In some of these nouns the final -ó may rather belong to the stem or be only etymologically related to the plural -o since these nouns are "mass nouns", e.g. :

biyó	water
^C anó	milk

A. Reduplicated Plural

In Northern Somali monosyllabic masculine nouns in the principle use reduplication for making their plural forms (cf. Reinisch 1900, 43; Moreno 1955, 234, Andrzejewski 1964, 133-145, Lambert 1982, 556, Puglielli 1984, 72), e.g. :

Sing.	af	mouth	Pl.	afaf
	nin	man		niman
	fól	face		folal
	^C el	well, spring		^C elal

All these nouns end in a consonant and remain masculine in the plural though there are some exceptions to the latter rule, e.g. wíl "young man" is feminine in the plural (wílal) as well as "well, spring" in some dialects (Lambert 1982, 556).

Abstracts (verbal nouns) making their plurals with the reduplication (full or of the first consonant plus vowel) like bōd "jump", pl.bōdbōd concord with the 3rd person pl., cf. Puglielli 1984, 93.

Only the following feminine nouns with reduplicated plurals have been found so far in some sub-dialects, e.g. in the Bōsāso (Lambert op.cit.):

Sing.	hād	f.	hair	Pl.	hādād	f.
	hog	f.	cave		hogag	m.
	mur	f.	path		murar	

Reduplicated plurals occur also in the Benadir dialect (Moreno 1955, 26) but they are very rare in Central Somali according to Lambert though this is not emphasised by Moreno for Digil (1955, 332), e.g. :

Sing.	^C el	m.	well, spring	Pl.	^C elal, ^C elel, ^C el-yo
	tūg	m.	thief		tūgag, tūgeg
	min	m.	room		minin rooms, houses

Also von Tiling (1921/1922, 106-108) says that there is a number of nouns making plural with partial reduplication in the "Jabarti" dialect, e.g. :

Sing.	min	m.	house	Pl.	minne, minnedé
	dar	m.	clothe		darr', dárredé
	gēd	m.	tree		gēd', gēddedé, gēd-o
	dāmēr	m.	donkey		dāmērre, dāmērredé, dāmēr-o
	fīd	f.	flower		fīdd', fidedé, fīd-o m.

In the Dabarro dialect Lambert (1980, 38) has found only one example which he considers rather as a loan from Standard Somali :

Sing.	mīs	table	Pl.	mīsis, mīs-yāl
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Lambert (1982, 556-557) says that some monosyllabic C-final masculine nouns use the -o/-yo suffix instead of reduplication in Northern Somali :

Sing.	tim	m.	hair	Pl.	tim-o	m.
	kayn	m.	forest		kaym-o	m.
	rah	m.	frog		rah-yo	f.

hawl	m.	work	hawl-o	m.
qīq	m.	smoke	qīq-yo	f.

In another subdialect Lamberti (op.cit.) mentions also plurals with -yāl :

Sing. af	m.	mouth	Pl. ad-yāl
bēr	m.	liver	ber-yāl
duq	m.	old man	duq-yāl
wīl	m.	young man	wil-yāl

Cf. also the following parallel forms:

Sing. gēs	m.	horn	Pl. gēsas, gēs-o
būl	m.	hut	būlal, būl-o

Moreno (1955, 28) says that while there is a tendency to use -o/-yo also with monosyllabic masculine nouns in Isaq, this tendency is even stronger in the Benadir dialect:

Sing. nin	m.	man	Pl. nim-o, nin-yo, nima-yāl
af	m.	mouth	āf-yo
col	m.	enemy	colyo
gēs	m.	horn	gēsi-yo

Moreno (op.cit., 29) says also that in the Benadir dialect polysyllabic (bisyllabic ?) nouns ending in -n which is reinterpreted as original *-m make reduplicated plurals :

Sing. agōn	orphan	Pl. agōmen
addōn	slave	addōmen
qānūn (Ar.)	law	qanūmēn
suldān (Ar.)	sultan	suldāman

The shape -an in the last example is probably due to the influence of -a- in the last syllable.

There are also some double plurals (ibid.) :

Sing. ḡid	way	Pl. ḡidad, ḡidād-yo
min	house	minin, minin-yo

The plurals with -Co that occur in Northern Somali are usually interpreted as a result of the assimilation of -y- (in -yo) to the last consonant but some of them at least may be actually forms with partial reduplication, e.g. :

Sing. sibrār	waterskin	Pl. sibrārro
dudun	hand	dudummo

In Northern Somali (Lamberti 1982, 589) real adjectives have plural forms with the reduplication of the first syllable, e.g. :

Sing. weyn	big	Pl. wā-weyn
dēr	long	dādēr
yar	small	yaryar
hun	bad	hunhun

This occurs also in Jiddu - cf. Lamberti 1981, § 3.4, wīn "big", pl. wewīn. Cf. also Banti, forthcoming.

B. Suffixed Plural

1. -o/-yo, -a/-ya, -od/-ad

This is the most frequent plural suffix in Northern Somali (Lamberti 1982, 560 ff.) so that it can be used instead of the other suffixes. It occurs with feminine and with polysyllabic masculine nouns (for exceptions see below), e.g. :

Sing. walāl	m.	brother	Pl. walāl-o
agōn	m.	orphan	agōm-o
nāg	f.	woman	nāg-o
gabad	f.	girl	gabd-o

In Northern Somali the majority of masculine nouns using this suffix are feminine in the plural but in some dialects approximately half of the masculine nouns remains masculine in the plural (Lamberti 1982, 550). Most of the feminine nouns are masculine in the plural, only some remaining feminine, e.g.

Sing. bissad f.	cat	Pl. bissad-yo f.
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The conditioning of the variant -yo (and -Co) is not exceptionless but generally the following rules are largely valid in Northern Somali:

Irrespective of gender the variant -yo occurs after -i, -a, -w, -d, -', -^C, -h, -h, -g, -q, -š, -s, -b, -f (cf. Puglielli 1984, 74, 78) e.g.:

Sing. guri	m. house	Pl. guri-yo
daw	m. path	daw-yo
gu'	m. year	gu-yo
maga ^C	m. name	maga ^C -yo
madah	m. head	madah-yo
^C iddi	f. fingernail	^C iddi-yo
ri'	f. she-goat	ri'-yo
subah	f. morning	subah-yo
fallād	f. arrow	fallād-yo

The variant -yo occurs also with other masculine nouns which have at least two syllables and do not end with -e or -o (Lamberti 1982, 562), e.g.:

Sing. sannad	year	Pl. sannad-yo (Ar.)
^C arūg	snail	^C arūg-yo
hātuf	spirit	hātuf-yo

The inclusion of the feature "masculine" in this condition means that the conditioning is not simply phonological but morphonological.

The variant -yo occurs also with some feminine nouns ending in -o which otherwise make their plurals with -ōy-in, e.g.:

Sing. abēso	snake	Pl. abēs-yo, abēs-ōy-in (in Benadir also abeso-yāl, abēs-ōš-in, abēs-ōd-in)
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The variant -yo occurs also with some feminine nouns with final -d (Lamberti 1982, 563), e.g.:

Sing. mandad	bag	Pl. mandad-yo
bissad	cat	bissad-yo

Arabic originally feminine loan-words seem to be especially frequent in this group, e.g.:

Sing. sellād	basekt	Pl. sellād-yo
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but there are also examples with -o:

Sing. hadiyād	gift	Pl. hadiyād-o
murāyād	mirror	murāyād-o

Very frequently (in the majority of cases?) the -y- of the suffix is assimilated to the noun final consonant. This happens with masculine nouns especially ending in liquids and nasals, e.g.:

Sing. šabēl	leopard	Pl. šabēllo
luqun	backbone	luqummo
^C iyār	dance	^C iyārro

but also with -b, -d (Puglielli 1984, 77) and -d, e.g.:

Sing. hād	hair	Pl. hāddo
šā ^C ab	palm of hand	šā ^C ab-bo

As mentioned above, at least some of these plurals with -Co may be original plurals with partial reduplication.

Lamberti (1982, 562-563) interprets the following forms as due to a reduction of the original gemination of the final consonant but this may not always be the case i.e. the elision of the vowel of the second syllable may be at least in some cases due to a simple suffixation of -o and a syncopation:

Sing. garab	shoulder	Pl. garb-o
harag	skin	hark-o
hedan	intestine	hedm-o

Reinisch (1900, 44) lists a number of free variation between -o and -yo, e.g.:

Sing. árrab	tongue	Pl. arrab-o, arrab-yo
alōl	mat	alōl-o, alōl-yo
^c adar	cloud	^c adar-o, ^c adar-yo

In the Benadir dialect (Moreno 1955, 26) we find parallel plurals with -o and -Co, e.g.:

Sing. báhal	animal	Pl. báhal-o, bahal-lo
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In the Benadir dialect (Moreno 1955, 26-27) where masculine nouns change their gender to feminine in the plural with -o/-yo there are some exceptions i.e. some nouns remain masculine also in the plural, e.g.:

Sing. walāl m.	brother	Pl. walāl-o m.
fāras m.	horse	fard-o m. (Ar.)
ilik m.	tooth	ilk-o m.

Feminine nouns become masculine in Benadir.

In Digil (Moreno 331) -o/-yo occurs also with polysyllabic masculine nouns and with feminine nouns not ending in a vowel but there are also -a and -ya variants which are probably older, e.g.:

Sing. damēr m.	donkey	Pl. damēr-o, damēr-a
walāl m.	brother	walāl-o, walan-yo
galan f.	hand	galām-o, galan-ya
deg f.	ear	dég-a

and also with some monosyllabic masculine nouns, e.g.:

Sing. gēd m.	tree	Pl. gēd-o, gēd-a
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In Central Somali Dabarro dialect -i corresponds to -a/-o of the North Somali (Lamberti 1980, § 2.1.5.1 and 3.1.2), e.g.:

Sing. rēr m.	family	Pl. rēr-i
erreb m.	tongue	erreb-i

dalām m.	child	dalām-i
gilib m.	knee	gilb-i
far f.	finer	far-i
hal f.	she-camel	hal-i
ukum f.	egg	ukum-i
mālan f.	day	mālm-i
mēl f.	place	mēl-i, mēl-yāl

and also with -yēl:

min	house	min-yēl-i
billāwi	knife	billāwi-yēl-i

With some exceptions not mentioned by Lamberti all these plural forms are masculine.

In the "Jabarti" dialect (von Tiling 1921-1922, 105) a number of masculine and some feminine nouns use -o:

Sing. damēr m.	donkey	Pl. damēr-o
gēd m.	tree	gēd-o
ubār m.	shirt	ubār-o
ḡof m.	person	ḡof-o
ād f.	mother	ād-iyo
fīd f.	flower	fīd-o

Other feminine nouns (only nouns denoting parts of the human body? asks von Tiling) have -a or -ya:

Sing. deg	ear	Pl. deg-a
lu'	leg	luḡ-a
galan	hand	galān-ya, galn-ya

It is possible that -a corresponds to -o but the coexistence of both -o and -a makes further research of the problem necessary. On -nyo and -nya see below.

In the Bay dialect described by Saeed (1982, 127-128) which is close to the dialect described by von Tiling and Reinisch there is a large set of nouns that make plurals with -o regardless of gender but with the polarity i.e. masculine nouns become feminine and feminine nouns become masculine in the plural, e.g. :

Sing. Šīd	stone	Pl. Šīd-o
elēn	ram	elēm-o
lān	branch	lām-o
filēr	arrow	filēr-o

In Northern Somali, in Benadir, Jabarti and Jiddu nouns accompanied by numerals have a special ending which is named by Lamberti "Genitive 2". In Northern Somali and in Benadir it is -ōd, in Merka it is -ād or -dād. According to Lamberti 1982, 570 (cf. Andrzejewski 1964) it is used only when the noun is indefinite and not all nouns have it - it is used more by feminine plurals than by masculine plurals. It occurs also with indefinite pronouns, e.g. dawr duq-ōd " (of) some old women", dawr nāg-ōd "(of) some women" (ibid.). Lamberti (ibid.) provides also a form like nim-ōōd from nin "man", pl. nīm-ān but he does not provide a concrete example in a phrase so that it is not clear whether this is used indeed. In Benadir (Moreno 1955, 27) nouns using -o and -yo (p.29) have -ōd and -yōd after numerals, e.g. :

Pl. nāg-o	affar nāg-ōd	four women
	lamma boqol kun lō'ād	2100 cows

In Jiddu Lamberti (1981, § 3.6) mentions the following examples:

wīl-ā	f.	lamma wīl-ād	two girls
hār-a	f.	sēye hār-ād	three beds
orn-ā	f.	Šan orn-ād	five doors
gin-e	f.	lamma gin-dād	two hands
loh-o	f.	afar loh-dād	four legs
bil	f.	sēye bil-dād	three months

haw	f.	li' haw-dād	six shoes
Šal	m.	taman Šal-dād	ten fingers

According to Lamberti (ibid.) -ād occurs with nouns ending in -ā (in his corpus only feminines) and -dād (in my opinion to be interpreted as -dā-d - on -dā see below) elsewhere.

This -ōd/-yōd, -ād ending is most probably identical with the suffix from Itala mentioned by Moreno 1955, 27 which I should segment rather as -ōd-in and not -ō-din as it is done by Moreno. It corresponds to Benadir -ōš-in (Moreno: -š-in) which corresponds to -ōyin in other dialects, e.g. :

Sing. abēso	snake	Pl. abēs-ōš-in, abēs-ōdin
tubo	bottle	tub-ōš-in, tub-ōdin
dilmānyo	mosquito	dilmāny-ōš-in, dilmāny-ōdin

These plurals are masculine. It is possible that the original suffix of plural in these nouns was *-ōt (cf. e.g. Oromo) and that this suffix survived only after numerals. Since, however, in some declensions there is -ē-d in the singular (cf. Lamberti 1982, 569) the interpretation that this is a genitive ending (cf. Sasse 1984, 116) must be considered. The problem needs further research.

2. -oyin (-oy-in < *-ōt-in ?)

Most of the authorities (Lamberti 1982, 557-558, Moreno 1955, 232-233, Andrzejewski 1964, 144-145, cf. Reinisch 1900, 46) say that in Northern Somali some masc. nouns in -e and in -o (rare !) on the one hand and feminines with -o on the other make their plural forms with -yin and change the final vowel to -ō, e.g. :

Sing. dubb-e	hammer	Pl. dubb-ōyin
curr-e	cat	curr-ōyin
mōy-e	mortar	mōy-ōyin
wadn-o m.	heart	wadn-ōyin
ilm-o f.	tear	ilm-ōyin

According to Lamberti (1982, 558-559) the use of this suffix seems to be very limited in Northern Somali and in some subdialects it occurs only with masculine nouns which change their gender to feminine in the plural.

In Majerteen of the Darod group (Lamberti *ibid.*) the suffix -yāl is used more frequently than in the more northern dialects (in Darod as described by Moreno 1955, 232, 233, -yāl is used by masculine nouns ending in -i, -y, -a, -e and by rare feminines in -a), namely with all singulars ending in a vowel, e.g. :

Sing. wadne	m. heart	Pl. wadna-yāl
garsōre	m. judge	garsōre-yāl
duruwa	m. hyena	duruwā-yāl
ēddo	f. aunt	ēdda-yāl
mindī	f. knife	mindī-yāl

It is found, however, also with some nouns ending in a consonant, including some Arabic loan-words, e.g.:

Sing. dogor	f. hair	Pl. dogor-yāl
hēs	f. song	hēs-yāl
hal	f. pestle	kal-yāl
saqaf	m. roof	saqaf-yāl (Ar.)
durbān	m. drum	durbān-yāl (Ar.)

In this dialect the -y- of -yāl is sometimes assimilated to the last consonant (Lamberti 1982, 560), e.g. :

Sing. duq	old man	Pl. duq-āl, duq-yāl
daban	lip	daban-nāl

In the dialect of Kisimayo (Lamberti, *ibid.*) the suffix -yāl pre-dominates over -ōyin with which it is partially in free variation, e.g.:

Sing. dubbe	hammer	Pl. dubbi-yāl, dubb-ōyin
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qol-o	tribe	qol-ōyin
ēdd-o	aunt	edd-ōyin
magāl-o	town	magāl-ōyin
abēs-o	snake	abēs-ōyin, abēs-yo

According to Lamberti (*op.cit.*), this suffix is especially frequent in Kisimayo. These plurals are masculine. On the situation in Benadir see above. Moreno (1955) adds that in this dialect feminine nouns with -o use also -yāl (see below).

In the Digil dialect as described by Moreno (1955, 332) feminine nouns with -o make plurals either with -ōyin or -ōš^Vin according to subdialect, e.g. :

Sing. mar-o	clothe	Pl. mar-ōyin, mar-ōš ^V in
abēs-o	snake	abēs-oyin, abēs-ōš ^V in

Moreno does not mention -ō- at this place but it occurs in his examples.

In the Bay dialect Saeed (1982, 13/89) mentions only one example in his "idiosyncratic plural" group which is, presumably, masculine :

Sing. dug	old man	Pl. dug-oš ^V in (short -o- !)
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3. -yāl; -yān (?)

In Northern Somali (Lamberti 1982, 558) this suffix occurs only with masculine nouns and is interchangeable with -ōyin and according to Reinisch (1900, 44, 46) also polysyllabic masculine nouns ending in -a and -i use either -yo or -yāl. E.g. :

Sing. ābbo	father	Pl. ābba-yāl
wadno	heart	wadna-yāl
garwān-le	hunter	garwān-le-yāl
billāwe	knife	billāwe-yāl

šeko	tale	šeki-yāl, šek-ōyin
ḍawo (Ar.)	medicine	ḍawi-yāl, ḍaw-ōyin

According to Bell (1952, 64) occupational nouns ending in -le make their plurals with -yāl, e.g. :

Sing. awrkirāle	camel-man	Pl. awrkirale-yāl
kalumle	fisherman	kalumle-yāl

In Northern Somali there are also some double plurals ("plurals of plurals" with a distributive meaning (Moreno 1955, 28. Andrzejewski 1964, 145-146), e.g. :

Sing. nāg	Pl. nāg-o women,	Pl.Pl. nāga-yāl "groups of women"
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There seems to be a slight semantic difference in Darod (Moreno 1955, 233), e.g. :

Sing. nāg	Pl. nāg-o women	Pl.Pl. nāga-yāl "women in mass"
islān	islām-o Muslims	islāma-yāl "Muslims in mass"

In Benadir polysyllabic masculine nouns ending in -i and -a as well as feminine nouns in -a (corresponding to -o in other dialects) including Arabic loan-words make their plurals with -yāl, masculine nouns having free variants with -yo, e.g. :

Sing. dúbba	m. hammer	Pl. dúbba-yo, dubba-yāl
díbi	m. bull	díbi-yo, dibi-yāl
dúgsi	m. school	dúgsi-yo, dugsi-yāl
sana	f. year	sana-yāl (Ar.)

Plurals with -yāl in Benadir are masculine. Cf. the following feminine nouns:

Sing. furo	slave	Pl. furō-yāl
abēso	snake	abēso-yal

There are double plurals also in the Benadir dialect, e.g. :

Sing. min	m. house	Pl. minin, minin-yāl
ger	m. beard	gerer-yāl
ilig	m. tooth	ilk-o, ilki-yāl
nāg	f. woman	nāg-o, nag-a-yāl
deg	f. ear	deg-o, deg-i-yāl

According to Moreno (op.cit.) in Benadir there is a tendency to treat these "plurals of plurals" as simple plurals. These plural of plurals in benadir are masculine.

In Digil (Moreno 1955, 332) there is a tendency to use -yāl more frequently and it is attached to both singular and plural, e.g. :

Sing. cēl	well	Pl. cēl-yāl
habaš	Negroe	habaš-yāl
min	room, house	minin. minin-yāl

In Dabarro -yāl (together with -i) is the most frequent pf all the plural suffixes. It is now more and more widely spread (see Lamberti 1980, § 3,1,2). With some exceptions they are masculine. There is a free variant -yēl, e.g. :

Sing. mada'	m. head	Pl. maḍi-yāl
eder	m. paternal uncle	eder-yāl, eder-yēl
harti	m. man	harti-yāl
middi	f. knife	middi-yāl, middi-yēl
denni	f. hand	denni-yāl
ebēsi	f. snake	ebēsi-yāl

Some nouns ending in consonants have -i-yāl, e.g. :

Sing. āw	father	Pl. āw-i-yal
abrīq	tea-pot	abrīg-i-yāl (Ar.)
kīš	bag	kīš-i-yāl (Ar.)

The choice between -yāl and -ī in the case of consonant-final nouns is without a clear conditioning but Lambert (ibid.) supposes that there is a tendency to use -yāl with masculine and -ī with feminine nouns.

In the Central Somali Bay dialect (Saeed 1982, 12/88) many masculine and feminine nouns take this suffix; they are all masculine in the plural, e.g. :

Sing. ḡēr	hippo	Pl. ḡēr-i-yāl
ṣimbir	bird	ṣimbir-i-yāl
ba'īd	oryx	ba'īd-i-yāl

In the "Jabarti" dialect von Tiling 1921-1922, 107 mentions only one example:

Sing. gū	year	Pl. gūwe, gū'ede, gūwe-yāl
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The plural form is masculine.

Lambert has not found -yāl in the Jiddu dialect.

4. -yal-o

Lambert in his unpublished sketch of the Merka dialect mentions the following examples:

Sing. filār	arrow	Pl. filār-yāl-o
ga'an	hand	ga'an-yāl-o

5. -iya (-ya ?)

This suffix occurs in the Bay dialect (Saeed 1982, 13/89) when the singular ends in -ī, e.g.:

Sing. bir-ī	f. buttocks	Pl. bir-iya
yāmb-ī	f. hoe	yāmb-iya

indō-lī	m. blind person	indō-l-iya
bāld-ī	m. bucket	bāld-iya

It is probable that these nouns change the gender in the plural i.e. that the polarity works in this case but the problem needs further research.

6. -yāw

This suffix is mentioned by Andrzejewski as used in Northern Somali (1964, 145-146), e.g. :

Sing. nīn	man	Pl. nīman-yāw
gabād	girl	gabda-yāw

7. -an

This suffix occurs in Northern Somali (Andrzejewski 1964, 143 interprets it as -CC-an i.e. with the elision of -a- in the last syllable), e.g. :

Sing. ḡaḡah	stone	Pl. ḡaḡh-ān
ūḡah	egg	ūḡh-ān
qodah	thorn	qodh-ān
qor	wood	qor-ān

It occurs also in Mudug (Moreno 1955, 233) :

Sing. ḡaḡah	stone	Pl. ḡaḡh-ān
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though there is also:

Sing. uḡah	egg of	Pl. uḡah-yāl
	a tortoise	

8. -amī (?)

Lamberti has found only one example of this ending in the Dabarro dialect:

Sing. beled (Ar.) m. town Pl. beld-amī m.

Lamberti (1980, § 3.1.2) supposes that this goes back to -an-ī.

9. -īn

Only two examples have been found by Lamberti in Dabarro (op.cot.):

Sing. tūg thief Pl. tūg-īn, tūg-ī
wīdād preacher wīdād-īn, wīdād-yāl

10. -dā

Almost every noun can make its plural with this ending in Jiddu (Lamberti 1981, 3.1.2), e.g. :

Sing. lam	man	Pl. lam-dā
miḍi	head	miḍi-dā
min	house	min-dā
īṣe	mother	īṣe-dā
ṣal	finger	ṣal-dā
yelley	lion	yelley-dā
kōri	child	kōri-dā
suldu	finger nail	sul-dā

Sometimes the last vowel of the noun is syncopated:

Sing. ḡine	hand	Pl. ḡin-dā
āno	small cattle	ān-dā
meddelā	hut	meddellā

The same morpheme occurs probably in the compound suffix -dā-nyo and -dāy-t- that occurs in Merka (Lamberti's unpublished sketch of this dialect). Cf. also -dō, -tō in Jiddu and Tunni - see below.

11. -eti, -ti

Very few nouns use this suffix in Dabarro. Lamberti (1980, 29-31) mentions the following examples:

Sing. kuri	child	Pl. kuri-ti
ēg	spring	ēg-eti
kōb	glass	kōb-eti
der	clothe	derr-eti

All these plurals in Dabarro are masculine. In "Jabarti (von Tiling 1921-1922, 106-109) there is -de which is probably related to -et-/-ti but the plurals with this suffix are feminine, e.g. :

Sing. tūg	thief	Pl. tūgg, tug-edé
min	house	minne, minn-edé
gēd	tree	gēdd-edé, gēd-o
damēr	donkey	damērre, damērr-edé

This suffix may be related to no 10. Cf. also -dāyti in the dialect of Merka (Lamberti's unpublished sketch p. 30).

12. -ān-yo, -dān-yo

This ending occurs in the dialect of Merka (Lamberti's unpublished sketch p.29), e.g. :

Sing. nin	m.	man	Pl. nim-ān-yo
min	m.	house	mim-ān-yo
dat	m.	people	dād-ān-yo
af	m.	mouth	af-ān-yo

nāk	f. woman	nāg-ān-yo
luk	f. leg	lu'-ān-yo
geber	f. girl	geber-ān-yo
ingo	f. mother	inga-d-ān-yo

The same suffix is found in the "Jabarti" ("Upper Juba"). Von Tiling (1921-1922, 105) mentions the following examples:

Sing. arīr	child	Pl. arīr-nyó, arī-nyó
gōri	wood	gōri-nyó
far	finger	fār-nya

As a matter of fact all these three nouns end in -r and this made von Tiling think that this suffix may be secondary.

Saeed (1982, 13/89) mentions only one example:

Sing. arīr	boy	Pl. arī-nyo
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which, if this is not a misprint, suggest that -n- is due to a dissimilation of -r. Lambert compares with Rendille -inyè which is probably correct.

13. -dō, -tō

This occurs in Giddu (Lamberti 1981, § 3.1.2) as a free variant of -dā (see above), e.g. :

Sing. gine	hand	Pl. gin-dō
kōri	child	kōri-dō, kōri-dā
loho	leg	loho-dō, loho-dā

In Tunni there is -tō according to Lambert (ibid., note 1).

14. -āy

In the dialect of Merka Lambert (see his unpublished sketch of this dialect) there is a suffix -āy-ti/-āy-te which occurs when a plural noun occurs with demonstratives or possessives. Lambert interprets -ti/-te as the article. He compares with -āy that occurs in the dialect of Ashraf (Moreno 1953, 113). E.g.:

Sing. nin	m.	man	Pl. nim-āy-ti
dat	m.	people	dad-āy-ti
min	m.	house	mim-āy-ti
luk	f.	leg	lu'-āy-ti
nāk	f.	woman	nāg-āy-ti
far	f.	finger	far-āy-ti

but after -V it is -dayti, e.g. :

Sing. ilmo	child	Pl. ilma-d-āy-ti
ingo	mother	inga-d-āy-ti
igo	finger nail	iga-d-āy-ti

Since there is -a- insted of -o in the plural it is possible that the actual plural suffix is -ad-āy-ti.

15. -īn

This occurs only in Arabic loan-words and is probably a loan from Arabic dialects. E.g. :

Sing. ma ^C allin	teacher	Pl. ma ^C allim-īn
niḡār	carpenter	niḡār-īn
munāfiq	hypocrite	munāfiq-īn

Reinisch (1900, 44) speaks about -yīn but this may be, perhaps, only a phonetic but not a phonological transcription.

16. -ān

This suffix is very rare in Northern Somali (Andrzejewski 1964, 143):

Sing. qālin (Ar.) pen Pl. qalm-ān

It is not clear whether this is not a kind of partial reduplication.

C. Internal Plural

Internal plurals occur in Arabic loan-words, e.g. in Northern Somali (Andrzejewski 1964, 143, 146) :

Sing. ḡarīdād newspaper Pl. ḡarā'id
qabīl clan, tribe qabā'il

In the Bay dialect Saeed (1982, 13/89) mentions as "idiosyncratic" :

Sing. kurī chair Pl. kurās

D. Accent Plural

In Northern Somali we have e.g. :

Sing. āwr	m.	he-camel	Pl. āwr	f.
dībi	m.	ox	dībī	f.
ōrgi	m.	he-goat	ōrgī	f.
ēy	m.	dog	ēý	f.

The change of accentuation can be explained as due to the disappearance of the original suffix in the plural. The change of gender from masculine to feminine in the plural is used in the Dabarro dialect (Lamberti 1980, 3.1.1).

In Standard Somali these plural forms can concord either with the 3rd person plural or singular. Therefore Puglielli 1984, 81-8, considers them to be collectives (feminine !).

R E N D I L L E

In Rendille there is already a considerable number of nouns which do not distinguish number (about 160 in the list compiled by Oomen (1981) for about 450 nouns). These are usually nouns that may function as collectives (including mass nouns) and abstract nouns. There are only remnants of the singulative - Oomen (1981, 54) says that with feminines with one form only but with plural connotation which do not have a singular masculine counterpart a singulative device is used i.e. the feminine marker -t- plus indefinite pronoun, e.g. mārti "stranger", singulative "a stranger". With masculine number-unspecified nouns the singulative, according to Oomen (1980, 57) expressed by the feminine gender was lost and was replaced by the following device: rad "vulture/vultures", rád-o "a vulture", rád-o kalay "a single vulture". On -e see C below.

A. Reduplicated Plural

Monosyllabic masculine nouns (they remain masculine also in the plural) make their plural forms by a partial reduplication, i.e. the final consonant is repeated with the preceding -ā- e.g.:

Sing.	af	mouth	Plur.	afáf
	sam	nose		samám
	ur	stomach		urár
	fol	face		folál
	yed	word		yedád
	dab	fire		dabáb
	hoy	voice		hoyáy
	ór	bull camel		orár

gob	clan	gobáb
ḡit	path	ḡitát
mān	day	mānān
tōr	spear	tōrār

There is also one mixed form: karr (Oomen: kar) "dog", plural karrārre/karr-ó recorded by Schlee (1978, 132) while Oomen (1980, 66) lists only plur. karār.

Oomen (1980, 51-52) tries to prove that -aC goes back (like -o - see below) to *-at. Her main argument is that when a plural noun ending in -aC is determined, that is when what she calls the plural marker -h- (historically going back to *-k-) is suffixed, the realization of final -C is always -ss-, independent of the form of the C, e.g. :

ḡitát	"roads"	ḡitássa	"these roads"
ōrār	"male camel"	ōrássa	"these male camels"
samām	"nose"	samássa	"these noses"
lafáf	"bones"	lafássa	"these bones"
minān	"houses"	minássa	"these houses"

Oomen's main argument that it is really -h-a (cf. p.59) involved here is that if to a hypothetical *sam-át (her hypothetical origin of sam-ām) -h-a was added then a rule of assimilation of t plus h into -ss- is natural while a rule as m plus h resulting in -ss (i.e. *samām + h-a giving samassa) is, according to her, very unnatural. This hypothesis has at least one big weakness: if we assume that -át, -ār, -ām, -áf, -ān, and also (see Oomen's list, p.63-73) almost all other (except four) consonantal phonemes that are found in -aC position are to be explained as going back to -at, then it is extremely difficult to find a reason for the change of the final -t into almost all other consonants. Oomen does not say a word on this. Actually this hypothesis is rather improbable and quite unnatural. I think it is also improbable that sam goes back to *samm being a result of the assimilation of final -t to the preceding consonant in *sam-t since all these nouns are masculine like in Somali (cf. Moreno 1955,

26, 232, 332) and with one exception (ār "ox, bull", plur. ārār is masculine in singular but feminine in plural !) in Bayso, cf. Hayward 1978-1979, 104. Oomen mentions (1980, 51) also two plural nouns that end in -át that presumably do not assimilate -h- into -ss- (cf. p.59) but this should be verified with a native speaker of Rendille. She mentions, as her second argument, also banáy "light" which has banássa "this light" assuming that this comes from *banat but this -at is most probably different from -at of the "reduplicated" plural forms since it may belong to the stem. Both *at and *-ay could assimilate to -sa. In connection with Oomen's third and last argument, namely that "Plurals in -aC do not take -t in the genitive construction as do plurals in -o (see section 4.1.1.2) presumably because the -t already is there, although disguised as -C, e.g. dubas-si ōrār "the tails of the male camels". A very simple reason is that these nouns are simply masculine! This argument is obviously wrong. What is the origin of -sa then? It is rather improbable that it goes back to -ta since these nouns are masc. in the plural also in Somali. Synchronically a form like samassa may be segmented into samas-sa which may be then explained as going back, through assimilation, to *samam-sa. Therefore synchronically the existence of an -sa suffix is quite possible. Whether this would be justified also diachronically is an open question. Of course this would force us to posit a long series of assimilations involving almost all the consonants (with the exception of /w/, also /ḡ/ and /ny/ that have not been found in the -aC position in "reduplicated" plurals so far) but such assimilations are not absolutely impossible. More research on the morphophonology of Rendille is needed. In any case I think that it is significant that only monosyllabic nouns are involved. This makes the assumption about reduplication more probable. It is possible that some of them were originally geminated, i.e. of C₁VC₂C₂ type.

Some of the original -aC reduplicated plurals have already lexicalized and reinterpreted, e.g. afáf which means, as a plural noun, just "door" (cf. a similar situation in Polish where "door" is also plural). Etymologically it is related to af "mouth".

Adjectives make their plural by reduplication of the first syllable (Heine 1980, 229; Oomen 1980, 61), e.g.:

Sing. yeryér	thin	Plur. yeryeryér
wên	big	wewên
dër	tall, long	dërdër

At least synchronically plural forms with -Ce i.e. with the gemination of the last consonant and final -e can also be interpreted as partial reduplications. In this case, however, nouns having more than one syllable in singular are involved, e.g.:

Sing. dábat	track	Plur. dabátte
birlab	sword	birlábbe
yábar	rope	yabáarra

Schlee (1978, 24) does not mention (except *hongor* "hook", plural *hongorre*) the gemination and it is difficult to decide whether this is due to phonological misinterpretation or to dialect differences.

Oomen (1980, 53, 55) interprets this -Ce suffix as going back to *-te. This is not impossible but she does not provide concrete arguments. This hypothesis would demand an assumption of an assimilation of -t- to all (except /g/ and /ny/ for which no example has been found so far) the consonantal phonemes. There are forty six examples of plural with -Ce in Oomen's list and most of the nouns involved end in the singular in -r (14), -b (11) and -l (8). The problem needs further research but for the time being the hypothesis about a gemination of the last consonant of these polysyllabic masculine nouns (cf. Somali) is more probable.

B. External Plural

1. -(V)nye

Some masculine nouns make their plural forms with this suffix. According to Oomen (1980, 53, 55) this should be interpreted only as a variant of -Ce (see above) after nouns ending in a vowel. This seems hardly possible. She says namely that "In the allomorph -nye, y is the reflex

of *t and n is an epenthetic nasal, elsewhere attested in synchronic analysis (see allomorphs of focus marker in Oomen (1978, 51), also adjacent to y." Actually this hypothesis is without a proof, Oomen does not provide any concrete and firm argument for it. This suffix occurs also in Boni. According to Heine, 1980, 226) the vowel is conditioned there phonologically to some extent: the suffix is -inye if the noun stem ends in a high vowel (-i or -u), and it is mostly -énye if the stem ends in any other vowel, e.g.:

Sing. lihti	rock	Plur. lihti-nye
warába	hyena	warabé-nye
ildáwa	medicine	ildawá-nye

Oomen speaks only about -nye and this is confirmed by examples listed by Schlee (1978, 24-25 and his vocabulary) where -nye appears also after -u:

Sing. waru	rib	Plur. warú-nye
uládu	rat	uladú-nye
têru	young animal	terú-nye

Schlee (ibid.) mentions also monosyllabic and bisyllabic nouns ending in consonants that allegedly make their plurals with -(V)nye:

Sing. ál	friend	Plur. al-inye
walál	brother/sister	walalénye; walalinye (Oomen)
óyo	father	óenye (Schlee 1978, 144!)
mâgah	name	magahénye
bahâg	rhinoceros	bahagénye
íbe (íbeh?)	hippopotamus	ibehénye

Coming back to the problem of the origin of -nye and the hypothesis postulated by Oomen I can say only that I do not see a reason for interpreting -n- as "an epenthetic nasal". The problem needs further research.

2. -o, -yó

Feminine nouns make their plural forms with this suffix which has a variant -yó which occurs after stems ending in a vowel. E.g.:

Sing. kur	hill	Plur. kur-ó
laf	bone	laf-ó, lafáf (Oomen 1978, 51)
tim	hair	tim-ó
dahán	hand	dahan-ó
nahás	female breast	nahas-ó
ingir	louse	ingir-ó
úkah	egg	ukah-yo, ukah-ó
čini	bee	čini-yó
múne	mosquito	mune-yó
góda	worm	gode-yó (-e- !)
ebésa	snake	ebese-yó "

There is also a closed list of masculine nouns using this suffix. Oomen (1980, 49-50) presents a "complete list" of these masculine nouns:

Sing. gey	tree	Plur. gey-ó, geyáy
rah	frog	rah-ó
far	finger	far-ó
diri	pot	diri-yó
nahas	breast	nahas-ó (cf. above)
fólas	male camel	folas-ó
gilib	knee	gilib-ó
útah	goatskin	ukt-ó
mār	male calf	mār-ó
nyirah	young male camel	nyirh-ó
wáhar	male goat	wahar-ó
úrbor	young male sheep	urbor-ó
mandān	male twin	mandan-ó

but there is also (see Heine 1980, 226 who says that these nouns usually denote male beings):

Sing. helém	male sheep	Plur. helm-ó
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There is an elision of vowel of the final syllable in a number of nouns. e.g.:

Sing. geléb	evening	Plur. gelb-ó
iláh	tooth	ilk-ó
ilím	tear	olm-ó
nabáh	ear	nabh-ó

As indicated by Oomen (1980, 50), in all cases, except two, the liquid in penultimate consonant-position seems to be the conditioning factor.

In five nouns the elision is accompanied by metathesis of the last two consonants:

Sing. baháb	armpit	Plur. babh-ó
útah	goatskin	ukt-ó
ugár	skinbag	urg-ó
dafár	cloth	darf-ó
abár	mother	arb-ó

Oomen (1980, 52) explains that -ó goes back to *-a which resulted from *-at since plural nouns ending in -o add -t when acting as possessor in a genitive construction, e.g. čimbir "bird", plural čimbir-ó, barbárre-ti čimbirót "the wings of the birds". This is a very plausible hypothesis. Cf. Somali and Bayso.

C. Tone Plural

A limited number of masculine nouns, most of them denoting living beings, mark the number distinctions with tone difference and are feminine in plural:

Sing. midir	big boy	Plur. midir
galtaám	big girl	galtaám
árab	elephant	aráb
fárat	horse	farát

éhel	donkey	ehél
kéleh	male goat	kéléh
waráab	male sheep	waraáb
óor	male camel	oór
dufaán	big male camel	dufaán
dágah	stone	dagáh
láhaw	stick	laháw
wéǵel	rhinoceros	wegél
hêér	ox	heér

According to Oomen, this list is complete. Oomen's explanation of this tone or rather accent difference as due to the disappearance of the original -et suffix that reappears in genitive constructions and which influences the shift of the accent is correct. This suffix already reduced to -e survives also as a singulative in some nouns which have also plural forms, e.g.:

Sing. wor-é well	Plur. wor-ó
méel-e place	méelál
mingim-e ankle	mingim-ó
dahán-e arm	dahan-ó
baháb-e armpit	bah-ó
sár-e body	sar-ó

This -e occurs in the nominative while there is zero in the accusative (absolute case) which is also used as a citation form (Oomen 1980, 62-63, 45-47).

B O N I

According to Heine (1980, 24-26, 47, 72) the majority of Boni nouns have the same form for singular and plural i.e. there is a strong tendency to erase the opposition of number. Sometimes the situation is different in different dialects, e.g. "guest" has a singulative $\sum\bar{a}d-\check{c}\bar{a}n$ versus collective $\sum\bar{a}d$ in some dialects while Bireeri and Kijee use only $\sum\bar{a}d$. Cf. also $b\bar{o}s$ woman/women, $I\check{g}i$ Somali/Somalis, $H\bar{a}mar$ Swahili/Swahilis, $Ki\check{c}'\bar{e}$ Orma/Ormas, $g\bar{a}li$ camel/camels, $li\check{b}\bar{a}h$ lion/lions, $i\check{r}i$ goat/goats etc. There are not only nouns denoting animals and human beings that belong to this class, e.g. $hi\check{d}de(h)$ star/stars, $ha\check{w}\bar{e}$ night/nights, $m\bar{o}ng\bar{o}\check{c}i$ kidney/kidneys etc. There is also a number of pluralia tantum nouns, e.g. (Sasse MS, 72) ani "milk", $biy\bar{o}$ "water", $bali$ "girls", $d\bar{u}bi$ "old people" etc. Note, however, that many of pluralia tantum end in -i. It has to be investigated in the field whether this is significant.

A. Singulative and Collective

1. $-\check{c}\bar{a}n$ (masc.), $-t\check{i}tte$ (fem.)

Singulatives are formed from collective nouns denoting ethnic or group membership (Sasse MS, 71), e.g.:

Singulative		Collective
Arub- $\check{c}\bar{a}n$ (masc.)	Arab	Arub
Arbu- $t\check{i}tte$ (fem.)		
$\check{G}u\bar{w}\bar{a}n-\check{c}\bar{a}n$	Dahalo	$\check{G}\bar{u}\bar{w}\bar{a}n-i$
$\check{G}u\bar{w}\bar{a}n-t\check{i}tte$		

Note the final -i in the collective of "Dahalo" (see above).

There is also a singulative *ya'a-títte* "an old woman" versus *ya'ár-ti* "old woman/women" which is segmented by Sasse (ibid.) as *ya'art-itte*. This is in the Bireeri dialect. In Kilii there is *yār-ti* which has a plural form *ya'ār-ōbi*. In maculine there is an assimilation of -č- to the preceding -s- providing a variant -an : *ya'ars-ān* "an old man", plur. *ya'ārsi*. The use of singulative forms of both nouns is optional, i.e. there is a free variation.

This is the situation in the Bireeri dialect as investigated by Sasse. In the Jara dialect there is no equivalent to the Bireeri feminine singulative -títte (Heine 1980, 26) and in the Kilii dialect so far only one example : *yār-ti* "old woman" with the plural form *ya'ār-obi* has been found.

There is a problem of the origin of the final -n in the masculine -ān. Whether this goes back to *-nk is an open question.

2. -ó

There is only a remnant of this suffix in the Kilii dialect:

Singulative *gal-ó* camel Collective *gāl*

B. Reduplicated Plural

There is only one example of plural form with the gemination of stem-final consonant going back to partial reduplication in all dialects:

Sing. *laf* bone Plur. *laffi*

There is also one example of a noun with the reduplication of the initial syllable:

Sing. *ti'isi* fly Plur. *títisi, titi'isi*

Adjectives make plural forms by reduplicating the initial consonant, according to Sasse (MS, 94). "The vowel that follows the reduplicated consonant is -u- when the first syllable of the adjective contains -u-, in all other cases it is -i-. This -i- is totally assimilated to the following vowel of the adjacent syllable across -h- and -'- according to morphonemic rule No. 5". Historically at least, this is a reduplication of the first syllable. E.g. :

Sing. <i>d'ēr</i>	long	Plur. <i>d'id'ēr</i>
<i>sūrid</i>	good	<i>susūrid</i>
<i>kāho</i>	white	<i>kikāho</i>
<i>komōm</i>	short	<i>kikomōm</i>
<i>ulēs</i>	heavy	<i>u'ulēs</i>
<i>kulēl</i>	hot	<i>kukulēl</i>

There are, however, the following irregularities:

Sing. <i>wī</i>	big	Plur. <i>wawī</i>
<i>čī</i>	small	<i>čičab</i>
<i>fēhen</i>	bad	<i>fefēhen</i>

For a part of the adjectives the reduplicated form has a distributive, elative or partitive function either exclusively or in addition to the plural function (Sasse MS, 95). Here are some examples of the paucal (also distributive and partitive) plural forms :

Sing. <i>ulēs</i>	heavy	Paucal Plur. <i>u'ulēs</i>	many single heavy objects
<i>d'ū</i>	thin	<i>d'ud'ū</i>	many single thin objects or persons
<i>úsub</i>	new	<i>u'úsub</i>	many single new objects

It is possible (and this needs further research) that the partitive meaning of the reduplicated forms occurs with adjectives denoting rather objective qualities while the elative function is typical for adjectives which denote qualities whose intensity is less objective but more subjective.

C. External Plural

1. -i/-i

It is Heine (1980, 22) who interprets /i/ as a phoneme. Mostly feminine nouns belong to this group. E.g. :

Sing.		Plur.
árub	tongue	arub-i; arub-ti (Heine)
dón	back	dón-i
d'ég	ear	d'ég-i
far	finger	far-i
šilib	knee	šilb-i
wēl	child	wēli

2. -ti|-ti

Mostly masculine nouns belong to this group. E.g. :

Sing.		Plur.
kor	body	kor-ti (Bir., Kil.)
úr	cheek	ur-ti (all dial.)
kír	chin	kir-ti (Bir.)
ná'as	breast	na'ay-ti (except Kil.)
ôr	male elephant	or-ti (Jara)
kâs	molar tooth	kay-ti (Jara, Kil.)
mîn	house	min-ti (all dial.)
kē	tree	kē-ti (all dial.)
má'an	name	ma'an-ti (except Bir.)

3. -t-ô-bi

The only example has been found in the Bireeri dialect :

Sing.	ná'as	breast	Plur.	na'ay-tôbi, -ti, -ôbi
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Jara and Baddey have plur. na'ay-ti while Kiliï has no plural form.

4. -ŷi/-ŷi (Bireeri), -ŷi (Heine -ŷi) in other dialects

Sing.		Plur.
bāl	feather	bal-ŷi/-ŷi/-ŷi
gāri	eyebrow	gar- ŷi/-ŷi
māda(h)	head	mad-ŷi/-ŷi
mēl	place	mēl-ŷi/-ŷi/-ŷi
bakāl	big star, planet	bakāl-ŷi
dūr	forest	dūr-ŷi, -ŷi
tēl	horn, tail	tēl-ŷi

5. -bi

The three examples have been found so far:

Sing.		Plur.
pūnde	long gourd	pūndē-bi
ul	stick	ul-bi
dúle	gourd	dulē-bi

6. -b-ti

Only two examples have been found in the Bireeri dialect by Sasse :

Sing.		Plur.
kambā	rope	kambā-bti
kigōd'	big basket	kigōd'ā-bti; in Kiliï: ig'ōd-ōbti

It is possible that both nouns are loans from Bantu.

7. -b-ŷi/-ŷi

Only one example has been found (Sasse MS, 67-68) :

Sing.	kongolo	ankle	Plur.	kongolō-bŷi, -bŷi
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It is more probable that this is actually -ōbŷi/-obŷi, see below. Nevertheless Sasse accepts this separate interpretation.

8. -ōbi

According to Heine (198, 27), the majority of nouns taking this suffix are feminine but e.g. in the Bireeri dialect (Sasse MS, 68) there seems to be almost the same number of feminine and masculine nouns. E.g.:

Sing.	kārub	shoulder	Plur.	kar-ōbi (Bir.)
	māda(h)	head		māda-ōbi "
	wāren	spear		wāren-ōbi/-ŷi (Bir.)
	ŷemi	hoe		ŷem-ōbi
	hanūr	navel		hanūr-ōbi

Cf. also nyeris "arrow", plur. nyeris-yōbi in Jara (Heine op.cit. 91).

9. -ōb-ti

Sing.	sān	nose	Plur.	san-ōbti
	ŷāri	river		ŷar-ōbti
	sāna	lower leg		san-ōbti
	ŷāli	small bag		ŷal-ōbti

10. -ōb-ŷi, -ōb-ŷi

Only one example has been found in the Bireeri dialect by Sasse:

Sing.	sārid	back	Plur.	sar-obŷi
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11. -nyi

According to Sasse (MS, 69, n.1), historically this suffix (like ny-ōbi, see below) contains a stem-final -n. Only the following examples have been found so far:

Sing.	bú'u	bow string	Plur.	bu'unyi, bu'un-ŷi
	ilin	tear		ili-nyi, ilin-ŷi
	itti	leg		itti-nyi, ittinyyobi
				(Sasse)

Sing.	ka'an	palm of hand	Plur.	ka'a-nyi; ka'an-nyi
				(Heine)
	kū	arrow-shaft		kū-nyi (Bir.), other
				dialects have sing.
				kabū, plur. kabū-nyi
	sa'an	foot		sa'anyi (Baddey), sa'any-
				obi (Bir.), sa'ame (other
				dialects)

12. -ny-ōbi

Cf. -nyi. The only examples are :

Sing.	itti	leg	Plur.	itti-nyōbi, itti-nyi
	sa'an	foot		sa'anyōbi

13. -t-ōbi

The only example has been found in the Bireeri dialect by Sasse:

Sing.	ná'as	breast	Plur.	na'ay-tōbi, -ti, -ōbi
				Jara and Baddey have
				plur. na'ay-ti, Kilii
				has no plural

14. -(i)yāli (-(i)yāl-i ?)

According to Sasse (MS, 69, n.2), this suffix is restricted to kinship terms but in Jara there are also non-human nouns while Heine says (op. cit., 28) that nouns taking this suffix "usually denote relatives". Heine (ibid., n.1) says also that this suffix goes back to a noun meaning "children", cf. Proto-Boni *iŷal which is rather uncertain. The only examples are:

Sing.	ābi	sibling	Plur.	abi-yāli
	āddi	father		addi-yāli
	ēsi	mother's mother		ēsi-yāli
	haūr	mother		haur-iyāli
	siddah	father-in-law		sidda-yāli

Sing.	sirir	bed	Plur.	sirir-yāli
	iškói	warthog		išikoi-yāle
	abti	mother's brother		abti-yāli
	dúmaš	male-in-law		dumas-yāli

15. -yalúè (?)

There is one example from the Jara dialect (Heine op.cit., 93) :

Sing.	sařid	backside of chest	Plur.	sarid-yalúè
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16. - yāmi

There is only one example from the Jara dialect (Heine op.cit. 91):

Sing.	šišil	armpit	Plur.	šišil-yāmi
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D. Tone plural

In the Jara and Baddey dialects there is :

Sing.	bu'ún	bow string	Plur.	bú'un
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In the plural there is -n instead of -n. The origin of this pair may be attributed to the disappearance of an original plural suffix which influenced the accent and the final -n. This example should be verified, however, since it can be only a misprint - cf. Safaree and Kilii dialects which have -n in both plural and singular.

B A Y S O

B A Y S O

A. Singulative

1. Sing. -ti/-titi.

These two allomorphs are in complementary distribution so that -titi occurs with radicals which are consonant final or monosyllabic and -ti occur elsewhere (Hayward 1979, 105-106):

Sing. nébeti f.	ear	Generic	nebe f.
		Plur.	nebebbo
bīfāti f.	squirrel	Generic	bīfā f.
sulālēti m.	wild animal	Generic	sulāle
gilībtiti m.	knee	Generic	gilib m.
		Plur.	gilbō
īgtiti m.	blood	Generic	īg m.
ts'ītiti f.	bone-marrow	Generic	ts'ī f.
farātiti	horse	Generic	fārad m.
		Plural	faradēl
worātiti	he-goat	Generic	wōrab
		Plural	worabēl
bóytiti	belly	Generic	bog
lúytiti	leg	Generic	luk

Some nouns have singulative and plural forms only, without a generic form:

Sing. ȝārtiti f.	old woman	Plur.	ȝārtīl
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dēlēltiti young woman dēlel

In arīti "sun" the singulative suffix is already lexicalized, cf. arī "day".

2. Sing. -o

Sing. idādo f.	sheep	Coll. idād m.
dabālo f.	heifer	dabāl m.

Also with an interesting internal vowel change:

Sing. orōno f.	she-goat	Coll. orén
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3. Sing. -e

Sing. ǂ'ibāre	kid, lamb	Coll. ǂ'ibār
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4. Sing. -essa : Plural -iye (Oromo loan)

Sing. tumalessa	castrated goat	Plur. tumaliye
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B. Regular Plural Suffixes

1. -l occurs only with nouns having a radical with a final vowel which (if short) is lengthened before this suffix.

2. -gōl, -gōlāl which are in free variation and may occur with any noun which does not have an irregular plural (Hayward, 1979, 103-104):

Generic kimbir	bird	Plur. kimbirgōl
Singulative kimbirtiti		Plur.p. kimbirgā

Generic lúban	lion	Plur. lubangōl
Singulative lubantiti		Plur.p. lubangā

All the three morphemes are largely in free variation, e.g. :

Sing. sūk'e	duiker	Plur. sūk'ēl, sūk'egōl, sek'egōlāl
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Hayward (ibid.) says "My informant expressed a general preference for the first type of multiple reference form with vowel-final radicals, but allowed the others. For a noun such as lúban "lion", however, there are only two possibilities".

All "regular" plurals are masculine.

C. "Irregular" Plural

These forms are obviously archaic.

1. Reduplicated Plurals

Sing. ār	m.	ox, bull	Plur. ārār	f.
īra	m	field	irār	m.
yīs	m.	child	yīsās, yisagol	m.
nēbe	f.	ear	nebebbō	
fer	m.	finger	fererrō	
ker	m.	dog	kerōr	

2. Plural -ēl, -ōl, -āl :

Sing. wōrab	m.	he-goat	Plur. worabēl
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kúlub	m.	fish	Plur. kulubēl	
málab	m.	honey	malabēl	m.
fárad	m.	horse	faradēl	
č'ac'áw	m.	scorpion	č'ac'awōl	
lef	f.	bone	lefāl	m.

There is a less probable possibility that there is a partial reduplication with a dissimilation (*lefāf) in the last example. There is -ōl also in ga "tree/wood", pl. gādol since -d- belongs to the root.

3. Plural -allo (with final -l) :

Sing. sūl	m.	nail, claw	Plur. sūlallo
bāl	m.	feather, leaf	bālallo

4. Plural -lāl :

Sing. abbi	m.	brother	Plur. abbilāl	f.
abba	f.	sister	abbalaal	f.

The final -i can be interpreted as a masculine suffix and -a as feminine.

5. Plural -olē :

Sing. č'ārsa	m.	old man	Plur. č'ārsōle	f.
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6. Plural -e :

Sing. se	f.	cow	Plur. saé
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7. Plural -ō (with an elision) :

Sing. gilib	m.	knee	Plur. gilbō
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8. Internal Plural

Sing. dimér	f.	she-ass, donkey	Plur. dimēr
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Cf. also darmē f. "heifer she-ass".

D. Paucal Plural

1. The basic allmorph is -č'ā which may occur also after the plural suffix:

Sing. ār	m.	ox, bull	Plur.p. ārč'ā, ārārč'ā
orōno	f.	she-goat	orōnoč'ā, orengāč'ā

After final -s there is -eč'ā :

Sing. gēs	m.	year	Plur.p. gēseč'ā
yīs	m.	child	yīsēč'ā
es	m.	grass	ēseč'ā

2. With monosyllabic nouns having a final liquid consonant there is a facultative variant -č'āč'ā:

Sing. min	m.	house	Plur.p. minč'āč'ā, mingā
kor	m.	bullcok	korč'āč'ā, korgā
bāl	m.	feather, leaf	bālč'āč'ā, bālč'ā

ARBORE - ELMOLO - DASENECH

Some nouns have only one collective form, e.g. *ar* 'forest', *ar* 'castle', *ar* 'hydropneum', *ar* 'house', *ar* 'cattle' and nouns belong to this group.

2. Pluralization and Collectives

2.1

This suffix occurs with masculine nouns, e.g. *ar* 'forest'.

Singular

<i>ar</i>	<i>ar</i>
<i>ar</i>	<i>ar</i>
<i>ar</i>	<i>ar</i>

Plural

<i>ar</i>
<i>ar</i>
<i>ar</i>

This suffix occurs also with nouns having plural forms with different suffixes - see below.

2.2

The suffix *-ar* is commonly used for nouns of the masculine gender, e.g. *ar* 'forest', *ar* 'castle', *ar* 'hydropneum', *ar* 'house', *ar* 'cattle' and nouns belong to this group. It is also used for nouns of the feminine gender, e.g. *ar* 'forest', *ar* 'castle', *ar* 'hydropneum', *ar* 'house', *ar* 'cattle' and nouns belong to this group. It is also used for nouns of the neuter gender, e.g. *ar* 'forest', *ar* 'castle', *ar* 'hydropneum', *ar* 'house', *ar* 'cattle' and nouns belong to this group.

A R B O R E

Some nouns have only one collective form, e.g. dēl "forest", k'oll "cattle", yibéh hippopotamus, mūl "honey", fūttā "cotton". Mass nouns belong to this group.

A. Singulatives and Collectives

1. -t

This suffix occurs with masculine (!) nouns, e.g. :

Singulative		Collective
izze-t	gazelle	izze
kōnyč ^Y -t	water-snail	kōnyč ^Y fem.
inydo-t	grub, larva	inydo

This suffix occurs also with nouns having plural forms with different suffixes - see below.

2. -vč^Y

The vowel preceding -č^Y is commonly -a- but there is also -i-, -u- and -o-. Hayward 1985, no. 20, says that it seems not unlikely that there was an original distribution whereby -č^Y occurred after stem-final vowels and an alternant -i^vč occurred after stem-final consonants. Singulatives with -vč^Y are masculine. Actually at least some of them have corresponding non-singulative forms with suffixes.

Here are some examples:

			Plur.	serém
Sing.	serm-a ^χ	kudu		
	tānyk'-a ^χ	duiker		tānyk'e
	far-i ^χ	oryx		fāre

For other examples of -V^χ with corresponding plural forms see below.

3. -n, -in

This suffix occurs also with masculine nouns, e.g.:

Singulative		Collective
gol ^χ ga-n	warthog	gol ^χ gā
madda-n	fox	maddā
k'ore-n	kite	k'óre
tarri-n	dikdik	tārri
zanne-n	charcoal	zanné
holsa-n	stalks	holsá
nebel-in	ostrich	nebel
bēg-in	fish	bék
ohol-in	zebra	ohól
so'on	meat	só'

The nouns belonging to this group denote either animals or mass products.

4. -té

This suffix occurs with feminine nouns, e.g.

Singulative		Collective
ga'ar-té	old woman	ga'ár
edan-té	testicles	edan-ó

izze-té	gazelle	izze
kāri-té	heifer goat	kāriy
d'ol-té	dried skin	d'ól
sanydoy-té	grave	sanydóy

Some nouns have parallel masculine forms with -V^χ and feminine with -té.

5. -nté

This suffix occurs with feminine nouns, e.g.:

Singulative		Collective
sōno-nté	nose	sōnó
zire-nté	bead	zire
hind'ēru-nté	hollow stem	hind'ēru
moyd'e-nté	eyebrow	moyd'ē
gororri-nté	francoline	gorórri

From a diachronic point of view this suffix can be further segmented into -n-té where -n is a suffix of masculine as witnessed by the following examples:

Singulative		Collective
Masc. lukku-n	Fem. lukku-n-té	"chicken" lúkku (fem.)
bēg-in	bēg-in-té	"fish" bék (masc.)
d'aymay-in	d'aymay-in-té	"bat" d'aymayé

This suffix is related to the following one.

6. -an-té, -in-té

This suffix occurs with feminine nouns, e.g.:

Singulative		Collective
hilōd-an-té	ember	hilō(t)
huzzuk'-an-té	star	húzzuk'

merd'-an-té	portions of intestine	merd'é
ed'-an-té,	sheep, goat	ed'i
ed'-in-té		
kars-an-té,	molar	karisó (karis-ó ?)
karis-in-té		

7. -tat/-ta (masc.)

-tat-é (fem.)

These suffixes occur with some nouns denoting ethnic groups, e.g. :

Singulative	Collective
Sidā(n)-tat/Sidā(n)ta m., Sidān-tat-é f.	Amhara Sidāma
Kōnson-tat/Kōnson-ta m., Kōnson-tat-é f.	Konso Kōnsó
Bōran-tat/Bōran-ta m., Bōran-tat-é	Borana Bōrān
Hamar-tat/Hamar-ta m., Hamar-tat-é	Hamar Hamār

Some originally singulative forms have already been lexicalized so that the following forms are quoted by Hayward :

kārra-n	monkey
zarga-t	locust
k'iyol-ač	porcupine
gir-ač	rhinoceros
k'abb-at	cold thing, shadow, shade
bald'-an-te	rear portion of leather apron
kenne'-etē	mosquito

B. Reduplicated Plural with -mé

All the nouns having reduplicated plural forms are monosyllabic but not all monosyllabic nouns have reduplicated plural. Virtually all these forms are masculine in the singular but feminine in the plural.

Sing.	zéh	nape of neck	Plur.	zezehe-mé
	kô'	collar bone		kok'o-mé
	fîl	tail		filfil-mé
	dú(m)	tail		dundum-mé
	čar	leopard		čarčar-mé
	irig	gum		irim-mé (perhaps going back to *irig-me and not belonging to this group)

Only one noun of this group is feminine:

Sing.	lah	back	Plur.	lalaha-mé (fem.)
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Cf. plur. suffixes -mé and -a'ame below.

C. External Plural

1. -mé

This suffix is used with masculine consonant-final nouns. In plural they are feminine. According to Hayward, about half of nouns belonging to this group have singular (originally singulative) forms with -n, -č or -t suffixes. E.g. :

Sing.	nāf	leper	Plur.	nāf-me
	dak'al	cheek		dak'al-me
	tuli'	pain. sickness		tuli'imé
	keleh	castrated goat		kelehe-mé
	billāw	knife		billaw-mé

and with corresponding original singulative forms:

Sing. kato-t	left hand	Plur. katom-mé (*katot-mé)
bōla-n	cloud	bōlam-mé (*bōlan-mé)
hurd'-a ^χ	sling	hurd'a ^χ -mé
gerr-a ^χ	thief	gerrag ^χ -mé
umat	custom, tradition	umam-mé (*umat-mé)

There is at least one exception i.e. a feminine consonant-final noun having a plural form with -mé :

Sing. ollah	village, neighbours	Plur. ollaha-me
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2. -a'ame

Most of the nouns belonging to this group are masculine while plural forms are feminine, e.g. :

Sing. gōs	chin, beard	Plur. gos-a'amé
nēk'	lion	nēk'-a'amé
tōf	snake	tōf-a'amé
guh	year	guh-a'amé/guhu-mé
sūd'	marriage	sud'-a'amé

There is at least one feminine noun:

Sing. ēk'	fire	eg-a'amé (fem.)
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It is possible that the original plural suffix was -amé and that -a (later -a-) was lost because of a phonological development or a morphological reinterpretation.

The noun rēk'á "backbone" is a collective (i.e. it concords with verbs in plural) but has also a plural form rēk'a-amé. Hayward emphasises the fact that this is the only collective ("unit reference" in his terminology) noun that is not monosyllabic.

3. -má

Almost all the nouns belonging to this group are masculine and all concord in plural with verbs in plural. Masculine are e.g. :

Sing. dēbī	cabbage	Plur. dēbi-má
šōmi	chief	šōmi-má
girmá	cudgel	girma-má
bārā	hut, booth	bāra-má
herrú	cluff	herru-má

Feminine are e.g. :

Sing. Ÿak'ále	sprout	Plur. Ÿak'ale-má
d'iló	flour	d'ilo-má

According to Hayward, allowing the operation of E-harmony (cf. § 2.4.2) also the following nouns may belong here:

Sing. mek'é	name	Plur. mek'e-m(e)
mettē	head	mette-m(e)

As indicated by Hayward, since these two plural form concord with plural verbs, while the plural suffix -mé is invariably feminine, this -m(e) can be interpreted as underlying -má.

4. -n

Most of the nouns belonging to this group are feminine. They have a high tone on the final vowel which remains also in the plural forms. E.g. :

Sing. tirā	liver	Plur. tirā-n
zazzā	heart	zazzā-n, zazza'amé
d'end'é	palm of hand	d'end'é-n
kokké	throat	kokké-n
liččó	whip	liččó-n

And some masculine nouns:

Sing. middá	left hand	Plur. middá-n
garlá	needle	garlá-n
hezzú	sign, mark	hezzú-n

5. -ó

Consonant-final nouns belong to this group, most of them being feminine. In plural all of them concord with verbs in plural. E.g.:

Sing. bēbe'	armpit	Plur. bebo'-ó
kōb	sandal	kōb-ó
nān	spear	nān-ó
k'ed'eh	thorn	k'ed'eh-ó

Masculine are:

Sing. kid'is	hearthstone	Plur. kid'is-ó
k'ā(č)	stone	k'āčč-ó
gé(z)	thigh	gezz-ó

The last examples are interesting since they suggest that actually this was originally a -Có suffix i.e. with the gemination of the final consonant.

Nouns having a final or penultimate liquid consonant have also a contraction (vowel epenthesis) in the last syllable before -ó, e.g.:

Sing. karam	half calabash	Plur. karm-ó
kolam	ditch	kolm-ó
goran	heifer	gorn-ó
čilik	elbow	čilk-ó
ilik	tooth	ilk-ó

As indicated by Hayward, where the sequence resulting from the contraction (vowel epenthesis) is not compatible with the consonant sequence constraints there is a subsequent metathesis of the last

consonant, e.g.:

Sing. sak'ar	hip, wrist	Plur. sark'-ó
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Some nouns which are differentiated in the singular by gender have only one plural form:

Sing. ker	f. bitch	Plur. ker-ó
kér	m. dog	
k'or	f. tree	k'or-ó
k'ór	m. wood	

The suffix -ó occurs also with some nouns having singular forms (original singulatives) with -it :

Sing. farr-it	finger, toe	Plur. farr-é
sāb-it	leather strap	sāb-ó

Both nouns are masculine in the singular and concord with verbs in plural in their plural forms.

6. -ây

Hayward has found seven nouns with this suffix which he interprets as -y with the high tone on the final vowel. The corresponding non-plural forms are, however, original singulatives with -Vt (-at, -et) and -té. Hayward's segmentation is correct from a synchronic point of view but I think that historically this is the common Hamito-Semitic suffix -ay with a variant -ey when there is -e- in two syllables of the noun. This segmentation allows us to posit -at, -et (masc.) and -té (fem.) allomorphs of the singulative suffix. Plural forms are masculine. E.g. :

Sing. hafūrn-at	m. greedy person	Plur. hafūrn-ây
sirg-at	m. mad person	sirg-ây
dawwe'-en-et	m. beggar	dawwe'-en-êy
kede-té	f. bee	ked-êy
tōma-té	f. water-pot	tōm-ây

7. -mó

Three nouns of this group have been recorded by Hayward. In plural they concord with verbs in plural.

Sing. d'ērē	f. cooking-pot	Plur. d'ēr-mó
gāh	m. horn	gaha-mó
ege'	f. mother	ege'e-mó

Cf. also No. 1-3, 8 and 9.

8. -omá

There are two nouns listed by Hayward. They also have plural concord.

Sing. ḡil	f. announcement of death	Plur. ḡil-omá
bi(ḡ)	f. land, field	bi(ḡ)-omá

Cf. also No. 1-3 and 7.

9. -mmé

Three vowel-final masculine nouns have been found by Hayward. They are feminine in plural.

Sing. orgi	billy-goat	Plur. orgi'mmé
morgi	tendon	morgi-mmé
baftá	calf-stall	bafta-mmé, baftá-n (m.)

There is also one consonant-final noun in this group:

Sing. kerkér	front of shin	Plur. kerkere-mmé
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Cf. also No. 1.

10. -a

This suffix occurs together with the gemination of the stem-final consonant and contraction of the long vowel preceding it. Two nouns have been found - both of them have concord with verbs in plural.

Sing. ēl	water-hole	Plur. ell-á
kōl	leaf	koll-á

On the gemination of the last consonant cf. No. 5.

11. -té

This suffix is homophonous with one of the feminine singulative suffixes (cf. No. 4). Four monosyllabic consonant-final masculine nouns have been recorded. All of them are feminine in the plural.

Sing. nāw	m. crocodile	Plur. naw-té
ār	m. bull	ār-té
hā(w)	m. steer	ha(w)-té
kā(č)	m. chest (of body)	ka(č)-te

12. -to-nó

Only two verbs have been recorded so far, both of them having concord with verbs in plural in their plural forms:

Sing. gor	m. road	Plur. gor-to-nó
ḡe(r)	dust	ḡer-to-nó

Cf. No. 4 and 11.

13. -é

Eight nouns have been recorded so far, five of them also with the gemination of the final consonant. They concord with verbs in plural, almost all of them (i.e. with the exception of the last

one) being masculine in the singular.

Sing. k'úb	hand	Plur. k'ub-é
kunúf	claw, hoof	kunuf-é
hî(z)	root	hizz-é (gemin. !)
bó(m')	pond	bonb-é
él	mountain	ell-é "
k'íl	leather	k'ill-é "
mín	house	minn-é "
lef	bone	leff-é "

On the gemination of the last consonant cf. No. 5 and 10.

ELMOLLO

In Elmolo the majority of nouns still make their plural forms but there is already a certain group of nouns that distinguish number only by means of concordial agreement, e.g.:

gôs	chin	into	maggot
sôno	nose	ôhol	zebra
ók	throat	kôran	mountain
gêne	sole of foot	kâra	stool
yâpta	cloud	yërre	knife

There is also a group of nouns that are number-indifferent which consists mostly, but not only of mass nouns, e.g.:

pičē	water	yūre	dirt
hēd	sand, soil	búrgáite	dust
kúrro	clay	útu	faeces
íriat	smoke	rów	brain

A. Singulative and Collective

Singulatives are formed from collective nouns with the originally feminine suffix -te, e.g.:

Singulative		Collective
rrúfan-te	hair	rrúfan
dór-te	feather	dôrr

gál-te	camel	gāl
serrán-te	flamingo	sérran
yê-te	female hippo	yê
gôn-te	mat	gôn
hékai-te	medicine	hékai
étép-te	brak (of tree)	étép

It has to be emphasised that in some examples there are some vowel length and accentuation changes connected with suffixation.

There are also other singulative suffixes which occur with nouns making their plural forms also with suffixes - see below for examples.

B. External Plural

1. Sing. -at, -te : Plur. -o

These nouns are almost exclusively feminine, e.g.:

Sing. kén-at	chief	Plur. kén-o
élon-te	cowry shell	éln-o
ini-te	egg	inn-o

The last example with the reduplication is especially interesting.

2. Sing. -ate, -ato, -ête : Plur. -ay

In strictly synchronic descriptive terms it would be possible to segment the sing. suffixes rather as -te and -to and plur. as -y but since it is possible that the plural suffix goes back to Cushitic and Afroasiatic -ay, the complex segmentation has been adopted here. Cf. also wárayne etc. below. E.g.:

Sing. ón-ate	fruit	Plur. ón-ay
kál-áte	ear-chain	ká-ay

sin-áto	gall-bladder	sin-ay
háruw-áte	girl	háruw-ay
il-ate	dom palm	il-ay
él-ete	jackal	él-ay
kén-ête	mosquito	kén-ey
gim-ate	tick	gim-ay
kín-ate	earthen pot	kún-ay

3. Sing. -it, -at : Plur. -no, -ne and -anne, -ane (*-at-ne), -inne (*-it-ne)

Only the following examples have been found:

Sing. sâp-it	belt	Plur. sâp-ne
kéd-it	fly	kéd-inne
kôr-at	male goat	kôr-no
il-at	broom	il-âne
kôp-at	locust	kôp-anne
pôru-at	bee	pôru-âne
kôri-at	club	kôri-ane

4. Sing. -itat : Plur. -u

Only one example:

Sing. kî-itat	enemy	Plur. kî-u
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5. Sing. -∅ : Plur. -u

Only one example:

Sing. nân	spear	Plur. nân-u
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6. Sing. -ete : Plur. -ey

Only one example:

Sing. él-ete	jackal	Plur. él-ey
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Cf. -ay (No. 2 above)

7. Sing. -e^Y : Plur. -ey

The only example:

Sing. hél-e ^Y	hare	Plur. hél-ey
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Cf. No. 2 and No. 6 above.

8. Sing. -a^Y : Plur. -ay-ne

Sing. mótól-a ^Y	ankle	Plur. mótól-ay-ne
túmal-a ^Y	blacksmith	túmal-ay-ne
wár-a ^Y	hyena	wár-ay-ne
hârg-a ^Y	cow	hârg-ay-ne

It is possible that -a^Y goes back to *-ayt.

9. Sing. -s : Plur. -ne

Only two examples (masculine) have been found:

Sing. lî-s	mudfish	Plur. lî-ne
pâlpali-s	frog	pâlpal-ne

10. Sing. -Ø : Plur. -ne

Almost exclusively masculine nouns belong to this group:

Sing. érrep	tongue	Plur. érrép-ne
ârap	elephant	ârap-ne
čar	leopard	čar-ne
tor	crow	tór-ne
mútar	catfish	mútar-ne
báha	bow	báhá-ne
dâfar	cloth	dafâr-ne
iyô	pole	iyô-ne

Perhaps it is significant that most of these nouns end in a consonant or in -a, -ô. Cf. No. 11.

Note the -n/-ne is used for making plural also in the Maa dialect spoken today by Elmolo, cf. Heine forthcoming, §2.2.3.2.

11. Sing. -Ø : Plur. -no, -nó

Sing. ôho	mouth	Plur. ôho-no
têto	duck	têto-no
hêto	razor	hêto-no
dîmo	bead	dîmó-nó
érle	eel	érlé-nó
iwate	Thomson's gazelle	iwate-no
úte	finger-ring	úte-no

All these nouns and in vowels - cf. No. 10.

12. Sing. -Ø : Plur. -nu

Only the following examples have been found:

Sing. mête	head	Plur. mété-nú
gére	stomach	géré-nú
gîma	heel	gîma-nu

13. Sing. -Ø : Plur. -ma

Only the following examples have been found:

Sing. iġi	perch	Plur. iġi-ma
énu	udder	énu-ma
mîdi	needle	mîdi-ma

14. Sing. -Ø : Plur. -e

Only monosyllabic nouns ending in a consonant belong to this group, e.g.:

Sing. gôn	body	Plur. gôn-e
ûp	arm	ûp-e
nêp	ear	nêp-e
kêr	dog	kêr-e
mêt	buffalo	mêt-e
gûf	branch	gûf-e

7. Sing. -e^Y : Plur. -ey

The only example:

Sing.	hél-e ^Y	hare	Plur.	hél-ey
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Cf. No. 2 and No. 6 above.

8. Sing. -a^Y : Plur. -ay-ne

Sing.	mótól-a ^Y	ankle	Plur.	mótól-ay-ne
	túmal-a ^Y	blacksmith		túmal-ay-ne
	wár-a ^Y	hyena		wár-ay-ne
	hárg-a ^Y	cow		hárg-ay-ne

It is possible that -a^Y goes back to *-ayt.

9. Sing. -s : Plur. -ne

Only two examples (masculine) have been found:

Sing.	lî-s	mudfish	Plur.	lî-ne
	pálpali-s	frog		pálpal-ne

10. Sing. -Ø : Plur. -ne

Almost exclusively masculine nouns belong to this group:

Sing.	érrep	tongue	Plur.	érrép-ne
	árap	elephant		árap-ne
	čar	leopard		čar-ne
	tor	crow		tór-ne
	mútar	catfish		mútar-ne
	báha	bow		báhá-ne
	dáfar	cloth		dafár-ne
	iyô	pole		iyô-ne

Perhaps it is significant that most of these nouns end in a consonant or in -a, -ô. Cf. No. 11.

Note the -n/-ne is used for making plural also in the Maa dialect spoken today by Elmolo, cf. Heine forthcoming, §2.2.3.2.

11. Sing. -Ø : Plur. -no, -nó

Sing.	óho	mouth	Plur.	óho-no
	têto	duck		têto-no
	hêto	razor		hêto-no
	dîmo	bead		dîmó-nó
	érle	eel		érlé-nó
	iwate	Thomson's gazelle		iwate-no
	úte	fingerring		úte-no

All these nouns and in vowels - cf. No. 10.

12. Sing. -Ø : Plur. -nu

Only the following examples have been found:

Sing.	mête	head	Plur.	mété-nú
	gére	stomach		géré-nú
	gîma	heel		gîma-nu

13. Sing. -Ø : Plur. -ma

Only the following examples have been found:

Sing.	iġi	perch	Plur.	iġi-ma
	énu	udder		énu-ma
	midi	needle		midi-ma

14. Sing. -Ø : Plur. -e

Only monosyllabic nouns ending in a consonant belong to this group, e.g.:

Sing.	gôn	body	Plur.	gón-e
	ûp	arm		ûp-e
	nêp	ear		nêp-e
	kêr	dog		kêr-e
	mêt	buffalo		mêt-e
	gûf	branch		gûf-e

mīn	house	mīn-e
nūm	food	nūm-e
īll	river	īll-e
ār	male crocodile	ār-re

It is possible that the last two examples (and perhaps even all the rest) are original plurals with gemination of the last consonant i.e. with a partial reduplication. Cf. No. 15.

These nouns are both feminine and masculine. The number of examples is too limited to decide whether there are any semantic constraints, but there are mostly, actually almost exclusively nouns denoting parts of the human body, animals and mass nouns.

15. Sing. -Ø : Plur. -a

Only the following examples have been found:

Sing. tōrr	root	Plur. tōrr-a
mīrr	well	mīrr-a
kōl	spoon	kōl-a (kōlla?)
laf	bone	lāf-a

It is difficult to say whether it is significant that three nouns end in a liquid which is geminated. Cf. No. 14.

16. -o

Nouns belonging to this group end in a consonant and are almost exclusively feminine, e.g. :

Sing. kárris	cheek	Plur. kárris-o
kúnuf	fungernail	kúnuf-ó
ék	fire	ék-o
nān	harpoon, spear	nān-o
ôr	tree	ôr-o
ser	rain, cloud	sér-o

kōp	sandal	kōp-o
dān	bell	dān-o
nēk	lion	nēk-o

In some nouns there is an elision of the vowel of the last syllable before -o, e.g.:

Sing. ilik	tooth	Plur. ilk-o
čilik	foot	čilk-o
élem	sheep	élm-o

It is possible that the occurrence of a liquid in the second syllable facilitates the elision. Cf. also a metathesis in disyllabic nouns of this group which end in a liquid:

Sing. tīkir	catfish	Plur. tirk-o
déker	horn	dérk-o
múkul	iron	múlk-o

C. Reduplicated Plurals

There are only remnants of plural forms with the partial reduplication i.e. with the gemination of the final consonant (cf. above) :

Sing. hékel	basket	Plur. hekél-lo
ār	male crocodile	ār-re

Also the apparently suppletive plural núnka of sing. lūk goes back to *lukka. Cf. also il "eye", plur. inna also with a dissimilation - cf. also Dolgopolskiy 1973, 144-145, 149-150.

D. Complex and deviant Plurals

There is one example of a form which looks like internal plural

namely sing. gēr "husband", plur. gūr-a. But there is also nōk-ate "young eel", plur. nūk.

There are (?) also traces of the original masculine suffix *-kV in ár-te, plur. ár-gi as well as in hī-k-ič "axe", plur. hī-t-ok (hī-to-k ?) but these examples are uncertain and should be verified.

There is sing. lūku "neck" which has plur. lū-mo which goes back to *lūk-mo.

There is also an interesting case of a lexicalisation of the fem. -t suffix in sing. rét-e "female goat", plur. rét.

An interesting suffix is found in the sing. ny-áu-te "young crocodile", plur. ny-me if this is not a misprint.

Compound suffixes are found in sing. yāl "friend", plur. yāl-én-é-to, as well as in gōr "path", plur. gōr-to-no.

The noun ī "arrow" has a suppletive-like plural iy-ō-lo but this is most probably the same root.

D A S E N E C H

A. Singulative and Collective, Paucal Plural

The actual spread of singulative forms is unknown. Some nouns form also paucal plurals:

Coll. gúm range of mountains, mountains

Singulat. gum-itti a mountain

Paucal Pl. gúm-u a certain number of single mountains

The singulative suffixes elicited by Sasse are -(i)č for masc. and -(i)tti for fem., e.g.:

Coll. bē	fish	Singulat. bē-č	a single fish
īš	grass	īš-itti	a blade of grass

Tucker and Bryan (1966, 564) following Shackleton provide also the following examples:

Coll. umu	children	Singulat. umu-ti	a child
ne	ears	ne-ti	ear
yi	thorns	yi-te	a single thorn
min	hoof	min-ti	a hoof
thur	hair	thur-iti	a single hair

(N.B. The last example is probably to be interpreted as /zur/ or /zurr/, cf. Bender 1971, 251)

Since Shackleton's amateurish transcription is quite imperfect, it is possible that he has simply missed to detect gemination of the consonants.

Tucker and Bryan (ibid., also following Shackleton) mention also another singulative suffix -(V)k which is most probably identical with Sasse's -(i)č, the difference being dialectal. The following

examples are quoted:

Coll. ne	ostrich	Singulat. ne-k	a single ostrich
	gurie rhino		gurie-k a rhino
	wola sheep		wola-ik a sheep

There are two examples where forms corresponding to singulatives have plural suffixes:

ged-e	slaves	ged-ik	a slave
iri-o	beedles	iri-k	a needle

Historically these singulative suffixes are related to the gender suffixes (masc. -č, fem. -ti/-tti), cf. Sasse 1976, 204-205 and 207.

B. Reduplicated Plural

According to Sasse (1976, 204), "Many nouns ending in a VC sequence geminate the final consonant when a plural suffix is attached...Most of these nouns (but not all) are masculine". Sasse provides the following examples:

Sing. būl	nest	Plur.	būllu
Gās	leg		Gassu
abār-ič	lip		abārru

In all these examples there is -u in the plural but Sasse does not say whether this is a rule or only accidental. This has to be elucidated in the course of further field work on Dasenech. Tucker and Bryan do not mention this type.

Adjectives usually (but not always) duplicate the first syllable, e.g.:

Sing. De-u	bad	Plur.	DeDe-u
	gudd-u m. big		gugudd-u
	gudd-iyyu f. big		gugudd-iyu
	ef-u m. light (of weight)		egef-u
	ef-iyyu f. "		egef-iyyu

lul-u m.	round	lulug-u
lul-iyyu f.	"	lulug-iyyu

According to Sasse (1976, 206-207), adjectives not ending in -u very seldom follow the same pattern. e.g.:

Sing. nini	small	Plur. nigi-ni
Dir	long	DeDi(i)r

C. External Plural

1. -u (also -o ?)

This is one (apart from -am/-ām) of the most productive plural suffixes (see Sasse 1976, 203). It is possible that it is identical with -o which is mentioned by Tucker and Bryan (1966, 564) who do not mention -u, e.g.:

Sing. ar	bull	Plur. ar-o
war	hill	war-o
gath	foot	gath-o (gaz ?)
gas	horn	gas-o

Historically this is probably connected with the original abstract but now adjectival suffix -u (fem. iyy-u going back, as indicated by Sasse, to *itt-u) occurring in the examples listed above. It is not surprising that in some adjectives only gender is distinguished, e.g. "dry" is gog-u masc., while gog-iyyu is both fem. sing and plur.

2. -am/-ām

According to Sasse (1976, 203), the long variant occurs after short syllables and vice versa, but there are some exceptions. E.g.:

Sing. les	field	Plur. lés-ām
yil-i	hare	yil-am

Also some adjectives make use of this suffix, e.g. :

Sing. mūlič^Y m. bright Plur. mūlam

Tucker and Bryan mention also -um which may be, perhaps, a dialect variant but it is more probable that this is only a faulty transcription influenced by the English orthography used by Shackleton, e.g. :

Sing.	kur	knee	Plur.	kur-um
	but-a	buttock		bus-um
	il-i	river		il-um
	morit-e	python		moris-um
	sōn-o	nose		son-om (Shackleton: thon-um)

In the last example there is a vowel harmony changing -am to -om (cf. Sasse 1976, 203).

3. -im

No example. Cf. Sasse 1976, 203.

4. -mu

No example. Cf. Sasse 1976, 203-204.

5. -onu, -anu

Sasse emphasise that this suffix has been found in three words only, of which two are probably loan-words :

Sing.	dedeb-a	paper	Plur.	dedeb-a/onu
	nebillig	pipe		nebillif-a/onu
	dum	tassel at		dumm-a/onu
		the end of an animal's		
		tail		

6. -a

Sing.	fār-ič ^Y	horse	Plur.	far-a
	čār	snake		čār-a

7. -e

According to sasse (1976, 203), this suffix may be interpreted as a variant of -a for two reasons: first, both suffixes are almost exclusively confined to animal or plant names; second, Dasenech has a rule changing underlying /a/ to /e/ in some exceptional cases not connected with vowel harmony.

8. -i

No example. Cf. Sasse 1976, 203.

9. -s

No example. Cf. Sasse 1976, 203.

10. -to

Only one example quoted by Tucker and Bryan (1966) :

Sing.	me	head	Plur.	me-to
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NB. Bender (1971) has mē.

D. Tone Plural

According to Sasse (1976, 204), as a rule, nouns having high tone in the singular have a low tone in the plural and vice versa. There are a few exceptions only. Very few nouns have only tone change and a zero suffix, e.g.:

Sing.	só	meat	Plur.	so
	mór	leopard		mor

It is possible that singular forms have originally had a singulative suffix which has disappeared as a result of some phonological change.

E. Internal Plural

Many nouns with CVC stems and a long vowel shorten the stem vowel in the plural form but this morphophonemic process is always accompanied by suffixation, e.g. (cf. Sasse 1976, 204) bāl-li "feather", pl. bāl-ā, nān-ni "spear", pl. nan-ām. There is, so far, only one example of an internal plural, namely :

Sing. hiliš m. heavy Plur. hīliš

How old is this form is to be investigated.

O R O M O I D

O R O M O

The use of nominal plural in Oromo is already limited (cf. Moreno 1938, 138; Gragg 1976, 180) so that in at least some dialects plural forms are seldom used (cf. Munyo and Waata dialects). Andrzejewski (1960, 68; 74) says: "In fact it is possible to listen to conversations among the Borana for a whole day or even longer without coming across one plural or singulative form". Nevertheless in the Borana dialect there is a group of nouns (mostly kinship terms and some nouns denoting cattle) which are in common use.

A. Singulative and Collective

The category of singulative overlaps partially with the category of definiteness so that the suffixes of the singulative are used also in the function of the marker of definiteness (cf. Moreno 1938, 130), i.e. -ic^{yy}ca for masc. and -itti for fem., e.g.:

Singulative		Collective	Plural
namic ^{yy} ca	man	nāmā	
mōtic ^{yy} ca	king	moti	
mōtitti	queen		
garbic ^{yy} ca	slave m.	gārbā	garbic ^{yy} coli
garbitti	slave f.		
harri ^{yy} cā	donkey m.	harrē	
harritti	donkey f.		

Andrzejewski (1960. 64-9) lists, among others, the following examples from the Borana dialect:

Singulative		Collective	Plural
Bōranti ^Y ca	the B. man	Bōrána	
Borantitti	the B. woman		
háyyi ^Y ca	the chief	háyyu'	
hayyitti	the wife of a chief		
uw ^w witti	the woman (polite)	uw ^w wa	
kēs ^Y ummi ^Y ca	the guest	kēsúmma	
k'álli ^Y ca	the priest	k'állu	k'álóle

Andrzejewski (ibid.) says that it is very rare for a noun to have both plural and singulative forms. He does not say whether there is any semantic difference between collective and plural forms of the same noun if they coexist.

There is also some overlapping also in the case of the suffix -sa, -ēsa (in Shoa it is -ēccā according to Moreno 1938, 131) which makes masc. singular nouns (including nomina agentis) and adjectives (Moreno 1938, 48-49; Gragg 1976, 181-182) and has a singulative or singular meaning when there is a plural or collective form coexisting. Here are some examples listed by Moreno (1938, 131-132) :

Sing. obbolēsa/obbolā	brother	Plur. obbolesōta,
obbolētti	sister	obbolōta; Gragg 1982 also obbolewwan

According to Gragg (ibid.) obbolā has a collective meaning "brothers and sisters", while Andrzejewski (op.cit.) provides a second form with the same meaning in Borana, i.e. obbolēyani.

daragēsa	young boy	dargaggōta (Gragg op.cit.)
dargaggētti	young girl	Coll. dargaggō "young- sters, youth"

binēnsa	wild animal m.	binēywan, binēnsota
binēnti	" "	f.

And in the Borana dialect:

ḡārsa	old man	ḡārrōta, ḡārrōle
ḡārti	old woman	

Nouns with -sa, -ēsa can also have a collective meaning which is well compatible with the original abstract value of this suffix which historically goes back to *-ta/-ēta, e.g. :

rifēsa	hair
warābessa	hyaena or hyaenas

and in the Borana dialect (Andrzejewski 1960, 67) :

č'irēsa	a medicine man or men
č'imēsa	a middle aged man or people, plur. č'imēyyi
ōgēsa	a man or people knowing a particular skill
hiyyēsa	a poor man or people, plur. ōgēyyota
dūrēsa	a rich man or people
ḡāldēsa	a baboon or baboons, plur. ḡāldēyyi
wārābesa	a hyaena, plur. wārābeyyi,
wōrsēsa	a rhino or rhinos wārābesōta
gōrōmsa	a heifer, pl. gōrōmi
fit'ēsa	dew (Gragg: fit'ēnsa)

the corresponding feminine forms have, naturally, only singulative meaning:

č'irētti	a medicine woman
č'imētti	a middle-aged woman
ogētti	a woman known a particular skill
hiyētti	a poor woman
durētti	a rich woman

Borello (1939, 89) provides plural forms for singulars in -essa only with -yi, e.g. hiyeyi "poor people", dureyyi "rich people", ogeyi "people knowing a particular skill". In the Borana dialect the plural endings -yyi and -yyan occur only with nominals having -ēsa in the singular collective form (Andrzejewski 1960, 66). Hodson and Walker (1922, 22) plurals with -eyya (masc.) and -eyyi (fem.) also with nouns ending in -a and -e (see below). These are dialect differences which must be subject of further research.

Probably there are also traces of the old singulative suffix -a that survives in :

Sing. Šimbira	bird	Plur. Šimbirōta
mangudda	old man	manguddō

B. Reduplicated Plural

There are only traces of the reduplicated plural of nouns, e.g. in the Borana dialect (Andrzejewski 1960, 63 and 66) :

Sing. kúp'i	hill	Plur. kukkúp'i
rōp'i	hippopotamus	rorrōp'i
morōma	disagreement	mommorōma
ibidda	fire	i'ibidda
arba	elephant	a'ārba
ila	eye	i'ila, i'la
ōbgu	dream	ō'ōbgu
bāle	valley	babbāle
wārābesa	hyaena	wāwwārābesa

It is to be emphasised that singular forms are used also as collectives.

The first syllable is reduplicated also in some adjectives (cf. Moreno 1938, 49; Klingenberg 1949-1952, 45), e.g. :

Sing. gāri	beautiful	Plur. gaggāri
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t'innā	small m.	t'it'innō
t'innō	" f.	
dīmā	red m.	diddīmā, diddīmō
dīmtū	" f.	diddīmtū, diddīmō
adī	white	a'adī, adadī
ḡabā	strong m.	ḡaggabā
ḡābdu	" f.	ḡaggābdu

The following nouns have both the gemination of the second (i.e. the last) consonant and the plural suffix -ēn :

Sing. mūkā	tree	Plur. mukkēn
ḡārā	man, person	ḡarrēn

C. External Plural

1. -ōta, -ota

This is the most frequent suffix of the plural so that some authors (e.g. Borello 1939, 86; Baye Yimam p.17; Klingenberg 1949-1952, 46) mention only this suffix - this means, perhaps, that in some dialects this is the only remaining suffix. According to Moreno (1938, 43-44) and Gragg (1976, 181) this suffix can be used with any noun. E.g. :

Sing. nāmā	man	Plur. namōta
holā	goat	holōta
harrē	donkey	harrōta
urḡi	star	urḡōta
biṣan(i)	water	biṣānōta

According to Gragg (1976, 181; cf. Andrzejewski 1960, 63) the variant with the long vowel occurs when the vowel of the preceding syllable is short, the variant with the short vowel when the vowel of the preceding vowel is long:

Sing. ilka	tooth	Plur. ilkānōta
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and in the Borana dialect:

Sing.	nyēny ^Y 'a	lion	Plur.	nyēny ^Y 'ota
	har ^Y 'umme	rod		har ^Y 'ummōta

In the Waata dialect Tucker (1969, 80) has still recorded two plural forms with -ōta:

Sing.	k'éro	boy	Plur.	k'erōta
	durfa	girl		durfōta

but these were unknown to Heine's informants (Heine 1981, 27) who used one form for both singular and plural.

2. -ata (-ta?)

On this suffix cf. Moreno 1938, 46; Borello 1939, 90; Klingenberg 1949-1952, 46; Da Thiene 1939, XII. E.g.:

Sing.	holā	sheep	Plur.	holāta, holōta
	sēra	law		sērata

3. -ēti

On this suffix cf. Gragg 1976, 180; Da Thiene 1939, VIII-VIII.

Sing.	mūka	tree	Plur.	mukkēti, mukken
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4. -an, -ān

On this suffix cf. Gragg 1976, 180; Moreno 1938, 45; Borello 1939, 88-9; Andrzejewski 1960, 64-69; Klingenberg 1949-1952, 47.

Sing.	ilmā	son	Plur.	ilmān
	mīlla	foot, leg		mīllan, mīllota
	gāla	camel		gālan, gāllan (Borana)
	gāra	mountain		gāran, gārren
	sa'a, sāwa	cow		sawān, sa'ōta
	hād'a	mother		hād'awān, hawān;
				hādō, hādōti for animals
				(Da Thiene)

There is also another example of -an with the gemination of the last consonant (i.e. /l/):

Sing.	gēdala	fox	Plur.	gēdallan
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the same suffix occurs also with some mass or uncountable nouns where it is already lexicalized, e.g.:

mid-an	grain
bis-an	water
k'or-an	wood
ann-an	milk
halk-an	night (So Andrzejewski 1960, 69)
īngir-an	louse/lice

Andrzejewski (1960, 68, cf. 74) mentions also a plural ōbolēyani "brothers and/or sisters".

5. -ēn

On this suffix cf. Moreno 1938, 56; Borello 1939, 89; Andrzejewski 1960, 64.

Sing.	mūkā	tree	Plur.	mukkēn
	fārda	horse		fardēn
	gārā	man		garrēn
	nād'd'a	woman		nad'd'ēn

and in the Borana dialect:

Sing.	bōlla	hole	Plur.	bōllēn
	bofa	snake		bófēn

Andrzejewski (1960, 66) provides the following rule for the Borana dialect: "The affixes -en/-ēn and -an (no example with reduplication - A.Z.) are attached to the last consonant of the stem. When the last consonant of the stem is immediately preceded by a vowel and is a nasal, a liquid or a plosive, it is always reduplicated. If it is -h-, the shape variant of the stem which occurs with affix -en/-ēn is -kk-." E.g.:

Sing. áwāla	grave	Plur. áwāllen
bona	dry season	bónnēn
kōba	termite hill,	kobben
muha	tree	múkkēn (cf. above)

Gragg (1976, 180) provides the following example from the Wellega dialect:

Sing. mana	house	Plur. mannēn
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In the Munyo dialect (Heine 1982, 146) where only a few nouns have a regular singular/plural opposition there are at least two examples:

Sing. k'ubí ^Y co	finger	Plur. k'ubē ^Y n
min	house	minē ^Y n

In the Waata dialect (Heine 1981, 27) where the use of plural suffixes is "extremely rare", there are also two examples:

Sing. k'ubú ^Y co	finger	Plur. k'úbē ^Y na
áblēs	brother	ablēn

6. -owan, -ōwān, -wōn

On this suffix cf. Borello 1939, 88; Hodson, Walker 1922, 22-23; Klingenberg 1949-1952, 47; Andrzejewski (1960, 64 and 71, note 1) says: "I have met one speaker who maintained that the forms with the affix -owan/-ōwān are associated with multiple plurality ("Plural of the Plural"), e.g. fārdōwani which, according to him, would mean "groups of horses" and not simply "horses". I have not been able however, to obtain sufficient confirmation of this view from other speakers". The only examples are :

Sing. kúp'i	hill	Plur. kúp'ōwan, kup'ōta, kup'īlle, kukkúp'i
worāna	spear	wōrānowan, worānōta
sāla	oryx	sālowan
īle	stick	úlowan
ōbru	garden	ōbrowan
akkō	grandfather	akkōwān, akkōta

guyyā	day	guyyāwān, guyyōta
abbā	father	abbāwōn
urgī	star	urgīwān
nad'd'ēn	woman	nad'd'ēniwōn
k'otiyō	ox	k'otiwwān

There is also hangāfā "the eldest child", plur. hangafniwōn which Klingenberg (1949-1952, 48) interpreted as containing -niwōn in the plural. Klingenberg rejected Moreno's explanation that the plural form is formed from the subject form of the singular.

7. -ōlē, -ōlī, -olī, -lē

On this suffix cf. Klingenberg 1949-1952, 46-48; Moreno 1938, 45; Borello 1939, 89. According to Gragg (1976, 180-181) this is, after -ōta, the most frequent plural suffix with short variants occurring when the vowel of the preceding syllable is long and vice versa (cf. Andrzejewski 1960, 66). E.g. :

Sing. ilmō	young offspring of an animal	Plur. ilmōlē
mu ^Y 'a	child	mu ^Y 'ōle, mu ^Y 'ēli
gōsā	tribe	gosōle, gósoli
mōti	king	mōtōle, mōtole
ḡabbi	calf	ḡabbile
garbi ^Y cca	slave m.	garbi ^Y coli
bartū	pupil	barōlle, bartōta
iḡa, iḡga	fruit	iḡḡōle, iḡollē

In Borana Andrzejewski (1966, 64) has found only -ole, -ōle and -le variants :

Sing. rop'i	hippopotamus	Plur. rop'īle
tīru	liver	tirūle
kōme	anklet	kōmōle
dārmī	foal	darmōle
gange	mule	gāngēle
hiddi	gazelle	hiddīle

In the Munyo dialect (Heine 1982, 146) there is:

Sing. hayyú	chief	Plur. hayyōle
korma	bull	kormōlē (fem. !)

8. -iyye, -eyyi

On this suffix cf. Borello 1939, 89; Gragg 1976, 180. E.g. :

Sing. ogēssa	man knowing	Plur. ogeyyi
	a particular	
	skill	
obolēssa	brother	oboleyyi

and in the Borana dialect (Andrzejewski 1960, 66) :

Sing. d'āha	rock, stone	Plur. d'ahāyye
wāti	baby-calf	watiyye

and also yabbiyye "calves" (big enough to graze).

9. -ā

Only one example has been found by Andrzejewski in the Borana dialect with the noun having the singulative suffix -ēsa so that this form has to be interpreted rather as an original collective:

Sing. óbbolēsa	brother	Plur. obbolā
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10. -ō

On this suffix cf. Moreno 1938, 45; Gragg 1976, 180; Hodson, Walker 1922, 22; Klingenberg 1949-1952, 46. E.g. :

Sing. farda	horse	Plur. faradō, faradōta,
		fardēn, fardōle,
		fardeyyi
nad'd'ēn	woman	nad'd'ō, nad'd'ēniwōn

In Borana Andrzejewski (1960) has plur. fardō i.e. with elision. Cf. also órma "man; stranger", plur. oromō where there is an elision in the singular before the original singulative -a.

D. Plural with Prefixes

Heine (1981, 27) quoting Tucker (1969, 78-79) recalls that in the Waata dialect there is a number inflection of some nouns involving the initial vowels with i- as the morpheme of singular and a- of the plural :

Sing. inama	man	Plur. anama
iḡole	child	aḡole

Cf. also in the Munyo dialect (Heine 1982, 146) :

Sing. nāma	man	Plur. inamā
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In connection with Waata Heine says: "One of our informants used these nouns in a similar way. After some discussions, however, there was agreement among all informants that the "correct form" was ánamā and aḡollē respectively, which are used for both singular and plural ... The forms inamā and iḡollē, although frequently used, again for both singular and plural, were not considered as genuine Waata words. It was claimed that they are loans from Orma".

K O N S O

For Konso we have only unpublished studies by P.Black and R.J.Sim. Black's Dictionary is the most important source while his sketch of Konso grammar is only a preliminary version. Sim (19) discusses the nominal plural (pl. 81-86) only marginally and he says: "There are a number of pluralising processes, which in toto form a complex system. Here, interest is confined to three processes which are fairly common, and which require comment in a phonology of Konso". Therefore it is clear that some rare plural forms have not been mentioned so far and obviously these rare plural forms may be quite important from a comparative point of view. It has to be emphasised, however, that Black does not declare frequency restrictions on the forms that he presents in his grammatical sketch i.e. he does not say that only the most widely spread forms are mentioned and actually his inventory of the plural suffixes does not present a much divergent situation. I have taken into consideration all the plural forms found in his Dictionary so that there is a good chance that the data presented here reflect most of the methods of nominal plural formation though some details may be still missing.

A. Singulative suffixes

1. -ta

This suffix of the singulative is still partially functioning though

it is already lexicalized to some extent. Most of the nouns with -ta have corresponding plural forms with -adda or, occasionally, with -a (or even both -adda and -a), e.g.:

Sing. kahar-ta	sheep	Pl. kahar-ra
inan-ta	girl	inan-ā, inan-t-addā
kutin-ta	clitoris	kutin-ā, kutin-t-addā
laf-ta	bone	laf-ā, laf-t-ada
hip-ta	lip	hip-t-ada, hīb-ba

Cf. also the following nouns with -ta, some of them being loans:

ilki-ta	tooth	dam-ta	blood
kolla-ta	skin	mat-ta	head
masar-ta	tail	ka'al-ta	jackal
kuyya-ta	day	hek-t-ay-ta	leg
yōl-ta	blind	soki-ta	salt
iska-ta	woman	musē-ta	banana

The majority of nouns with -ta in Black's Dictionary are masculine but feminine nouns are also quite common. According to Black's grammatical sketch, masculine nouns with -ta make plurals with "the reduplicative suffix -Ca as well as with -t-adda". The latter suffix may be interpreted historically as a compound suffix incorporating the original singulative -ta or it may be interpreted as a suffixation of plural -dda to the lexicalized suffix of the singulative. E.g.:

Sing. ārum-ta	sharpening stone	Pl. ārum-ma, arum-t-adda
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There are, however, also feminine nouns with -Ca, e.g.:

Sing. lōq	foot	Pl. lōq-qa, lōq-t-ada, lōq-qā-da
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This singulative suffix makes also singulative forms of some adjectives, e.g. (cf. Sim, op.cit., 93):

Sing. damay-ta	cold	Pl. damay-a
pudayā-ta	yellow	puddaya-wa
mako-ta	full	mako-wwa
keray-ta	old	keray-a

and, with the abstract suffix -ay which occurs in some of these examples, e.g. in:

Sing. dākk-ay-ta	deaf man
dākk-ay-t-e-ta	deaf woman
dākk-ay-a	deaf (plural)
dakk-āw	to become deaf

The suffix -ta making singulatives and feminine nouns is related to -ta making deverbal nouns, e.g.:

ān	to go	ān-ta	going
awway	to sit	awway-ta	sitting
		awway-a	"
č-	to be	č-āt-ta	being, life
dam	to eat	dam-ta	food
dehām	to advise	dehām-ta	advice,
		pl. dehām-adda	
hosāl	to laugh	hosāl-ta	laughter
		pl. hosāl-t-adda	
pawwa'	to have a headache	pawwā-ta	headache,
		pl. paww-adda	
pōy	to cry, to weep	pōy-ta	crying,
		pl. pōy-t-ada	

Sometimes there is -ata which may be interpreted either as original -a-ta or -at-a, e.g.:

sōk	to go out	sōk-ata	going out
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uy	to make a cry	uy-ata a cry,
		pl. uy-at-adda
Ÿsem	to reset	Ÿsem-ata resetting

There are also rather numerous nouns in which -ta is preceded by a vowel. They are feminine, e.g.:

Sing. kãg ^{yy} -e-ta	teff	Pl. kãg ^{yy} -e-wwa
korl-é-ta	algae	kórl-e-wwa. kórl-e-wwa-dda
módah-a-ta	earring	módah-a-wwa
dáh-ā-ta	firefly	dáh-a
áturr-ā-ta	cat	áturr-ā-wwa
pūt-ota	a snake	pūt-o-wwa
oh-ó-ta	yellow bean	óh-o-wwa. óh-o-wwa-dda
hāl-ō-ta	revenge	hāl-ō-wwa
pinn-ē-ta	mosquito	pinn-ē-wwa
parritt-ē-ta	multicolored cloth	párritt-a-wwa
pīrt-o-ta	sun	

Most, if not all of these nouns belong to the semantic group which frequently has collective and singulative forms. In the examples listed above -ē- may go back, at least sometimes, to -ay but another origin of the whole suffix i.e. -ēt-a /also -ōt-a and -āt-a/ is possible so that -at, -āt, -ot, -ōt, -ēt could be original pluralizers later reinterpreted as a part of a collective noun. Another possibility is that -a, -ā, -o, -ō and -ē were original feminine suffixes. Actually both interpretations are possible since these forms are morphologically ambiguous - this ambiguity has contributed to the origin of a number of compound suffixes in Konso and also in other Cushitic languages. Cf. also the following forms with double suffixation:

iski-te-ta	start	ikir-te-ta	louse
hampir-te-ta	bird	tel-te-ta	goat

Cf. also nouns with -atta (masc.) which, according to Blacks grammatical sketch (p.23) generally take plural suffixes -ay-a or add -dda to the singular, e.g.:

Sing. hópp-at-ta viscera Pl. hópp-ay-a. hópp-at-ta-dda

It makes also ordinal numbers, e.g. tápp-a "seven", tápp-at-ta "seventh".

2. -itta

This may be original -ita with a later gemination but it is perhaps more probable that this goes back to -it-ta or, in other words, that this is a compound suffix. According to Black's sketch, -itta "is a common suffix which often denotes a single (particularly male) member of some class and which often corresponds to a feminine in -itt-ē-ta (possibly also -itt-e-ta) and a plural -iyy-a (sometimes also -iyy-adda)", e.g.:

Nákulle (Black: Nákul-l-e)	Nakulle town
Nákul-t-itta	masc. resident of N.
Nákul-t-itt-ē-ta	fem. resident of N.
Nákul-t-iyy-a, Nákul-ta-dda	plur. residents of N.
Nákul-ta	coll. people of N.
isk-itta	worm
isk-itta-ta	"
isk-a	worms

Cf. -i^{yy}cca in the Oromo language. This Konso -itta makes also abstracts, e.g.:

dink	to kiss	dink-itta (masc.) a kiss,
		pl. dink-itta-dda
muk	to sleep	muk-itta (masc.) a sleep
qep	to break	qep-itta (masc.) breakage,
		pl. qep-iyya

3. -a

The existence of this suffix is possible at least historically since there is a suffix of the same shape making deverbal nouns (abstracts), e.g. *doh* "to be hungry", *doh-a* "hunger". *Dik* "to bleed" is rather denominal since we have *dik-a* "blood" but morphologically the process is the same. Black in his grammatical sketch (p.20) provides also the following forms which he labels "plural": *dikka*, *dik-adda* but since semantically plural is rather improbable in the case of "blood", it is possible that these forms are rather collective or plurals of paucity so that *dik-a* may mean rather "a drop of blood". Obviously not all the nouns having -a are original singulatives, i.e. most probably there are nouns in which actually -a belongs to the root. This ambiguity (-a either a suffix or a part of root/stem) could actually contribute to the disappearance of the singulative (and also feminine) -a and to the appearance of compound singulative suffixes through the additional suffixation of e.g. -ta. Black (op.cit., p.20) mentions also another suffix, namely -ā (with long vowel) which he names "masculine or plural" but the problem is complicated since Sim (op.cit., p. 23) says that "final vowels cannot be long before pause" contradicting Black's transcriptions with -ā. It is possible, as has been stated above, that also other vowels that now occur before suffixes (as a part of a compound suffix) are original nominal suffixes.

B. Reduplicated Plural

Sim (op.cit., p.81) provides the following examples:

Sing. <i>tika</i>	house	Pl. <i>tik-ka</i>
<i>pora</i>	road	<i>por-ra</i>
<i>orana</i>	spear	<i>oran-na</i>
<i>hōla</i>	wing	<i>hōl-la</i>
<i>kuta</i>	dog	<i>kut-ta</i>
<i>murkuḡa</i>	fish	<i>murkuḡ-ḡa</i>

In Black's Dictionary all these nouns except "wing" have also variant plurals with -adda. We find there, among others, also the following examples:

Sing. <i>ḡapn-a</i>	side	Pl. <i>ḡapan-na, ḡapn-aḡa</i>
<i>mākan-a</i>	shelter	<i>mākan-na, makan-adda</i>
<i>mur-a</i>	forest	<i>mur-ra</i>
<i>dīr-ta</i>	man	<i>dīr-ra, dīr-adda</i>
<i>man-a</i>	house	<i>man-na, man-adda</i>
<i>kel-a</i>	vagina	<i>kel-la, kel-adda</i>
<i>hank-ād (?)</i>	hankād lightning	<i>hankād-ḡa, hankād-adda</i>
<i>haraw-a</i>	growing up children	<i>haraw-wa</i>
<i>hirrip a</i>	eyelash	<i>hirrip-pa, hirrip-adda</i>
<i>hittin-a</i>	root, vein	<i>hittin-na, hittin-adda</i>
<i>kāl-a</i>	camel	<i>kāl-la, kāl-adda</i>
<i>kās-a</i>	horn	<i>kās-sa, kās-adda, kās-s-adda</i>
<i>kawkaw</i>	jaw	<i>kawkaw-wa, kawkaw-adda</i>
<i>lak-a</i>	plain	<i>lak-ka, lak-adda</i>
<i>tōl-a</i>	family	<i>tōl-la, tōl-adda</i>
<i>yēl-a</i>	bottom of a valley	<i>yēl-la, yēl-adda</i>

In these examples we find the singulative suffix -a mentioned above which makes also verbal nouns, e.g. *kid* "to say" *kid-a* "saying", *kod* "to do, to work", *kod-a* "work". There is also one example with sing. -ita:

Sing. <i>haṣ^Y-itta</i>	shoulder	Pl. <i>haṣ^Y-ṣa, haṣ^Y-iyya</i>
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While most of the nouns (187 in Black's Dictionary) making reduplicated plurals are masculine, there are five nouns with -ta which are fem.:

Sing. <i>kahar-ta</i>	sheep	Pl. <i>kahar-ra, kahar-r-adda</i>
<i>ēk-ta</i>	tail	<i>ēk-t-aḡa, ēk-ka</i>
<i>sahin-ē-ta</i>	bowl	<i>sahin-na, sahin-adda, sa-</i> <i>hin-ē-wwa</i>

nap-ah-a-ta	ear	nap-pa, nap-p-ada
sur-ā-ta	dysentery	sur-awwa (sur-at-wa ?)

Sim (op.cit.) accepts the following rule: "The plural is formed by attaching the feature +gem to the specification of the last consonant of the stem. This solution avoids segmenting the word..." (p.82). In purely descriptive synchronic terms this solution may be accepted but from a historical point of view which is, of course, not decisive for a synchronic interpretation, these forms are due rather to the partial reduplication since there is no historical conditioning of a gemination here. There could be some analogical changes influencing the process, e.g. when the last consonant was identical with the consonant of a plural suffix (i.e. -t+ta etc.) or there could be an assimilation of the consonant of the original suffix to a final liquid or nasal (e.g. -l+ta=-lla etc.). In terms of partial reduplication e.g. kutta can be explained as original kúta-ta with a subsequent elision of the unstressed vowel (the first syllable being, as a rule, stressed, cf. Black's grammatical sketch p.24) in the penultima resulting in kutta. As far as a hypothetical assimilation is concerned, it is very remarkable that most of the nouns with this type of plural end in -l, -r and -n, a much smaller number in -k, -p, -s- and -t and only two or one in -d, -w, -h, -ḥ, -ny, -q, -t, -š, -f, -ḡ and -b.

Also some irregular plurals probably belong here, e.g. (cf. Sim, op.cit., p.84-85) :

Sing. harka	hand	Pl. harqa (Black: hark-ada)
qoyra	tree	qora

It is probably significant that the penultima is closed and ends in a sonant. There was probably a degemination and also assimilation in these plural nouns.

Many adjectives make their plural forms reduplicating the first syllable, e.g.:

Sing. pōr/pu'ur	black	Pl. poppōr, pupu'ur
qoyy	wet	qoqoyy

šakk	small	šašakk
tīm	red	tittim
tiggim	red	titiggim
kapp	fat	kakapp
ilāw	green	i'ilāw
at	white	a'at
awl	brown	a'awl
paqār	good, beautiful	páqqar
der	long	dedder
kumma'	short	kukumma'
kutt	big	kukutt
lek	many	lellek
nēq	bad, ugly	nennēq
nukkul	weak, soft	nunukkul
pald	wide	pappald
qāh	flat, thin	qaqqāh
qalla'	thin	qaqalla'
rōm	reddish-brown	rorrōm
sek	far	sessek
uls	heavy	u'uls

According to Black, some adjectives have only one form, e.g. kokkok "strong, difficult", lutumm "spherical".

C. External Plural

l.-ad/d/a

According to Black's grammatical sketch (p.24) this is the most common of the plural suffixes (-ada after double root final consonant, -adda elsewhere) which "may occur on nearly any noun and after nearly any other nominal suffix, including other suffixes; occasionally it will suggest a derogatory meaning". This is confirmed by my check of Black's Dictionary. E.g.:

Sing. sīn-a/sōn-a	nose	Pl. sin-adda
rōp-a	rain	rōp-adda
iskatt-eta	woman	iskat-adda
um-a	woman's breast	um-adda, um-ma
pukk-a	corpse	pukk-ada
motta	friend	mott-ada
ānn-a	milk	ānn-ada
mōn-ta	sky	mōnt-ada
orr-a	people	orr-ada
af-a	mouth	af-adda
piš-a	water	piš-adda

2. -V(w)wa (-Vt-wa ?)

With a few exceptions feminine nouns use this suffix. Most of the examples (129 in Black's Dictionary) end in -ēta (originally probably rather -ēt-a than -ē-ta); only one example of a masculine noun has been found. E.g.:

Sing. akkōt-et-a	female	Pl. akkōt-ewwa (animal)
all-ēt-a	house	all-ēwwa
kamf-ēt-a	mane (of lion)	kamf-ēwwa
pal-ēt-a	village	pall-ēwwa
tupar-t-ēt-a	woman	tupar-t-ēwwa
		cf. tupar-ra girls
ul-itt-ēt-a	stick	ul-itt-ēwwa

About 90 nouns (exclusively fem.) have -ota or -ōta in the sing., e.g.:

Sing. ališš-ōt-a	female	Pl. ališš-ōwwa
han-t-ot-a	bride	hant-owwa
her-ot-a	wasp	her-owwa
lupp-ot-a	heart, soul	lupp-ōwwa
par-it-ōt-a	drum	parit-ōwwa
tukud-ōta	nape of neck	tukud-ōwwa

About 60 nouns (only 7 masculine) have -ata, -āta in the singular, e.g.:

Sing. ah-at-a	mother	Pl. ah-awwa, ah-at-adda
kan-āt-a	palm of hand	kan-āwwa, kan-āww-adda
kup-āt-a	tortoise, turtle	kup-āwwa, kup-āww-adda
kuyy-āt-a	day	kuyy-āwwa
sat-āt-a	heart, love	sat-āwwa
settaw-āt-a	giraffe	setta-āwwa

while masc. are e.g.:

Sing. far-at-a	grasshopper	Pl. far-awwa, far-aww-adda
kolof-ta, kolof-āt-a	axe	kolof-awwa
hayn-āt-a	thread	hayn-āwwa

Most if not all the nouns belonging to this subgroup have parallel variants with -adda.

According to Sim (op.cit.), the long -ā- or -ē- is shortened before -wwa though there are some exceptions, e.g.:

Sing. satā-ta	heart	Pl. sata-wwa (cf. above)
punā-ta	worm	puna-wwa
kuyyā-ta	day	kuyya-wwa " "
palē-ta	village	pale-wwa " "

but Black in his grammatical sketch (p.22) always transcribes long vowels before the plural suffix if they are long in the singular. The problem whether Sim or Black is right or whether this is a dialect difference requires further research in the field.

As far as the gemination of -w- is concerned, it is possible to interpret it as a result of the assimilation of -t- (e.g. -at-wa=awwa). Sim (op.cit.) prefers to accept -wwa as a pluralizer and -ta as singulative with a shortening of the preceding vowel in the plural. Since the gemination in the last syllable is so widely spread in Konso, the problem needs more data and more reflection but personally I prefer the solution with -wa.

3. -iyya

About 80 examples have been found in Black's Dictionary, with two exceptions all of them masculine. Black in his grammatical sketch mentions this suffix only in connection with the singulative -itta but there are some exceptions. These plurals have parallel variants either -itt-adda (i.e. suffixing the pluralizer to the singulative) or -iyy-adda i.e. a double, compound suffix. E.g.:

Sing. ap-itta	fire	Pl. ap-iyya, -ap-itt-adda
dun-itta	armpit	dun-iyya, dun-iyy-adda
ham-a	adult male	ham-iyya, ham-iyy-adda, ham-adda
kar-itta	belly	kar-iyya, kar-iyy-adda
qand-itta	udder	qand-iyya
qup-itta	finger	qup-iyya, qup-iyy-adda
all-itta (fem.)	large bird	all-iyya

and some adjectives and verbal nouns:

Sing. hars-itta	sharp	Pl. hars-iyya, hars-iyy-adda
hir-itta	running	hir-iyya, hir-itt-adda
		cf. hir to run
ip-ittu	insult, curse	ip-iyya, ip-adda

4. -aya

About 10 nouns in Black's Dictionary having -atta in the singular make plural with -aya, e.g.:

Sing. tull-atta	old cow	Pl. tull-aya
yōm-atta	grindstone	yōm-aya
qass-atta	type of bush	qass-aya, qass-att-adda
dett-atta	accacia	dett-aya, det-at-adda
okk-atta	cow	okk-aya, okk-ay-adda

5. -alla (?)

There are about 10 examples of plural with -alla in Black's Dictionary but they are doubtful i.e. most of them can be interpreted rather as plurals with partial reduplication since their stems end in -l:

Sing. dikl-a	elbow	Pl. dikl-alla, dikl-ada
hawl-a	grave	hawl-alla, hawl-adda
mukl-a	bracelet	mukl-alla, mukl-ada
sipl-a	metal	sipl-alla, sipl-all-adda, sipl-ada
šil-a	boulder	šil-alla, šil-adda
tel-t-ēta	adult she-goat	tel-alla, tel-a
cf. dal-a	child	dal-la

Only two nouns do not end in -l but they have -l- as the prefinal consonant:

Sing. kilp-a	knee	Pl. kilp-alla, kilp-all-adda
kulp-a	gourd	kulp-alla

6. -a

About 60 nouns have been found in Black's Dictionary, about half of them masculine and another half feminine. These nouns have -ta or -itta singulative suffixes in the plural, e.g.:

Sing. etan-ta	farmer	Pl. etan-a
ikkir-ta	louse	ikkir-a, ikkir-adda
inan-ta	girl	inan-a, inan-t-adda
		cf. inn-a boys
kaman-ta	heel	kaman-a, kaman-t-adda, kamn-a, kamn-ada
kelelay-ta	shadow	kelelay-a
kutin-ta	clitoris	kutin-a, kutin-t-adda
laf-ta	bone	laf-t-adda

ohin-ta	fence	ohn-a, ohin-t-adda
tökkoy-ta	porcupine	tökkoy-a. tökkoy-adda, tökkoy-t-adda
torray-ta	locust	torray-a

It is probable that these plurals with -a are original collectives having singulatives with -ta and -itta.

DIRAYTA

For Dirayta (Gidole) we have the unpublished dictionary by Black as well as a short but important article by Hayward (1981). In this language singulative suffixes are widely used and they play an important part in the gender and case system of this language. In the principle, the corresponding non-singulative or non-singular forms also have suffixes i.e. they are morphologically (for syntactic rules see Hayward op.cit.) plural.

A. Singulative suffixes

1. -at, -ât

Sing. nâm-at	person	Pl. nâm-ada
arrap-ât	tongue	arrap-ada
kurm-ât	lips of the vagina	kurm-ada

2. -ot

Sing. sin-ot	nose	Pl. sin-ada
ŷāk-ot	jawbone	ŷāk-awwa, ŷāk-ot-ada
hōr-ot	udder	hōr-ot-ada, hōr-ot-awwa

3. -t

Sing. ʃinkay-t	shepherd (m.)	Pl. ʃinkay-ya
tókkoy-t	porcupine	tókkoy-ya,
		tókoy-t-ada

Very rare.

4. -itt

Sing. háʃ-itt	shoulder	Pl. háʃ-iya
kolop-itt	finger nail	kolop-iyya, kop-ayya
orr-itt	evil spirit	orr-itt-ada
pūn-itt	coffee	
sók-itt	salt	
likkal-itt	chicken	likkal-a
karpin-itt	rib	karpin-a
kurpan-itt	a piece of split wood	kurpan-a
hirrip-itt	eyelash	hirrip-a
ilh-itt	tooth	ilh-a
hisk-itt	star	

This suffix is rare - this is an almost complete list of nouns using it that have been found in Black's Dictionary. All are masculine.

5. -et, -ēt

Sing. motōpil-ēt	Land Rover	Pl. motōpil-awwa
lúkk-et	leg	lúkk-a
talm-iʃʃ-et	unmarried girl	talm-a
ork-et	male goat	ork-awwa, ork-ēt-ada
sorr-ēt	marrow	sorr-awwa, sorr-et-ada

This suffix is rare. Almost exclusively feminine nouns belong here, many of them loan-words.

6. -a

Sing. ádda	cheek	Pl. ádd-ada
áyk-a	spring	áyk-ada
tém-a	brow	tém-ada

A big number of nouns with -a has a plural concord. See below on plurals with -a.

7. -o

Sing. soyy-ó	lowland	Pl. soyy-oda
lott-o	bed	lott-ada, loʃʃ-a

This suffix is very rare.

B. Reduplicated Plural

Some masculine and a few feminine nouns (cf. Hayward 1981, 131-132) make their plural forms by means of gemination of the root-final consonant and a suffixation of -a, e.g.:

Sing. mán-at	house	Pl. mánna
múr-at	forest	murra
súr-at	rope	surra
kólkol-t	young man	kólkolla
kaman-át	cow	kamanna

It is probably significant that in all these examples only -l, -r and -n are geminated. This raises a question whether this is not only an assimilation of -ta.

Hayward (1981, 131-132) adds also the following examples in which the root-final consonant is geminated already in the singular:

Sing. dakkal-ôt m.	stone	Pl. dâkkal-a, dâk-alla, dak-all-ada
lúkk-et f.	leg	lúkk-a
héllemm-ât	ewe	héllemma

It is possible that in the first example the singular form is only a secondary formation from the plural - cf. Dolgopolskiy 1973, 124 for the etymology.

Many, though not all adjectives make plural by reduplicating (with some other changes) the first syllable:

Sing. Yif	tall	Pl. YicYif
der	long	dedder
dikk	good	diddikk
deh	near	deddeh
tinna'	small	tittinna'

C. External Plural

1. -ada

This is the most frequent suffix used by about 400 nouns in Black's Dictionary not speaking about nouns which make their main plural forms with other suffixes but which have also free variants with -ada. As indicated already by Hayward (1981, 129-130), -ada is suffixed to masculine nominal roots of any type, less common to feminine nominal roots which terminate in a consonant cluster, though in the latter case there may also be free variants with other suffixes. There are also some feminine nouns with -Vt in this group. Actually the singular forms are the old singulatives with -Vt (mostly masculine) and feminine singulatives with -t, e.g.:

Sing. ádd-a	cheek	Pl. add-ada
ahayy-ôt	grandfather	ahayy-ada, ahayy-ât
âkal-at	sack	akal-ada, -alla, -awwa

alkūk-â	bean	alkūk-ada
app-ât	father	app-ada
arrap-ât	tongue	arrap-ada
âsim-at	sister	âsim-ada
dal-to	offspring	dal-ada, -awwa
dal-tô-t	female offspring	
dîr-t	man, male	dîr-ada, -t-ada, -t-ada, -d-idda
elel-ôt	dove	elel-ada
famfayy-ôt	ladder	famfayy-ada, -awwa
fart	horse	fart-ada
hant	bee	hant-ada
hons-ât	hippo	hons-ada, -awwa
hull-ôt	guinea fowl	hull-ada
huss-ât	earth	huss-ada
kâl-at	camel	kâl-ada
kâs-at	horn	kâs-sa, kas-ada, -awwa
kakur-ôt	crocodile	kakur-ada
kâp-at	mouth	kâp-ada
kard-ât	belly	kard-ada
kard-iSS	stomach	kard-ada, -awwa
kaws-ât	chin	kaws-ada
kêl-at	vagina	kêk-ada, -awwa
kurm-ât	lips of vagina	kurm-ada
kûs-at	penis	kûs-ada, -awwa
mâk-ot	snake	mâk-ada
mêh-ât	thin	meh-ada
mêt	child	me-dda (!)
mûr-at	forest	mûr-ada
nâm-at	person	nâm-ada
pâr-at	year	pâr-ada
pulal-at	flower	pulal-ada, -awwa
sin-ot	nose	sin-ada

sukunn-ót	backbone	sukunn-ada
tapayy-ót	mouse	tapayy-ada, -awwa
tomposs-ót	chest	tomposs-ada, -awwa
uww-át	skin	uww-ada, -awwa
iskatt	woman	iskatt-ada
ap-itt	fire	ap-itt-ada

The nouns listed above are usually masculine and the following are usually feminine :

Sing. ámban-t	vagina of a cow	Plur. ámban-t-ada
ámmán-t	vagina of an animal	ámmán-t-awwa
dákin-t	body	dákin-t-ada
dá'a-t	accacia	dá'a-t-ada
dēr-t	buttock	dēr-t-ada, -adda
ínan-t	girl	ínan-t-ada
kā-t	a tuber	kā-t-ada, -awwa
kākūr-t	bee hive	kākūr-t-ada, -awwa, kārka (irreg.)
lāp-itt	ear	lāp-itt-ada, lāppa
mīn-t	forehead, face	mīn-t-ada, -awwa
ófof-t	granddaughter	ófof-t-ada
óray-t	hyena	óray-t-ada, -awwa
pān-t	bow (?)	pān-t-ada
ótan-t	center	ótan-t-ada
pīnan-t	animal	pīnan-t-ada, -a, -awwa
(Hayward 1981, 130, says this is masc.!)		
pótít-a	squash	pótít-ada, -awwa
pūš-at	a snake	pūš-ada, -awwa
soyy-ó	lowland	soyy-ada

Almost all of these feminine nouns end in a sonorant preceding -t. According to Hayward (1981 130) "In deriving multiple reference forms in -ada from feminine nouns the question of whether the multiple reference formative is affixed to the root or to the stem appears to be lexically determined". In the list of feminine nouns with plurals in -ada which retain the terminal -Vt before -ada Hayward lists only names of animals but since the list is short it is difficult to decide whether this is relevant i.e. whether there is any semantic conditioning. In any case there are also some exceptions :

Sing. kōs-ót	tapeworm	Plur. kōs-ot-ada
hup-át	tortoise	hup-at-ada
all-ét	kite	áll-et-ada, -awwa
k'óc'-ét	dikdik	k'óc'-et-ada
firr-ót	duiker	firr-ót-ada
hōr-ot	udder	hōr-ot-ada
hóp'-at	armpit	hóp'-at-ada
hopol-ét	hoof	hopol-et-ada, -et-awwa
óh-at	clothing	óh-at-ada
kána'-at	palm of hand	kána-at-ada, kána-at-awwa, kána'-at-ad-awwa
rakk-ót	difficulty	rakk-ot-ada
hart-ót	reservoir	hárt-ot-ada, -awwa

but without the retention of the singulative/feminine suffix we have e.g. :

Sing. hīlayy-át	head, skull	Plur. hīlayy-ada
hārr-at	gate, entrance	hārr-ada
ēww-át	castor tree	ēww-ada

At least in some examples the final -itt of masculine (!) nouns is retained before -ada, e.g. :

Sing. orr-itt	evil spirit	Plur. orr-itt-ada
ap-itt	fire	ap-itt-ada
hóhn-itt	top of head	hóhn-itt-ada

Also the final -t remains with some masculine nouns :

Sing. hāl-ay-t	fever	Plur. hālay-t-ada
hal-ay-t	breakfast	hal-ay-t-ada
sār-ay-t	vine	sār-ay-t-ada
ôrš-ay-t	an animal	ôrš-ay-t-ada, oršiy- awwa
kélt-ay-t	baboon	kélt-ay-ada
póhm-ay-t-	chameleon	póhm-ay-t-ada

It is significant that in these examples actually a compound suffix -ay-t occurs.

Hayward (1981) does not mention any example with gemination i.e. -adda but Black (Dictionary) lists at least the following examples:

Sing. dān-t f.	gourd	Plur. dān-t-ada, dān-t-adda
dēr-t f.	buttocks	dēr-t-ada, der-t-adda
dīr-t m.	man, male	dīr-t-ada, dir-t-adda, dīdda

This geminated suffix is very frequent in Konso. Its actual occurrence in Dirayta should be subject of further study in the field. It is impossible to say whether it is relevant that these nouns are monosyllabic and the root-vowel is long.

2. -awwa

This is the most common plural ending for feminine which occurs with feminine nouns having -et, -ét, -ot, -ót, -t, -at, -ét in the singular, e.g. :

Sing. lúl-et	metal beads	Plur. lúl-awwa
all-ét	a bird	all-awwa
cf. áll-aytt	id.	ayttawa
apal-t	knife	apal-awwa
apör-ét	gourd dipper	apör-awwa, -et-ada
aturr-ét	cat	aturr-awwa, -et-ada

awwéd	night	awwéd-awwa
ǂ'al-ét	bead	ǂ'al-awwa
ǂ'att-ót	a large piece	ǂ'att-awwa
dask-itt-et	bitch	dask-awwa
dima'-itt	rib m.(!)	dima'-itt-ada, -itt-awwa
ét-ót	supper	ét-awwa
harr-ét	donkey	harr-awwa
ink-ót	mother	ink-awwa
ikkir-ét	lous	ikkir-awwa
kānk-ét	mule	kānk-awwa
ko'ann-át	frog	ko'ann-awwa, -at-ada
kut-ét	puppy	kut-awwa
k'udd-ét	thorn	k'udd-awwa
okk-ót	a hawk	okk-ót-awwa
ǂap-át	thigh	ǂap-awwa

In Black's Dictionary about 100 nouns belong to this group. Sometimes -awwa is also affixed to the stem and not to the root, i.e. after the original singulative suffix (see above).

A limited number of masculine nouns belongs to this group (Hayward 1871, 131 lists only three) :

Sing. sálapāt-ót	belt	Plur. sálapāt-awwa
érkad-ót	axe	érkad-awwa, -ada
ork-ét	he-goat	órk-awwa, -ét-ada
áll-aytt	a bird	áll-aytt-awwa (?)
arp-át	elephant	arp-ada, -awwa
ǂ'anǂ'am-at	strong person	ǂ'anǂ'am-awwa, -ada
dima'-itt	rib	dima'-itt-ada, -awwa
ǂōnk-át	a cheater	ǂōnk-awwa

There are at least two examples with the variant -*owwa*: *lāl-ó* "hawk", pl. *lāl-owwa*, *sānyny-o* "Monday" (Amharic), pl. *sānyny-owwa*. No example with -*ewwa* that occurs in closely related Konso has been found.

The suffix -*awwa* goes back probably to *-at-wa.

There are also some examples with both -*ada* and -*awwa* suffixes:

Sing. <i>kāl-ét</i>	word	Pl. <i>kal-et-ada</i> , -et-ad- <i>awwa</i>
<i>kāna'-at</i>	palm of hand	<i>kāna'-at-ada</i> , -at- <i>awwa</i> , <i>kāna'-at-ad-awwa</i>
<i>ir-i^{YY}</i>	husband	<i>iri^{YY}-ad-awwa</i>
<i>hāl-āt</i>	outskirts	<i>hāl-at-ad-awwa</i>
<i>kórāt-et</i>	sword (Amh.)	<i>kórāt-et-awwa</i> , -et-ad- <i>awwa</i>

3. -ala, -alla

Sing. <i>dilk-āt</i>	elbow	Pl. <i>dilk-alla</i> , <i>dilk-ada</i> , <i>dilk-awwa</i>
<i>donp-a</i>	a chunk of soil	<i>donp-olla</i>
<i>karp-āt</i>	wing	<i>karp-ada</i> , <i>karp-awwa</i> , <i>karp-alla</i>
<i>ker-ā</i>	thief	<i>ker-a'-ala</i> , <i>ker-ada</i>
<i>kilp</i>	knee	<i>kilp-ada</i> , <i>kilp-ala</i>
<i>ko'-a</i>	bark, shell	<i>ko'-ala</i>
<i>lāh-āt</i>	male sheep	<i>lāh-ada</i> , <i>lāh-alla</i>
<i>pe'-a</i>	young goat	<i>pe'-alla</i>

4. -amma

Sing. <i>áyI-et</i>	slave	Pl. <i>áyI-amma</i>
<i>māk-ā</i>	type of leader	<i>māk-ada</i> , <i>māk-amma</i>

5. -an-a

Sing. <i>hayp-āt</i>	bride	Pl. <i>hayp-āt-ada</i> , <i>hayp-an-a</i> , <i>hayp-an-awwa</i>
<i>hōr-ā</i>	firewood	<i>hōr-an-a</i>
<i>luff-ót</i>	loop	<i>luff-awwa</i> , <i>luff-ana</i> , <i>luff-ot-ada</i>
<i>šokk-ā</i>	grass	<i>šokk-ana</i>
<i>uš-ót</i>	end	<i>uš-ana</i>

6. -ayya, -iyya (?)

According to Hayward (1981, 132), "a small number of masculine nouns have been noted in which the multiple reference formative is -*yya*". It corresponds to -*ayt* or -*itt* in the singular:

Sing. <i>qilil-ayt</i>	vervet monkey	Pl. <i>qilil-ayya</i>
<i>sōh-ayt</i>	sorcerer	<i>sōh-ayya</i>
<i>qim-ayt</i>	old man	<i>qim-ayya</i>
<i>dāhh-ayt</i>	deaf person	<i>dāhh-ayya</i>
<i>yār</i>	mad person	<i>yār-ayya</i>
<i>hāl-itt</i>	stick	<i>hāl-iyya</i>
<i>hāšš-itt</i>	shoulder	<i>hāšš-iyya</i>
<i>kūpal-itt</i>	finger, toe nail	<i>kūpal-iyya</i>

Theoretically there is a possibility to consider these plurals as belonging to the preceding group i.e. to explain -ayya as going back simply to gemination + -a but, as pointed already by Hayward, the comparative evidence (cf. Oromo) supports another hypothesis, namely that -yya is the actual suffix of plural. Still another possibility would be that the plural ending is -ya, suffixed to another suffix -ay- after a dropping of the singulative -t. It is quite possible that -itt goes back to -iy-t.

7. -a

This suffix is used with plural forms which have corresponding singular (originally singulative) forms with -itt (Hayward op.cit.). They are almost exclusively masculine in the singular. About 30 examples have been found in Black's Dictionary. E.g.:

Sing. Ḫ'āḪ'-ut-ét	chick(en)	Plur. Ḫ'āḪ'-ut-a
dapp-ay-t m., -et f.	mad person	dapp-ay-a
hāmpir-itt	bird	hāmpir-a, -ada
helemm-āt	female sheep	helemm-a
hīrrib'-itt	eyelash	hīrrib'-a
hīsk-itt	star	hīsk-a
hīb'b'-et	lip	hīb'b'-a
indamal-itt	blind person	indamal-a
īll-itt	tooth	īll-a
kārpīn-itt	rib	kārpīn-a
kāmar-itt	hillside	kāmar-a
kay-iṢṢ	friend	kat-a, kat-ada
laf-to	bone	laf-a
lukkāl-itt	chicken	lukkāl-a
moyyal-ét	chigger flea	moyyal-a
talm-iṢṢ-et	unmarried girl	talm-a
t'ppūk'-ót	a shirt	t'ppūk'-a

Here belongs also k'und-in-itt "fruit", plur. k'und-a which has retained the original plural suffix -in from which a secondary singulative has been formed with -itt.

Practically all these nouns can be considered as collectives with corresponding singulatives. Hayward (1981, 133) says: "What is surprising is that other plural nouns which are equally conceivable as "collectives".... belong in group 3 (nouns for which no "multiple reference" forms exist or collectives - A.Z.), having no derivatives". In some instances this opinion may be corrected by further research since Black lists some singulatives which Hayward could not find with his informants probably because of dialect differences:

Hayward	Black
hīb'b'-a lips	hīb'b'-et, pl. -ada
dīma'ma' rib-cage	dīma'-itt, pl. -itt-ada, -itt-awwa

In the second example the form listed by Hayward is a very interesting case of plural with partial reduplication.

New data may substantially (though not radically) change also our idea about the group of nouns having only one form with -ót, -ot, -át, -ét, -t, -itt-at which is syntactically either plural or singular (masc. or fem.)

Hayward (1981, 133-134)	Black (Dictionary)
porr-ót m. barley	pōrr-ót, plur. -ada
kāpp-ót m. wheat	kapp-ót, -ada
ālk'ūk'-át beans	ālk'ūk'-át, -ada
hāk'-at m. water	hāk'-at, -ada
kēl-aat m. vulva	kēl-at, -ada, -awwa
soy-ót f. lowland	soyy-ó, -oda
awwodd-át night f.	awwēdd, -awwa
ēt-ót f. supper	ēt-ót, -awwa
k'úrt'umm-ét f. fish	k'úrt'umm-ét, -ada

Hayward (1981, 133) says that many of the nouns having only one form cannot be conceived as "collectives", e.g. names of body parts. Actually these nouns denoting body parts which do not have corresponding singulatives or plurals in Black's Dictionary denote actually body parts which occur in pairs: ess-ót "thumb", wādd-ót "forearm", kélalla "testicles". But the following plural (originally collective) nouns have parallel plural forms listed in Black's Dictionary :

mut'ur-a	heart	-ada
kōhin-a	lungs	-ada, -awwa
tēm-a	eyebrows	-ada
šir-a	liver	-ada, -awwa
mārk'-in-a	intestines	-ada
dú'us-a	kidneys	-ada
īl-t	eye(s)	plur. īnd-a (synchronically but not diachronically suppletive)
č'alk-ut-a	calf of leg	-ada, -awwa

Altogether there are about 90 nouns which have only one form in Black's Dictionary and about 25 with parallel -ada etc. plurals.

D U L L A Y

D U L L A Y

We do not have an exhaustive description of a single language or dialect of this group but we have a solid analysis of the material that is available by Sasse (Amborn, Minker, Sasse 1980). These data must be supplemented in the future by new material.

A. Singular Suffixes

Since gender is marked in the singular in a rather consistent way, the gender suffixes mark also singular though these forms are not singulatives in a true sense since they contrast with non-singular forms marked also by special suffixes which do not differentiate gender and are plural but not collectives in a morphological sense. Here are the gender and singular suffixes:

1. -o

Harso-Dobase

Sing. ló'-o	cow	Pl. lé'-e
hark-ô	hand	harq-e
kilpây-o	knee	kiplay-âdd'e

2. -ko, -kô

Gollango:

Sing. turiš ^Y -kô	the oldest son	Pl. turiš ^Y -š ^Y -e
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Tsamay:

Sing. ʃa'al-ko older brother Pl. ʃa'al-l-e

After nasal and liquid consonants and after semivowels there are variants -ho/-hó at least in Harso-Dobase.

3. -akk-ô (masc.)

Harso-Dobase:

Sing. t'îr-akk-ô man Pl. t'îr-e

Gollango:

Sing. g'up-akkó finger Pl. g'úp-p-e

4. -te (fem.)

Harso-Dobase:

Sing. luh-té foot Pl. luq-e

Tsamay:

Sing. Cēn-te sheep Pl. Cēm-e

5. -ʃe (fem.)

Harso-Dobase:

Sing. k'ān-ʃe ear Pl. k'ām-e

6. -a^{ʃʃ}co (fem.)

Harso-Dobase:

Sing. hisk-a^{ʃʃ}co woman Pl. hisk-e

7. -atto (fem.)

Gollango:

Sing. hisk-atto woman Pl. hisk-e

8. -i^{ʃʃ}ce (fem.)

Harso-Dobase:

Sing. sapsap-i^{ʃʃ}cé spindle Pl. sapsap-p-e

9. -itte (fem.)

Gollango:

Sing. ukāh-itte eye Pl. ukāh-e

10. -e (fem.)

Gollango:

Sing. Cās-e sister Pl. as-āw-e

11. -a

Gollango:

Sing. sikāp-a long Pl. sikāp-ōma

12. -āye

Gollango:

Sing. mi'-āye child Pl. mi'ādd'e

B. Reduplicated Plural (?)

Some nouns using the singulative suffixes mentioned above make their plurals with the gemination of the final consonant and suffixing -e (on this see below), e.g. :

Sing. ah-i ^{ʃʃ} cé	eye	Pl. āh-h-e
piš-kó	body	pīš-š-e
Cipid'-akkó	finger	Cipid'-d'-e
qarún-ko	elder brother	qarúm-m-e
orhān-ko	spear	orham-m-e

These examples are from Harso-Dobase but there are examples also in Gollango, e.g. :

Sing. alaw-ho	brother	Pl. aláw-w-e
g'up-akkó	finger	g'úp-p-e

No phonological conditioning for geminating or not geminating the last consonant before -e could be discovered so far but perhaps this is only because the general amount of examples is small.

C. Suffixed Plural

1. -e

At least in Harso-Dobase this suffix occurs (eventually together with the gemination of the final consonant - see above) with nouns using singulative suffixes mentioned in section A. E.g.:

Sing. ilg-akkó	tooth	Pl. ilg-e
hisk- ^{XX} accó	woman	hisk-e
k'ān- ^X ce	ear	k'ām-e
luh-té	foot	luq-e

These examples are from Harso-Dobase but in Gollango we find e.g. :

Sing. hisp-atto	woman	Pl. hisp-e
hisk-itté	star	hisk-e
man-o	house	man-n-e
t'īr-akkó	man	t'īr-e
ukāh-itte	egg	ukāh-e

and in Tsamay e.g.:

Sing. ^Y sa'al-ko	elder brother	Pl. ^Y sa'al-l-e
cēn-te	sheep	cēm-e
gār-kó	tree	gār-e

2. -ādd'e

Nouns that have no singulative suffix make their plural with -ādd'e (a compound -ādd'-e or rather -ād-d'e ?), e.g. in Harso-Dobase:

Sing. ik-o	people, tribe	Pl. ik-ādd'e
kon'-o	back	kon'-add'e
kāss-e	shadow	kāss-add'e

Actually Sasse's statement (op.cit. 87) that these nouns have no special suffix in the singular should be verified since he himself separates -o and -e in the examples listed above.

3. -idd'e

This has been found in Gollango, e.g. :

Sing. ^Y samp-o	youngster	Pl. ^Y samp-idd'e
māng-o	corn	māng-idd'e

and in Gawwada, e.g. :

Pl. karm-idd'e	lions
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4. -āne

This has been found in Dobase:

Sing. kar-akkó	river	Pl. kar-āne
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in Gollango:

Sing. orāp-atte	hyena	orāp-āne
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and in Gawwada:

Pl. in-āne	flies
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5. -īne

This suffix has been found in Gawwada:

Sing. sāk-m-o	honey	Pl. sakm-īne
aw-akk-ó	ensete	aw-akk-īne

and in Tsamay:

Sing. gēš-ante	woman	Pl. gēš-īne
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6. -VmV

This has been found in Gollango:

Sing. sīkāp-a	long	Pl. sīkāp-ōma
tākk-a	little	takk-uma
lāq-o	calf	laq-úmme

and in Dobase:

Sing. qand'a ^C -a	wide	Pl. qand'a ^C -ōma
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It looks that mainly adjectives use this type of plural. It is uncertain whether ilm-ame "tears" belongs here or is a reduplication.

7. -áwhe, -ayhe

These suffixes are used by a number of adjectives in Harso and Dobase:

Sing. mak-akkó	bad	Pl. mak-áwhe
hiyy-akkó	poor	hiyy-áwhe

and in Gollango:

Sing. gēš-akkó	old	Pl. gēš-áwhe
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8. -awwe

This has been found in Gollango:

Sing. pōr-akkó	dirty	Pl. pōr-awwe
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This is probably a variant of no. 7.

9. -o

This has been found in Gollango:

Sing. k'ifān-ittó young man Pl. k'ifān-o

and in Harso:

Sing. kōyy-akkó buttocks (?) kōyy-o

Y A A K U

Since Jacobs (1975) study of Y A A K U one only side of the problem was i.e., the most important ones. I have checked the Y A A K U (1975) is source for loss fragment forms. There is a considerable amount of material, a similar situation in French which is an indication of relatively late influence. The interference with the Y A A K U is fairly noticeable.

1. Disjunctive and Collective

Disj. collective	Disj. collective	Disj. collective
Disj. collective	Disj. collective	Disj. collective

Only these examples have been found.

Disj. collective	Disj. collective	Disj. collective
Disj. collective	Disj. collective	Disj. collective
Disj. collective	Disj. collective	Disj. collective
Disj. collective	Disj. collective	Disj. collective
Disj. collective	Disj. collective	Disj. collective
Disj. collective	Disj. collective	Disj. collective
Disj. collective	Disj. collective	Disj. collective

This is one of the most frequent sentences of the Y A A K U. It is

Y A A K U

Since Heine's (1975) study of Yaaku mentions only some of the plural forms i.e. the most important ones, I have checked his Yaaku Vocabulary (ibid.) in search for less frequent forms. There is a considerable variety of plural (cf. a similar situation in Iraqw) which is an indication of relatively late influences. The interference with the Maa languages is clearly discernible.

A. Singulative and Collective

1. -a

Sing. honat-a	plain	Pl. honat
kiwanat-a	lightning	kiwanat

Only these examples have been found.

2. -i

Sing. kīporo-i	scar	Pl. kīporo
tanā-i	root	tānā
sīdā-i	ostrich	sīdā'
risin-i	hair	risin
nyiho-i	lower incisor	nyiho'
loipurukuç-i	knee	loipirúkuç
kútē-i	boy	kúcō'

This is one of the most frequent suffixes of the singulative. It is

probable this is only (with some exceptions ?) a loan from Maa since many words using it are Maa loans and this suffix occurs in the Maa dialect spoken by the Yaaku (Heine, forthcoming § 3.2.32), in Camus (Heine 1980, 108) and in Maasai (Tucker, Mpaayei 1955, 5).

3. -to

Sing. goo-to	goat	Pl. góo'
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This is the only example. Its striking resemblance to English is most probably accidental. This may also be a Maa loan (cf. Hollis 1905, 30).

4. -ni

Sing. anto-ni	water	Pl. ántô'
íngē-ni	tooth	íngē'
hinso-ni	star	hinsô'
hamatá-ni	wasp	hamát'a

This is probably also a loan from Maa - cf. Tucker, Mpaayei 1955, 5; Heine 1980, 108; Heine forthcoming § 3.2.32 does not mention it.

5. -n

Sing. çe'pe-n	leopard	Pl. çe'pe'
c'ehmo-n	peg	c'ehmó'
hri-mo-n	larva of bee	hri'mó'

Only these examples have been found.

6. -o

Sing. moc'-o	bone	Pl. múc'a'
dEhm-o	wind	dEhm-ai
káanç-o	a tree	káanç-ai
mOrh-o	snake	mOrOh

This singulative suffix may also be a loan from Maa, cf. Heine 1980, 108; Hollis 1905, 31; Tucker Mpaayei 1955, 5.

7. -oni

Sing. Nwési-oni	Ngwesi person	Pl. nwesi
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This may be only a variant of the preceding suffix.

8. -t

Sing. wā-t	cattle	Pl. wā'
hOc ^C o-t	shank	hOc'O-nEn

Only these examples have been found.

9. -ta

Sing. lā-ta	village	Pl. luā
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Only this example has been found.

10. -te

Sing. qao-te	doctor	Pl. qaū
çilin-te	thief	çilin
qat'ámih-te	calabash	qat'ámih-t-ai
Çipei-té	Maasai	Çipéi

Only these examples have been found.

11. -nte

Sing. Yaku-nte	Yaaku	Pl. Yāko
riparipi-nte	butterfly	riparip-ái
pirgi-nte	hunting dog	pirig

12. -u

Sing. tiling-u	male	Pl. tiling-ái
tEhEç-u	a plant	tEhEç
tép-ú	stone	tép-ia'
ngái-u	plover	ngái
lEhp-u	porcupine	lEhp-ai
ilmâm-u	tear	ilmâm-ai
kumpaha-u	tobacco	kumpáh-ái

These singulatives have plural forms with -ai.

13. -oi

Sing. laçiy-oi	louse	Pl. lâçe
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This is a Maa loan (see Heine 1975). Only this example has been found.

14. -ei

Sing. arap-ei	animal	Pl. arab'-io
boly-êi	salt	b'ôly-o
kOrOg ^Y -ei	maggot	kOrOg ^Y
warl-ei	swallow	warli'
qaac'-ei	a plant	qasc'-o'
múny-Êi	beard	múny-ô
kurâr-Êi	grave	kurar-Ên

Only these examples have been found.

15. -mi

Sing. ihlE-mi	grass	Pl. ihle'
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Only this example has been found.

B. Reduplicated Plural

Sing. t'ēbe	sinew	Pl. t'ēbEb
ise	smoke	ises
hErO'	rock	hErOr
c'Opo	temple	c'OpoP
saqār	vagina	sáqrar
tÔr	spear	tOrOri
lé	place	lénén, lén
nEhEh	mother	nihnEhe

C. Suffixed Plural

1. -a'

Sing. ġipEt	skewer	Pl. ġipEt-a'
namúk-e'	shoe	namúk-a'
pōri	a tree	pori-a'

This suffix may be, at least in some cases, a Maa loan. Cf. Heine 1980, 107; Tucker Mpaayei 1955, 4-5; Heine forthcoming, § 1.3.2.

2. -o'

Sing. emen	a plant	Pl. émn-o'
hraqai	top	hraqái-o'
qóyE	wild boar	qóy-o'
bitir	warthog	bitir-o'

This suffix may also be a Maa loan, cf. no 1.

3. -E'

Sing. ɕ0h	meat	Pl. ɕ0h-E'
ēi	meeting	ēy-E'

Only these examples have been found.

4. -a

Sing. balan	rib	Pl. balan-a
hramĒt	tongs	hramĒt-a

This is probably only a variant of no 1.

5. -ai (-ay)

Sing. naisug-i	snuff	Pl. naisug-ái
oromoc'-o	sky	oromóc'-ái
ilmám-u	tear	ilmám-ai
pErdĒo'	thorn-tree	pErdĒw-ái
inĒhĒnt-e	vessel	inĒhĒnt-ái
natin-i	story	natin-ai
c'Ertakul-i	spurflow	c'Ertakúl-ái
nū'	song	nu'-ai
h0h0rm0r-0	penis	h0h0rm0r-ái
mās-u	maggot	mās-ai
hāt-e	lid, leather	hāt-ai
kō'-u	knag	kū'-ai
seng̃-e	iron	seng̃-ai
q0tiq0t-E	hornbill	q0tiq0t-ái
dEhm-o	cold	dEhm-ai
nū	dance	nu'-ai
wahn-ó	fence	wahn-ai

6. -Ei

Sing. gohl-o	thorn	Pl. gohl-Ei
morg̃-i'	sinew	morg̃-Ei

7. -ak

Sing. barié	serval	Pl. bari-ak
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This is a Maa loan-word. On -k see Heine 1980, 107, and forthcoming § 3.2.32.

8. -ko'

Sing. meren	beehive	Pl. merĒn-ko'
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Cf. the preceding item.

9. -cé'

Sing. díi'	name	Pl. dí-cé'
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Only this example has been found.

10. -co'

Sing. nuka	nose	Pl. nuká-co'
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Only this example has been found.

11. -ɕe'

Sing. apu	uncle	Pl. apú-ɕe
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Only this example has been found.

12. -an

Sing. loqon	bunch	Pl. loqom-an
tūpo	hot	tūp-an
Ēko	good	Ēk-an
leuma	wind	lemu-an

13. -en

Sing. sirp-i	walking-stick	Pl. sirp-en
orge-i	giraffe	orge-en

Only these examples have been found.

14. -En

Sing. t'ôs-o'	string of bow	Pl. t'ôs-En
OrsE'	rhinoceros	OrsE'-En

Only these examples have been found.

15. -eni (-ni ?)

Sing. adasantari	squirrel	Pl. adasantar-eni
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16. -in

Sing. apur	sheep	Pl. apur-in
puria'	male rhino	puria-in
larî	year	lar-in
lĒ'	mouth	lĒ'-in

This suffix (and also nos. 13-15) is probably a Maa loan, cf. Heine 1980, 107, Heine forthcoming § 3.2.32 and 1.3.2.

17. -ndi

Sing. cāma	friend	Pl. cāma-ndi
qāro'	gall	qāro-ndi
ômó'	shadow	amo-ndi
cūpi	soup	cūpi-ndi
lOn0	shield	lOn0-ndi
lu'te	flat rock	lu'te-ndi
lāpi	track, trail	lāpi-ndi

18. -nEn

Sing. pilles	mongoose	Pl. pilles-nEn
miġ-i	leg	miġ-nEn

Only these examples have been found. Cf. no. 19.

19. -nen

Sing. lube	coucal	Pl. lube-nen
âci	stomach	aci-nen
p0rsi0g	aloe	p0rsi0g-nen

Only these examples have been found. Probably this is only a variant of the preceding item.

20. -n-in

Sing. sácó	female rhino	Pl. sácó-nin
lâúr	camel	lâur-nin
qópE'	tortoise	qopE'-nin
nkil-âi'	cliff-chat	nkilua-k-nin
koçör	shrike	koçör-nin
ladOkâci	bush shrike	ladOkâci-nin
kunyör-i'	gorilla	kunyor-nin
arma	phlegm	armâ-nin
lukuk	owl	lukuk-nin
ôqôî	wife	oqoi-nin
nyabul	chin	nyabul-nin
makit	arrow	makit-nin

This is probably a compound suffix. Both -n and -in occur in Maa.

21. -ni

Sing. sansuri	cape chest nut	Pl. sansuri-ni
kilimi	uvula	kilimi-ni
kilérúa	Egyptian vulture	kilérúa-ni

Sing. turupá	viper	Pl. turupa-ni
moinkó'	waterbuck	moinko-ni
parkobo	squirrel	parkobo-ni
kóirô'	rat	koiro-ni
kolópá	centipede	kolopa-ni
lōy0'	child	lōy0-ni
parkóbó	insectivorous animal	parkobo-ni
loissú	black ant	lisusu-ni
siririm	bead	siririm-i-ni
çomb0h0i	leafcutter bee	çomb0h0i-ni
goigui	bee-eater	goigui-n-in
kanka	zebra	kanka-ni

This is most probably a Maa loan - cf. Heine 1980, 107, forthcoming § 1.3.2.

22. -no

Sing. ókó	language	Pl. ókó-nó
pē'	buffalo	pē'-no'
ákú	cloth	ákú-nó
íkú	fire	íkú-nó

23. -nyo

Sing. korna'	pelvic bones	Pl. korná-nyô
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Only this example has been found.

24. -on

Sing. kébn-i	cave	Pl. kebn-on
cf. kémn-i	cave	kémn-ô'
sErán	handbag	sErám-on

Only these examples have been found.

25. -mo

Sing. lē-i	water, rain	Pl. lē-mo
ic'E'-E	soul	ic'E'-mó'
t'EnkEIEi	wasp	t'EnkEIEi-mo
morigói	poison	morigoi-mo
sunqai	lion	sunqai-mo
bōg0ta-n	lizard	bōt0ai-mo
ndadai	a tree	ndadai-mo
kedil	gate	kedil-mó
qaolqóla	armpit	qolqolai-mo
El	cheek	El-mó
ic'E'-E	heart	ic'E'-mó

26. -men (-h-men ?)

Sing. endo	saliva	Pl. endôh-men
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27. -min (-h-min ?)

Sing. hroh	old man	Pl. hroh-min
Edu'	breast	Édú-min
pōy	upper arm	poy-min

28. -m-ai

Sing. erer	antelope	Pl. erer-m-ai
sik-a'	beer	sak-m-ái
dék-u	hyrax	dék-mái
q0nq0l-Ei	ibis	q nq0l-mai

29. -m-an (-h-m-an ?)

Sing. qos-en	mushroom	Pl. qoh-m-an
sis-in	bark of tree	sih-m-an

It is possible that there is an alternation s: h, cf. no 26

and 27. Cf. also misa' "rope", pl. mih-min.

29. -mâ'

Sing. iri	needle	Pl. iri-mâ
kéri'	water-hole	keri-mâ'

30. -m-ai

Sing. kEhEr-i	stone	Pl. kEhEr-mái
nampār-u	dormouse	nampār-mai
rīr-i	termite	rīr-mai

This may be only a variant of the preceding item.

31. -mé'

Sing. āgu	back tooth	Pl. āgu-mé
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This may be only a variant of the preceding item.

32. -e

Sing. ségil	finger nail	Pl. ségil-ê'
girdām	dance	girdām-e
po'	steppe	po'-ê'
çen	sweet	çem-e'
tōpon	single	tōpon-e'
t'Er	bad	t'Er-E'

33. -et

Sing. ikut	thigh	Pl. ikut-et
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34. -Et

Sing. nôt'-o	lip	Pl. nôt-Et
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This may be a variant of the preceding item.

35. -i

Sing. YoknEn	vulture	Pl. YiknEn-i
tápés	sterile	tápés-i
púnát	spear	púnát-i
kosár	stork	kósár-i
dār	road	dār-i
kE'kE'	liana	kE'kE-i
mágótan	a tree	mogotan-i
hēktan	paradise fly catcher	hēktan-i
lEhEn	fat	lEhEn-i
kuma	club	kuma-i
lwE'En	red	lwE'En-i'
dein	small	déin-i
nya'ain	thin	nya'in-i'

This may be only a Maa loan - cf. Heine 1980, 107, forthcoming §3.2.32 and 1.3.2; Tucker, Mpaayei 1955 4-5.

36. -yô'

Sing. dēman	witch	Pl. dermān-yô'
t'ou	sister	t'óu-yo'

37. -yá'

Sing. n0q0i	river	Pl. n0q0i-yá'
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38. -oi-çi (-i-çi ?)

Sing. loitiko	zebra	Pl. loitúko-i-çi
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Cf. no. 11 and 35.

39. -de'

Sing. dē'Eu'	thick	Pl. dē'Éú-de'
pokEnyÉi	white	pokEnyÉi-de'
dekhEn	wise	dekhEn-de'
nEpÉi	jittery	nEpÉi-de'
nādúí	long	nādúí-de'
tāpés	sterile	tāpés-de'
mār-á-i	spotted	mārāni-de'
sirig-in	old	sirág-de

40. -pa' (?)

Sing. ErÉ	tongue	Pl. ErÉ-pa'
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41. -'

Sing. hece	rope	Pl. héce'
warlei	swift	warli'
sin	sweat	sine'
Erǵi	a plant	érǵi'
nOrpa	ox	nOrpā'
álko	sisal	álko'
c'Ōc'e	snail	c'Ōc'e'
anyu	rope	anyū'
nŌny	vein	nŌny'
kondi	hartebeeste	kondi'
kiçóu	marmot	kiçóu'

It is possible that -' is the only trace of an original -'v.

D. Internal Plural

1. Ablaut + -a

Sing. nErEt	weapon	Pl. marEt-ā
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Sing. lélém	sword	Pl. lalam-ā
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2. Other types

Sing. cé'én	marrow	Pl. cō'mē'
yÉ'ei	meat	yá'áu
mŌgŌi, mŌqŌi	man	maqaio
lāta	kraal, cattle	luāta, luā
kui	thing	koi
kohen	dog	kwehman
moc'o	bone	múc'a
hariaqa	crow	hariaq
lóúdō'	coccyx	lóúdo

E. Tone Plural

Sing. c'āu	feather	Pl. c'āu'
dāi	fire-stick	dāi
tā'ara	dikdik	tāra'

D A H A L O

D A H A L O

A. Singulative

Most of the corresponding plural forms have special endings which occur also in forms corresponding to singular forms i.e. forms semantically singular but without an affix.

1. Sing. -ta

Sing. gúnèweta	mask	Plur. gùnewāwi
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2. Sing. -te

Sing. nāzite	coco palm	Plur. nāzi (Swahili)
kitungūte	garlic	kitungu "
gābālite	rock	magābāli "
matakītīte	water melon	matakiti "

3. Sing. -ēte

Sing. bōrēte	boy	Plur. bōra
nyūēte	sugarcane	nyúa
gúbāgēte	young man	gúbāgā
t'ónānēte	mosquito	t'ónāne
mēmbēte	mango fruit	mēmbu/mēmbē (Swahili)
čūngwēte	orange	mačūngwa "

Sing. ^C iddarēte māwēte	insect stone	Plur. ^C iddārara māwēmudde
4. Sing. -ote		
Sing. ^C intōte ittōte	house fly louse	Plur. ^C inta/hīnta itta
5. Sing. -me		
Sing. nTānt'ūme Tā ^Y ūme tsāntsume	vein lung fish spider	Plur. nTānt'u Tā ^Y ū tsāntsu
6. Sing. -ne		
Sing. rāddāne (Elderkin has rādane) ittone Iāvūne p'ārane gāk'āne (Zaborski chin gāk'a) kārāvanne (Zaborski kārāve)	feather louse leaf termite, white ant shoe	Plur. rādda itta (Elderkin itta) Iāvū p'ārā gāk'ānūta kārāvagūta
7. Sing. - ^Y ge		
Sing. nTō'ō ^Y gē	frond of palm	Plur. nTō'o

B. Reduplicated Plural

1. Plur. -aCi

Sing. útunu kasiki ^Y gā'awo ngútu húlīve múrūnge (Zaborski has múrunke) nTēnu mikúfu filime tāmpo mákkō ilīma Dā ^C ēro lókōme ^Y gēkkēle gōgōntl'ima dūra bōnko ^Y gūkku būndūki nīmānkalo Iā ^C ame lāddāgūde	ulcer big clay pot a monkey blade flower root python necklace combe trap liver tear neck lower lip shoulder ankle intestines brain navel gun leopard sweet snail	Plur. útunāni kāsikaki ^Y gā'awāwi ngutāti húlūvāvi múrunkāgi (-gāgi?) nTēnāni mikūfāfi (Swahili) filimāmi tāmpābi/tāmpābbi mākkāki ilimāmi Dā ^C ērāri lókūmāmi ^Y gēkkēlāli gōgōntl'imāmi dūrāri bonkāgi ^Y gūkkāki būndūkāki (Swahili) nīmānkālāli Iā ^C āmmi lāddāgūdādi
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2. Plur. -aCCi

Sing. ^Y ūga mūhōgo	spider cassava	Plur. ^Y ūgāggi muhogāggi (Swahili)
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baggo gempe	clothing hoe	bàgàggi gempàbbi (Swah.)
3. Plur. -aCCe		
Sing. mīlo bōkū mūta sīna rīk'ā	body pit small ant nose tail	Plur. mīlāggè bōkàkke mūtatte sinānne rīk'āk'k'e/rīk'- ēma
4. Plur. -aCe		
Sing. úšò hēri	elephant goat	Plur. úšāšē hērare
5. Plur. -aCa		
Sing. nāvāro fāāli	rib cock	Plur. nāvārara fālala
6. Plur. -uCa		
Sing. nzāge (Elderkin ndzādze) ngālla	jaw bag	Plur. nzāguga ngālulla

C. Plural with a Suffix and Reduplication

1. Plural -Cama

Sing. lāfi	lungs	Plur. lāfifāma
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mākko hāge	liver moon, month	mākkākāma hāgēgāma
2. Plural -Cemu		

Sing. bā'āma k'ūtlima	dry (masc.) straight (masc.)	bā'amēmu k'ūtlimēmu
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D. Plural with Suffixes

1. Plural -ūta

Sing. ānī bāva'āne bāg/g/āma gāk'ana nūmme tsikānkālle hūmūme (!)	head gazelle belly chin upper lip crab frog	Plur. ānūta (cf. next) bāvā'anūta bāg/g/āmūta gāk'ānūta nūmmūta tsikānkāllūta hūmūūta (?)
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It is difficult to decide whether in the last example the plural form is *hūmūmūta. It is possible that there is the singulative suffix -me in the singular (see above).

2. Plural -utta

Sing. ^C arave/harave	eagle	Plur. ^C arāvūtta
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3. Plural -utē

Sing. lōvo	sheath	Plur. lōvutē
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4. Plural -to

Sing. kâlâti	incisor	Plur. kalatîto; kâlâ-têtto by Elderkin)
ndago	nest	ndâgote (Swahili)
rûmâte	long (masc.)	rûmâtêto
himmate	black	himmatêto

5. Plural -atti

Sing. lêè	road	Plur. lâatti
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6. Plural -addi

Sing. sùma	forehead, face	Plur. sùmaddi
k'ûva	cheek	k'ûvaddi
sîna	nose	sînaddi
k'òk'	throat	k'òk'addi
mûna	heart	mûnaddi
gósa	tribe	gósaddi
ngóma	drum	ngómaddi (Swahili)
kófia	hat	kófiàddi "

7. Plural -udda

Sing. áfo	mouth	Plur. áfudda
kînu	mortar	kînudda
kîvo	gourd	kîvodda (!)
nyâhe/nyâ ^C e	hippo	nyâ ^C udda
kâva'a	baobab fruit	kâva'udda
ngáo	shield	ngâ/w/udda "
gâle	friend	gâludda

8. Plural -uka

Sing. t'âta	hair	Plur. t'âtuka
gât'a	beard	gât'uka
c [~] ena	tongue	c [~] enuka
ts'êde	elbow	ts'êduka
t [~] sânda	finger	t [~] sânduka
c [~] âla	bow	c [~] âluka
wâla	rhinoceros	wâluka
ngâge	jaw	ngâgûka/ngâgûga
k ^W 'âna'a	scorpion	k ^W 'ânâ'ûkâ

9. Plural -uke

Sing. útâ	barn	Plur. útâwûke
gâma	family	gâmûke (Swahili)
wâraha	spear	wârâ ^C uke (!)
wârava	hyaena	wârâvûke

10. Plural -eka

Sing. mûna	back (of body)	Plur. mûneka
mûnta	field	munteka

11. Plural -eki

Sing. gôgô'o	jackal	Plur. gôgô'êki
raggama	tomb	raggamêki
kîoò	fishhook	kîoòêki

12. Plural -ma

Sing. gîmp'o	heel	Plur. gîmp'ôma
gîno	skin	gînoma

hídde	vein	Plur. híddèma
kídzo	elder	kídzoma
há ^{yy} go	judge	há ^{yy} gomà
símbo	stick	símbòma
kiri	giraffe	kírima
bá'i	lion	bá'ima
lânki	bat	lânkima
méko	fire-place	mékoma (Swahili)
lanki	butterfly	lânkima
táli	lioness	tálima
t'ède	elbow	t'édèma

With a change of final -a to -e before the -ma suffix:

Sing. sànga	bull	Plur. sàngèma
gò'o	vulture	gò'èma
ùnt'a	branch	ùnt'èma
càgà	food	càgèma
mbàka	cat	mbàkema (Swahili)
pùnda	donkey	pùndèma

With a change of final -o to -e before the -ma suffix:

Sing. tò'o	wild cat	Plur. tò'ema
t'únno	pumpkin	t'unnèma
t'ùto	antelope	t'utèma

13. Plural -me

Sing. gilli	knee	Plur. gillime
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14. Plural -mi

Sing. ngása	tortoise	Plur. ngásemi (Swahili)
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15. Plural -umu

Sing. Cálite/hálite	knife	Plur. hálitúmu
Timbirik'itte	lizard	Tàmbàrik'úmu
(Zaborski has Tambarik'itte)		

Note the singulative -itte in this probable loan-word.

16. Plural -mutte, -munte

Sing. sànga	bull	Plur. sàngàmutte
tògògo	butterfly	tògògomutte
'ákiba, hákiba	stock of grain	hákibamunte
p'ára	termite	p'aramunte
ndíwa	pigeon	ndíwamunte
nyànyánt'è	leech	nyànyént'émutte

17. Plural -aggu

Sing. gáwe	snake	Plur. gáwaggu
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18. Plural -aggi, -agge

Sing. láwà	settlement	Plur. láwàggi
míxo	body	míxagge

19. Plural -ni

Sing. bába	father	Plur. bábani
áma	mother's brother	ámáni
táta	elder sister	tátani
gágo	mother	gágoni
ánno	father's sister	annóni
ági	elder brother	ágini

It is remarkable that only relationship terms have been found making plural forms with -ni.

20. Plural -ŷu, -ŷe

Sing. gāwā	snake	Plur. gāwāŷu
bē ^C a	buffalo	bē ^C aŷu
Dāu	pot	Dāuŷe

21. Singular -e : Plural -i

Sing. tsúnke	soldier ant	Plur. tsúnki
t'át'è	small ant	t'át'i
Tó ^C e	brown ant	Tó ^C i
c ^C emè	thorn	c ^C emí

Several adjectives belong to this group, e.g. (only masculine singular forms are quoted) :

Sing. dlāŷùne	thin	Plur. dlāŷùni
pānāne	wide	panāni
nyārārāp'e	narrow	nyārārāp'i
hīDāde	heavy	hīDādi
ts'irārā'e	red	ts'irarāi
hēddūne	fat	heddūni
lāfune	weak	lafūni
mā'ayāye	wet	ma'ayāyi
ŷākane	sharp	ŷākāni

22. Singular -e : Plural -a

Sing. Tuvuvu ^C e	moth	Plur. Tuvuvu ^C a
cāwāke	a palm	cāwāka
gólòve	vervet	gólóva
hīddive	bird	hiddīva

gólòve	monkey	gólóva
Dīme	honey bee	Dīmā
gīpe	anthill	gīpa

and some adjectives:

Sing. fōfōne	light	Plur. fōfō'óna,
		fōfo'ona
wili ^C ine	cold	wili ^C ina
nī ^C ānī ^C	thick	nī ^C ānī ^C ā

23. Singular -e : Plural -u

Sing. gā ^C atl'a	crocodile	Plur. gā ^C atl'u
c ^C ele	pelican	c ^C elu
sāre	name	sāru
mbète	basket	mbétu (Swahili)
ngámme	coco shell	ngámmu

24. Singular -e : Plural -o

Sing. wine	good	Plur. winò
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25. Singular -a : Plural -i

Sing. k'ú ^C uma	white, clear	Plur. k'ú ^C umi
t'e ^C ema	soft	t'e ^C émi
bā'āma	hard	bā'āmi

26. Singular -a : Plural -e

Sing. bàbā'a	palm (of hand)	Plur. bàbā'e
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27. Singular -a : Plural -o

Sing. nāt'a	wife	Plur. nāt'o
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28. Singular -a : Plural -u

Sing. dēla	girl	Plur. dēlu
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29. Singular -o : Plural -i

Sing. āgadzdzo	ear-ring	Plur. āgadzdzi
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30. Singular -o : Plural -e

Sing. tsōlo	claw	Plur. tsōle
k'orò	tree	k'orè

31. Singular -o : Plural -a

Sing. hāDo	arrow	Plur. hāDa
mīt'l'o	bone	mīt'l'a
gāno	big	gānà

32. Singular -o : Plural -u

Sing. ḡāgo	cow	Plur. ḡāgu
ngúko	cock, chicken	ngúkù (Swahili)
mélo	silly	mélù

33. Singular -u : Plural -i

Sing. vúgùvúgu	warm	Plur. vúgàvúgi (!)
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34. Singular -i : Plural -o

Sing. Tó ^C i	brown ant	Plur. Tó ^C è
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E. Tone Plural

Sing. Tō ^ː nè	breast	Plur. Tō ^ː nè, Elderkin Tōnu
Tòdè	quid	Tòdè
hīve	baboon	hīvè
hālīte	knife	hālīte
gùvā	bay	gùva
hāta	hornbill	hāta
gú ^C o	person	gù ^C o
dāvi	animal	dāvi

F. Irregular Plural

Sing. hā ^ː go	man	Plur. hā ^C i
mīni	house	mīdzdzi (*min-dzi?)

HIGHLAND EAST CUSHITIC

As far as it is possible to judge on the basis of incomplete descriptions, at least in some languages the opposition of number is already restricted to a considerable extent, e.g. in Burġi (cf. Hudson 1976, 251; Moreno 1938b, 251), in Gedeo or Darasa (cf. Moreno 1937, 214), and in Hadiyya (Plazikowsky-Brauner 1964) where there is a considerable number of singulatives but very few plural forms.

A. Singulative and Collective1. Singulative -V^YCo/-^YCo

In Burġi the singulative suffix is rather infrequent according to Hudson (1976, 251; Sasse and Straube 1977, 251) and Moreno (1938b, 369) says that singulatives are "as frequent as in other Sidama languages". Moreno's statement should not be overestimated since only the following singulative forms have been found in the Etymological Dictionary of Burġi by Sasse (forms found in other sources are included) :

Singulative		Collective	Plural
arr-ā ^Y CCo	bull	arr-āy	arr-āy-a
al-i ^Y CCo	girl		
bakkal- ^Y Co	a star		
hil-i ^Y CCo	female calf		hil-ā ^Y no
mō- ^Y CCa	beast of prey		
ahaha-o ^Y CCi	mother's father		
agun- ^Y Co	moon		

warb-i ^{XX} co	ox
ogomān- ^Y co	horse (Sasse: hogom-āy)

After -y the variant -^Ysi, -^Yse occurs :

Singulative		Plural
dar-ay- ^Y si	locust (coll.?)	
ingil-āy- ^Y si	elbow	
korb-āy- ^Y si	billy-goat (Oromo ?)	korb-ēna
dur-āy- ^Y si m.	rich (Oromo)	dur-āy-yee
dur-āy-ttē	" "	
og-āy- ^Y si	medicine man "	og-āy-ye
ibār- ^Y so	nanny goat	ibār-i (coll. ?)

In the last example -^Yso occurs after -r. Ibār-^Yso goes back to ibāri-^Yco probably.

There is also a compound suffix -an-^Yco where -an- is already at least partially lexicalized, e.g. :

Sing.		Plur.
k'or-ān- ^Y co	crow	k'or-ān-e
lukk-an- ^Y co	chicken	lukk-an-o
irb-ān- ^Y co	rabbit	irb-ān-e
mor-ān- ^Y co	thief (Sasse: mor ^Y go)	
kil-ān- ^Y co	prophet (Sidamo: "sorcerer")	
wol-an- ^Y co	stick	wol-an-ē

Actually this -an- is the suffix making nomina professionis, nomina instrumenti etc., see below. The singulative -^Yco has an independent function of the singulative like in the examples mentioned at the beginning of this section.

In Sidamo (Moreno 1940, 79-81) the singulative suffix is -i^{XX}co, -i^{XX}ca, -^Yco, after d it is -(^Y)^Yso. Gasparini's Dictionary contains about a hundred nouns with singulative forms listed while in his Grammar (p.2-3) Gasparini says that the majority of nouns have

singulative and collective forms. Here are some examples :

Singulative		Collective	Plural
abun-i ^{XX} ca	bishop		abun-ôta
allagg-i ^{XX} co	foreigner		alag-ga
a ^Y skar-i ^{XX} co, a ^Y skar- ^Y co	soldier	a ^Y skar-a (?)	a ^Y skar-ota
badal- ^Y co	maize-stalk	badalâ	
bâl-i ^{XX} co	feather	bâlle	
basurr-i ^{XX} co	cat		
borogg-i ^{XX} co	servant, slave	borogge	
č'ūnc-i ^{XX} co	ant	č'ūnc'a	
dank'-i ^{XX} ca m.	dumb and deaf		dank'-ota, dank'-
dank'-itte f.	" " "		iyye, dank'-iyy-
			ota
dân-i ^{XX} co	elephant		dâni-wo
dôb-i ^{XX} co	lion		dôbi-wo
gamba-i ^{XX} co	jar	gamba-ē (?)	gambâbba
gôd-an- ^Y co	female lamb	gôd-an-e (?)	gôd-an-na
hêff-i ^{XX} co	woman	hêfa	
hirbôr- ^Y co	ivory bracelet		hirbôr-ra
hokk-i ^{XX} co	leaf of wese	hogâ	hog-ga
hôn- ^Y co	juniper tree	honna	hôm-me
man- ^Y co m., f.	man, woman	manna m.	mann-ôta m., mên-
			to f.
iw-i ^{XX} co, ib-i ^{XX} co	louse	iwise	ibibe
me'-i ^{XX} co	goat	me'e	
môt-i ^{XX} ca	lord, master (Oromo)		môt-olle/a, mô-
			tô-le
ôs-i ^{XX} co	child	ôso	
k'êd'-i ^{XX} ca m.	young man	k'êd'o	k'êd'-ota
k'êd'-itte f.	young woman		
rumu- ^Y so	root		rumud-da

Also in Sidamo (for Burġi see above) there are forms with -an-^YCo where -an- makes nomina agentis (Moreno 1940, 81-82) and forms which semantically correspond to active participles and substantivized adjectives, e.g. :

Sing. batir-ân- ^Y Co	great, important	Plur. batir-âs-ine
bat'-an- ^Y Co,	friend, lover	bat-âs-ine
bat'-is-an- ^Y Co		
daddal-ân- ^Y Co,	merchant	dadal-âs-ine
daddal-as-in- ^Y Co		
hayyât-ân- ^Y Co	diviner	hayyât-âs-ine
lôt-ân- ^Y Co	adulterer	lot'-âs-ine
t'ag-is-ân- ^Y Co	doctor	t'ag-is-âs-ine

It is possible that some nouns have singulative forms derived from plural forms, e.g. marra'-âs-in-^YCo or marra'-ân-^YCo "guide", plur. marra'-âs-ine.

In Gedeo (Darasa) Hudson (who does not mention singulatives in d Sidamo in an explicit way) says (1976, 251) that the suffix -^YCo/-^{YV}Co (the former after sonorants) "is only a bit more common" than in Burġi. Cerulli (1938, 240) emphasises the existence of -^YCo, -^{YV}Co but mentions one example: man-^Ygi "man", cf. collective manna quoted by Moreno (1937, 237) who, in his turn, mentions also hak'-^{YV}icce "tree, wood" (cf. hak'-a id.), k'all-^{YV}icca "sorcerer, chief" (from Oromo), rê-^{YV}cco "she-goat" (also from Oromo). More research on Darasa is needed.

In Kambatta (Leslau 1952, 350-351, 1956, 988; Cerulli 1925, 648, 1971, 182, 183) this singulative suffix is either -^{YV}cu or -^{YV}Co, -^{YV}su masc. and -^Ycu-ta fem.

Singulative

yame- ^{YV} cu	rat
gidan- ^Y cu	donkey
worre- ^{YV} cu	serpent
zobe- ^{YV} cu	lion

Collective/Plural

yama
gidanu
worra

antabe- ^{YV} cu	cock	antabe'u (in the original
antabe- ^Y cu-ta	hen	atabe'u which is probably
		a misprint)
felle- ^Y cu-ta	goat	fella'o
adân- ^Y cu-ta	cat	adân-ita
woš- ^{YV} iccu	dog	woš-âta
zurupmi- ^Y cu-ta	finger	zurupma-ta
men-ti- ^Y cu-ta	woman	men-tu
os- ^{YV} iccu	child	osu-ta
noba- ^{YV} cu	old	nobabu
awâ- ^{YV} cu	tanner	awwad-utta
k'a ^Y -uta	bee-hive	käff-âta
hol- ^Y cu-ta	sheep	holl-âta
man- ^Y cu	man	mannu
k'amâl- ^Y cu-ta	kind of monkey	k'amâl-ita

Cerulli (1925, 648) mentions also -^YCoa, -^{YV}Coa, -^{YV}akki^{YV}Coa but Leslau (1952, 450, n.2) says that he did not find these suffixes. They exist, however, in Hadiyya (Plazikowsky-Brauner 1964, passim), e.g. antabaki^{YV}Co "hen", Coll. antabâ'a, oroki^{YV}Co "wild dog", kocek^{YV}Co maize-bread etc.

In Kambatta like in Sidamo, the singulative suffix which is to be segmented rather as -^{YV}cu, it is with the initial vowel, occurs also with nomina agentis with -an(y)- (Leslau 1952, 351, 1956, 988 - in the latter article he transcribes -an^Ycu) e.g. :

lokkany ^Y cu	pedestrian
zemony ^Y cu	shepherd
kilany ^Y cu	magician

and with adjectives :

k'itan ^Y cu	jealous
k'i ^Y setany ^Y cu	voracious

Cf. also Cerulli 1971, 182, 1938, 241).

In Alaba (Moreno 1941, 51) we have mogg-an-^YCo "thief" while Plazikowsky-Brauner (1962, 84) has moo-ân-^YCo and also wu^Y-ân-^YCo "beggar", agar-ân-^YCo "watchman", sok'k'am-ân-^YCo "messenger" etc.

In Hadiyya (Plazikowsky-Brauner 1961, 42-43; Stinson 1961, 150; Hudson 1976, 251; Cerulli 1925, 614, 615) -V^YCo, -V^{YY}Co and also -kk-ic^{YY}Co make not only singulatives but also some adjectives:

Singulative		Collective/Plural
ida-ic ^{YY} Co	husband	
giri-ec ^{YY} Co	sheep	
adôn- ^Y Co	cat	
antabā-k-ic ^{YY} Co	hen	antabā'a
gôn- ^Y Co	man	gonā
hamā ^{YY} -ic ^{YY} Co	snake	hamā ^{YY} sa
har-ē ^{YY} Co	new	
koyy-in ^Y Co	guest	koyya
land-ic ^{YY} Co	girl	lānda
mān- ^Y Co	man	mānna

According to Stinson (op.cit.), "usually the singular has a suffix -ic^{YY}Co or -^{YY}Co giving a meaning of definiteness". That this suffix has partially a function of a "definite article" is emphasised also by Plazikowsky-Brauner (op.cit., als Cerulli 1925, 614) but it is not clear what is the syntactic and semantic difference between her examples: dānne^YCo "elephant", individ. dānni^{YY}Co, lūgi^YCo "frog", indiv. lūgi^{YY}Co. Plazikowsky-Brauner (op.cit.) says also that there are also nominals with abstract meaning: hē^{YY}Ca "life" (hē' "to live"), kutt-ic^YCo "cough(ing)" (kutt "to cough") without the gemination of the consonant in the suffix but the problem needs further research.

With nomina agentis etc. with -an- there are in Hadiyya e.g. bat'-an-^YCo "worker", abull-ân-^YCo "peasant", o^{XX}-ân-^YCo "hunter", allār-ân-^YCo "shepherd", lomm-ân-^YCo "old, elder", korkor-ân-^YCo "miser", igg-an-^YCo "brave", dēn-ân-^YCo/denā-mo "just, good", lir-ân-^YCa "joy", fand-ân-^YCo "faith".

2. -ay

This Hamito-Semitic suffix which makes singulatives as well as collectives occurs in Burji. Here is the list of nouns found in Sasse's Dictionary :

Singulative		Collective	Plural
af-áy	mouth		no plural !
arr-á ^{YY} Co	bull	arr-áy	arr-áy-a
		d'in-áy	ribs
		d'in-ā	id.(also singul.?)
gāld-ay	baboon		
hogom-ân- ^Y Co	horse	hogom-áy	hogom-ē ^Y nnā
har'-ay	plough ox		
kot-áy	place		
k'urt'úmm-ay	fish		
mand-áy, mand-ē	virgin		mand-ānna
sak-áy	belly		

It is possible that the plural ending -ē^Ynnā goes back to *-ayna. From a purely phonetic point of view the same origin might be attributed to -ānna with the vowel of the preceding syllable conditioning -ā-. The problem needs further research. Cf. gēdāl-a, gēdāl-ay "jackal", plur. gedāl-áy-nnā.

It is possible that *-ay is the underlying form of -ē which is found in the following nouns :

Sing.		Plur.
bōyy-ē	pig	bōyy-ē ^Y nnā
dīd-e	young of carnivores	dīd-ē ^Y nnā
dūdd-ē	baby	dūdd-ē ^Y nnā
gāng-ē	mule (from Oromo?; cf. gang-ey "horse" in Rendille)	gāng-ē ^Y nnā
gar-ē	calf	

harr-ē donkey-foal harr-ēna
(from Oromo)

This suffix occurs with the singulative suffix (i.e. -ay as collective + singulative masc. -ši, fem. -ttē) but it is possible that all the words in question have been borrowed:

Sing. ṡ'im-āy-ši old man Plur. ṡ'im-āyy-e
 ṡ'im-āy-ttē old woman
 korb-āy-ši billy-goat

It occurs probably also in ingil-āy-še "elbow" and dar-āy-ši "locust".

It is possible that -ē and -e (less probably -a, cf. Burji d'in-āy and d'in-ā "ribs" which probably contain two different suffixes) in other Highland East Cushitic languages go back to -ay. Cf. also Sidamo plural with -eyya below. The suffix -ēssa (masc. sing.) is probably a loan from Oromo in Sidamo.

Cf. also in Sidamo (Gasparini's Dictionary, 18) which, as indicated already by Cerulli (1937, 118) probably goes back to *-ar-ay, cf. arò "husband".

3. -(V)ta

This originally abstract suffix occurs to some limited extent with the singulative function in Kambatta (Leslau 1952, 350):

māṡ'ṡ'āta	ear	illita	eye
māsāleta	girl	sānuta	nose
amata	mother	lāgata	word
sārbata	leg	misanita	axe
hāmuta	chest	hark'ota	yoke

and also with mass or generic nouns with the collective meaning (Leslau 1956, 987-988):

Singulative		Collective
hōl-ṡú	sheep	hōllā-ta
mik'-iṡṡú	bone	mik'k'ā-ta

bālli-ṡuta feather bālli-ta

Leslau (1952, 352) says: "For some nouns with the singulative ending -ṡṡu, -ṡuta (§ 3.2) I recorded a form with -ta, and it is not clear to me whether it is a plural or a collective; most probably it is a plural form. With -ṡṡu: fut'iṡṡu "mole": fut'ita, woṡiṡṡu "dog": woṡāta, harruṡṡu "donkey": harritu, osiṡṡu "child": osuta. With -ṡuta: hetilṡuta "hare": "hetilita, holṡuta "sheep": hollāta (according to p. 351 above it seems to be a plural), k'amālṡuta "kind of monkey": k'amalita...".

That -ta is still a singulative suffix with non-mass and non-generic nouns is proven by the fact that according to Leslau (1952, 351) "Nouns ending with -ta form their plural with -kā placed after the root, that is before the ending -ta". Cf. Hudson 1976, 252, -akka-ta. E.g.:

Sing. māsāleta	girl	Plur. māsālakāta
maṡ'ṡ'āta	ear	maṡ'ṡ'akāta
lokkata	leg	lokkakāta
k'up'ata	egg	k'up'akāta
angata	hand	angakkata
illita	eye	illākkata

The compound suffix -kā-ta is obviously a later formation. It is probable that -kā- is related to -kki- that occurs in some compound singulative suffixes (cf. above) and with masculine singular -kko that is related to the "definite article" and is found in Sidamo (Cerulli 1937, 143, cf. also Gasparini's Dictionary), e.g.

Sing. yemakko	mouse	Plur. yemahe
welakko	a plant	welate
odakko	a plant	odahe
beddakko	star	bēddahe
futakko	mole	futahe

In Hadiyya Plazikowsky-Brauner (1960, 41-42) mentions substantive suffixes -t, -tē, -atē, -ātē, -ato, -ita, -ito but she provides

examples only with the original abstract meaning, i.e. unt'áto "request, prayer", sawwito "thought, thinking", Ÿolātē "das Schielen". On the other hand she provides examples of feminine nouns (p.251) which indicate also singulative - men-ta "woman" and collective - uggū-ta "skim milk" meaning.

In Alaba (Plazikowsky-Brauner (1962, 84) there are -ta, -ti, -to, e.g. ullāta, ūllēta "land", lokkāti "leg", amali-ta "advice", k'ot'āta "mountain", illīta "roof", moggōta "theft" etc.

In Gedeo feminine -te is used for collective and plural as well as an article (Moreno 1937, 212), e.g. illē-te "eye", issō-te "tooth", lekkā-te "leg, foot", manša-te "ear", sanō-te "nose" (the segmentation reproduced here is that by Moreno) but more research on the problem is needed i.e. both on the use of the "article" and on the formation of plural (perhaps iss-ōte ?) etc.

Also in Burji (Moreno 1938, 355) -Ÿi going back to *-ti is used for singulatives apart from its function of the marker of feminine, e.g. urrāŸi "a mountain", cf. Sasse's Dictionary p.184, ūrr-a, pl. urr-ana.

4. -di, -ddi (?)

Moreno (1940, p.82) speaks about an "individual" suffix -dd- in Sidamo, e.g. lowōddi/lowōdi, lowiddi (Gasparini in his Dictionary p.212 has only lowīdi) "the big one" - cf. lowo "big", plur. lowi-dānna, lowillānna, lowille; Ÿimiddi (Gasparini op.cit. p.303, has Ÿimīdi) "the small one", cf. Ÿima "small, little", plur. Ÿimādda; woriddi (Gasparini op.cit. 350, worīdi) "the inferior". Whether this has any connection with the plural (originally collective?) -adda is an open question. The problem needs further research.

B. Reduplicated Plural

In Sidamo there is a very considerable number of plural form with the gemination of the last consonant which may be interpreted as going back to partial reduplication though in some cases it is also

possible that the gemination is due to an assimilation of the suffix consonant. As a matter of fact this is the most common plural formation in Sidamo though there may be some dialect differences since neither Moreno nor Cerulli mention it! Hudson has been the first (1976, 252) to emphasise the wide spread of this type of plural in Sidamo and in Gasparini's Dictionary by far the greatest group of over 200 nouns belongs to it. Here are the most interesting examples (as I have already said, sometimes e.g. -bb- may go back to *-bt-, -nn- to *-nt- etc.) :

Sing.	bilo	master	Plur.	billa
	billāwa f.	knife		billābba f.
	bise f.	sword		bissa f.
	bōto	calf, ox		bōtta
	Ÿ'āfa	branch		Ÿ'āffa
	Ÿ'āle	shadow		Ÿ'ālla
	dagun-Ÿo	leopard		dagunnā f.
	gogā	skin		gogga
	gul-uŸŸo m.	knee		gulubba f., guluwē
	gumā	fruit		gummā
	hamasāma	a plant		hamasāmma
	ilānŸo	woman who has had a child		ilānno (cf. -anno)
	ilāla m.	mountain		ilālla f. ilalam
	kin-Ÿo	stone		kinna
	kuta	stick		kuttā
	lagā m.	river		lagga
	lugāma	reins		lūgamma
	mine m.	house		minna f.
	mogolē	leg		mogollā
	niga m.	vein		nigga f.
	k'ōla	wing		k'ōlla
	sano	nose		sanna
	sito	small calf		sitta
	sūme	lip		sūmma

umo m. head	umma f.
woramo m. bull	woràmma f.

and also with a vowel between the repeated consonants:

Sing. ibicc ^{yy} o	louse	ibibe
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Adjectives in -(V)ma (and -ado ?) also make reduplicated plurals:

Sing. bifado	beautiful	Plur. bifadda (cf. -adda !)
hângâmo	yellow	hângâmma
guggâmo	tall	guggâmma
kâggado	strong	kâggada
luluma	blunt	lulumma
šima	small	šimm-adda
šokkado	crooked	šokk-adda

In Kambata (Leslau 1952, 351-352; Hudson 1976, 252) some nouns make their plural forms with the gemination of the last consonant and the suffixation of -ta :

Sing. buda	horn	Plur. buddä-ta
bora	ox	borrä-ta (borätta ?)
dūna	hill	dūnna-ta

as well as in some adjectives :

Sing. hīla m. bad	Plur. hīllä-ta
hīläta f. "	"

while some other adjectives have only partial reduplication of the last syllable :

Sing. nobacc ^{yy} o	old	Plur. nobabu
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or of the first syllable (like in Oromo) with the suffix -annu (masc.), annu-ta (fem.) :

Sing. k'aw	small	Plur. k'ak'aw-annu m.
abba	big	k'ak'aw-annu-ta
		abbab-annu

The existence of plurals with gemination in Hadiyya is mentioned also by Plazikowsky-Brauner (1960, 43-44) :

Sing. dabāyo	rat	Plur. dabābba
mān-č ^y o	man	mānna

but the problem needs further research since the examples are so few in number. On gemination with -wwa see below.

C. External Plural

1. -(V)w(w)a

In Hadiyya -uwwa/-ewwa is the most frequent plural suffix according to Hudson (1976, 252) and Plazikowsky-Brauner (1960, 43) actually without gemination which has been probably disregarded), e.g. :

Sing. āya	sister	Plur. āyuwwa
kina	stone	kinuwwa

and also with the gemination of the last consonant of the stem which happens, according to Hudson, only in some nouns but we find it in most of the examples listed by Plazikowsky-Brauner, e.g. :

Sing. mine	house	Plur. minnewa
irān-č ^y o	young man	irannúwa
mōla	bull	mōllúwa
abbāyo	brother	abbayyúwa
állābō	tongue	allābbúwa
hak'k'a	wood	hak'k'úwa

This suffix occurs also with adjectives :

Sing. gunda	short	Plur. gundewwa
bút'-icco	poor	but't'úwa

According to Stinson (1976, 150), "The most usual plural suffixes are -a, -o... The suffix -uwa is used for definite plurals", e.g. wiss-icco^{yy} "dog", plural (according to Stinson perhaps rather a collective) wissa^{yy}, and another plural wiss-uwa^{yy} "dogs". The problem needs further research.

In Sidamo (Hudson 1976, 252; Moreno 1940, 24; Cerulli 1938, 119; Gasparini, Grammatica, 3) there is still a group of nouns including members of the basic vocabulary (parts of the human body etc.) with -uwa and its variant -ba/-bba. Here is the list of nouns with this plural ending found in Gasparini's Dictionary :

Sing. ama	mother	Plur. amúwa
anna m.	father	annúwa f.
anga	hand	angubbà (Hudson: anguwa)
bak'k'alla m.	cheek	bak'k'allubba f.
ballo	in-law	ballúwa
bassa	sore, wound	bassúwa
birre	monetary unit	birruwa
bit'è	a cake	bit'úwa
amat't'o	spear	amat't'uwa
č'all-icco ^{yy} m.	alone	č'allúwa
č'al-itte f.	"	"
č'oè m.	thing	č'oibba f.
dag-ucco ^{yy}	a tree	daguwa
danna	wood	dannuwa
dikko	market	dikkuwa
darga m.	place	dargubba f.
dulla	stick	dullúwa
d'ibba	illness	d'ibbúwa
farro m.	tail	farrubba f.

gobba	world	gobbúwa
gordo m.	sky	gordubba f.
halange	whip	halanguwà
hellè	intestines	hellúwa
hill-èssa	hare	hillésuwa, hilléyye
hu'matt-icco ^{yy}	owl	hu'mattúwa
hut't'a	wall, fence	hut't'uwa
ida-icco ^{yy}	bride	idawa; idà (coll.)
ille	eye	illubbà, illuwà, illa
goniyya	sack	goniyyúwa
kokk-icco ^{yy}	a vessel	kokkuwa
korma	male of an animal	kurmuwa
lakk-icco ^{yy} m.	twin	lakuwa
lakk-itte f.	"	"
lekka	leg	lekuwa, lekkubba
landè	woman's dress	landubba
lukk-icco ^{yy}	cock	lukkuwà
mac'č'a ^{yy}	ear	mac'č'ubbà, mac'č'úwa
matè	wife	matúwa
ollà m.	village	ollúwa m., ullubba f.
k'ac'č'a ^{yy}	village	k'ac'č'uwa
k'ale m.	word, voice	k'alubba
k'arč'o ^{yy}	beetle	k'arč'úwa
rodò m., f.	brother, sister	roduwa
saffè m.	vessel for grain	saffuwa f.
su'ma m.	name	su'muwa f.
t'ašso ^{yy} m.	river	t'ašsuwa f.
t'ilte m.	a vessel	t'iltuwa
t'o'-icco ^{yy}	porcupine	t'o'úwa
urdè	spear	urdúwa
woggà	time	wogguwa
woričco ^{yy}	heifer	wo'duwa; wo'da (coll.)
wahe	bean	wahubba

Masculine nouns became feminine in plural with -uwa with the exception of ollūwa (masc.) and ollūbba (fem.) both meaning "villages, the people of the village" (see Gasparini's Dictionary).

Hudson (1976, 252) says : "Nouns that have /b/ in any position in the stem often have -bbe in the plural: būda "horn", pl. būdubba, sombo "lung", sombubba, bulgi^{yy}cca "giant2", pl. bulgubba. This suggests a reconstructed plural suffix -uba which ordinarily gave -uwa, except where stems with /b/ encouraged retention of the /b/ of the suffix, which was geminated." the fact is, however, that -Vbba occurs also with nouns that do not have /b/ and also in view of the comparative evidence it is more probable that -Vwwa resulted in -ubba (cf. a similar alternation in several plurals with gemination. e.g. siwo "rope", pl. sibba, godowa "belly, womb", pl. godobba, duduwo "fame, renown", pl. dudubba etc., see above) though the particular phonological conditioning remains to be explained. Cf. also Moreno 1940, 206, quoting both arraba and arrawa (Gasparini has only arrawo without plural) as singular (or collective ?) of "tongue". There is also -wo e.g. in dān-ic^{yy}co "elephant", plur. dāni-wo.

In Gedeo Moreno (1937, 214) quotes only one example:

Sing. dāy	brother	Plur. dāyūwa
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2. -ta, -te

In Kambata Leslau (1956, 987-988) calls this suffix "collective" and emphasises the fact that the same ending is also used for the feminine like in Semitic. He provides the following examples :

Sing. mik'-ic ^{yy} cu bone	Plur. mik'k'āta (with gemination !)
bālli-čū-ta feather	bālli-ta
hōlčū sheep	hollā-ta

cf. other forms mentioned above. Hudson (1976, 252) says that the plural

in Kambata is most often expressed by the suffix -ata (-ta? A.Z.), sometimes with the gemination of a single stem-final consonant :

Sing. dūna	hill	Plur. dūnnata
bōra	ox	bōrata

According to Hudson, feminine singular nouns have akk-ata in the plural (on this compound suffix see above) :

Sing. angata	hand	Plur. angākkata
illi-ta	eye	illākkata

In Alaba (Plazikowsky-Brauner 1962, 84) there are, so far, two examples of plurals with -ta: wuss-ic^{yy}co "dog", plur. wussēta, and also the plural form ōsūta "children".

The occurrence of -VtV suffixes in Hadiyya has already been mentioned above.

According to Moreno (1940, 24), the suffix -te (identical with the feminine article) makes plurals also in Sidamo (cf. Gasparini's Grammar, 3) but this statement needs verification since Gasparini's Dictionary does not contain the forms which he is quoting :

Sing. oso	girl	Plur. osot
wolk'a	strength	wōlk'ate
k'ēse	priest	k'ēsēte

3. -ōta

The use of this suffix is quite frequent in Sidamo but according to Moreno (1940, 25) it is a loan from Oromo and occurs only (?) in Oromo loan-words. A list of nouns and adjectives having plurals with -ōta found in Gasparini's Dictionary shows that also genuine Sidamo words are involved (cf. also Hudson 1976, 252) :

Sing. ba'ima	rascal	Plur. ba'imōta
babb-ic ^{yy} ca	stammerer	babbōta

ball-ic ^{YY} ca	blind	ballôta
barro	spotted	barrôta
bur ^Y ç ^Y 'k'k'ô	glass	bur ^Y ç ^Y 'uk'k'ôta
ç ^Y 'uc ^Y 'ç ^Y 'o	a plant	ç ^Y 'uc ^Y 'ôta
dank'-ic ^{YY} ca	deaf and dumb	dank'ôta, dank'iyye, dank'iyôta
dan ^Y se	a plant	dan ^Y sôta
d'add-acce	a plant	d'addôta
gango	mule	gangôta
gerra	old person	gerrôta, gêrradda
gowwa	silly	gowwôta
halak'a	chief	halak'ôta
harfatto	a plant	harfattôta
hawariâ	apostle	hawariôta
idâha	bridegroom	idâhôtâ
ğawâta	strong	ğawâtôtâ
ğaw-ic ^{YY} ca	blockhead	ğawôta
kummâre	waitress	kummarôta, kummartôta
la'lama	mother's sister	la'almôta
la'ma	richman	la'môta
maç ^Y 'ç ^Y 'iwelo	deaf	maç ^Y 'ç ^Y 'iwêlôta
mangiste	kingdom	mangistôta
man ^Y na, singulat. man-ç ^Y o	man	mannôta
misikkire	witness	misikkirôta
nak'as ^{YY} se	nak'âs ^{YY} sicco singult., witness	nak'as ^{YY} sôta
k'aww-ic ^{YY} ca, coll. k'awwe	gun	k'awwôta
k'ês-ic ^{YY} ca	priest	k'êsôta
k'ork'orro	tin	k'ork'orôta
k'osorro	a bird	k'osorrôta
k'otto	small axe	k'ottôta
rogg-ic ^{YY} ca	hill	roggôta, coll. rogge
sâffe	hoe	sâffôta
sôma	line	somôta

šanko	sweet	šankôta
tarîra	stupid	tarirôta
šišo	a plant	šišôta
t'alalâ	flat	t'alalôta
uddo	a plant	uddôta
urungic ^{YY} ca	relentless	urungôte
woma	chief	womôta

Amharic loan-words are also very frequent in this group.

It is to be indicated that -ta is used for abstracts in Kambata (Leslau 1952, 350), e.g. gâri-ta "truth", ilânsâ-ta "relationship", amurri-ta "anger", yârâna-ta "scream", angânâ-ta "odor", and in Alaba (Plazikowsky-Brauner, 1962, 42), e.g. hōgūtto, hōgūtta "work, working", moggôta "theft". In Hadiyya Plazikowsky-Brauner (1960, 42) mentions also abstracts: unt'âto "request" etc. (see above).

4. -Vl(1)V

In Sidamo there is a short series of nouns having plural forms with -ulle, -ôle, -olle, -allo (see Gasparini's Dictionary; cf. Cerulli 1938 146) :

Sing. dan ^Y ca	good	Plur. dan ^Y culle
fâyya	pretty	fâyulle
k'ak'k'o	child	k'ak'k'ulle
t'uma	beautiful	t'umulle
worba	young, strong	worbulle, worbôta
hayy-ic ^{YY} ca	sorcerer	hayyôle
hoç ^Y 'ç ^Y 'o	rag	hoç ^Y 'ç ^Y 'ôta, hoç ^Y 'ôlle
kott-ic ^{YY} ca	crippled	kottolle, kottôta, kottadda
labba, labbâhu	male	labballo
môt-ic ^{YY} ca	lord, master	môtolle
k'all-ic ^{YY} ca	sorcerer	k'allôlle

k'ilt'o a plant k'ilt'ôlla, k'ilt'ôta

It is rather probable that this suffix is a loan from Oromo since it occurs mostly with Oromo loan-words though there are some uncertain traces of such an abstract suffix (occurring also with adjectives) in Hadiyya (Plazikowsky-Brauner 1960, 42, 46; cf. Cerulli 1925, 615) and in Alaba (Plazikowsky-Brauner 1962, 86; it is -alla and it is very frequent, e.g. gambâlla "dark"). There is also a compound suffix -lassa^{yy}/-lessa^{yy} making adjectives in Kambata (Leslau 1956, 989).

5. -Vn(n)V

This is the main plural ending in Burji (Sasse and Straube op.cit., 250) with different variants. Here is the list of examples found in Sasse's Dictionary :

Sing.	add-i	heifer	Plur.	add-ünna
	am-â	woman, wife	amm-âna	
	an(n)-â	husband	ann-âni	
	arây	sheep	arây-na	
	bô(w)-a	valley	bôyy-êna	
	būd-â	horn	būd-anna	
	dīd-ē	young of carnivores	dīd-ēnna	
	dūdd-ē	baby	dūdd-ēnna	
	dūr-a	stone-wall	dūr-ânnā	
	d'ag-a	leaf	d'ag-ânnē	
	d'ah-â	stone	d'ah-ânnē	
	d'ir-a	man, husband	d'ir-ana	
	gāng-ē	mule	gāng-ēna	
	gāz-ē	shield	gāz-ēna	
	gēdāl-a, -ay	jackal	gēdāl-ây-nna	
	gōlg-ē	entrance	gōlg-ēna	
	gót-a	hyena	got-inna	
	gund-â	trunk	gund-ânnā	

hak'â	tree	hak'-âna
harr-ē	donkey-foal	harr-ēna
hogom-ây	horse	hogom-ēnnā
irbān-ô	rabbit	irb-âne
kedd-â	hill	kedd-âna
mīn-a	horse	mīn-annā
mirg-ō	ox	mirg-ōna
oyc'-a	field	oyc'-âna
rud-â	brother	rud-ânnō
sā	cow	sāy-anno, say-nā
šil-ō	big stone	šil-ana
urr-a	mountain	urr-ana
wóm-a	chief	wóm-ânnā
wórb-i	ram	worb-ânnā

There are also abstracts (Moreno 1938b, 369) : lāsina "hunger", d'ēbōdina "thirst" etc.

There are a few nouns and adjectives having plural forms with -anna, -âne in Sidamo (see Gasparini's Dictionary) :

Sing.	but'-icco	poor	Plur.	but'-ane
faradda	horse-rider	faraš-ânnā		
hōffa	small	hoff-ânnā		
lowo	much	low-ille, low-ill-ânnā,		
		low-idd-ânnā		
k'aiç'ç'o	small, little	k'aiç'ç'ânnā		
sēda	long, high	sed-ânnā		

In Kambata (Leslau 1952, 352) -annu is added to some adjectives with reduplicated plural :

Sing.	k'aw	small	Plur.	k'ak'aw-annu
abba	big	abbab-annu		

In Alaba (Plazikowsky-Brauner 1962, 856) -āno makes participles and, presumably, also adjectives: fak-āno "staying", ass-āno "making", probably also in a compound suffix in enke'n amo "known". Cf. also Alaba (ibid., 84) abstracts : so' eno "message", he'mēna "respect".

As a matter of fact the ending -āno|-āno occurs with nomina agentis (-an-ŷo in the sing.) in all Highland east Cushitic languages (Hudson 1976, 273-274). Some of the Sidamo nomina agentis have -as-ine in the plural (see above).

6. -Vma (?)

According to Moreno (1940, 25), this suffix is used in Sidamo to make plurals but there is no confirmation from other sources (cf. Gasparini's Dictionary). Moreno provides the following examples adding that the last three might be considered also as plurals with gemination (partial reduplication) :

Sing. gosa	tribe	Plur. gosima (Gasparini has no plural)
bādo	place, village	bādima " "
womo	chief	womima; Gasparini: womōta
katamā	town	katamima; " katamma
barč'ima	chair	barč'imma, " id.

There are, however, abstracts with -imma, -umma, -ōma (cf. Cerulli 1937, 117) like rodimma "brotherhood", dančumma "beauty, goodness", mončoma m., mančumma f., mančimma f., mannōma m., mančōimma f., mančimma f. (also mančinate, manninate m.) all meaning "manhood, humanity", wolawimma f., wolawiččimma "freedom", ilamā "birth, generation", ilamōma "relationship, affinity" etc.

In Kambata (Leslau 1956, 989, 1952, 351 -amu) -mā makes adjectives e.g. hōgimā "weak" (cf. hōggo "to be weak"), also in kalli-mā-ta "nakedness", and probably also in instrumental nouns: abbāsimā "broom" (cf. abbāššo "to sweep").

There are several variants of -(V)ma/o suffix in closely related Alaba (Plazikowsky-Brauner 1962, 83) : gāwima "stupidity", k'ammānyōma "robbery", rubbatānčoma "die Burgschaft", and also instrumental (?) e.g. zerāma "bridge"; zurū'ma "big finger" is a wrong example quoted by Plazikowsky-Brauner since -m- belongs to the root here, cf. Dolgopolskiy 1973, 129. Also adjectives (p.86), e.g. mummāmo "hairy", utāmo "thorny", wuzāmo "coloured", ŷolēma "fried".

In Hadiyya (Plazikowsky-Brauner, 1960, 46, 41) there are also abstracts and adjectives: malāyāma "power", k'awwōma "stupidity", mannōma "manhood", with gemination also in muramma "decision", labimma "die Art", hānk'amē "true, truth".

7. -Vyeye

It occurs in Sidamo with nouns and adjectives:

Sing.	bull-ičča	gazelle	Plur.	buliyye
č'abiččo	light, lamp	č'abbiyye		
č'emal-ēssa	lazy	č'amelēyye		
č'im-ēssa	old man, chief	č'im-eyye		
č'omāl-ēssa	m. fat	č'omaleyye		
č'ōmal-ētte	f. "	"		
dogā-asin-čō	swindler	dogā-sine, dogā-l-eyye, dogā-no		
dur-ēssa	m. rich	dur-ēyye		
dur-ētte	f. "	"		
harki-sā	saddle	harkiyye		
hoggā	tall	hoggāmēyye		
honk'ok'-ičča	stingy m.	honk'ok'iyye		
honk'ok'-itte	" f.	"		
māh-ēssa	rear	māhēyye		
mur-ēssa	eunuch	murēyye		
og-ēssa	doctor	ogēyye		
k'all-itte	bird of ill omen	k'allōyye		

ruk-êssa	a plant	rukêyye
sôr-êssa	first, preceding	sôrêyye
wâk'al-êssa	parrot	wâk'alêyye
wolk'am-êssa	m. strong	wolk'amêyye
wolk'am-ette	f. "	"

This suffix has been borrowed from Oromo since only Oromo loan-words are represented and there is no correspondent in any other Highland East Cushitic language.

8. -adda, -udda

In Sidamo (cf. Cerulli 1937, 147) there are the following nouns and adjectives making their plural with this suffix :

Sing. baira	elder	Plur. bairadda, bairudda
busule	clever	busulâdda, busulla
č'igga	small	č'iggâdda
dûmo	m. red	dûmmâdda
dûme	f. "	"
gawa-ssô	thin	gâwadda
gôga	patient	gogâdda
marêra	a plant	marêradda
rôr-icča	chief	rôrôta, rorradda
rumu-ssô	root	rumudda
ger-čô	old person	gerôta, gêrradda
šalado, šâla-ssô	thin	šalâdda

The origin of this suffix is to be explained. In Hadiyya Plazikowsky-Brauner (1964, 134) mentions ageša "slave", plur. agiddo but the origin of this is unclear.

9. -re, -ri (?)

Moreno (1940, 26) says that in Sidamo some adjectives and pronouns take this suffix which he identifies with the relative marker.

The forms with -re, -ri should have a generic or collective meaning, e.g. :

Sing. lowo	big	Plur. lowôri (Gasparini also lowidanna, lowilâna, lowille)
dúccu	all	dúccûri (Gasparini does not mention a plural)

cf. kô-nne, kû-nni "this" and kore, korêre, kûriri "these". This problem needs further research.

10. -ka

It occurs only with the ending -ta (see above) in Alaba (Plazikowsky-Brauner 1962, 84), e.g. :

Sing. mánna	man	Plur. mannākāti
čičûta	bird	čičakāta

It occurs also in Kambata (Leslau 1952, 351; Hudson 1976, 252) with nouns having -ta (fem.) in the singular but also without it and with some adjectives, e.g. :

Sing. undulumma	mortar	Plur. undulummakāta
haro	m. new	harakāta
harota	f. "	
woggu	m. white	woggakāta
wogguta	f.	

11. -V (?)

In Hadiyya Plazikowsky-Brauner (1960, 43, 41) mentions plurals "with -a'a, -e'e, -o'o" providing the following examples "allabo" "brigand", plur. allābô'o, gúddē "knot", plur. guddē'e. She mentions also mēnta "woman", plur. mēnto. There are also some examples of -o in Sidamo, e.g. lātt-icča masc., latt-itte fem., coll. lātto "the young

of sheep or goats", midd-ic^{yy}ca masc. "fat calf", coll. middo, and with
 -a e.g. k'a'e "opening, door", coll. k'a'à, otil-co "a plant", coll.
 otilà, kin-co "stone", coll. kina. Which final vowel belongs to the root
 and which to a suffix is a question which needs further research.

A G A W

(Central Cushitic)

A G A W

In some Agaw languages (e.g. Kemant and Bilin - cf. Appleyard 1975, 323 and Palmer 1958, 389) some nouns do not mark the singular : plural contrast. In a plural context some nouns appear in the singular form even when a plural form still does exist. This is a feature rather widely spread in the languages of Ethiopia.

A. Singulative and Collective

Only Awngi has no singulative (Hetzron 1976, 15/45). In other languages it is marked by the following suffixes:

1. -a

Bilin:

Sing. girw-a	man	Pl. gir ⁱ w
ih ^w in-a	woman	ik ^w in
bik ^w ān-a	cloud	bik ^w ān
fādān-ā	seed	fādān
kāb-ā	bead	kāb
g ^w ādān-a	plough	g ^w ādān

The singulatives are feminine which is a typical Hamito-Semitic feature. There is an interesting example where the singulative is marked only by accentuation which is at the same the marker of the feminine:

Sing. sīkm-a barley Pl. sīkm-á

where the singulative means "a grain of barley", of course. These form indicate that at least partially, if not totally, the -a of the singulative goes back to the original *-at.

The forms listed above have been collected by Palmer (op.cit.) while Reinisch 1882, § 139 provides also the following forms:

Sing. bāgg-á	sheep	Pl. bāgg
bit-á	louse	bit
kān-a	tree	kan
ḡaq ^w -á	water	ḡawq
ḡāb-a	word	gab

Kemant:

Sing. iwin-a	woman	Pl. iwin
kām-a	cow	kām
dīg ^w ār-a	donkey	dīh ^w āl
wīy-a	hyena	wāy
farz-a	horse	farzi
šin ^y -a	fly	šin ^y si
h ^w ārāḡwin-a	egg	h ^w ārāḡwin

After -CC there is -i in the collective but since it is only phonemically conditioned it cannot be considered as a real morpheme yet.

Qwara:

Sing. geruw-a	man	Pl. gerū
yuwin-a	woman	yuwin
anh-a	girl	anh
bar-a	slave	bar
anfār-a	servant	anfār
ḡel-a	bird	ḡel
bāg-a	sheep	bāg
kerin-a	stone	kerin
šingeruw-a	star	šingerā
hur-a	son	hur-a; cf. hur-la "children"

It has to be emphasised that in Qwara (and also in other Agaw languages) Reinisch transcribes -ā but most probably his transcription of vowel length is not phonemic, cf. Hetzron 1976, 11/41.

Khamir:

Sing. ber-ā	blood	Pl. bir
fez-ā	seed	fiz Pl.Pl. fiz-ze
bel-ā	fly	bil bil-le
lis-a	tear	lis

There are also some example which are interpreted by Reinisch as singulatives of the verbal nouns and which illustrate the connection with abstracts, e.g.:

Sing. bidl-ā	"Beschädigung"	Pl. bidīl
čikl-ā	"Nagel"	čikīl Nägel/nageln

On -a making singulatives cf. also Conti Rossini 1912, 99-100.

Khamta:

Sing. fiqr-ā	goat	Pl. fiqīr
girw-ā	hen	girū
fer-ā	boy	fārd; efārd

2. -ra (-*ta)

Bilin:

Sing. ^Y gawggú-ra	pavian	Pl. ^Y gawggu
^Y gungulá-ra	a tree	^Y gungulá

Conti Rossini 1912, §107-108 says that -ra does not occur in the plural but the following examples may be also interpreted as due to a consonantal ablaut t : r :

Sing. e ^Y sbiló-ra	intestine	Pl. e ^Y sbiló-t
awaró-ra	dhurra	awaró-t
dimmú-ra	cat	dimmú-t

so that -ra may be interpreted here as *-ta segmented into *-t-a. The hypothesis that -ra is simply original *-ta not related directly to the plural -t (a remote relationship is another question i.e. another case of relative chronology) is more probable though there could be some cases of a reinterpretation. Cf. also the following examples (Reinisch 1882, § 136) with paucal plurals:

Singular: gānó	fur	Pl. gānó-t
Singulative: gānó-ra	"	Pl.Pl. gānó-t-at
Singular: gintó	young pavian	Pl. gintó-t
gintó-ra	" "	Pl.Pl. gintó-t-at

In Khamir Reinisch (1884, § 198a) mentions sing. gini-ra "Klipp-schliefer", pl. gini-t in which he identifies -ra as the original singulative and not a case of the r : t consonant ablaut but this should be verified. In Quara Reinisch 1885, § 100, has found only one example: anfa-ra "boy" which corresponds to Bilin emfa, Khamir yef-fa, yefā-ra; in Kemant imfa-ra - cf. Conti Rossini op.cit.

B. Reduplicated Plural

Reduplicated plurals occur in all Agaw languages but complete reduplication, like elsewhere, is rare.

Bilin:

Sing. kās	shoulder	Pl. kāsīs
īl	eye	īlīl
kīrm-ā	neck	kīrmīm
gāš	face	gāšīš
gih	horn	gikik
āb	mouth	āfīf
kad	stomach	kasīs
dīngā	vein	dinkik

As it is clear from these examples listed by Palmer (1958) that partial reduplication is accompanied in a number of cases by consonant ablaut.

Reinisch (1882, § 137) lists the following examples of a complete and partial reduplication:

Sing. gān-ā	brother	Pl. gāngān
qur-a	son	qurāqur
sun	nose	sunún
irk ^W -ī	tooth	irkúk
luk	leg	lukúk
sirg ^W -ī	bride	sirgûg
qul	genitals	qulil

Khamir:

Sing. arib	feast	Pl. aribrib
erúk	tooth	erkúk
laq	tongue	lukúk

Sing.	naz	bone	Pl.	nāzze
	yel	eye		yēlle; yel-t
	zir	root		zirre
	aq ^w ál	stream		aq ^w álle
	argā	lizzard		argāne

The last examples with -rr-, -ll- and -nn- are a bit suspected (an assimilation of -tV) but still a partial reduplication is possible.

There are some examples with singulative -a:

Sing.	ābs-a	lion	Pl.	abisse
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and less probable:

Sing.	ab-ā	mountain	Pl.	abbā
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These reduplicated forms are paucal plurals when there is a collective form as well, e.g.:

Sing.	lāl-a	bee	Coll.	lāl	Pl.Pl.	lālle
	ābt-a	locust		abīt		abītte

Kemant:	Sing.	likw	foot	Pl.	lik ^w ak ^w
		suz-i	ancestor		suzuz
		wiy	enclosure		wikak
Qwara:		irk ^w	tooth		irk ^w ak ^w

	Sing.	yirku	tooth	Pl.	yirkuku
		yir	men		yiryir
		zān	brother		zānāzān
		kirina	stone		kirkirna

Falasha:

Awngi:		yir	man		yiryir
	Sing.	kisi	priest	Pl.	kisasikisā; kis-kā
		guna	woman		gunaḡuna
		anu	thorn		anuana

C. Suffixed Plural

1. -t, -Vt, -tV

Bilin:

Sing.	linin	house	Pl.	linin-ti
	ayig	lake		ayg-ut
	sābār-a	python		sābār-ti
	mīraw-ā	snake		mīraw-ti
	kingīl-a	oven		kingīl-ti

These examples are provided by Palmer 1958, 387, while Reinisch (1882, § 146) lists e.g. :

Sing.	mātt-ā	twin	Pl.	mātt-it
	adār-ā	lord		ārdā-t
	t-ādār-ā	lady		t-ādārā-t
	abāy	enemy		afāy-t
	abd-ā	a tree		ābd-it

Khamir:

Sing.	yel	eye	Pl.	ir-t
	yesin	nose		yesin-te
	zin	brother		zin-t
	nin	house		nin-t
	kisin	field		kisin-te
	kiff	wing		kif-te; kiff-it
	kiū	tribe		kiū-t

The same -t makes paucal plurals or "plurals of plurals" (Reinisch 1884, § 197) with words having collectives and singulatives with -a, e.g. :

Khamta:	Sing. ádr-á	"Erbsen"	Coll. áder	Pl. adir-t
	yēfer-á	child	yefir	yefir-t
	fendiy-á	dung	fendi	fendi-t
	arb-á	month	arf	arb-it
	meq-á	shepherd	Pl. meqā-t, meqānt	

Qwara:

Sing. ṡen	sister	Pl. ṡen-t
adār-a	lord	ādār-t
izzèn	brother	ezzān-tä

Reinisch (op.cit.) says that this -t is only a "shortened" variant of -tān (cf. below) but this is not a correct interpretation of the compound suffix.

Kemant:

Sing. il	eye	Pl. il-ti
nan	hand	nan-ti
bir-a	ox	bil-ti
gār	calf	gāl-ti
tir	aunt	tir-ti
dīg ^w ār-a	donkey	dih ^w āl-ti; dih ^w āl
kin	male	kin-ta
bul	"bosse"	bul-ti

The last two examples are mentioned by Conti Rossini 1912, 122. As emphasised by Appleyard (1975), the plural forms occur also with a singular sense: il-ti "eye", nan-ti "hand". This is probably a case of a reinterpretation of forms without a suffix as collectives and of forms with -tV as singulatives. According to Hetzron (1976, 3/46, cf. Appleyard 1975) "the Kemant plural suffixes are all stressed".

The plural with -t are not attested in Awngi (Hetzron 1976, 3/46) but it is probable that Awngi -ri which is rare actually represents *-ti, e.g.:

Sing. nēw	calf	Pl. nēwa-ri (nēw-ari ?)
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Sing. inčāg-á	girl	Pl. inčāga-ri
-ya	son of...	yi-ri

There has been some interference with Ethiosemitic so that e.g. some plural forms with -Vt have been borrowed by Bilin from Tigre :

Sing. fas	axe	Pl. fas-at
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and there are also some Bilin singulars with Tigre plurals, e.g. :

Sing. si'liṛá	picture	Pl. si'litat
qimbir	milking pail	qānāffit

Cf. also (Palmer 1958 387-389):

Sing. nīgus	king	Pl. nāggāstat
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Conti Rossini (1912, 122-123) mentions also Bilin:

Sing. qui	night	qui-tit
ṡim	chief	sim-tīt

and in Kemant:

Sing. ṡir	"entrailles"	Pl. ṡir-tāt
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There are numerous examples of the use of -t, -Vt and -tV suffixes to make nouns (including abstracts) in the Agaw languages, cf. Conti Rossini 1912, 106, 100, 99-100, 122, and the studies on the Agaw languages by Reinisch, also Hetzron 1976, 32/62.

2. -t-an

Sing. īr	father	Pl. ir-tan
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Khamir:

Sing. īr	father	Pl. ir-tan; ir-t
cin	male animal	cin-tan; cin-te
yirk ^w -á	child	yirk ^w -tān
hur-á	child	hur-tān daughters
guṡ-á	buffalo	guṡ-tān

Sing. telú	medicine man	Pl. telú-tan, tel-úk
yim	sheikh	yim-tan

Khamta:

Sing. gur-í	lord, master	Pl. qur-tān
qārās	ear	qārās-tān

In Khamta (Conti Rossini 1904, 201) there is also:

Sing. zilā	bird	Pl. zilat-ten
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which Conti Rossini considers as a "shortened" variant of -tān (it is not clear whether the length is phonemic but it may be so) but this is uncertain.

Kemant:

Sing. yan	grandmother	Pl. yan-tān
ḡivār	a container	ḡivār-tān
simḡār	old man	simḡāl-tān

Qwara:

Sing. zān	brother	Pl. zān-tān
yil	eye	yil-tān
meku	youngster	meku-tān
balti	widow	balti-tān

3. -t-un

This is mentioned by Conti Rossini (1904, 201) only in Khamta:

Sing. ^c āl	eye	Pl. ^c alle-tún
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and it is difficult to find an explanation since it is so isolated. Note the gemination of -l-.

4. -āt-ān

This compound suffix occurs in Qwara with some loans from Ethio-semitic (Reinisch 1885, § 111), e.g.:

Sing. kahan	priest	Pl. kahan-at-ān
nābī	prophet	nabi-āt-ān

It is probable that it is due only to the interference with Ethio-semitic. On -an see below and cf. Conti Rossini 1912, 103-104.

5. -t-ay

It occurs in Khamir (Reinisch 1884, § 202):

Sing. enā	mother	Pl. enā-tāy
		cf. okun-tāy "women"

and in pronouns:

kiten-tāy	you (pl.)
nāy-tāy	they
aw-tāy	which ? (pl.)
yen-zāy (sic!)	these
yez-zāy	those

The hypothesis presented by Reinisch (ibid.) that -tāy/-zāy comes from an original *-tan (cf. § 53 and 59) is quite improbable. On -āy making verbal nouns cf. Conti Rossini 1912, 110.

6. -t-ik

This compound suffix is mentioned by Appleyard (1975, 322) in

Kemant:

Sing. il	eye	Pl. il-t-ik; il-ti
nan	hand	nan-t-ik, nan-ti

Cf. also Conti Rossini 1905, 134. On -Vk see below.

7. -an

Bilin:

Sing. kabir	proud	Pl. kabr-an
imun	faithful	imun-an
čakkan	cruel	čakkan-an

Palmer (1958, 389) says that this suffix is used with adjectives. It may be due to the interference with Ethiosemitic.

Qwara:

Sing. märkab	ship	Pl. märkab-än
māzih	messiah	māzih-än
ṣalāt	enemy	ṣalat-än

It occurs in Qwara with many Ethiosemitic loans but also with collectives, e.g. :

Sing. bäg-a	sheep	Coll. bäg	Pl. bäg-an
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Khamta:

Sing. big-ā	she-goat	Pl. big-än
firz-ā	horse	firz-än
girid	servant	gird-än; firz-in

Kemant:

Sing. nīgus	king	Pl. nīgus-än
wättaddär	soldier	wättaddär-än
ir	man	iy(y)-än; iy(y)†

Appleyard (1975, 323) indicates that this suffix occurs mostly in Amharic loans.

It is possible that this suffix is due mainly if not entirely to the interference with Ethiosemitic though -än makes also abstracts in Agaw, cf. Conti Rossini 1912, 103-104.

8. -an-t

Kemant:

Sing. daš-aḡ	hunter	Pl. daš-ant
taba	"haie"	tab-ant

Khamir:

Sing. hašt	lie	Pl. hašt-ant
yesläma	Muslim	islam-ant

and also with singulatives and collectives:

Sing. bārūd-ā	powder	Coll. bārūd	Pl. bārūd-ant
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Khamta:

Sing. meqā	shepherd	Pl. meq-ant
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This suffix is most probably related to the -ant marker of participles, cf. Hetzron 1976, 32/62.

9. -ka

Kemant:

Sing. nin	house	Pl. nin-ki
damiy-a	cat	dami-k
dirwa	chicken	diru-k
ḡela	bird	ḡel-ik
ilti	eye	ilti-k
kirn-a	stone	kirin-ki (?)
bäayl-a	mule	bäayl-ik

Appleyard 1975 322 (cf. Conti Rossini 1912, 126) emphasises that the suffix -ki is related to the suffix -ki/-ik "all", added to pronouns and numerals: nay-ik "all of them", ni-ki "all of it", andiw-ik "all of us", linay-ik "both" (lit. "all two"). Hetzron (1976, 16/46) quoting Sasse says that in Kemant all types of plural are gradually replaced by -ik while -ki is rare. Cf. also -ši mentioned by Conti Rossini.

Qwara:

Sing. giluw-ā	man	Pl. gīlu-k
giruw-ā	hen	gīru-k
griy-ā	day	gir-ke

Reinisch does not mention such a suffix in Qwara. There is a possibility that -k belongs actually to the root and this is only a case of consonantal ablaut with singulatives and corresponding collectives.

Awngi:

According to Hetzron this is the most frequent plural marker in this language, attached to the last consonant of the stem (though not in compounds). Since Conti Rossini (1905, 134) does not emphasise the wide spread of this suffix (cf. Hetzron 1976, 19/49), it is possible that this is due to a dialect difference. E.g. :

Sing. gsén	dog	Pl. gsén-ka
kârîñ	stone	kârîñ-ka
gurgîm	neck	gurgîm-kâ
dúr-i	rooster	dúr-ka (cf. Conti Rossini 1905, 134: diär-koā)

It makes also plurals of adjectives, e.g. :

Sing. gud (m.), gud-a (f.) good Pl. gud-kā

Cf. also deverbal adjectives with -aw-k in Khamir (Reinisch 1884, § 216.

10. -k-än

Conti Rossini (1912, 126) says that this suffix is rather frequent ("assez repandu") in Kemant, e.g.:

Sing. gār-ki	day	Pl. gārki-k-än
šēga	girl	seha-k-än

In Qwara (Reinisch 1885, § 111) there is at least one example:

Sing. gezen	dog	Pl. gezen-k-an
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11. -la, -li, -l-än (*-ta, *-ti, *-t-än ?)

It is possible that this is original *-ra, *-ri and *-r-än due to a dissimilation since these forms with -l- occur only when the stem ends in -r. Moreover this *-ra, *-ri and *-r-än probably go back to *-ta, *-ti and *-t-än. A rival hypothesis: these are reduplications.

Only one example has been found by Conti Rossini in Kemant:

Sing. ḥor-a	son	Pl. ḥor-la
(ḥ ^w ir-a	and ḥ ^w ir-la	by Appleyard)

and in Qwara:

Sing. ḥur-a	son	Pl. ḥur-la
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According to Conti Rossini the suffix -li is less rare:

Sing. bār	lake	Pl. bār-li
bar-a	slave	bar-li
tarara	hill	tararā-li

There is also -l-än, e.g. :

Sing. azmar-i	singer	Pl. azmar-l-än
wizār	member of	wizazār-l-än
	the royal	
	family	

The hypothesis that these forms are actually reduplicated plurals with dissimilations of geminated -r- should not be neglected though the occurrence of -l-än makes it less possible.

On -ra making nouns cf. Conti Rossini 1912, 100.

12. -a

Hetzron (1978, 124) indicates that "In a number of cases the feminine forms express the plural, although the regular plural -ka is also acceptable. These are nouns where no feminine meaning is needed or plausible". E.g. :

Sing. nīr ^Y -i	human male	Pl. nīr ^Y -ā
bir-i	ox	ber-ā
agiri	community	agēr-ā
korm-i	stallion	korm-ā
ment-i	twin	ment-ā

It is possible to consider -ā simply as a suffix of plural with a subordinate feature "feminine".

Conti Rossini mentions also the following examples ending, in his opinion in -ā :

Sing. enšā'-ī	son	Pl. enšār-ā
ner ^Y -i	male	ner ^Y -ā

13. -i

In Awngi (Hetzron 1978, 124-125) some masculine nouns ending in -a (cf. § 3.4) have plurals in -i. It is remarkable that these are kinship terms obligatory used with possessive prefixes:

Sing. yital-ā	my father	Pl. yital-i
yāg-a	my uncle	yāg-i
yīzāgā	my relative	yīzāg-i

In the Damot dialect of Southern Agaw Conti Rossini (1912, 118-119) has found the following forms:

Sing. ital-ā	father	Pl. ital-ī
naṣ	bone (?)	naṣ-ī

In Kemant Conti Rossini (ibid.) mentions the following forms:

Sing. ar-a	bread	Pl. ar-ī
az-ā	fish	az-ī
dāz-ā	hut	dāz-ī
humb-ā	nose	humb-ī

In Bilin (Palmer 1958, 386) we find:

Sing. qan ^Y -a	straw	Pl. qan ^Y -i
līhīng ^Y -ā	weevil	līhīng ^Y -i
šin ^Y -ā	fly	šin ^Y -i
wānd-ā	relation	wānd-i
gī'ant-a	drunkard	gī'ant-i
bamb-ā	fig tree	bāmf-i
āng ^W -ā	palm leaf	ānk ^W -i

On -i making verbal nouns cf. Conti Rossini 1912, 100-101.

14. -ū/-w

Kemant:

Sing. dāng-ī	"bien portant"	dāngī-w
fir-ī	fruit	firi-ū
had-antā	traitor	hada-w
fir-āg	grand	firā-w

According to Conti Rossini (1912, 119-120), these plurals correspond to the plural of the demonstrative pronouns in Qwara but this is uncertain. Cf. also the plural of ordinal plurals in Bilin. There is also one example in Qwara:

Sing. čikzīn	field	Pl. čigz-ū
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In Bilin (Palmer 1958, 390) -w occurs with some adjectives which have -h^w (*-ku ?) for the masculine and -ri (*-ti ?) for the feminine in the singular:

Sing. s ^h antā-h ^w	merciful	Pl. s ^h antā-w
girwi-h ^w	human	girwi-w

On -ū makin abstracts cf. Conti Rossini 1912, 102.

15. -iw, -d-iw

In Kemant (Appleyard 1975, 323) both suffixes (probably only variants) have a very restricted use being found only in the following kinship terms :

Sing. zän	brother	Pl. Ṣän-d-iw
Ṣän	sister	Ṣän-d-iw
tir	aunt	tir-d-iw
ag	uncle	agiz-d-iw
ab-a	father	ab-iw
gän-a	mother	gän-iw

It looks that -d-iw occurs when the noun ends in a consonant in the singular and -iw when the noun ends in the singular in a vowel.

D. Internal Plural

In Bilin internal plurals are rather limited to Tigre loans though sometimes there are singulatives of Bilin origin:

Sing. färd-ā	horse	Pl. äfrus
tilm-ā	furrow	ätlām
dähāb	gold	ädhub
gor	neighbour	ägwar
nāwid	lamb	nāwayid

Sing. digge	village	Pl. dägägg-it
mändäq	wall	mānadīq
hībsat	corn sack	hābāssi
kīnfur	lip	kānāffur
nīgus	king	nāggāstat
bāhāri	big	bāhālīl
bākiti	kind (adj.)	bākayit

In Khamir there are some forms which perhaps represent only vowel alternations (umlaut) rather than ablaut though there are some examples where the process may be morphological, e.g.:

Sing. ber-ā	blood	Coll. bir
fez-ā	seed	fiz
tel-ā	medicine	til

It is possible that this is only a vowel assimilation but the problem needs further research in order to decide whether this alternation is conditioned not only phonologically. Cf. Bilin ^hir-a "son", pl. iw^wir.

In Khamta there are rare (but our knowledge of the language is very limited) examples of internal plurals of genuine Agaw nouns and not only of Ethiosemitic loans, e.g.:

Sing. gezēn	dog	Pl. agzēn
gir	son	ahwēr
izzēn	brother	ezzän-tā
erōq ^w	breast	erūq-ta

In Kemant there is e.g.:

Sing. wiy-a	hyena	Pl. wāy
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but probably the conditioning is only phonological. Conti Rossini (1912) mentions:

Sing. nī-ki	all	Pl. nāy-kī
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For Awngi Conti Rossini (1912, 129) provides the following example:

Sing. bir-ĩ bull Pl. biär-ka

and for the Damot dialect of Southern Agaw:

Sing. firis-i horse Pl. färäs-ka

In general it is not certain at all whether internal plurals in Agaw as they exist today can have a Proto-Agaw origin though we should expect them also in this branch of the Cushitic languages.

E. Plural with Consonantal Ablaut

On this type of plural in the Agaw languages cf. Zaborski 1976b as well as Appleyard 1984, 35-37. Some examples of the consonantal ablaut have already been listed above since this process occurs not only on its own i.e. alone but accompanies also other methods of plural formation like partial reduplication and suffixation, even internal plurals of foreign origin. Consonantal ablaut plurals are especially widely spread in Bilin, less in Khamir, Qwara and Kemant, with probably only traces in Khamta. This type of plural is an Agaw innovation though there are some typological parallels in some other Cushitic languages (e.g. in Dasenech). Here are the examples of nouns with plural forms in which consonantal ablaut is the sole marker of plural in Bilin :

Sing. iḥir	father	Pl. iḱil
ṣabir	leather rope	ṣafit
käbar	milking pail	käfat
iḅin	bladder	iḱit
maṣir	sickle	maṣit

S O U T H C U S H I T I C

I R A Q W - A L A G W A - B U R U N G E

There is a considerable variety of singulative, collective, singular and plural types which are lexicalised to a considerable degree so that the particular forms can be predicted rather rarely (cf. Whiteley 1958, 12). Apart from Whiteley's studies I have checked Wada's (1973) Iraqw Vocabulary.

A. Singulative and Collective

Most of the nouns having singulative suffixes use suffixes also for their plural forms so that true collectives i.e. forms without a suffix corresponding to true singulatives with suffixes are in a minority.

1. -itô'ô

Iraqw:

Sing.	ilwâ-tô'ô (drop of) milk	Coll.	ilwâ
	kâsîs-itô'ô	yam	kâsîs
	ay-itô'ô	maise	ây-o
	mak-itô'ô	animal	māk-ay

Alagwa, Burunge:

kwa'al-ito'ô	widow	kwa'ēli
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It is possible that this suffix actually is a compound, i.e. -it + ô'ô. cf. Iraqw hatl-it-ô'ô "plant", hatlīt and below on -o'ô (cf. Whiteley

1958, 13). Wada (1973) transcribes -it-ao, e.g. los-ita "bean", losi, hap-ita "ground", hap-e. In connection with the first Iraqw item listed above cf. Alagwa iliba (also Burunge) "milk", ilibabu, Gorowa only úlúwa.

2. -ut

Iraqw:

Sing. íràqû-tù	Iraqw	Coll. íràq
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This is the only example that have been found so far. Cf. Ehret 1980, 54 where it is treated together with the preceding suffix.

3. -ōt (-ot ?)

Iraqw:

Sing. gamb-ōt	umbrella	Coll. gamb-u
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Ehret (1980, 54) mentions Burunge -otu but I could not find an example.

4. -to

Iraqw:

Sing. homa-to/hom-o	enemy	Coll. homa
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This is the only example that has been found.

5. -a

Iraqw:

Sing. bāh-a	dog	Pl. bāh-u
āhl-	fire	āhl-o
af-a	mouth	af-e
gūr-a	stomach	gūr'-e
būr-a	beer	būr-'du

According to Whiteley (1958, 13), two main plural shapes occur in Iraqw: -u and -e but there are also -awe, -ay, -o, -'i and internal plurals.

Nouns with -a occur most frequently in Burunge (Whiteley 1958, 21) and very frequently in Alagwa (ibid., 20). The main plural suffixes in Burunge are -a'i and -o while in Alagwa it is -a'i, -u, -adu, -ēri and -e. It is clear that Whiteley has stem-final -a in mind.

Alagwa:

Sing. hawat-a	husband	Pl. hawat-e
dof-a	rhino	daf-u
gura'-a	stomach	gura'-e
tsufar-a	tongue	tsufēr-i
dīnts-a	finger	dīts-o

Burunge:

Sing. digima	boundary	Pl. digim-o
tlafiy-a	cloud	tlafiy-o
hawat-a	husband	hawat-e
du'um-a	leopard	du'um-i
āf-a	mouth	āf-o
wēl-a	rope	wēl-o
gura'-a	stomach	gura'-o
tsufar-a	tongue	tsufar-o

It is possible that there is a variant -wa after a vowel, e.g. Burunge gadu-wa "old man/woman", gadu (cf. Alagwa garmo "old man", garmi, gara'-o "old woman", garu); hlaq-wa "body", hlaqo is probably due to an elision of -o (or assimilation to -w-).

6. -i

Iraqw:

Sing. dīw-i	salt	Pl. dīw-ay
bakul-i	pot	bakul-ay
qawr-i	infant	qawr-ay

ow-i	drum	ow-ay
filimb-i	flute	firim-b-ay
gazet-i	newspaper	gazet-ay
lâkwânt-i	basket	lâkwânt-ay
hûnk-i	cloud	hûnk-ay
dâs-i	girl	dâs-u
tsîr-i	bird	tsîr-o
akwēs-i	cooking stone	akwēs-o
qânh-i	egg	qânh-a
tsâmās-i	giraffe	tsâmās(s)
kōnk-i	hen	kōnk-a
ayitî'-i	maize	ayitô'-o
lôh-i	path	lô(u)hu
bē-i	sheep	bē-angw
bâlâl-i	sorghum	bâla-angw

Alagwa:

Sing. likōnt-i	basket	Pl. likōnt-ay
tcira-i	bird	tcira-o
tlaf-i	cloud	tlaf-o
qana'-i	egg	qana'-o
kōnk-o	hen	kōnk-a
olōng-i	maize	olōng-a
bē-i	sheep	bē-u
hlārah-i	stalk	hlārah-a
titca'-i	star	titca'-i

Burunge:

Sing. akwēs-i	cooking stone	akwēs-a
kwa'-i	hare	kwā'-a'e
hēd-i	person	hid-a

It looks that forms with -i are very rare in Burunge, relatively common in Iraqw and less common in Alagwa. While the corresponding plural in Iraqw is frequently -ay (cf. Whiteley 1958, 12), it is rare

in Alagwa and so far absent in Burunge. It is difficult to decide in some cases whether -i is a suffix or it belongs to the stem, e.g. in Alagwa:

Sing. keb-i cooking stone Pl. kebabu

but cf. in Gorowa:

Sing. kēbē'-i cooking stone Pl. kēbēbu

7. -e

Iraqw:

Sing. tsēr-e	blood	Pl. tsēr-du
hâp-e	earth	hâp-u
yâ'-e	leg	yâ'-a
yâ'-e	river	yâ'-u

Alagwa:

Sing. yâ'-e	leg	Pl. ya'-a
hap-e	country	hapapu

Burunge:

Sing. yâ'-e	leg	Pl. yâ'-o
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All the examples have been listed. This suffix is rare, cf. Whiteley 1958, 13, 20, 21.

8. -u

Iraqw:

Sing. dân-u	(not glossed by Whiteley 1958, 13)	Pl. dân-e
kûr-u	"	kûrēri

Burunge:

Sing. tcaraf-u	finger	Pl. tcaraf-e
hēr-u	person	hēr-a
murung-u	navel	murung-a'i

mays-u	pestle	mays-a'i
wa'am-u	river	wa'am-ēri
dēs-u	snake	dēsese

Burunge:

Sing. fay-u	arrow	Pl. fay-e
tcaraf-u	finger-nail	tcaraf-ya
kun-u	mortar	kun-a'a
mays-u	pestle	mays-i
tla'-u	stone	tle'-e

This is a rare suffix in all the three languages.

9. -o

Iraqw:

Sing. sihin-o	tooth	Pl. sihin-a
qāym-o	farm	qām-u
hi'-it-ān-o	journey	hi'-it-ān-i

This suffix is extremely rare. Cf. Ehret 1980, 49.

10. -ano

Iraqw:

Sing. hā'-āno	tree	Pl. hā'-i
awtām-o	butterfly	awtam-a

This is very rare. Cf. Ehret 1980, 55-56

11. -amo, -mo

Iraqw:

Sing. hosl-amo	vessel	Pl. hosl-a
inēr-amo	mosquito	inēr-a
dāy ^Y -āmo	snake	dāy ^Y -e
dahay-mo	guest	dahay-e
lawal-amo	slave	lawal-e

ba'ār-āmo, ba'ar-mo	fly	ba'ār
tawer-amo	wolf	tawer
masasak-mo	ant	masasak-w
tsi-amo	chicken	tsi-o
bār-amo	honey bee	bār-i
bili ^Y -amo	bear	bili ^Y

Alagwa:

Sing. gar-mo	old man	gar-i
dahay-mo	stranger	dahay-e

Burunge:

Sing. makiy-amo	animal	makay
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It is possible that this is actually a compound, i.e. -am-o since there are examples with plurals in -am-a, e.g.:

Sing. irind-am-o	muscle	irind-am-a
kōngk-am-o	cock	kōngk-am-a
warq-am-o	cloth	warq-am-a
kangke-am-o	tortoise	kangke-am-a

12. -imo

Alagwa:

Sing. makēbi-imo	orphan	makēb-a'i
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Burunge:

sisoh-imo	black-ant	sisoh-ay
kwa'al-imo	pauper	kwa'ēli
ātī-imo	tooth	ātī-o
hā'-imo	tree	hā'-o

It is possible that this is only a variant of the preceding suffix. Cf. Ehret 1980, 51-53.

13. -imi

Iraqw:

Sing. gits-imi	grass	Pl. gits-o
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It is possible that this is only a variant of no. 11.

14. -ima

Iraqw:

Sing. dof-ima	rhino	Pl. dof-u
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It is possible that this is only a variant of no. 11.

15. -us-mo

This is a compound suffix including no. 11. It makes nomina agentis which are masculine (-us-o'o for feminine). E.g.:

Iraqw:

Sing. Xákát-ús-mò	hunter	Pl. Xákát-ús-ē
uhum-us-mo	fisherman	uhum-us-e
gerahar-us-mo	head, chief	gerahar-us-e

NB. Wada transcribes in plural -e.

16. -anw

Iraqw:

Sing. has-anw	sand	Pl. has-ēri
kwa-'anw	hare, rabbit	kwa-ēri
dīr-anw	lion	dīr-ēri
d-anw	elephant	daw-e
māh-anw	arrow	māh-ēri
hlāh-anw	moon	hlāh-ēri
tsifir-anw	tooth	tsifir-ēri
kit-anw	stool (Swahili)	kit-ēri

In Iraqw nouns with this singulative suffix make their plural in most cases with -ēri. There are some examples (cf. Whiteley 1958, 13), e.g. is-anw, pl. is-ē-ma (no meaning given by Whiteley). According to Whiteley (1958, 20) Alagwa -aw should correspond to Iraqw -anw but there are only two examples: daw "elephant", dawē and dīraw "lion", dīrawē (Burunge: dīdaw, dīdawē). In Burunge there is hlehen "moon" (no plural).

It is remarkable that there is -Vnw making abstracts i.e. verbal nouns, e.g.:

hūri-nw	cooking	cf. hūrīm	to cook
dē'ē-nw	herding	dē'ēm	to herd

17. -ay, -ey

It is possible that this suffix is very rare in Iraqw (but it is postulated by Ehret 1980, 61 also for Iraqw). Whiteley (1958, 20 and 21) says that it corresponds to Iraqw -us-mo. The only examples:

Sing. lamus-ey	liar	Pl. lamamu (Alagwa)
lāmus-ay	"	lāmūse (Gorowa)
hle-ey	moon	(Alagwa)
tsāt-ay	knife	tsāt-'i (Iraqw, Alagwa; with -e in the pl. in Burunge)

18. -ya

There are the following examples in Burunge:

Sing. qana-ya	egg	Pl. qana-'o
kōnk-ya	hen	kōnk-a
olōng-ya	maize	ollong-a
dama-'ad-ya	millet	dama-'ad-u
hlārah-ya	stalk (of plant)	hlārah-a
biras-ya	sweet potato	biras-i

B. Reduplicated Plural

Whiteley (1958, 20) says that only one example of reduplicated plural has been recorded in Iraqw, namely :

Sing. pānda	forehead (?)	Pl. pāndadu
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Wada (1973) provides ila "eye", pl. illa which may be interpreted as original reduplicated plural but Whiteley (1958, 23) has pl. Ila'. Whiteley (ibid.) has also kwāhlāhli "bead", pl. kwāhl-u i.e. with the reduplication in the singular but perhaps it is a mistake or a reinterpretation of an original plural as collective. We find in Whiteley's list (1958, 120) also gādiye "work" which is a loan from Swahili (or another Bantu language), with the plural gādiādu. For another example see below ("old woman" in Gorowa)

In Gorowa the following examples have been found by Whiteley:

Sing. āko	old man	Pl. ākókī'i
kébē'i	cooking stone	kébēbu
āma	old woman	āmāmī'i; amāmā'i in Iraqw

The partial reduplication suffix occurs with many nouns having singulative forms with different suffixes (or singular forms without suffixes) in the other languages, e.g.:

Alagwa:

Sing. tlūfa	earth, soil	Pl. tlūfafu
pānda	forehead	pāndadu
yakwa	calabsh	yakwaku
hape	country	hapapu
urungi	nose	urungage
balu	day	balalu
kāmu	thing	kāmame
dēsu	snake	dēsese

Burunge:

Sing. kwahlu	bead	Pl. kwahlahlu
tsamasu	giraffe	tsamasasu
ido	thing	idadu
subida	water-pot	subidēdu
pānda	forehead	pāndadu
murungu	navel	mirungaga

C. Suffixed Plural

l. -a

Iraqw:

Sing. qānh-i	egg	Pl. qānh-a
āmēn-i	woman	āmēn-a
tlaqarm-o	cheek	tlaqarm-a
isem-o	breast	isem-a
gongo'am-o	hill	gongo'am-a
na'-o	daughter	na'-a

It is possible that this suffix has a variant -ya after a vowel (though there is also a plural suffix -ya, see below), e.g. :

Sing. kū	wall, fence	Pl. kū-ya
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It is to be emphasised that -a is used also for verbal nouns, e.g. :

āhās-a	hearing	cf. āhās	to hear
ākūt-a	jumping	akūt	to jump
fōl-a	digging	fōl	to dig
hūw-a	carrying	huw	to carry

2. - o

Iraqw:

Sing. hây-i	feather	Pl. hây-o
tluf-i	lip	tluf-o
malhar-i	pus	malher-o
new-i	threat	new-o
qēw-i	net	qēw-o
tsir ^C -i	bird	tsir ^C -o
ayit'-i	maize	ayitò'-o
is-a	nack	is-o
laqw-a	pin	laqw-o
pind-âmo	door	pind-o
tla'-iya	rock	tla'-o

Alagwa:

Sing. tcira-i	bird	Pl. tcira-o
qana'-i	egg	qana'-o
dĩts-a	finger	dĩts-o
titca'-i	star	titca'-o

Burunge:

Sing. tcira-a	bird	Pl. tcira-o
hlaqw-a	body	hlaqw-o
qana-ya	egg	qana'-o
dints-a	finger	dĩts-o
yā'-e	leg	yā'-o
āf-a	mouth	āf-o
fa-a	porridge	fa-o
tla'-iya	rock	tla'-o
tcitca'-iya	star	tcitca'-o
gura'-a	stomach	gura'-o
tsufar-a	tongue	tsufar-o
ātī-imo	tooth	ātī-o

3. -u

Iraqw:

Sing. kûn-e	mortar	Pl. kûn-u
imp-e	plate	imp-u
ant-a	grave	ant-u
tla'-a	rock	tlā'-u
tlank -a	bridge	tlank-u
tlap-a	plain, valley	tlap-u
bāh-a	dog	bāh-u
tlang-i	fog	tlang-u
qaym-o	field	qam-u

Also some adjectives, e.g. :

Sing. didir	big	Pl. didir-u
ta'amp-a	blind	ta'amp-u

Whiteley (1958, 14) says that also nouns ending in a consonant which are loans from Barabaig or Kismajen belong to this group.

Also some verbal nouns, e.g.:

hlākt-u	hunting	cf. hlakāt to hunt
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4. -i

Iraqw:

Sing. tlom-a	mountain	Pl. tlomi'-i
daba	arm	daba-i
sihîn-o	tooth	sihîn-a (Wada: siheni)
na'-ay	child	nai'-i
huntl-ay	jar	huntli'-i
munggay	bracelet	mungga'-i
hay	fold, line	ha'-i
harm-o	horn	harem-i
uhum-o	pillar	uhēm-i

Alagwa:

Sing. saga	head	Pl. saga'-i
uma	name	uma'-i

Burunge:

Sing. mara	house	Pl. mara'-i
du'um-a	leopard	du'um-i
urunga	nose	urunga'-i

5. -e

It is possible that this suffix continues not only original -e but also original -a'-i at least in some cases, e.g.:

Iraq:

Sing. mūna	heart	Pl. mūn-e
hawāt-a	male	hawāt-e
hima	band, belt	hima'-e
dān-u	bee	dān-e
āf-a	mouth	āf-e (Alagwa: āfa'-i)
daqway	donkey	daqway-e
qwaray	antelope	qwaraw-e
sikay	sparrow	sikaw-e
gē ^C ay	wall	gē ^C aw-e

There is a possibility that in some cases -awe was the original plural suffix and not simply a glide occurring after a vowel.

Alagwa:

Sing. fay-u	arrow	Pl. fay-e
daw	elephant	daw-e
dīraw	lion	dīraw-e

Burunge:

Sing. fay-u	arrow	Pl. fay-e
dīdaw	lion	dīdaw-e

6. -ē (-e'e ?)

Iraqw:

Sing. him-a	rope	Pl. him-ē
intsahatus-mo	teacher	intsahatus-ē

According to Whiteley (1958, 20), there is -ē also in Alagwa but he does not provide examples.

7. -du, (-adu ?)

Iraqw:

Sing. tsēr-e	blood	Pl. tsēr-du
fūr-a	wind	fūr-ādu
hump-a	cold	hump-adu
gōs-o	tooth	gōs-du
da'ay-e	liver	da'ay-du
gāl-a	bow	gāl-adu
kun-e	mortar	kunu-du (Wada)

Many nouns denoting instruments mainly loans, belong to this group, e.g. :

Sing. sufuria	pan, pot	Pl. sufur-adu
kop-o	tin	kop-adu
hema	tent	hema-du
kikombe	cup, glass	kikomb-adu
gar-i	car	gar-du

There is a possibility that pānda "forehead", pl. pānd-adu mentioned above is not a partial reduplication but a case of suffixing of -adu.

8. -ay

Iraqw:

Sing. fun-i	flesh	Pl. fūn-ay
hūnk-i	cloud	hūnk-ay
fīts-i	tail	fīts-ay
tsahwēl-i	trap	tsahwēl-ay

Whiteley (1958, 20 and 21) mentions -ay plurals in Alagwa and in Burunge but in his list we find only the following example in Alagwa :

Sing. likōnt-i	basket	Pl. likōnt-ay
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8a. -ēri

Iraqw:

Sing. digir	leg, foot	Pl. digir-ēri
untl-a	cheek	untl-ēri
hampa	wing	hampa'-ēri
gurungura	knee	gurungur-ēri
māhangw	arrow	māh-ēri

Alagwa:

Sing. hays-o	tail	Pl. hays-ēri
do'-o	house	de'-ēri
tangas-a	drum	tangas-ēri
du'um-a	leopard	du'um-ēri

Burunge:

Sing. on	hill	Pl. om-ēri
dah-a	stranger	dah-ēri

9. -mu (?)

According to Whiteley (1958, 20) this suffix occurs in Alagwa but there is no example. Other examples like (ibid., 20) digīma "boundary", pl. digimamu, lamusey "liar", lamamu, qāymo "farm", qaymamu are to be interpreted rather as partial reduplications.

10. -emo

Iraqw:

Sing. dand-a	back	Pl. dand-emo
waqat	guts	waqat-emo
tiqt-i	sickness	tiqt-emo

11. -ame

Alagwa:

Sing. kām-u	thing	Pl. kām-ame
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12. -angw

Iraqw:

Sing. bē'-i	sheep	Pl. bē'-angw
warari	sand	war-angw
dēl-o	day	dēl-angw
kwatsi-mo	flea	kwatsiy-angw
sē-mi	fur, wool	se-engw

Since all these words semantically may be interpreted as "collectives", it is possible that these plurals are original singulatives (see above) reinterpreted as collectives and then as plurals.

13. -kw (-akw ?)

Iraqw, Gorowa, Alagwa :

Sing. nīna	small	Pl. nīna-kw
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Only this example.

14. -en

This suffix is used by a number of adjectives:

Iraqw:

Sing. ^C atlar	fat, healthy	Pl. ^C atlar-en
da ^C at	red	da ^C at-en
qantsar	green	qantsar-en
tsē'at	yellow	tsē'at-en
ur	big	ur-en

15. -'

Iraqw:

Sing. i'a	ear	Pl. i'a'
ila	eye	ila'
dĩtsa	finger	dĩtsa' (Whiteley)

It is probable that this suffix is a result of a reduction of the final vowel, cf. Burunge ila'-i "eyes".

D. Internal Plural

Iraqw:

Sing. dĩtsa	finger	Pl. dĩtsa (Wada)
mūna	heart	mune
lōhi	path	lūhu
fuquno	finger nail	fuqēni
lāwāla	spear	lāwūlu
kūrūmo	hoe	kūrēmi
digima	boundary	digēmi
durmi	stomach	durēmi
halm	branch	halēmo
tsitsini	branch	tsitseni
hafta	mat	hafeto

Alagwa:

Sing. tsufara	tongue	Pl. tsifēri (?)
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and with adjectives in Iraqw :

Sing. tlākw	bad	Pl. tlakw
īlo	heavy	ilo
hōhō	good	hoho, hāhā
boā ^c	black	bā ^c

and in Alagwa:

abākw	white	abakw
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E. Plurals with Consonant Ablaut

Iraqw:

Sing. dawa	arm	Pl. daba
tlawi	lake	tlabe-mo
kahari	skin	kahad-u
gara	forest	gado
sirwi	jar	sido
hara	pole, stick	hado
fāra	bone	fādu (*fara-du)
lawara	spear	lawlu
slaqwa	body	slago
quqmar	short	quqmat

Alagwa:

Sing. tlēr	long	Pl. tled-en (Iraqw: tlet)
ga'are	bow	ga'al-u

These plurals with consonantal ablaut are result of assimilations.

KWADZA and ASA

Both languages are very little known (we have practically nothing except word lists) and Kwadza has already died out*. Ehret (1980, 49-62) presents lists of Kwadza and Asa suffixes which I can only reproduce here in order to fill the gap. Since Ehret does not list plural forms of the nouns, it is impossible to verify most of the suffixes. Therefore they are simply taken over from Ehret and they will have to be verified with the new material which we shall get, let us hope, for Asa once upon a time. Ehret classifies Kwadza and Asa together as a distinct branch of the alleged Southern Cushitic group. I do not reject this classification of Kwadza and Asa together but the final proof has to be supplied yet.

Kwadza		Asa	
Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
1. -a		-a	
-e		-i	
-o		-o	
		-u	
2. -VmV	-emo	-VmV	-ema
			-imo
3. -ati		-a ^y i	
-atu		-atu	

Kwadza		Asa	
Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
-et		-ete	
-it		-Vt	
-ita		-ita	
-ito			
4. -an	-Vn	-ana	
	-en(d)		-Vn(d)
5. -Vl(V)		-Vl(V)	
6. -in		-in	
7. -a'a		-V'i	
-a'u			
8. -awa		-uwa	
-awu			
-o			
9.	-aki	-aka	
	-ako	-Vk	
	-uka	-uka/o	

* I have heard from Chris Ehret during the Symposium on the Cushitic and Omotic Languages in Sankt-Augustin at the beginning of January 1986 that there may still be some speakers of Kwadza alive.

P R E L I M I N A R Y E V A L U A T I O N

The category of nominal plural in the Cushitic languages follows some general patterns which are partially an Afroasiatic heritage and partially universal. Individual development is discernible in the particular branches as well as some areal features being due to interference.

The category of nominal plural is disappearing from Oromo where plural forms are seldom used, from Boni (the majority of nouns does not make plural forms) as well as from Rendille (one third of nouns is without plural) which separates these languages rather sharply from otherwise closely related Somali. Within Lowland East Cushitic there is a tendency to use only one form in Elmolo (as far as we can judge on the basis of limited data) and in Dahalo where (at least in the variety investigated by myself in Lamu) plural forms are not used when the noun is accompanied by numerals, adjectives denoting number etc. Within Highland East Cushitic restricted use of plural forms has been reported in Burji, Gedeo (Derasa) and Hadiyya. Also in Agaw (Central Cushitic) some nouns do not have plural forms at least in Kemant and Bilin.

As far as the category of singulative is concerned, there are only small remnants of it in Beja (Northern Cushitic) and in the Somaloid branch of Lowland East Cushitic. In the Dullay languages there are probably also only remnants but these languages are still too little known. The use is fairly widely spread in Afar-Saho, in Konso and Dirayta (Gidole), in Arbore and in Dahalo, in Yaaku as well as in Iraqw, Alagwa and Burunge. Within Highland East Cushitic singulative is still frequent in Sidamo while it is rather restricted in other languages. In Agaw it has been lost

but it survives in other Agaw languages. It is quite probable that the category of singulative has been renewed in some languages (e.g. in Boni where $\text{-}\overset{\text{V}}{\text{C}}\text{an}$ goes back to the original demonstrative) so that there are (e.g. in Highland East Cushitic and in Oromo) different strata.

The most widely spread group of singulative suffixes contains the old Afroasiatic or Hamito-Semitic morpheme -t- . The oldest forms have survived in Afar-Saho where we find -to , -ta , -tu which have, apart from cognates in other Lowland East Cushitic languages like Konso, Yaaku and Dahalo, also correspondences in Highland East Cushitic Kambatta and Hadiya at least as well as in the alleged South Cushitic Iraqw, Alagwa, Burunge (-to , -ot , -ut etc.) as well as Kwadza and Asa (-ati , -atu etc.) though the forms are not identical. In Agaw (Central Cushitic) -ra goes back to *ta though it is possible that sometimes this can be interpreted as plural *t plus singulative -a . It is possible that singulative -a in Agaw goes back to *at . Interference with Semitic is possible in this case. Coming back to Lowland East Cushitic it is remarkable that Oromo, Konso and Dirayta have all -itti and similar suffixes which are also found in Dullay. This may be an "Oromoid" isogloss but it can be also partially due to interference especially in the case of Dullay though we need more data in these languages. Highland East Cushitic languages have usually -icca , -icco etc. which seems to be a Highland East Cushitic isogloss. Also here interference with Dullay and with Oromo is possible. This does not mean of course that these suffixes have been simply borrowed. Oromo -sa probably goes back to *ta , and -esa to *et-a though -essa can be interpreted also as *es-ta . Highland East Cushitic -di (-ddi) is also probably connected with the $\text{"-t-"} morpheme.$

Vocalic morphemes of singulative may go back to original *Vt . We find -o in Afar-Saho, Boni and Bayso, Dirayta, Dullay and Dahalo within the Lowland East Cushitic branch and in "South Cushitic"; -e is limited to Lowland East Cushitic Bayso, Elmolo, Dirayta, Dullay and Dahalo as well as to "South Cushitic" Iraqw, Alagwa, Burunge; -a occurs in Agaw (see above on the possible partial interference with Semitic, in Konso, Dullay, Yaaku and Dahalo. We find -i in Yaaku and in Asa.

Another Afroasiatic suffix is -ay which makes singulatives in Beja (some interference with Tigre cannot be excluded), there are remnants of it in Afar-Saho (-ay-tu) but it is found also in Highland East Cushitic Burgi and in "South Cushitic" Iraqw, Alagwa, Burunge where there is also -ey (the same in Yaaku which has, moreover, -oy . In Dullay there is aye .

Other singulative suffixes are probably not going back to Proto-Cushitic. We have a group with $\text{"-n-"} in Yaaku (-n , -oni , -n-te), Dahalo (-ne), Iraqw, Alagwa, Burunge (-ano , -anw). The group with $\text{"-m-"} occurs in the south: Yaaku -mi , Dahalo -me ; Iraqw, Alagwa, Burunge -mo , -amo etc.; Kwadza and Asa -VmV where -m- occurs also in the parallel plural according to Ehret.$$

Reduplicated plural forms are not uncommon in Sidamo and in Afar-Saho but in other Cushitic languages they are marginal. Full reduplication is rare but we find it occasionally e.g. in Agaw and in Somali. Reduplication of the last syllable (or a gemination of the final consonant) is found in Somali and Rendille; Bayso; Arbore, Elmolo, Dasenech; relatively frequent in Konso but much less in Dirayta; Yaaku; in Dahalo usually with suffixes; in Iraqw, as far as we know it, there are only remnants but in closely related Gorowa there is already more and we find an even bigger number in Alagwa and Burunge; in Kwadza and Asa there is singular -Vm- but -m- occurs also in the parallel plural forms. It is interesting though perhaps simply accidental that final partial reduplication is accompanied in Dahalo by suffixation of -ama or -emu while -mé is added to plurals with full reduplication in Arbore cf. also very rare Oromo forms with the gemination of the last consonant and with -én . In Oromo it is the first syllable that is geminated (like in plurals of adjectives) but the number of examples is also small.

Adjectives have plural forms with the reduplication of the first syllable in Beja (where no plural form with reduplication has been found for nouns so far); Somali, Boni and Rendille; Bayso; Arbore and Dasenech; Oromo, Konso and Dirayta; Yaaku; Dahalo (plus suffixation). On the problem cf. Banti, forthcoming. In Highland East Cushitic Kambatta plurals with the gemination of the first syllable may be loans; the same about plurals with the gemination of the last consonant but more research is necessary.

Also Sidamo adjective plurals with -ad-da and -Vm-ma require further investigation since they can be interpreted also as forms with suffixes -da and -ma added to stems with final -d and -m respectively.

Plural suffixes are greatly differentiated and sometimes within the smaller branches there are remarkable differences. This is just another proof indicating that the Cushitic group is much more differentiated than the Semitic group. In some cases there could be interference with Semitic and even with Nilo-Saharan. Nevertheless it is clear that most of the plural suffixes go back to the well known Afroasiatic morphemes though it has to be emphasised that our knowledge of the Cushitic and Afroasiatic comparative phonology is still rudimentary and we cannot rely on phonetic similarity. Phonetic laws have not been elaborated yet and therefore especially the hypotheses concerning the identification of vocalic suffixes must be considered with a great care. The same pertains, of course, to singulative suffixes mentioned above. In this situation it would be too risky to reconstruct Proto-Cushitic forms and therefore only a synopsis will be given i.e. the alleged cognates will be grouped together. It has to be emphasised that I do not mean that different suffixes classified within one group have really the same origin i.e. that they are historically the same. We know that there are different suffixes with -t- morpheme e.g. in Semitic and this situation most probably reflects the situation in Proto-Afroasiatic.

I. "-t-"

1. -t - Agaw languages
2. -et - Afar-Saho
3. -at - Agaw; Dahalo -at-ti
4. -ut - Afar-Saho; Agaw
5. -it - Afar-Saho; Agaw
6. -ota, -ōta - Oromo; only a loan in Sidamo ?
7. -ūte - Afar-Saho
8. -utē - Dahalo
9. -ūta, -utta - Dahalo
10. -ta - Afar-Saho; Oromo; Kambata, Alaba, Hadiyya (?)

11. -ti - Awngi ri ?
12. -ti - Kemant - since we do not have phonetic laws for vowels it is difficult to decide whether this suffix corresponds to -ta or -ti etc. Cf. Somali dialects.
13. -ēti - Oromo
14. -eti - Dabarro dialect of Somali; cf. 12

On vocalic suffixes which may be cognates see below.

II. "-w-"

1. -wa - Afar-Saho; cf. Konso and Dirayta
2. -ōwo - Afar-Saho
3. -ow-ān, -ow-an - Oromo
4. -uwwa - Afar-Saho
5. -ū/w - Agaw
6. -awwa - Konso, Dirayta
7. -aw-he, --awwe - Dullay
8. -wōn - Oromo
9. -iw - Agaw
10. -yaw - Somali

On -u see below. It is probable that Boni suffixes with -b- belong here.

III. "-n-"

1. -an - Somali; Oromo, Dirayta; Agaw -t-an etc.
2. -ān - Somali; Oromo
3. -ān - Agaw
4. -āna - Bur^ygi
5. -ane - Dullay
6. -āni - Bur^ygi
7. -anu - Dasenech
8. -en - Iraqw, Alagwa, Burunge
9. -un ? - Agaw in -t-u
10. -ine - Dullay

11. -no, -ne, -nu ? - Elmolo (partially from Maa ?)
12. -nye - Rendille, Boni -nyi; Yaaku -nyo
13. -oy-in - Somali

Some Bur^Ygi suffixes with geminated -n- i.e. -ūnna, -anna, -ēnna, -inna, -ānno probably contain -t- assimilated to -n- at least in some cases but the problem requires further research:

IV. "-Vy-"

1. -ay - Afar-Saho (e.g. -ay-to where -to is singulative); Somali (e.g. the dialect of Merka); Arbore, Elmolo; Yaakul Khamir -t-ay ?
2. -eyyi - Oromo
3. -iyye - Oromo; Sidamo
4. -eyye - Sidamo
5. -aya, -ayya - Konso, Dirayta
6. -iyya - Konso, Dirayta

V. "-m-"

1. -ma - Sidamo; Arbore, Elmolo; Dahalo
2. -mu - Dasenech
3. -mo - Arbore
4. -me - Dahalo
5. -mi - Dahalo
6. -m-ai - Yaaku (see above for other forms)
7. -am, -ām - Dasenech
8. -im - Dasenech
9. -uC-ama - Dahalo
10. -C-emu - Dahalo
11. -emo - Iraqw, Alagwa, Burunge
12. -ame - Iraqw, Alagwa, Burunge
13. -a'ame - Arbore
14. -amma - Dirayta
15. -ōma - Dullay
16. -uma - Dullay

17. -ūmme - Dullay

Cf. Somali nominal suffix -nimo. The spread of "-m-" suffixes in Sidamo, Arbore, Dasenech, Dullay and dirayta is probably areal. Cf. also Kwadza and Asa.

VI. "-l-"

1. -yāl - Somali, Boni
2. -āl - Bayso
3. -ēl - Bayso
4. -allo - Bayso; Sidamo
5. -olē - Bayso
6. -alla - Konso, Dirayta
7. -ōle - Sidamo
8. -olle - Sidamo
9. -allo - Sidamo

The -l- in Kemant and Qwara suffixes is probably secondary.

VII. "-o-"

1. -o/-yo - Somali; Elmolo; Oromo; Dullay
2. -o-yin - Somali

Theoretically there is a possibility that this -o goes back to *-a but this requires further investigation.

VIII. -u - Elmolo, Dasenech

IX. -i - Dasenech; Boni

X. -e - Bayso; Arbore, Elmolo

Whether this may go back to *-ay is an open question.

XI. -a - Beja; Oromo, Konso, Dirayta; Arbore, Elmolo

There is a chance that this goes back to *-at in some cases.

XII. "-k-"

1. -k - Agaw
2. -ak - Yaaku
3. -eka, -eki, -uka, -uke - Dahalo

For Kwadza and Asa see above.

While "-t-", "-w-", "-n-", "-ay-" and -a (also -o ?) go back to Proto-Cushitic and even Proto-Afroasiatic, other suffixes are innovations.

Internal plural in Afar-Saho and in Beja is certainly archaic and at least partially going back to Proto-Afroasiatic though there are very few ablauts that Afar-Saho and Beja have in common, e.g. e : a. Actually there is a clear difference between the two: while both use the opposition short : long, Beja has long degree in the singular while Afar-Saho has it in the plural. It is very interesting that internal plural forms are found also in Iraqw, Alagwa and Burunge and the long degree is in the singular like in Beja but whether this is archaic in these alleged South Cushitic languages requires further research. Yaaku internal plural forms are probably secondary i.e. not going back to Proto-Cushitic. Agaw internal plurals are rare and it is not clear whether they are archaic and how much is due to the interference with Semitic.

Plural forms with consonant ablaut or apophony are interesting from a typological point of view but they are obviously innovations in Agaw as well as they are independent innovation in Iraqw and Alagwa. Internal plurals in Dasenech may be secondary.

Also accent (or tone) plurals in Afar, Somali, Rendille, Boni, Yaaku and Dahalo are innovations due mainly, if not exclusively, to the disappearance of the original suffix.

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