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GO FORTH AND MULTIPLY AND CHANGE YOUR GENDER
Séminaire *Genre et Langage*, SFL, April 29, 2024

1. INTRODUCTION: THE SYNTAX OF GENDER

Two types of nominal classification: gender and declension class (a.k.a. *inflection class*, *noun class*)

Gender: syntactically active (potentially beyond agreement):

(1) a. Et-a   strann-aja kniga   porazil-a   nas.   Russian
         this-F   strange-F   book.F   impressed-F   us-ACC
         This strange book impressed us.

     b. Etot-Ø strann-yj   roman   porazil-Ø   nas.
         this-M strange-M   novel.M impressed-M   us-ACC
         This strange novel impressed us.

     c. Et-o   strann-oe   proizvedenie porazil-o   nas.
         this-N   strange-N   oeuvre.N   impressed-N   us-ACC
         This strange oeuvre impressed us.

Declension class: syntactically inactive, affects the realization of synthetic case and number inflection (potentially in conjunction with gender):

Table 1: Exponence and allomorphy in nominal declension (after Corbett 1982)

#	CASE	A	O	C	ĭ (3RD)
SG	NOM	borod-á	ók-o	sneg-Ø	lʲubóvʲ-Ø
	ACC	bórod-u	syncretic with nominative or genitive in function of animacy		
	GEN	borod-ɨ	ók-a	snég-a (also: snég-u)	lʲubv-í
	DAT	borod-é	ók-u	snég-u	lʲubv-í
	LOC	borod-é	ók-e	snég-e (also: sneg-**ú**)	lʲubv-í (also: lʲubv-í)
	INS	borod-ój	ók-om	snég-om	lʲubóv-ju
		'beard'	'eye'	'snow'	'love'

The small set of exceptions consists of 12 nouns (1 masculine; 11 neuters: 10 nouns in [mʲa] + *ditʲá* 'child', all but the last behave like ĭ-nouns except in the instrumental)

Corbett 1991: gender assignment rules:
➢   nouns denoting males are masculine
➢   nouns denoting females are feminine
➢   declinable nouns of the C-declension are masculine
➢   declinable nouns of the *a*-declension and *ĭ*-declension are feminine
➢   declinable nouns of the *o*-declension are neuter (except for diminutives)
➢   animate indeclinable nouns are masculine (with some exceptions)
➢   inanimate indeclinable nouns are neuter (again, with some exceptions)
➢   the gender of indeclinable initialisms (not acronyms) is determined by the gender of the head

Very nice and pretty picture, shame other languages are more complicated

2. PLURAL DECLENSION

Problem: this picture does not take plurals into consideration:

Table 2: Plural nominal declension (productive classes)

#	CASE	A		O		C		ĭ (3)
SG	**NOM**	borod-á	dól^j-a	ók-o	práv-o	sneg-Ø	ulán-Ø	l^jubóv^j-Ø
PL	**NOM**	bórod-ɨ	dól-i	óč-i	prav-á	sneg-á	ulán-ɨ	l^jubv-í
	GEN	boród-Ø	dol-éj	oč-éj	prav-Ø	sneg-óv	ulán-Ø	l^jubv-éj
	DAT	borod-ám	dol^j-ám	oč-ám	prav-ám	sneg-ám	ulán-am	l^jubv^j-ám
	LOC	borod-áx	dol^j-áx	oč-áx	prav-áx	sneg-ámi	ulán-ax	l^jubv^j-áx
	INS	borod-ámi	dol^j-ámi	oč-ámi	prav-ámi	sneg-áx	ulán-ami	l^jubv^j-ámi
		'beard'	'lot'	'eye'	'right'	'snow'	'uhlan'	'love'

Plural exponence:

➢ accusative case is syncretic with nominative for inanimate nouns and with genitive, for animate ones

➢ dative, locative, and instrumental endings are the same in all declension classes

➢ nominative plural and genitive plural endings are not determined by the declension class/gender of the singular

➢ the nominative plural exponent does not determine the genitive plural exponent, or *vice versa*

In addition, there are two unproductive nominative plural exponents (-*e*, -*i*)

Exceptional pluralization: the baby-diminutive suffix -*ĭnŭk*- (surface [^jonok], taking the plural form -*ĭnt*- [^jat], see Gouskova and Bobaljik 2022) and augmented plurals in -*ĭj*- (see Matushansky 2024) and in -*es*-)

Table 3: Russian plural declension classes

Unproductive combinations are shaded, cardinality of closed classes is indicated in parentheses

GEN \ NOM		zero	-*ej*-	-*ov*-
-*i*-	a	*luná/lúni/lún* 'moon'	*dól^ja/dóli/doléj* 'part'	
	C	*ulán/uláni/ulán* 'uhlan'	*kón^j/kóni/konéj* 'horse'	*stól/stolí/stolóv* 'table'
	o	*véko/véki/vék* 'eyelid' (6)		*očkó/očkí/očkóv* 'point' (2)
	ĭ	*p^jadén^j/p^jadéni/p^jadén^j* 'inch' (2)	*lán^j/láni/lánej* 'doe'	
-*a*-	C		*jákor^j/jakor^já/jakoréj* 'anchor'	*róg/rogá/rogóv* 'horn'
	o	*slóvo/slová/slóv* 'word'	*póle/pol^já/poléj* 'field' (3)	
-*e*-	C	*cɨgán/cɨgáne/cɨgán* 'Roma'		
-*i*-	C		*č^jórt/čérti/čertéj* 'devil' (2)	
	o		*úxo/úši/ušéj* 'ear' (5)	

Technical notes:

➢ -*ɨ*- is fronted [i] after a [–back] consonant, -*i*- palatalizes the preceding consonant (triggering velar mutation, e.g., *úxo/úši/ušéj* 'ear')

➢ The nominative plural -*a* is only used with non-feminine nouns; it is accented if the noun is neuter, and accented and dominant if the noun is masculine

➢ The choice between -*ov*- and -*ej*- in the genitive plural is determined by phonology: -*ej*- is used only after palatalized stem-final consonants

Empirical generalizations:

➢ all singular declensions are compatible with *-i-* in the nominative plural, and with a zero or *-ej-* in the genitive plural

➢ although the nominative plural *-a-* and the genitive plural *-ov-* are restricted to non-feminine nouns (Jakobson 1958/1984:III-§7), they never appear in the paradigm of the same neuter noun

➢ the genitive plural *-ov-* is never used with feminine nouns
except maybe three masculine loanwords: *vájšja* 'Vaishya' (genitive plural *vájšjev*), *kšátrija* (also *kšátrij*) 'Kshatriya' (genitive plural *kšátrijev*) and *párija* 'pariah' (genitive plural *páriev* or *párij*)

Main intuition: certain combinations are excluded for non-accidental reasons

Proposal: Russian nouns can change gender in the plural

3.   INDEPENDENT EVIDENCE: "TRANSGENDER" NOUNS

Ivić 1963 and/via Corbett 1991:170-174: **inquorate genders**: small sets of nouns that have one gender in the singular and another in the plural:

(2) a.   Lak: *q̄at̄a* 'house' (gender III in the SG, gender IV in the PL)   Corbett 1991
     b.   French: *délice* 'delight', *amour* 'love', *orgue* 'organ' (M in the SG, F in the PL)

(3) a.   *oko* 'eye.N.SG' (declension I) vs. *oči* 'eyes.F.PL' (declension III)   Serbo-Croatian
     b.   *eco* 'echo.F.SG' vs. *echi* 'echo.M.PL'   Italian

(4) a.   *balneum* 'bath.N.SG' → *balneae*.F.PL or *balnea*.N.PL 'bathhouses'   Latin
     b.   *iocus* 'joke, jest.M.SG' → *ioca*.N.PL or *ioci*.M.PL 'jokes, fun'
     c.   *frēnum* 'bridle, curb.N.SG' → *frēnī*.M.PL 'bridles, curbs'

These nouns have to marked as exceptions

How?

The DM-style approach (Acquaviva 2008): deals with exceptions, suggests they are collective

The derivational approach (Lecarme 2002): deals with gender polarity in an entire language (Somali) suggests all plurals are derived by a (contentful?) affix, which introduces its own gender
Nilsson 2016: Somali gender-changing prosodic plurals are collective

Neither proposal works for Russian inquorate nouns

4.   COMING BACK TO RUSSIAN

None of the nouns with the unexpected plural declension class are collective, as they combine with cardinals:

(5) a.   dradcatʲ   ulan(ov)
          twenty   uhlan.PL.GEN

     b.   sestʲ ušej
          six   ear.PL.GEN

There is independent evidence for a (suprasegmental) plural suffix separate from plural case-marking: stress retraction in the plural (Zaliznjak 1963, 1967, 1977, Halle 1973, 1975, Melvold

1989, Brown et al. (1996), Alderete 1999, Butska 2002, Feldstein 2006, 2017, Dubina 2012, Steriade and Yanovich 2015, Osadcha 2019):

Table 4: Retraction in the plural (*a*-declension)

case/number accentual pattern	NOM.SG accented	ACC.SG unaccented	NOM.PL unaccented	INS.PL accented
post-accenting stem: *zmej-* 'snake'	*zmej-á*	*zmej-ú*	*zméj-i*	*zméj-ami*
unaccented stem: *zim-* 'winter'	*zim-á*	*zím-u*	*zím-ɨ*	*zím-ami*

Plural stress is stem-final even when expected to be post-stem
Although *a*-declension nouns are never inquorate, masculine nouns with a putatively feminine plural (section 4.1) may undergo retraction in the plural (-*ʲanin*- nouns do, all others have stem-final stress in the singular)

Table 3 (repeated): Russian plural declension classes
Unproductive combinations are shaded, cardinality of closed classes is indicated in parentheses

	GEN NOM	zero	*-ej-*	*-ov-*
-i-	*a*	*luná/lúni/lún* 'moon'	*dólʲa/dóli/doléj* 'part'	
	C	*ulán/uláni/ulán* 'uhlan'	*kónʲ/kóni/konéj* 'horse'	*stól/stolí/stolóv* 'table'
	o	*véko/véki/vék* 'eyelid' (6)		*očkó/očkí/očkóv* 'point' (2)
	ĭ	*pʲadénʲ/pʲadéni/pʲadénʲ* 'inch' (2)	*lánʲ/láni/lánej* 'doe'	
-a-	*C*		*jákorʲ/jakorʲá/jakoréj* 'anchor'	*róg/rogá/rogóv* 'horn'
	o	*slóvo/slová/slóv* 'word'	*póle/polʲá/poléj* 'field' (3)	
-e-	*C*	*cigán/cɨgáne/cigán* 'Roma'		
-ɨ-	*C*		*čórt/čérti/čertéj* 'devil' (2)	
	o		*úxo/úši/ušéj* 'ear' (5)	

The unproductive combinations in Table 3 can be inquorate (not going to discuss them all, just to do a proof of concept)

4.1. C-nouns with a zero genitive plural

Three genitive plural allomorphs:
The zero allomorph is actually an underlying back yer (ъ), but this is irrelevant here

(6) a. *voln-á* 'wave-SG.NOM' → *voln-Ø* 'wave-PL.GEN'   surface zero
    b. *vin-ó* 'wine-SG.NOM' → *vin-Ø* 'wine-PL.GEN'

(7) a. *kon-Ø* '(game) round-SG.NOM' → *kon-óv* 'round-PL.GEN'   *-ov-/-ej-*
    b. *konʲ-Ø* 'horse-SG.NOM' → → *kon-éj* 'horse-PL.GEN'

Jakobson 1939: empirical generalization: **the zero genitive plural allomorph is generally not used in C-final nouns**

Jakobson 1939, 1957 (see also Pertsova 2015, Yanovich and Steriade 2010, Munteanu 2021, among others): avoidance of paradigm-internal homophony
Other hypotheses: Halle 1994, Bailyn and Nevins 2008, Halle and Nevins 2009, Caha 2021

Except there are **exceptions** (Garde 1998:174-176, Timberlake 2004:138-139)
Ionin and Matushansky 2006:196: measure nouns like *kilográmm* 'kilogram' take the zero allomorph only in their adnumerative form (Mel'čuk 1985:430-437), so should not be treated as instances of zero genitive

Social-cluster C-declension nouns (certain ethnonyms of historically local peoples (8), the open class of social-role nouns in *-ʲanin-* (9), and old loanwords denoting military roles (10)):

(8) a. *turkmén* 'Turkman.NOM.SG/GEN.PL'   full homophony
     b. *burʲát* 'Buryat.NOM.SG/GEN.PL'

(9) a. *graždanín* 'citizen' → *grázdan* 'citizens.GEN.PL'   no homophony
     b. *krestʲjánin* 'peasant' → *krestʲján* 'peasant.GEN.PL'

(10) a. *ulán* 'uhlan.NOM.SG/GEN.PL'   full homophony
     b. *soldát* 'soldier.NOM.SG/GEN.PL'

Names of certain fruits and vegetables (expanding class):

(11) a. *baklažán* 'eggplant.NOM.SG/GEN.PL'
     b. *apelʲsín* 'orange.NOM.SG/GEN.PL'

A few **habitually paired items**:

(12) a. *sapóg* 'boot.NOM.SG/GEN.PL'
     b. *čulók* 'stocking', genitive plural *čulók* or *čulkóv*

Proposal: these nouns become feminine in the plural

Feminine nouns with a non-palatalized stem-final consonant all belong to the *a*-declension → obligatory genitive plural in *-Ø-*

Suggestive evidence:

➢ the nominative plural ending *-e* characteristic of some social-role nouns (e.g., (9)) used to be the feminine nominative plural ending

➢ some of the relevant **fruits and vegetables** have feminine alternants (e.g., *pomidór* and *pomidóra* 'tomato')

Russian has **no gender distinctions in the plural**, so gender change has no syntactic effect

4.2. Neuter nouns with atypical plural endings

Pluralized neuter nouns overwhelmingly have *-a* in the nominative and *-Ø* (the non-masculine genitive plural ending) in the genitive

Two types of exceptions:

➢ nominative plural in (the palatalizing) *-i-* (4, max. 5 nouns; genitive plural is *-ej-*, as normal for a palatalized stem-final consonant)

➢ *k*-final *o*-declension nouns (including diminutives): nominative plural in (the non-palatalizing) *-i-* (surface [i])

Both can be regarded as declension changes

4.2.1. Nominative plural in the non-palatalizing *-i-*

All *o*-declension *k*-diminutives have nominative plural in *-i* (underlying /i/, no velar mutation):

(13) a. *bedró/bʲódra* 'thigh.SG.NOM/PL.NOM'
     b. *bʲódriško/bʲódriški* 'thigh.DIM.SG.NOM/PL.NOM'

This can be a formal property of the diminutive suffix (all of them are known to not preserve the declension class)

Among these *k*-final *o*-declension nouns only **three use the genitive plural -*ov*- allomorph**:

(14) a. *očkó/očkí/očkóv* '(sports) point.NOM.SG/NOM.PL/GEN.PL'
 b. *uškó/uškí/uškóv* 'eye (of a needle, etc.).NOM.SG/NOM.PL/GEN.PL'
 c. *drévko/drévkí/drévkóv* 'staff.NOM.SG/NOM.PL/GEN.PL'

Explanation: these nouns become masculine in the plural

Four velar-final nouns become feminine in the plural (nominative plural /ɨ/ (surface [i]), zero genitive plural):

(15) a. *véko/véki/vék* 'eyelid.NOM.SG/NOM.PL/GEN.PL'
 b. *lɨko/lɨki/lɨk* 'bast.NOM.SG/NOM.PL/GEN.PL'
 c. *brʲúxo/brʲúxi/brʲúx* 'belly.SG/PL'
 d. *jábloko*/*jábloki*/*jáblok* 'apple.NOM.SG/NOM.PL/GEN.PL'

Alternative: it is a phonological effect
Objection: some velar-final or *k*-final nouns behave differently from others

4.2.2. Nominative plural in the palatalizing -*i*-

The third (-*ĭ*-) declension consists of feminine nouns (12 exceptions) with a palatalized final consonant (e.g., *lʲubóvʲ* 'love')

The five neuter nouns with the nominative plural in -*i*- and genitive plural in -*ej*- could involve the *ĭ*-declension plural:

(16) a. *óko/óči/očéj* 'eye (archaic).NOM.SG/NOM.PL/GEN.PL',
  úxo/úši/ušéj 'ear.NOM.SG/NOM.PL/GEN.PL'

 b. *koléno/koléni/kolénej* 'knee.NOM.SG/NOM.PL/GEN.PL',
  plečó/pléči/plečéj 'shoulder.NOM.SG/NOM.PL/GEN.PL',
  mudó/múdi/mudéj 'bollock.NOM.SG/NOM.PL/GEN.PL' (archaic; other plural forms are also attested)

The velar mutation shows the plural is exceptional (all of these are derived from former duals)

All these forms are expected in the *ĭ*-declension plural

Same for the two masculine nouns in (the palatalizing) -*i*-:

(17) *čʲórt/čérti/čertéj* 'devil.NOM.SG/NOM.PL/GEN.PL',
 soséd/sosédi/sosédej 'neighbor.NOM.SG/NOM.PL/GEN.PL'

No smc explanation would work for these, they are genuine exceptions

5. FINAL REMARKS

Russian exceptional plurals suggest an analysis in the terms of a declension-class change

Could be gender change, but for the nouns in section 4.2.2

However, **declension change feeds into gender change**

Could inquorate nouns in other languages involve declension change too?

Final remark: semantic gender:

(18) a.   le uova costano sessanta centesimi l'una/*l'uno   Acquaviva 2008:140
'the eggs.F.PL cost 60 cents each.F.SG/*each.M.SG'

b.   %volevo due uova, e me ne hanno data una
'I wanted two eggs.F.PL, and they have given.F.SG me one.F.SG'

c.   %volevo due uova, e me ne hanno dato uno
'I wanted two eggs.F.PL, and they have given.M.SG me one.M.SG'

(19) a.   *oko* 'eye.N.SG'/*oči* 'eyes.F.PL'   Serbo-Croatian (Marijana Marelj, p.c.)

b.   te   velike   oči
DEM.F.PL big.F.PL eyes.PL

c.   jedno   od   mojih   očiju
one.N.SG   from my.PL.GEN eyes.PL.GEN

Change in syntactic gender does not always entail a change in semantic gender!
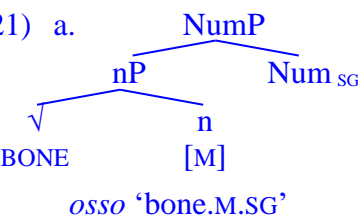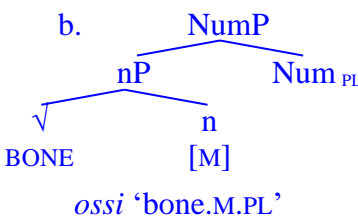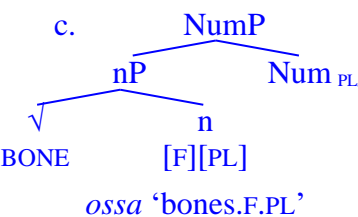
6.   A FEW MORE WORDS ON INQUORATE PLURALS

6.1.   Are these real plurals?

A syntactic solution: the gender-changing plural is actually a collective or corporate *plurale tantum* rather than a plural (cf. Acquaviva 2008 on Italian, Nilsson 2016 on Somali):

(20) a.   *osso* 'bone.M.SG' (singular)   Italian doublets
b.   *ossi* 'bone.M.PL' (plural)
c.   *ossa* 'bones.F.PL' (group)

Acquaviva 2008: gender-changing plurals are derived from the root rather than the stem:

(21) a.   NumP   b.   NumP   c.   NumP

nP   Num $_{SG}$ nP   Num $_{PL}$ nP   Num $_{PL/*SG}$

√   n   √   n   √   n
BONE   [M]   BONE   [M]   BONE   [F][PL]

osso 'bone.M.SG'   *ossi* 'bone.M.PL'   *ossa* 'bones.F.PL'

(20a,b) are the regular cases of plural formation, (20c) is a collective

There is no diacritic [+inquorate], there is just an independent plural noun (often with a regular doublet)

Important: collectives (aggregates or corporate nouns, like *group*) are not countable (see also Grimm 2012:160)

Acquaviva 2008: some inquorate plurals can be counted:

(22) a.   *braccio* 'arm.M.SG' ~ *bracci* 'arms [of objects].M.PL', *braccia* 'arms.F.PL'
b.   *la forza di venti braccia* 'the strength of 20 arms'

Italian also has *uovo* 'egg.M.SG' vs. *uova* 'egg.F.PL' (count noun), which Acquaviva 2008, 2009 treats as a *plurale tantum* with a count meaning
Question: are there any such *pluralia tantum* nouns without a singular counterpart?

6.2. How are plurals formed?

A morphological solution: plural formation involves **derivation** (Lecarme 2002), and the plural affix may introduce its own gender

Evidence: Somali gender polarity (as reflected in the definite article)

Singular: {k} for masculine nouns, {t} for feminine nouns

Plural (Lecarme 2002, Nilsson 2016 after Saeed 1999 and other Somali grammars):
- ➢ all nouns that take the article {t} in the singular take the article {k} in the plural
- ➢ most nouns that take the article {k} in the singular take the article {t} in the plural
- ➢ a small set of nouns take the article {k} irrespective of their number

Table 5: Somali feminine nouns with a masculine plural (from Nilsson 2016)

	F.SG.INDEF	**F.SG.DEF**	**M.PL.INDEF**	**M.PL.DEF**
'reason'	*sabab*	*sabab-**t**-a*	*sabab-o*	*sabab-a-**h**-a*
'knife'	*mindi*	*mindi-**d**-a*	*mindi-yo*	*mindi-ya-**h**-a*

Table 6: Somali masculine nouns with a feminine plural (from Nilsson 2016)

	M.SG.INDEF	**M.SG.DEF**	**F.PL.INDEF**	**F.PL.DEF**
'stool'	*gambar*	*gambar-**k**-a*	*gambar-ro*	*gambar-ra-**d**-a*
'wall'	*derbi*	*derbi-**g**-a*	*derbi-yo*	*derbi-ya-**d**-a*

Table 7: Somali masculine nouns with a masculine plural (from Nilsson 2016)

	M.SG.INDEF	**M.SG.DEF**	**M.PL.INDEF**	**M.PL.DEF**
'table'	*miis*	*miis-**k**-a*	*miis-as*	*miis-as-**k**-a*

Lecarme 2002: plural suffixes introduce their own gender:

(23) suffix *-Có*: apples to masculine nouns yielding feminine ones

    a.   ínan (-ka) → inam- mó (-á-da)
           son DEF_M   son   PL   DEF_F

    b.   qálin (-ka) → qálim- mó (-á-da)
           pencil DEF_M   pencil PL   DEF_F

(24) suffix *-ó*: yields masculine nouns

    a.   ílig (-ga) → ilk - ó (-á-ha)
           tooth DEF_M   tooth PL   DEF_M

    b.   náag   (-ta) → ilk -   ó (-á-ha)
           woman DEF_F   woman PL   DEF_M

The remaining plural suffixes are also deterministic:

> (i)   the purely prosodic plural suffix (applies to masculine nouns yielding the feminine stress pattern and agreement)
>
> (ii)   the *-áC* skeleton (applies to (monosyllabic) masculine nouns, no gender change)
>
> (iii)   the suffix *-yáal* (applies to masculine nouns ending in a vowel, the resultant gender depends on the dialect)
>
> (iv)   the suffix *-óyin* (applies to feminine nouns ending in a vowel, yields masculine)

Lecarme 2002: "whatever the gender of the singular is, the gender of the plural form can be safely predicted from the (type of) plural suffix"
Some facts are disputed by Nilsson 2016

6.3.   Room for doubt

Nilsson 2016: no inquorate plurals, it is al a misanalysis

Somali has no gender agreement in the plural, the article is a suffix on the noun and does not agree
The observed agreement variation comes from the fact that the relevant "plurals" are in fact collectives

The form of the plural article is predicted by the gender of the singular and syllabicity:
With a couple of exceptions for some high-frequency nouns and nouns "forming their plural by reduplication of a final /l/" (p.465, fn.8)
> ➢   feminine nouns take the article {t} in the singular and the article {k} in the plural
> ➢   monosyllabic masculine nouns take the article {k} irrespective of their number
> ➢   the remaining (masculine) nouns take the article {k} in the singular and the article {t} in the plural

No connection to particular exponents of the plural suffix

Why am I skeptical?
> ➢   the variable gender of *-yáal* suggests that Lecarme might be closer to the truth
> ➢   some of the nouns Nilsson claims to be collective seem to combine with cardinals

Translations and glosses from their respective sources:
The T-marking in (25d) is not due to a gender shift in the plural, cardinals 1-8 trigger T-agreement with all lexical nouns (Green 2021:232)

(25)   a.   *toddobá baabúur* 'seven trucks' (cf. *baabùur* M SG 'truck')   Saeed 1999:71

   b.   Baabuur-t-u   waa   ay   nooc-yo badan   yihiin.   Nilsson 2016:460
        car\F.COLL-DEF-SBJ DECL PRO.3 type-PL many   be.PRS.3PL
        There are cars of many types.

   c.   baabúur-k-a 'the car'   Nilsson 2016:461
        baabuur-rá-d-a 'the cars' (plural)
        baabuúr-t-a 'the cars' (collective)

   d.   labá-daás   baabuúr   w=ay   is=kú   dhec-∅-ee-n.   Green 2021:268
        two-T.those car   DEC=3PL   RRP=into   collide-3-PST-PL
        Those two cars collided with each other.

The same facts can be seen in Andrzejewski 1979:27:

(26) *líx aqál* 'six houses', cf. *áqal* (M.SG, declension III) 'a house'
       kónton áwr 'fifty he-camels'. cf. *àwr* (M.SG, declension II) 'a he-camel'

The form in (25a) is suggested by Saeed to be genitive singular (genitive is indicated by tone), but Nilsson 2019 says that contemporary Somali has no genitive case

More work is needed

7.   REFERENCES

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