Can number features be located on the nominalizing head \( n \)? If number being on \( n \) varies parametrically, and if number features can be on both \( n \) and \( \text{Num} \)\{ber\}, three types of languages are predicted: \( \text{(A)} \) number on \( \text{Num} \), \( \text{(B)} \) number on \( n \), \( \text{(C)} \) number on \( \text{Num} \) and \( n \). I present three Afroasiatic languages that instantiate the types: Northern Mao (Omotic) is Type A, Hausa (Chadic) is Type B and, building on Kramer 2009, 2012, Amharic (Semitic) is Type C. This provides evidence for number being on \( n \) and advances our understanding of number in several understudied languages.

I continue by investigating the predictions of this typology, focusing mostly on the claim that other categorizing heads could have number features as well. In particular, I take a close look at the (previously unanalyzed) morphosyntax of adjectival plural agreement in Amharic. I conclude from a variety of empirical diagnostics that adjectival plurality can be located on the adjectivalizing head or on an inflectional head in Amharic, similar to nominal plurality being on \( n \) or \( \text{Num} \). The talk concludes with some preliminary exploration of the predictions for pronominal number, and a quick run-through of some potential counterexamples to the typology.