3

NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY (NUMBER)

Nouns in Pondi constitute a large, open lexical class. They serve as the heads of noun phrases, which in turn may serve as grammatical subjects, direct objects of verbs, or objects of postpositions. These NPs may also contain determiners, adjectives, or numerals. Unlike verbs, nouns are not inflected in any way for tense, aspect, or mood. Nor do Pondi nouns exhibit grammatical gender or case. They are, however, marked for number. This chapter describes nominal number inflection in Pondi, covering the topic in some detail, since the morphology of nominal number is of particular interest to the study of languages of the Sepik area.

Whereas pronouns and determiners exhibit a three-way number distinction (singular vs dual vs plural), nouns exhibit a two-way number distinction. Interestingly, this is *not* a contrast between singular and non-singular (i.e. a category covering both dual and plural), but rather a contrast between plural and non-plural (i.e. a category covering both singular and dual). Similar typologically unusual nominal systems are present elsewhere in the region, for example in the Ramu language Chini (also known as Akrukay [afi, akru1241]) (Brooks 2016). This number feature may represent an areal feature, or it may reflect an old (inherited) nominal number system, perhaps in origin differentiating two categories: 'many' and 'not many'. Generally, for convenience, the glosses 'PL' (for 'plural') and 'NPL' (for 'non-plural') are used to refer to nominal morphology, but it should be kept in mind that 'PL' denotes a category that implies more than two referents and 'NPL' denotes a category that implies one or two referents.

There is no single, simple, agglutinative 'plural' or 'non-plural' morpheme; rather, Pondi nouns exhibit alternations between non-plural and plural forms that can be reduced to a number of classes (plus exceptions and suppletive forms). Some of the nouns in some of these classes appear to reflect semantic patterns, but I believe that these semantic patterns result from compounding rather than from a (lost) nominal gender (or noun class) system. Whether due to complex gender systems or not, the presence of irregular nominal number marking is an areal feature of the languages around the Sepik and Ramu rivers. Synchronically, at least, Pondi nouns do not constitute a noun class system, since they do not reflect any patterns of grammatical agreement (Corbett 1991). That is, although nouns can be grouped into categories based on formal (and in some instances semantic) similarities, these groupings do not represent any structurally coherent grammatical categories. Although adjectives also exhibit non-plural-vs-plural alternations, these are (as for nouns) lexically determined. Although adjectives agree with nouns in terms of number, they do *not* agree in terms of any sort of 'gender' or 'class' (i.e. the plural form of any given adjective is the same regardless of the form of the noun with which it agrees). Thus, in using the term 'class' to refer to sets of Pondi nouns I do not mean to suggest 'class' in the sense of grammatical gender—these 'classes' are, rather, convenient ways to group nouns together based on phonologically similar patterns of declension between non-plural and plural forms.

In the following sections I present my best attempt at sorting Pondi nouns into a relatively small set of classes, determined by shared patterns of phonological forms. These are mostly organised according to the phonological shape of the plural forms, since—roughly speaking—it is easier to predict a non-plural form given the associated plural form than vice versa. Often, it is the plural form that suggests what the earlier phonological shape of the stem of the noun must have been.

3.1 Plurals ending in *-al*

A relatively large number of nouns have plural forms ending in *-al*. A subset of these exhibit non-plural (or base) forms ending in *-s* (thus NPL: *-s*, PL: *-sal*), as in the following words (3.01).

(3.01)	non-plural	plural
'heart'	apmos	apmos**al**
'leg'	pis	pis**al**
'vine sp.'	imïngas	imïngas**al**
'breast'	kwas	kwas**al**

Many of these non-plural forms (such as *imïngas* 'betel pepper vine') may be (diachronically) analysable as containing the element *as* 'tail'. A number of these forms refer to long, thin entities, so it almost seems as though the form *-al* reflects a semantically determined class of long, thin nouns. The following words (3.02) further illustrate this pattern.

(3.02)	non-plural	plural
'tail'	as	as**al**
'bone'	kalwas	kalwas**al**
'tusk'	kïkïlas	kïkïlas**al**

However, there are many other Pondi nouns with plurals ending in *-al* that do *not* have non-plural forms ending in *-as* and do *not* encode particularly long or thin referents. Thus, it is more likely that these words ending in *-as* are simply compounds, containing the element *as* 'tail'.

The following words (3.03) exhibit the plural suffix *-al* following stems ending in /ï/ (phonetically [ə]). This vowel deletes before the following /a/ in the plural suffix.

(3.03)	non-plural	plural
'crocodile'	yuw**ï**	yuw**al**
'leaf'	pap**ï**	pap**al**
'coconut'	kiny**ï**	kiny**al**
'house'	kap**ï**	kap**al**
'banana tree'	n**ï**	n**al**

The word *saw* 'bamboo' forms its plural by affixing *-al* (i.e. *saw**al*** 'bamboo [PL]'); for the word *alaw* 'paddle', however, the /aw/ ending is replaced by [-al] in the plural (i.e. *al**al*** 'paddle [PL]').

There are also several irregular non-plural/plural nominal alternations that may profitably be categorised here, since their plural forms all end with *-al*. They include the following (3.04).

(3.04)	non-plural	plural
'back of hand'	ipa**t**	ipa**sal**
'eye'	ya**n**	yu**wal**

3.2 Plurals ending in *-ïl*

Perhaps related to the set of nouns with plurals ending in *-al* (its members at least bear a phonological resemblance) is a set of nouns whose plural forms end in *-ïl*. Although the high central vowel often serves an epenthetic function (breaking up illicit CCs), I do not believe that this explains the presence of this segment in the following plural forms, since it, in some instances, alternates with other vowels. That is, there are some vowel-final stems that lose their final vowels when the plural ending /ïl/ affixes to the stem; were this form to be underlyingly */l/, however, then we would expect the vowel of the stem to remain, so as to prevent the illicit consonant cluster.

In a subset of these nouns with plurals ending in *-ïl* we find non-plural forms (and, I assume, noun stems) that end in *-im* or *-ïm*, such as the following (3.05).

(3.05)	non-plural	plural
'sago shoot'	sim	sim**ïl**
'stinger'	lïm	lïm**ïl**

In another subset, the non-plural form reflects a final vowel not seen in the plural form, as in the following (3.06).

(3.06)	non-plural	plural
'liver'	imbanj**e**	imbanj**ïl**
'tongs'	mund**u**	mund**ïl**
'girl'	iy**e** (/ie/)	**il** (< /i-ïl/)

In a third subset, I assume the noun stems to end in /-nd/. Voiced stops are not allowed by Pondi's phonotactics, and so these appear as *-n* in the non-plural forms (i.e. the prenasalised stops are weakened to nasals). The plural forms reveal the full ending *-ndïl*, as in (3.07).

(3.07)	non-plural	plural	(stem)
'shoulder'	kamun	kamund**ïl**	(/kamund-/)
'ghost'	namban	nambandïl	(/namband-/)

One of several words for 'mother' seems to belong to this class, although it is more irregular, its stem seeming to alternate between *amalo-* in the non-plural and *amand-* in the plural, as seen in (3.08).

(3.08)	non-plural	plural
‘mother’	amalo	amand**ïl**

The word for ‘fat’ also seems related to this class (3.09): it has the ending *-njïl* (with an epenthetic *ï*).

(3.09)	non-plural	plural
‘fat’	sumam	sumam**ïnjïl**

3.3 Plurals ending in *-e*

One of the largest and most transparent classes of nouns comprises those with plurals ending in *-e*. In these nouns, there is little or no alternation among the non-plural forms—that is, the non-plural forms are identical to the nominal root, to which the plural suffix *-e* attaches. A number of these nouns have roots ending in *-n*, such as the following (3.10).

(3.10)	non-plural	plural
‘louse’	mon	mon**e**
‘snake’	kokun	kokun**e**
‘basket’	mban	mban**e**
‘string bag’	mandïn	mandïn**e**

At least two forms have stems ending in *-t* (3.11).

(3.11)	non-plural	plural
‘neck’	kut	kut**e**
‘top of foot’	pisapat	pisapat**e**

Some nouns form their plural with *-i* as opposed to *-e*. This latter suffix may be a phonologically conditioned allomorph of the former, since, in all instances of its occurrence, the nominal root ends in a labial (*m* or *p*), and there are no attested instances of a root ending in a labial that has the plural suffix *-e*. The following words (3.12) illustrate this allomorph.

(3.12)	non-plural	plural
‘fruit’	mom	mom**i**
‘canoe’	nïm	nïm**i**
‘nose’	kïp	kïp**i**
‘sternum’	ingip	ingip**i**

The labial-velar glide *w* also seems to condition this final high front vowel. The examples that reflect this, however, also exhibit irregularity between the non-plural and plural forms: either a /w/ of the plural form corresponds to [m] in the non-plural, as in 'boy', or a final /n/ of the non-plural is lost in the plural, as in 'vegetable sp. (TP *aibika*)' (3.13).

(3.13)	non-plural	plural
'boy'	kula**m**	kulaw**i**
'vegetable sp.'	kaw**n**	kaw**i**

These irregularities may be explainable, in part, by a non-productive singulative suffix **-m* (§3.10) and perhaps also a bygone singulative suffix **-n*.

A rather interesting subset of nouns with plurals ending in *-e* consists of non-plural forms that end in *-al*. This sequence [al] does not occur at all in the plural. This is interesting because the form /al/ is itself a fairly common nominal plural marker (§3.1). It is also typologically highly unusual for a non-plural form to be longer than its plural equivalent. Nouns of this pattern include the following (3.14).

(3.14)	non-plural	plural
'ear'	kïk**al**	kïk**e**
'navel'	nang**al**	nang**e**
'mouth'	s**al**	s**e**
'pig'	nam**al**	nam**e**
'thatch'	mang**al**	mang**e**
'palm flower'	lak**al**	lak**e**

Nouns such as these seem in some way to be treating *-al* as an inverse suffix, such as is found in the American language Kiowa (Wonderly et al. 1954, Corbett 2000:159). That is, the suffix is not functioning as a marker of plurality per se, but rather inverts whatever basic number meaning belongs to the stem. Although, semantically, this accords nicely with nouns like 'thatch' (which comes in many woven strands) or 'palm flower', since many occur together on the same palm, it seems unusual with nouns like 'navel' and 'mouth', for which we would imagine a non-plural default number reference. Another explanation could be that the plural forms originally contained /al/ but simply lost it (e.g. **nagal-e* 'navel [PL]'). One indication that this might be the case is the fact that the preceding [m] in *name* 'pig [PL]' fails to condition the plural allomorph [-i].

3.4 Plurals ending in *-se*

A number of nouns have plural forms that end in *-se* (3.15). In many of these the stem ends in /a/, which, in the non-plural forms may be reduced to [ï]. At least one form, however, (*yapiyapo* 'butterfly') ends in /o/. In one of the words for 'woman', *angwaliyï*, the stem ends in /i/; here, the non-plural form has an extra *-(y)ï*.

(3.15)	non-plural	plural
'knee'	kambama	kambama**se**
'old woman'	katmana	katmana**se**
'millipede'	kamuliyaka	kamuliyaka**se**
'dragonfly'	ayndana	ayndana**se**
'butterfly'	yapiyapo	yapiyapo**se**
'woman'	angwaliy**ï**	angwali**se**

Stems ending in *-m* exhibit the plural allomorph *-nje*, as in (3.16) (cf. §2.5.9).

(3.16)	non-plural	plural
'kidney'	simom	simom**nje**
'fly'	malam	malam**nje**

In some nouns, the non-plural form ends in *-i*, whereas the plural ends in *-se* (or *-si*). All of these have stems ending in *-l*, as in (3.17).

(3.17)	non-plural	plural
'armband'	mol**i**	mol**se**
'creek'	nïml**i**	nïmïl**se**
'net'	yuwal**i**	yuwal**si**

Note that the plural form of 'creek' has an epenthetic [ï] that breaks up the unwanted consonant cluster of /mls/. Also, the plural form of 'net' shows the allomorph [-si] (as opposed to [-se]). While this form seems mostly conditioned by preceding labials (cf. the examples in §3.3), it appears with some other forms as well.

In other cases, however, it seems that /i/ is actually part of the root, as it occurs both in the non-plural and in the plural forms, as in the word for 'small knife' (3.18).

(3.18)	non-plural	plural
'small knife'	kïtami	kïtami**si**

In yet other cases, we find [i] in the plural form, but *not* in the associated non-plural form. This could have arisen as a strengthening of an epenthetic **ï*. The nouns of this pattern all have labial-final stems. Interestingly, these labial consonants trigger the allomorphic form with high vowel *i* even though the /s/ of the suffix precedes this vowel. These forms include those in (3.19).

(3.19)	non-plural	plural
'fishing spear'	kulap	kulap**isi**
'throat'	lokom	lokom**isi**
'vulva'	inimp	inimb**isi**

Note that the underlying form /inimb/ 'vulva' is rendered [inimp] to fit Pondi's phonotactic constraint against word-final voiced stops.

Further variations within this noun class include non-plural/plural alternations of *-l* / *-se*, *-l* / *-ase*, *-lum* / *-se*, *-lam* / *-(w)ase*, *-one* / *-ase*, and *-li* / *-isi*, as seen in the following words (3.20).

(3.20)	non-plural	plural
'rat sp.'	kolwa**l**	kolwa**se**
'scale'	waw**l**	waw**ase**
'wildfowl'	kunaw**lum**	kunaw**se**
'frog sp.'	yawku**lam**	yawkuw**ase**
'frog sp.'	minjam**one**	minjam**ase**
'anus'	mïm**li**	mïm**isi**

As with *-al* (§3.1) and *-mo* / *-me* (§3.8), it is likely that the morpheme *-se* has emerged from compounding, in this case between the nominal root and the plural form of *njin* / *se* 'thing' (§3.11). If so, we might expect (on semantic grounds) that this group of nouns includes only inanimate referents (or, at least, only non-human) referents. However, words like *katmana* 'old woman' and *angwaliyï* 'woman', which belong to this class, contradict this assumption.

3.5 Plurals ending in *-ate*

Another set of nouns shows plurals ending in *-ate*. These include the words in (3.21).

(3.21)	non-plural	plural
'sago sp.'	mal	mal**ate**
'centipede'	kakal	kakal**ate**

A final vowel of the non-plural form may be lost in the plural, as in (3.22).

(3.22)	non-plural	plural
'lower leg'	pisangan**e**	pisangan**ate**
'axe'	sanglam**a**	sanglam**ate**
'feather'	awmbam**e**	awmbam**ate**

Variations of this class include non-plural/plural alternations of *-al* / *-ate*, *-ale* / *-late*, and *-akïn* / *-ate*, as shown in (3.23).

(3.23)	non-plural	plural
'head'	kam**al**	kam**ate**
'chicken'	kaw**al**	kaw**ate**
'shell'	kamb**ale**	kamb**late**
'grub sp.'	kïm**akïn**	kïm**ate**

3.6 Plurals ending in *-ange*

The set of nouns with plurals ending in *-ange* includes the following words (3.24). The non-plural forms all end with *ï*, which is lost in the plural.

(3.24)	non-plural	plural
'bandicoot'	al**ï**	al**ange**
'bow'	kwas**ï**	kwas**ange**
'woman'	am**wï**	am**ange**

The non-plural form for 'woman' seems, further, to have developed a labial-velar glide between the labial /m/ and final high central vowel.

There is also at least one plural form that appears to have derived from a weakening of this form, from **-ange* to *-ane* (3.25).

(3.25)	non-plural	plural
'fish'	kimb**e**	kimb**ane**

One frequently used word for 'mother' seems to have undergone further reduction in its plural form (that is, **-ange* > *-ane* > *-an*) (3.26).

(3.26)	non-plural	plural
'mother'	anungw**ï**	anungw**an**

Of course, alternative etymologies for the plural forms for 'mother' and 'fish' are also possible.

3.7 Plurals ending in *-une*

Some nouns have plurals ending in *-une*. In the following examples (3.27), I assume the root of '*garamut* drum' to be *numb-* (with devoicing of the stop articulation in the final /mb/ in the non-plural) and the root of 'palm sp.' to be *kondiyamb-* (with a complete loss of the stop articulation of the final /mb/ in the non-plural). Indeed, some speakers follow the same rule as seen in *kondiyam* 'palm sp.' in pronouncing *num(p)* '*garamut* drum' (that is, they pronounce it without any stop articulation at all).

(3.27)	non-plural	plural	(stem)
'*garamut* drum'	num(p)	numb**une**	(/numb-/)
'palm sp.'	kondiyam	kondiyamb**une**	(/kondiyamb-/)

3.8 Non-plural *-mo*, plural *-me*

There is a set of nouns that show an alternation between non-plural forms ending with *-mo* and plural forms ending with *-me*. Since the /m/ is found in both forms, these nouns could have been classified as exhibiting an alternation between *-o* and *-e* (and thus constituting a subset of nouns with plurals ending in *-e*, §3.3). I am, however, treating them separately, since I believe the forms *mo* / *me* to have a diachronic explanation. I believe that they have developed from a form meaning 'fruit'. Indeed, most of the nouns in this class refer to small, (mostly) round objects. (Actually, the shared semantic trait that is perhaps more robust among this set is that each referent belongs to a logical, generally naturally defined group: thus, although 'ribs' and 'bananas' are not particularly round, they both are found in natural groupings; this might also explain the inclusion of one word for 'man', i.e. 'man as member of

a family'.[1]) Thus, I take it that a form like **mo* (plural **me*) 'fruit' first developed into a sort of conjunct in compound nouns. The form then came to be generalised to include referents that are not necessarily small or round, but belong to natural groups or bunches. It should be noted, though, that these *-mo* nouns (along with all the other sets of nouns in the language) cannot be considered to constitute a grammatical gender, since there is no agreement with other parts of speech (cf. on the other hand, the grammatical category of number, which does show concord with adjectives). There are many nouns that belong to this category. Some of them include the following (3.28).

(3.28)	non-plural	plural
'tooth'	aw**mo**	aw**me**
'finger'	yaka**mo**	yaka**me**
'rib'	pal**mo**	pal**me**
'testicle'	tïndï**mo**	tïndï**me**
'betel nut'	ka**mo**	ka**me**
'banana'	minja**mo**	minja**me**
'arrow'	pe**mo**	pe**me**
'man'	inga**mo**	inga**me**

The word for 'egg' shows a slightly irregular plural in *-ne* (3.29).

(3.29)	non-plural	plural
'egg'	kwanji**mo**	kwanji**ne**

Synchronically, the word for 'fruit' (or 'seed') in Pondi is *mom*, plural *momi* (cf. Ulwa *mu* 'fruit, seed' and Mwakai *mu* 'vegetable(s)'.

3.9 Plural ending in *-mbe*

There is one noun that shows an ending in *-mbe* (3.30): a word for 'man' (that is, an adult male human, often referring to a spouse), which has a non-plural form ending in *-man* (or *-an* if we assume a plural derivation of *nïmbe* < **nïm-mbe*).

(3.30)	non-plural	plural
'man'	nï**man**	nï**mbe**

1 Indeed, *ingamo* 'man' almost certainly derives from proto-Keram **inga* 'affine, in-law'.

3.10 Non-plurals ending in *-m* (singulative suffix)

In addition to the various plural suffixes discussed in §3.1–9, there is evidence that Pondi once had a singulative suffix, inherited from proto-Keram, which is no longer productive in the language. In Pondi's closest relative, Mwakai, this singulative suffix *-m* is still visible, for example in the word 'shield', which has the plural form *para* and the non-plural form *param*. That is, the plural form is identical to the nominal root, whereas the non-plural form is created by addition of a suffix (*-m*). The Pondi nouns in question, however, are no longer so transparently analysable. It seems that the singulative function of *-m* has been lost, requiring of a base, as it were, to include a plural suffix when encoding plurality. This can be seen in the following nouns (3.31), in which the non-plural suffix *-m* alternates with the plural suffix *-al* (§3.1) (and the assumed underlying double vowel is shortened, §2.5.3).

(3.31)	non-plural	plural
'pandanus'	mïna**m**	mïna**l** (/mïna-al/)
'garden'	iwala**m**	iwala**l** (/iwala-al/)
'shield'	pala**m**	pala**l** (/pala-al/)

Note that the root /pala-/ 'shield' is cognate with Mwakai *para-* 'shield'.

Another group of Pondi nouns shows an even stranger alternation, one between *-m* in the non-plural and *-w* (or *-o*) in the plural. In seven of the nine classes mentioned so far (§3.3–9), the plural form ends with an *e* (allomorph *i*). In the other two classes (§3.1–2), the final phoneme of the plural form is *l*. Thus, these nouns are particularly unusual in that they have plural forms ending with *w* as the final segment (I assume here that the plural forms ending in [o] have /w/ as the underlying suffix, which, coalesces with the final /ï/ of the stem to yield [o]). They, too, seem to have their origins in a reanalysis of old singulative forms. They include the following (3.32).

(3.32)	non-plural	plural
'yam'	kusa**m**	kusa**w**
'sugarcane'	kanda**m**	kanda**w**
'tongue'	mïlï**m**	mïl**o** (< /mïlïw/?)
'ironwood tree'	yalï**m**	yal**o** (< /yalïw/?)
'jungle'	kisï**m**	kis**o** (< /kisïw/?)

For some of these nouns, the cognates in Mwakai are very instructive, since they maintain the singulative suffix *-m* more transparently, as in *kusim* 'yam [SG]' vs *kusi* 'yam [PL]' and *kisim* 'jungle [SG]' vs *kisi* 'jungle [PL]'. In Pondi, however, it seems that the plural forms of these nouns have come to be viewed as morphologically lacking, as it were, thus in need of some form of emphatic strengthening, in this case by means of the ending *-w*, otherwise unknown as a plural marker.

3.11 Suppletive forms

There are at least four nouns that show suppletive non-plural forms—that is, the roots for these non-plural forms are completely unrelated to and phonologically different from the roots found in their associated plural forms. I present these nouns in (3.33), along with what I believe the older (supplanted) non-plural forms might have been.

(3.33)

	non-plural	plural	older non-plural form?
'thing'	njin	se	*nji (proto-Keram)
'dog'	ndindi	meyo	*mem? (stem: *me-)
'tree'	njimoka	yame	*yamo? (stem: *yam-)
'bird'	njinulam	sewawi	?

The first of these words, 'thing', represents an alternation already present in proto-Keram: **nji* 'thing [NPL]'/**si* 'thing [PL]' (§1.7). The last of these words, 'bird', seems to reflect this same alternation and may thus be a compound (i.e. *njin-ulam* and *se-wawi*).

3.12 Additional remarks on nominal number

Although there is great diversity among plural forms, there are definitely some notable and significant patterns, foremost the frequency with which plural nouns end with a final *-e* or *-l*. Of 168 known plural noun forms in my lexicon, more than half end with *-e* and about a third end with *-l*. The 168 plural forms exhibit the following final segments (Table 3.1).

When we consider that [-i] is an allomorph of /-e/ and that [-o] is an allomorph of /-w/, then the breakdown looks as follows (Table 3.2).

Table 3.1. Final segments in Pondi nominal plurals.

Segment	Count	% of total
-e	91	54%
-l	55	33%
-i	13	8%
-w	4	2%
-o	4	2%
-n	1	1%
Total	168	100%

Table 3.2. Final segments in Pondi nominal plurals (grouped allomorphically).

Segment	Count	% of total
-e/-i	104	62%
-l	55	33%
-w/-o	8	5%
-n	1	1%
Total	168	100%

It is also notable that several Pondi nouns have plural forms that are phonologically shorter than their non-plural equivalents. These include several nouns that have non-plural forms ending in *-al* and plural forms ending in *-e* (i.e. the non-plural form has one segment more than the plural form). Thus, for example *lakal* 'palm flower [NPL]' is longer than *lake* 'palm flower [PL]'. Also—at least in terms of surface realisation—a few nouns with plurals ending in *-o* are longer in their non-plural inflections. Underlyingly, however, it may be that non-plural and plural forms have the same number of segments, only that the non-plural form receives an epenthetic vowel to break up an unwanted consonant cluster. For example, *mïlïm* 'tongue [NPL]' has more segments than *mïlo* 'tongue [PL]', but, if we assume there to be underlying forms of /mïl-m/ and /mïl-o/, then the difference of length exists only on the surface level. In addition, at least two nouns that exhibit suppletion have longer (suppletive) non-plural forms than their plural equivalents: *njinulam* 'bird [NPL]' (seven phonemes) vs *sewawi* 'bird [PL]' (six phonemes), and *njimoka* 'tree [NPL]' (six phonemes and three syllables) vs *yame* 'tree [PL]' (four phonemes and two syllables).

It should also be noted that the forms presented here almost certainly do not exhaust the diversity of Pondi nominal number morphology, considering the fact that I have gathered only a limited lexicon. Also, among adjectives, which are morphosyntactically very similar to nouns in Pondi, there are plural endings that have not been covered in the present chapter, namely *-we*, *-use*, and *-sime*, in addition to an apparent infix *-e-*, which is found in the word meaning 'bad' (§5.1.1).

Finally, although I have presented only one plural form for each noun, there is not always consistent usage among (or even within) speakers. This could reflect simple idiolectal differences, analogical levelling of irregular forms, or grammatical attrition caused by language shift. For example, some speakers give as the plural of *kut* 'neck' the form *kute* 'neck [PL]', whereas others give the form *kutïl* 'neck [PL]'. Also, it seems that some of the plural forms are being reanalysed as 'non-plural' (or 'unmarked'). For example, it is rare ever to encounter *kwas* 'breast [NPL]'. Rather, *kwas-al* 'breast-PL' is often used with singular/dual reference, and the form *kwas-al-e* 'breast-PL-PL' has been coined to replace the original plural form.

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