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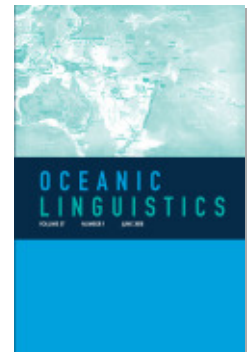
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This paper describes the range of strategies found in Äiwoo (a language of the Temotu subgroup of Oceanic) to mark a noun as having plural reference. Äiwoo lacks an inflectional plural, and most of the strategies typically used in Oceanic languages to indicate plurality, such as articles, reduplication, and number distinctions in demonstratives, are not found in the language. Nevertheless, Äiwoo shows a large number of strategies for marking plurality on nouns. The paper describes these strategies and their affinities with other structural aspects of the language, such as verbal pronominal marking and bound noun roots, and argues that several of their properties appear unusual both from a comparative Oceanic and a general typological perspective. Thus, it expands our understanding of what plural marking in Oceanic languages may look like, as well as adding to the typological picture of plural marking as a linguistic category and of the grammaticalization pathways through which plural forms can arise.

1. INTRODUCTION.[1] It is well known that there is considerable typological variation in the marking of plurality on nouns, in terms of obligatoriness vs. optionality of marking, which classes of nouns get marked for plural (for example, human-referring as opposed to nonhuman-referring nouns), which semantic distinctions are made (as "group" vs. "distributive" plurals), and the formal properties of plural marking (for example, inflectional plurals vs. independent plural words). This paper seeks to add to our knowledge of this variation in general, and of plural-marking strategies in Oceanic in particular, by examining the marking of number on nouns in Äiwoo. Äiwoo is an Oceanic language spoken in the Reef Islands in the easternmost province of Solomon Islands, classified as belonging to the Temotu subgroup of Oceanic (Ross and Næss 2007). The language has no inflectional plural on nouns, but nevertheless shows a wide variety of plural-marking strategies.

As the examples in (1) show, the general rule is that nouns in Äiwoo show general number, that is, the unmarked form of the noun has no number value, and is compatible with reference either to a single entity or to more than one (Corbett 2000:9–10):[2]

(1) a. **Sii**=kâ dâu-iâ=to, mo **nyikâu** lâ ku-wo-mä=to=wâ.
fish=DIST be.many-SUFF=CS CONJ stingray DIST IPFV-go-DIR:1=CS=DIST
'There were already a lot of fish, then a stingray approached.'

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    b. Eä **dowâlili** li-nubo=dä,   eä   **dowâlili wagi** i-nubo eopu
       CONJ child   3AUG-die=some   CONJ child   once PFV-die also
       nyigi gonyibä ilâ.
       one   poor.thing DIST
       'And children died, and a baby died too, poor thing.'

In (1a), the noun *sii* 'fish' is used with plural reference, as seen from the verb *dâu* 'be many', while *nyikâu* 'stingray' has singular reference. (1b) shows the same noun, *dowâlili* 'child' (modified by *wagi* 'once, one time' in the second occurrence to form an expression meaning 'baby') with plural reference in the first occurrence and singular reference in the second.

Most of the strategies typically used to mark number within the NP in Oceanic languages are not found in Äiwoo. There are no articles, and no number distinctions in adnominal demonstratives, as shown in (2).

(2) a. **Ipe enge** ilâ käsä ku-luwa-wâ nââ-mu.
      woman DEM.PROX DIST be.like IPFV-take.O-DIR:2 voice-2MIN
      'This woman will record your voice.'

   b. **De-enge** nâ-to-näbe.
      thing-DEM.PROX IRR-be-lined.up
      'These things should be in a line.'

Reduplication is occasionally found with verbs, and typically indicates a repeated or distributed event, but I have no attestations of reduplicated nouns.

This does not, however, mean that Äiwoo nouns cannot be explicitly marked as plural; in fact a range of different plural-marking strategies exist in the language. In this paper, I will present these strategies and discuss their formal and functional properties, both in light of number marking patterns known from other Oceanic languages and of the typology of number marking more generally.

The paper focuses on strategies to explicitly mark a noun as referring to more than one entity, by means of either morphology attaching directly to the noun, or the use of a pronoun arguably functioning as a grammaticalized plural word. Verbal number is only briefly touched upon (section 3), and I do not address lexical means of indicating quantity, such as numerals, quantifiers, quantity nouns (*a heap of, a lot of*), and so on; a variety of such means presumably exist in all languages, and Äiwoo is no exception, but they fall outside the scope of the current discussion. The bound noun *pe-* discussed in 4.4 may be considered a borderline case, given its status as a nominal root with apparent lexical meaning, but is included due to its prefix-like distribution and relatively general semantics.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 describes number marking in pronouns and pronominal argument markers on verbs, focusing on the structure of the overall paradigm and the status of the "unit-augmented" suffix *-le* within the system, and arguing that

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2. Nonstandard abbreviations used in glosses: AUG, augmented number; BN, bound noun; DIR, directional; MIN, minimal number; CS, change of state; CV, circumstantial voice; GEN, general possessive; HYP, hypothetical; SUFF, suffix (function unclear); UA, unit-augmented number; UV, suffix marking a complex verb stem as undergoer voice.

    Examples are given in the practical orthography currently used in work on the Äiwoo language. Most graphemes have predictable values; <ä> represents a front open vowel [æ], while <â> stands for a low, back, rounded or unrounded vowel [ɑ, ɒ]; <j> represents the affricate [dʒ].

the Äiwoo facts support the suggestion in Cysouw (2003, 2011) that "number" may be a different phenomenon with pronouns than with nouns. Section 3 touches briefly on number with verbs, with a focus on the role that number-marked verbs may play as modifiers within the noun phrase.

Section 4 describes the various strategies used to indicate plural on nouns. In 4.1 I briefly discuss the status of number as a category with nouns as opposed to pronouns, and the question of whether number should be understood as a morphosyntactic category in Äiwoo grammar. The various strategies are then described in turn: complex kinship terms that take plurals in *peliva(li)-* in 4.2; the structurally parallel, but marginal, form *geji-* in 4.3; the use of the bound noun *pe-* 'people' to form nouns referring to specific groups of human referents in 4.4; the use of the person suffixes *-gu-i* '3MIN-3AUG' to indicate plural of possessed nouns with 3MIN possessors in 4.5; the use of the 3AUG pronoun *(i)jii* to mark plurals of possessed nouns with non-3MIN possessors, and with O arguments of certain verbs, in 4.6; and the combination of the bound noun *mi-* 'the one which ...' and the 3AUG prefix *li-* to form plurals of certain human-referring nouns, notably those referring to ethnicity or profession, in 4.7. Section 5 then examines these strategies from a typological perspective, focusing first on their formal properties (5.1) and then on their function, particularly with reference to which classes of nouns can be pluralized using the different strategies (5.2). Finally, section 6 offers some concluding remarks on the diversity of "plurality" as a category in the grammar of Äiwoo, and in language in general.

2. PRONOMINAL NUMBER. The pronouns and pronominal person marking on verbs follow a so-called minimal-augmented pattern, which treats the category 'you and I' as a distinct person category which can be "pluralized" along the same lines as the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person. The terms "singular" and "plural" are unsuitable for such systems, as the 'you and I' category doesn't have a singular in the sense of a form referring to one person; the minimal number of people required to use such a form is two. Accordingly, the term "minimal" is used instead of "singular" for the forms referring to the minimal number of people included in the person category—that is, one for the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons, but two for the 1st+2nd person—and "augmented" is used instead of "plural" for the forms referring to more than the minimal number (McKay 1978).

The pronominal paradigm in Äiwoo includes a third number value, namely the so-called unit-augmented number, referring to minimal number plus one: 'I and another person' (1st person unit-augmented), 'you and I and another person' (1st+2nd person unit-augmented), 'you and another person' (2nd person unit-augmented), 'he/she and another person' (3rd person unit-augmented). This gives the paradigm laid out in table 1.

A couple of regularities are apparent from the forms in table 1. First, all the pronouns are formed from a stem *i-* or *iu-*, with additional endings. The 3MIN forms consist of the stem *i-* plus a deictic clitic *=Ce* 'proximal' or *=Câ* 'distal'; these clitics may also be added to the other pronouns (for example, *iu=nge* 'me here', *iumu=wâ* 'you there'), but the 3MIN pronoun cannot occur without them.

There are two possible analyses of the stem forms: either there are two independent stems, *iu* '1MIN' and *i* '3MIN', or the 1MIN is formed from the *i*-stem by the addition of the person suffix *-u* '1MIN'; both of these patterns are attested in possessive paradigms (cf. 4.5

TABLE 1. ÄIWOO INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

	Minimal	Unit-augmented	Augmented
1	iu 'I'	iungole 'I and another'	iungo(pu) 'I and several others'
1+2	iuji 'you and I'	iudele 'you and I and another'	iude 'you and I and several others'
2	iumu 'you'	imile 'you and another'	imi 'you and several others'
3	ine/inâ 'he, she, it' (PROX/DIST)	ijiile 'he/she and another'	ijii 'he/she and several others'

below). Whichever analysis is preferred, all other pronouns are formed by adding suffixes to the 1MIN form,[3] except for the 3rd person forms, which use the 3MIN stem. This system appears to be typologically somewhat unusual; Daniel (2005) lists 25 languages, of a sample of 260, where pronouns are formed by person-number affixes added to a stem.

The second pattern emerging from table 1 is that the unit-augmented number is indicated in all persons by a suffix -*le* added to the augmented form. This is reminiscent of the type of system known as "constructed number," where two or more markers with distinct number values combine to produce additional values, for example, combining a singular and a plural form to indicate dual number (Corbett 2000:169; Arka 2011).

However, the pattern found in person marking on verbs suggests that this is not a suitable analysis. Äiwoo shows two patterns of verbal person marking, one prefixing and one suffixing, corresponding to a distinction in actor-voice vs. undergoer-voice forms of verbs (Næss 2015a). Äiwoo lacks productive voice morphology, showing instead pairs of verb forms that I will refer to as "A-verbs" (actor voice) and "O-verbs" (undergoer voice), respectively. The distinction is illustrated in example (3), where (3a) has an A-verb and an actor prefix, whereas (3b) has an O-verb and an actor suffix; intransitive verbs pattern like A-verbs.

(3) a. Pe-sime-engâ   li-epave=to   sii=kâ.
       people-person-DEM.DIST   3AUG-cook.A=CS   fish=DIST
       'The people cooked fish.'

    b. Sii   lâ   ki-epavi-i=to=wâ.
       fish DIST   IPFV-cook.O-3AUG=CS=DIST
       'They cooked the fish.'

The person affixes are what Haspelmath (2013) calls pro-indexes; they generally do not appear if there is an independent nominal in the clause expressing the actor argument, as in the second clause of (4) where *mo* 'live, stay' lacks a person affix:

(4) Maa ki-te-kâ-mu   go   **ku-mo**   ngâ nuumä=ke iumu.
    if   IPFV-see.O-DIR:3-2MIN because   IPFV-stay   LOC village=PROX 2MIN
    'You should have seen it, because you are the one who stays in the village.'

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3. The 2nd person augmented *imi* appears to be an exception to this. One possible explanation might be that both 2nd person forms are in fact formed on the *i-* stem, and that the 2MIN form *iumu* [jum] arises from metathesis; this is a frequent occurrence with post-stressed [u]. However, this goes against the predominant pattern found elsewhere in the language, that is, in possessive paradigms, where 2nd person forms are generally formed from the 1MIN stem. Another possibility is that the difference has arisen as a way of keeping the forms distinct, as high vowels regularly elide in final unstressed position; thus, *iumu* and *iumi* would both typically be pronounced [jum]. The elicited form *iu-du-mi* 'you all' (*du* 'all') might be an argument in favor of the latter, as the stem here is *iu-* rather than *i-*.

The 3AUG prefix *li-/lu-* appears to be an exception to this (cf. [3a] above): this prefix also differs from the others in that it appears directly before the verb stem, following the aspect/mood prefixes *i-* 'realis perfective', *ki-/ku-* 'realis imperfective', and *nä-/nâ-* 'irrealis',[4] whereas the other person prefixes precede the aspect-mood prefixes. In addition, fortis reflexes of Proto-Oceanic (POC) *p/*pw are retained following *li-/lu-*, whereas elsewhere they are lenited to *v/w*, cf. *po* 'go' in (5) vs. *wo* in (9b). These distributional differences suggest that the 3AUG prefix is a remnant of an older system of person marking, whereas the other person prefixes are later innovations (Ross and Næss 2007:479). The forms of the person prefixes and suffixes are given in tables 2 and 3.

TABLE 2. ACTOR PREFIXES

	Minimal	Augmented
1	i-	me-
1+2	ji-	de-
2	mu-/mi-	mi-
3	Ø	li-/lu-

TABLE 3. ACTOR SUFFIXES

	Minimal	Augmented
1	-no, -nee	-ngo(pu)
1+2	-ji	-de
2	-mu	-mi
3	Ø, -gu	-i

As with the independent pronouns, unit-augmented number is marked on verbs by the suffix *-le,* typically in combination with an augmented-number affix. This holds regardless of whether the latter is a prefix or a suffix, as in (5), where the intransitive verb *wo* 'go' has the 3AUG prefix *lu-* and the unit-augmented suffix *-le*, whereas the O-verb *te* 'see' has the 3AUG suffix *-i* followed by the unit-augmented suffix *-le*; reference in both cases is to the same two participants:

(5) Lu-po-kä-le,   nyâ-nou nyigi i-te-kä-i-le   ki-ko.
    3AUG-go-DIR:3-UA tree-banana one   PFV-see.O.DIR:3-3AUG-UA IPFV-lie
    'They (2) went along, and they (2) saw a banana tree lying there.'

There are two arguments against analyzing this pattern as constructed number. First, in imperatives, *-le* appears without an augmented-number person marker, with the same semantic effect, that is, indicating reference to two addressees:

(6) a. Kä=nä **e-so-le**   ile   ngä   ny-enge.
       say=CV   PREF-stand-UA PROX LOC   place-DEM:PROX
       'He said, [you two] stand here.'

    b. Mo   kâ-no=ngä **vevaale-le** ngâ nuwopa to-de.
       CONJ say-1MIN=CV look.after-UA LOC house   POSS:LOC-1+2AUG
       'So I said, [you two] look after our house.'

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4. The alternant forms are phonetically conditioned.

Second, it is possible for *-le* to indicate unit-augmented number of the undergoer rather than the actor argument, even when the verb carries no undergoer person/number affix. Only for certain combinations of person and number can an actor suffix combine with a suffix marking person and number of the undergoer; this is the case for 1MIN actor in combination with a 2nd person undergoer (7a; note that in this case the 1MIN suffix is *-nee* rather than the usual *-no*, cf. table 3) and for 3MIN actor in combination with non-3MIN undergoer (7b,c). When the undergoer is anything other than 3MIN, the 3MIN actor suffix is *-gu*, a form that will be further discussed in 4.5; it is likely that this suffix has been reanalyzed from an original 1MIN form, cf. POC *-gu '1SG' and the fact that, when no undergoer is overtly indicated, *-gu* specifically indicates a 3MIN actor acting on a 1MIN undergoer (7c). In all cases other than 1MIN actor/2nd person undergoer or 3MIN actor/non-3MIN undergoer, an undergoer argument is indicated by an independent pronoun or noun phrase rather than by a suffix (7d).

(7) a. I-togulo-nee-mi-le.
         PFV-hit.O-1MIN-2MIN-UA
         'I hit you two.'

     b. I-togulo-gu-i.
         PFV-hit.O-3MIN-3AUG
         'S/he hit them.'

     c. I-togulo-gu.
         PFV-hit.O-3MIN
         'S/he hit me.'

     d. I-togulo-mi-le   iu.
         PFV-hit.O-2MIN-UA   1MIN
         'You two hit me.'

As (7a) shows, *-le* can refer to the undergoer rather than the actor; in this example, however, *-le* combines with an undergoer suffix. Now consider example (8), taken from a text in which four brothers have each set off to go fishing and got lost at sea; their parents are lamenting the loss. In *kângolenä* 'we thought', *-le* clearly indicates the number of the speaker/actor, that is, the parents. However, on *tu* 'bring', *-le* cannot be referring to the actor argument, the brothers, because there are four of them; cf. the absence of *-le* on the verb in the preceding clause (*lipodutowâ* 'they have all gone'). Rather, it must be interpreted as indexing the number of the parents, the undergoer argument, cf. the following undergoer pronoun *ingole* 'us two':

(8) Pelivali-si-mu   mi-li-elââ   lâ   li-po-du=to=wâ.
     PL-same.sex.sibling-2MIN BN-3AUG-be.big.PL DIST 3AUG-go-all=CS=DIST
     Kâ-ngo-le=nä   maa   **nâ-tu-kä-i-le=naa**   ingo-le ngâ numobâ.
     say-1AUG-UA=CV HYP   IRR-bring.O-DIR:3-3AUG-UA=FUT 1AUG-UA LOC   hole
     'Your big brothers have all gone. We (2) thought they (PL) would take us (2) to the grave.'

Thus, two distinct cases show that the unit-augmented number is not a constructed number in Äiwoo: it can appear without a coreferent augmented-number affix in imperatives, and in cases where it refers to the number of the undergoer rather than the actor of

the verb. Rather, the distinctive distribution of -*le* stems from the fact that it is the only dedicated number marker in a system that otherwise marks person and number together. All other affixes in the system mark a combination of person and number; -*le* marks number only. When marking actor number in nonimperative clauses, -*le* necessarily appears in combination with person/number marker, as there are no forms marking person only; the fact that this must be an augmented rather than a minimal marker may be a matter of semantic compatibility.

This pattern is compatible with the analysis of pronominal number proposed by Cysouw (2003, 2011), who argues that "plural" forms in person-marking systems are semantically different from nominal plurals, in that, for example, the "1st person plural" does not usually refer to a plurality of speakers, but to a group of people that includes the speaker. It is also rare for pronominal paradigms to show morphologically segmentable plural marking, in the sense of plural pronouns being formed from singular ones by means of a plural morpheme, whereas this is, of course, very common with nouns. By contrast, dual pronouns are frequently formed by means of a dual suffix. On this analysis, in the domain of person marking, "dual" is a number but "plural" is not; rather, the forms traditionally referred to as plurals indicate different types of groups defined by the nature of their members: 1+2 (speaker+hearer), 1+2+3 (speaker+hearer+other), and so on. Translated into the minimal-augmented pattern found in Äiwoo pronominal forms, we see that the unit-augmented ("dual") is indeed indicated by a dedicated number marker, whereas all other values are expressed by morphemes indicating person and, where reference to more than one is involved, the composition of the group. It may also be noted that Äiwoo's closest relatives, the Engdewu and Natügu languages of Santa Cruz Island, show minimal-augmented pronoun systems but no unit-augmented number (van den Berg and Boerger 2011:230, Vaa 2013:195), suggesting that the unit-augmented suffix may be an innovation in Äiwoo.

3. A NOTE ON VERBAL NUMBER. The main locus of number marking in Äiwoo is the verb. As described above, actor number is usually marked by pronominal affixes on the verb, and a number of verbs have suppletive plural forms: for example, *laki* ~ *lili* 'be small SG ~ PL', *eolo* ~ *eolââ* 'be big SG ~ PL', and a number of verbs translating into English as 'put' and referring to the placing of objects in various positions.

As the focus of this paper is on number marking with nouns, I will not go into detail on the various ways in which number can be indicated within the verb complex; strategies for marking verbal number, in the sense of indicating that the verb refers to a plurality of events, will not be discussed. It may be noted, however, that verbs are frequently used as modifiers of nouns, either in their unchanged verbal form or with the bound noun *mi-* 'the one which ...'. One way of indicating plurality of a noun within the noun phrase is, thus, through modification by a number-marked verb:

> (9) a. Ku-wagu-kä go sigiwâu **mi-ku-lu-mo** ngä sapulâu.
>   IPFV-say-DIR:3   to   young.man   BN-IPFV-3AUG-stay   LOC   men's.house
>   'He tells it to the young men living in the single men's house.'

b. Nyinââ lâ   ku-wo-ute-mä=to=wâ,   nyinââ **mi-elââ**.
    wave   DIST IPFV-go-again-DIR:1=CS=DIST   wave   BN-be.big.PL

'The waves came again, big waves.'

4. NUMBER ON NOUNS

4.1 THE STATUS OF NOMINAL NUMBER. As discussed above, a case can be made for "number" being a different category with pronouns and with nouns. In Äiwoo, the number-marking strategies to be discussed below differ from the pattern found with pronouns in that they only distinguish between singular and plural, that is, one referent vs. more than one; dual is attested as a facultative number with one marking strategy, but this is likely due to the fact that this strategy involves pronominal markers (-*gu* '3MIN', -*i* '3AUG', and optional -*le* 'UA'; see 4.5).

As noted in section 3, number of nominal referents is most commonly marked on the verb in Äiwoo. The question of whether or not this constitutes number agreement, that is, whether number in Äiwoo should be considered a morphosyntactic feature (Kibort 2010; Corbett 2012:49–50), is complicated by the status of pronominal markers on verbs, as mentioned briefly in section 2 above. Most pronominal markers function as pro-indexes, meaning that they do not cooccur with a coreferent nominal or independent pronominal argument within the same clause (what Haspelmath [2013] calls a *conominal,* cf. example [4] above); in other words, no agreement is involved in these cases, as there is nothing within the clause for the marker on the verb to agree with. However, as noted above, the 3AUG prefix *li-/lu-* appears to be an exception to this, and so cases like (3a) and (9a) might be considered a case of morphosyntactic number marking in that a plural-referring noun requires a 3AUG marker on the verb. It must be noted, however, that this is only the case for the 3AUG *prefix*; the 3AUG person suffix found on O-verbs patterns like the other person markers, and does not occur with a conominal, as seen with *ngä* 'eat' in (10a). The same is the case for possessive classifiers, which take the same suffixes as those found on O-verbs (see 4.5 below for a discussion of the status of 3MIN -*gu* with possessive classifiers) to indicate the person/number of the possessor. Here, too, 3AUG -*i* is omitted when a conominal is present, as (10b) shows.

(10) a. Ki-lâbu-woli-i   mo   ki-ngä   pe-sime=kâ.
        IPFV-cut.O-go.down-3AUG CONJ IPFV-eat.O people-person=DIST

'They cut up [the shark meat] for people to eat.'

b. nye-no-i,   nye-no   pe-sigiläi
    place-POSS:GEN-3AUG   place-POSS:GEN   people-man

'their place, the men's place'

One other attested case of apparent plural agreement involves the suffix sequence -*gu-i* '3MIN-3AUG', discussed in 4.5 below, appearing not on the plural-referring noun itself, but on what appears to be a prenominal modifier, *nyibengä* 'huge'. Only two such prenominal modifiers are attested in my material (the other is *nuwola* 'old'); in general, modifiers in the NP follow the head. The appearance of -*gu-i* on *nyibengä* in example (11) may be taken as an indication that these forms are originally nouns, cf., for example, the single

adjective *kali* 'small' in Toqabaqita, which is thought to originate in a noun meaning 'child, offspring' (Lichtenberk 2005).

(11) De-enge   **nyibengä-gu-i-le** sigiwâu   mi-däjelâ.
      thing-DEM:PROX huge-3MIN-3AUG-UA young.man BN-something
      'These two young men are as big as anything.'

It is unclear, however, whether this should be considered a case of agreement or simply an indication that the analysis of *nyibengä* and *nuwola* as prenominal modifiers is incorrect, and that *nyibengä* is, in fact, the head of this construction; cf. the tendency for Oceanic languages to show what Ross (1998) calls "possessive-like attribute constructions" where the attribute is the head and the noun the modifier. That *nyibengä* has possessive-like properties is indicated by its occurrence with *-gu-i*, which only appears on possessive-marked nouns (cf. 4.5 below).

There is, then, some evidence of number functioning as a morphosyntactic feature in Äiwoo grammar, in that certain forms show agreement with a semantically plural noun; the suppletive plural verb forms mentioned in section 3 are another example of this. Number agreement is, however, a fairly restricted phenomenon in Äiwoo grammar; in general, modifiers of nouns do not show number agreement, and of the bound pronominal markers, only the 3AUG prefix agrees with a conominal in the same clause. When it does occur, agreement is with the semantic number of the noun, as seen in, for example, (1b) and (9); that is, 3AUG marking on the verb appears with nouns that are semantically plural, regardless of whether or not they also carry morphological plural marking.

4.2 KINSHIP TERMS IN *peliva(li)-*. The majority of kinship terms in Äiwoo are formed by adding the bound noun roots *gi-* 'man' and *si-* 'woman' (in one attested instance, *meego* 'relative', also *me-* 'person') to another root: for example, *gite* 'man's brother' ~ *site* 'woman's sister', *gibo* 'nephew, grandson' ~ *sibo* 'niece, granddaughter', *gipiä* 'man's brother-in-law' ~ *sipiä* 'woman's sister-in-law', and so on. The second root, that is, the one specifying the relationship as opposed to the sex of the relative, is obligatorily marked for person of the possessor; the forms just listed are the 3MIN forms. (For comparison, the corresponding 1MIN forms are *gisi/sisi* 'my brother/sister', *gibu/subu* 'my nephew/niece/grandson/granddaughter', *gipio/sipio* 'my brother-in-law/sister-in-law'.)

These kinship terms are pluralized by replacing the initial bound root with the plural form *peliva(li)-; ibete* '(his/her) friend', which does not appear to be formed with an initial bound noun, similarly has the plural form *pelivalibete*. The attested forms are listed in table 4. Kinship terms that do not have this morphological structure, such as *tumwä* 'father' and *isä* 'mother', do not allow this plural strategy; see 4.5–4.6 below.

The use of the plural forms in table 4 appears to be largely obligatory if the referent is plural (though cf. 4.6 below). This sets this plural strategy apart from the others to be discussed below, which are optional.

A pertinent question both for understanding the properties of this construction in Äiwoo, and for the comparative Oceanic picture, is where the form *peliva(li)-* comes from. Most forms of three or four syllables in Äiwoo are complex at least from a historical perspective (cf., for example, the process of "truncation" described in Ross and Næss 2007:465–66). As will be discussed in more detail below, the forms *pe-* and *li-* are both

TABLE 4. KINSHIP NOUNS PLURALIZED BY *peliva(li)-*

Singular	Plural
gino 'his/her son'	pelivano 'his/her children (male or female)'
ibete 'his/her friend'	pelivalibete 'his/her friends'
gite 'his brother', site 'her sister'	pelivalite 'his brothers, her sisters'
siwe 'his sister'	pelivaluwe 'his sisters'
ginuwe 'her brother'	peluwe or pelivaluwe 'her brothers'†
giängä 'his/her maternal uncle'	pelivaliängä 'his/her uncles'
gibo 'his/her nephew/ grandson' sibo 'his/her niece/granddaughter'	pelivalibo 'his/her nephews/nieces/ grandchildren'
gipiä 'his brother-in-law', sipiä 'her sister-in-law'	pelivalipiä 'his brothers-in-law, her sisters-in-law'
meego 'his/her relative, family member'	pelivaago 'his/her relatives, family members'

†   The alternation *n ~ l* (-*nuwe* ~ -*luwe*) occurs in a small number of lexical items either in free variation or in specific morphological constructions.

involved in plural (or augmented) marking elsewhere in the language (see table 2 and 4.4 below), and they may cooccur in this order (for example, *pe-lu-woo* 'Reef Islanders', cf. *Nyi-woo* 'Reef Islands', *nyi-* 'place'); thus, they are plausible sources for the first part of the form. There are no attested synchronic forms that may be related to *va(li)-*. However, a number of Oceanic languages use reflexes of POC *paRi to form plurals of certain kinship terms. *paRi is often referred to as a reciprocal prefix, though Pawley (1973:152) describes it as having denoted "combined or repeated action by a plurality of actors, or affecting a plurality of entities". Reflexes of *paRi in plural forms of kinship terms are found in languages such as Fijian (Dixon 1988:176–77), Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2008:869), and Tigak and East Futunan (Lichtenberk 2000:46). Example (12) is from Vitu of West New Britain, where the prefix *vari-*, otherwise used to form reciprocals of transitive verbs, forms plurals of the two kinship nouns shown in the examples (in combination with a suffix -C*i*):

(12)   VITU
          vari-tazi-ni 'brothers; sisters'   tazi 'same-sex sibling'
          vari-go-ni 'a married couple'   go 'spouse'
                                                        (van den Berg and Bachet 2006:30)

I hypothesize that *va(li)-* in the Äiwoo plural forms similarly reflects *paRi. Phonologically, it is a plausible reflex, and the kinship terms that take *peliva(li)-* can at least to some extent be related to those found with reflexes of *paRi in other Oceanic languages; for example, the 'same-sex sibling' root *-te* (*gite* 'man's brother', *site* 'woman's sister)' is cognate with Vitu *tazi* (<POC *taci) in (9a). There is, however, no similar reflex with a reciprocal function in the present-day language,[5] so the plural form would be the only remnant of *paRi in Äiwoo. Semantically, an analysis of *pe-li-vali-X* as 'people who are X to each other' appears plausible in principle. Of the forms in table 4, only the 'same-sex sibling' forms in *-te* actually represent a reciprocal kinship relation; however, in Fijian, for example, the *vei*-construction does not necessarily denote a reciprocal relation, so that *vei-tama-ni*, from *tama-* 'father', can mean either 'father and [one or more] children' or 'child and (classificatory) fathers' (Dixon 1988:176).

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5. It is possible that certain intransitive verbs in *ve-*, such as *vetängä* 'destroy, be destructive', reflect the "depatientive" function of *paRi (Lichtenberk 2000:42).

On this analysis, the Äiwoo construction nevertheless differs from the other Oceanic languages mentioned above in that *peliva(li)-* replaces the first part of a complex stem rather than simply being added to the kinship nouns as a whole; moreover, the prefix itself is more complex than those simply reflecting *paRi in other Oceanic languages, having added what appears to be a bound noun and a 3AUG prefix. From a morphological perspective, this construction seems to function as a type of suppletion,[6] where a form with singular reference is replaced by a different, unrelated form with plural reference. It remains unusual in that both the suppletion affects only part of a complex stem, and the plural alternant is morphologically complex while the singular is not. The part of the kinship terms that does not alternate (like *-te* 'same-sex sibling', *-pio* 'sibling-in-law', and so on) appears to function as a bound root that must necessarily be compounded with another nominal item; this is a pattern also found with certain other noun roots in the language (Næss 2006, 2017). From this perspective, the complexity of the plural form may find a partial explanation in that the reflex of *paRi is not in itself nominal, and so *pe-*, a bound noun, serves to form a nominal expression with appropriate semantics that can fill the relevant slot in the complex stem.

A rather similar example from Russian is cited by Corbett (2007: 28), where *syn* 'son' in the expression *sukin syn* 'son of a bitch' is pluralized not by replacing the singular *syn* with its corresponding plural form *synovja* 'sons', but rather with *det'i* 'children'. Here, as in Äiwoo, there is a specific construction that requires a particular suppletive form of one of the components in the plural; and this suppletive form neutralizes the gender distinction present in the singular.

4.3 *Geji-* AND RELATED FORMS. For the sake of completeness, it should be noted that a single exception is attested to the generalization that kinship nouns in *gi-/si-* have plural forms in *peliva(li)-* , namely *siväle* 'wife', which has the plural form *gejiväle* 'wives'. No plural form is attested for the parallel male-referring form *giäle* 'husband', presumably because while, historically, it was common for a man to have several wives, women did not have more than one husband.

An apparent parallel exists in the form *gejibe* 'old women', cf. *penyibe* 'old man' and *be* 'be mature, be adult', and a single instance of *geji* used with a place name to mean 'women of X place', parallel to, for example, *pe-Nukapu* 'people from Nukapu' in (13b) below, is attested (*geji Nyiväle* 'the women of Nyiväle village'). It is possible that the pejorative form *gepe* 'old woman, old hag' is morphologically related: cf. *sipe* 'daughter'. These forms are all infrequent, and no further analysis can be offered at this stage.

4.4 OTHER HUMAN NOUNS: GROUP PLURAL IN *pe-*. The distribution and referential properties of the bound morpheme *pe-* are complex. It has properties in common with the bound nouns *gi-*, *si-*, *me-*, and *mi-* discussed above (section 3 and 4.2), in that it combines with elements of various types to form nominal expressions, and arguably has a lexical meaning; I gloss it as 'people' for reasons to be discussed further below. However, it differs somewhat in distribution from the other bound nouns in that the latter mostly occur with verbal expressions and, in the case of *gi-* and *si-*, with other bound

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6. I thank Grev Corbett for this suggestion.

roots referring to kinship relations; *pe-*, on the other hand, occurs most frequently with nouns and various types of locative expressions.

With locative expressions, such as place names and prepositional phrases with the locative preposition *ngä, pe-* functions to derive forms referring to a person or people coming from or belonging to that place:

(13) a. Ku-wagu-kä　go　**pe-ngâ**　**nuumä**.
　　　　IPFV-speak-DIR:3　to　people-LOC　village
　　　　'He speaks to the people in the village.'

　　　b. Lu-po-to-mä=to　　　Nukapu　mo　lâ　　ku-lu-mo=to
　　　　3AUG-go-go.in-DIR:1=CS　Nukapu　CONJ　DIST　IPFV-3AUG-stay=CS

　　　　mo　　**pe-Nukapu**=kâ.
　　　　with　people-Nukapu=DIST
　　　　'They went ashore at Nukapu and stayed with the Nukapu people.'

This function of *pe-* is parallel to that found in the Santa Cruz languages for the bound morphemes *le-* in Engdewu and *lö-* in Natügu. Vaa (2013:179) glosses *le-* as 'human collective' and gives the examples *leneḻya* 'people of the village' (*neḻya* 'village'), *lepela* 'people, humans', *ledö* 'people from Nedö [Santa Cruz]'.[7] Boerger (n.d.) describes *lö-* as meaning 'people belonging to the place or group X', and notes that it necessarily has plural reference; if a single person is referred to, the expression with *lö-* appears as a modifier to another noun:

(14)　NATÜGU
　　　a. doa　　lö　　Nea　　　　b. olvë　　lö　　mö=ka
　　　　person　from[8]　PN　　　　　woman　from　place=DEM3
　　　　'a Nea villager'　　　　　　'a woman from here'　　　　(Boerger n.d.)

In Äiwoo, by far the most common situation is for *pe-*+locative to refer to a group of people, as in Natügu, cf. (13). However, it is possible for such expressions to refer to a single individual, as in (15), where *nyigi* 'one' modifies *peNyiba* 'Nupani inhabitant':

(15) Dä　nyimona=nâ　mo　　**pe-Nyiba**　　i-ää-mä　　　　　mo
　　　some　time=DIST　　CONJ　people-Nupani　PFV-paddle.up-DIR:1　with

　　　tumwä　　**nyigi.**
　　　father.3MIN　one
　　　'One day, a man from Nupani Island[9] came paddling here with his father.'

For the present paper, the relevant property of *pe-* is that it frequently combines with human-referring nouns, and the resulting form has plural reference:

(16) a. **Pe-sibiliwââlili**　ilâ=kâ　　ki-li-epave-mä=kaa　　　de-ki-li-ngä.
　　　　people-young.girl　　DIST=DIST　IPFV-3AUG-cook.A-DIR:1=FUT　thing-IPFV-3AUG-eat.O
　　　　'The young girls will cook food.'

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7. Interestingly, when Äiwoo *pe-* is used with the place name *Nede* 'Santa Cruz', the resulting form is *pe-lede* 'Santa Cruz people'. I have this pattern attested for one other place name: *Nenubo* 'name of a village' – *pelenubo* 'people from Nenubo'.
8. Boerger glosses *lö* 'ITE' as in *Israel-ite,* etc.; I have replaced this gloss with the more reader-friendly 'from' here.
9. On maps of the area, island names are generally in the Vaeakau-Taumako language, the Polynesian Outlier spoken in the Outer Reef Islands. Nupani is the most remote of the Outer Reef Islands and is populated by Vaeakau-Taumako speakers; Nyiba is its Äiwoo name.

b. Nyâgovä dâu   mana=to, mo ilâ deu=kâ,   ku-wee
   disease   be.many very=CS   CONJ DIST before=DIST IPFV-go.up
mana ngâgo **pe-sime**=kâ   tepele.
   very   to   people-person=DIST diarrhea
'There are many diseases, but in the old days, one that afflicted a lot
of people was diarrhea.'

c. Ngaa maa päko=kâ Form Seven nâ-to-eopu le   Nyiwoo=ke,
   so   HYP   good=DIST Form Seven IRR-be-also   PROX Reef.Islands=PROX
käsä   **pe-dowâlili** nä-li-skul   le   Nyiwoo=ke.
   be.like people-child   IRR-3AUG-school PROX Reef.Islands=PROX
'It would be good if we had Form Seven, too, here in the Reef
Islands, so the children could go to school here in the Reefs.'

The following nouns are attested with plurals in *pe-*: *dowâlili* 'child', *penyibe* 'adult,
elder',[10] *sibiliwââlili* 'young girl', *sigiläi* 'man', *sigivaalili* 'young boy', *sigiwâu* 'young
man', *sime* 'person, human being', *singedâ* 'woman'. It appears to be productive in that it
can also appear with human-referring loanwords, as in (17):

(17) Ku-luwa-kä-i   ngâgo doctor, ngâgo **pe-nurse**, lâto
     IPFV-take.O-DIR:3-3AUG   to   doctor   to   people-nurse then
ki-li-nu=kâ.
     IPFV-3AUG-drink.A=DIST
'They take them to the doctor, to the nurses, and they take (medicine).'

If *pe-* is a noun, does it pattern like other nouns in being unspecified for number, as in
example (1), or does it specifically refer to a group of people, parallel to *lö-* in Natügu? In
other words, does *pe-* in (16) and (17) actually form plural forms of the nouns it attaches
to, or do these forms show general number, just like unmarked nouns in the language?

All available evidence points to a plural reading. In the few attested cases where *pe+N*
does not have clearly plural reference, it functions as a predicate:

(18) a. I-wowaa-kä-gu-i   li-lilu,   **pe-sikumâpolâ** nyigi
     PFV-marry.O-DIR:3-3MIN-3AUG 3AUG-two people-ogre   one
ä   **ba pe-sikumâpolâ=gu** nyigi.
     CONJ NEG people-ogre=NEG   one
'He married two (women); one was an ogre (i.e., a member of the
group of ogres) and one was not an ogre.'

b. **Mi-pe-neve** ibe   ee   lâto i-doo=wâ
     BN-people-bone old.man DEM:PROX thus   PFV-like.that=DIST
i-te-bäle-usi-väkâ-mu   ee?
     PFV-see.O-maybe-also-a.bit-2MIN INTJ
'The one from Malaita [lit. the one who is of the bone people], that
man, have you seen anything of him?'

Pe-neve 'bone people' is a term used for people from Malaita, who are thought to prac-
tice sorcery; *mi-* is the bound noun also mentioned in section 2, meaning 'the one

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10. My corpus has only a single example of this, and *penyibe* has a frequent use as a predicate
    meaning 'be mature, be an adult'; it is possible that this is the basis for the *pe-* form.

(who…)'. *Peneve* here functions as a predicate of which *mi-* is an argument: 'the one who belongs to the bone people'.

In cases where *pe*+N has a referential rather than a predicating function, it is incompatible with *nyigi* 'one'; thus, a noun phrase **pe-sigiläi nyigi* 'one man' is ungrammatical, though the same form could be interpreted as a clause meaning 'one was a man', parallel to (18a) above.

This clearly distinguishes the use of *pe-* with nouns from that with locative expressions, which were shown in (15) to be able to cooccur with *nyigi* 'one' and have singular reference.

The best way to explain this difference seems to be to assume that, like *lö-* in Natügu, *pe-* basically refers to a group of people; but it can be used predicatively to assign individuals to a group, as in (18). The locative expressions can in turn be used referentially to indicate 'person who is a member of group X', which in principle is in keeping with the idea that nouns in Äiwoo show general number. Although the structure is different, this is functionally parallel to Natügu constructions like those in (14), where the expression with *lö-* is used as a modifier to a singular-referring noun, in the sense of 'person who is a member of group X'. In Äiwoo, as opposed to in Natügu, a locative expression with *pe-* can have this reading on its own. However, the 'single individual' reading is not available for *pe*+noun, presumably because the unmarked noun already has this reading to begin with. That is, one way of describing the meaning of, for example, *dowâlili* 'child' would be as 'individual who is a member of the group of children' (cf. the treatment of nouns as predicates in type-theoretical semantics, as discussed, for example, in de Hoop 2011), while this is not a possible reading for the prepositional phrase *ngâ nuumä* 'in the village' or the place name *Nyiba*, which refer to locations. Thus, adding *pe-* to the latter two gives a form meaning 'people who are from <location>', which may also be used for an individual belonging to this group; but the individual reading is blocked for *pe-dowâlili* 'people who are children' because it is the meaning of the unmarked form.

Unlike the *peliva(li)-* forms of kinship terms, described in 4.2 above, the use of *pe-* is not obligatory on a human-referring noun with plural reference, and, in fact, is relatively infrequent compared to plural-referring human nouns with no marking. Consider the following examples, which clearly show that plural reference is intended through the 3AUG marking on the verb (19a–b) and the numeral *tevisiki* 'hundred' (19c):

(19) a. Dowâlili lâ   ki-li-pevaale-mä=to=wâ   go   nyigenaa
        child   DIST IPFV-3AUG-wait-DIR:1=CS=DIST CONJ leaf.greens
        na-i   nâ-upwee-kä-ngopu=waa.
        POSS:FOOD-3AUG   IRR-open.O-DIR:3-1AUG=FUT
        'The children are waiting for us to unwrap their vegetables.'

     b. sime   ku-lu-po-mä   ngâ dâ=nuumä=kâ
        person IPFV-3AUG-go-DIR:1 LOC some=village=DIST
        'the people who have come from other villages'

     c. Devaalili no-i   tevisiki.
        child   POSS:GEN-3AUG   hundred
        'They had a hundred children.'

Given that the bare noun can have plural reference on its own, then, under what conditions does *pe-* appear?

It is clear that *pe*-marked nouns and unmarked nouns with plural reference can, in fact, appear in exactly the same contexts, as seen in (20), where a *pe*-marked noun is conjoined with one or more plural-referring nouns without *pe*-:

> (20) a. Dewââlili, penyibe, sibiliwââlili, **pe-sigiwâu***,*
>   child   adult   young.girl   people-young.man
>   ba   ku-lu-po-lâ-dami=dä=gu.
>   NEG IPFV-3AUG-go-go.out-away=some=NEG
>   'Children, adults, young girls, young men, nobody goes away.'
>
>   b. Mo singedâ mo   **pe-dowâlili**   lu-pwâ=to.
>   CONJ woman   CONJ people-child   3AUG-go=CS
>   'But the women and the children had gone.'

The function of *pe*- appears to be to refer to a specific, delimited group of people, as opposed to 'men/women/children, etc. in general'. By "specific and delimited," I mean that the forms refer to a subset of referents that could be identified in the context; for example, local people in the old days in (16b), the children of the Reef Islands in (16c), and the children of Tuwo village (who fled to a neighboring village during a war) in (20b). As such, the *pe*- plurals resemble what Gil (1996:63) calls "non-additive" forms, denoting "a plurality of objects endowed with some form of additional structure." Particularly interesting are the examples Gil gives from Hebrew, where numerals in construction with nouns can be nominalized to give a nonadditive interpretation ('a threesome of boys' as opposed to 'three boys'); the non-additive construction entails some sort of specific relation between the entities in question, and requires a suitable context to be felicitous (Gil 1996:64). While it is the numeral that is nominalized in Hebrew rather than the non-additive noun itself, the fact that Äiwoo *pe*- is nominal nevertheless suggests a formal as well as a functional parallel.

A striking example of the contrast between plural-referring nouns with and without *pe*- is seen in (21):

> (21) a. nye-ki-towââ-lâ   penyibe deu=kä **pe-sime**   **no-gu-i**
>   way-IPFV-hold-go.out old.man   before=CV people-person POSS:GEN-3MIN-3AUG
>   'the way chiefs in the past looked after their people'
>
>   b. Ä   ku-wâ-une-â-de   nyigi äi   ku-uuko
>   CONJ IPFV-CAUS-true-UV-1+2AUG one   message   IPFV-holy
>   go **sime no-gu-i**.
>   for person POSS:GEN-3MIN-3AUG
>   'And we believe in one holy church for His people.'

Pesime in (21a) refers to the group of people under the authority of a particular chief. (21b), however, from the Äiwoo translation of the Nicene Creed, does not delimit *sime nogui* 'His people' to a particular subset of people who are God's, presumably because by Christian doctrine *all* people are considered to belong to God.

In contrast to these "identifiable group" contexts, nouns with generic plural reference do not appear to take *pe*-:

(22) a. Lâto nogo-i-le=nâ   ki-li-pie-le   **dowâlili** go   sime.
        thus habit-3AUG-UA=DIST IPFV-3AUG-adopt.A-UA child   from person
        '[They could not have children, so] what they did was to adopt chil-
        dren from people.'

     b. Ile   dee   de-ku-wâ-nubo-i=lä   **sime**=ke.
        PROX this.thing thing-IPFV-CAUS-die-3AUG=CV person=PROX
        'This is what they killed people with.'

On the other hand, *pe-* does appear in what Krifka (2004) calls characterizing state-
ments, that is, when the characteristics of a particular group are being focused on—what
sets this group apart from others. So in (23), *pedowâlili* refers to 'children in general', but
specifically to the characteristics that set them apart as a group:

(23) Mo i-kää-mu   **pe-dowâlili**, sime maa lâ
     CONJ PFV-know.O-2MIN person-child   person HYP DIST
     ki-li-eeu-kä=dä=nâ,   mo lâ
     IPFV-3AUG-speak-DIR:3=some=DIST CONJ DIST
     ku-wobii-ngege-nyii-kä-i=lâ   lâ nye-ku-wagu-kä-i=lâ.
     IPFV-follow.O-straight-UV-DIR:3-3AUG=DIST DIST way-IPFV-say-DIR:3-3AUG=DIST
     'And you know, children, when someone speaks to them, they do what
     they are told straight away.'

Although *pe-* indicates that a specific, contextually delimited group is referred to, it
does not mark definiteness in the sense of the referent of a noun phrase being identifiable,
for example, from previous mention in the discourse. On the contrary, once the reference
to a particular group of referents has been established, the use of *pe-* tends to decline. In a
text about a young spirit boy who tries to make friends with the inhabitants of a nearby
village, the first two mentions of the group of people he goes fishing with have the form
pesime 'people':

(24) a. Wâ=naa, dä itabu, lâ woli-kä=to   bu=kâ,   wo-kä
        go=FUT some day DIST go.down-DIR:3=CS night=DIST go-DIR:3
        i-liaa-kä-gu-i,   mo **pe-sime** ngä ny-ângâ=kâ
        PFV-reach.O-DIR:3-3MIN-3AUG CONJ people-person LOC place-DEM:DIST=DIST
        ku-lu-pwä ki-li-tei   bu.
        IPFV-3AUG-go PFV-3AUG-fish.A night
        'Then one day he went down there at night, he went and reached
        them, and the people in that place were going night fishing.'

     b. **Pe-sime**-engâ   li-epave=to   sii=kâ lâ i-po=kâ,   li-vängä.
        people-person-DEM:DIST 3AUG-cook.A=CS fish=DIST DIST PFV-cook=DIST 3AUG-eat.A
        'Those people cooked the fish, and when it was cooked, they ate.'

After this, however, the same group of people are consistently referred to simply with *sime*:

(25) a. Bu woli-ute-maa   mo wo-ute-kä, Ngâmanu,
        night go.down-again-LOC:DIST CONJ go-again-DIR:3 Ngâmanu
        i-kâpolâ-ute-kä.   Mo **sime** ku-lu-po-ute   ki-li-tei.
        PFV-arrive-again-DIR:3 CONJ person IPFV-3AUG-go-again IPFV-3AUG-fish
        'When night fell again he went back, to Ngâmanu, he arrived there
        again. And the people were going fishing again.'

b. **Sime**-enge   li-epave   sii=kâ,   li-vängä ...
person-DEM:PROX 3AUG-cook.A fish=DIST 3AUG-eat.A
'These people cooked the fish, they ate ...'

The function and distribution of *pe-* seems largely parallel to that of the "collective" *ige* in Mwotlap, spoken on Motalava Island roughly 300 km southeast of the Reef Islands (François 2005). Like *pe-*, *ige* functions as a head which can be modified by a variety of elements such as adjectives, locative phrases, or possessives; unlike *pe-*, it can also be used independently, without a modifier, to mean 'people' (François 2005:124). François notes that *ige* is used to form plurals of [+human] nouns, and that it is typically used to designate a new referent, similar to the tendency of *pe-* to be used on first mentions.[11]

Pe-, then, when used with nouns, can be understood as functioning to establish a plurality of human referents as forming a coherent group in the discourse context. Once this group reference is established, the group can be referred to in subsequent discourse without *pe-*. The group semantics of *pe-* appears also to apply to *peliva(li)-,* cf. the discussion of the choice between *pelivalisimu* and *gisimu jii* 'your brothers' in 4.6 below.

4.5 3MIN-3AUG PERSON MARKING ON POSSESSED NOUNS. If a noun is marked for possession by a 3MIN possessor, the possessed noun itself can be marked as plural by adding the suffixes *-gu-i* '3MIN-3AUG' to the possessive marker.

Possessive marking in Äiwoo is complex, but the strategy applies to all types of possessives, regardless of their formal expression. The possessive-marking paradigms show the same pattern as the personal pronouns; that is, there is a 1MIN and a 3MIN form, and all other person/number forms are constructed by adding suffixes to these; the 3rd person forms are based on the 3MIN form, while all other forms are based on the 1MIN form. I have chosen throughout the paper to simplify glosses by not indicating the person/number of the stem where there is also a person/number suffix: that is, I have glossed, e.g., *no-i* 'their (general possessive)' as GEN:POSS-3AUG, rather than GEN:POSS.3MIN-3AUG, even though *no* by itself is unambiguously a 3MIN form; or *tumo-mi* 'your (AUG) father' as father-2AUG rather than father.1MIN-2AUG, even though *tumo* is the 1MIN form (cf. *tumwä* 'his/her father'). I will continue this practice throughout the current section, but it is important to keep in mind that the suffixes *-gu-i* are consistently added to a form which is itself 3MIN.

Example (26) shows plural marking with *-gu-i* with directly possessed nouns, that is, nouns that obligatorily take possessive marking in the form of a suffix or alternating final vowels directly on the noun itself:

(26) a. **meego-gu-i**   lâ   sime lâ   mi-nubo=kâ
relative-3MIN-3AUG DIST person DIST BN-dead=DIST
'the relatives of the dead person'

b. Dä   nyidâbu=dä ko-kä=nä   go **siväle-gu-i-le** ...
some   day=some   say-DIR:3=CV to wife-3MIN-3AUG-UA
'One day, he said to his two wives ...'

_____

11. Unlike Äiwoo *pe-*, *ige* in Mwotlap is part of a larger set of "pronoun-like collectives," which also includes *yoge* 'two people' and *tēlge* 'three people' (François 2005:123–24).

Example (27) shows the same with indirectly possessed nouns, that is, nouns that are optionally marked possessive by means of an independent possessive classifier.

(27) a. sime no-gu-i
       person POSS:GEN-3MIN-3AUG
       'his/her people'

   b. nuwopa tä-gu-i
      house   POSS:LOC-3MIN-3AUG
      'his/her houses'

The examples in (28) show-*gu-i* with what I call relational prepositions,[12] which indicate relations other than strict possession, such as origin, part-whole relations, and so on.

(28) a. **sime lä-gu-i**   nuumä eângâ
       person of-3MIN-3AUG village   DEM:DIST
       'the people of that village'

   b. Ilâ mi-li-eve   eââ   ilâ **topou eä-gu-i**=lâ   nuumä.
      DIST BN-3AUG-three DEM:DIST DIST post of-3MIN-3AUG=DIST village
      'Those three are the posts of the village.'

Note that in (26a) *meego* 'relative', which also has the possible plural form *pelivaago* (cf. 4.2), shows the -*gu-i* plural; I lack the data to determine whether this is a possibility for all the kinship nouns discussed in 4.2, and what determines the choice between the two.

The use of -*gu-i* on possessive-marked nouns is the only pattern of plural marking for which there is attested evidence of use with inanimate nouns: cf. (27b) and (28b). It is possible, then, to form morphologically marked plurals of inanimate nouns in Äiwoo, but it appears to be very infrequent.

There are a number of things to be noted about this construction. First, as described in section 2, the suffixes involved more commonly appear on O-verbs to indicate a 3MIN actor (-*gu*) and a 3AUG undergoer (-*i*): see, for example, examples (18a) and (24a). There is a great deal of overlap between the person markers found on possessive classifiers and on O-verbs, because both originate in the Proto-Oceanic possessive paradigm (Ross and Næss 2007:476). However, -*gu*, which as noted above is likely to have been reanalyzed from an original 1MIN form, never occurs as a marker of a 3MIN possessor in any other context. (29a) shows the 3MIN forms of the indirect possessive markers, of which Äiwoo has six, while (29b) shows examples of some directly possessed nouns in the 3MIN form:

(29) a. na   'his/her (food)'   b. gino   'his/her son'
        numwä 'his/her (drink)'   sipe   'his/her daughter'
        da   'his/her (betelnut and   isä   'his/her mother'
                   related items)'   nyike 'his/her leg'
        nogo   'his/her (tool/utensil)'   notä   'his/her nose'
        tä   'his/her (house or land)' numângä 'his/her back'
        no   'his/her (other)',

---

12. The relational prepositions take the form *eä/wä, nä, lä, ngä*; the choice between the different forms appears to be largely lexically determined. They are marked for person, as, for example, *eou* 'of me', *eomu* 'of you'; the forms in -*ä* are the 3MIN forms.

That -*gu* does not appear in possessive forms such as those in (29) is perhaps not surprising, as even on verbs, -*gu* only marks a 3MIN actor when the undergoer is not also 3MIN; otherwise the actor is zero-marked. Translated into possessive marking, this would mean that only when the possessee is not 3MIN—that is, when it is plural, as non-3rd person entities are rarely possessed—does -*gu* appear.

A second striking point, however, is that 3MIN -*gu* here is added to a form that is already marked as 3MIN. The appearance of overt possessive marking is a condition for the use of this pluralizing strategy, and the possessive markers themselves indicate person and number; -*gu-i* can only be added to a 3MIN possessive. (See 4.6 below on how plural of a possessee can be indicated with non-3MIN possessors.)

Third, dual appears within this strategy as a facultative number (Corbett 2000:42–48); that is, when dual reference is intended, this can be overtly marked, but it can also be subsumed under the plural form. (26b) shows the suffix -*le* being added to -*gu-i* to overtly indicate dual reference; however, *isäpelivanogui* in (30) also refers to two people, the same two women referred to in (18a) above:

(30) Gipoulo mo isä-peliva-no-gu-i=lâ
Gipoulo CONJ mother.3MIN-PL-child-3MIN-3AUG=DIST
'Gipoulo and his wives'

In section 2 above, I argued that the distributional properties of -*le* as part of the pronominal system is a consequence of its status as the only pure number marker in a system that otherwise marks person and number together, and suggested that this could be linked to the status of number in pronominal as opposed to nominal systems. In cases like (26b), however, -*le* is used to indicate dual number on a nominal, and here, too, it necessarily combines with the augmented suffix -*i*. I hesitate to see this as an argument in favor of a constructed-number analysis, however, because of the highly restricted nature of this construction—applying only to nouns showing a 3MIN possessive marker—and because it coopts what is basically pronominal marking into the nominal domain, meaning that one would expect the formal restrictions of the pronominal marking to carry over into the nominal use. It may also be noted that (26b) is the only clear example I have of -*le* being used to indicate dual reference on a nominal form; it is much more common for dual reference to be subsumed under the plural marking, as in (30).

Finally, the use of -*gu-i* does not appear to be obligatory when multiple possessees of a 3MIN possessor are referred to. In (31), *dowâlili* 'child' takes plural *pe-*, but the possessive marker *no* does not show -*gu-i*:

(31) Pe-dowâlili no   ilâ kä-i=lä   de-lu-po-oli-kä.
people-child POSS:GEN.3MIN DIST say-3AUG=DIST EVIT-3AUG-go-go.down-DIR:3
'His children, they say they should not go back.'

This example further highlights the difference between this marking strategy and plural possessive forms as they appear in European languages, as, for example, in French *mes enfants* 'my children'. The latter is essentially an agreement pattern where a plural head noun requires a plural possessive determiner; what we find in Äiwoo, on the other hand, is an optional plural-marking strategy that only applies to possessive-marked nouns.

I am not aware of direct parallels to this construction in other Oceanic languages, although a form of plural marking that is only available to modified nouns is found in some languages of western Melanesia, where attributive adjectives take a suffix otherwise functioning to mark possession, which here indicates the number of the modified noun (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:39–40; Sato 2016:377).

(32) TAKIA
    a. ab   fou-n   en
       house new-3SG DEM
     'this new house'

    b. ab   fou-di an
       house new-3PL DEM
     'those new houses'   (Ross 2002:226)

There are Oceanic languages that restrict plural marking to a subset of nouns, typically including those that are inalienably possessed. In Tawala, for example, only human nouns, relationship terms, and body-part terms are marked for plural; plural in this language is marked by reduplication (Ezard 1997:53). Moreover, a few Papuan languages in the Bird's Head area appear to restrict morphological plural marking to inalienably possessed nouns—for example, Sougb, where the plural suffix *-ir* applies only to kinship terms and nouns referring to social relations (Reesink 2002:221).

While these systems have certain points in common with the plural-marking use of *-gu-i* in Äiwoo, notably that they typically apply to kinship terms, they are rather more restricted. In Äiwoo, the relevant parameter is not semantic or formal noun class (humanness/kinship, direct or indirect possession), but the presence of possessive marking of any type, regardless of both its morphological manifestation (suffix, indirect possessive marker, relational preposition) and semantic class.

4.6 *(i)jii* '3AUG/PLURAL'. As noted above, pluralization of a possessed noun through the addition of *-gu-i* to the possessive morpheme is only possible when the possessor is 3MIN. For possessors in other persons and numbers, plural of the possessed noun can be indicated by the independent word *(i)jii*, identical to the 3AUG independent pronoun (cf. table 1), following the possessive marker:

(33) a. tumo-mi ijii
       father-2MIN 3AUG
      'your fathers (i.e., your father and his brothers)'

    b. sibilivaalili nou-de   ijii
       young.woman POSS:GEN-1+2AUG 3AUG
      'our young women'

    c. kuli nou   jii
       dog   POSS:GEN.1MIN 3AUG
      'my dogs'

As example (33c) shows, this construction is available for nonhuman animate nouns. No examples are attested with inanimates, though I am not prepared to conclude that this means it cannot appear with inanimates, first because, as shown above, the *-gu-i* plural

strategy does apply to inanimates, albeit rarely; and second, because *(i)jii* when used as a 3AUG pronoun can have inanimate as well as animate reference, cf. example (37) below.

As with *-gu-i, (i)jii* can be used with reference to two individuals; I have no examples of *ijiile* 'they two' being used in this construction; *siväluji ijii* in (34) refers to two wives, again, the same two described in (18a):[13]

(34) Vevaale   ngä nuwopa to-ji   mo **sivälu-ji   ijii**.
     look.after LOC house   POSS:LOC-1+2MIN with wife-1+2MIN 3AUG
     'Look after our house with our wives.'

As noted above, the form *(i)jii* is identical to the 3AUG independent pronoun; it is not unusual for 3rd person nonsingular pronouns to function as plural markers in Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:39; Sato 2016). Indeed, this construction is exactly parallel to the use of *-gu-i* to mark plural possessees of a 3MIN possessor, described in 4.5 above, in that it applies the strategy otherwise used to indicate 3AUG undergoers of O-verbs to possessed nouns. Recall that undergoer suffixes are only used for a small number of combinations of actor and undergoer person/number: in all other cases, the undergoer is indicated with an independent pronoun (or a lexical noun). The use of *ijii* to mark the plural of possessees with non-3MIN possessors, then, reinforces the parallel between verbal person marking and the plural strategies used with possessed nouns: with both 3MIN and non-3MIN possessors, the possessee is marked as plural by the same formal means as those marking 3AUG undergoers of O-verbs.

The form *(i)jii* in Äiwoo as a plural marker with nouns appears in one other context as well, and one that appears formally related in that it arises out of the marking of a 3AUG undergoer: it may be used to pluralize the O arguments of O-verbs, which for the purposes of the present paper we may call objects (for a discussion of grammatical relations in Äiwoo, see Næss 2015a). Lexical objects of O-verbs are typically preverbal, and when they appear with plural *(i)jii*, the latter follows the verb:

(35) a. Kä=nä maa sibiliwââlili nä-eäkäle-mu=dä   **ijii**.
        say=CV HYP young.woman IRR-ask.for.O-2MIN=some 3AUG
        'He wanted you to hire some young women (to do some work).'

     b. Pevaio-oli-maa,   poi i-goo-i   **ijii**.
        morning-go.down-LOC:DIST pig PFV-tie-3AUG 3AUG
        'In the morning, they tied up some pigs.'

This construction appears to exploit an unusual property of Äiwoo clauses with O-verbs, namely that their object argument is preverbal if it is a lexical noun (36a), but post-verbal if it is a pronoun (36b):

(36) a. **Sii** lâ   ki-epavi-i=to=wâ.
        fish DIST IPFV-cook.O-3AUG=CS=DIST
        'They cooked the fish.'

     b. Dengaa i-te-wâ-i   **iumu**, lâto ku-wâ-nubo-wâ-i   **iumu**=wâ.
        lest   PFV-see.O-DIR:2-3AUG 2MIN   then IPFV-CAUS-die-UV-3AUG 2MIN=DIST
        'If they see you, they will kill you.'

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13. Although *siväluji ijii* means 'our wives' (yours and mine), reference here is to the speaker's two wives; the use of the 1+2nd form in such contexts is a common politeness strategy.

In the examples in (35), both these positions are filled—with what appears to be a lexical noun and a coreferent pronoun. From a diachronic perspective, a likely source of such constructions is clauses such as (37):

(37) **Nuwo nyenaa** lâ ki-pägulo-mu **jii**ee.
     base   tree   DIST IPFV-burn.living.obj.O-2MIN 3AUGeh
     'The tree stumps, you burn them, eh?'

The noun phrase *nuwo nyenaa* 'tree stump(s)' could here be analyzed as being topicalized and outside the clause itself, while the coreferential pronoun *jii* is the manifestation of the O argument within the clause. A reanalysis of this topicalization construction, to a structure where the initial NP is integrated into the clause as an O argument and the coreferential pronoun marks it as plural, seems a plausible grammaticalization path for constructions such as (35).

    In this perspective, it is interesting to note that *ijii*, when used to indicate plural of an object noun, shows structural parallels with certain other quantifying morphemes. Numerals in Äiwoo pattern like stative intransitive verbs, as does *dâu* 'many', in that they can take person and aspect/mood-marking:

(38) a. sime li-eve
       person 3AUG-three
       'three people'

     b. Kâ-no=ngä   nâ-ngâ-no   sii   nä-eve.
       want-1MIN=CV IRR-eat.O-1MIN fish IRR-three
       'I want to eat three fish.'

(39) Ilâ   deu=kâ   sime=kâ   ba   li-dâu=gu.
     DIST before=DIST   person=DIST NEG 3AUG-be.many=NEG
     'Before there were not so many people (lit. people were not so many).'

    When modifying a preverbal O argument, these quantifiers usually appear separately from the noun itself, following the verb and postverbal A argument:[14]

(40) a. **Nubo** i-la-kä-i   **nyigi**.
       ground PFV-give.O-DIR:3-3AUG one
       'They gave him a/one piece of land.'

     b. Go   **nyibe lä wâkââ**=kâ i-vite-to   isä=nâ   **lilu**.
       because basket of pudding=DIST PFV-put.O-go.in mother.3MIN=DIST two
       'Because his mother had put in two parcels of pudding.'

(41) Nyidebo nâ-ngâbo=naa=kä i-vaave-kä-i-le,   go
     magic   IRR-dive=FUT=CV PFV-show.O-DIR:3-3AUG-UA CONJ
     sii nâ-togulo=naa **nâ-dâu**.
     fish IRR-hit.O=FUT   IRR-be.many
     'They showed him a magic leaf to use while diving, so he would catch a lot of fish.'

This structure has clear parallels to (35) above, and suggests perhaps that *ijii* has been—or is in the process of being—grammaticalized from a pronoun into a modifier with a quantifying function,[15] sharing certain distributional properties with other quantifiers in the lan-

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14. For a discussion of the position of the A argument in O-verb clauses and the concept of "verb phrase" in Äiwoo, see Næss (2015b).

guage. It does not, however, show the verbal properties characteristic of *dâu* and the numerals; it cannot, for example, take aspect-mood marking or person prefixes, as in (38) and (39).

Many of the attested examples involve the same nouns that alternatively take *pe-* or *peliva(li)-*. While *pe-* involves reference to a group, *(i)jii* has more of a distributive reading, in the sense that the referents are construed as a plurality of individuals rather than as a group. This is illustrated by the following example:

(42) Nye-doo   wâte-kä   ngâgo **gisi-mu**   **jii**=lâ
      NMLZ-what happen-DIR:3 to   brother-2MIN 3AUG=DIST
      ku-wâte-epu-wâ=kaa   ngâgu-mu.
      IPFV-happen-also-DIR:2=FUT to-2MIN

      'What happened to your brothers will happen to you, too.'

The addressee of this statement is the fifth and youngest of a group of brothers who, each in turn, paddled off to go fishing, got blown off course and washed up on an island where they were eaten by an ogre. This happened to each brother in a separate incident, rather than to the brothers as a group, and this appears to be the explanation for the use of *gisimu jii* rather than the expected *pelivalisimu* in this context. The observation in 4.2 that the plural in *peliva(li)-* is obligatory, then, requires modification: these nouns require some overt marking of plurality, but *ijii* can be used instead of *peliva(li)-* if it is semantically more appropriate.

It may be noted that pluralization with *(i)jii* sometimes cooccurs with forms in *pe-* or *peliva(li)-*. For at least some of the available examples, the individual-distributive analysis seems to offer an explanation for the cooccurrence. Recall that for the kinship terms that take *peliva(li)-*, this form seems to be largely obligatory with plural reference, although example (42) is clearly an exception; but compare (43a), which has a similar distributive reading, and includes both *pelivali-* and *ijii*. In (43b), the procedure for weaving baskets requires coconut leaves to be picked, and this is work that is usually done by children; so one would get a group of children (*pedowâlili*), but each child would climb a separate tree.

(43) a. Pelivali-si-ji   ijii   i-wâ-nubo-wâ-du ijii.
          PL-same.sex.sibling-1+2MIN 3AUG   PFV-CAUS-die-UV-all 3AUG
          'Our brothers, you killed them (one by one).'

      b. Pe-dowâlili wâ-ngâbo-ee-eâ-ngopu dä   ijii.
          person-child CAUS-climb-go.up-UV-1AUG some 3AUG
          'We get some children to climb up (individually, not everyone into the same tree).'

For other examples it is less clear what motivates the double marking:

(44) Ngaa kâmaa me-ki-epave   tii, mo lâ   me-ku-nu=kâ   mo
      so   when 1AUG-IPFV-cook.A tea CONJ DIST 1AUG-IPFV-drink=DIST CONJ
      pelivali-si-ngopu   ijii eä   peliva-nou-ngopu ijii
      PL-same.sex.sibling-1AUG   3AUG CONJ PL-child-1AUG   3AUG

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15. Whether plural words are considered to be quantifiers obviously depends on one's definition of the latter term. I follow Schachter and Shopen (2007), who characterize plural words in Tagalog and Vietnamese as quantifiers.

gelitumo-ngopu ijii.
father-1AUG   3AUG

'So then we make tea, and we drink it with our friends and our children and our parents.'

4.7 PLURAL NOUNS IN *mi-li-*. Nominal expressions formed with the bound noun *mi-* 'the one which ...' (cf. section 2) occur as independent nouns (45a), but are also frequently used as modifiers of another noun (45b):

(45) a. Mi-päko i-to   eä   mi-ea i-to.
         BN-good   PFV-be CONJ BN-bad PFV-be
         'There are good ones and bad ones.'

     b. butete mi-po
         potato   BN-cook
         'cooked potatoes'

When *mi-* combines with a verbal root, the resulting nominal expression can be marked for plural reference by means of 3AUG person marking on the verb:

(46) a. Lâto mi-lu-pu-mä   ngâ dâ   nuumä lâ
         thus   BN-3AUG-go-DIR:1 LOC some village DIST
         ku-lu-po-ute-kâ   ngä nye-tä-i=lâ.
         IPFV-3AUG-go-again-DIR:3 LOC place-POSS:LOC-3AUG=DIST
         'Then the ones who have come from other villages go back to their own place.'

     b. sigiwâu   mi-ku-lu-mo   ngä sapulâu
         young.man BN-IPFV-3AUG-stay LOC   men's.house
         'the young men living in the men's house'

Such forms could be thought of as plural-marked nominal expressions, but they are not nominal roots marked for plural, which is the main concern of this paper; rather, they are nominals formed from plural-marked verbs.

It is, however, possible for a nominal root to be prefixed by *mi-li-* 'BN-3AUG', with resulting plural reference:

(47) a. Lâto ngâgo **mi-li-gapman**   le   ku-wo-ute-mä=to=we.
         thus   to   BN-3AUG-government PROX IPFV-go-again-DIR:1=CS=PROX
         '(Rules) of the government people are coming in.'

     b. Ile   **mi-li-pesaliki**=ke   uumo   mana go
         PROX BN-3AUG-rich.man=PROX difficult very   CONJ
         nâ-lu-po-to-kä   ngâ lu mi-ku-nubotage-lâ God=kä!
         IRR-3AUG-go-go.in-DIR:3 LOC life BN-IPFV-path-go.out   God=CV
         'How hard it is for the rich to enter the Kingdom of God!' (Mark 10:23)

This strategy is only marginally present in my field data, but there are quite a few examples in the Äiwoo translation of the Gospel of Mark; it is difficult to say to what extent this is an artifact of the translation, or just a result of the Bible text containing more of the kinds of contexts that would favor this construction than my own data. The Gospel of Mark examples mostly refer to groups of people defined by ethnicity or profession, as in *miliJiu* 'the Jews', *miliParisee* 'the Pharisees', *milimama* 'the priests' (*mama* 'priest');

though the noun can also refer to other properties of the group indicated, as in *mililepa* 'the lepers', or *milipesaliki* 'the rich' in example (47b) above.

Like most of the other strategies discussed above, these forms seem to be restricted to human-referring nouns. Based on the few available examples, the difference between these and the forms in *pe-* seems to be that the *mi-li-* construction refers to members of the group in general, without the specific subset reading found with *pe-*. This may simply follow from the nature of the construction, since it is not clear that a line can be drawn on a principled basis between the forms exemplified in (47) and those in (46), where *mi-* combines with a verb marked for a 3rd person augmented actor. All nouns in Äiwoo can be used as predicates, and so *miligapman* may equally well be translated as 'the governing ones', *miliJiu* 'the ones who are Jews', *milimama* 'the ones who are priests', and so on.

5. TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

5.1 FORMAL PROPERTIES OF THE ÄIWOO PLURAL-MARKING STRATEGIES.
We have seen that there is a range of strategies for indicating plurality in Äiwoo, in particular for human-referring nouns. In the remainder of this paper, I will examine these strategies from a typological perspective, in terms of both their formal and functional properties: what is the formal status of these markers of plurality, and how do the functions described relate to those found in number-marking systems more generally?

It seems clear that none of the plural strategies discussed above can be analyzed as inflectional plurals, if this is interpreted as meaning a grammatical marker added obligatorily or optionally to a noun stem to indicate plural reference. The forms discussed above are either lexical roots, as with *pe-* 'group of people', combinations of several morphemes (*mi-li-*, *-gu-i*, probably *pelivali-*), or independent pronominal forms (*ijii*); and in some cases, they do not attach to the noun stem directly but to a possessive marker *(-gu-i*, *ijii*).

The most plausible candidate for an inflectional plural appears to be *peliva(li)-*, which appears to be obligatory when the roots to which it applies are used with plural reference (though see the discussion of example [42]). But the formal properties of this marker are highly unusual, in that it is not added to a singular or transnumeral noun, but rather replaces part of a complex stem. That is, it is in paradigmatic distribution with the bound nominal roots *gi-* 'man', *si-* 'woman', *me-* 'person', and as such patterns more like a root than an inflectional affix (for a discussion of the properties of bound nominal roots in Äiwoo, see Næss 2006, 2017). As discussed in 4.2, it seems likely that it is at least historically morphologically complex; it can be plausibly linked both to the bound noun *pe-* 'group of people' and to the POc reciprocal, for which reflexes are found in plural forms of kinship terms in several other Oceanic languages.

The status of *pe-* in the forms discussed in 4.4 seems more straightforward. It is a bound noun root with the meaning 'people, group of people', and as such might perhaps be analyzed as a plural word; note that Dryer (1989:885) cites words meaning 'group' as one known historical source of plural words.

Another such source is 3rd person plural pronouns (Dryer 1989:875–77). As discussed in 4.6, one plural-marking strategy in Äiwoo uses a form identical to the 3rd person augmented pronoun, *(i)jii*, although it shows distributional properties similar to those

found with numerals and the quantifier *dâu* 'many', suggesting that it may be in the pro-cess of grammaticalizing into something more like a marker of plurality.

It is not unheard of for a language to have more than one plural word; for example, Klamer, Schapper, and Corbett (2014: 393) note that the Alor-Pantar language Abui has two plural words, one general and one associative, and Dryer (1989) discusses Vietnam-ese and Hawaiian as examples of languages where plural words form "a multiword cate-gory." If both *pe-* and *ijii* are to be analyzed as plural words in Äiwoo, however, they clearly do not form a distributional class, as one precedes the noun and the other follows it, in some cases also following a verb of which the plural noun is an argument. Indeed, they can cooccur, as the examples in (43) and (44) show.

While I am not aware of other languages that show a similar system, it is perhaps not unexpected in principle that a pattern such as that found in Äiwoo should arise, given that plural words (i) may have different functions, such as the general vs. associative plural in Abui, and (ii) may grammaticalize from a number of different sources, as shown by Dryer. The distinction between a group plural, as indicated by *pe-*, and a distributive plu-ral, as indicated by *ijii*, is not in itself particularly unusual, and for those meanings to grammaticalize from different sources does not appear surprising. Given this, there does not seem to be any principled reason to expect plural words with distinct semantics to grammaticalize into a single coherent class.

The use of *-gu-i* '3MIN-3AUG' to mark plural of possessed nouns (4.5) appears unusual on at least two counts. First, it is a morphological plural strategy that is restricted to possessive-marked nouns. While there are languages where plural marking depends on definiteness (Corbett 2000:278–79), I am not aware of any other cases where it depends on possessive marking. Moreover, Äiwoo has several different formal ways of marking possession, and the *-gu-i* strategy is not tied to any one of these; in other words, what is required is not the presence of a particular morpheme, but rather possessive mark-ing in some form or other.

Second, the strategy uses a combination of two person suffixes on top of an already person-marked form; there is double 3MIN marking, where the suffix *-gu* '3MIN' is other-wise only found on verbs, and the 3AUG suffix *-i*, which must be taken to contribute the actual plural semantics, is added to the second 3MIN marker.

A functional explanation for this pattern can be proposed: As noted briefly in section 2, 3rd person nonminimal forms of possessives are formed by adding the relevant person/number suffixes to the 3MIN form. That is, when *-i* is added directly to a 3MIN possessive, it indicates plurality of the possessor, not the possessee; thus, a different type of marking would be required for possessee number. The way this has been solved nevertheless seems unusual: adding an extra 3MIN marker to which the 3AUG suffix can then attach. The extra marker has been recruited from the verb-marking paradigm, as *-gu* does not occur as a possessive marker in any other contexts; the strategy used on verbs for mark-ing a 3MIN actor in combination with a 3AUG undergoer has been coopted to mark a 3MIN possessor in combination with a 3AUG possessee. One may speculate that the existing parallelism between actor suffixes and possessive suffixes has facilitated this. The fact that this pattern is only available to 3MIN possessives falls out of the parallel to verbal per-son marking: only with a 3MIN actor is the suffix *-i* available to mark an undergoer. Pos-

sessives in the other persons similarly use the same strategy used for undergoer arguments of O-verbs, that is, an independent pronoun for the undergoer/possessee.

A double function of affixes as number markers on nouns and person markers on verbs is not unattested cross-linguistically; for example, Mohawk marks gender and number on nouns with prefixes also used to mark the subject of verbs (Baker 1996:14). However, Äiwoo stands out from previously described cases in that the suffixes can only appear on nouns that are already possessive-marked. This sets the Äiwoo strategy apart from that described for Halkomelem by Wiltschko (2008), where the same plural markers can be used for nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Wiltschko argues that this is due to the plural marker in Halkomelem attaching to precategorial roots; that is, the plural marker attaches to the root directly, and only at a later stage in the syntactic derivation is the resulting form assigned a syntactic category. By contrast, Äiwoo -*gu-i* does not appear on bare noun roots, but only in combination with possessive marking. One might argue that this constitutes an instance of the type predicted by Wiltschko, where the plural marker modifies D rather than the root, but this leaves unexplained the parallel to verbal person-marking morphology. The historical relations between nominal and verbal morphology, along with the need to overtly indicate that -*i* in this construction marks plurality of the possessee rather than the possessor, goes some way toward explaining the patterns found in Äiwoo.

This does, however, raise the question of why a specific strategy for marking plurality of a possessee should have arisen in a language that manages perfectly well without plural marking for most of its nouns. I suspect that this is connected to the fact that many of the directly possessed nouns are kinship terms, which from a cross-linguistic perspective are often number-marked even when other nouns are not; cf. the *peliva(li)*- pluralizer available for a subset of kinship terms in Äiwoo (4.2). Once the strategy had arisen with directly possessed nouns, it may have been extended by analogy to other possessive constructions.

The formal parallels between two-argument verbs and possessive-marked nouns, moreover, raise the question of how to define a notion like "inflectional plural." The suffix sequence -*gu-i* might well be defined as inflection when it appears on verbs, where it (i) indicates a 3MIN actor acting on a 3AUG undergoer; (ii) is used whenever this configuration of arguments is present (though note their status as pro-indexes, cf. section 2 and 4.1); and (iii) enters into a larger paradigm of person marking on verbs. The common function of -*gu-i* on verbs and nouns must be understood as indicating that a plurality of entities enter into a specific relation with another, singular entity; on verbs, this is the relation of being acted on by a singular actor, while on nouns it is the relation of possession, which has to be indicated overtly on the noun in order for -*gu-i* to appear. That is, the use of -*gu-i* on nouns is constrained by factors that are not a property either of the noun itself or of its morphological marking as such; it is restricted to being used with 3MIN possessors and does not enter into a larger marking paradigm. Indeed, the strategy found with non-3MIN possessors is formally very different, involving an independent pronoun. Moreover, assuming that -*gu* retains its 3MIN meaning when used on nouns, it actually duplicates the information present in the possessive marker, namely, that the possessor is 3rd person minimal. The latter could perhaps be thought of as a type of agreement; but if so, the noun or possessive marker seems to be agreeing with itself by means of an addi-

tional morpheme encoding the same information as the morpheme it is added to, rather than with any other element in the phrase. Thus, while -*gu-i* constitutes fairly typical inflection on verbs, it is less obvious that it does so on nouns, even though its function in both cases is, broadly speaking, the same.

5.2 FUNCTION AND THE ANIMACY HIERARCHY. It is well known that number-marking systems often follow the Animacy Hierarchy in that nominals higher on the hierarchy may take number marking while those lower on the hierarchy may not. Äiwoo conforms to this general tendency, but in a rather complex way. Figure 1 shows the hierarchy as it is represented in Corbett (2000:56):

FIGURE 1. THE ANIMACY HIERARCHY

speaker >   addressee > 3rd person > kin >   human > animate > inanimate
[1st person [2nd person
pronouns]   pronouns]

Pronouns, at the top end of the hierarchy, are obligatorily marked for number. The pluralizing strategy with *pe-* (4.4) only applies to nouns with human referents, and the same is probably the case with *mi-li-* (4.7). Formal properties aside, from a functional perspective these forms are unremarkable insofar as it is common for plural markers to be restricted to human-referring nouns.

Turning to the other forms discussed in section 4, the picture is rather more complex. All kinship terms may be marked for plurality, as may be expected based on the Animacy Hierarchy. But they are not all marked in the same way, and the distinction is based on the morphological structure of the kin terms. Those terms formed with the bound nouns *gi-* 'man', *si-* 'woman', or *me-* 'person' take plural forms in *peliva(li)-*, and this marking appears to be largely obligatory. But, as pointed out above, *peliva(li)-* is not *added* to the singular form, but rather *replaces* the bound noun; thus, the plural of *gisi* 'man's brother' is *pelivalisi*, etc. This suppletive strategy is not without typological parallels, as noted in 4.2; but I am not aware of other languages that exploit it systematically for a class of nouns—albeit a small one—as Äiwoo does.

Kinship terms that do not have this morphological structure, on the other hand, may be pluralized, but by another strategy, or rather two alternative strategies, depending on the person/number of the possessor; the -*gu-i* strategy, discussed in 5.1 above, is only available to nouns for which the possessor is 3MIN, whereas nouns with possessors of other persons/number take the plural word *ijii*. However, these strategies do not apply only to kinship terms, but to any possessive-marked noun, with the reservation that no instances of *ijii* marking plural of an inanimate noun are attested.

In other words, these plural markers are linked not to the position of a noun on the Animacy Hierarchy, but to its morphological structure. Moreover, the split is not, as might be expected, between directly possessed nouns, that is, nouns that are invariably possessive-marked, and others, but between nouns that are marked as possessed *in a given instance* and nouns that are not, and within the possessive-marked group, between 3MIN possessives and others. This seems an unusual condition, as the morphology involved is rather diverse from a formal perspective: it includes, first, bound possessive

marking on directly possessed nouns, which comes in a variety of paradigms (cf. [29b]); second, indirect possessive marking in the form of independent possessive classifiers (29a); and third, the relational prepositions *eä/wä, lä, nä*, and *ngä*. While there are no doubt historical links between some of these various forms, what primarily unites them is their function, as markers of a relation between two nouns. For such marking to be a condition for the presence of overt number marking seems typologically rare.

Another strategy that appears typologically interesting from the perspective of its grammatical function is *pe-* 'group of people' used as a plural marker on human-referring nouns. As noted in 4.4, *pe-* functions to establish a plurality of human referents as forming a coherent group in the discourse context, and once this group has been established, the marking may be dropped. This differs not only from the grammatical concept of definiteness, which marks a noun as being identifiable and as such is used *after* its reference has been established, but also from better-known cases of "collectives," which are more typically formed from nouns low on the nominal hierarchy (Corbett 2000:118). While the semantics of Äiwoo *pe-* is similar to that of canonical collectives in that it is used "to specify the cohesion of a group, sometimes manifested in joint activity" (Corbett 2000:119), the fact that it applies only to human nouns is from this perspective typologically unusual. As Gil (1996) points out, however, the term "collective" is in fact used for a number of rather different functions; as noted in 4.4, Äiwoo *pe-* has what Gil calls a nonadditive function, denoting "a plurality of objects endowed with some form of additional structure". Such additional structure would seem to be at least as readily applicable to human as to nonhuman referents, as human beings are often placed into groups by means of some form of social structure such as families, villages, joint work activities, or team play of various kinds. Here, too, the morphological status and diachronic origin of *pe-* is essential in understanding its function and properties. As a bound noun root, it has prefix-like properties while at the same time retaining core properties of a lexical item, such as the functional flexibility discussed in 4.4—the ability to function both as an argument referring to a group and a predicate assigning membership of a group to its argument, and to refer to an individual member of the group are properties reminiscent of those found with independent nouns in Äiwoo. The general nominal properties of *pe-* (combining with a locative expression to form a noun phrase, for example) suggest an origin in an independent lexical noun, the semantics of which must be assumed to have influenced the current functions of *pe-*. In this perspective, it is worth noting that the functionally parallel form *ige* in Mwotlap does occur as an independent noun meaning 'people' (4.4); a similar origin may be hypothesized for *pe-*.

6. CONCLUSION. What does it mean for a language to "have a plural"? Äiwoo lacks an inflectional plural in the sense of a grammatical morpheme that obligatorily applies to nouns with plural reference; but as this paper has shown, it nevertheless has an extensive range of strategies for indicating the plurality of a nominal referent. Dryer (2011:138) distinguishes between various forms of morphologically marked plurals (prefix, suffix, stem change, tone, and reduplication), plural words, plural clitics, and systems with no plural. While Äiwoo can be said to have plural words, as discussed in 5.1 above, the rest of the strategies discussed in this paper do not appear to fit neatly into this classification.

It is not unusual for a language to have several different plural-marking strategies with corresponding different meanings (see, for example, Storch and Dimmendaal 2014); the strategies described above for Äiwoo add to the picture of the sheer diversity of ways in which number can be indicated in human language. The plural-marking strategies in Äiwoo have very different distributional properties; in no sense do they form a single number-marking paradigm, as seen also from the fact that some of them can be combined on a single noun. The different ways of indicating plurality in Äiwoo have clearly arisen through a variety of very different historical paths, and the resulting system shows great diversity not just in functions, but in the classes of nouns to which they apply as well as in their morphological properties.

The question of what kind of category "plural" is, and to what extent it is the same kind of category across languages, has been discussed extensively, for example, by Beard (1982), Corbett (2000), Wiltschko (2008), and many others. The range of strategies for plural marking found in Äiwoo makes abundantly clear that plural marking is not necessarily a unitary phenomenon even within a single language, that the line between inflection and derivation, here as in other areas of language, may be difficult to draw, and that plural marking can interact with the morphological structure of nouns in complex ways.

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