How a language without nominal number expresses plurality:  
The case of Itonama (ISOLATE, Bolivia)  
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Itonama is spoken by less than five elders in the town of Magdalena in the Bolivian Amazonian lowlands. It is a polysynthetic, head-marking, verb-initial language with an inverse system. It has a multiple classifier system, with one set of classifiers appearing on verbs and demonstratives and another set on numerals and quantifiers. While nominal morphology is quite transparent (no case markers or adpositions), verbal morphology, not surprisingly for the region, is more complicated with body-part and classifier incorporation, directionals, evidentials, pluractional markers, etc. Greenberg’s (1987) classification of Itonama as Paezan, a sub-branch of Macro Chibchan, has not been supported yet and Itonama is still considered an isolate. Despite the fact that nominal number is not expressed in Itonama, the language does dispose of a number of verbal strategies to express plurality or plural concepts. In the present talk I would like to discuss these strategies, contrasting them to some of the ways in which plurality is expressed in other Bolivian lowland languages.