Hungarian Solution

Noun Plural (Npl) Suffix: {-Ek}, with two allo\-morph\-s, /-ek/ and /-ok/

Vowel harmony determines allo\-morph\-y:

/-ek/ follows syllables containing back vowels (/a/ or /o/)
/-ok/ follows syllables containing front vowels (/i/, /e/, /eː/)

Remarks: /e/ is front mid, /o/ is back mid

Call the morph\-eme {-Ek}, with {E} being an arbitrary symbol representing the appropriate harmonic vowel.

Singular forms are bare roots.

Michoacán Nahuatl Solution

Npl Suffix: {-mes} (or /-mes/), no allomorphy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive Prefixes:</th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>no-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Px)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Roots: kali ‘house’, pelo ‘dog’, kwahmili ‘cornfield’

Remarks: 2\textsuperscript{nd} person marker is not glossed for number; so it could be either 2\textsuperscript{nd} singular (2sg) or 2\textsuperscript{nd} plural (2pl).

3\textsuperscript{rd} person singular (3s) marker is glossed as masculine, but this might simply be English.

The questions at the end are answered in the data, respectively ‘his dog’ and ikwahmilimes.

Isthmus Zapotec Solution

Npl Prefix: /ka-/, no allomorphy

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<th>Possessive Suffixes:</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Px)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-lu?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Remarks: 1\textsuperscript{st} sg (1s) and 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl (3p) px do not occur in the data.

All possessed nouns represent body parts or kin\-ship relations; consequently the Px may represent in\-alien\-able possession.

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- Solutions don’t have to be fancy, as long as they state the pattern(s).
- Ideally, everything in the data ought to be accounted for.
- If you can’t tell how something works, say so, and if you have a hypothesis to offer, do so.