10 Additive and associative plurality in Papuan Malay

ANGELA KLUGE

This paper discusses additive and associative plurality in Papuan Malay as spoken along West Papua’s north-east coast, on the island of New Guinea. Included is a brief overview of the noun phrase syntax, the numeral system, universal quantifiers, and numeral classifiers.  

“Papuan Malay” refers to the Malay varieties spoken in coastal West Papua. So far five varieties of Papuan Malay have been identified. The description of plurality in Papuan Malay is based on recordings of narratives and spontaneous conversations between Papuan Malay speakers in the Sarmi area which is located about 300 km west of Jayapura, both of which are located on the north-east coast of West Papua.

Map 1: Papuan Malay varieties (based on Donohue to be published and Kim et al. 2007)

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1 ✉ angela_kluge@sil.org

2 I would like to thank Marian Klamer of Leiden University and Lenice Harms of Yayasan Betani Indonesia (YBI) for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.
In Papuan Malay, the notions of additive and associative plurality are expressed in noun phrases in which a bare nominal head is modified with a post-head plural pronoun. When the head is a common noun that is interpreted as indefinite when occurring alone, this construction receives an additive plural interpretation with the meaning of ‘the Xs’. That is, an additive plural is a ‘normal’ plural signaling ‘more than one X’. With a nominal (typically a kin term or a proper noun) which is interpreted as definite when occurring alone, this construction receives an associative plural interpretation with the basic meaning of ‘X and X’s associates’.

Before examining plurality in Papuan Malay in detail, §1 gives an overview of the Papuan Malay noun phrase syntax, the numeral system, universal quantifiers, and numeral classifiers. The notions of additive and associative plurality are discussed in §2, followed by a brief review of associative plurality in other regional Malay varieties in §3.

1 Overview: Noun phrase syntax, numerals, quantifiers and numeral classifiers

This section gives a brief overview of the Papuan Malay noun phrase template (§1.1), the numeral system (§1.2), universal quantifiers (§1.3), and numeral classifiers (§1.4).

1.1 Noun phrase syntax

Papuan Malay nouns are unmarked for any grammatical category such as number, gender, or case. Common strategies to express plurality are modification with a plural pronoun (see §2), and/or modification with a numeral or quantifier (see §1.2 and §1.3). A third strategy, not discussed in this paper, is reduplication.

In the Papuan Malay noun phrase, adnominal modifiers typically occur in post-head position, as shown in Table 1. Depending on the semantics of the head nominal, numerals and quantifiers can also precede their head. All adnominal modifiers are optional. Adnominal pronouns follow their head nominals. If an adnominal static verb or noun co-occurs, then it precedes the pronoun. Adnominal numerals or quantifiers follow these modifiers. That is, while numerals or quantifiers do not occur concurrently, they do co-occur with adnominal pronouns. Adnominal demonstratives always occur at the right periphery of the noun phrase.

Papuan Malay noun phrase template (simplified)

(1)  (NUM)/(QT) HEAD (N)/(STV)  (PRO) (NUM)/(QT)  (DEM)

The example in (2) illustrates the canonical HEAD-MODIFIER word order within the noun phrase: the head nominal is modified by three constituents, namely a proper noun, the distal locative, and the distal demonstrative. The example in (3) demonstrates the MODIFIER-HEAD word order; the modifier is a universal quantifier.

HEAD     N     LOC     DEM

(2)  pisang  Sorong  sana  tu,  iii, besar-besar manis
‘those bananas (from) Sorong over there, oooh, (they) are all big (and) sweet’
1.2 Numerals

The Papuan Malay cardinal numerals are listed in §1.2.1, together with a brief description of their attributive uses and basic mathematical functions. The derivation of ordinal and distributive numbers is described in §1.2.2 and §1.2.3, respectively. In §1.2.4 an additional non-enumerating function of the numeral satu ‘one’ is presented.

1.2.1 Cardinal numerals

Papuan Malay has a decimal numeral system with the numerals having absolute reference. The basic cardinal numerals are presented in Table 1. Complex numerals are formed by indicating the number of units of the highest power of ten, followed by the number of units of the next lower power down to the simple units or digits of one to ten. The individual components of complex numbers are combined by juxtaposition. The numeral juta ‘million’ is borrowed from Sanskrit and milyar ‘billion’ from French, via Dutch (Jones 2007).

Table 1: Basic Papuan Malay cardinal numerals

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>satu</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dua</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tiga</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>empat</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>lima</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>enam</td>
<td>1.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tuju</td>
<td>2.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>dlapang</td>
<td>2.013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>sembilang</td>
<td>10.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>spulu</td>
<td>32.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>seblas</td>
<td>980.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>dua blas</td>
<td>1.000.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cardinal numerals are most often used attributively to enumerate entities. In this function they may either precede or follow their head nominal. With a preposed numeral, the noun phrase indicates the absolute number of items denoted by the head nominal as in *tiga orang* ‘three people’ (4) or in *dua jam* ‘two hours’ (5). Noun phrases with a post-head numeral express exhaustivity of a definite referent as in *pace dua ini* ‘both of these men’ (6), or denote a unique position within a series as in *jam dua* ‘two o’clock’ (7).

Attributively used numerals

(4) *kitorang tiga orang*  
1PL three person  
‘[on that trip] we (were) three people’

(5) *saya jaga dua jam, yo kurang lebi dua jam ...*  
1SG guard two hour yes lack more two hour  
‘I kept watch (for) two hours, yes, more or less (for) two hours …’

(6) *pace dua ini dong dua dari pedalamang*  
man two D.DIST 3PL two from interior  
‘both these men, the two of them are from the interior’

(7) *jam dua, tong kluar dari sini jam satu*  
hour two 1PL leave from L.PROX hour one  
‘(we arrived at) two o’clock, we left from here at one o’clock’

When the identity of the referent was established earlier or can be deduced from the context, the head nominal can be omitted, as in (8).

Numerals with omitted head nominal

(8) *Ika biasa angkat itu dlapang pulu sembilang*  
Ika be.usual pick-up D.DIST eight tens nine  
‘Ika usually lifts what’s-its-name eighty-nine (kilogram)’

The examples in (4) to (8) also illustrate that numerals can be used with animate or inanimate countable nouns.

The basic mathematical functions of the cardinal numerals are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Mathematical functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tamba</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>‘plus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>add</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 All examples in this chapter come from stories/natural discourse unless mentioned otherwise.
In natural conversations, however, calculations occur only very rarely. Therefore, the following examples are elicited: the function of addition is presented in (9), subtraction in (10), multiplication in (11), and division in (12).

Addition
(9) dua babi tamba tiga babi sama dengang lima babi
    two pig add three pig be.same with five pig
    ‘two pigs plus three pigs are five pigs’ [Elicited]

Subtraction
(10) lima babi kurang tiga babi sama dengang dua babi
    five pig lack three pig be.same with two pig
    ‘five pigs minus three pigs are two pigs’ [Elicited]

Multiplication
(11) dua babi kali tiga sama dengang enam babi
    two pig time three be.same with six pig
    ‘two pigs times three are six pigs’ [Elicited]

Division
(12) enam babi bagi tiga sama dengang dua babi
    five pig divide three be.same with two pig
    ‘six pigs divided by three are two pigs’ [Elicited]

1.2.2 Ordinal numerals

Papuan Malay employs two strategies to express the notion of ordinal numerals. For kinship terms the concept of ordinal numerals is encoded with a ‘NNum’ noun phrase headed by the noun nomor ‘number’, as in (13) and (14). This noun phrase ‘nomor Num’ gives the ordinal reading ‘Num-th’ such as yang nomor tiga ‘third’ in (13) or nomor empat ‘fourth’ in the elicited example in (14).

(13) saya tida bole kasi sama bapa punya sodara
    1SG NEG be.permitted give to father POSS sibling
    ana prempuang yang sa bilang nomor tiga
    child woman REL 1SG say number three
    [About bride-price children:] ‘I shouldn’t have given to father’s sibling the daughter that, as I said, was (my) third (child)’ (Lit. ‘number three’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kurang</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>‘minus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kali</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>‘times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagi</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>‘divide’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Additive and associative plurality in Papuan Malay

(14) *Aleks ini sa pu tete pu ade nomor empat*

Aleks D.PROX 1SG POSS grandfather POSS ySb number four

‘Aleks here is my grandfather’s fourth youngest sibling’ (Lit. ‘number four’) [Elicited]

Following one consultant, the strategy presented in (13) and (14) used to be employed not only for kinship terms but for countable nouns in general. With the increasing influence of Standard Indonesian, however, Papuan Malay speakers have started employing ordinal numbers of Indonesian origins more frequently, such as *kedua* ‘second’ in (15) or *ketiga* ‘third’ in the elicited example in (16).

(15) *distrik kedua di mana?*

district second at where

‘where is the second district?’

(16) *ini bibit nangka yang ketiga yang sa bli*

D.PROX 1SG POSS REL third REL 1SG buy

‘this is the third jackfruit seedling that I bought’ [Elicited]

1.2.3 Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals in the sense of ‘one by one’ or ‘two by two’ are derived by reduplication of the numeral. This is illustrated with *satu-satu* ‘one by one’ in (17), and with *dua-dua* ‘two by two’ in (18).

(17) *tong tiga cari jalang satu-satu*

1PL three search street DISTR—one

‘the three of us looked for a path (through the river) one-by-one’

(18) *tong minum dua-dua glas ato tiga-tiga glas*

1PL drink DISTR—two glass or DISTR—three glass

[About the lack of water during a retreat:] ‘we drank two glasses each or three glasses each (per day)’ (Lit. ‘two by two or three by three’)

1.2.4 Additional function of *satu* ‘one’

In addition to its enumerating function in postposed position, attributively used *satu* ‘one’ is employed to encode “specific indefiniteness” (Crystal 2008:444). That is, in NNum-NPs adnominal *satu* ‘one’ denotes specific but nonidentifiable referents, giving the specific indefinite reading ‘N *satu* ‘a certain N’. The specific indefinite referent may be animate human or inanimate, as illustrated in (19) and (20) respectively.4

(19) *ada ade satu di situ*

exist ySb one at L.MED

‘(there) is a certain younger sibling there’

4 The referent of *ojek satu* in (20) can be interpreted as the animate referent ‘motorbike taxi driver’, or as the inanimate referent ‘motorbike taxi’.
sa pas jalang kaki sampe di kampung satu Wareng
1SG be.exact walk foot reach at village one Wareng

ada ojek satu turung
exist motorbike.taxi one descend

‘right at the moment when I was walking on foot as far as a certain village (named) Wareng, there was a certain motorbike taxi (driver who) came down (the road)’

1.3 Universal quantifiers

The Papuan Malay universal quantifiers are listed in Table 3.

Table 3: Papuan Malay universal quantifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>smua</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>segala</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masing-masing</td>
<td>‘each’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(se)tiap</td>
<td>‘every’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sembarang</td>
<td>‘any’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quantifiers have syntactic properties similar to those of numerals. Most often, they are used attributively to indicate non-numeric quantities, as shown in (21) to (25). All five quantifiers occur in pre-head position, where they modify count nouns. Two of them also occur in post-head position where they modify count nouns; in addition, one of them also modifies mass nouns.

In preposed position, the five quantifiers convey a sense of individuality whereby they express the composite nature of their referents, such as smua masala ‘all problems’ in (21a) or setiap lagu ‘each song’ in (23). In addition, smua ‘all’, and masing-masing ‘each’ can occur in post-head position. In this position, smua ‘all’ modifies count nouns as in (21a) or mass nouns as in (21b), while masing-masing ‘each’ modifies count nouns only, as in (22). Postposed quantifiers signal exhaustivity of their countable or uncountable referents, such as pemuda masing-masing ‘each of the teenagers’ in (22) or gula smua ‘all (of the) sugar’ (21b).

As shown in (21) and (22), respectively, smua ‘all’, and masing-masing ‘each’ can be used with animate or inanimate referents. By contrast, the remaining three quantifiers do not freely modify animate and inanimate objects. While (se)tiap ‘every’ is typically used with inanimate referents as in (23), sembarang ‘any’ modifies animate referents only as in (24) (to express the notion of ‘every person’, speakers prefer quantification with masing-masing ‘each’). The quantifier segala ‘all’ is always used in combination with the noun macang ‘variety’. As shown in (25), the noun phrase segala macang ‘everything, whatever (kind)’ denotes all the things under discussion without listing them separately. Thereby, segala ‘all’ contrasts with smua ‘all’ which modifies countable and uncountable nouns, animate and inanimate referents, and occurs in preposed and in postposed position.
Attributively used universal quantifiers: Modifying count and mass nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRE-HEAD POSITION</th>
<th>POST-HEAD POSITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>a.</strong> Count N</td>
<td><strong>b.</strong> Mass N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smua masala</td>
<td>pemuda smua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all problem</td>
<td>youth all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘all problems’</td>
<td>‘all (of the) teenagers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gula smua</td>
<td>pemuda masing-masing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugar all</td>
<td>youth each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘all (of the) sugar’</td>
<td>‘each (of the) teenagers’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(21) Count N

(22) Count N

(23) Count N

(24) Count N

(25) Count N

When the identity of the referent was established earlier or can be deduced from the context, the head nominal can be omitted, as illustrated with smua ‘all’ in (26).

Universal quantifiers with omitted head nominal

| (26) … mobil blakos, smua naik di blakang |
| car pick-up.truck all climb at backside |
| ‘[we took] a pick-up truck, all (passengers) got onto its loading space’ |

1.4 Numeral classifiers

Papuan Malay has a very reduced inventory of numeral classifiers, unlike many other western Austronesian languages (Himmelmann 2005:173). Attested is only one classifier, the common noun ekor ‘tail’. Following a post-head numeral, ekor ‘tail’ is used to count animals, as shown in (27).

Enumeration of animals

| (27) dong dua dapat ikang ini tiga ekor, |
| 3PL two get fish D.PROX three tail |

| dapat ikang tiga ekor dong dua ... |
| get fish three tail 3PL two |
| ‘the two of them got these fish, three (of them), having gotten three fish, the two of them…’ (Lit. ‘three tails’) |
Enumeration of people and objects, by contrast, is done without a numeral classifier as illustrated in (28) and (29), respectively.

Enumeration of people and objects

(28) \( \text{jadi saya empat ana} \)

so 1SG four child

‘solo (have) four children’

(29) ... orang Sarmi harus siap untuk orang Sorong

person Sarmi have.to provide for person Sorong

spulu kaing itu kaing adat itu

ten cloth D.DIST cloth tradition D.DIST

‘[as bride-price] a Sarmi person has to provide a Sorong person with those ten cloths, those traditional cloths’

2 Additive and associative plurality

Papuan Malay expresses plurality as deemed necessary, as is typical of Malay varieties in general. Depending on the context, the lexical item \( \text{ana} \) ‘child’, for instance, could also be read as ‘children’. One common strategy to signal plurality is modification with a plural pronoun (other strategies are modification with a numeral or quantifier, mentioned in §1.2 and §1.3, or reduplication, not discussed here).

In their adnominal uses, pronouns occur in post-head position, such that ‘\( N \text{ PRO} \)’. Before discussing their functions in more detail, the Papuan Malay pronouns with their long and short forms are presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Papuan Malay pronoun system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>saya</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dia</td>
<td>de</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adnominal pronouns function as “personal determiners”, following Lyons’s (1999:141) terminology. That is, given the lack of inflectional person-number marking on nouns and verbs, it is the adnominally used pronouns that allow the unambiguous identification of the referents as speakers, addressees, or individuals or entities being talked about. More specifically, the pronouns “combine with nouns to produce expressions whose reference is thereby determined in terms of the identity of the referent” (1999:141). Thereby, the pronouns signal that – based on the situation or shared knowledge or the linguistic context – the participants in a speech act are in a position to identify the referent (see also Bhat 2007:11 and Lyons 1999:26-32).

In their determiner function, the Papuan Malay pronouns are available for all person-number values, with the exception of the first person singular, as demonstrated in Table 5 (the long and short pronoun forms are used interchangeably without discernible distinctions in meaning and use). Other languages, by contrast, are subject to constraints
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concerning their person-number values, as Lyons (1999:27) points out. In English, for instance, only ‘we’ and ‘you(PL)’ occur freely as determiners, while ‘you(SG)’ occurs in exclamations only; the remaining personal pronouns do not have any determiner uses. Yet other languages, such as Warlpiri (Hale 1973, in Lyons 1999:142), are “completely unconstrained in this respect” (Lyons 1999:142). Due to the constraints concerning the person-number values of adnominal pronouns, some of the examples in Table 5 do not readily translate into English. To illustrate the adnominal uses of the pronouns more clearly, however, the English translations of the ‘NP PRO’ expressions in this paper are literal rather than idiomatic. When this results in ungrammatical English expressions, the translations are marked with an asterisk mark “*”.

Table 5: Adnominal pronouns as determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HEAD</th>
<th>MOD</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N PRO-2SG</td>
<td></td>
<td>mama-ade ko 2SG</td>
<td>‘*you aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N PRO-3SG</td>
<td></td>
<td>ana de 3SG</td>
<td>‘*s/he child’ or ‘the child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N PRO-1PL</td>
<td></td>
<td>nene kitorang 1PL</td>
<td>‘we grandmothers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N PRO-2PL</td>
<td></td>
<td>bangsat kamu 2PL</td>
<td>‘you rascals’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N PRO-3PL</td>
<td></td>
<td>anjing dong 3PL</td>
<td>‘*they dogs’ or ‘the dogs’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The focus of the current discussion is noun phrases with adnominal plural pronouns. Two examples of such ‘N PRO-PL’ expressions are presented in (30) and (31).

(30) pemuda dong snang skali youth 3PL feel.happy(.about) very ‘*they young people feel very happy’ (Lit. ‘youth they’)

(31) Ise dong su datang Ise 3PL already come ‘Ise and her companions including herself already came’ (Lit. ‘Ise they’)

The examples in (30) and (31) illustrate that ‘N PRO-PL’ noun phrases have two readings. With indefinite referents, such as pemuda ‘youth’ in (30), ‘N PRO-PL’ expressions have an additive plural reading. With definite referents, such as Ise in (31), ‘N PRO-PL’ noun phrases receive an associative inclusory plural reading. This makes Papuan Malay belong to the large group of languages in Asia where the “associative plural marker … is also used to express additive plurals” (Daniel and Moravcsik 2011:5-6).

The additive plural interpretation of ‘N PRO-PL’ noun phrases is discussed in §2.1 and the associative inclusory plural reading in §2.2.

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5 English examples are ‘we teachers’, ‘you students’, or ‘you idiot’ Lyons (1999: 451).
2.1 Additive plural interpretation

In ‘\textit{N PRO-PL}’ noun phrases with indefinite referents, the adnominal plural pronouns have two functions. They indicate the definiteness of their referents and signal an additive plural reading of the respective noun phrases with the basic meaning of ‘the Xs’.

The additive interpretation implies referential homogeneity of the group. That is, “every referent of the plural form is also a referent of the stem” (Daniel and Moravcsik 2011:1). In (32), for example, \textit{kitorang ‘1PL’} denotes the plurality of its bare head nominal \textit{nene ‘grandmother’}, while in (33) \textit{kamu ‘2PL’} signals the plurality of \textit{bangsat ‘rascal’}, and in (34) \textit{dong ‘3PL’} indicates the plurality of \textit{anjing ‘dog’}. These examples illustrate that the referent is always animate. It can be human as in (32) and (33), or nonhuman as in (34); inanimate referents are unattested.

Additive plural interpretation with bare head nominal

(32) \textit{jadi \textit{nene} kitorang ini masak}
so grandmother 1PL D.PROX cook
‘so we grandmothers here cook’

(33) \textit{bangsat kamu tu tinggal lari ke sana ke mari}
rascal 2PL D.DIST stay run to L.DIST to L.PROX
‘you rascals there keep running back and forth’

(34) … \textit{di mana anjing dong gonggong}
at where dog 3PL bark
‘*[I just ran closing in on the pig] where they dogs were barking’

In (32) to (34) the number of referents is left unspecified. When this number is limited to two, speakers very often use a dual construction, such that ‘bare N PRO-PL dua’, as in (35) and (36).

Additive dual interpretation

(35) \textit{laki-laki kam dua sapu}
man 2PL two sweep
‘you two boys sweep’

(36) \textit{pace dorang dua ini ke atas}
man 3PL two D.PROX to top
‘*they two men here (went) up (there)’

2.2 Associative inclusory plural interpretation

‘\textit{N PRO-PL}’ noun phrases with a definite referent and an adnominal plural pronoun receive an associative inclusory plural reading. The reading is “associative” in that it has the basic meaning of “‘X and X’s associate(s)’, where all members are individuals, X is the focal referent, and the associate(s) form a group centering around X” (Moravcsik 2003:471). In Papuan Malay, the “focal referent” is always encoded with a noun or noun phrase heading the phrasal construction, while the “associates” are encoded with a post-head plural pronoun. In (37) and (38), for instance, \textit{Lodia} and \textit{Pawlus} are the focal referents while the pronouns \textit{torang ‘1PL’} and \textit{doran ‘3PL’} denote the associates, respectively.
The reading of ‘N PRO-PL’ noun phrases is not only associative, but also “inclusory” in that “all members of the plural set are summarily referred to by a pronoun” (Moravcsik 2003:479). That is, the reference of the pronoun includes the reference of the focal referent, such that ‘PRO including X’ (see also Gil 2009 and Haspelmath 2004:25). In (37), for instance, the pronoun torang ‘1PL’ includes not only the companions and the speaker, but all members of the plural set, “including Lodia”. That is, the ‘N PRO-PL’ noun phrase Lodia torang does not signal an additive relation in the sense of ‘*Lodia plus we companions’. Likewise in (38), the reference of dorang ‘3PL’ includes not only the associates of the focal referent Pawlus, but all members of the plural set, “including Pawlus”.

(37) itu yang Lodia torang bilang begini, ...
   D.DIST REL Lodia 1PL say like.this
   ‘*that’s why Lodia and we companions including her said like this, …’ (Lit. ‘Lodia we’)

(38) tanta ada mara Pawlus dorang
    aunt exist be.angry Pawlus 3PL
    ‘*aunt is being angry with Pawlus and his companions including Pawlus’ (Lit. ‘Pawlus they’)

In the following, the semantic properties of associative inclusory expressions are examined. Also discussed are the lexical classes used in these expressions and the types of relationships expressed within the associated groups.

Associative inclusory expressions imply two distinct semantic properties, namely “referential heterogeneity”, and “reference to groups” (Daniel and Moravcsik 2011: 1–3). The notion of “referential heterogeneity” implies that “the associative plural designates a heterogeneous set” (2011: 1). This is shown in (39) to (41). In (39), bapa Iskia dong ‘father Iskia and them’ does not denote several people called Iskia; neither does bapa desa dorang ‘father mayor and them’ designate more than one mayor. The same applies to the examples in (40) and (41) (in this context dokter ‘doctor’ has a definite reading as the local hospital has only one doctor). In each case, the plural pronoun encodes a heterogeneous set of associates centering around X”, the focal referent. Moreover, the pronouns include the focal referents in their reference.

Associative inclusory plural interpretation: Third person plural pronoun

(39) bapa Iskia dong bunu babi, bapa desa dorang
    father Iskia 3PL kill pig father village 3PL

  dong bunu babi
  3PL kill pig
  ‘*father Iskia and his companions including Iskia killed a pig, father mayor and his companions including the mayor, they killed a pig’

(40) Ise ko tinggal di sini suda deng mama-tua dorang
    Ise 2SG stay at L.PROX just with aunt 3PL
    ‘*you Ise just stay here with aunt and her companions including aunt’
Angela Kluge

(41)  dokter dorang bilang begini, ...
docto 3PL say like..this

‘the doctor and his companions including the doctor said like this, …’

The semantic property of “reference to groups” refers to a high degree of internal cohesion within the plural construction. That is, the focal referent and the associates form “a spatially or conceptually coherent group” (Moravcsik 2003: 471). In (39) and (40), for instance, the ‘N PRO’ noun phrases denote coherent groups of inherently associated individuals, namely bapa Iskia dong ‘father Iskia and them’, bapa desa dorang ‘father mayor and them’, and mama-tua dorang ‘aunt and them’, respectively. Moreover, the groups referred to are “asymmetric, or ranked” (2003: 471). That is, the associative plural names its pragmatically most salient or highest ranking member, the focal referent, such as bapa Iskia ‘father Iskia’ and bapa desa ‘father mayor’ in (39), or mama-tua ‘aunt’ in (40). The remaining members of the plural set, by contrast, are not fully enumerated but subsumed under the plural pronoun dong / dorang ‘3PL’.

Typically, the associates are encoded with the third person plural pronoun. Less frequently, the associates are encoded with the first person plural pronoun, as in (37), repeated as (42), or with the second person plural pronoun as in (43) and (44). In associative inclusory expressions formed with the second person plural pronoun, the focal referent is typically the addressee as in (43). Alternatively, although much less often, one of the associates can be the addressee as in (44) (the focal referent Lodia was not present during this conversation).

Associative inclusory plural interpretation: First and second person plural pronouns

(42)  itu yang Lodia torang bilang begini, ...
D.DIST REL Lodia 1PL say like..this

‘that’s why Lodia and her companions including me said like this, …’

(43)  tanta Oktofina kam pulang jam brapa
aunt Oktofina 2PL go.home hour hour how.many

‘what time did you aunt Oktofina and your companions including you (Oktofina) come home?’

(44)  Lodia kam pake trek ke sana baru sa ...
Lodia 2PL use truck to L.DIST and.then 1SG

‘Lodia and her companions including you (addressee) took the truck to (go) over there, and then I …’

In (37) to (44), the number of referents is not specified. When only two participants are involved, however, that is, the focal referent plus one associate, Papuan Malay speakers very often use a dual construction, such that ‘bare N PRO-PL dua’, as in (45). Like dual constructions with an additive reading (§2.1), the associate is not explicitly mentioned but subsumed under the numeral dua ‘two’.

Associative inclusory dual interpretation

(45)  om kitong dua kluar mo pergi cari pinang
uncle 1PL two go.out want go search betel.nut

‘uncle and I went out and wanted to look for betel nuts’
In terms of the lexical classes employed in associative plural expressions, Daniel and Moravcsik (2011:3) observe “a clear preference for associative plurals formed from proper names over kin terms over non-kin human common nouns over non-human nouns.” This also applies to Papuan Malay, in that the focal referents in associative inclusory expressions are formed from human nouns while non-human animate focal referents are unattested. Among human nouns, however, kin terms as in (40) are more common than proper names as in (37). This has to do with the fact that culturally people prefer not to use proper names, if they have another option, especially if the person is older and/or present. In addition, although not very often, associative plural expressions are formed from non-kin terms such as the title noun expression *bapa desa* ‘father mayor’ in (39), or the common noun *dokter* ‘doctor’ in (41). (See also Moravcsik 2003:471-473.)

Concerning the relationship between the focal referent X and the associates, Daniel and Moravcsik (2011:3) note that “the group may be: (i) X’s family, (ii) X’s friends, or familiar associates, or (iii) an occasional group that X is a member of” with “kin forming the most commonly understood associates”. Papuan Malay also conforms to this cross-linguistic finding in that the associates are most often X’s family as in (40). Less commonly, X’s associates are friends or companions in a shared activity as in (41). Associative plurals denoting occasional groups or, following Moravcsik (2003:473), “incidental association”, are unattested.

### 3 Associative plural in other regional Malay varieties

The associative plural interpretation for noun phrases with adnominal plural pronoun is also quite common for other regional Malay varieties, such as Ambon, Bali Berkuak, Dobo, Kupang, Manado, or Sri Lanka Malay. In Ternate Malay, however, pronouns do not have adnominal functions (Litamahuputty 2012:141). The associative plural reading of noun phrases with adnominal plural pronoun found in regional Malay varieties is illustrated in the examples in (46) to (51).

In Ambon Malay, Dobo Malay, Kupang Malay, and Sri Lanka Malay, the adnominal pronoun is postposed as in Papuan Malay, as demonstrated in (46) to (49), respectively. By contrast, in Bali Berkuak Malay or Manado Malay the pronoun is in pre-head position, as shown in (50) and (51), respectively.

In each case, the pronoun is the third person plural pronoun. In most varieties only the short pronoun form is used as in Ambon Malay or Dobo Malay, as shown in (46) and (47), respectively. Only in Manado Malay the short and the long forms are used, as illustrated in (51). Contrasting with Papuan Malay, these regional Malay varieties do not employ the first and second person plural pronouns to express associative plurality.

**Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997:169)**

(46)  *mama dong*

mother 3PL

‘mother and the others’

**Dobo Malay (Nivens, p.c. 2013)**

(47)  *pa Kace dong*

man Kace 3PL

‘Mr. Kace and his associates’
Kupang Malay (Grimes and Jacob 2008)

(48)  
\[ \text{Yan} \text{ dong} \]
Yan  3\text{PL}
‘Yan and his family / mates’

Sri Lanka Malay (Slomanson 2013)

(49)  
\[ \text{Miflal} \text{ derang} \]
Miflal  3\text{PL}
‘Miflal and his friends’

Balai Berkuak Malay (Tadmor 2002:7)

(50)  
\[ \text{sidaq} \text{ Katalq} \]
3\text{PL}  Katalq
‘Katalq and her gang’

Manado Malay (Stoel 2005:30)

(51)  
\[ \text{dong} / \text{ dorang} \text{ Yoram} \]
3\text{PL}  Yoram
‘Yoram and his family’

In short, among the eastern Malay varieties Papuan Malay is unique in that associative plural expressions are formed with all three plural persons, including the long and the short pronoun forms.

4  Summary

In Papuan Malay noun phrases in which a plural pronoun modifies a bare head nominal denote additive or associative plurality. With an indefinite referent the construction has an additive reading with the basic meaning of ‘Xs’ as in pemuda dong ‘*they young people’. This group reading implies referential homogeneity. With a definite referent the same construction has an associative reading with the basic meaning ‘X and X’s associates’ as in Pawlus dorang ‘Pawlus and his associates’. This group reading implies referential heterogeneity and reference to groups.

References


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