Additive and associative plurality in Papuan Malay

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Outline

- Introduction
- Noun phrases with adnominal pronoun
- Additive plurality
- Associative plurality
Introduction

- Bare nominal term modified with post-head plural pronoun
  - Indefinite referent $\Rightarrow$ Additive plurality
    $\Rightarrow$ Meaning: ‘Xs’
  - Definite referent $\Rightarrow$ Associative plurality
    $\Rightarrow$ Meaning: ‘X and X’s associates’
Papuan Malay varieties

(based on Donohue to appear, and Kim et al. 2007)
Introduction

- Plurality – Expressed as deemed necessary
  - anak ‘child / children’
  - Reduplication
  - Modification with numeral or quantifier
  - ‘NP-PRO’ – NP with adnominal pronoun in post-head position
Introduction

- Simplified NP template & pronoun system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HEAD</th>
<th>(N) (stV)</th>
<th>(PRO)</th>
<th>(NUM) (QT)</th>
<th>(DEM)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Person</td>
<td>saya</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>kitong / kitorang</td>
<td>tong / torang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>kamu / kamorang</td>
<td>kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>dia</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>dorang</td>
<td>dong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NP – PRO

- NP with adnominal pronoun in post-head position
  - N/NP encodes the referent
  - PRO encodes number and person of the referent
    ⇒ Function as “personal determiners” (Lyons 1999:141)
    ⇒ Signal definiteness of an identifiable referent (Loos 2003:147)
      - dokter de ‘doctor 3SG’ ⇒ ‘the doctor’
      - dokter dong ‘doctor 3PL’ ⇒ ‘the doctors’
NP – PRO

- bare N – adnominal singular pronoun
- reduplicated N – adnominal plural pronoun
- bare N – adnominal plural pronoun
NP – PRO

- bare N – adnominal singular pronoun
- reduplicated N – adnominal plural pronoun
- bare N – adnominal plural pronoun
  - indefinite referent ⇒ additive plural reading
  - definite referent ⇒ associative plural reading
bare N – PRO-PL
- bare N
- plural pronoun
  - first, second, or third person
  - long and short pronoun forms

‘Group of items’ reading
- Group is definite
- Additional referents are subsumed under the plural pronoun
- Numerical size of the group is left unspecified
Additive plural interpretation

- bare N – PRO-PL
  - Referent ‘X’
    - Indefinite
    - Animate human / nonhuman
  - Additive reading: ‘Xs’
    - Group items of same type

(1) pemuda   dong    snang    skali
young.person 3PL  happy  very
‘they young people are very happy’ [Lit. ‘they young person’]
Additive plural interpretation

- Referential homogeneity
  - “every referent of the plural form is also a referent of the stem”
    (Daniel and Moravcsik 2011:1)

(1) pemuda dong snang skali
    young.person 3PL happy very
    ‘they young people are very happy’ [Lit. ‘they young person’]
Additive plural interpretation

- Referential homogeneity

(2) jadi nene kitorang ini masak
so grandmother 1PL DEM.PROX cook
‘so we grandmothers here cook’

(3) bangsat kamu tu tinggal lari ...
scoundrel 2PL DEM.DIST stay run ...
‘you scoundrels there keep running …’

(4) … di mana anjing dong gong-gong
... at which dog 3PL bark.at
‘[I approached the place] where they dogs were barking’
Additive dual interpretation

- bare N – PRO-PL – **dua** ‘two’
  - Additional referent is subsumed under dual construction

(5) *prempuan kam dua* sapu
    woman 2PL two sweep
    ‘you two girls sweep’

(6) *pace dorang dua ini* ke atas
    man 3PL two DEM.PROX to top
    ‘they two men here (went up) to the top’
Associative plural interpretation

- bare N – PRO-PL
  - Referent
    - Definite
    - Animate human
  ⇒ Associative reading: ‘X and X’s associate(s)’
    - Group items of different types

(7) tanta ada mara Lamber dorang
aunt exist be.angry Lamber 3PL
‘aunt is being angry with Lamber and his associates’
(Lit. ‘they Lamber’)
Associative plural interpretation

- Referential heterogeneity and reference to groups
  (Daniel and Moravcsik 2011:1-3)

(7) tanta ada mara Lamber dorang
    aunt exist be.angry Lamber 3PL
    ‘aunt is being angry with Lamber and his associates’
    (Lit. ‘they Lamber’)
Associative plural interpretation

- Referential heterogeneity
  - Associative plural construction designates a heterogeneous set 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)
    - Focal referent
      - bare head nominal
    - Associates
      - encoded in post-head adnominal plural pronoun
Associative plural interpretation

- Referential heterogeneity
  - Focal referent and associates
  - Plural pronoun encodes a heterogeneous set of associates

(7) tanta ada mara Lamber dorang
    aunt exist be.angry Lamber 3PL
    ‘aunt is being angry with Lamber and his associates’

(8) sampe sore paitua dong pulang kulia
    reach afternoon husband 3PL go.home study
    ‘in the afternoon (my) husband and his associates came home from studying’
Associative plural interpretation

- Reference to groups
  - Groups have high degree of internal cohesion
    - Focal referent and associates form “a spatially or conceptually coherent group” (Moravcsik 2003:471)
  - Groups are asymmetric or ranked
    - Focal referent
      - highest ranking, most salient member
    - Associates
      - subsumed under the plural pronoun
Associative plural interpretation

- Reference to groups
  - Groups have high degree of internal cohesion
  - Groups are asymmetric or ranked

(7) tanta ada mara Lamber dorang
    aunt exist be.angry Lamber 3PL
    ‘aunt is being angry with Lamber and his associates’

(8) sampe sore paitua dong pulang kulia
    reach afternoon husband 3PL go.home study
    ‘in the afternoon (my) husband and his associates came home from studying’
Associative plural interpretation

- Semantic types of associative plural constructions
  (Daniel and Moravcsik 2011)
  - Lexical choices
  - Relationship within the associated group
Associative plural interpretation

- **Lexical choices** (Daniel and Moravcsik 2011)
  - Focal referent and associates belong to the same cognitive category
    - Human animates
    - (Nonhuman animates)
  - Preferences
    - proper nouns > kin terms > non-kin human common nouns > non-human common nouns
Associative plural interpretation

Lexical choices

(9) Meri ko tinggal di sini ... dengan mama-tua dorang
Meri 2SG stay at here ... with aunt 3PL
‘you Meri stay here with aunt and her associates’

(10) Nikson dong menang
Nikson 3PL win
‘Nikson and his associates won’

(11) dokter dorang bilang begini, ...
doctor 3PL say like this, ...
‘the doctor and his associates said like this, …’
Associative plural interpretation

- Relationship within the associated group (Daniel and Moravcsik 2011)
  - X’s family
  - X’s friends or familiar associates
  - Occasional group of which X is a member
Associative plural interpretation

- Relationship within the associated group

(9) Meri ko tinggal di sini ... dengan mama-tua dorang
Meri 2SG stay at here ... with aunt 3PL
‘you Meri stay here with aunt and her associates’

(10) Nikson dong menang
Nikson 3PL win
‘Nikson and his associates won’

(11) dokter dorang bilang begini, ...
doctor 3PL say like this, ...
‘the doctor and his associates said like this, …’
Associative plural interpretation

- Associates: 3PL

(11) **dokter dorang bilang begini, …**
  doctor 3PL say like.this, …

‘**the doctor and his associates** said like this, …’
Associative plural interpretation

- Associates: 1PL and 2PL

  (12) itu yang **Siska torang** bilang begini, …
  DEM.DIST REL Siska 1PL say like.this, …
  ‘that’s why **Siska and we associates** said like this, …’

  (13) **tanta Lina kam** pulang jam brapa?
  aunt Lina 2PL go.home hour how.many
  ‘what time did **you aunt Lina and your associates** come home?’
Associative dual interpretation

- bare N – PRO-PL – *dua* ‘two’
  - Focal referent
    - Included in adnominal dual construction
  - Associate
    - Subsumed under dual construction
    - First, second, and third person

(14) *om kitong dua* keluar mo ... uncle 1PL two go.out want ... ‘uncle and I went out (and) wanted to …’
Associative dual interpretation

- bare N – PRO-PL – *dua* ‘two’

(14) **om** kitong dua keluar mo …  
uncle 1PL two go.out want …  
‘uncle and I went out (and) wanted to …’

(15) **mace** kam dua cerita  
woman 2PL two talk  
‘you (my) wife and your associate talk’

(16) **sa** tanya mama dong dua  
1SG ask mother 3PL two  
‘I asked mother and her associate’
Associative plural in other Malay varieties

- **Ambon Malay** (van Minde 1997:169)
  
  (17) `mama dong`
  
  mother 3PL

  ‘mother and the others’

- **Dobo Malay** (Nivens, p.c.)
  
  (18) `pa Kace dong`
  
  man Kace 3PL

  ‘Mr. Kace and his associates’

- **Kupang Malay** (Grimes and Jacob 2008)
  
  (19) `Yan dong`
  
  Yan 3PL

  ‘Yan and his family / mates’

- **Sri Lanka Malay** (Michaelis et al. 2012:169)
  
  (20) `Miflal derang`
  
  Miflal 3PL

  ‘Miflal and his friends’

- **Balai Berkuak Malay** (Tadmor 2002:9)
  
  (21) `sidaq Katalq`
  
  3PL Katalq

  ‘Katalq and her gang’

- **Manado Malay** (Stoel 2005:30)
  
  (22) `dorang/dong Yoram`
  
  3PL Yoram

  ‘Yoram and his family’
Summary

- **bare N – PRO-PL**
  - **pemuda dong** ‘they young people’
    - Indefinite referent
    - Additive plural interpretation: ‘Xs’
      - Referential homogeneity
  - **Lamber dorang** ‘Lamber and his associate(s)’
    - Definite referent
    - Associative plural interpretation: ‘X and X's associates’
      - Referential heterogeneity
      - Reference to groups
References


Stoel, Ruben. 2005. *Focus in Manado Malay: Grammar, particles, and intonation*. Leiden: Leiden University, Department of Languages and Cultures of South-East Asia and Oceania.
