

Aspects of number in the Papuan outliers of East Nusantara

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1. Introduction

The East Nusantara region is home to two distinct groups of Papuan languages spoken far from the New Guinea mainland and surrounded by genetically unrelated Austronesian languages. Here I survey some aspects of number in NH and AP languages, drawing in particular on examples from Tobelo (NH) and Western Pantar (AP).

- plural words
- dual number
- numeral classifiers



2. Plural words

Only found in AP, not NH.

(1) Plural words in Alor-Pantar languages

Teiwa	<i>non</i>
Klon	<i>(o)non</i>
Kamang	<i>nung</i>
Adang*	<i>-nang</i>
Abui	<i>loku</i>
Kula	<i>du(wa)</i>
Sawila	<i>do</i>
Western Pantar	<i>maru(ng)</i>

2.1 Western Pantar (Lamma) *maru(ng)*

Plural word is an NP quantifier:

(2) Jawa eu manne marung sing ayang ma
 Java woman wife PL ART drift come
 'the Javanese married women came in noisely' [publia465]

(3) pia gi hai sampan marung sing
 descend 3PL.POSS boat/canoe PL ART
 '(they) went down to their canoes' [conflict042]

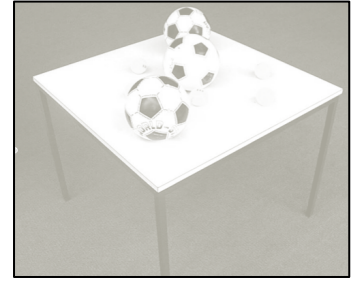
Contrasts with Kamang *nung*, which occurs in apposition to the NP.

(4) muut=ak nung iduka
 citrus=DEF PL sweet
 'the citrus fruits are sweet' (Schapper and Klamer 2011)

As in other AP languages, *maru(ng)* is not obligatory.

(5) bal marung mea tang pering
 ball PL table on pour
 'a bunch of balls are spread out on the table' [pspv1.08]

(6) bal ara atiga, kalla yasing, mea tang ti'ang
 ball large three small five table on set
 'three large balls and five small balls are sitting on the table' [pspv2.08]



Plural word cannot occur with numeral or numeral classifier.

(7) *ke'e kealaku maru (8) *ke'e bina/dis maru
 fish twenty PL fish CLF/CLF PL

WP is like Teiwa and unlike Kamang in that the plural word cannot occur independently.

- (9) a. Teiwa (Schapper and Klamer 2011)
 *non dekal gula'
 PL split finish
- b. Kamang (Schapper and Klamer 2011)
 nung sue
 PL arrive
 'multiple other (people) arrived'
- c. Western Pantar
 *marung lama ta
 PL walk IMPF

WP is like Kamang and unlike Teiwa in that the plural word can occur in an NP in apposition with a pronoun.

- (10) a. Teiwa (Schapper and Klamer 2011)
 *non ga'an u aria-n maan?
 PL DEM DIST arrive-REAL NEG
- b. Kamang (Schapper and Klamer 2011)
 nung gera sue
 PL 3.CONTR arrive
 'multiple other (people) arrived'
- c. Western Pantar
 wenang marung ging pia
 old.man PL 3PL.ACT descend
 'the old men went down' [bm016]

2.2 Klon (o)non

Very similar to Teiwa

(11) kuur non g-eh
 dog PL 3-bite
 'the dogs bit it' (Baird 2008)

(12) kulbin onon i twai mid
 old PL DUR separate ascend
 'the old (people) began to separate moving upwards' (Baird 2008)

(13) gtan mnaak onon
 branch small PL
 'small branches' (Baird 2008)

(o)non can also have an associative reading.

- (14) ni-man onon
1ePOSS-father PL
'my parents' (not: 'my fathers') (Baird 2008)

2.3 Adang -nang

Technically, -nang is not actually a plural word but rather a bound form which must attach to a plural pronominal prefix.

- (15) i-nang tou sam don (*i-nang sam don)
2PL-PL three go shopping
'you three go shopping' (Haan 2001:128)

2.4 Abui loku

Abui *loku* derives from a word referring to a voodoo doll. As in Teiwa the Abui plural word occurs in the quantifier position, immediately preceding the demonstrative slot.

- (16) moka fila loku do
child young PL DEM
'the young children' (Kratochvíl 2007:156)

Restricted semantics: does not occur with mass nouns or small things which typically occur in groups.

- (17) *bataa loku (18) *fikai loku
wood PL ant PL

May also function as a nominalizer.

- (19) foka loku (20) firai loku
large PL run PL
'large ones' 'runners' (Kratochvíl 2007:108)

Can be used to derive ethnonyms.

- (21) Kamang loku
K. PL
'Kamang people'

3. Dual number

3.1 Alor-Pantar

Teiwa has a complete paradigm of dual pronouns, transparently derived from plural pronouns by suffixing *-raxau* (perhaps related to *raq* 'two?').

- (38) ni-raxau ina, yi-raxau ina
1e-DUAL eat 2PL-DUAL eat
'we two eat, you two eat' (Klamer 2010:82)

Klon has a full paradigm of dual free pronouns, but no dual in pronominal prefixes.

- (22) Pransina gi-man ele her agai bo ibiq yo ele g-ebeer
P. 3POSS-father 3DU descend go SEQ fish DEM 3DU 3UG-kill
'Pransina and her father went down and they (two) killed the fish' (Baird 2008:158)

When indexing undergoers the Klond dual pronoun co-occurs with the plural/non-sg pronoun

- (23) ini ge om Koimo Kalok ele ini g-tang
 3NSG 3POSS man K. K. 3DU 3NSG 3UG-ask
 'they asked their two men Koimo and Kalok' (Baird 2008:159)

Abui, Adang, and Western Pantar lack a true dual morpheme. However, WP does make extensive use of the numeral 'two' as a predicate in serial verb constructions

- (24) WP dual markers from *alaku* 'two'

pilaku 1i 'the two of us'
 nilaku 1e 'the two of us (excluding another)'
 hilaku 2PL 'the two of you'
 ilaku 3PL 'the two them'

- (25) pi-laku pi-mising ta ber ye pi-asang
 1i-two 1i-sit IMPF issue one 1i-say
 'let's the two of us sit down and talk about this matter' [tonu247]

3.2 North Halmahera

Dual number is almost entirely absent in North Halmahera. Hueting (1936) reports a dual morpheme (*bo*)*ri*, though in my own field work I have never encountered this morpheme used productively.

- (26) manga-lako yo-bori-ruhutu-oka
 3PL.POSS-eye 3PL-DU-close-PERF
 'they both closed their eyes'
- (27) manga-ngohaka yo-bori-ngoheka
 3PL.POSS-child 3PL-DU-woman
 'their children are both girls'
- (28) ma-boleo de ma-doto i-ma-ri-tauru
 NM-sandbank and NM-point 3-RFLX-DU-stretch
 'the sandbank and the point stretch toward each other'

Also, use of numeral *hinoto* 'two', similar to WP. See §4.3.

4. Numeral classifiers

- (29) Cline of nominal classification systems (after Grinevald 2007)

Lexicon <-----> Morphosyntax
 (Numeral) Classifiers

4.1 Alor-Pantar numeral classifier

(30) Western Pantar (AP) numeral classifiers

bina	general classifier	'detached'
haila	objects with areal extent	'base, area'
dawal	rope-like object (rope, nylon, cable thread, etc.)	'roll, coil'
dis	object strung on a string	'stringer'
kakka	long, stiff, flat objects	'stiff'
gamma	sticklike objects	'nose, point of land'
hissa	fruit, contents	'fruit'
kassi	split-off objects	'to split'
lu'a	rounded object	'rounded, oblong'
waya	flat, flexible objects	'leaf'

WP numeral classifiers are not obligatory. Difference below may be based on speaker preference.

(31) noang waya ye mea tang maiyang gai sar diakang haulang
sarong CLF one table on place 3POSS edge descend hang
'one sarong placed on a table with its edge hanging down' [pspv1.49]

(32) noang ye mea tang pedding
sarong one table on spread
'one sarong spread out on a table' [pspv2.14]

Choice of classifier may distinguish measures

(33) hap dis alaku
fish CLF two
'two stringers of fish'

(34) hap bina alaku
fish CLF two
'two individual fish'

The general classifier *bina* may combine with other classifiers

(35) maggi bina ye g-abbu tang tasing ti'ang
banana CLF one 3-stomach on fall.down sleep
'one banana fell down on his stomach' [peripheral19]

(36) maggi hisaa bina ye yattu haila tukka tang tasing
banana CLF/fruit CLF one tree base short on fall.down
'one banana fell on the tree stump' [peripheral11]

Classifier may distinguish shape

(37) teikari dis alaku
cassava CLF two
'two stringers of fish'

(38) hap bina alaku
fish CLF two
'two individual fish'

Choice of classifier may distinguish perceived shape, as in the following responses elicited based on Ameka et al. 1999:

(39) teikari **gamma** atiga yattu haila tukka tang ti'ang
cassava CLF three tree base short on sleep
'three cassava lying on a tree stump' [pspv2.47]

(40) teikari **hissa** ye yattu haila tukka tang ti'ang
cassava CLF one tree base short on sleep
'one cassava lying on a tree stump' [pspv2.23]



- (41) wenang ye lama-lama wa yattu ara haila ye natar ga-niaka kauwa
 man one RDP-walk go tree large CLF one stand 3-see NEG
 'a man is walking along and without seeing a large tree'

wang raung pia
 exist climb descend
 'bumps into it and keeps going' [C16]

Choice of classifier is not consistent across languages.

- (42) Abui
 kabala kasing karnuku
 cloth CLF (splinter) ten
 'ten pieces of cloth' (Kratochvíl 2007:153)

- (43) WP
 sabu waya keanuku *sabu kassi keanuku
 cloth CLF ten cloth split ten
 'ten pieces of cloth'

Klon numeral classifiers have grammaticized as proclitics and no longer occur as independent words.

- (44) ga ge ete ih ong, up=tong ma ana=tong g-en
 3ACT 3POSS tree fruit this CLF=three come CLF=three 3-give
 'he brought three pieces of fruit and gave them to the three (people)' (Baird 2008)
 cf. WP *uppur* 'seed', *aname* 'person'

Teiwa numeral classifiers also further grammaticized (see Klamer, this conference).

4.2 North Halmahera numeral classifiers

- (45) Tobelo (NH) numeral classifiers

<i>-gahumu</i>	3-dim objects, default	'be whole, solid'
<i>-utu</i>	long thin, houses	'stem'
<i>-belaka</i>	long 2-dim objects	'to split'
<i>-guriti</i>	long 1-dim objects	'to sew'
<i>-liranga</i>	cloth, flexible 2-dim objects	'coil of rope'
<i>-uhanga</i>	bunches of discrete objects	'bunch'
<i>-tudili</i>	palm roof thatch	'palm thatch needle'
<i>-biono</i>	sago bread	'face'
<i>-lyahiri</i>	swallow, drink	'to swallow'
<i>-nahiri</i>	bamboo	'a swallow (of drink)'
<i>-dehoro</i>	torches	'to make a torch'
<i>-baha</i>	aren palm fibers	'end'
<i>-ngai</i>	fish and hair	--

Morphologically distinguished in that they must occur with noun marker *o* rather than *ma*.

(46) o-gumini o-liranga moi
 NM-rope NM-CLF one
 'one bunch of rope'

(47) o-hidete ma-liranga
 NM-sail NM-stripe
 'the sail's stripes'

In Loloda (NH) occurs without a noun marker

(48) o-wola utu metoa
 NM-house CLF five
 'five houses' (van Baarda 1904:349)

Classifier has scope over NP

(49) o-bole ma-gomuku o-utu moi
 NM-banana NM-ripe NM-CLF one
 'one ripe banana' (Hueting 1908b:84)

Numeral classifiers are often used in enumeration

(50) de ma-hira-hira-ka w-olyomo o-bole o-utu moi,
 and NM-RDP-be.first-PERF 3SG.MASC.ACT-eat NM-banana NM-CLF one
 'in the beginning he ate one banana'
 ma-hinoto w-olyomo o-bole o-utu hinoto,
 NM-two 3SG.MASC.ACT-eat NM-banana NM-CLF two
 'the second time he ate two bananas'
 wo-gogere de w-olyomo o-bole o-utu hange.
 3SG.MASC.ACT-stay and 3SG.MASC.ACT-eat NM-banana NM-CLF three
 'he continued and ate three bananas' (Hueting 1908b:176)

In other contexts the classifier may be unnecessary

(51) y-a-ihā de o-bole moi m-a-lye
 3PL-3-landward and NM-banana one 3FEM.ACT-3-get
 'they went landwards and she got a banana' (Hueting 1908b:73)

Classifier can be used anaphorically without the NP.

(52) ma-majanga o-gahumu tumidi i-boa-ino
 NM-deer NM-CLF seven 3-come-ALL
 o-gahumu butanga ka i-tuga y-a-ino
 NM-CLF six thus 3-measure 3PL-3-ALL
 o-gahumu moi gena ma-amo-amoko i-dadu unanga-ino
 NM-CLF one DEM NM-RDP-large 3-against 3MASC-ALL
 'seven deer approached, six came closer, one large one approached him'
 (Hueting 1908b:198)

4.3 Numeral classifier prefixes (North Halmahera)

Incipient human/non-human distinction with Tobelo numerals.

(53) mi-a-hukunu-oka ahi-dodiawo ya-hinoto i-hi-garo-oli
 1e-3-sell-PERF 1POSS-friend 3ACT.3UND-two 3-1-coax-REP
 'having sold (it) my two friends coaxed me again' [tugutil013]

- (54) naga o-hoana motoa (*ya-motoa)
 exist NM-village five
 'there are five villages'

This has become the standard way to mark dual for human referents.

- (55) y-a-hinoto yo-honenge-oka mia-riaka
 3PL-3-two 3PL-die-PERF 1ePOSS-older.sibling
 'our two elder siblings already died' [JasonMaloku]
- (56) ho ona ahi-dodiawo y-a-hinoto yo-oiki-oli dina
 thus 3PL 1POSS-friend 3PL-3-two 3PL-go-REP landward
 'thus my two friends went to look again' [forest120]

This system is much more developed in the west .

- (57) North Halmahera numeral classifier prefixes

	humans	small objects/ animals	trees	houses
Tobelo	ya	--	--	--
Sahu	nga	ngai	ngadi/ngadu	du
Tidore	nga	ngai	futu	--

- (58) Tidore (van Staden 2001)

- a. fayaa nga-rukange
 woman CLF-three
 'three women'
- b. igo futu-rora
 coconut CLF-six
 'six coconut trees'
- c. igo ngai-rora
 coconut CLF-six
 'six coconuts'
- d. hate ma-jaga ngai-moi
 tree NM-branch CLF-one
 'one branch'

Where do Sahu and Tidore numeral classifier prefixes come from?

- (59) Sahu/Tidore *nga* ? < *na* 3PL.HUM.POSS < 3PL.HUM.UND

Note that human/non-human distinction is also found lexicalized in Tobelo numerals.

- (60)
- | | human | non-human |
|---------|--------|-----------|
| 'three' | ruange | hange |
| 'four' | ruata | iata |

5. Summary

Not only is number realized in different ways across the two families, there is also significant intra-family variation in the realization of number. While plural words, dual, and numeral classifiers are common in both NH and AP, they show no common origin and rather represent independent, recent developments in the languages.

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