Aspects of number in the Papuan outliers of East Nusantara

Gary Holton

*University of Alaska Fairbanks*

International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Bali, 5 July 2012

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teiwa</td>
<td>non</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klon</td>
<td>(a)non</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamang</td>
<td>nung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adang*</td>
<td>-nang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abui</td>
<td>loku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kula</td>
<td>du(wa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawila</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Pantar</td>
<td>maru(ng)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) mut=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
    fish twenty PL
(8) *ke’e bina/dis maru
    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
    (11)
    kuur non g eh
    dog PL 3-bite
    ‘the dogs bit it’ (Baird 2008)

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

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 3.PL.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 Klon dual pronoun co-occurs with the plural/non-sg pronoun

(23) ini ge om Koimo Kalok ele ini g-tang
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

Western Pantar (AP) numeral classifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bina</td>
<td>general classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haila</td>
<td>objects with areal extent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawal</td>
<td>rope-like object (rope, nylon, cable thread, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dis</td>
<td>object strung on a string</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakka</td>
<td>long, stiff, flat objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamma</td>
<td>sticklike objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hissa</td>
<td>fruit, contents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kassi</td>
<td>split-off objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu'a</td>
<td>rounded object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waya</td>
<td>flat, flexible objects</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) ge 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

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

Morphologically distinguished in that they must occur with noun marker o rather than ma.
Incipient human/non-

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]
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]

This system is much more developed in the west.

(57) North Halmahera numeral classifier prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>humans</th>
<th>small objects/animals</th>
<th>trees</th>
<th>houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tobelo</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahu</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ngadl/ngadu</td>
<td>du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tidore</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>futu</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where do Sahu and Tidore numeral classifier prefixes come from?

(59) Sahu/Tidore nga ?< na 3PL.HUM.PASS < 3PL.HUM.UND

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

(60) '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.

References


van Baarda, M. J. 1904. Het Loda'sch in vergelijking met het Galela'sch dialect op Halmahera, gevolgd door Loda'se teksten en verhalen. BKITLV 56.317-496.


gmholton@alaska.edu