

# Associative Plurals and Inclusories in Malay/Indonesian

David Gil

The *associative plural* construction is one in which a denoting expression *A* occurs together with a morpheme *m*, resulting in the interpretation 'A and one or more entities associated with A'; see, for example, Daniel (2000) and Moravcsik (2003). An example of an associative plural construction in a mesolectal register of Jakarta Indonesian is provided in (1). The *inclusory* construction is one in which a pronominal expression *P* occurs together with a denoting expression *A* and an optional morpheme *m*, resulting in the interpretation 'P including A'; see, for example, Lichtenberk (2000) and Haspelmath (2004). An example of an inclusory construction in Riau Indonesian is provided in (2).

Examples (1) and (2) suggest that associative plurals and inclusories are quite different construction types. This impression is reinforced by previous studies of these two constructions, which, for the most part, have been conducted within different descriptive terminological traditions and without reference to one another. However, as argued in this paper, these two construction types are not disjoint, but rather exhibit a significant degree of overlapping. The crucial examples come from varieties of Malay/Indonesian, such as the Papuan Malay (3) - (5).

At first blush, example (3) looks like a typical associative plural construction; indeed, cross-linguistically, it is quite common to find associative plurals formed with a 3rd person plural pronoun, eg. Mandarin, Afrikaans. However, since (3) contains a pronoun *dong*, one may ask whether this pronoun has independent reference, and if it does, whether its reference includes that of the denoting expression *Niko*, which would then render (3) an inclusory construction. Unfortunately, native speakers do not have clear intuitions on this matter, so it is necessary to seek evidence elsewhere. However, it can be easily shown that *dong* does indeed include *Niko* in its reference. This is because *Niko dong* may be understood as referring to *Niko* and exactly one of his friends. In fact, this possibility can be forced by adding the numeral *dua* as in (4). Given that the meaning of *dong* is invariably plural, the only way to reconcile this with the available dual interpretation of (3) is by assuming that *dong* includes *Niko* in its reference, or in other words, that (3) is not just an associative plural but also an inclusory construction.

Whereas constructions such as (3) are cross-linguistically widespread, examples such as those in (5) have not, to the best of my knowledge, been reported in any other language. In (5), the 3rd person plural pronoun is replaced by 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns respectively. Semantically, example (5a) resembles (2), however it differs from it with respect to the relative salience of the referent denoted by the proper noun and the remaining referent(s). In (2), they are of roughly equal salience; (2) is simply the only available way of saying 'Upan and me/us' in Riau Indonesian. In contrast, in Papuan Malay, one can conjoin a pronoun and a proper noun, as in (6). However, the semantics of (5a) imposes an additional condition on the identity of the additional persons to which the expression refers, namely that they be associated with *Niko*. Thus, *Niko* is of greater salience than the other referents; accordingly, example (5a) qualifies as an associative plural. However, like (3), (5a) has the possibility of being understood with dual reference, which, given the inherent plural semantics of the 1st person pronoun *tong*, entails that (5a) is also an inclusory construction. Similar arguments show that (5b), too, with 2nd person pronoun *kam*, is both an associative plural and an inclusory construction.

Resulting from these arguments is a typology of associative plurals and inclusories shown in (7). This paper concludes with a survey of associative plurals and inclusories in Malay/Indonesian dialects. Emerging from this survey is a tentative generalization whereby non-inclusory associative plurals, as in (1), and non-associative-plural inclusories, as in (2), are in apparent complementary distribution: no dialect of Malay/Indonesian would seem to have both. (But I invite counterexamples!)

- (1) Buluk cees  
Buluk ASSOC.PL  
'Buluk and his friend(s)' *Jakarta Indonesian*  
(mesolectal)
- (2) Kami sama Upan  
1 together Upan  
'Upan and me/us' *Riau Indonesian*
- (3) Niko dong  
Niko 3PL  
'Niko and his friend(s)' *Papuan Malay*
- (4) Niko dong dua  
Niko 3PL two  
'Niko and his friend' *Papuan Malay*
- (5) (a) Niko tong  
Niko 1PL  
'Niko and his friends including me/us' *Papuan Malay*  
(b) Niko kam  
Niko 2PL  
'Niko and his friends including you [SG/PL]'
- (6) (a) Niko deng tong  
Niko with 1PL  
'Niko and us' *Papuan Malay*  
(b) Niko deng kam  
Niko with 2PL  
'Niko and you [PL]'
- (7) A Typology of Associative Plural and Inclusory Constructions

		<i>Inclusory</i>	
		yes	no
<i>Associative</i>	yes	(3) (4) (5)	(1)
<i>Plural</i>	no	(2)	(6)

#### REFERENCES

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