

Articulatory plurality as a universal iconic strategy

Carl Börstell c.borstell@let.ru.nl

Radboud University



“More of form is more of content”

This is a **long** word.
vs.
This is a **looong** word.

You're **working**.
vs.
You're **working and working**.

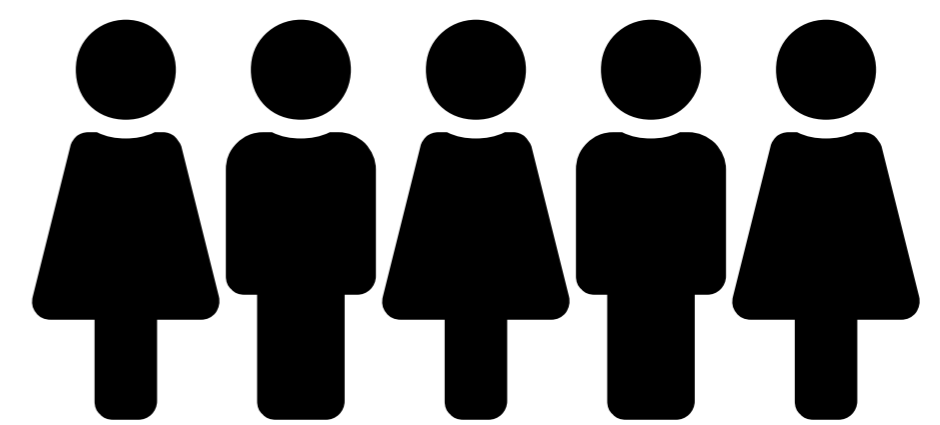
Part of the morphology

Pangasinan (Austronesian)



toó

‘man’



to-tóo

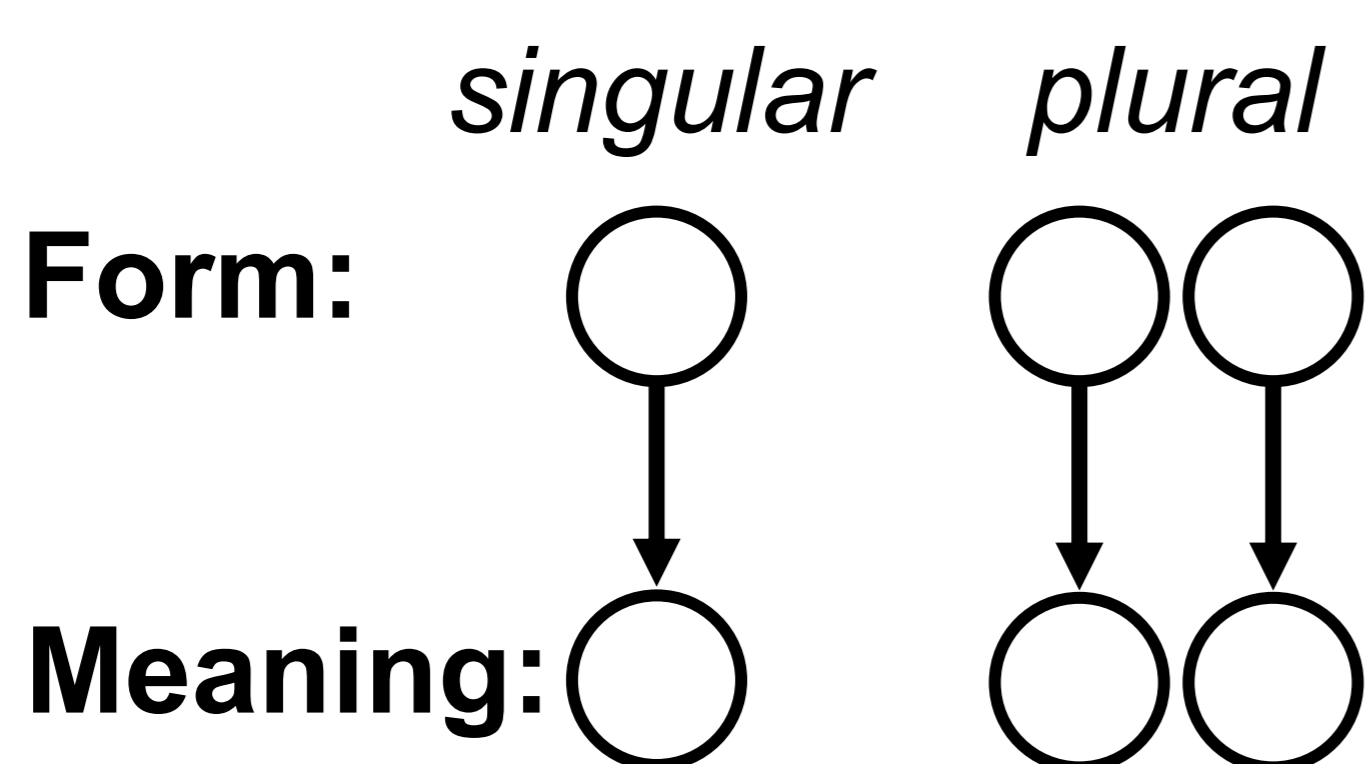
‘people’

Sign languages have plural articulators:
two hands and ten fingers

Swedish Sign Language

Lexical plurals

Articulatory plurality:
universal, but modality matters



Plurality	Sign	Speech
articulation	+	+
articulators	+	-

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