

Articulatory plurality as a universal iconic strategy

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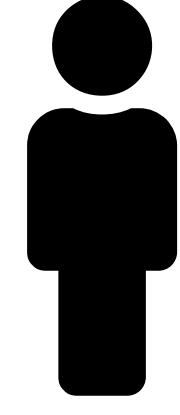
“More of form is more of content”

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

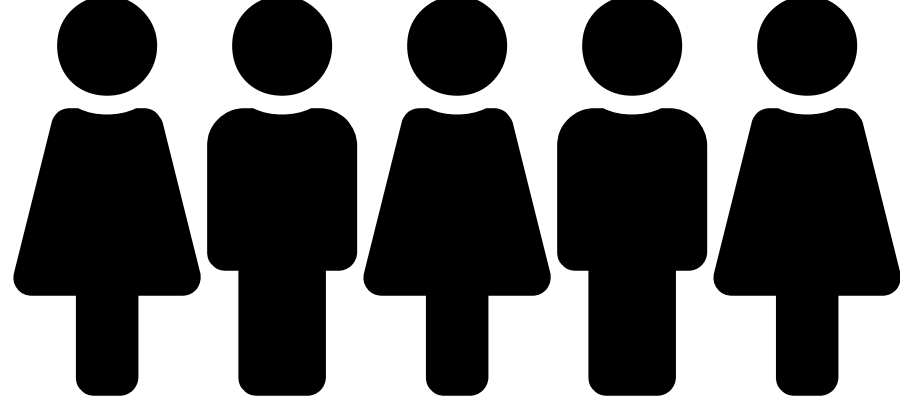
You’re **working**.
vs.
You’re **working** and **working**.

Part of the morphology

Pangasinan (Austronesian)


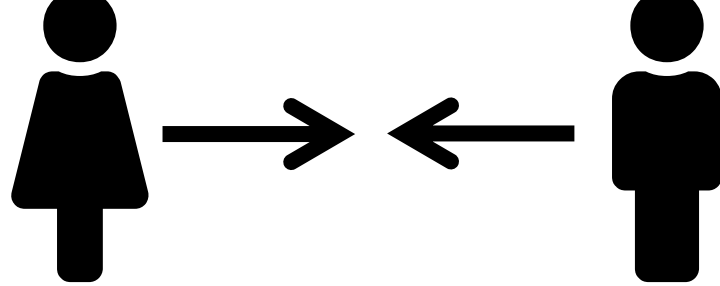



toó
‘man’





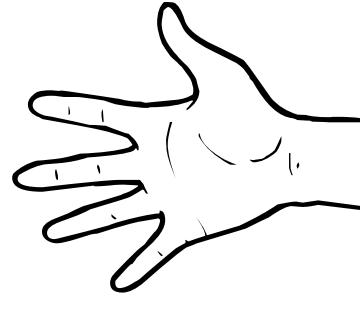
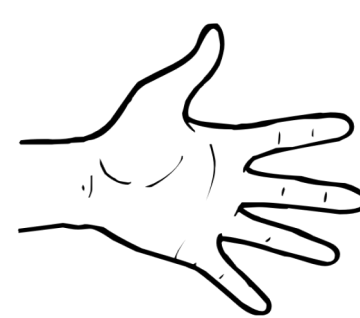
to-tóo
‘people’

Sign languages have plural articulators:
two hands and ten fingers



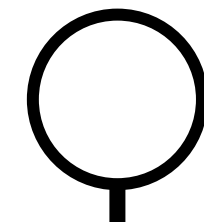
Swedish Sign Language

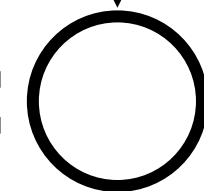




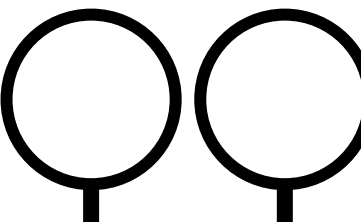
Articulatory plurality:
universal, but modality matters

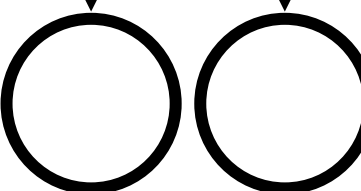
singular

Form: 

Meaning: 

plural

Form: 

Meaning: 

Plurality	Sign	Speech
articulation	+	+
articulators	+	-



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