

Articulatory plurality as a universal iconic strategy

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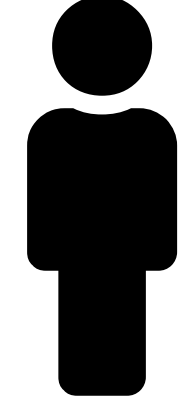
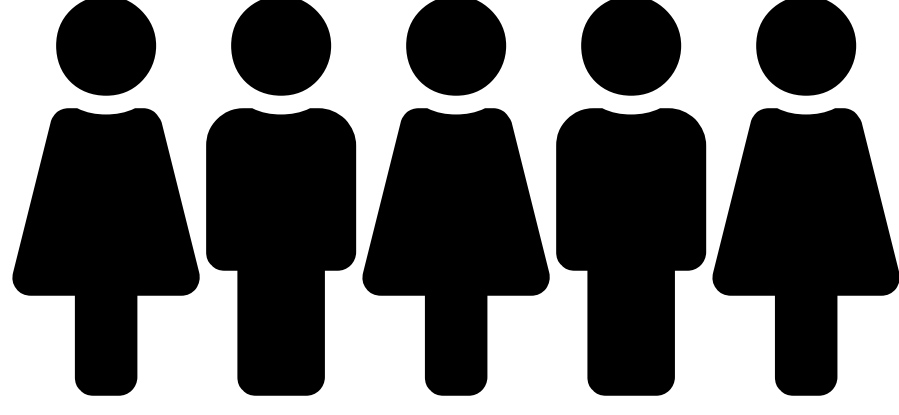
“More of form is more of content”

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

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

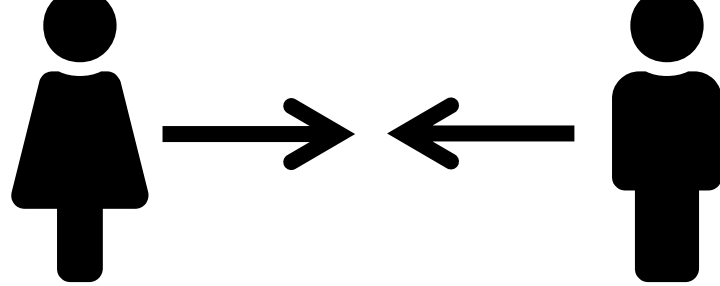

Part of the morphology

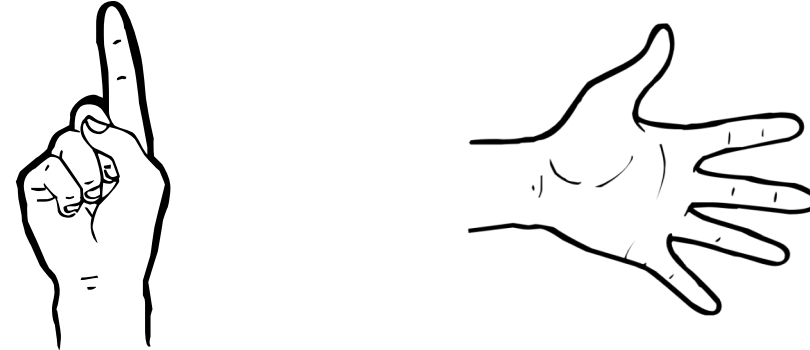

Pangasinan (Austronesian)

 **toó**
‘man’
 **to-tóo**
‘people’

Sign languages have plural articulators:
two hands and ten fingers

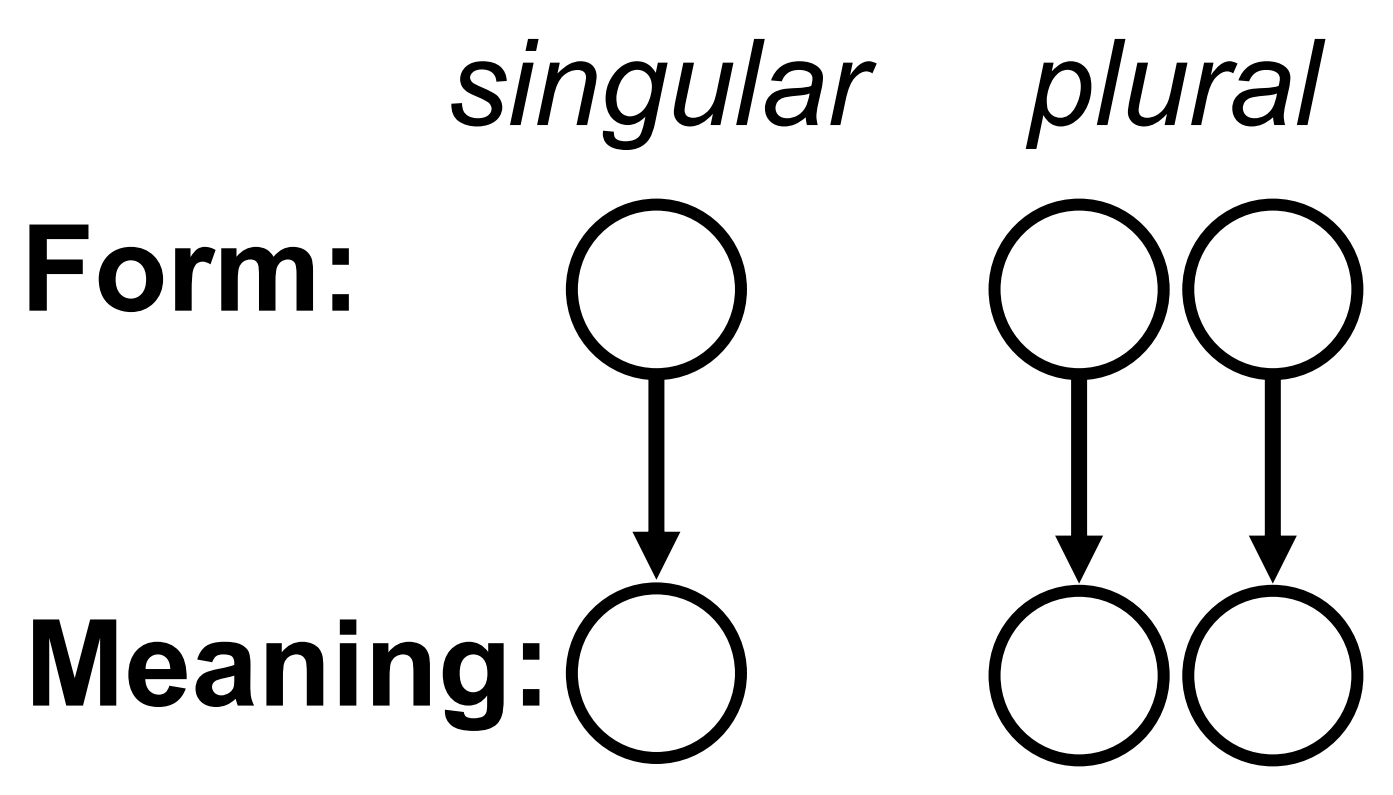
Swedish Sign Language

Lexical plurals

Articulatory plurality:
universal, but modality matters



Plurality	Sign	Speech
articulation	+	+
articulators	+	-



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