The fact that Southeast Asia abounds with numeral classifiers is well known. Robert B. Jones in his “Classifier Constructions in Southeast Asia”, an essay honoring Mary R. Haas in 1970, suggested that the Tai group of languages is a possible source of influence in the spread of the use of classifiers in Southeast Asia and China. Numeral classifiers in languages of different families in Southeast Asia have been described at length since Haas (1942)\(^1\) However, Karen happened to be overlooked, alluded to only by a few examples in Jones (1970). It is the purpose of this paper to present data on classifiers in the Mae Chaem dialect of Sgaw Karen. The writer of this article is also the compiler of a dictionary of this dialect of Sgaw Karen, viz. the Thai-Sgaw Karen Dictionary, two volumes, 1,277 pages, 1986. Data in this paper are taken exclusively from this dictionary.

Numeral classifiers (see Jones 1970, T’sou 1976, Allen 1977) are those morphemes which identify units, usually by reference to the shape of the object or objects concerned, when a number is present. All countable nouns are obligatorily associated with a classifier if a number is used in counting them --- for example,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cə}^1 & \quad \text{thi}^1 & \quad \text{po}^1 & \quad \text{tə}^1 & \quad \text{phlo}^1 \\
\text{I} & \quad \text{see} & \quad \text{tent} & \quad \text{one} & \quad \text{CL} \\
& & & & \text{‘I see one tent.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cə}^1 & \quad \text{lu}^1 & \quad \text{ne}^1 & \quad \text{she}^2 & \quad \text{ka}^2 & \quad \text{sə}^3 & \quad \text{be}^1 \\
\text{I} & \quad \text{choose} & \quad \text{obtain} & \quad \text{shirt} & \quad \text{three} & \quad \text{CL} \\
& & & & & \text{‘I chose three shirts.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Uncountable nouns include such lexical items as \text{thi}^2 ‘water’, \text{so}^2 ‘oil’, and \text{me}^2 ‘cooked rice’. When used with numbers these nouns must take the measures classifiers.

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This paper benefits from the fine editorship of Professors Christopher I. Beckwith and Christopher Court. All errors are, of course, my sole responsibility.


MON-KHMER STUDIES 28:101-113
1. Types of classifiers

There are three types of numeral classifiers in Sgaw Karen: unit classifiers, noun-derived classifiers, and verb-derived classifiers.

1.1 Unit classifiers

Unit classifiers constitute a set of morphemes whose only function is to classify nouns. They cannot be used as a common noun. If they appear as a common noun (ex. thu2 as a noun means ‘mountain’ and is used also as a classifier for cloth, cigarettes and banana), then it is the case of homonym. Unit classifiers in Sgaw Karen are simple unit classifiers. Twenty unit classifiers have been found:

1. po²  'section of bamboo', with: wa¹ 'bamboo', me²te²bi³ 'preparation of glutinous rice cooked in a bamboo joint', me¹nu² 'fireworks'.

2. pu³  'volume of books', with: li²l 'book', li²lco¹pa¹ 'newspaper', khɔ²pe²l 'exercise book'.

3. phu²  'item, bunch of bananas', with: lo¹da² 'mattress', sa²kwi¹³ 'banana', tha¹ 'loom'.

4. phu³  'bunch of flowers, cluster of flowers', with: phɔ²ta¹shy¹l 'roses'.

5. to²  'place', with: ma²ta¹ 'work', phi³ 'place'.

6. thu²  'roll, curl, furl', with: mo²lthu² 'cigarette', sa²kwi¹³ la¹ 'banana leaf', ta¹ki³pa²l 'cloth'.

7. cu¹  'set with: shə²ka² 'shirt', phlo²khi² 'trousers'.

8. ko¹  'heap, pile, stack' with: lo¹bo² 'straw', sa¹mi¹l 'firewood'.

9. kha²  'item, thing, affair, matter' with: no³bi³ 'ladle', ta¹po³ 'strainer', ta² 'matter', ta¹ma² 'work', ta¹ye¹ 'affair', li²l 'book, knowledge, subject', no²ma¹ 'tea (boiled)', na¹pho²bi²l 'pickled fish', ta¹tho²l 'food', thi² 'water', lo¹da² 'mattress', po¹tho³ khli² 'grains of bean (for planting)', pya¹pu² 'forest', ta¹ka¹li¹ 'voice', khə³ 'table', ta¹nu² 'prayer', ta¹sha² 'disease'.

10. klo¹  'piece, fragment, pipe, tube' with: khri² 'wild yam (a head of)', se¹ 'wood (a long section of cut timber)', sa¹mi¹l 'firewood', si³na³ 'pistol, firearm'.

11. khu³  'piece' with: se¹ 'wood (a cylindrical section of cut timber used as a chair)'.

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12. **di**

   'body, used with all four-footed animals (including the flying lemur) and ordained persons and supernatural beings: *pʰəl na* ‘buffalo’, *pʰə₂ do₃* ‘porcupine’, *phli²* ‘flying lemur’, *phli³* ‘tapir’, *ta₁ho²* ‘barking deer’, *ta₂pha₃* ‘wild goat, antelope (Capricanus sumatrensis)’, *ta₁pho₂pa₂* ‘civet’, *θə₂* ‘pig’, *θə₂sho²* ‘wild cat’, *co²le²* ‘short-tusked bull elephant’, *kəlse¹* ‘horse’, *kəlsho²* ‘elephant’, *khə²* ‘bamboo rat’, *klo²l* ‘ox’, *nwa²* ‘ass’, *səlxi²kho¹* ‘rhinoceros’, *shwi¹* ‘dog’, *zi¹khe²plə²* ‘mongoose’, *zo²hə¹* ‘pangolin’, *co³so²* ‘novice’, *ta₁yə²* ‘statue’, *ta²mi¹xa¹* ‘ghost’, *do³səlka³* ‘giant, ogre’, *sə²kha²* ‘Buddhist monk’.

13. **mo²**

   ‘mouthful’ with: *me²* ‘cooked rice’, *səlbe²l* ‘a concoction to be chewed having betelnuts as the main ingredients’.

14. **sho²**

   ‘item’ with: *ta₁do²ce²* ‘examination questions’, *kəlna²* ‘arithmetic problems’.

15. **sho²**

   ‘pair, item (especially with engine, machine, motor, things having movement, music instruments)’ with: *cyəl* ‘cymbals’, *kəlphi³* ‘shoes’, *na¹di³* ‘earrings’, *tha¹* ‘loom’, *ce²sha³ta¹* ‘sewing machine’, *kəlha¹* ‘water wheel’, *kəlha¹ri³* ‘bicycle’, *kwe³le²lo²* ‘telephone’, *mo³to¹ka³* ‘le²so²’ ‘bus’, *na¹ri¹* ‘clock, wrist-watch’, *le¹ox-cart’, *le¹di³ta¹* ‘tank’, *le¹me¹lu²* ‘train’, *le¹zəl* ‘bicycle’, *shìl* ‘cradle, hammock’, *swe¹cul* ‘balance, a pair of scales’, *te²na¹* ‘lute’, *thə₁lo²l* ‘fiddle’, *sə¹xe²* ‘harmonica’.

16. **ye¹**

   ‘line’ with: *pa²co²pho²* ‘pupils, students’, *si³pho²* ‘soldiers’.

17. **ya²**


18. **zi¹**

   ‘thing, affair, business’ with: *pə²plə²* ‘story’, *ta¹yə²mu²* ‘movies’.

19. **zu?¹**

   ‘classifier for a sleep, a nap’ with: *mi²* ‘a sleeping time’.

20. **lo¹**

   ‘lump, block, chunk’ with: *bə²* ‘a sheaf of rice’, *ta¹ɬə²* ‘cloud’, *ta²na¹* ‘flesh, meat’, *di²ci²* ‘brick’, *di?l* ‘fried eggs’ (NB. boiled eggs have *phlə?l* classifier; see supra), *kəlthi²xe?l* ‘loaf of palm sugar’, *sa²pja²l* ‘soap’, *ɕəlshi¹wa²* ‘potash alum’.

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1.2 Noun-derived classifiers

Noun-derived classifiers in Sgaw Karen are common nouns which are used in the position of classifiers. Noun-derived classifiers include simple unit classifiers, group classifiers, time classifiers and measurement classifiers. All in all there are 62 noun-derived classifiers.

Simple unit classifiers

1. pa^2 as a noun means ‘side’, used as a classifier for one side of things which usually come in pairs. Used with: pa^2l s0^1 ‘lung’, tho^3 ‘pig(one half of)’, kho^1 ‘foot’, kho^1 phi^3 ‘shoe’, kho^1 phlal^1 ‘sock’, ci^3 ‘hand’, khe^2 ta^1 bo^2 ‘pencil (one tip of)’, sho^2 ‘chicken (one half of)’, yo^2 pa^2 ‘wall’.

2. pu^2 as a noun means ‘hole’, used as a classifier with: b^2 ‘rice (a bucket of)’, pe^1 po^2 ‘mosquito net’.


4. te^1 as a noun means ‘sack’, used as a classifier for things coming in a sack such as b^2 ‘unhusked rice’, hi^2 sa^1 ‘salt’.

5. thi^1 as a noun means ‘word’, used as a classifier with: ta^1 kwal^1 ‘language, word’.

6. thu^1 as a noun means ‘tree’, used as a classifier with all kind of trees such as tho^2 ‘Toddy palm’, ka^2 ci^2 yo^1 ‘longan’, sa^1 mo^2 klo^3
‘tamarind’, so1 kho3 ‘mango’, so2 kwi3 ‘banana (plant)’,
l2 mi1 sho1 ‘parasitic plant’ xo3 ‘rubber’ etc.

7. ca1

as a noun means ‘kind, sort, category’, used as a classifier with:
p21 ta1 thi2 ‘ink’, pho2 ‘flower’, pho2 ta1 shri1 ‘rose’, pho2 ‘sedge,
médicinal bulbs’, ta1 thi1 bye2 ‘mould, mildew’, ta1 ki3 na2 ‘cloth’,
ta1 ro2 ‘food’, ta2 sa1 ‘fruit’, ko2 ‘sweetmeats, cake’, be2 ‘taste’,
na1 ‘fish’, sa2 phja2 ‘soap’, se1 ‘wood’.

8. ki3

as a noun means ‘piece, one quarter of’, used as a classifier with:
p21 sa2 wa2 ‘(about half a clove of) garlic’, ta2 na1 ‘meat’, na1 pho2 ‘fish’,
ko2 ‘sweetmeats, cake’.

9. ko2 do1

as a noun means ‘bunch, cluster’, used as a classifier with: p21
sa2 wa2 ‘a bunch of several cloves of) garlic, kw3 xo3 ‘torch’, li1 ‘cotton thread’,
l2 bo2 ‘straw’, so2 mi1 ‘firewood’.

10. ke1 the2

as a noun means ‘storey’, used as a classifier with: do3 ‘house’.

11. ke1 kru1

as a noun means ‘small bunch of plant’, used as a classifier with:
ke1 ho1 ‘a kind of tropical fruit’, se3 sa1 ‘(a bunch of) betelnuts’.

12. ko3

as a noun means ‘bottle’, used as a classifier with: thi2 ‘water’, so2 ‘oil’.

13. kho1

as a noun means ‘head’, used as a classifier with: se2 kwi3 ‘(a
grove of), banana’, no2 bo2 ‘(a tussock of) Cyperaceal’, wa1 ‘(a
clump of) bamboo’.

14. khi1

as a noun means ‘spool, reel’, used as a classifier with: p2i2 ‘rope’,
li1 ‘cotton thread’.

15. khle1

as a noun means ‘a stem-part of flowers such as that of coconut,
a cluster of fruit such as that of Toddy palm’, used as a classifier with:
tha2 sa1 ‘Toddy palm’, ko1 ho1 ‘a kind of tropical fruit’, bi2 (ears
of) paddy’, se3 sa1 ‘betelnuts’, xo2 sa1 ‘coconut’.

16. khlo2

as a noun means ‘the outside of’, used as a classifier with: ho1 kho1 ‘land’.

17. be1

as a noun means ‘skin, bark, rind’, used as a classifier with:
p2 te2 ‘(a pane of) door’, p21 hu3 ‘termite’, ph2 xi2 ‘a sieve’,
phl2 ‘wasps’, te2 khwe2 ‘fishhook’, ta1 ds2 ‘basket’, ta1 ki3 na2
‘(a sheet of) cloth’, ta1 be1 ‘(a sheet of) skin’, ta1 kho1 phl2 ‘a
woven food cover’, ta1 y2 ‘picture’, tha3 ‘needle’, tha3 pla2
‘chisel’, tha3 tu1 ‘tweezers’, thy1 ‘bird’, thy1 phya2 ‘peacock’,

18. bo²


19. de³

as a noun means ‘claw (of a crab), a bunch of flowers’, used as a classifier with: xo³³ sα³³ sʰyɔ³³ ‘blossom (spadix) of the coconut tree’, and shwe³³ de³³ ‘crab’s claw’.

20. do²

as a noun means ‘box, case, wrapper’. Used as a classifier with: bo³³ tho³³ ‘firecrackers’, mo³³ thu² ‘(a case of) cigarettes’, wirt² thɔ² yu³³ ‘radio’.

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21. mi<sup>2</sup> as a noun means ‘name’. Used as a classifier meaning ‘kind, sort, category, specimen’. Used with: <i>ta<sup>2</sup>sal</i> ‘fruits’, <i>bɔl<sup>1</sup>sɔl<sup>2</sup> lɔ1 thɔl</i> ‘(several transfiguration of) tiger’.

22. mi<sup>1</sup> as a noun means ‘liana, vine, climbers’. Used as a classifier with: <i>se1 xil</i> ‘vine’, <i>lu1 khe2</i> ‘pumpkin vine’, <i>lu1 sal</i> ‘white (wax) gourd’.

23. si<sup>1</sup> as a noun means ‘comb’. Used as a classifier meaning ‘a hand of’. Used with: <i>sɔ2 kwiɔ3</i> ‘bananas’.

24. ɔ<sup>1</sup>be<sup>3</sup> as a noun means ‘arrangement’. Used as a classifier meaning ‘a unit of things which one has arranged’. Used with: <i>sɔl kwiɔ3 la1</i> ‘banana leaves’, <i>nlɔmɔl ni2l</i> ‘fermented tea-leaves (around 30 leaves)’, <i>sɔ1 bli2l la1</i> ‘Piper betel leaves (around 8-9 leaves)’.

25. shu<sup>3</sup> as a noun means ‘room’. Used as a classifier with: <i>dɔ3 shuɔ</i> ‘a room in a house’.

26. swa<sup>2</sup> as a noun means ‘a ladder-step’. Used as a classifier with: <i>xɔ2 lɔdɔ2</i> ‘ladder’.

Group classifiers

1. pu<sup>1</sup> as a noun means ‘heap, pile’. Used as a classifier with: <i>pa2</i> ‘(a group of) men’, <i>ta2 na1</i> ‘meat’, <i>bɔɔ pa1</i> ‘paddy’, <i>sɔl mi1</i> ‘firewood’, <i>sɔ2</i> ‘alcoholic drink’, <i>me2</i> ‘sand’.

2. kɔ<sup>1</sup>phi<sup>2</sup> as a noun means ‘group’. Used as a classifier with: <i>pa2</i> ‘(a group of) men’.

3. kla<sup>3</sup> as a noun means ‘group’. Used as a classifier with: <i>pa2</i> ‘(a group of) men’, <i>tɔ1 mlaɔ2l pho2</i> ‘bandits’.

4. lu<sup>3</sup> as a noun means ‘group’. Used as a classifier with: <i>pa2</i> ‘(a group of) men’, <i>pɔl na1 mi2</i> ‘(a herd of) wild buffalos’, <i>ta1</i> ‘things’, <i>tho1</i> ‘(a flock of) birds’, <i>ja2 sa2</i> ‘(a group of) policemen’, <i>shɔ1</i> ‘(a constellation of) stars’, <i>shwɔ1 si2 po1</i> ‘(a crowd of) foxes’, <i>mɔl li2bɔ3</i> ‘(a throng of) monkeys’, <i>lɔ2 kho2</i> ‘(a set of) dishes’.

5. du<sup>1</sup> as a noun means ‘a brood of, a litter of’. Used as a classifier with: <i>tho3</i> ‘(a litter of little) pigs’, <i>shɔ2</i> ‘(a brood of) chickens’.

Action classifiers

1. blɔ<sup>2</sup> as a noun means ‘one time’. Used as a classifier with several action verbs such as <i>phle2</i> ‘beat’, <i>di3</i> ‘fight’, <i>le2</i> ‘go’.

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2. co¹ as a noun means 'a little while'. Used as a classifier with verbs such as  khɔʔ² 'wait', toʔɔ² 'help'.

3. co² as a noun means 'a generation'. Used as a classifier with verbs such as ʔoʔ¹ 'live'.

4. na¹ri¹ as a noun means 'one hour'. Used as a classifier after numerals.

5. ni¹ as a noun means 'year'. Used as a classifier after numerals.

6. ni² as a noun means 'day'. Used as a classifier after numerals.

7. nwiʔ³ as a noun means 'week'. Used as a classifier after numerals.

8. so¹ as a noun means 'night'. Used as a classifier after numerals.

**Measurement classifiers**

For standardized measures of weights and space, both lineal and square, the Sgaw Karen people have their own, at least among older people. These may become obsolescent, as English and Metric measures are on the way to replace them.

1. baʔ¹ (T.) as a noun means 'Baht' both for monetary and weight. Used as a classifier after numerals.

2. blɔʔ¹ (ləʔ³ ciʔ³) as a noun means 'one scoop up with one hand'. Used as a classifier after numerals.

3. ho¹ (ləʔ³ ciʔ³) as a noun means 'one scoop up with both hands'. Used as a classifier after numerals.

4. cyɔ² (ləʔ³ ciʔ³) as a noun means 'one scoop up with one clenched fist'. Used as a classifier after numerals.

5. tha² as a noun means 'a span, a Karen unit of linear measure equal to the fully extended hand (between the thumb and the middle finger)'. Used as a classifier after numerals.

6. si¹te¹ as a noun means 'a span, a Karen unit of linear measure equal to the fully extended hand (between the thumb and the index finger)'. Used as a classifier after numerals.

7. tha¹ as a noun means 'a pail'. Used as a classifier after numerals.

8. thɔ² as a noun means 'a dozen'. Used as a classifier after numerals.
9. ceʔ³ as a noun means ‘a little bit of’. Used as a classifier after numerals.

10. kə¹phoʔ¹ as a noun means ‘a measure equal in length to a joint of the middle finger’. Used as a classifier after numerals.

11. kə¹ as a noun means ‘a handful of’. Used as a classifier after numerals.

12. kə¹phaʔ³doʔ¹ as a noun means ‘a handful of (using both hands)’. Used as a classifier after numerals.

13. khri² as a noun means ‘a Karen measurement for height equal to one fist (with the flat thumb)’. Used as a classifier after numerals, usually used to measure the height of pigs, piles of wood etc.

14. phiʔ¹ as a noun means ‘a Karen measurement for height equal to one fist (with a little bit elevating of the thumb)’. Used as a classifier after numerals, usually used to measure the height of pigs, piles of wood etc.

15. coʔ³ as a noun means ‘a Karen measurement for height equal to one fist (with a fully elevated thumb)’. Used as a classifier after numerals, usually used to measure the height of pigs, piles of wood etc.

16. kho²ciʔ³ as a noun means ‘a Karen measurement for length equal to one hand’, Used as a classifier after numerals.

17. khli² as a noun means ‘a Karen linear measure equal to two extended arms’, Used as a classifier after numerals.

18. pla² as a noun means ‘a Karen linear measure equal to the span between the elbow to the tip of the extended middle finger’, Used as a classifier after numerals.

19. to² as a noun means ‘a Karen linear measure equal to the span between the elbow to the clenched fist’, Used as a classifier after numerals.

20. shi² as a noun means ‘a unit of ten’, Used as a classifier after numerals.

21. kə¹phi² as a noun means ‘a group of about ten people’, Used as a classifier after numerals. Usually used with ya²sa² ‘policemen’, siʔ³pho² ‘soldiers’.

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22. kəʔja² as a noun means ‘a group of about one hundred people’. Used as a classifier after numerals. Usually used with ya²sa² ‘policemen’, siʔpho² ‘soldiers’.

23. kəʔtho² as a noun means ‘a group of about one thousand people’. Used as a classifier after numerals. Usually used with ya²sa² ‘policemen’, siʔpho² ‘soldiers’.

1.3 Verb-derived classifiers

Verb-derived classifiers are classifiers which are also verbs. They are less numerous than noun-derived classifiers. All in all the following items are found:

1. shyə² as a verb means ‘to carry (hold) in both arms’. Used as a classifier after numerals. Used with: boʔl ‘bamboo-shoots’, səʔmil ‘firewood’.

2. boʔ¹ as a verb means ‘to wrap’. Used as a classifier after numerals. Used with: koʔl ‘(a wrapped-up package of) sweetmeats’, moʔl thu² ‘(a carton) of cigarettes’, sha²khoʔ³ ‘(a wrapped-up package of) paper’.

3. klə¹ as a verb means ‘to coil, to roll, to curl up’. Used as a classifier after numerals. Used with: pli² ‘rope’.

4. kiʔ³ as a verb means ‘to cut into sections’. Used as a classifier after numerals. Used with: ta²pa² ‘meat’, koʔl ‘sweetmeats, cake’.

5. khliʔ³ as a verb means ‘to fold’. Used as a classifier after numerals. Used with: ta¹kiʔ³pa²l ‘cloth’, jaʔl ‘blanket’.

2. Classifier constructions

Sgaw Karen constructions are of the “Southeast Asian”² type, that is to say, they follow the order noun + numeral + classifier. This noun-phrase pattern can be extended by the addition of demonstratives and adjectivals, so that the full noun-phrase order is: (N.)Noun + (Adj)Adjectival + (Num)Numeral + (CL)Classifier + (Dem)Demonstrative.

²Jones (1970) divides the languages of Southeast Asia and South China into two large groups distinguished by the structure of noun phrases involving classifiers. The difference is based on the position in the phrase of the head noun. One group employs the pattern numeral + noun (e.g., Chinese, Vietnamese); Jones terms this the “Chinese” type. The other group employs the pattern noun + numeral + classifier (e.g., Thai, Burmese); this he calls the “Southeast Asian” type.
Examples:

N  Adj   Num     CL    Dem
na¹ri¹ ye²   khi²   sho²  ne¹
"those two good watches"

she²ka² yo²   so³   be¹  ?i²
shirt  red  three  CL  this
"these three red shirts"

However if we divide this big noun-phrase into two smaller ones, i.e. 1). numeral noun phrase, and 2). demonstrative noun phrase we will have these constructions:

**numeral noun phrase**

N  Adj   Num     CL
sha¹ pha² do³   to³   phla¹
star  big  one  CL
"one big star"

do²   cu¹   khi²   be¹
knife  pointed  wo  CL
"two pointed knives"

In this type of noun phrase the CL is obligatory. To delete the CL from the numeral noun-phrase is impossible; i.e. will obtain an ungrammatical phrase in Sgaw Karen.

**demonstrative noun phrase**

N  (CL)   Dem  Adj
te¹  (phla¹)   ?i²  phy²
sack (CL)  this  light
"this light (≠ heavy) sack."

ko¹   (be¹)   ?i²  be² ye²
cake (CL)  this  tasty
"this tasty cake."

We can see that with the demonstrative noun phrase, the CL is not obligatory. We have numerous examples of demonstrative noun phrase without CL.

3. Discussion

1. Classifiers are well established in Sgaw Karen. In this study, we find that the use of CL is consistent for every speaker. However, cases where one noun
can take either of two CLs have been also found. For example, that 'loom' can have as CL either sho2 'CL for moving machine' or phu2 'CL signifying the shape of a comb or a bunch of bananas, which the loom (with its many strings) resembles. Another example kwe3le1lo2 'telephone' can have as CL either sho2 'CL for moving machine' or də2 'CL signifying the shape of a box'. sa1mo2kle22 'tamarind fruit' can have as CL either phlo2l 'CL for round object and as such is CL for most fruits' or 'CL for long objects'. Anyone who sees tamarind pods will know that it is difficult to designate its shape as either round or long.

2. Classifiers in Sgaw Karen signify first and foremost the shape of the objects they classify.

3. Classifiers in Sgaw Karen categorize the objects according to their taxonomy in nature i.e., according to whether the thing referred to is a machine, a four-footed animal, a fowl, a reptile, an insect, etc. And this Karen categorization corresponds well with scientific categorization. Exceptions are, however, found. For example khli32 'turtle', which is four-footed, does not have as CL də2 'CL for four-footed animal', but instead has be2 'classifier used for many small animals and fowls and insects'. And ironically enough both sa2kha2 'Buddhist monk' and ce2sə2 'Buddhist novice', which in Thai and Burmese require highly elevated CL, have as CL də2 'CL for four-footed animals and ogreish beings'.

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Received: 18 March 1997

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