Numeral Classifiers in Sgaw Karen

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The purpose of this paper is to present data on numeral classifiers in the Mae Chaem dialect (Chiengmai) of Sgaw Karen. It was found that there are three types of classifiers in Sgaw Karen: unit classifiers, noun-derived classifiers, and verb-derived classifiers. Noun-derived classifiers can be further divided into simple unit classifiers, group classifiers, action classifiers and measurement classifiers. These classifiers are discussed together with exhaustive examples. The classifier constructions which belong to the "Southeast Asian" type (see Jones 1970) are given. A short discussion concludes the article.[1]

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 (see Burling 1965; Hla Pe 1967; Benton 1968; Omar 1972; Nguyẽ phú Phong 1975; Adams, Becker, and Conklin 1975; Wajanarat 1980, and others). However Karen happened to be overlooked, alluded to 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, 2 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,

cə^1 thi^1 pɔʔ^1 təʔ^1 phləʔ
I   see   tent   one   CL
'I see one tent.'

cə^1 luʔ^1 ne^1 she^{2}ka^2 səʔ^3 beʔ^1
I   choose   obtain   shirt   three   CL
'I chose three shirts.'

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

I.   Types of classifiers

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

I.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. 'thu^2' as a noun means 'mountain' and is used also as a classifier for cloth, cigarettes and bananas), then it is the case of homonym. Unit classifiers in Sgaw Karen are simple unit classifiers. Twenty unit classifiers have been found:

1.   pɔ^2 'section of bamboo', used as a classifier with:
                 wa^1 'bamboo', me^{2}te^{2}blɔ^2 'preparation of

glutinous rice cooked in a bamboo joint', me^{1}ʔu^2 'fireworks'.

2. puʔ^3 'volume of books, used with: li^1 'book', li^{1}cɔ^{1}ɲa^1 'newspaper', khɔ^{2}peʔ^1 'exercise book'.

3. phu^2 'item, bunch of bananas', used with: lɔ^{1}da^2 'mattress', sə^{2}kwiʔ^3 'banana', tha^1 'loom'.

4. phuʔ^3 'bunch of flowers, cluster of flowers', used with: phɔ^{2}ta^{1}shɣɨ^1 'roses'.

5. tɔ^2 'place', used with: ma^{2}ta^1 'work', phiʔ^3 'place'.

6. thu^2 'roll, curl, furl', used with: mɔʔ^{1}thu^2 'cigarette', sə^{1}kwiʔ^3 la^1 'banana leaf', ta^{1}kiʔ^{3}ɲaʔ^1 'cloth'.

7. cu^1 'set', used with: she^{2}ka^2 'shirt', phlɔʔ^{1}khi^2 'trousers'.

8. koʔ^1 'heap, pile, stack', used with: lɔ^{1}bo^2 'straw', sə^{1}mɨ^1 'firewood'.

9. kha^2 'item, thing, affair, matter', used with: nɔ^{1}bləʔ^1 'ladle', ta^{1}pɔʔ^3 'strainer', ta^1 'matter', ta^{1}ma^2 'work', ta^{1}ɣe^1 'affair', li^1 'book, knowledge, subject', nɔ^{2}mə^1 'tea (boiled)', ɲa^{1}pho^{2}ʔɨʔ^1 'pickled fish', ta^{1}ʔɔʔ^1 'food', thi^2 'water', lɔ^{1}da^2 'mattress', pə^{1}thɔʔ^3 khli^2 'grains of bean (for planting)', pɣa^{1}pu^2 'forest', ta^{1}ka^{1}lɨ^1 'voice', khaʔ^3 'table', ta^{1}ʔu^2 'prayer', ta^{1}sha^2 'disease'.

10. klɔʔ^1 'piece, fragment, pipe, tube', used with: khri^2 'wild yam (a head of)', se^1 'wood (a long section of cut timber)', sə^{1}mɨ^1 'firewood', siʔ^{3}naʔ^3 'pistol, firearm'.

11. khu$ʔ^3$ 'piece', used with: se^1 'wood (a cylindrical section of cut timber used as a chair)'.

12. d$ɨ^2$ 'body', used with all four-footed animals (including the flying lemurs) and ordained persons and supernatural beings: pə$ʔ^1$na^1 'buffalo', pɔ^{2}dɔ$ʔ^3$ 'porcupine', phli$ʔ^1$ 'flying lemur', phli^2 'tapir', ta^{1}ho^2 'barking deer', ta^{2}pha$ʔ^3$ 'wild goat, antelope (*Capricanus sumatrensis*)', ta^{1}pho^{2}ɲɔ^2 'civet', thɔ$ʔ^3$ 'pig', thɔ$ʔ^3$shɔ^2 'wild cat', cɔ$ʔ^3$ʔe^2 'short-tusked bull elephant', kə^{1}se^1 'horse', kə$ʔ^1$shɔ^2 'elephant', khɔ^2 'bamboo rat', klɔ$ʔ^1$ 'ox', nwa^2 'ass', sə^{1}xi$ʔ^1$khɔ^1 'rhinoceros', shwi^1 'dog', z$ɨ^1$khe^{2}plɔ^2 'mongoose', zo^{2}hɔ^1 'pangolin', cɔ^{2}sɔ^2 'novice', ta^{1}ɣɔ^2 'statue', ta^{2}m$ɨ^1$xa^1 'ghost', dɔ$ʔ^3$sə^{1}ka$ʔ^3$ 'giant, ogre', sɔ^{2}kha^2 'Buddhist monk'.

13. mɔ^2 'mouthful', used with: me^2 'cooked rice', sə^{1}be$ʔ^1$ 'a concoction to be chewed having betel nuts as the main ingredients'.

14. shə^2 'item', used with: ta^{1}dɔ$ʔ^3$cɛ$ʔ^3$ 'examination questions', kə^{1}na^2 'arithmetic problems'.

15. sho^2 'pair, item (especially with engine, machine, motor, things having movement, music instruments)', used with: cɣɔ^1 'cymbals', khɔ^{1}phi$ʔ^3$ 'shoes', na^{1}di$ʔ^3$ 'earrings', tha^1 'loom', cɛ$ʔ^3$sha$ʔ^3$ta^1 'sewing machine', kə^{1}ha^1 'water wheel', kə^{1}ha^{1}ri$ʔ^3$ 'bicycle', kwɛ$ʔ^3$le^{1}lo^2 'telephone', mɔ^{1}tɔ^{1}ka$ʔ^3$ le^1 so^2 'bus', na^{1}ri^1 'clock, wrist-watch', le^1 'ox-cart', le^1 d$ɨ$$ʔ^3$ta^1 'tank', le^1 me^{1}ʔu^2 'train', le^{1}zɔ^1 'bicycle', sh$ɨ$$ʔ^1$ 'cradle, hammock', swɛ^{1}cu^1 'balance, a pair of scales', te^{2}na^1 'lute', thɔ^{1}lɔ$ʔ^1$ 'fiddle', sɔ^{1}xe^2 'harmonica'.

16. γe^1 'line', used with: $pa^2co?^3pho^2$ 'pupils, students', $s\dot{t}?^3pho^2$ 'soldiers'.

17. γa^2 'classifier for humans', used with: pa^2 'man, human', $pa^2sho^2ke?^3$ 'sick man, patient', $pho^2sa?^1ho^2$ 'child', $pho?^1m\dot{t}^1$ 'woman', $pho?^1$ $khwa^2$ 'man', $t\partial^1mla?^1$ 'thief', ya^2sa^2 'policeman'.

18. $z\dot{t}^1$ 'thing, affair, business', used with: $po^2l\partial?^3pl\partial^2$ 'story', $ta^1\gamma o^2mu^2$ 'movies'.

19. $zu?^1$ 'classifier for a sleep, a nap', used with: mi^2 'a sleeping time'.

20. lo^1 'lump, block, clunk', used with: $b\dot{t}^2$ 'a sheaf of rice', $ta^1?\partial?^1$ 'cloud', $ta^2\jmath a^1$ 'flesh, meat', $di^2ci?^1$ 'brick', $di?^1$ 'fried eggs' (NB. boiled eggs have $\underline{phl\partial?^1}$ as a classifier; see supra), $k\partial^1thi^2xe?^1$ 'loaf of palm sugar', $sa^2pja?^1$ 'soap', $l\partial^1shi^1wa^2$ 'potash alum'.

I.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 sixty-two (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: $p\partial?^1so^1$ 'lung', $tho?^3$ 'pig (one half of)', kho^1 'foot', $kho^1phi?^3$ 'shoe', kho^1phlo^1 'sock', $c\dot{t}?^3$ 'hand', $kh\varepsilon?^3ta^1bo^2$ 'pencil (one tip of)', sho 'chicken (one half of)', γo^2pa^2 'wall'.

2. pu^2 — as a noun means 'hole', used as a classifier with: $bɨ^2$ 'rice (a bucket of)', $pe^1pɔ^2$ 'mosquito net'.

3. $phlə?^1$ — as a noun means 'round object', used as a classifier with: pe^1khle^2 'bell', $pə^1si^3$ 'ring', $pə?^1sə^2wa^2$ 'garlic (a clump of)', $pɔ?^1$ 'tent', $pɔ?^1 sɔ^2kha^2$ 'monk's travelling tent', $pɔ^2lə?^3plə^2$ 'story, tale', $phɛ^2$ 'bead', $ta^1də^2$ 'bag, satchel', ta^2shi^1 'orange', $tə?^3$ 'bank (establishment for financial transaction)', thi^2lu^2 'gourd', $thə^1$ 'sack', tha^2 'song', $thu?^3$ 'wart', $co?^3$ 'school', $ko?^1$ 'cake', $ko?^3$ 'bottle', $kə^1cə^1$ 'mountain', $kə?^1thi^2$ 'big water jar', $khɨ^1$ 'taro root', $khə^1də?^3khə?^1$ 'pillow', $kwɛ^1sa?^1mo?^3$ 'guava fruit', $blə?^1$ 'termite hill', $di?^1$ '(boiled) egg', $də?^3$ 'house', $me^1po^1pha?^3$ 'bomb, hand grenade', $mɛ?^3$ 'sand', no^1 'pond', nu^1 'breast', $si?^3na?^1sha^1$ 'bullet', $si?^3ta^1$ 'box', se^1su^2 'mole', $sə?^1pə^2$ 'pot', $sa^1mɔ^2kle?^3$ '(a pod of) tamarind fruit', $sə^2kwi?^3$ 'banana (one fruit)', $shɛ?^1$ 'a large woven basket for paddy', swi^1 '(a drop of) blood', zi^1 'village', $li?^1 pa^2kə?^1ɲɔ^2 mo^1 pɣa^1$ 'Karen alphabets', $li?^1 pa^2kə?^1ɲɔ^2 shɛ?^3pha?^3$ 'Karen tonal markers', $lɔ^1me^1$ 'electric-light bulb', $lu^1khe^2sa^1$ 'pumpkin', $lə^1$ 'pebble', ro^2 'garden', we^2 'abscess, boil', $xɔ?^1$ 'prison', ha^1 'shooting stand on the tree', $hɔ^1kho^1mɔ^2$ 'saline-alkaline land'.

4. $tɛ^1$ — as a noun means 'sack', used as a classifier for things coming in a sack such as $bɨ^2$ 'unhusked rice', $?i?^3sa^1$ 'salt'.

5. thi^1 — as a noun means 'word', used as a classifier with: $ta^1kwɔ^1$ 'language, word'.

6. thu^1 — as a noun means 'tree', used as a classifier with all kind of trees, such as $thɔ^2$ 'Toddy palm',

kəʔ¹cɛ²lə¹ 'longan', sa¹mɔ²kleʔ³ 'tamarind', sə¹
khɔʔ³ 'mango', sə²kwiʔ³ 'banana (plant)',
lɔ²mɨʔ¹shɔʔ¹ 'parasitic plant', xɔʔ³ 'rubber', etc.

7. caʔ¹   as a noun means 'kind, sort, category', used as a
classifier with: pəʔ¹ta¹thi² 'ink', phɔ² 'flower',
phɔ²ta¹shrɨ¹ 'rose', phɔʔ¹ 'sedge, medicinal
bulbs', ta¹thɔ¹bɣɛʔ¹ 'mould, mildew',
ta¹kiʔ³ɲaʔ¹ 'cloth', ta¹ʔɔʔ¹ 'food', ta²sa¹ 'fruit',
koʔ¹ 'sweetmeats, cake', bɛ² 'taste', ɲa¹ 'fish',
sa²phjaʔ¹ 'soap', se¹ 'wood'.

8. kiʔ³   as a noun means 'piece, one quarter of', used as
a classifier with: pəʔ¹sə²wa² '(about half a clove
of) garlic', ta²ɲa¹ 'meat', ɲa¹pho² 'fish', koʔ¹
'sweetmeats, cake'.

9. kə²dɔʔ¹   as a noun means 'bunch, cluster', used as a
classifier with: pəʔ¹ sa²wa² 'a bunch of (several
cloves of) garlic', kwɔ¹xɔʔ³ 'torch', lɨ¹ 'cotton
thread', lɔ²bo² 'straw', səʔ¹mɨ¹ 'firewood'.

10. kəʔ¹thə²   as a noun means 'storey', used as a classifier
with: dəʔ³ 'house'.

11. kə¹kru¹   as a noun means 'small bunch of plants', used as
a classifier with: kə¹hɔ² 'a kind of tropical fruit',
sɛʔ³sa¹ '(a bunch of) betel nut'.

12. koʔ³   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:
sə²kwiʔ³ '(a grove of) banana', no²bo² '(a
tussock of) Cyperaceal', wa¹ '(a clump of)
bamboo'.

14. khɨ¹　　as a noun means 'spool, reel', used as a classifier with: pli² 'rope', lɨ¹ '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: thɔ²sa¹ 'Toddy palm', kə¹hɔ¹ 'a kind of tropical fruit', bɨ² (ears of) paddy', sɛʔ³sa¹ 'betel nut', xɔ²sa¹ 'coconut'.

16. khlə²　　as a noun means 'the outside of', used as a classifier with: hɔ¹kho¹ 'land'.

17. beʔ¹　　as a noun means 'skin, bark, rind', used as a classifier with: pɛ²trɔ² '(a pane of) door', pə¹ʔuʔ³ 'termite', phe²xɨ² 'a sieve', phlə² 'wasp', təʔ¹ khwɛ² 'fishhook', ta¹də² 'basket', ta¹kiʔ³ɲaʔ¹ '(a sheet of) cloth', ta¹beʔ¹ '(a sheet of) skin', ta¹kho¹phlɔ¹ 'a woven food cover', ta¹ɣɔ² 'picture', thaʔ³ 'needle', thaʔ³ pla² 'chisel', thaʔ³ tə¹ 'tweezers', tho¹ 'bird', tho¹ phɣaʔ¹ 'peacock', tho¹ ta² 'goose', tho¹ ta²ʔɨʔ¹ 'vulture', tho¹ deʔ¹ 'duck', tho¹ lwi¹ 'dove', tho² 'raft', thoŋ² 'flag', caʔ³khoʔ³ '(a sheet of) paper', cɔʔ³kəʔ¹pe² 'butterfly', cɔʔ³biʔ¹ 'grasshopper', kɔʔ³ 'glass (for drinking water)', koʔ¹ 'sweetmeats cake which comes in a crêpe-shape', kəʔpɔ² taʔ¹su² 'wild spider (*Malopaeus albstriatus*)', kə¹phɔʔ¹xaʔ³ 'gadfly', kə¹mɔ² 'spleen', ka²la²waʔ¹ 'a fan', kɨ¹ 'mushroom', krɛ² '(a pane of) door', kliʔ³bɔ²shwɛ¹ 'scorpion', khə¹phə¹ thuʔ³ lo² 'towel', khə¹phə¹ ʔɔʔ¹luʔ¹thi² 'bathing cloth', khi¹ 'tick', khaʔ³ 'chair', khaʔ¹dɔʔ¹ 'footed tray', khɔ²pəʔ¹ '(a sheet of) paper', khli² 'boat', khliʔ³ 'turtle', khlɔ¹ 'mat', khwi¹ 'tree lizard', bɔ² 'spade', bla² 'bat', deshi¹khɔ² 'brick', də²mɨ¹mɛʔ¹ 'umbrella', jaʔ¹ 'blanket', xɛʔ¹ 'knife', ɣuʔ¹xi² 'a rib', mɛ² 'a

tooth', $mɛʔ^1$ $kəʔ^1la^2$ 'looking-glass', $mɨ^1ni^2$
'calendar', mo^2 'gong', $nɔ^1tə^2$ 'spoon',
$nɔ^1khwɛ^2$ 'broom', $lə^2khɔ^2$ 'bowl', $lə^2khɔ^2$
$phaʔ^3lɛ^1$ 'basin, tray', $lɔ^2mo^1$ $pɣa^1$ 'Blattaria,
cockroach', si^1swa^2 'comb', $siʔ^3mo^1lə^2bɣaʔ^3$
'aphides', $se^1lwaʔ^1$ '(wooden) board, plank',
$sə^2biʔ^1$ 'plate, dish', $sə^1blɨʔ^1$ la^1 'Paper betel
leaf', su^1 'head louse', she^2ka^2 'shirt', $shɔ^2$ '(a
whole) chicken', swe^2 'dip-net for fishing',
$shwɛ^1$ 'crab'.

18. bo^2 as a noun means 'a long thin object', used as a
classifier for fish, reptiles, and long objects with:
$piʔ^3lo^1wɔ^2$ 'skink', $pə^1thɔʔ^3sa^1$ 'a bean pod',
$phɛ^2$ 'necklace', $phɨ^2doʔ^1$ 'boa constrictor,
python', pli^2 'rope', $phlɛ^1$ 'tree lizard,
chameleon', ti^2tu^2 'eel', $tə^1khuʔ^3$ 'iguana',
$təʔ^1kwɛ^2$ 'rainbow', $thi^2kloʔ^3$ 'river', $thɛ^1bo^2$
'plough', $thaʔ^3pə^1liʔ^1$ 'drill, gimlet', $thaʔ^3pho^2$
'wire', $thaʔ^3kə^1lɛʔ^1$ 'earthworm', $kəʔ^1nɛ^2xɔʔ^3$
'candle', $kə^1lɔ^2$ 'dragon', $kreʔ^3$ 'crocodile', $klɛʔ^3$
'trail', $klɛʔ^3mɨ^1$ 'road', $khɛʔ^3ta^1bo^2se^1$ 'pencil',
kho^1su^2 'head hair', $khwi^1$ 'tree lizard',
$khwiʔ^1zɛ^2$ 'ground lizard (*Liolepis belliana*)',
ba^1mi^1 'Chinese noodle', $dɔ^2le^1$ 'house lizard',
$mɛ^2pɛ^1$ 'paddle', $mɛ^2su^2$ 'pole (punt) a boat',
$nɔ^1tɨ^1$ 'javelin', $nɔ^1$ $thuʔ^3$ $mɛ^2$ $ʔaʔ^1$ bo^2
'toothbrush', $ɲa^1pho^2$ 'fish', $ɲa^1mɨ^1$ 'whale',
$ɲa^1so^2$ 'candle', $ɣɨ^1$ 'snake', $siʔ^3wɔ^1de^1$
'millipede', $sə^1li^2$ 'water leech', $suʔ^3$ 'land leech',
$zɔ^1kiʔ^1ruʔ^1$ 'belt', wa^1 '(a pole of) bamboo'.

19. de^2 as a noun means 'claw (of a crab), a bunch of
flowers', used as a classifier with: $xɔ^2sa^1$ $shɣɔʔ^3$
'blossom (spadix) of the coconut tree', and
$shwɛ^1$ de^2 'crab's claw'.

20. də^2 as a noun means 'box, case, wrapper', used as a classifier with: $\text{bɔ}^1\text{tho}ʔ^3$ 'firecrackers', $\text{mɔ}ʔ^1\text{thu}^2$ '(a case of) cigarettes', $\text{wit}^2\text{tha}^2\text{yu}ʔ^3$ 'radio'.

21. mi^2 as a noun means 'name', used as a classifier meaning 'kind, sort, category, specimen' with: ta^2sa^1 'fruits', $\text{bɔ}^1\text{so}ʔ^2$ $\text{lo}^1\text{thɔ}^1$ '(several transfigure of) tiger'.

22. mɨ^1 as a noun means 'liana, vine, climbers', used as a classifier with: se^1xi^1 'vine', lu^1khe^2 'pumpkin vine', lu^1sa^1 'white (wax) gourd'.

23. si^1 as a noun means 'comb', used as a classifier meaning 'a hand of' with: $\text{sə}^2\text{kwi}ʔ^3$ 'bananas'.

24. $\text{sə}^1\text{bɛ}ʔ^3$ as a noun means 'arrangement', used as a classifier meaning 'a unit of things which one has arranged' with: $\text{sə}^1\text{kwi}ʔ^3$ la^1 'banana leaves', $\text{nɔ}^2\text{mə}^1ʔɨʔ^1$ 'fermented tea-leaves (around 30 leaves)', $\text{sə}^1\text{blɨ}ʔ^1$ la^1 'Piper betel leaves (around 8–9 leaves)'.

25. $\text{shu}ʔ^3$ as a noun means 'room', used as a classifier with: $\text{də}ʔ^3$ $\text{shu}ʔ^3$ 'a room in a house'.

26. swa^2 as a noun means 'a ladder-step', used as a classifier with: xɔ^2 'ladder'.

Group classifiers

1. $\text{pu}ʔ^1$ as a noun means 'heap, pile', used as a classifier with: pa^2 '(a group of) men', $\text{ta}^2\text{ɲa}^1$ 'meat', bɨ^2 'paddy', $\text{sə}^1\text{mɨ}^1$ 'firewood', $\text{si}ʔ^3$ 'alcoholic drink', $\text{mɛ}ʔ^2$ 'sand'.

2. $\text{kə}^1\text{phɨ}^2$ as a noun means 'group', used as a classifier with: pa^2 '(a group of) men'.

3. kla$?^3$ as a noun means 'group', used as a classifier
with: pa^2 '(a group of) men', tə^{1}mla$?^1$ pho^2
'bandits'.

4. $?$u$?^3$ as a noun means 'group', used as a classifier
with: pa^2 '(a group of) men', pə$?^1$na^1 mi^2 '(a
herd of) wild buffalos', ta^1 'things', tho^1 '(a
flock of) birds', ja^{2}sa^2 '(a group of) policemen',
sha^1 '(a constellation of) stars', shwi^1 si$?^3$ɲo^1 '(a
crowd of) foxes', mɔ^{1}li$?^3$ '(a throng of)
monkeys', lə^{2}khɔ^2 '(a set of) dishes'.

5. du$?^1$ as a noun means 'a brood of, a litter of', used as
a classifier with: thɔ$?^3$ '(a litter of little) pigs',
shɔ^2 '(a brood of) chickens'.

Action classifiers

1. blɔ^2 as a noun means 'one time', used as a classifier
with several action verbs such as phle^2 'beat',
dɨ$?^3$ 'fight', lɛ^2 'go'.

2. co^1 as a noun means 'a little while', used as a
classifier with verbs such as khɔ$?^3$ 'wait', to$?^3$cə^2
'help'.

3. co^2 as a noun means 'a generation', used as a
classifier with verbs such as $?$o$?^1$ 'live'.

4. na^{1}ri^1 as a noun means 'one hour', used as a classifier
after numerals.

5. ni^1 as a noun means 'year', used as a classifier after
numerals.

6. ni^2 as a noun means 'day', used as a classifier after
numerals.

7. nwi$\mathbf{?}^3$ as a noun means 'week', used as a classifier after numerals.

8. sɔ^1 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 system, at least among older people. These may become obsolescent, as English and Metric measures are on the way to replace them.

1. ba$\mathbf{?}^1$ (T.)   as a noun means 'Baht' both for monetary and weight, used as a classifier after numerals.

2. blə$\mathbf{?}^1$ (lə$\mathbf{?}^3$ cɨ$\mathbf{?}^3$)   as a noun means 'one scoop up with one hand', used as a classifier after numerals.

3. hɔ^1 (lə$\mathbf{?}^3$ cɨ$\mathbf{?}^3$)   as a noun means 'one scoop up with both hands', used as a classifier after numerals.

4. cɣɔ^2 (lə$\mathbf{?}^3$ cɨ$\mathbf{?}^3$)   as a noun means 'one scoop up with one clenched fist', used as a classifier after numerals.

5. tha^2 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. si^{1}tɛ^1 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. tha^1 as a noun means 'a pail', used as a classifier after numerals.

8. thə^2 as a noun means 'a dozen', used as a classifier after numerals.

9. cɛʔ^3 as a noun means 'a little bit of', used as a classifier after numerals.

10. kə^{1}phɔʔ^1 as a noun means 'a measure equal to the length between the joints of the middle finger', used as a classifier after numerals.

11. kɛ^1 as a noun means 'a handful of', used as a classifier after numerals.

12. kɛ^1 phaʔ^{3}doʔ^1 as a noun means 'a handful of (using both hands)', used as a classifier after numerals.

13. khri^2 as a noun means 'a Karen measurement for height equal to one fist (with the thumb flat)', used as a classifier after numerals, usually used to measure the height of pigs, piles of wood, etc.

14. phiʔ^1 as a noun means 'a Karen measurement for height equal to one fist (with a slight elevation of the thumb)', used as a classifier after numerals, usually used to measure the height of pigs, piles of wood, etc.

15. cɔʔ^3 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. khɔ²cɨʔ³   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 and the tip of the extended middle finger', used as a classifier after numerals.

19. tə²   as a noun means 'a Karen linear measure equal to the span between the elbow and 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. kəʔ¹phɨ²   as a noun means 'a group of about ten people', used as a classifier after numerals, usually used with ya²sa² 'policemen', sɨʔ³pho² 'soldiers'.

22. kəʔja²   as a noun means 'a group of about one hundred people', used as a classifier after numerals, usually used with ya²sa² 'policemen', sɨʔ³pho² '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', sɨʔ³pho² 'soldiers'.

I.3   Verb-derived classifiers

Verb-derived classifiers are classifiers which are also verbs. They are less numerous than noun-derived classifiers. The following items have been found:

1.   shɣə²   as a verb means 'to carry (hold) in both arms', used as a classifier after numerals with: bɔʔ¹ 'bamboo-shoots', səˡmɨˡ 'firewood'.

2.   boʔ¹   as a verb means 'to wrap', used as a classifier after numerals with: koʔ¹ '(a wrapped package of) sweetmeats', mɔʔˡthu² '(a carton) of cigarettes', sha²khoʔ³ '(a wrapped package of) paper'.

3.   klɔ¹   as a verb means 'to coil, to roll, to curl up', used as a classifier after numerals with: pli² 'rope'.

4.   kiʔ³   as a verb means 'to cut into sections', used as a classifier after numerals with: ta²ɲa² 'meat', koʔ¹ 'sweetmeats, cake'.

5.   khliʔ³   as a verb means 'to fold', used as a classifier after numerals with: taˡkiʔ³ɲaʔ¹ 'cloth', jaʔ¹ 'blanket'.

II.   Classifier constructions

Sgaw Karen constructions are of the "Southeast Asian" type, that is to say they follow the order noun + numeral + classifier.[2] This

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[2]Jones 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

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noun-phrase pattern can be extended by the addition of demonstratives and adjectivals, so that the full noun-phrase order is: Noun + Adjectival + Numeral + Classifier + Demonstrative (or, N + Adj + Num + CL + Dem).

Examples:

N	Adj	Num	CL	Dem
na^{1}ri^1	γe^2	khi^2	sho^2	ne^1
watch	good	two	CL	that

'those two good watches'

she^{2}ka^2	γɔ^2	sə^3	beʔ^1	ʔi^2
shirt	red	three	CL	this

'these three red shirts'

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

<u>numeral noun phrase</u>

N	Adj	Num	CL
sha^1	phaʔ^{3}doʔ^3	təʔ^1	phləʔ^1
star	big	one	CL

'one big star'

dɔ^2	cuʔ^1	khi^2	beʔ^1
knife	pointed	two	CL

'two pointed knives'

In this type of noun phrase the CL is obligatory. To delete the CL from the numeral noun-phrase will produce an ungrammatical phrase in Sgaw Karen.

+ numeral + classifier (e.g., Thai, Burmese); this he calls the "Southeast Asian" type.

<u>demonstrative noun phrase</u>

N	(CL)	Dem	Adj
tɛ¹	(phlə?¹)	?i²	phɣi²
sack	(CL)	this	light

'this light (≠ heavy) sack'

ko?¹	(be?¹)	?i²	bɛ² ɣe²
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.

III. 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 also been found. For example, 'loom' can have as a 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 kwɛ²le¹lo² 'telephone' can have as a CL either sho² 'CL for moving machine' or də² 'CL signifying the shape of a box'; sa¹mɔ²kle?³ 'tamarind fruit' can have as CL either phlə?¹ 'CL for round object' (as such the CL for most fruits) or 'CL for long objects'. Anyone who has seen a tamarind pod 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 catergorize 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, however, are found. For example khli$ʔ^3$ 'turtle', which is four-footed, does not have as CL d$ɨ^2$ 'CL for four-footed animal', but instead has be$ʔ^1$ 'classifier used for many small animals and fowls and insects'. And, ironically enough, both sɔ^{2}kha^2 'Buddhist monk' and cɔ^{2}sɔ^2 'Buddhist novice', which in Thai and Burmese require highly elevated CL, have as their CL d$ɨ^2$ 'CL for four-footed animals and ogreish beings'.

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