Numeral classifiers of *Stieng* :  
A typological and areal approach\(^1\)  

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**Plan**

I. Introduction
- Stieng language
  - Affiliation of the language and population
    - South-Bahnaric < Mon-Khmer < Austro-Asiatic
    - Sister languages: Phnong, Chrau, Koho-Sre
    - Cambodia and Vietnam - cf. map (1)
      - ~ 50 000 Stieng in both countries < 3500 up to 9000 in Cambodia\(^2\)
  - Vitality of the language and its description
    - Endangered language
    - Contact with Khmer
      - Very little described \(\rightarrow\) Part of Ph.D. dissertation (grammatical description)
  - Typological and areal features shared by *Stieng* (to be considered)
    - Compounding \(\rightarrow\) Class Nouns
    - Grammatical functions indicated by : syntax (word order), functional words (cf. sortal vs. mensural) + discourse context (cf. optionality of classifiers)
    - Grammaticalization \(\rightarrow\) highly polyfunctional words.
    - SVO, Head-modifier order

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1 Work in progress. I wish to thank my co-advisors, Colette Grinevald (Craig, Lyon2) and Scott DeLancey (UofO), for their comments and advice, however, all errors are mine.

2 No information about the speakers’ number.
2. Fieldwork and data

- **Dates:** Nov. 2009 – May 2010 & Nov. 2010 – March 2011
- **Location:** Dey Kraham village, Snuol, Kratie, Cambodia
- **Consultants:** 2 main speakers; women (~ 50 yrs old)
  4 occasional consultants
- **Data:**
  - Natural narratives
  - Spontaneous sentences
  - Elicitations on the basis of visual stimuli:
    - Photos grouping objects of the daily life (pairs, triplets, etc.)
    - Drawings from children’s books
  - But no natural discourse/dialog to check discourse involved in classifier use

Map (1): Localisation of the Stieng community (Bon, 2010)
3. Numeral Classifiers in a typological and areal perspective

3.1 Typology of nominal categorization

Nominal categorization systems

```
Lexical  Grammatical
  Measure terms   
    Class nouns  Classifiers
      Noun       Noun classes  Gender
                           Numeral
                                   Verbal  Genitival
```

⇒ Sortal  Mensural

Figure (1): Systems of nominal categorization (Based on Grinevald (2002))


3.2 Note about the terminology used

Numeral Classifier systems

Grinevald  Sortal  Mensural

e.g. Bisang  Classifiers  Quantifiers
               CL\textsuperscript{4}  QI Ms

Figure (2): Numeral classifiers systems

cf. II. 4. p. 9 for sortal vs. mensural distinction

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3 See also appendices in Goldwasser & Grinevald, forthcoming.
4 Which I keep on calling ‘classifiers’ (instead of sortal classifiers) when it is not ambiguous with mensurals.
3.3 WALS’ areal distribution of numeral classifiers

Map (2): WALS’ areal distribution of numeral classifiers


♦ Main concentration in E & SEA
  • Extended to Western Asia & Pacific;
  • Pacific Northwest, Meso-America, Amazon basin + smaller hotbeds in West Africa

♦ SEA: concentration of obligatory numeral classifiers
  • But optional in Khmer (and in Stieng)
    (see II. 4-5. p. 9-10)

Map (3): WALS’ areal distribution of numeral classifiers: Zoom on SEA

♦ Among other types of classifiers:
  • Numeral classifiers = most common and most studied
  • SEA numeral classifiers: most studied

---

5 http://wals.info/feature/55A
II. Numeral Classifiers in Stieng: description

1. Inventory ~ 15 classifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>N°</th>
<th>Stieng CL</th>
<th>Meaning in lexical use</th>
<th>Objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animacy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ + animate ; + human]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>mbu</td>
<td>‘one person’ ( = 1)</td>
<td>chiefs, grand-parents, men, women, children, …</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>‘people’ (≤ 2)</td>
<td>gods, monks, king …</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>*pəŋ</td>
<td>‘sacred’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ + animate ; -human]</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>bok</td>
<td>‘head’</td>
<td>dogs, pigs, cows, birds, buffalos…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1D – long and rigid</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>*tam</td>
<td>‘trunk’</td>
<td>trees, sticks, pens, cigarettes …</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1D – long and flexible</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>*tej</td>
<td>‘rope’</td>
<td>ropes, necklaces, …</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2D – flat and flexible or ± rigid</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>‘leaf (vegetal)’</td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>pləp</td>
<td>‘leaf (paper)’</td>
<td>blanklets, nets, …</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>pan.ədəh</td>
<td>‘strap’</td>
<td>“”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3D – (big and) round</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>pej</td>
<td>‘fruit’</td>
<td>fruits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3D – tuber</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>mbum</td>
<td>‘tuber’</td>
<td>tubers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3D – small and round</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>grap</td>
<td>‘grain’</td>
<td>small fruits, beads, teardrops, …</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>kɔtək – *kɔləŋ</td>
<td>‘place’</td>
<td>houses, lakes, villages, caves, …</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machines</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>*grəŋ</td>
<td>‘machine’</td>
<td>motorbikes, cars, …</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Classifier</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>some body parts, furniture, some types of clothes etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universal/general/default Classifier</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>?ək</td>
<td>‘several’</td>
<td>any entity 1 - 15 (excepted with NUM ‘one’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* borrowings from Khmer.

Table (1): Inventory of the classifiers of Stieng ordered by semantic feature

- Fits Adams & Conklin’s typology (1973)
- Levels of categorization:
  - No specific CL for some entities (cf. n°16): either CL.univ or Ø.
  - CL.univ ?ək can categorize all nouns (even those with a specific CL)

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7 Depending on the idiolect (variation).
8 Borrowing from Khmer pəŋ, ‘class of sacred’ (Thach, personnel communication 2012).
9 Not used with fishes and some insects (considered as headless).
10 Borrowing from Khmer kəlnəŋ, ‘place’.
11 Borrowing from Khmer kriŋ, used for anything mechanical (ibid.).
12 cf. ‘machin’ in French or ‘stuff’ in English: mraːm/#ti; pram (Ø) (CL.univ) ‘five fingers’; Lit. ‘fingers five stuffs’ - Sti-CL#1
2. Structural characteristics

2.1 Internal structure of numeral classifiers

♦ NUM-CL → like in most E & SEA languages

2.2 Position of [NUM-CL] in NP

♦ N-[NUM-CL]

→ Asian areal pattern of CL constructions within a North-South axis (see Jones (1970) and Bisang (1999: 118))

- North Languages: Modifier-Head type; [NUM-CL]-N
- South Languages: Head-Modifier type; N-[NUM-CL]

→ Stieng, as a language of the South fits this pattern.

(1)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{N} & \text{[NUM CL]} \\
\text{hej} & ?æn & \text{gow} & \text{puan bok} \\
1\text{SG} & \text{have} & \text{cow} & \text{four CL.head}
\end{array}
\]

'I have four cows' - E-JN-Vi-#1

♦ [NUM-CL] in final position of NP

- N DEM [NUM-CL]

(2)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{N} & \text{DEM} & \text{[NUM=CL]} \\
\text{jow} & \text{n=bu:} & \text{gok l=ew} \\
\text{grand-father} & \text{DEM} & \text{one=CL.person} & \text{sit up}
\end{array}
\]

'This one grandfather is sitting overhead [...]’ - FR-MM#1

- N POSS [NUM-CL]

(3)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{N} & \text{POSS} & \text{[NUM CL]} \\
?æc & \text{tal koan paŋ} & \text{puan ?ak} \\
\text{fear} & \text{trample} & \text{child 3SG.POSS} & \text{four CL}
\end{array}
\]

'(She) fears (he) tramples her four children’ - EL-MM #16

♦ [NUM-CL] functions as a unit

(nothing can occur in between NUM & CL)

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14 Like in Thai and Khmer.
15 Context: a sparrow mother fears an elephant to trample her children. Here the universal CL is used, but we could also use CL.head bok or even CL.person du: as the animals are humanized in this tale.
3. Class nouns (CN)\(^{16}\) and development of classifiers in Stieng

3.1 Distinction CL vs. CN

Nominal categorization systems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical</th>
<th>Grammatical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class nouns (CN)(^{17})</td>
<td>Classifiers (CL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifiers (CL)</td>
<td>Sortal (CL)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure (3): Classifiers vs. Class nouns: two distinct systems of nominal categorization

- **CN**: part of nominal head, modifiable by [NUM-CL]
- 2 overlapping classification systems (DeLancey, 1986:442)
- → **Semi-Repeaters**\(^{18}\) (Bisang, 1999:130)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical</th>
<th>Grammatical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CN(_i)  # N</td>
<td>NUM  CL(_4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) a.  <strong>tam</strong> trunk # pret</td>
<td><strong>bar</strong> CL.trunk # banana two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banana tree</td>
<td>'Two banana trees' - Li-CL#177'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) a.  <strong>pej</strong> fruit # pret</td>
<td><strong>bar</strong> CL.fruit # banana two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banana</td>
<td>'Two bananas' - Li-CL#177'(^b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) a.  <strong>la:</strong> leaf # pret</td>
<td><strong>bar</strong> CL.leaf # banana two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banana leaf</td>
<td>'Two banana leaves' - Li-CL#129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical</th>
<th>Grammatical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CN(_i)  # N</td>
<td>NUM  CL(_4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) b.  <strong>tam</strong> trunk # dũŋ</td>
<td><strong>bar</strong> CL.trunk # coco two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coconut tree</td>
<td>'Two coconut trees' - Li-CL#187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) b.  <strong>pej</strong> fruit # dũŋ</td>
<td><strong>bar</strong> CL.fruit # coco two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coconut</td>
<td>'Two coconuts' - Sti-CL#162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) b.  <strong>la:</strong> leaf # dũŋ</td>
<td><strong>bar</strong> CL.leaf # coco two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coconut leaf</td>
<td>'Two coconut leaves' - Li-CL#129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B: Prototypical repeaters\(^{19}\): rare in Stieng: only 1 example with cʰeʃ ‘CL.rope’.
In Thai: systematically used with nouns without specific classifier (Bisang, 1999:130) but not in Stieng.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N(_1)</th>
<th>NUM  CL(_4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cʰeʃ</td>
<td>pej  cʰeʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rope</td>
<td>three CL.rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Three ropes' - Sti-CL#37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{16}\) As mentioned by Bisang (1999: 159), *The term ‘class noun’ corresponds to ‘class term’ suggested by Haas (1942) and DeLancey (1986)*.

\(^{17}\) See appendix II p.15 for examples of class noun from the lexical field of plants.


\(^{19}\) When CL are identical to the noun they classify (Grinevald, 2004:1026)
3.2 Development of classifiers

→ Nominal origin of CL easily recognizable: N still used in the lexicon.

- **Category oriented development** [based on taxonomy] (SEA) (Bisang 1999: 165) – Stieng - [shape] CL
  
  - 3 nouns from the plant domain = most universal source of CL
    (Adams) → Stieng - [shape] CL: *txm* (trunk); *la* (leaf) and *pej* (fruit).
    Cf. Ex. (4)-(6) p. 7

- **Grammaticalization chain phenomenon:**
  
  - CN = origin of numeral CL development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st level</th>
<th>2nd level</th>
<th>3rd level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>semi-repeater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Lexical</td>
<td></td>
<td>+ Grammatical</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  Figure (4): Chain of grammaticalization from N to CL
  Simplified and modified version of Bisang’s (1999:165)

- **In Stieng**

  - **Grammaticalization chain (4):** not applicable to [animacy] and [function features] (see table (1) p. 5)?

  - **3rd level of grammaticalization:** not viable for all semi-repeaters: cf. fruits, tubers and leaf (not used with compound nouns in which they don’t occur as CN)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shape</th>
<th>Ex</th>
<th>2nd level of grammaticalization: CN &gt; (semi-)repeater</th>
<th>3rd level of grammaticalization: (semi-)repeater &gt; CL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1D – Long rigid (8)</td>
<td>a.</td>
<td><em>txm</em> # pas puan trunk # cotton four</td>
<td><em>txm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'four cotton trees’ - Li-CL#177</td>
<td><em>CL.trunk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b.</td>
<td><em>parej</em> pej cigarette three</td>
<td><em>txm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'three cigarettes’ - Sti-CL#35</td>
<td><em>CL.trunk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1D – Long flexible (9)</td>
<td>a.</td>
<td><em>c^ej</em> pej rope trois</td>
<td><em>c^ej</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'three ropes’ - Sti-CL#37</td>
<td><em>CL.rope</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b.</td>
<td><em>noon</em> pej necklace three</td>
<td><em>c^ej</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'three necklaces’ - Li-CL#73</td>
<td><em>CL.rope</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3D – Round small (10)</td>
<td>a.</td>
<td><em>grap</em> # pual bar grain # squash two</td>
<td><em>grap</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'two squash seeds’ - Li-CL#94</td>
<td><em>CL.grain</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b.</td>
<td><em>lew</em> bar button two</td>
<td><em>grap</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'two buttons’ - CL-MM#6</td>
<td><em>CL.grain</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (2): Two systems of nominal categorization in Stieng:
illustration of two levels of grammaticalization

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20 According to Grinevald (personal communication, 2012), CL in Stieng are very little grammaticalized, given their optionality.
4. **Sortal vs. Mensural**: 2 distinct systems of numeral classifiers

Noëllie BON  
Number classifiers of *Stieng* :  
A typological and areal approach

Numeral Classifier systems

```
Sortal
   CL
Mensural
   Qt / Ms
```

Figure (4) : *Sortal vs. Mensural*: two distinct systems of numeral classifiers

4.1 **Semantic distinction** (see summary in appendix III p.16)

4.2 **Morphosyntactic distinction**

→ Same slot in the NP but different ‘obligatoriness’

- Measuring process – **mensural**: obligatory

(11) a. Non-discret units:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hej</th>
<th>?on</th>
<th>beh</th>
<th>bar</th>
<th>dcap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

→ *hej  | ?on  | beh  | bar | Ø    |

1sg have  wine two  **qt.bottle**

‘I have two bottles of wine’ - ET-JN-Vi#5

b. Discret units:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>porej</th>
<th>bar</th>
<th>kacap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

→ *porej | bar | Ø |

cigarette two  **qt.box**

‘Two boxes of cigarettes’ - Eli1-MP#1

(12) a. Non-discret units:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>porej</th>
<th>bar</th>
<th>(təm)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*-cigarette two  **CL.trunk**

‘Two cigarettes’ - Eli1-MP#2

b. Discret units:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>?on</th>
<th>təm tənuat</th>
<th>bar</th>
<th>(təm)</th>
<th>dīoc</th>
<th>dāk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

→ *?on  | təm tənuat | bar | Ø     | dīoc | dāk |

EXIST palm tree two  **CL.grove** near water

‘There are two palm groves nearby with water’ – Eli-FR-MK#8

- Counting process – **sortal**: optional

⇒ WALS: SEA main concentration of **obligatory CL**: why optional in *Stieng*?

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21 Valid in prototypical sentences, regardless metonymy relationship cases where quantifier is omitted with non-discrete units like in ‘We drank two good wines yesterday’, or discrete units like in ‘I just bought two x at the street vendor’ with x= any brand of cigarettes. Here the omission of the mensural turns the process into a counting process.
5. Discourse sensitivity of classifiers in Stieng?
→ Work in progress, to be verified in the field

5.1 Optionality

♦ Hypothesis: ‘optionality’ of CL - related to referentiality?
  - Referential: the counted entity is a specific individual
    → CL required?
  - Conceptual / not referential: the counted entity represents the
    full class → CL optional / omitted?

♦ See Khmer (Vogel 2002, Thach, personal communication 2012) ?

5.2 Choice of a specific CL depending on the context

♦ Highlight one particular characteristic of the counted entity

♦ ‘Point of view’ (Vogel, 2002) of the speaker about the counted
  entity [interface semantics & pragmatics]

♦ cf. use of CL.animal ‘bok’ with human entities: insult

♦ See Khmer (ibid.)

5.3 Anaphoric use of classifier: Referential function
(Bisang 1999:113-116)

♦ Common in SEA languages (cf. Vittrant 2002: 138 for Burmese)

(13) a. mə? pej kət, səw_ p'əm ?ak, look frog see eight CL.univ,

Lit. ‘Looking at the frogs, one sees eight’ /
‘Frogs, one sees eight stuffs’ - FS-MK#76

b. ?an səh sala;_ han rian pej du;_ EXIST pupil go learn three CL.person,

m=bu, one = CL.person, ?ə = mat bar du, side = front

yy yy /uni0294a/uni02D0=k/uni0268/uni0259j one= one= one= one= CL CL CL CL

y y y y side=back

Lit. ‘There are pupils going learning, there are three people, one person
ahead, two people, behind’ FR-MM#18

5.4 Topicality and classifiers: to be invistigated

22 i=j+y
III. Conclusion and openings

1. Outcomes of the presentation

- 1st stage of a new description of a MK language classifiers system
- Part of a description of the Stieng language (PhD Dissertation): work in progress
- Recalling:
  ♦ Necessity of situating numeral CL into wider typological perspective of nominal classification
  ♦ Distinction from other types of nominal categorization existing in Stieng: sortal vs. mensural; classifiers vs. class nouns
- Only some aspects of the system shown here:
  → Semantic, morphosyntactic and dynamic features: inventory, word order and development not surprising knowing areal features of CL in E and SEA

2. Openings: aspects of the system to be developed

- Discursive aspects of classifiers (cf. 5): to be investigated
- Detailed semantic description of the system in a comparative perspective: to be developed
- Issues with numerals
  • ‘one’: counting process vs. (in)definiteness
  • ‘two’: comitative function
- Idiolectal variations + Influence of Khmer (3 CL borrowed from Khmer)
- Other dynamic aspects of the system (Grinevald, 2002:265)
  • Position as part of a wider diffusion wave (E & SEA languages and areal diffusion)
  • Age (recent vs. ancient)
  • Life cycle (merging vs. in decline)
  • Productivity (active and open vs. frozen)
  • Grammaticalization degree.

Abbreviations

ADV 'adverb' IMP 'impersonal'
CL '(sortal) classifier' POSS 'possessive'
CL.univ. 'universal classifier' Q/Qt/Ms 'quantifier / mensural'
COP.LOC 'locative copula'
DEM 'demonstrative'
EXIST 'existential'
Bibliography


Noëllie BON

Numeral classifiers of Stieng:
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Miller V.G., 1976, An overview of Stieng grammar, SIL/UND.


Appendices

I. Examples of categorization devices

♦ Gender in Spanish (→agreement) (in Grinevald 2002:1019)

está flor roja es bonita
this.F flower(F) red.F is pretty.F
‘This red flower is pretty’

♦ Noun classes in Sesotho (Central Bantu; Demuth et al 1986:456)

(a) mo-tho é-mo-holo ó-rata Ā-ntjá ē-ntle ea-hae
1 1 1 9 9 1
person big he/she-like dog beautiful of-his/her
‘The old man/woman likes his/her beautiful dog’

(b) ba-tho bá-ba-holo ba-rata li-ntjá tsé-ntle tsá-bona
2 2 2 10 10 10 2
people big they-like dog beautiful of-his/her
‘the old people like their beautiful dogs’

♦ Noun Classifier in Jakaltek (Craig 1986 :264)

(a) xil naj xuwan no’ lab’a
see.PAST CL.man John CL.animal snake
“(man) John sax the (animal) snake.”

(b) xil naj no’
see.PAST CL.man CL.animal
‘he saw it (animal)”

♦ Genitival Classifier in Ponapean (Micronesian ; Rehg 1981 :184)

(a) kene-i mwenge
CL.edible-GEN/1 food
‘my food’

(b) were-i pwoht
CL.transport-GEN/1 boat
‘my boat’

♦ Verbal Classifier in Cayuga (Iroquian, Ontario, Mithun 1986:386-388)

(a) ohon’atake: akh-nahskwae’
it.potato.rotten PAST/I-CL.potato-eat
‘I ate a rotten potato’

(b) sowaz akh-nahskw-ae’
dog I-CL.domestic.animal-have
‘I have a (pet) dog’

(c) skitu ake’-treh-tae’
skidoo I-CL.vehicle-have
‘I have a car’
II. Examples of Stieng Class nouns (CN) : lexical fields of plants

- Nominal Compounds: HYPERNYM (HEAD)+ HYPONYM (among other types)
  - HYPERNYM = Class Noun (CN)
    - Categorizes the HYPONYM noun
    - Based on taxonomic classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(14) Tree:</th>
<th>tam + N. Specific</th>
<th>(‘trunk’ + N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. tam#pas</td>
<td>trunk#cotton-</td>
<td>‘cotton plant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. tam#pret</td>
<td>trunk#banana</td>
<td>‘banana tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. tam#duŋj</td>
<td>trunk#coco-</td>
<td>‘coconut tree’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(15) Leaf:</th>
<th>la + N. Specific</th>
<th>(‘leaf’ + N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. la#chːiː</td>
<td>leaf#wood</td>
<td>‘leaf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. la#prə.dɨː</td>
<td>leaf#spinach</td>
<td>‘spinach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. la#tuɔr</td>
<td>leaf#ear</td>
<td>‘ear’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(16) Fruit:</th>
<th>pej + N. Specific</th>
<th>(‘fruit’ + N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. pej#buat</td>
<td>fruit#maïs</td>
<td>‘corn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. pej#diap</td>
<td>fruit#papaw</td>
<td>‘papaw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. pej#sɔ.waj</td>
<td>fruit#mango</td>
<td>‘mango’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(17) Tuber:</th>
<th>mbum + N. Specific</th>
<th>(‘tuber’ + N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. mbum#kliam</td>
<td>tuber#manioc</td>
<td>‘manioc’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. mbum#dɔm</td>
<td>tuber#red</td>
<td>‘radish’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (3): Stieng class nouns: lexical field of plants
III. Semantic distinction between *sortal* and *mensural* classifiers: recall

→ Distinction on the basis of the possibility to quantify an entity of the real world either by counting it or by measuring it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Sortal Classifiers</strong> (our topic)</th>
<th><strong>Mensural Classifiers</strong> (quantifiers) - Qt / Ms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Process</td>
<td>Counting</td>
<td>Measuring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of unit</td>
<td>discreet</td>
<td>non-discrete units (physical or not – i.e. liquids, materials etc.) or discreet units organized into a set of units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of individualization</td>
<td>Actualizing</td>
<td>Creative [create the unit to be counted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{actualize the semantic boundaries which already belong to the concept of a given noun}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scale of properties</td>
<td>Inherent</td>
<td>External</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution among world languages</td>
<td>Not present in all languages of the world (cf. map (2) p. 4)</td>
<td>Present in all languages of the world</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (4): Semantic distinction between *sortal* and *mensural* classifiers
(from explanations by Bisang, 1999:120-123)

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23 See Grinevald (2004:1020) and (2002: 260-261); summary in Vittrant (2002 :132), and Bisang (1999:120-123) for additional information about the semantic difference between *sortal* and *mensural* classifiers.