

Numeral classifiers of *Stieng* :

*A typological and areal approach*¹

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Plan

I. Introduction

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I. Introduction

1. Stieng language

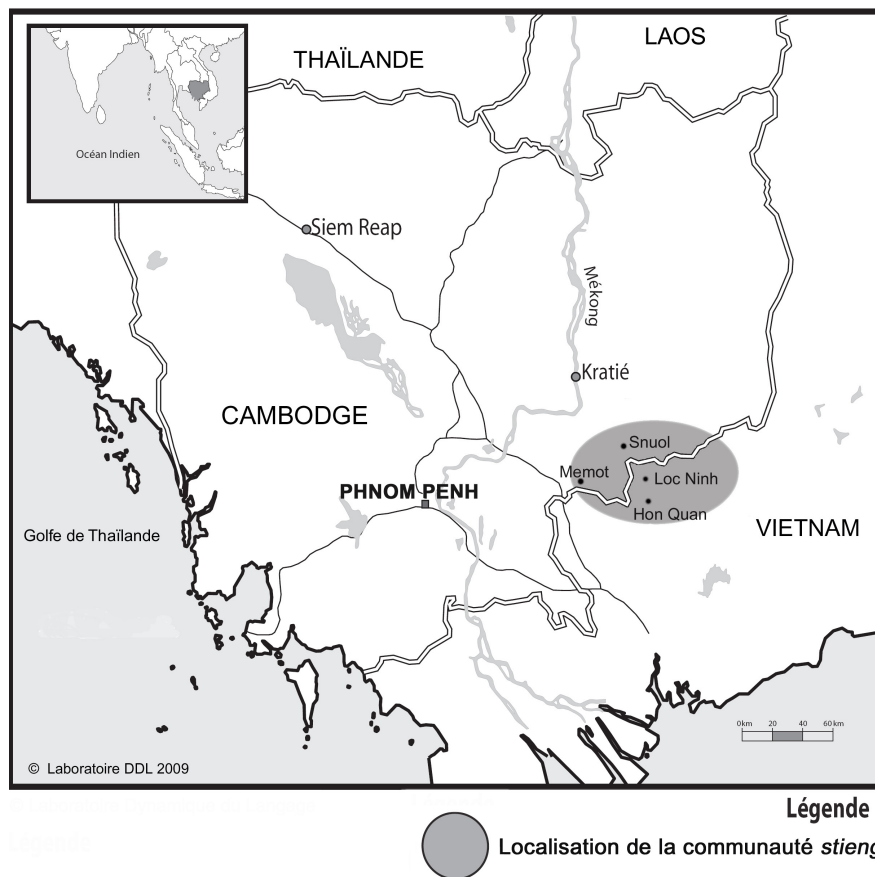
- **Affiliation of the language and population**
 - ♦ **South-Bahnaric** < **Mon-Khmer** < Austro-Asiatic
 - ♦ Sister languages: *Phnong*, *Chrau*, *Koho-Sre*
 - ♦ **Cambodia** and Vietnam - cf. map (1)
 - ♦ ~ **50 000** *Stieng* in both countries < **3500** up to **9000** in Cambodia²
- **Vitality of the language and its description**
 - ♦ **Endangered** language
 - ♦ **Contact** with Khmer
 - ♦ **Very little described** → Part of Ph.D. dissertation (grammatical description)
- **Typological and areal features shared by *Stieng* (to be considered)**
 - ♦ Compounding → **Class Nouns**
 - ♦ Grammatical functions indicated by : syntax (word order), **functional words** (cf. *sortal* vs. *mensural*) + discourse context (cf. optionality of classifiers)
 - ♦ **Grammaticalization** → highly polyfunctional words.
 - ♦ **SVO, Head-modifier order**

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

Based on discussion in Craig (1992, 1993) / Grinevald (1999, 2000, 2002, 2004)³

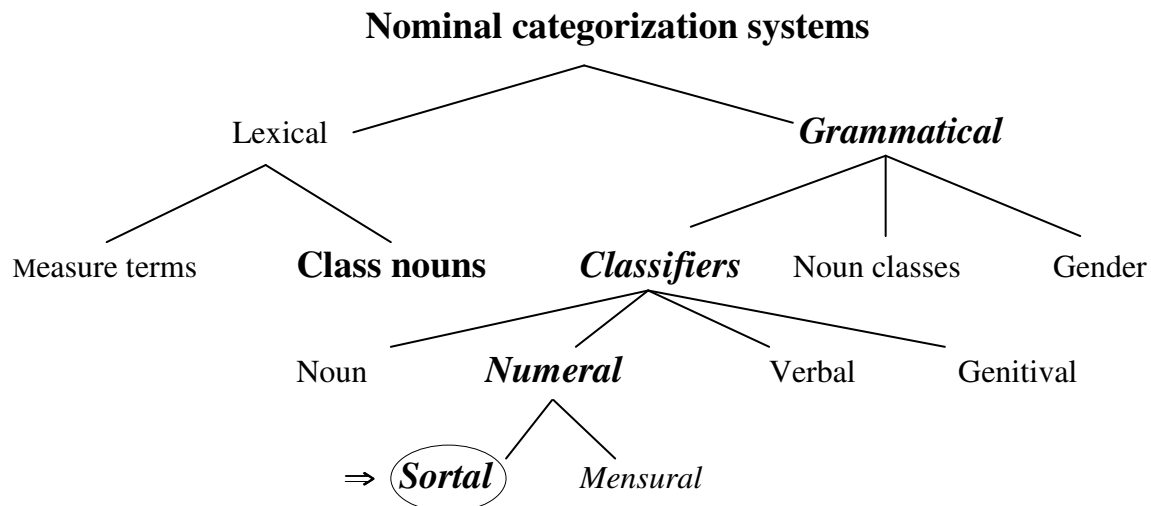


Figure (1): Systems of nominal categorization (Based on Grinevald (2002))

→ cf. appendix I p. 14 for examples from Grinevald (2002).

3.2 Note about the terminology used

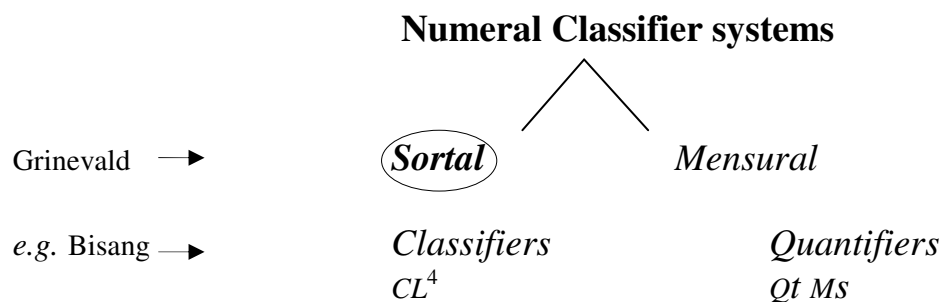


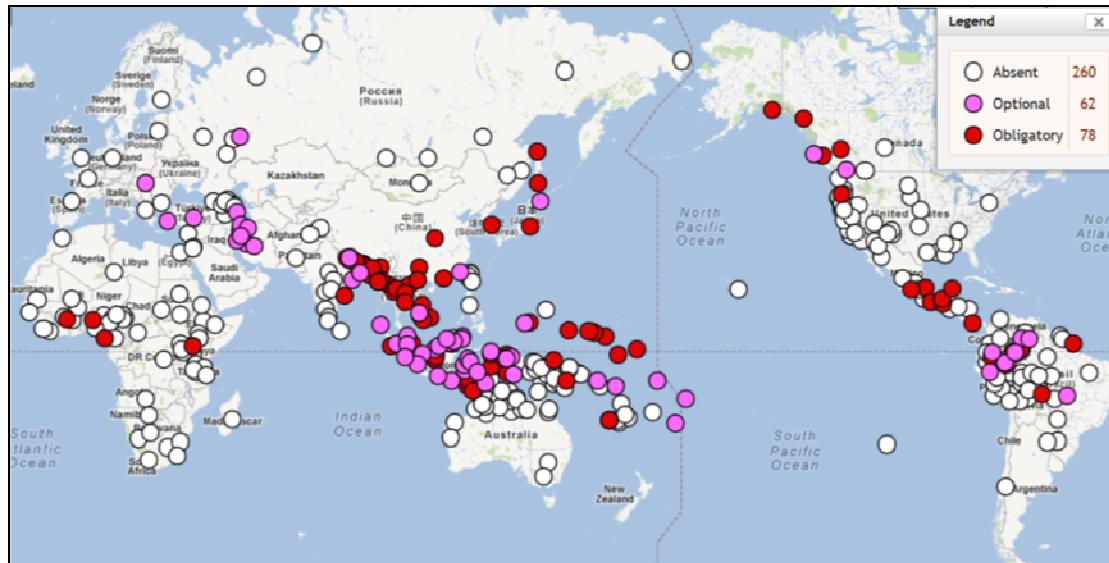
Figure (2): Numeral classifiers systems

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

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



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

- Map by Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*, Munich: Max Planck Digital Library⁵.
- Feature 55A, Numeral Classifiers, by Gil, D., 2011.

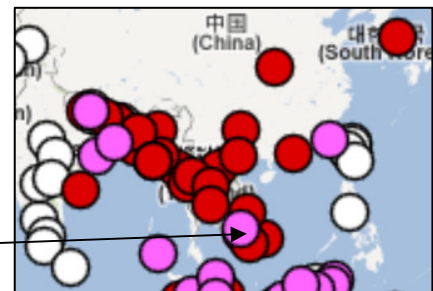
◆ Main concentration in E & SEA

- 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)

Khmer



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

◆ Among other types of classifiers:

- **Numeral classifiers** = most **common** and most **studied** ⁶
- **SEA numeral classifiers**: most studied

⁵ <http://wals.info/feature/55A>

⁶ About classifiers in Asian languages, see Adams and Conklin (1973); Adams (1982, 1986, 1989, 1992), Erbaugh (1986); Bisang (1993, 1999) Croft (1994), etc.; and descriptions within grammatical sketches or grammars of close languages: *Stieng-Bulo* (Miller, 1976), *Bu-nong (Phnong)* – Vogel, 2006), *Chrau* (Thomas, 1976); *Khmer* (Vogel, 2002; Haiman 2011; Thach, personal communication 2012).

II. Numeral Classifiers in Stieng: description

1. Inventory ~ 15 classifiers⁷

Feature	Class	N°	<i>Stieng</i> CL	Meaning in lexical use	Objects
Animacy	[+ animate ; + human]	1	<i>mbu:</i>	‘one person’ (= 1)	chiefs, grand-parents, men,
		2	<i>du:</i>	‘people’ (≤ 2)	women, children, ...
		3	<i>*ʔaŋ</i> ⁸	‘sacred’	gods, monks, king ...
	[+ animate ; -human]	4	<i>bok</i>	‘head’	dogs, pigs, cows, birds, buffalos... ⁹
Shape	1D – long and rigid	5	<i>*tə:m</i>	‘trunk’	trees, sticks, pens, cigarettes ...
	1D – long and flexible	6	<i>c^hej</i>	‘rope’	ropes, necklaces, ...
	2D – flat and flexible or ± rigid	7	<i>la:</i>	‘leaf (vegetal)’	leaves
		8	<i>pləp</i>	‘leaf (paper)’	blankets, nets, ...
		9	<i>pən.də:h</i>	‘strap’	” ”
	3D – (big and) round	10	<i>pəj</i>	‘fruit’	fruits
	3D – tuber	11	<i>mbum</i>	‘tuber’	tubers
Function	Location	13	<i>kətək ~ *kələŋ</i> ¹⁰	‘place’	houses, lakes, villages, caves, ...
	Machines	14	<i>*griəŋ</i> ¹¹	‘machine’	motorbikes, cars, ..
No Classifier		15	∅		some body parts, furniture, some types of clothes etc.
Universal/general/default Classifier		16	<i>ʔək</i>	‘several’	any entity 1 -15 (excepted with NUM ‘one’)

* 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 ∅.
- CL.univ *ʔək* can categorize all nouns (even those with a specific CL)¹²

⁷ Depending on the idiolect (variation).

⁸ Borrowing from Khmer *ʔaŋ*, ‘class of sacred’ (Thach, personal communication 2012).

⁹ Not used with fishes and some insects (considered as headless).

¹⁰ Borrowing from Khmer *kənlaŋ*, ‘place’.

¹¹ Borrowing from Khmer *kriəŋ* used for anything mechanical (ibid.).

¹² cf. ‘machin’ in French or ‘stuff’ in English: mra:m#ti: pram (**ʔək**)
finger#hand five (**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]-N¹³
- **South Languages** : Head-Modifier type ; N-[NUM-CL]¹⁴

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

- (1)
- | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----|--------------|--|
| | | N | [NUM CL] | |
| hej | ʔə:n | gow | puan bok | |
| 1SG | have | cow | four CL.head | |
- 'I have four cows'* - E-JN-Vi-#1

- ♦ [NUM-CL] in final position of NP

- N DEM [NUM-CL]

- (2)
- | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----------------|---------|
| N | DEM | [NUM=CL] | |
| jɔw | niə | m = bu: | gɔk ləw |
| grand-father | DEM | one = CL.person | sit up |
- 'This one grandfather is sitting overhead [...]'* - FR-MM#1

- N POSS [NUM-CL]

- (3)
- | | | | | |
|------|---------|-------|----------|------------------------|
| | | N | POSS | [NUM CL] |
| ʔa:c | təl | koən | paŋ | puan ʔək ¹⁵ |
| fear | trample | child | 3SG.POSS | four CL |
- '(She) fears (he) tramples her four children'* - EL-MM #16

- [NUM-CL] functions as a unit

(nothing can occur in between NUM & CL)

¹³ Like in Chinese, Vietnamese, Hmong and the Miao language of Weining.

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

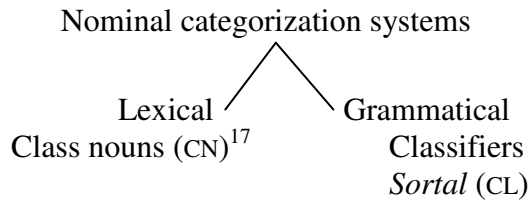


Figure (3): Classifiers vs. Class nouns:
two distinct systems of nominal categorization

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

Lexical				Grammatical		Lexical				Grammatical			
CN _i # N				NUM CL _i		CN _i # N				NUM CL _i			
(4)	a.	tə:m	# pret	bar	tə:m	b.	tə:m	# dɔŋ	bar	tə:m			
		trunk	# banana	two	CL.trunk		trunk	# coco	two	CL.trunk			
	banana tree						coconut tree						
	'Two banana trees' - Li-CL#177'						'Two coconut trees' - Li-CL#187						
(5)	a.	pej	# pret	bar	pej	b.	pej	# dɔŋ	bar	pej			
		fruit	# banana	two	CL.fruit		fruit	# coco	two	CL.fruit			
	banana						coconut						
	'Two bananas' - Li-CL#177'b						'Two coconuts' - Sti-CL#162						
(6)	a.	la:	# pret	bar	la:	b.	la:	# dɔŋ	bar	la:			
		leaf	# banana	two	CL.leaf		leaf	# coco	two	CL.leaf			
	banana leaf						coconut leaf						
	'Two banana leaves' - Li-CL#129						'Two coconut leaves' - Li-CL#129						

N.B: Prototypical repeaters¹⁹ : rare in *Stieng*: only 1 example with *c^hej* 'CL.rope'.
In Thai: systematically used with nouns without specific classifier (Bisang, 1999:130) but not in *Stieng*.

- (7) N_i NUM CL_i
- | | | |
|------------------------|-------|------------------------|
| c^hej | pej | c^hej |
| rope | three | CL.rope |
- 'Three ropes' - Sti-CL#37

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.

¹⁸ When *Class noun repeated in the classifier position* (Bisang 1999:159) - Very common in *Stieng* and in SEA languages: cf. Burmese (Vittrant, 2002:138), Thai (DeLancey, 1986:438), Hmong (Bisang, 1993), etc.

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: *tə:m* (trunk); *la:* (leaf) and *pej* (fruit).
Cf. Ex. (4)-(6) p. 7
- ♦ **Grammaticalization chain phenomenon:**
 - **CN = origin of numeral CL development**
(DeLancey, 1986: 440 & 445-46)

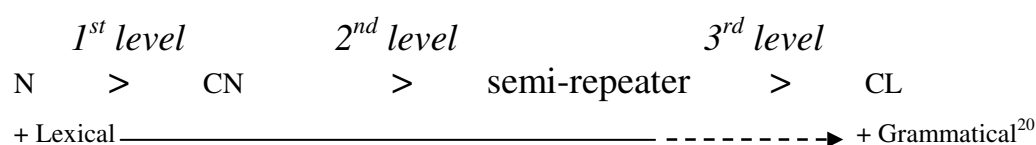


Figure (4): Chain of grammaticalization from N to CL
Simplified and modified version of Bisang's (1999:165)

- ♦ **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)

Shape	Ex		2 nd level of grammaticalization: CN > (semi-)repeater			3 rd level of grammaticalization: (semi-)repeater > CL		
			CN _i # N	NUM	CL _i	CN _i # N	NUM	CL _j
1D – Long rigid	(8)	a.	<i>tə:m</i> # pa:s trunk # cotton	pua:n four	<i>tə:m</i> CL.trunk	b.	<i>pərej</i> cigarette	pej three <i>tə:m</i> CL.trunk
			'four cotton trees' - Li-CL#177			'three cigarettes' - Sti-CL#35		
1D – Long flexible	(9)	a.	<i>chəj</i> rope	pej trois	<i>chəj</i> CL.rope	b.	<i>ɲəŋ</i> necklace	pej three <i>chəj</i> CL.rope
			'three ropes' - Sti-CL#37			'three necklaces' - Li-CL#73		
3D – Round small	(10)	a.	grap # pua:l grain # squash	ba:r two	grap CL.grain	b.	lew button	ba:r two grap CL.grain
			'two squash seeds' - Li-CL#94			'two buttons' - CL-MM#6		

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

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

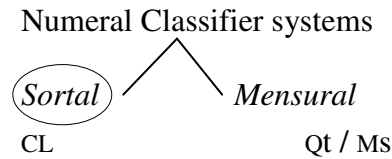


Figure (4) : *Sortal* vs. *Mensural*: two distinct systems of numeral classifiers

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* : obligatory²¹

- (11) a. Non-discret units:
- | | | | | | |
|-----|------|------|------|------|-----------|
| hej | ʔən | be:h | ba:r | ḍəp | |
| → | *hej | ʔən | be:h | ba:r | Ø |
| | 1sg | have | wine | two | Qt.bottle |
- ‘I have two bottles of wine’* - ET-JN-Vi#5
- b. Discret units:
- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|------|--------|--|
| pərej | | ba:r | kəcəp | |
| → | *pərej | ba:r | Ø | |
| | cigarette | two | Qt.box | |
- ‘Two boxes of cigarettes’* - Eli1-MP#1
- c.
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|-----------|--------|----------|------|-------|------|
| ʔən | tə:m | tənuət | ba:r | gəm | diəc | da:k | |
| → | *ʔən | tə:m | tənuət | ba:r | Ø | diəc | da:k |
| | EXIST | palm tree | two | CL.grove | near | water | |
- ‘There are two palm groves nearby with water’* – Eli-FR-MK#8

◆ Counting process – *sortal* : optional

- (12) a.
- | | | | | |
|-----------|--|------|------------|--|
| pərej | | ba:r | (tə:m) | |
| cigarette | | two | (CL.trunk) | |
- ‘Two cigarettes’* - Eli1-MP#2
- b.
- | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|--------|------|------------|------|-------|
| ʔən | tə:m | tənuət | ba:r | (tə:m) | diəc | da:k |
| EXIST | palm tree | two | | (CL.trunk) | near | water |
- ‘There are two palm trees nearby with water’* - FR-MK#8

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

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.

→ Work in progress, to be verified in the field

- ♦ **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) ?

- ♦ 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.*)

(Bisang 1999:113-116)

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

b. ʔən sə:h sala:_i han rian pej du:_i
 EXIST pupil_i go learn three CL.person_i

 m = bu:_j ʔa: = mat bar du:_y ʔa: = kiəj
 one = CL.person_i side = front two CL.person_y side = back

Lit. 'There are *pupils_i* going learning, there are *three people_i*, *one person_j* ahead, *two people_y* behind'²² FR-MM#18

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	‘(<i>sortal</i>) classifier’	POSS	‘possessive’
CL.univ.	‘universal classifier’	Q/Q _t /M _s	‘quantifier / <i>mensural</i> ’
COP.LOC	‘locative copula’		
DEM	‘demonstrative’		
EXIST	‘existential’		

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Appendices

I. Examples of categorization devices

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

esta 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 Ø-ntjá é-ntle eá-hae*
1 1 1 9 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 saw the (animal) snake.'
- (b) *xil naj no'*
see.PAST CL.man CL.animal
'he saw it (animal)'

♦ **Genitival Classifier** in Ponapean (Micronesian ; Rehag 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'atatke: akh-nahskwae'*
it.potato.rotten PAST/I-CL.potato-eat
'I ate a rotten potato'
- (b) *sowas 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

(14) Tree : tə:m + N.Specific (‘trunk’ + N)				
a.	tə:m #pa:s	trunk #cotton-	‘cotton plant’	Lex#0480
b.	tə:m #pret	trunk #banana	‘banana tree’	Lex#0083
c.	tə:m #dɔŋ	trunk #coco-	‘coconut tree’	Lex#0444
(15) Leaf : la: + N.Specific (‘leaf’ + N)				
a.	la: #chi:	leaf #wood	‘leaf’	Lex#1525
b.	la: #prə.dɛ:	leaf #spinach	‘spinach’	Lex#1527
c.	la: #tuər	leaf #ear	‘ear’	Lex#0634
(16) Fruit : pej + N.Specific (‘fruit’ + N)				
a.	pej #buət	fruit #maïs	‘corn’	Lex#0198
b.	pej #diap	fruit #papaw	‘papaw’	Lex#0007
c.	pej #sə.wa:j	fruit #mango	‘mango’	Lex#1413
(17) Tuber : mbum + N.Specific (‘tuber’ + N)				
a.	mbum #kliam	tuber #manioc	‘manioc’	Lex#0057
b.	mbum #dɔm	tuber #red	‘radish’	Lex#0120

Table (3): *Stieng* class nouns: lexical field of plants

III. Semantic distinction between *sortal* and *mensural* classifiers: recall ²³

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

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

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

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.