

A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF THE FUNCTION AND STRUCTURE
OF NUMERAL CLASSIFIER CONSTRUCTIONS IN S'GAW KAREN

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the numeral classifier system in S’gaw Karen, a language in the Tibeto-Burman subfamily. Numeral classifiers are an areal feature of Sino-Tibetan languages. This thesis contributes to our understanding of numeral classifier systems in this language family by examining both the function of numeral classifiers in S’gaw Karen and the structure of noun phrases when numeral classifiers are present. The data for this project include a phonetically transcribed corpus of four stories created in consultation with three native speakers from Eastern Burma and targeted elicitations. A detailed phonological analysis of the S’gaw Karen variety spoken by the consultants is included. In S’gaw Karen, numeral classifiers individuate and enumerate the noun, specify salient semantic features of the noun, and are used as anaphoric devices. The syntactic structure of noun phrases involving numerals and classifiers are examined in several different NP contexts, including those with modifiers and determiners.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CLF	numeral classifier
POSS	possessive
1/2/3	first/second/third person
PL	plural
SG	singular
OBJ	object
DEM	demonstrative
IRR	irrealis
VOC	vocative
NEG	negative
INT	intensifier
Q	interrogative
FUT	future
EXCL	exclamative
COP	copula
NOM	nominative
TOP	topic pronoun form (cf. Jones 1961:18)
IMP	imperative
REFL	reflexive

CHAPTER ONE: PURPOSE & INTRODUCTION

1.1 PURPOSE

This research project has two objectives. First, I was interested in conducting field research. I was fortunate enough that a large group of S'gaw Karen refugees from Eastern Burma relocated close to my home, and I made connections to this community as an English teacher in a local high school. Working with this community is a great opportunity, for it offers the chance to work with a group of speakers who would otherwise be geographically inaccessible to me.

My interest in field research and language documentation arose from my attempts as an English as a Second Language instructor to learn more about the S'gaw Karen language for my own instruction. The available research on this language in terms of its structure, history, and its speakers is scant and outdated. Information regarding the S'gaw language is limited because most research relies solely on Robert Jones's (1961) study of S'gaw Karen. While Jones's work is the most comprehensive study available, the manner in which it is written is not easily accessible, and the analysis of the data is incomplete. A new, comprehensive study of the S'gaw Karen

language is long overdue for this language of over a million speakers (Lewis et al. 2013), but that project is beyond the scope of a master's thesis.

A more limited and focused project seemed appropriate. The development of a modest corpus of a representative sample of the language would serve me as an apprenticeship in conducting field research, and the corpus could then be used to examine a particular feature of the S'gaw Karen language. Thus, the second purpose of this project was to use the corpus that I developed to describe a grammatical feature of S'gaw Karen. I chose to examine the numeral classifier system in S'gaw Karen.

While some research is available concerning numeral classifiers in S'gaw Karen, I was interested in describing the system of numeral classifiers more fully. Jones's (1961) treatment of numeral classifiers is an excellent start, but it remains limited because Jones failed to differentiate numeral classifiers and measure words. Ratanakul (2001b) examined the etymology of different classifiers in the Mae Chaem dialect of S'gaw Karen and provided some analysis of the structure of the noun phrase with numeral classifiers. However, Ratanakul's (2001b) examination of the syntactic role of the numeral classifier is limited to only a few constructions and is more representative

of the dialect of S’gaw Karen spoken around Chiang Mai rather than the S’gaw Karen spoken in Burma (Rattaporn 2012: 3).

Building upon Ratanakul’s (2001b) excellent compilation of numeral classifiers, this thesis examines the structure of the noun phrase with numeral classifiers in a variety of constructions, including those with adjectives and demonstratives. My descriptions of these various constructions rely on the data in my corpus which consists of a series of S’gaw Karen children’s stories as well as elicitations of S’gaw Karen consultants.

1.2 AN INTRODUCTION TO THE KAREN PEOPLES & LANGUAGES

1.2.1 WHO IS KAREN?

The term Karen refers to both an ethnic group consisting of a variety of subdivisions and also to a language subfamily within the larger Sino-Tibetan family (see Figure 1).

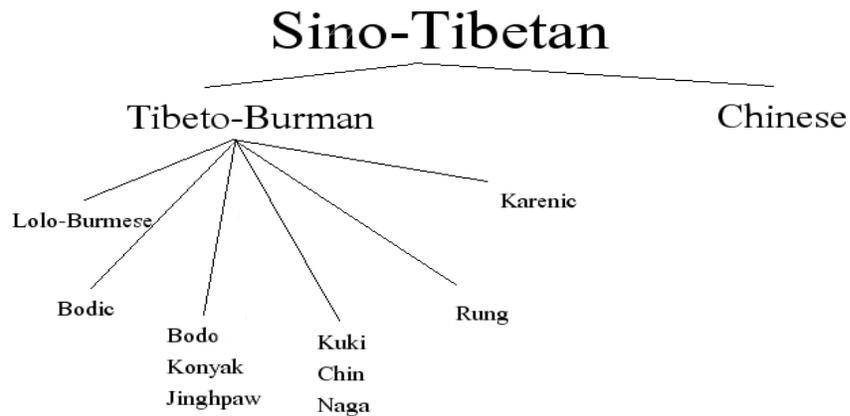


Figure 1: The Sino-Tibetan Family (Thurgood & LaPolla 2003: 8-19)

Frequently, the adjectival term “Karenic” is used to refer to the language group while the term “Karen” is used to refer to the ethnic group. While the subdivisions of Karen ethnicity and Karenic languages often overlap in terminology (i.e. often an individual who is ethnically S’gaw Karen, for example, speaks the S’gaw Karen language), this is not always the case. Figure 2 displays the divisions of the Karenic language subfamily, but these divisions are not necessarily representative of the ethnic relationships among Karen peoples.

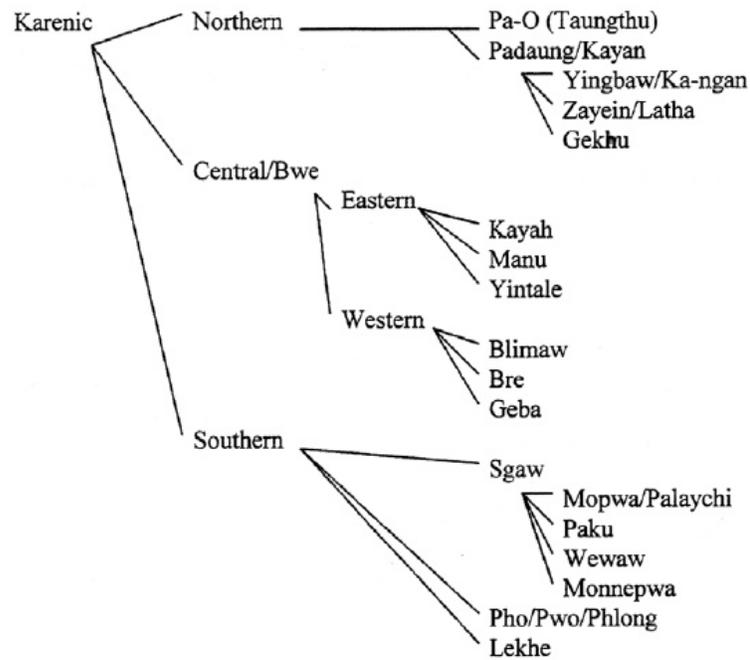


Figure 2: The Karenic Language Subfamily (Bradley 1997)

Individuals may identify themselves as members of one of the Karen ethnic subgroups without having the ability to speak the subgroup language. Furthermore, marriage between different Karen ethnic groups as well as between other non-Karen ethnic groups is common, but individuals may choose to identify themselves in a specific way. For example, a consultant recounted an individual who identified as Pwo Karen ethnically. Her mother was ethnically Pwo Karen, and her father was ethnically S’gaw Karen. The individual was fluent in S’gaw Karen but knew only a little Pwo Karen. Nevertheless, she identified herself as ethnically Pwo Karen like her mother. Similarly,

individuals may self-identify as being ethnic Karen without being able to speak a Karenic language. As Charney (2009: 8) writes,

In many spheres of Burmese life, identities and identifications that [are] fluid, syncretic, multiple, or even undefined [are] common. Whether in terms of religion, ethnicity, or culture, it [is] not unusual for an individual or a group to change [his or her] self-identifications in different contexts.

The label of being Karen may be the result of self-identification by individuals or it may be a term applied from outside groups used to differentiate the Karen from themselves (i.e. not Burmese). As a result, the relationships between the languages within the Karenic subfamily are far easier to map than are the ethnic identities of the Karen people. Many scholars divide the Karen subfamily into three divisions, Northern, Central, and Southern, mirroring the geographical locations of the majority of their speakers (see Figure 2 above). The languages within these subdivisions are not mutually intelligible and as such are distinct languages and not dialects. While individuals may identify themselves as belonging ethnically to one of these subdivisions, there is also a larger sense of Karen ethnic identity. The Karen ethnic group is one of the largest ethnic minorities in Burma (the majority group being the Burman people), and self-

identification within this group is often in opposition to the dominant Burmese government. As a result, it is important not to assume that the Karen ethnic group is necessarily made up of the same individuals that speak Karenic languages.

1.2.2 POPULATION OF ETHNIC KAREN AND KARENIC SPEAKERS

Accurate statistics regarding the precise number of both ethnic Karen and speakers of Karenic languages in Burma and Thailand are unavailable for two reasons. First, the last Burmese census was taken in 1983 (Lewis et al. 2013). Since that time, numerous Karen groups have been involved in a civil war in Burma and there has been a mass refugee migration to Thailand. Secondly, as discussed in section 1.2.1, being ethnically Karen and speaking a Karenic language are not mutually inclusive. As a result, estimates vary widely regarding the population of Karen people and Karenic speakers. Such data are difficult to collect in an era of constant warfare and shifting populations.

The often interchangeable uses of Karen to refer to an ethnic group and to a language subfamily make estimating the population of ethnic Karen people and Karenic language speakers even more difficult. It is not always clear if scholars are referring to populations of ethnic Karen alone, to speakers of Karenic languages only, or to a

combination of the two groups. Ethnologue, a database of known languages in the world, estimates around 3.7 million speakers of Karenic languages but relies heavily on the 1983 census (Lewis et al. 2013). David Bradley (1997: 46) argues for 3.9 million, and in the most recent study of Karenic, Ken Manson (2011: 1) suggests between 6 and 10 million ethnic Karen. However, Manson notes that not all ethnic Karen speak a Karenic language, especially those living toward Central Burma. David Solnit (1997: xiii) argues that speakers of Karenic languages are the largest ethnic minority in both Burma and Thailand. Solnit estimates the number of Karenic speakers to be between 3 to 4.5 million, but he does not differentiate between ethnic Karen and Karenic speakers. Estimates on the number of Karenic languages differ (see Figure 2 above). Lewis and colleagues (2013) provide information on twenty-one Karenic languages (one being extinct) while Manson estimates the number of Karenic languages to be between twenty and thirty (2011: 1).

The Karenic languages with the most speakers are S'gaw Karen, Pwo Karen, Pa'o Karen, and Kayah (also widely known as Karenni). The most widely spoken of these is S'gaw Karen, spoken by an estimated 1.5 million speakers worldwide (Lewis et al. 2013).

1.2.3 GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF THE KAREN PEOPLE

The Karenic languages are spoken at the extremity of the Sino-Tibetan and Tibeto-Burman linguistic area (see Figure 3).

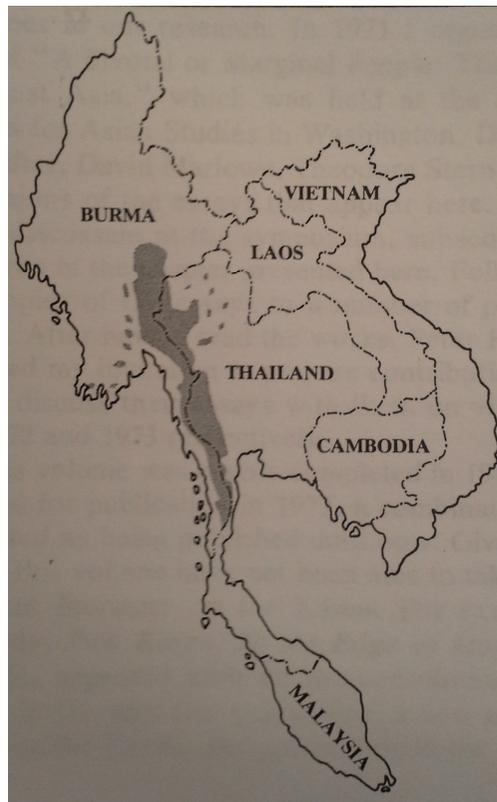


Figure 3: The Karen Homeland (Keyes 1979)

Within this area, the Karenic languages form the Eastern most extreme of Sino-Tibetan languages spoken in South Asia, bordered by the Tai-Kadai languages spoken in Thailand (Solnit 1997: xiii). The Karen languages are primarily spoken alongside the

Eastern border of Burma with Thailand in states which were initially established as semi-autonomous states when the British dissolved their Burmese colony in 1948

(Charney 2009: 66-67, Silverstein 1997: 15) (see Figure 4). These states include Kayah state, Kayin state, Tanintharyi state, and portions of the Mon and Shan states.

Additionally, Karen languages are spoken natively, though most likely bilingually, farther west in the Irrawaddy Delta region as well as farther east across the Thai border (Lewis et al. 2013; Manson 2001: 1; Solnit 1997: xiii).

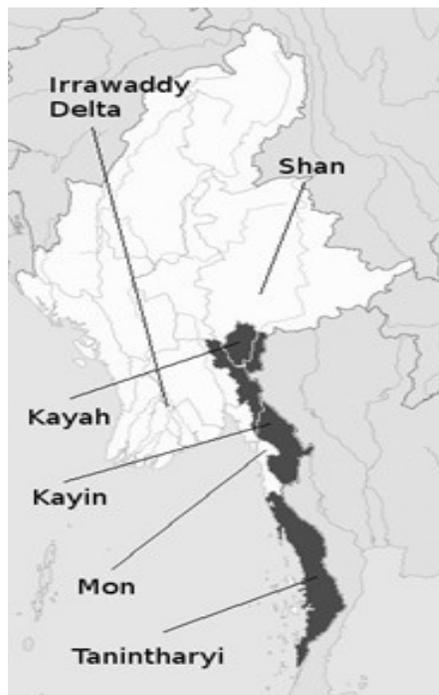


Figure 4: The Eastern States of Burma (Dedering 2010)

1.2.4 MODERN HISTORY OF THE KAREN PEOPLE

The role of the Karen people in Burma changed dramatically with British colonialism. Because the Karen are one of the largest ethnic minorities in Burma and because Christianity was spreading through the regions inhabited by the Karen (see §1.3.3.1), the British relied heavily on Karen soldiers during their occupation of Burma (Charney 2009: 53). Since Burma was ruled by an ethnic Burman monarch, the British were able to rely on the already present ethnic tensions between the Burmans and the Karen to employ the Karen as a native army to control the rebellious Burman majority (Charney 2009: 55). However, when the British withdrew to India in the face of an impending Japanese invasion from Thailand during World War II, one of the first acts of the liberated Burmans was to disarm and attack the Karen soldiers (Charney 2009: 55).

After the Japanese were later forced out of Burma by the British in 1945, the British began to dismantle their colonial system. Efforts were made by the British to establish semi-autonomous states for the various major ethnic groups in Burma. For example, the Kayin or Karen state (see Figure 4 above) was created to serve as the state of the ethnic Karen people (Charney 2009: 66-67). As such, a large number of Karenic

speakers live in that state. However, the delegations representing the various ethnic groups receiving states, such as the Karen, the Chin, the Karenni, etc., were dissatisfied that these states were not given more authority to secede from Burma and refused to sign the Panglong Agreement of 1947 that established the Kayin state (Charney 2009: 74). War between ethnic Karen military organizations (such as the Karen National Union and Democratic Karen Buddhist Union) and the Burmese controlled government broke out soon after in 1949. This war continues to this day. Because of the overwhelming numbers of ethnic Burmans, the economic control of the junta, and infighting between the different Karen groups (which resulted in the Democratic Karen Buddhist Union allying itself with the Burmese government), the relatively tiny military wing of Karen National Union has been reduced to guerilla warfare and retreat for several decades.

1.2.5 CURRENT STATUS OF THE KAREN PEOPLE & THE ENDANGERMENT OF THE KARENIC LANGUAGES

The Burmese military have adopted a scorched-earth policy of warfare against the ethnic Karen forces. This tactic includes the destruction of Karen villages and cities, the kidnapping and forced conscription of children into the Burmese military, and laying mines in Karen areas so that retreating forces and displaced families cannot return. As a

result, hundreds of thousands of Karen people have been displaced as refugees by the war (IDMC 2013). Many thousands of these refugees have fled to camps in Thailand. In the largest of these refugee camps, Mae La, the estimated population of approximately 43,000 as of January 2014 (TBC 2014) is predominately ethnic Karen (IDMC 2013). As these refugees are granted third country resettlement in countries such as the United States, Sweden, Norway, Canada, and Australia, the geographical location of ethnic Karen and Karenic language speakers expands greatly. As a result, these languages are more likely to experience rapid and diverse change. The number of native speakers is also likely to decline as children born in resettlement countries learn the language taught in that country's schools rather than the language of their parents. For example, L1 literacy instruction is limited in resettlement countries and refugee camps, with Lewis and colleagues (2013) citing L1 literacy rates of between 10% and 30% among Karen people living in Thailand; however, it is not clear if these statistics refer only to ethnic Karen born in Thailand or include Burmese-born Karen living in Thai refugee camps. If the civil war in Burma continues, education and literacy remain absent in rural areas, and migration to countries speaking predominately Indo-European languages increases, it is likely that much of the diversity of the Karenic languages will disappear forever.

1.3 INTRODUCTION TO THE S'GAW KAREN LANGUAGE

1.3.1 DIALECT USED IN THIS STUDY

Much of the more recent work on Karenic languages has focused on the Karenic languages spoken in Thailand, especially around Chiang Mai. As my consultants all come from within Burma and speak S'gaw Karen, I am focusing primarily on the S'gaw Karen dialect spoken in Burma. The dialect of S'gaw Karen spoken in Burma is different with regards to both vocabulary and phonology than the dialect spoken in Thailand (Rattaporn 2012: 3). Furthermore, Jones (1961) is the only study on Burmese S'gaw Karen, and he relied on a single speaker in his research. One can assume that there are a variety of dialects of S'gaw Karen spoken in Burma, but until further research can be conducted, I am forced to make generalizations about how representative the dialect spoken by my consultants is. More information on the backgrounds of my consultants can be found in §2.1.

1.3.2 S'GAW KAREN'S LANGUAGE FAMILY

The Karenic languages are a member of the Sino-Tibetan language family (see Figure 1 above) and the Tibeto-Burman subfamily more narrowly (cf. Solnit 1997: xiii; Graham & LaPolla 2003: 18). Much of the early research on the Karenic languages

centered on whether or not the Karenic languages were part of the Tibeto-Burman family at all. Many of the common typological features of the Tibeto-Burman subfamily are absent in the Karenic languages, leaving some early scholars to label the Karenic languages as a separate, anomalous group, related perhaps to the Tai-Kadai languages (Luce 1959: 3). Most notably, the Karenic languages are typologically subject-verb-object ordered (SVO) while the other Tibeto-Burman languages are subject-object-verb (SOV) (Dryer 2003: 43). However, the Karenic languages are now accepted as being part of the Tibeto-Burman language family (cf. Thurgood & LaPolla 2003: 19; Solnit 1997: xiii), and the syntactic differences between the Karenic languages and the other Tibeto-Burman languages are attributed to the influence of bordering languages within the Mon-Khmer and Tai-Kadai families, which are both SVO typologically (Thurgood & LaPolla 2003: 19). Within the Karenic subfamily, S'gaw Karen is part of the Southern branch (see Figure 2). S'gaw Karen is closely related to Pwo Karen, but the two languages are not mutually intelligible.¹

¹ Native speaking Pwo and S'gaw informants indicated that they could not understand each other's language. However, both languages are part of the southern branch of the Karenic subgroup, and my own examination of Pwo Karen indicates that there is a great deal of grammatical and lexical similarity with S'gaw Karen.

1.3.3 LITERATURE REVIEW OF THE KARENIC LANGUAGES

1.3.3.1 EARLY MISSIONARY INFLUENCE & SCHOLARSHIP

Europeans first made contact with Karen people in 1828, shortly after the British began annexing Burmese land in 1824 (Marshall 1922: 296; Charney 2009: 5).

According to legend, this occurred when Adoniram Judson, the founder of the American Baptist Mission in Burma, purchased a Karen man named Ko Tha Byu who had been sold into slavery as punishment for crimes he committed. As The Reverend Marshall (1992: 296) writes,

If one were planning to start a movement to transform the life and religion of a race, one would not be expected to choose a savage bandit--a cutthroat who had taken part in the murder of at least thirty persons--to promote his enterprise.

The Reverend Judson was successful in converting Ko Tha Byu, who then helped spread Christianity among the Karen people. As Baptist Missionaries continued to convert the Karen to Christianity, their contact led to the first anthropological studies being written about the Karen, including *On the Karens and Their Language* by Edmund Cross (1854) and Reverend Harry Marshall's (1922) *The Karen People of Burma: A Study in Anthropology and Ethnology*. In fact, the writing systems used for

the S'gaw Karen and Pwo Karen languages (both Southern Karenic languages) were both adapted from Burmese scripts by missionaries: S'gaw Karen by Reverend Jonathan Wade in 1832 and Pwo Karen by Dr. Francis Mason sometime before 1846 (Jones 1961: v; Mason 1846). The role that missionaries and churches play in Karenic linguistic studies and Karen culture and diaspora remains involved today, with many scholars continuing to rely on missionaries in Burma and Thailand to gather data (cf. Luce 1959: 5).

The first attempts at describing the Karenic languages were also taken on by missionaries. Wade's (1861) *Karen Vernacular Grammar* was the result of several decades of research and data collection. Wade's (1861) text focuses primarily on the S'gaw Karen language, and the majority of the text is written in S'gaw Karen rather than in English. Much of his data and glossings were later used by Mason (1846: v) in *A Synopsis of a Grammar of the Karen Language, Embracing Both Dialects, Sgau and Pgho, or Sho*. Both works were intended to teach other missionaries how to speak S'gaw and Pwo Karen so that they could interact with Karenic speakers outside of the cities. In some instances, the scholars' familiarity with Indo-European languages influenced their analyses and descriptions of the Karenic languages. Additionally, at this

time, it was not understood that S’gaw and Pwo were distinct languages or ethnic groups (Charney 2009: 8). Mason (1846: iii) acknowledged that his work was an incomplete start, writing that his work is of “temporal utility only, and is expected to be superseded in a few years.” Reverend David Gilmore (1898: 3) attempted this update with *A Grammar of the Sgaw Karen*. In the introduction, he writes that his work is intended as an update to Mason’s earlier work, which was difficult to find and “very perplexing to a neophyte.” Additionally, Gilmore (1898) writes that the American Baptist Karen Mission in Burma requested that he complete the grammar because there was no way for new missionaries to Burma to learn S’gaw Karen.

1.3.3.2 RECENT RESEARCH ON S’GAW KAREN

There was very little published concerning the Karenic languages until the mid-20th century. The increase in attention placed on the Karenic languages, in particular S’gaw Karen, was focused primarily on what the Karenic languages could contribute to the study of the characteristics and typology of the Tibeto-Burman subfamily. Often, however, the atypical characteristics of the Karenic languages relative to other Tibeto-Burman languages led many scholars to conclude that the Karenic languages were part of a separate family (Luce 1959: 3), a remote branch of the Sino-Tibetan family but not

the Tibeto-Burman subfamily (Benedict 1972: 6, 128; Lehman 1979: 220; Thurgood 1985: 384), or that Karen was an isolate (Jones 1975 qtd. in Solnit 2003: 624). As discussed previously, Karenic is now an accepted branch of Tibeto-Burman.

Much of the discussion on Karen during this rise in the interest in Tibeto-Burman typology relied primarily on Robert B. Jones's (1961) *Karen Linguistic Studies: Description, Comparison, and Texts*, adapted from research completed while he wrote his dissertation (Jones 1961: 3) and updated after a year of fieldwork in Burma (Obituary 2007: 1). Indeed, much contemporary research cites Jones's (1961) book as the sole resource on S'gaw Karen. Jones's (2007: 1) obituary states that "this monograph is among the most thoroughgoing studies of any Tibeto-Burman language and is still the most authoritative single-volume study of the Karen family." In particular, Jones (1961) examines numerous Karenic languages and dialects in order to reconstruct proto-Karen, and these reconstructions were foundational for a number of other scholars' work (cf. Robbins 1969, Benedict 1971, Manson 2001). Within TB studies, these proto-Karen reconstructions have been helpful in reconciling the unique Karenic languages within TB typology (cf. Manson 2001).

It should also be noted that all of the Karen studies discussed so far, including Wade (1861), Mason (1846), Gilmore (1898), and Jones (1961), have focused on dialects spoken around Moulmein. This is likely because Moulmein was the location of the British presence during colonial Burma as its first capital between 1826 and 1852, and Moulmein continued to maintain a large Anglo-Burmese population after the capital moved to Rangoon (Charney 2009: 13, Silverstein 1977: 21). The dialects represented in these texts may not be representative of other S’gaw Karen dialects spoken outside of the city. Mason (1846: v) even mentions that he could not yet publish a complete grammar “until he is better acquainted with the language as spoken out of the Provinces.”

While there has not been a general study of S’gaw Karen updating Jones’s (1961) work, there has been some scholarship focusing on individual aspects of the language. Hilary Chappell (1992) examined benefactive and causative constructions in S’gaw Karen, while Kato (1993) and Carol Lord and Louisa Benson Craig (2004) studied verb serialization and concatenation respectively. Suriya Ratanakul has been the most prolific scholar of S’gaw Karen, publishing on syntax (1980), verbal constructions (1981), adverbs (2001a), and numeral classifiers (2001b). Unfortunately, some of her

work is extremely difficult to find or is available only in Thai, such as her S'gaw Karen dictionary (1986).

1.3.3.3 RESEARCH ON OTHER KARENIC LANGUAGES

Since Christian missionaries completed the early scholarship on Karenic languages and focused on the Christianized S'gaw, there was little appreciation that the different Karen ethnic groups were quite varied and spoke different languages until recently. For example, Charney (2009: 8) writes,

Despite the substantial cultural, linguistic, and religious differences among Karen groups, a Karen identification based on the practices of only one group, that of the Christianized Sgaw Karen, was applied to the Karen in general, in part because this community had more records than others and because they had been the main subject of missionary records.

While there have been numerous scholarly contributions by Thai authors, there is little scholarship on other Karenic languages beside S'gaw available in English. There was some interest in Pwo Karen in the early twentieth century. *A Manual of the Pwo-Karen Dialect* by C.H. Duffin (1913) and a Pwo/English bilingual dictionary by W.C.B Purser and Tun Aung (1922) were both published by the American Baptist Mission Press.

There has been no updated, comprehensive study of Pwo since then, but there has been a number of narrower, more focused contributions to the study of Pwo (cf. Kato 1999; Dawkins & Phillips 2009). Research on Bwe is likewise limited, with Henderson's (1990) *Bwe Karen Dictionary* the most significant. The Kayah languages are the best studied with regards to modern scholarship. David Solnit's (1997) work on Eastern Kayah-Li is an excellent example of the updated, comprehensive, and modern analysis needed for S'gaw Karen.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY & PHONOLOGY

2.1 CORPUS METHODOLOGY

The corpus for this project consists of four traditional children's stories translated from S'gaw Karen into English. The stories were published by Drum Publications and are available for download at <http://www.drumpublications.org>. Three consultants helped in the translations. Two consultants provided a word-by-word translation. One was eighteen years old at the time of translation and had lived in the United States for four years. She was originally born in Ta Law Thaw refugee camp in Thailand after her mother fled Burma while pregnant. Her family moved to Mae La camp shortly after, and she lived there her whole life before moving to the United States. The second consultant was also eighteen years old at the time of translating and had lived in the United States for five years. He was also born in Ta Law Thaw in Thailand along the border with Burma, which is now an abandoned refugee camp. After a year there, he moved to a small village in Thailand named Soe Klo, which served as a temporary refugee camp for many families, and then moved to Mae La refugee camp four years later. He lived there permanently until moving to the United States. Both consultants were proficient English speakers. When necessary during translating, both

consultants used *The Anglo Karen Dictionary* published by Reverend Jonathan Wade (1883) and later updated and edited by Reverend George Blackwell (1954).

After the two consultants had completed the word-by-word translations, I compared and corrected the translations with both consultants together along with an additional consultant who was nineteen years old at the time. She was born in K'mah Klut in Burma and lived for ten years in No'Po refugee camp in Thailand before moving to the United States. She had lived in the United States for four years at the time of translation. The three consultants and I examined the two translations provided by the first two consultants together in order to decide upon the most accurate translation. We discussed the proper translation for lexical items since the two consultants sometimes gave similar, but slightly different translations. The consultants discussed the word in question and decided on the most accurate translation. We also examined grammatical elements that were impossible to translate. For example, one consultant consistently translated numeral classifiers as either "+s" or "plural."

After the translations had been completed and compiled, I analyzed each sentence and added interlinear morpheme glossing (see Appendix One). These annotated sentences were used as the main resource to analyze the structure of noun

phrases with numeral classifiers. Information about constructions not present in the translations was elicited from the three consultants who helped build the corpus and one additional consultant. She was thirty-nine years old at the time of the elicitations and was from Shwe Gon in Burma, which is located in Kayin State. She lived for two years in Mae La refugee camp in Thailand and six years in the United States. She currently works as an English translator and has a native knowledge of S'gaw Karen and Burmese and is fluent in English.

2.2 PHONOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION & TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

The following description of the phonological system for S'gaw Karen is based on work with the native consultant from K'mah Klut. Major contributions to S'gaw Karen phonology include Jones (1961), Namkung (1996), which is largely a summary of Jones's work, and Baa (2001). My research conducted with the consultant has shown Baa's treatment of S'gaw Karen to be more reflective of my consultant's speech than Jones's on a number of significant features of S'gaw Karen phonology; however, this description differs from Baa's in ways that will be noted below.

2.2.1 S'GAW KAREN CONSONANTS

The following analysis is the result of working with a native consultant to establish minimal pairs for the consonants of S'gaw Karen. This analysis resulted in an inventory of nine stops (p, p^h, b, t, t^h, d, k, k^h, and ʔ), four nasals (m, n, ɲ, and ŋ), eight fricatives (θ, s, s^h, ʃ, x, ʎ, h, and fi), two affricates (tʃ and dʒ), three approximants (w, ɹ, j), and one lateral (l) (see Table 1).

Minimal pairs for the consonants are provided below¹:

/t/ – /θ/	/tí/	‘uncle’	/θí/	‘die’
/dʒ/ – /tʃ/	/dʒáʔ/	‘ask’	/tʃáʔ/	‘sew’
/b/ – /d/	/bá/	‘worship’	/dá/	‘youngest child’
/n/ – /ɲ/	/ná/	‘witch’	/ɲá/	‘internal’
/ŋ/ – /m/	/ŋá/	‘borrow’	/má/	‘wife’
/h/ – /fi/	/há/	‘to cook by steaming’	/fi/	‘attention particle’
/x/ – /ɣ/	/xè/	‘to run’	/ɣè/	‘cane’

¹ In the literature on Karen languages, it would seem the convention is to transcribe the aspirated phonemes as a full /h/ rather than the superscript /^h/ (cf. Solnit 1997, Jones 1961, Namkung 1996, Ratanakul 2001b). I have chosen to follow Baa’s (2001) more accurate transcription using superscript aspirations so that it is clear that these are aspirations rather than coarticulations with a voiceless glottal fricative.

/ɹ/ – /t ^h /	/núʔ/	‘to recite’	/t ^h úʔ/	‘to rub’
/l/ – /t ^h /	/lì/	‘squirrel’	/t ^h ì/	‘to see’
/w/ – /j/	/wà/	‘bamboo’	/jà/	‘blanket’
/p/ – /p ^h /	/pí/	‘flute’	/p ^h í/	‘grandmother’
/k/ – /k ^h /	/káʔ/	‘to wear glasses’	/k ^h áʔ/	‘chair’
/t/ – /t ^h /	/tí/	‘uncle’	/t ^h í/	‘water’
/s/ – /s ^h /	/sá/	‘sell’	/s ^h á/	‘hurt’

This analysis of the consonantal inventory of S’gaw Karen differs from that proposed by Jones (1961) regarding affricates and glottal fricatives. Jones (1961) argued for the existence of the palatal stop /c/ and aspirated palatal stop /c^h/. However, the native speaker used as a consultant in this study produced the postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/. This analysis is in line with Baa’s (2001) inventory which also lists /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ rather than /c/ and /c^h/. Additionally, Jones (1961) did not distinguish between the voiced and voiceless glottal fricatives as is done here. Interestingly, though, he reported the voiceless glottal fricative in Bassein S’gaw and the voiced glottal fricative in Moulmein S’gaw (Namkung 1996: 170-73). A possible reason for this oversight is that /fi/ occurs infrequently, primarily to describe animal sounds or in grammatical particles.

Jones (1961) also includes /z/ in his description of S’gaw Karen whereas I do not. Other scholars’ transcriptions also include /z/ (cf. Ratanakul 2001b, Rattanaporn 2012). My consultants did not produce /z/, but they indicated that variations between /z/ and /s/ or /s^h/ are acceptable. I suspect that some S’gaw dialects employ /z/ in the same instances where other dialects use /s/ or /s^h/, but a more detailed examination of this issue is outside the scope of the project.

The proposed inventory differs from Baa’s (2001) with regard to the dental fricative and postalveolar fricative. Baa (2001) argued that Jones (1961) confused the dental fricative /θ/ for a fortis dental stop /t̚/. However, the consultant used in this project pronounced /θ/ rather than /t̚/. Baa (2001) also argues that the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ is fronted in S’gaw and argues for /sʲ/ instead. On this point Baa (2001) might be correct, but I have chosen to follow Jones (1961) because the frequency of this phoneme is very small and does not occur once in my corpus or in Baa’s (2001) corpus. It is possible that the sound is a borrowing for foreign words, such as Jesus /jèʃúʔ/, which would account for its infrequency.

Table 1: The Consonantal Inventory of S’gaw Karen

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Post – Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b p ^h		t d t ^h			k k ^h	ʔ
Nasal		m		n		ŋ	
Fricative		θ	s s ^h	ʃ		x ʁ	h f
Affricate				tʃ dʒ			
Approximant		w		ɹ		j	
Lateral				l			

2.2.2 S’GAW KAREN VOWELS

An examination of the vowel system of S’gaw Karen with a native consultant has indicated that the language has four front vowels (i, e, ε, and a), one central vowel (ə), and four back vowels (u, u, o, and ɔ). Only the high back vowels show a tense/lax distinction (see Table 2). There are no diphthongs in S’gaw Karen.

Below are the minimal pairs of the vowels of S’gaw Karen:

/i/ – /e/ /ʔi/ ‘narrow’ /ʔè/ ‘to bite’

/a/ – /ε/ /má/ ‘wife’ /mé/ ‘teeth’

/o/ – /ɔ/ /ʔò/ ‘to have’ /ʔð/ ‘to eat’

/ɯ/ – /u/	/k ^h ú/	‘hard work’	/k ^h ú/	‘chalkboard’
/a/ – /ə/	/má/	‘wife’	/má/	‘bamboo trap’

The proposed vowel inventory differs from Jones’s (1961) only in that he argues that S’gaw Karen has a high central unrounded vowel (which he transcribed as /y/ though /i/ may be more accurate using current IPA standards) rather than /ɯ/. However, the consultant in this study produced /ɯ/ and not /i/. Baa (2001) likewise includes /ɯ/ in his inventory and not /i/, but /i/ is used in transcriptions by other scholars (cf. Ratanakul 2001b, Thomas & Brunelle 2010, and Chappell 2009).

Table 2: The Vowels of S’gaw Karen

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		ɯ u
Close-Mid	e	ə	o
Open-Mid	ɛ		ɔ
Open	a		

2.2.3 S'GAW KAREN TONES

Tones are phonemic in S'gaw Karen and are represented orthographically.

However, the number of tones is controversial (cf. Chappell 2009, 15; Finkeldey 2011, Rattanaporn 2012, 93-94). In this study, six distinct tone phonemes were established with the native consultant. These include one mid-high tone (´), a mid-high tone checked by a glottal stop (´ʔ), a mid tone (ˉ), a mid-low tone (˘), a mid-low tone checked by a glottal stop (˘ʔ), and a low tone (˘˘)².

Minimal pairs for the six tone phonemes are:

/´ʔ / - / ˉ /	/màʔ/ ‘son-in-law’	/mā/ ‘to do’
/˘˘ / - / ´ʔ /	/mù/ ‘hate’	/múʔ/ ‘ceremony’
/´ / - / ˘ /	/ká/ ‘open’	/kà/ ‘grill’

Jones (1961: 9) argues for three tones, each with an allophone. These allophones are checked by a voiceless glottal stop. Thus, in his analysis there is a high, mid, and low tone, and each can be shortened by the glottal stop. Namkung (1996) follows Jones's (1961) analysis, and Solnit (1997: xvii) uses Jones's transcription of tones, but changes Jones's high tone with a glottal stop to a high falling final-creaky tone. Baa's

² Rather than tone bars, accents will be used to transcribe tones according to the IPA standard for the convenience of the reader.

(2001) analysis differs greatly from Jones's (1961). Baa (2001) argues instead for six distinct tones, which include four level tones and two contour tones that are checked by a glottal stop. The level tones are mid-high, mid, mid-low, and low. One contour tone is high falling, and the other contour tone is low falling. A detailed analysis of the differences between Jones's (1961) and Baa's (2001) examination of S'gaw tones can be found on pages 30 to 32 of Baa's work. While the consultant for this project indicated six distinct phonemic tones, I have also relied on Baa's (2001) analysis of these tones and followed his transcription methodology closely.

2.2.4 S'GAW KAREN SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

The structure of the S'gaw Karen syllable is an initial consonant or consonant cluster, a vowel, and a tone³.

$$C_1(C_2)V_1T$$

Toneless syllables only occur with the vowel /ə/; however, /ə/ can also be used with a tone phoneme. A medial consonant of /l/, /r/, /j/, /ʎ/ or /w/ is optional for some initial consonants (see Table 3). Consonants and consonant clusters only appear in syllable initial positions.

³ This analysis of S'gaw Karen syllable structure differs from Baa's (2001) in ways that are not necessary to detail here. Interested readers are referred to pages 27-28 of his work.

Table 3: S'gaw Karen Consonant Clusters

/w/	p ^h w	tw	t ^h w	dw	nw	kw	k ^h w	sw	s ^h w	θw	jw
	ɲw	lw	bw	p ^h w							
/l/	pl	p ^h l	bl	ml	kl	k ^h l					
/ɭ/	pɭ	p ^h ɭ	bɭ	tɭ	θɭ	kɭ	k ^h ɭ				
/j/	p ^h j	mj	kj	k ^h j	pj						
/ɣ/	pɣ	p ^h ɣ	bɣ	mɣ	sɣ	s ^h ɣ					

This analysis differs slightly from Jones (1961) and Namkung (1997) who argue that /ʔ/ is the only consonant that appears in a syllable final position because of the two tones (three according to Jones 1961) that are checked by a glottal stop. However, considering that the only instances of /ʔ/ appearing as syllable final occur with these two checked tones, I agree with Baa's (2001) analysis that the glottal stop is part of the tone phoneme rather than a separate, syllable final consonant.

CHAPTER THREE: S’GAW KAREN NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

3.1 LITERATURE REVIEW OF NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

3.1.1 OVERVIEW OF NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

The primary function of numeral classifiers is enumeration. Languages that have numeral classifiers do not have the same distinction between count and mass nouns that English does. In English, a count noun by itself is singular (e.g. *dog*), is generally pluralized by affixing - *s* (e.g. *dogs*), is directly enumerated (e.g. *two dogs*), and can take an indefinite article (e.g. *a dog*). In contrast, mass nouns (e.g. *rice*) cannot be pluralized (e.g. **rices*), require a measure word for enumeration (e.g. *two cups of rice*), and cannot take an indefinite article but require a quantifier (e.g. *some rice*, **a rice*). In some languages, nouns behave more similarly to English mass nouns and require a numeral classifier for enumeration of the noun in a way similar to how English mass nouns require a measure word. Lucy (2004: 8) writes that in numeral classifier languages, nouns are “semantically unspecified as to a quantificational unit” and so

numeral classifiers provide a unit so that the noun may be counted. Examples 1 – 4

below illustrate numeral classifier usage in a variety of languages.¹

(1) Japanese (Matsumoto 1993: 673)

enpitsu ni-hon
pencil two-CLF
'two pencils'

(2) Burmese (Vittrant 2002: 132)

^/khwe ni? KɔN/
dog two CLF:ANIMAL
'two dogs'

(3) Javanese (Jones 1970: 3)

kertas sepuluh lembar
paper ten CLF:SHEETS
'ten papers'

(4) Yucuna (Aikhenvald 2003: 106)

pajluhua-na yahui
one-CLF:ANIMAL dog
'one dog'

Numeral classifiers are found in many of the languages of Southeast Asia, and much scholarship has been devoted to numeral classifiers in the languages of East and Southeast Asia, including Burmese (Vittrant 2002), Thai (Carpenter 1986), Mandarin (Zhang 2007, Zhang 2012, Fang & Connelly 2008), Korean (Sohn 2001), Hmong

¹ All examples drawn from the literature are shown with the same transcription as provided in the source text.

(Bisang 1993), Japanese (Downing 1996), a number of Austroasiatic languages (Adams 1989), and Vietnamese (Löbel 2000), among many others. Outside of languages of Southeast Asia, numeral classifier systems are found in the languages of the Pacific Northwest: Tlinglit (Sherzer 1976); of Central America: Tzeltal (Berlin 1968), Yucatek (Suárez 1983), Teribe (Quesada 2000); of South America: the Arawak languages (Aikhenvald 1996); of Eastern Africa: Boko (Jones 1998), Kana (Ikoro 1994); and of Eastern Europe and Western Asia: Hungarian (Beckwith 1992), Persian (Mahootian 1997), Turkish (Lewis 1967).² See Figure 5 for a geographic distribution of numeral classifiers. Some languages have a small set of numeral classifiers, while many languages have large systems. For example, the Papuan languages Iwam and Abau have five and twelve numeral classifiers respectively (Aikhenvald 20003: 123), while Burmese is thought to have around 200 classifiers (Aikhenvald 2003: 103), and the Mae Chaem dialect of S'gaw Karen has approximately 90 numeral classifiers (Ratanakul 2001b).

² Comprehensive lists of known languages with numeral classifiers can be found in Gil (2013) and Aikhenvald (2003).

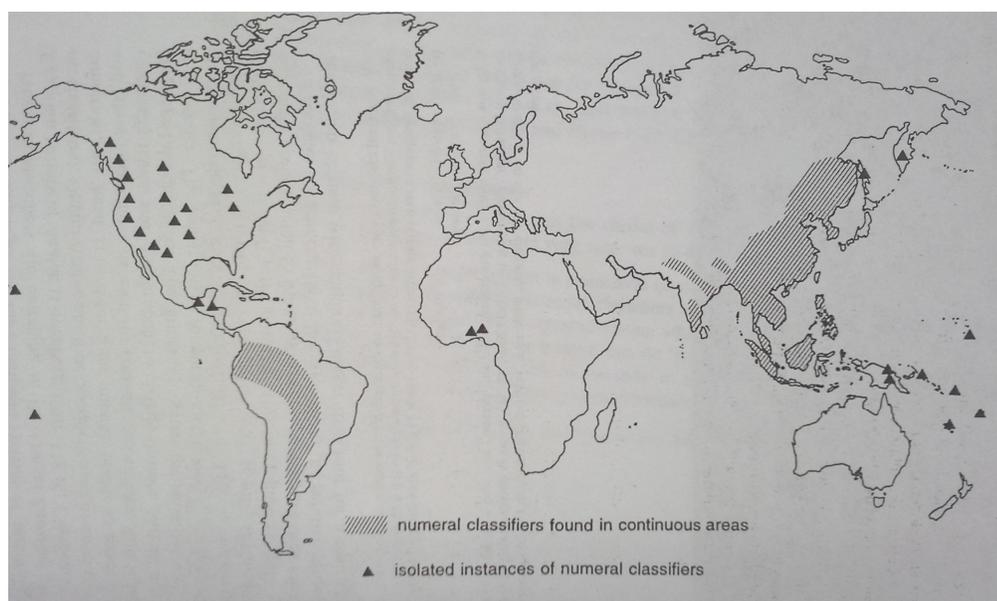


Figure 5: Distribution of Numeral Classifiers (Aikhenvald 2003: 122)

Scholarly interest in numeral classifier systems flourished in the 1970s. The earliest studies focused on semantic descriptions of numeral classifiers within individual languages, such as Burling's (1965), Pe's (1965), and Becker's (1975) work on Burmese classifiers. Cross-linguistic comparative studies focusing primarily on the syntax of numeral classifier constructions were conducted by Jones (1970) and Goral (1978) on numeral classifiers in Southeast Asia and Greenberg (1972, 1975) on languages worldwide. Typological studies on the semantics and functions of numeral classifier systems cross-linguistically established the semantic parameters for numeral classifier choice among speakers (Denny 1976, 1986; Adams & Conklin 1973), the role of

numeral classifiers in individuating the noun for enumeration (Croft 1994), the use of numeral classifiers in anaphoric constructions (Allan 1977), and the role of the numeral classifier in marking definiteness (Bisang 1999). More recently, a number of morphosyntactic studies have examined numeral classifiers within the larger typology of noun categorization, including Craig (1992), Grinevald (2001), and Aikhenvald (2003).

The following sections address the semantics, typology, and functions of numeral classifier systems in more detail. The last section describes the structure of noun phrases when numeral classifiers are present.

3.1.2 SEMANTICS OF NUMERAL CLASSIFIER SYSTEMS

In languages with numeral classifier systems, the numeral classifiers are obligatory in the presence of a numeral, as shown in 5 and 6.

(5) Hmong (Bisang 1999: 122)

ib rab riam
 one CLF knife
 ‘one knife’

(6) Thai (Allan 1977: 286)

mǎ' sì' tua
 dog four CLF
 ‘four dogs’

The numeral classifier typically specifies some semantic feature of the noun. In Hmong, /rab/ is used with nouns denoting implements and weapons (Jaisser 1987: 174), and in Thai, /tua/ is used with nouns denoting animals, tables, trousers, and shirts (Deepadung 1997: 54).

Much of the scholarly interest in numeral classifier systems has focused on trying to determine the semantics of the classifier system within a particular language. According to Becker's (1975: 115) analysis of the Burmese classifier system, all Burmese classifiers are organized on varying levels of distance away from Buddha.³ Goral (1978: 31-35) wrote that "semantically, [classifiers] can be associated with multi-dimensional prototypes, ranging from totally opaque, arbitrary [classifier] - Noun associations to clearly defined systems, as well as every possible mixture of these two extremes," and he concluded that "semantic chaos [...] reigns in the domain of the [classifier ... and ...] there is no point in searching for an overall pattern."

³ According to Becker (1975: 166), the center of the Burmese numeral classifier paradigm is /shu/ which is used with Buddhas, the Law, and relics; /'pa/ which is used with deities, saints, and monks; /'u/ which is used with teachers and scholars; /yau?/ which is used with ordinary humans; and /kauŋ/ which is used with animals, ghosts, dead bodies, and depraved people.

Uncovering an overall, logical semantic organization of classifiers and the nouns they pair with is made more difficult by the pragmatic and dialectal use of classifiers. For example, classifiers are used in the earliest inscriptions found of the Burmese language from the 12th century. As Buddhism flourished in Burma, poetry and writing spread throughout the country and the frequency of classifier use increased (Pe 1965: 168-169). Similarly, in Cambodian, classifiers are only used in written speech and are a sign of formal style (Goral 1978: 26). Because classifier use is so influenced by education, status, and discourse, classifier usage may vary greatly from one person to the next. As Erbaugh (1986: 413) writes, “Level of formality, discourse type, especially narrative and poetry; length of speech turn, presence of the referent, familiarity of the referent, and age of the hearer are all critical, synergistic, and variable determinants of special classifier use.” Attempting to find the semantic basis of a classifier system, in which each classifier and noun pair is logical and consistent, might be an impossible task; however, typological examinations of the morphosyntactic role of numeral classifiers have proven fruitful.

3.1.3 TYPOLOGY OF NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

There are four types of numeral classifiers: sortal classifiers, mensural classifiers, repeaters, and general classifiers. Many scholars consider sortal classifiers to be “true” numeral classifiers (Grinevald 2001: 64, Bisang 1990: 124). According to Lyons (1977: 115), a sortal classifier “individuates whatever it refers to in terms of the kind of entity that it is.” Examples 7 and 8 illustrate sortal classifiers.

(7) Burmese (Becker 1975: 117)

lu	le	yau?
person	four	CLF:ORDINARY.HUMAN
‘four people’		

(8) Tashkent Uzbek (Beckwith 1998: 131)

bir	bâs	karâm
one	CLF:HEAD.SHAPPED	cabbage
‘one cabbage’		

Unlike a sortal classifier, a mensural classifier “individuates in terms of quantity” (Lyons 1977: 115). Two features of mensural classifiers differentiate them from measure words. First, mensural classifiers generally follow the same syntactic construction as sortal classifiers, which is a useful distinction in the few languages in which numeral classifier syntax differs from that of measure words (Grinevald 2001: 64). Secondly, mensural classifiers can only be used with a small number of nouns

whereas measure words can be used with almost any noun. In example 9 below, the mensural classifier *han* in Korean “is used exclusively for measuring rice wine in terms of an institutionalized measuring cup” (Aikhenvald 2003: 115). Likewise, /tɛʔ/ in example 10 can only be used with a small number of nouns.

- (9) Korean (Lee 1997 from Aikhenvald 2003: 115)
 makkeli han mal
 rice.wine one MENS.NUM.CL:RICE.WINE
 ‘one measure of makkeli (rice wine)’
- (10) Burmese (Vittrant 2002: 133)
 ʌ ChiN niʔ tɛʔ/
 ginger two- CLF:SHOOT/GROWTH
 ‘two small pieces of ginger’

An additional important feature of mensural classifiers is that they do not exist in any language independent of sortal classifiers. Thus, all known human languages have measure words, but there is no language with both measure words and mensural classifiers but no sortal classifiers (Craig 1992: 280).

Repeaters refer to numeral classifiers that are used with either abstract nouns or nouns that are so unique that they belong to a very limited class. According to Goral (1978: 3), abstract entities are not countable and thus cannot be paired with a sortal

classifier. If a language has a low degree of numeral classifier grammaticalization⁴, then a speaker simply does not use a classifier when pluralizing abstract nouns. Similarly, because numeral classifiers classify nouns according to salient semantic features of the noun, a noun may be so unique that it does not fit into an existing class in the language. For example, the number of house-shaped objects is likely small; the number of country-shaped objects is extremely small. In such instances, speakers may simply not use a classifier. However, in languages in which numeral classifiers are becoming more grammaticalized, the use of a classifier is obligatory even if a classifier does not exist. A special kind of classifier, called a repeater, is used in these circumstances. The term repeater is used when the noun is repeated in the classifier position so that the classifier slot is filled, as shown in 11 and 12.

- (11) Burmese (Pe 1965: 293)
- | | | |
|-------------|-----|-----------|
| qéin | ta | qéin |
| house | one | CLF:HOUSE |
| 'one house' | | |

⁴ Grammaticalization is the process by which content words (lexical items of an open class) become function words (grammatical markers of a closed class). The degree of grammaticalization of a numeral classifier system refers to whether a numeral classifier is used primarily in a grammatical way.

- (12) Thai (Hundius & Kölver 1983: 190)
 prathêet sǎam prathêet
 land three CLF:LAND
 ‘three countries’

Repeaters are found in many numeral classifier languages, including Vietnamese, Chinese, Thai, and Indonesian (Goral 1978: 34-35). Repeaters are an important feature of numeral classifier languages because they indicate the degree of grammaticalization in the classifier system (Aikhenvald 2003: 361).

In a similar fashion to repeaters, many numeral classifier languages have a general classifier that may be used in any situation, see 13 below. General classifiers can be used in situations in which a speaker is not sure how to classify an object because it is new (for example, a new form of technology), but often general classifiers are indicative of social standing or education. For example, there are a number of numeral classifiers that were only used in Burmese theater slang and thus would not be used by common people (Pe 1965: 170). In Burmese, /khù/ is used as a general classifier. Burling (1965: 261) writes that "Burmese speakers readily advise the learner of the language to use khù when in doubt, and I have heard children use khù in situations in which an adult would probably use a more precise classifier." Like

repeaters, the extent of use of general classifiers indicates the degree of grammaticalization of the numeral classifier system.

(13) Mandarin (Li & Thompson 1981: 104)

sān	ge	rén
three	CLF:GENERIC	person
'three people'		

3.1.4 FUNCTIONS OF NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

3.1.4.1 ENUMERATION

The primary function of numeral classifiers is enumeration. Croft (1994: 162) writes that “enumeration [...] involves two cognitive processes. One must identify multiple units of the same kind in order to count them. The two cognitive processes involved are individualization of units, and identification of them as being of the same kind.” In languages with a mass/count noun distinction, count nouns by themselves are already individuated (e.g. *dog*) and are enumerated with plural markers (e.g. *dogs*). Mass nouns are not already individuated and require measure words for enumeration (e.g. **two rices* but *two cups of rice*). In languages without a mass/count noun distinction, a noun by itself is neither singular nor plural. Bisang (1999: 114) provides the example of Chinese *xìn* ‘letter,’ which “can mean ‘letter, a letter, letters, the letter,

etc.’ according to the given context.” *Xin* by itself is neither singular nor plural, and it is neither definite nor indefinite.

Languages without a mass/count noun distinction require numeral classifiers in order to individuate the noun referent so that it may be enumerated.⁵ Denny (1986: 298) summarizes the general theory of numeral classifiers put forth by Greenberg (1977) that “the noun refers to the collectivity of individuals, whereas the quantifying role of the classifier is to refer to a unit, a single individual, from this collectivity.” Thus, in languages without a mass/count noun distinction, nouns refer to sets of things rather than individual entities. In example 14 below, /rôm/ is by itself neither singular nor plural. The use of a numeral classifier individuates the noun allowing it to be singular in example 15 and plural in example 16. As one would expect, the absence of a numeral classifier in 17 creates an ungrammatical construction.

- (14) Thai (Hundius-Kolver 1983: 172)
- | | |
|--------------------------|-----|
| rôm | ní |
| umbrella | DEM |
| “this/these umbrella(s)” | |

⁵ Early work on numeral classifiers argued for a typological connection between numeral classifiers and an absence of plural marking on nouns (Greenberg 1972). However, while this is generally the case, more recent research has found languages that employ both numeral classifiers and plural marking (Aikehnvald 2003: 100-101).

- (15) Thai (Hundius-Kolver 1983:172)
 rôm khan ní
 umbrella CLF DEM
 “this umbrella”
- (16) Thai (Ruschariya Khomkao, p.c.)
 rôm sǎ:ŋ khan ní
 umbrella 2 CLF DEM
 “these two umbrellas”
- (17) Thai (Ruschariya Khomkao, p.c.)
 *rôm sǎ:ŋ ní
 umbrella 2 DEM

3.1.4.2 DEFINITENESS & DISCOURSE PRAGMATICS

Early scholars of numeral classifier languages argued that numeral classifiers are used as markers of definiteness (Goral 1978: 22). Numeral classifiers are often used to distinguish between new and old information, which is likewise one function of definite and indefinite articles in Indo-European languages, as shown in 18. In this example, the indefinite article is used when ‘the man’ is first introduced, and the definite article is used after because ‘the man’ is no longer new information.

- (18) I saw a strange man on the street today.
 The man was wearing an animal suit.

While there are some languages that use numeral classifiers as markers of definiteness (cf. Aikhenvald 2003: 117), it may be more accurate to say that this function of numeral

classifiers in classifying old and new information is simply similar to definiteness.

Numerals classifiers may be used in non-obligatory constructions to introduce new referents in a discourse, and thus they are often translated into English using indefinite articles; however, while the indefinite article may be required in English depending on the discourse context, one should not necessarily infer that the numeral classifier is marking indefiniteness, as shown in example 19 where the phrase can be translated as either definite or indefinite.

(19) Hmong (Bisang 1999: 152)

- peb tug dev
 three CLF dog
 a. ‘three dogs (indefinite)’
 b. ‘the three dogs (definite)’

Numeral classifiers are often used when a noun referent is first introduced in discourse even if numeral classifier use is not obligatory with the numeral one. Croft (1994: 161) argues that because numeral classifiers specify semantic features of the noun referent, numeral classifiers function in referent tracking, and their function in these situations “is to identify an entity that will be referred to later on in the discourse.” Numeral classifiers can also be used after a referent has already been

introduced in order to highlight that noun referent's importance in the discourse. As Aikhenvald (2003: 322) writes,

[Numeral classifier use] frequently depends on the definiteness and pragmatic properties of the referent noun: whether it has just been introduced into the discourse; whether it is topically continuous; or whether it is pragmatically salient-i.e. either is in the focus or is important in the discourse.

Aikhenvald (2003: 325) asserts that speakers may use a numeral classifier for a noun referent that has already been introduced when there are multiple referents in the discourse and the speaker wants to "indicate higher salience of one referent relative to the other referents in the local contexts." Thus, numeral classifiers are used in order to focus attention on important referents in the discourse independent of whether or not the noun referents are definite or indefinite.

3.1.4.3 CLASSIFICATION

Languages with systems of numeral classifiers tend to employ a rich numeral classifier system with different numeral classifiers for different semantic contexts. As a result, a speaker's choice of numeral classifier highlights one such aspect of a noun's referent. As Pe (1965: 170-171) writes,

A person may be classed as a human being or as an animal according to his behavior; and a horse or an elephant as merely an animal or as a mount; and a sword as just a straight long thing or as a weapon. The choice of the classifiers is prompted by the occasion.

In this way, numeral classifiers do more than merely individuate, enumerate, and mark the noun for definiteness or importance. They reflect the interaction between the speaker and the object, or as Becker (1975: 111) argues, "classifiers are part of a system for organizing experience."

Speakers of numeral classifier languages can select a numeral classifier for a noun based on the discourse context. For example, in Becker's (1975: 113) often cited example, eight different classifiers are used with the noun 'river' in Burmese depending on the context:

myi? tə ya?	'river one place' (e.g. destination for a picnic)
myi? tə tan	'river one line' (e.g. on a map)
myi? tə hmwa	'river one section' (e.g. a fishing area)
myi? tə sin	'river one distant arc' (e.g. a path to the sea)
myi? tə θwe	'river one connection' (e.g. tying two villages)
myi? tə pa	'river one sacred object' (e.g. in mythology)
myi? tə khú	'river one conceptual unit' (e.g. rivers in general)
myi? tə myi?	'river one river' (the unmarked case)

In Japanese, referring to an individual with an animal classifier or a classifier used for inanimate objects is a form of insult (Allan 1977: 296). Allan (1977: 297) cites examples of classifier usage in Thai in which the classifier selected when referring to ropes is also used when referring to elephants but not snakes, and the classifier used when referring to animals or bodies is used when referring to snakes, but not elephants, see 20 a-d.

(20) a. Thai (Allan 1977: 297)

nu'	sì'	tua
snake	4	CLF:body
'four snakes'		

b. chá'ŋ	sì'	chýag
elephant	4	CLF:rope
'four elephants'		

c. * nu'	sì'	chýag
snake	4	CLF:rope

d. * chá'ŋ	sì'	tua
elephant	4	CLF:body

3.1.4.4 ANAPHORIC USE

In anaphoric constructions, a morpheme serves as a referent to a previously mentioned person or object. In English, pronouns are used in anaphoric constructions

referring to count nouns, as shown in example 21 a,b; measure words are used in anaphoric constructions referring to mass nouns, as shown in example 22.

(21) a. Have you seen the movie?

b. Yes, I watched it yesterday.

(22) I drink a lot of tea. I already drank two cups today.

Numeral classifiers are used in anaphoric constructions in languages that do not have mass/count noun distinctions. Because numeral classifiers specify salient semantic features of the noun referent, they may be used in referent tracking, as shown in examples 23 and 24.

(23) Vietnamese (Bisang 1999: 148)

đây là sách Lan mua một quyển tôi mua hai quyển
 this be book Lan buy one CLF I buy two CLF
 này
 this

‘These are books. Lan bought one (of them), I bought these two (of them)’

(24) Burmese (Vittrant 2002: 137)

/θəyεʔθi wε yiN `ηa `luN yu-Khé Pa/
 mango buy if Ø - five CLF:3D take-VM(mvt) POL

‘If you buy mangos, bring me back five [round objects]’

3.1.5 SYNTAX OF THE NOUN PHRASE WITH NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

Allan (1977: 288) postulates a universal principle that "a classifier concatenates with a quantifier, locative, demonstrative, or predicate to form a nexus that cannot be interrupted by the noun which it modifies." The Kegboig languages spoken in Nigeria are the only languages attested thus far in which the numeral classifier forms a constituent with the head noun rather than the numeral (Aikhenvald 2003: 110-111; cf. Okori 1994). Based on analyses of available numeral classifier languages, the classifier generally forms a constituent with the numeral. Only rarely does a classifier form a constituent with another element, such as a determiner or a modifier (Aikhenvald 2003: 101). Greenberg (1972: 31) proposes four possible syntactic noun phrase constructions when the numeral and classifier form a constituent.

Type 1: [NUM - CLF] - N

Type 2: N - [NUM - CLF]

Type 3: [CLF - NUM] - N

Type 4: N - [CLF - NUM]

Type 1 constructions are found in languages such as Chinese, Vietnamese, and Hmong.

Thai and Burmese are representative of Type 2 constructions, which are the most

frequently found orders. Type 3 and Type 4 constructions are relatively rare (Aikhenvald 2003: 105).

3.2 THE NUMERAL CLASSIFIER SYSTEM IN S'GAW KAREN

3.2.1 INTRODUCTION

S'gaw Karen is part of the Karenic language group in the Tibeto-Burman language subfamily, which belongs to the larger Sino-Tibetan language family. Numeral classifiers are a characteristic feature of the Sino-Tibetan family and are found in all Tibeto-Burman languages (Bradley 2012: 180). A number of studies have examined the classifier systems of member languages, including Mandarin (Zhang 2007, Fang & Connelly 2008, Tai 1992), Cantonese (Pacioni 1997), Burmese (Vittrant 2002, Burling 1965, Pe 1965), Newari (Bhaskarareo & Joshi 1985), Yi (Bradley 2001), Eastern Kayah-Li (Solnit 1997), and Tibetan (DeLancey 1998), among others. Lists of numeral classifiers and the nouns they pair with in S'gaw Karen are found in Gilmore (1898), Jones (1961, 1970), and Ratanakul (2001b). Jones (1961) also analyzes the structure of the noun phrase when numeral classifiers are present in a variety of contexts.

When a numeral is present in the noun phrase, numeral classifiers are obligatory in S'gaw Karen. This section will describe the types of numeral classifiers that are

found in S’gaw Karen, the function of numeral classifiers, and the structure of the noun phrase involving numeral classifiers.

3.2.2 TYPES OF NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS IN S’GAW KAREN

S’gaw Karen has the following types of numeral classifiers: sortal classifiers, mensural classifiers, and repeaters. Sortal classifiers are used in enumeration and individuate the noun. They also specify some salient feature of the noun they refer to. In examples 25 and 26, the numeral classifiers refer to the shape of the noun referents, while in examples 27 and 28, they refer to the taxonomy of the noun referents.

(25) တၢ်ဒံၣ် ခံၣ်ဖျၢၣ်
 /tãdì k^hí-p^hlǎ/
 egg two-CLF:ROUND
 ‘two eggs’

(26) ညၣ် ခံၣ်တ့ၣ်
 /ŋà k^hí-bè/
 fish two-CLF:FLAT
 ‘two fish’

(27) ဝၣ်ၣ် ခံၣ်ဒဲ
 /t^hwì k^hí-dú/
 dog two-CLF:QUADRUPED
 ‘two dogs’

- (28) ပွၤ ခံၣ်
 /pwā k^hí-yā/
 person two-CLF:HUMAN
 ‘two people’

There are numerous mensural classifiers in S’gaw Karen. Mensural classifiers group objects into a unit for enumeration. Mensural classifiers are specific units of measurement and can only be used with a limited number of nouns, see 29-31.

- (29) ထဲးထဲး ခံၣ်
 /θé?θà k^hí-k^hlè/
 betel.nut two-CLF:SPLIT SECTION
 ‘two betel nut halves’

- (30) မ့ၤ ခံၣ်
 /mē k^hí-má/
 rice two-CLF:MOUTHFUL
 ‘two mouthfuls of rice’

- (31) ဝဲၤ ခံၣ်
 /wá k^hí-k^hṣ/
 bamboo two-CLF:LATERALLY CUT SECTION
 ‘two halves of bamboo’

Repeaters are used for abstract nouns or nouns that are difficult to specify saliently with the inventory of numeral classifiers. In example 32, the noun /t^híkṣ/ ‘country’ cannot be paired with a sortal numeral classifier in S’gaw Karen because its salient features cannot be easily specified. Likewise, /klò?/ ‘language’ in example 33 is

an abstract noun and thus cannot be specified with the inventory of numeral classifiers in S’gaw Karen that generally refer to observable features of the noun referent, such as shape and size. In these instances, the noun itself is repeated and affixed to the numeral in the numeral classifier slot.

(32) ထံကီၼ် ခံထံကီၼ်
 /t^híkð k^hí-t^híkð/
 country two-CLF
 ‘two countries’

(33) ယ တဲ ကျိၼ် ဃလၢမံ ခံကျိၼ်
 /jə tɛ klòʔ xəlāmí k^hí-klòʔ/
 I speak language pretty two-CLF
 ‘I speak two pretty languages’

A speaker’s choice of numeral classifiers seems to vary based on the age, social status, and the level of education of the speaker. For example, with the noun /lá/ ‘moon,’ consultants indicated that older speakers tend to use the numeral classifier /bé/ which specifies the flat nature of an object and is typically used for referring to flat objects, such as leaves and plates, whereas younger speakers that have emigrated to the United States and have been educated use the classifier /p^hlə/ which specifies the round

nature of objects.⁶ In S'gaw Karen, an individual can refer to a pregnant woman using /p^hlə̃/ which is used for round objects if the speaker wants to focus attention on the woman's pregnancy rather than some other feature of the woman. A variety of mensural classifiers can be used for noun referents to specify their orientation or use. For example, /wá/ 'bamboo' can be paired with /bó/ if the bamboo is a long, straight section, /k^hó/ if it is cut in half, or /kəp̄/ if it is cut into hollow, cylindrical sections.⁷

3.2.3 FUNCTIONS OF NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS IN S'GAW KAREN

3.2.3.1 ENUMERATION

Numeral classifiers have an essential role in enumeration in S'gaw Karen and are obligatorily used with all nouns when a numeral greater than one is present in the

⁶ This example illustrates the importance of the speaker in choosing a numeral classifier. I speculate that older speakers use /bé/ because the moon looks like a flat object from earth, while younger, educated speakers use /p^hlə̃/ because they have learned that moons are spherical. Additionally, younger speakers are put into contexts in school where they are more likely to have to enumerate moons (e.g. the moons of Jupiter). Consultants also indicated that older speakers referred to airplanes using /bé/ because planes look flat when flying overhead, while younger, emigrant speakers (who have ridden on planes) use the classifier /bó/, which is used to specify the long, cylindrical features of noun referents.

⁷ A comprehensive list of classifiers used in the Mae Chaem dialect of S'gaw Karen appears in Ratanakul (2001b).

noun phrase. Numeral classifiers are optional for nouns when the numeral is over one hundred, see 34 a,b.

(34) a. ၵၵ်း ၵ်း
 /t^hwì k^hí-dú/
 dog two-CLF:QUADRUPED
 ‘two dogs’

b. ၵၵ်း ၵၵ်း
 /t^hwì təkəjā/
 dog one.hundred
 ‘one hundred dogs’

Sortal classifiers are used to individuate noun referents so that they may be enumerated.

Sortal classifiers are limited in number and refer primarily to the shape of the noun referent as shown in example 35.

(35) ၵၵ်း ၵၵ်း ၵၵ်း
 /təγፊmú k^hí-p^hlè/
 television two-CLF:ROUND
 ‘two televisions’

Mensural classifiers also enumerate the noun but refer to temporary quantities or arrangements of the noun referents. Therefore, a noun may pair with a sortal classifier, example 36, or it may pair with a mensural classifier, example 37, depending on the discourse context.

- (36) ဝဉ် ခံဝိ
 /wà k^hí-bó/
 bamboo two-CLF:LONG CYLINDRICAL
- (37) ဝဉ် ခံဒီ
 /wà k^hí-k^hṣ/
 bamboo two-CLF:LATERALLY CUT SECTION

3.2.3.2 ANAPHORIC USE

Numeral classifiers play a role in anaphoric constructions in S’gaw Karen. The noun may be omitted when a numeral classifier is present and the noun is recoverable from earlier discourse, as in 38 a,b. Numeral classifiers cannot be used in anaphoric constructions in the absence of a numeral, see 39.

- (38) a. န အဲဉ်ဒီး တၢ်ဒံဉ် တနီၤ ဇါ
 /nə ʔèdóʔ tādì tənō fiá/
 you want egg PL Q
 ‘Do you want eggs?’
- b. ယ အဲဉ်ဒီး ခံဖျၢဉ်
 /jə ʔèdóʔ k^hí-p^hlè/
 I want two-CLF:ROUND
 ‘I want two.’
- (39) * ယ အိဉ်ဒီး ဒု
 /jə ʔèdóʔ dú/
 I have CLF:QUADRUPED
 * ‘I have a quadruped’

3.2.3.3 DEFINITENESS & DISCOURSE PRAGMATICS IN S'GAW KAREN

S'gaw Karen numeral classifiers are used to indicate the importance of referents in discourse. When a referent is first introduced in the discourse, a numeral classifier is used even though numeral classifiers are generally not used with the numeral one, see 42.

- (42) တတၢ် နံၣ် သၣ်မံၤယီၤ ထီ အိၣ်ဝဲ တဒု
 təblɔ́ nè θàmjǐ̃ pʰó ʔòwé tə-dú
 one.time then cat little COP one-CLF
 ‘There was once a little cat.’

In these instances, the sentence is translated into English using the indefinite article, but one should not necessarily infer that the function of that numeral classifier in this instance is to mark indefiniteness. Likewise, when the cat is mentioned again later in the discourse, the speaker does not use a numeral classifier, and the sentence is translated into English using the definite article, see 43.

- (43) သၣ်မံၤယီၤ ထီ စံးဆၢ အီၤ
 /θàmjǐ̃ pʰó síʔsʰə́ ʔɔ́/
 cat little answers 3.SG.OBJ
 ‘The little cat answers him’

In these examples, the use of the numeral classifier to indicate new and old information overlaps with the similar function of the definite and indefinite articles in English. This

evidence suggests that the speaker is not marking definiteness of the noun referent; rather, the speaker uses the numeral classifier when introducing the referent to highlight the importance of the referent in the discourse. This function of numeral classifiers is likewise found in other languages with numeral classifiers (cf. Aikhenvald 322-326).

Numeral classifiers in S'gaw Karen can be used with referents that have already been introduced into the discourse. For example, in the tale of Ku Naw Lay and Naw Moo Aye from §A1.4, Naw Moo Aye is kidnapped by a python after her husband, Ku Naw Lay, loses a bet with the python. When the python is first introduced in the discourse, a numeral classifier is used with the noun. However, once the python reappears in the discourse to kidnap Naw Moo Aye, a numeral classifier is again used, as shown in example 44.

(44)	အဝဲ	နီယုဂ်ဟးကွဲင်	တဂ်ဆဂ်	ကလီၤ	တတိ		
	/ʔəwé	nóxèháʔkwìʔ	bàs ^h à	kəlɔ̃	tə-bó/		
	3.SG.NOM	shoo	but	python	one-CLF		
	အံၤ တံယဝ်	အ	ထိး	ယံး	န့ၣ်	အလီၣ်	
	/ʔi	bíxàʔ	ʔə	t ^h óʔ	xíʔ	nè	ʔəlɔ̃/
	DEM	tie	3.SG.POSS	pig	firm	than	before

‘She shooed but this python tied her pig tighter than before.’

Later in the discourse, Ku Naw Lay comes to rescue his wife, and he is topically more important than the python. For that reason, the numeral classifier is no longer used with the python, see 45.

(45)	ခုန်နီလှ	သွပ်ညါ	လာ	မှီ	ကူးလီ	အ	ကိတ်တ	
	/k ^h ùn ^h lɛ́	θɛ́nǎ	lǎ	mè	kúʔlɔ́	ʔǎ	kòʔbó/	
	Ku Naw Lay	know	that	if	cut	3.SG.POSS	neck	
	နပ်	က	သံ	အယိ	ကူးလီ	အ	စု	အ
	/nè	kə	θí	ʔəxó	kúʔlɔ́	ʔǎ	sú	ʔǎ/
	then	FUT	die	so	cut.out	3.SG.POSS	hand	POSS
	သွပ်	ဒီး	ဟွပ်	ကလီ	ဖးဒိပ်	အံ		
	/θwì	dóʔ	hè	kəlɔ́	p ^h áʔdò	ʔi/		
	blood	and	give	python	big	DEM		

‘Ku Naw Lay knows that if he cuts his neck then he will die, so he cuts out his hand’s blood and gives it to this big python.’

3.2.4 STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN PHRASE WITH NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

3.2.4.1 THE CLASSIFIER CONSTITUENT IN THE NOUN PHRASE

In S’gaw Karen, when a numeral is present, the numeral classifier is always syntactically bound to the numeral, i.e. no elements may intervene between the numeral and the classifier. Adjectives and relative clauses may intervene between the noun and the classifier constituent. Demonstratives come at the end of the noun phrase after the classifier constituent.

The noun always precedes the classifier constituent, but the structure of the classifier constituent depends on the numeral used. When the numeral is below ten, the structure of the noun phrase is [N – [NUM – CLF]], as in 46-48.

- (46) ဝိဉ် လွဲိတု
 /t^hò lwì-bé/
 fish three-CLF:FLAT
 ‘three fish’
- (47) ဝဂ်ဉ် နွဲိဂါ
 /θə.rà nwí-γā/
 teacher seven-CLF:HUMAN
 ‘seven teachers’
- (48) ဝဒ်ဉ် ဝုဉ် ခံ ဝုဉ်
 /θè^hù k^hí-t^hù/
 trunk two-CLF:COLUMN
 ‘two (tree) trunks’

When the numeral is above ten, the structure of the noun phrase becomes [N – PL – [CLF – NUM]]. The numeral and the classifier are reversed, and the general plural marker /ʔá/ intervenes between the noun the classifier constituent, as in 49 and 50.

- (49) ဝိဉ် အါ တုခံဆံ
 /t^hò ʔá bé-t^hís^hí/
 fish PL CLF:FLAT-twenty
 ‘twenty fish’

- (50) သရၣ် အါ ဂၢလွၣ်ဆံၣ်
 /θə.rà ʔá yā-t^hwìs^hínwí/
 teacher PL CLF:HUMAN-fourty.seven
 ‘fourty-seven teachers’

The use of a numeral classifier becomes optional when the numeral is one hundred or above. Consultants indicated that numeral classifiers are generally not used with large numbers, but that their use is not ungrammatical. This is typical of numeral classifier systems. For example, Telugu does not require classifiers for numerals over ten, Burmese for multiples of ten, and Thai for numerals over one thousand (Aikhenvald 2003: 100). When numeral classifiers are used for numerals over one hundred, the structure of the noun phrase is the same as when the numeral is greater than ten, see 51 a,b.

- (51) a. ထိၣ် အါ တုခံကထိ
 /t^hò ʔá bé-k^híkət^hó/
 bird PL CLF:FLAT-one.thousand
 ‘one thousand birds’

- b. ထိၣ် ခံကထိ
 /t^hò k^híkət^hó/
 bird one.thousand
 ‘one thousand birds’

3.2.4.2 DEMONSTRATIVES IN THE NOUN PHRASE

As was discussed in greater detail in §3.2.2.3, numeral classifiers are generally not used with singular nouns unless they are being marked as important to the discourse. Since numeral classifiers are not obligatory when the numeral is one, demonstratives are primarily found with numeral classifiers when the numeral is greater than one. The demonstrative comes at the end of the noun phrase and follows the classifier constituent when present, as in 52.

- (52) ကလီၤ နွံဝဲ အံၤ
 /kəlɿ nwí-bó ʔi/
 python 7-CLF those
 ‘those seven pythons’

3.2.4.3 ADJECTIVES IN THE NOUN PHRASE

In S’gaw Karen, adjectives follow the nouns that they modify. When a numeral classifier is used, adjectives intervene between the noun and classifier constituent, as shown in 53 and 54.

- (53) ဝ အိၣ်ဒီး ထွံၣ် ဝုၤ ခံဒု
 /jə ʔòdɿʔ t^hwì γē k^hí-dú/
 I have dog good two-CLF
 ‘I have two good dogs.’

- (54) ယ အိၣ်ဒီး ထွံၣ် ၎ၣ် ၵါဒိၣ် ခံၣ်
 /jə ʔòdɔʔ t^hwì ɣē p^háʔdò k^hí-dú/
 I have dog good big 2-CLF
 ‘I have two good big dogs.’

Relative clauses occupy the same position as adjectives when a classifier constituent is present, see 55.

- (55) မ့မ့ၣ် တၢ်အး လၢ အသးက့ၣ် တ ဒု
 /mémè tāʔúʔ lɔ ʔəθáʔkè tə dú/
 if monkey that heart-crooked one CLF
 ‘but that crooked-heart monkey’

Jones (1961: 45-46) argues that when there are more than two adjectives, the adjectives are placed at the end of the noun phrase, but still before the demonstrative as shown in example 56, where the classifier constituent follows directly after the noun. Example 57a illustrates the structure Jones argues is required when more than two adjectives are used in the noun phrase. Consultants indicated that while 57a is grammatically correct, the adjectives can also directly follow the noun, as in example 57b, and still be grammatically correct.

- (56) ထွံၣ် ခံၣ် သုၣ်သု ဖးဒိၣ် ၎ၣ် အံၣ်
 /t^hwì k^hí-dú θúθú p^háʔdò ɣē ʔí/
 dog two-CLF black big good those
 ‘those two big black good dogs’

- (57) a.

ယ	အိၣ်ဒီး	ထွံၣ်	ခံၣ်	သုၣ်သုၣ်	၎ၣ်	ဖးဒိၣ်
/jə	ʔə́dɔ́ʔ	t ^h wì	k ^h í-dú	θúθú	γē	p ^h áʔdò/
I	have	dog	2-CLF	black	good	big

‘I have two black good big dogs’
- b.

ယ	အိၣ်ဒီး	ထွံၣ်	သုၣ်သုၣ်	၎ၣ်	ဖးဒိၣ်	ခံၣ်
/jə	ʔə́dɔ́ʔ	t ^h wì	θúθú	γē	p ^h áʔdò	k ^h í-dú/
I	have	dog	black	good	big	2-CLF

‘I have two big black good dogs.’

While consultants agreed that examples 57 a,b are grammatically correct, they suggested that it would be more typical for most speakers to modify the noun with a relative clause that follows the noun phrase, as shown in example 58.⁸

- (58)

ယ	အိၣ်ဒီး	ထွံၣ်	သုၣ်သုၣ်	လၢ	အ	၎ၣ်	ဖးဒိၣ်
/jə	ʔə́dɔ́ʔ	t ^h wì	θúθú	lá	ʔə	γē	p ^h áʔdò/
I	have	dog	black	that	are	good	big

ခံၣ်
/k ^h í-dú/
2-CLF

‘I have two black dogs that are good and big.’

⁸ While Jones’s argument that moving an adjectival phrase to the end of the noun phrase when more than two adjectives are present might be better described as optional rather than obligatory, it does illustrate what Greenberg (1975) described as the close semantic relationship between the noun and the numeral classifier. Greenberg argued that, because of this close relationship, the numeral classifier is always found in close proximity to the noun it pairs with and can never be separated by too many elements. Solnit’s (1997) description of Eastern Kayah-Li in §3.2.4.4 suggests otherwise.

3.2.5 THE S’GAW KAREN NUMERAL CLASSIFIER SYSTEM WITHIN THE TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY

Unfortunately, there is little research on the other Karenic languages, a notable exception being Solnit (1997). Duffin’s (1913) description of Pwo Karen lists some common numeral classifiers, which Duffin labels “numeral adjectives,” but Duffin’s analysis of numeral classifiers is limited to the function of enumeration. Like S’gaw Karen, numeral classifiers in Pwo Karen precede the numeral when the number is greater than ten and the plural marker /ʔə/ intervenes between the noun and the classifier constituent⁹. Duffin (1913) provides the basic structure of the noun phrase when numeral classifiers are present, which like S’gaw Karen is [N – [NUM – CLF]], but he does not provide examples of noun phrases involving numeral classifiers with adjectives or demonstratives.

Solnit’s (1997) treatment of numeral classifiers in Eastern Kayah-Li focuses on the syntax of noun phrases and classifier phrases. Solnit (1997) also provides a list of common numeral classifiers in Eastern Kayah-Li and the nouns that they pair with. The structure of the classifier constituent is generally the same as in S’gaw Karen, [NUM –

⁹ Duffin only provides examples in the Pwo Karen orthography and his description of the phonological system of Pwo Karen precedes the creation of the IPA conventions.

CLF], but there are a number of classifiers which require the reverse order (Solnit 1997: 203-08). For example, in example 60, the classifier typically precedes the numeral when the classifier is used for a human. An important difference between S’gaw Karen and Eastern Kayah-Li is that the preferred position of the classifier constituent is clause-final.

(60) Eastern Kayah-Li (Solnit 1997: 7)

púcè	ʔe	thō	á	dī	sí	lwī
child	eat	finish	PART	rice	CLF:HUMAN	four
‘Four children have eaten’						

According to Solnit (1997: 194), the classifier constituent is generally the final element in a clause, or it is the penultimate element if a sentence particle is present. In this case, the classifier does not need to be in the noun phrase with the noun that it is classifying, and Solnit (1997: 182) argues that the classifier constituent is part of the verb phrase instead. Moreover, Solnit (1997: 160-61) asserts that Eastern Kayah-Li is unique in this respect and postulates that the classifier constituent occupies a special syntactic position, which he terms the “extent expression,” otherwise only filled with sentence particles. It is interesting to note that measure words do not follow this syntactic pattern (Solnit 1997: 180). The reader is referred to Figure 2 in §1.2.1 on the Karenic language subfamily.

Of all the Tibeto-Burman languages, Burmese has received the most attention from scholars of numeral classifiers. Burmese classifiers are used similarly to classifiers in S’gaw Karen for individuation and enumeration, anaphoric use, and marking a referent as important in discourse. Burmese numeral classifiers are always found in the noun phrase, and the noun phrase with numeral classifiers is the same as S’gaw Karen: [N – [NUM – CLF]], as in 61.

- (61) Burmese (Vittrant 2002: 135)
 /lɛʔpʰɛʔ-yɛ niʔ Khwɛʔ/
 drinking tea two- CLF:hollow container
 ‘two cups of tea’

3.3 DISCUSSION

This study examines four functions of numeral classifiers in S’gaw Karen. Numeral classifiers individuate the noun so that it may be enumerated. Numeral classifiers specify salient features of the noun referent. They may be used in referent tracking, allowing the noun to be omitted in anaphoric constructions when the noun can be recovered from previous discourse. Outside of obligatory uses, like in enumeration, speakers may optionally use numeral classifiers in order to highlight nouns that are important in discourse.

This last use of numeral classifiers has only been recently examined in numeral classifier languages. Previously, scholars thought that a general function of numeral classifiers was marking definiteness (cf. Goral 1978), but it now appears that this only happens in few languages (Aikhenvald 2003: 117). While definiteness can indicate whether or not a speaker or an object in discourse is new or has already been introduced, numeral classifiers can also be used with old information in discourse to highlight its importance. Furthermore, in these constructions, the use of numeral classifiers is optional. For these reasons and based on the examples in the current corpus, I propose that numeral classifiers do not mark definiteness in S'gaw Karen; rather, the functions of numeral classifiers in discourse and the function of definiteness in other languages overlap to some degree.

A more in depth examination of the pragmatic use of numeral classifiers in discourse would require a corpus of spoken S'gaw Karen. I plan on building a corpus of spoken S'gaw Karen as I continue my studies. Such a corpus would allow for an examination of a variety of features that I encountered in this project. The S'gaw Karen diaspora makes the creation of a spoken S'gaw Karen corpus problematic. On one hand, dialects of S'gaw Karen that previously may have been identified by the

geographic region of its speakers can no longer be distinguished on this basis because many speakers have fled to Thailand and much of Eastern Burma has been destroyed in war. Many resettled S'gaw Karen speakers were born in Thai refugee camps, educated in those camps in standard S'gaw Karen, and spent as much as two decades within the fences of the camp. Thus, in building a spoken corpus, one must take into account the refugee camps that an individual has lived in, whether or not the individual was born there, the dialects or languages spoken by the individual's parents and family, and where in Burma the individual's family lived prior to the refugee camps. While such a corpus would not reflect the S'gaw Karen language and dialects spoken in the hills of Eastern Burma, it could result in interesting findings on the effects of language change as a result of diaspora and the influence of the numerous languages spoken in the refugee camps. Furthermore, even though S'gaw Karen has an estimated four million speakers, third-country resettlement, continuing ethnic conflict in Burma, and low rates of L1 literacy threaten the survival of S'gaw Karen, and a spoken corpus of S'gaw Karen would help to preserve this endangered language and culture.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE: S'GAW KAREN CORPUS

A1.1

တဝိၣ်	တလိၣ်	ပဒဲ	တဒု
təp̄ð	tə-lò	pədé	tə-dú
bush	one-CLF	rabbit	one-CLF

‘A Rabbit per Bush.’

A1.1.1

ဝၢ်စံးဝဲတတၢ်	လာ	ပုၣ်	တပုၣ်	အပူၤ	န့ၣ်	ပဒဲ
tʰəsíwétəbló	lá	pwà	tə-pwà	ʔəpū	nè	pədé
once.upon.a.time	from	forest	one-CLF	in	then	rabbit

သ့ၣ်တဖၣ်	အိၣ်	အါမး
θètəp ^h à	ʔò	ʔámáʔ
PL	COP	many

‘Once upon a time, there are many rabbits in a forest.’

A1.1.2

အဝဲသ့ၣ်	အိၣ်ဒီး	အ	စီၤပၤ	တဒု
ʔəwéθè	ʔòdóʔ	ʔə	sōpā	tə-dú
3.PL.NOM	have	3.SG.POSS	king	one-CLF

‘They have a king.’

A1.1.3

အ	စီၤပၤ	မ့ၢ်	တဲ	တၢ်မနုၤ	မနုၢ်	န့ၢ်
ၤ	sōpā	mè	té	tāmənū	mənù	nè
3.SG.POSS	king	if	tell	whatever	whatever	then

ဒိကန့ၢ်ဝဲ	ဒီး	မ့ၢ်	မၤ	အဝဲသ့ၢ်	မၤ	တၢ်	န့ၢ်	မၤဝဲ
dókənàwé	dóʔ	mè	má	ʔəwéθè	mā	tà	nè	māwé
listen	and	if	ask	3.PL.OBJ	do	thing	then	do

လာ်	တၢ်ယုၤတၢ်ဖိး	တၢ်အဲၣ်တၢ်ကွၢ်	အပူၤ
lá	tàxútàp ^h óʔ	tàʔètàkwí	ʔəpū
from	peace	love	in

‘Their king, if he tells something then they listen, and if he asks them to do something, then they do it out of peace and love.’

A1.1.4

အ	ဒုၣ်အဒါ	မ့ၢ်	ဟဲ	ဒီး	ဒီၣ်ဆၢဝဲ	လာ်
ၤ	dùʔʔədá	mè	hé	dóʔ	k ^h òs ^h áwé	lá
3.PL.POSS	enemy	if	come	and	resist	from

တၢ်လးတဖျၢၣ်ပီ	အပူၤ
tàθáʔtəp ^h lèxó	ʔəpū
one.heart.together	in

‘If their enemy comes, then they resist with the same heart.’

A1.1.5

အပီ	ဒုဂ်ဒါ	ထဖဂ်	ဟဲ	မၤ	ဘူး	ပဒဲ
ʔəxó	dùdá	t ^h əp ^h à	hé	mā	búʔ	pədə́
so	enemy	PL	come	do	close	rabbit

သုဂ်တဖဂ်	တဘူဂ်တဂ်
θətəp ^h à	tə-bù-bà
PL	NEG-able-INT

‘So enemies are not able to come close to the rabbits.’

A1.1.6

တၢ်အိဂ်	မ့ၢ်	အိဂ်	စ့ၢ်ကီၤ:	ဟ့ၢ်နီၤ	လိဝ်အသး	ဒီး
tàʔə	mè	ʔə	sək ^s ʔ	hèn ^ᵛ	lòʔəθáʔ	d ^s ʔ
food	if	have	also	give	each.other	and

အိဂ်ဝဲ	ဒ်သီးသီး
ʔə	díθóʔθóʔ
eat	same

‘If they have food, they also give it to each other and eat the same.’

A1.1.7

ထဲ	အ	စီၤပၤ	စံဂ်ညီဂ်	န့ၢ်	အ့ဝဲသ့ဂ်	အဂီၢ်
p ^h é	ʔə	sᵛpā	sɪŋə	nè	ʔéwéθé	ʔəʔə
when	3.PL.POSS	king	punish	then	3.PL.OBJ	for

န့ၢ်	အၢဂ်လီၤ	တူၢ်လိဝ်ဝဲ
nè	ʔəl ^ᵛ	tùlòʔwé
then	agree	accept

‘When their king punishes them, then they agree and accept.’

A1.1.8

လာ	ပှ်	အံၤ	အပူၤ	န့ၣ်	တီၣ်သိၣ်	အိၣ်ဝဲ	တဒု
lá	pwà	ʔi	ʔəpū	nè	bəθò	ʔò	tə-dú
from	forest	DEM	in	then	tiger	COP	one-CLF

‘In this forest, there is a tiger.’

A1.1.9

တၢ်တနံၤ	တီၣ်သိၣ်	အံၤ	ဖဲ	အ	ဟး	ဝုၤဝီၤ	လာ
bàtəni	bəθò	ʔi	pʰé	ʔə	háʔ	wēwō	lá
one.day	tiger	this	when	3.SG.NOM	walk	around	in

ပှ်	ပူၤ	အခါ	ထံၣ်ဝဲ	ပဒဲ	တဖၣ်
pwà	pū	ʔəkʰá	tʰi	pədə́	təpʰà
forest	in	during	see	rabbit	PL

‘One day when this tiger is walking around in the forest, he sees some rabbits.’

A1.1.10

မ့ၢ်လာ	အဲၣ်ဒီး	အိၣ်	ပဒဲ	အယိ	တီၣ်သိၣ်	လဲၤ
mèlǎ	ʔèdóʔ	ʔò	pədə́	ʔəxó	bəθò	lɛ
because	want	eat	rabbit	so	tiger	go

ကယိကယိ

kəjókəjók

slow~slow

‘Because he wants to eat a rabbit, the tiger goes slowly.’

A1.1.11

ဘၣ်ဆၣ်	ပဒဲ	တဖၣ်	အံၤ	တုၤမ့ၣ်	သ့ၣ်ညါ	လာ
bàs ^h à	pədé	təp ^h à	ʔi	tūmè	θèjǎ	lá
but	rabbit	PL	DEM	when	know	that

အ	ဒုၣ်ဒါ	ဟဲ	အခါ	ဝံၣ်ထီၣ်	အ	နီၣ်
ʔə	dùdá	hé	ʔək ^h á	wít ^h ǎ	ʔə	nǎ
3.PL.POSS	enemy	come	during	pick.up	3.PL.POSS	ear

ဟၣ်	ကနၣ်
hè	kəná
rabbit.sound	listen

‘But those rabbits, when they know their enemy is coming, they pick up their ears, growl, and listen.’

A1.1.12

အဝဲသ့ၣ်	အိၣ်	ကတဲၣ်ကတီၤ	ပၣ်	အသး	လာ	က
ʔəwéθè	ʔò	kətèʔkətɔ	pàʔ	ʔəθáʔ	lá	kə
3.PL.NOM	have	prepare	put	3.PL.REFL	to	IRR

ကွၢ်ဆၢၣ်မဲၣ်	အ	ဒုၣ်အဒါ
kwàs ^h ǎmèʔ	ʔə	dùʔədá
face	3.PL.POSS	enemy

‘They have prepared themselves to face their enemy.’

A1.1.13

တီၣ်ထီၣ်	အံၤ	ဖဲ	အ	ထံၣ်	စီယီၤ	ပဒဲ
bə̀θò	ʔi	p ^h é	ʔə	t ^h i	sóxɔ̃	pədə́
tiger	DEM	when	3.SG.NOM	see	afar	rabbit

တဖၣ်	အခါ	လဲၤ	မၤ	တူးဝဲ	တတူၣ်တၣ်
təp ^h à	ʔək ^h á	lɛ̃	mā	búʔ-wé	tə-bù-bà
PL	during	go	do	close	NEG-able-INT

‘This tiger, when he sees rabbits from afar, he is not able to go close.’

A1.1.14

ကွၢ်ဝဲ	ပဒဲ	တဖၣ်	ဝံၣ်ထီၣ်	အ	နၢ်	န့ၣ်	
kwàwé	pədə́	təp ^h à	wìt ^h ò	ʔə	nà	nè	
look	rabbit	PL	pick.up	3.PL.POSS	ear	then	
လီၤဂၢ်	တၣ်	အီၤ	လၢ	တီ	ခိၣ်စူ	အပီ	ပျဲဝဲ
līyàʔ	bà	ʔɔ̃	lá	bó	k ^h òsú	ʔəxó	pliwé
look.like	for	him	as	spear	sharp	so	scared
ဒဲၣ်	ဒိၣ်မး						
dà	dòmáʔ						
EXCL	a.lot						

‘He looks at the rabbits pick up their ears; to him they look like sharp spears so he is very scared of them.’

A1.1.15

တီၣ်သီၣ်	အဲၣ်ဒီး	အီၣ်ဝဲ	ပဒဲ	အ	ညၣ်	တူၤဒၣ်လဲၣ်
bə̀θə̀	ʔɛ̀dóʔ	ʔə̀	pədé	ʔə̀	ɲà	tū̀dàlɛ̀ʔ
tiger	want	eat	rabbit	POSS	meat	until

အ	ထူးပျၤထံ	လီၤစီၤ	ဒီး	အီၣ်ဝဲ	တ	တူၤလီၤ
ʔə̀	tʰúʔplɛ̀tʰí	lɪ̀sɔ̀	dóʔ	ʔə̀	tə̀	tū̀lɪ̀
3.SG.POSS	spit	drip	and	have	NEG	control

တတီၤလီၤ	အယိ	ကူၣ်ဝဲ	ဒ်ယိး	က	အီၣ်	တၣ်
tətɪ̀lɪ̀	ʔə̀xó	kù	díθóʔ	kə̀	ʔə̀	bà
himself	so	plot	like	IRR	eat	get

ပဒဲ	အ	ညၣ်
pədé	ʔə̀	ɲà
rabbit	POSS	meat

‘The tiger wants to eat the rabbit’s meat until his spit drips and he cannot control himself, so he plots like he will eat the rabbit’s meat’

A1.1.16

တီၣ်သီၣ်	သူးတး	ယီၤ	အဝး	ကယီကယီ	ဆူ
bə̀θə̀	θúʔbáʔ	xɔ̀	ʔə̀θáʔ	kə̀jɔ̀~kə̀jɔ̀	sʰú
tiger	move.close	move	3.SG.REFL	slow~slow	to

ပဒဲ	တဖၣ်	အ	အီၣ်
pədé	təpʰà	ʔə̀	ʔə̀
rabbit	PL	POSS	place

‘The tiger slowly moves himself close to the rabbits’ place.’

A1.1.17

အဝဲ	ဝဲတၢ်	ပဒဲ	တဖၣ်	လာ	တံၤလၢကိးဧါ		
ʔəwé	tébà	pədə́	təpʰà	lá	tíθəkóʔ-fíá		
3.SG.NOM	says	rabbit	PL	to	friend-VOC		
ယ	ကွၢ်	သု	ဒီး	ယ	ထံၣ်	လာ	သ
jə	kwà	θú	dóʔ	jə	tʰi	lá	θú
1.SG.NOM	look	2.PL.OBJ	and	1.SG.NOM	see	that	2.PL.NOM
အိၣ်ဒီး	သု	စီၤပၤ	ထဲ	တဒု	သန့ၣ်က့	သု	
ʔòdóʔ	θú	sɔ̃pā	tʰé	tə-dú	θənàʔké	θú	
have	2.PL.POSS	king	only	one-CLF	even.though	2.PL.NOM	
လာၣ်ပၤ	ဒီး	ထၢ်စီၤတၢ်ကီၤ	သု	အိၣ်ဒီး			
lápwe	dóʔ	tʰàsótākəmɔ̃	θú	ʔòdóʔ			
all.full	with	power	2.PL.NOM	possess			

တၢ်ဂံၢ်တၢ်တၢ်

tàγtábá

strength

‘He says to the rabbits, “Friends, I look at you all and I see that you have only one king even though you are all powerful; you all possess strength.’

A1.1.18

သူ	မှ်	အိပ်ဒီး	သူ	စီပၤ	အါ	ဒု	ဒီး
θú	mè	ʔdóʔ	θú	sōpā	ʔá	dú	dóʔ
2.PL.NOM	if	have	2.PL.POSS	king	PL	CLF	and

သ	စိကဇီ	က	ဒိပ်	နံ	အအံ	ဒီး	သူ
θú	sókəmō	kə	dò	nè	ʔə	ʔi	dóʔ
2.PL.POSS	power	IRR	big	than	is	DEM	and

က	ပၤတၢ်	ပှ်	အံ
kə	pábà	pwà	ʔi
IRR	rule	forest	DEM

‘If you all have many kings, your power will be bigger than it is, and you will rule this forest.’”

A1.1.19

ဘိပ်သိပ်	မှ်	ထံပ်	ပဒဲ	တဒု	တဲထိပ်ဝဲ	အ
bòθò	mè	tʰi	pədə́	tə-dú	tétʰò	ʔə
tiger	if	see	rabbit	one-CLF	speak.out	3.SG.POSS

တၢ်ကတိၤ	ဒိအံ	ဒီး	မှ်	ထံပ်ဝဲ	လာခံ	တဒု
tàkətō	díʔi	dóʔ	mè	tʰi	lókʰí	tə-dú
word	like.this	and	if	see	later	one-CLF

တဲ	ကဒီးဝဲ
té	kədóʔwé
say	again

‘If the tiger sees a rabbit, he speaks out his words like this, and if he sees one later, he says it again.’

A1.1.20

တီၣ်သီၣ်	မၤ	ဒိန့ၣ်	ယံၣ်ယံၣ်	ဒီး	ပဒဲ
bə̀θò	mā	dínè	jì?~jì?	dó?	pədə́
tiger	do	like.that	long	and	rabbit

တဖၣ်	အ	သး	တ	လီၤပလီၣ်	လာၤတၣ်
təpʰà	ʔə	θá?	tə	lɔ̀pəlòʔ	lɔ̀bà
PL	POSS	heart	NEG	similar	no.more

‘The tiger does this for a long time, and the rabbits’ hearts are not similar anymore.’

A1.1.21

အဝဲသ့ၣ်	ဆိကမိၣ်	ဒိၣ်လီၤ	အသး	ဒီး	အိၣ်	ဝဲ
ʔəwéθè	sʰókəmò	dòlɔ̀	ʔəθá?	dó?	ʔò	tʰé
3.PL.NOM	think	big.proud	3.PL.REFL	and	have	only

အၣ်ဒီး	ကဲဝီၣ်	စီၤပၤ
ʔàdóʔ	kétʰò	sɔ̀pā
want	become	king

‘They think too proudly of themselves and only want to become king.’

A1.1.22

အ	စီၤပၤ	မ့ၣ်	တဲ	အီၤ	တၣ်ဆၣ်	တ
ʔə	sɔ̀pā	mè	té	ʔɔ̀	bàsʰà	tə
3.PL.POSS	king	if	tell	3.PL.OBJ	but	NEG

ကန့ၣ်	တ	လူၤ	မၤဝီၣ်ထွဲဝဲ	လာၤတၣ်
kənà	tə	lū	māpòʔtʰwé	lɔ̀bà
listen	NEG	follow	do.right	no.more

‘If their king tells them something, they do not listen, do not follow, and do not do what is right anymore.’

A1.1.23

လာခံ	ပဒဲ	တဖၼ်	လဲၤ	အိၼ်ဝဲ	ဖဲ	တဝီၼ်
lák ^h í	pədə́	tək ^h à	lĕ	ʔòwé	p ^h é	təpò
later	rabbit	PL	go	live	where	bush

သ့ၼ်တဖၼ်	အဖီလဝ်	တဒု	တဒု
θètəp ^h à	ʔəp ^h ólàʔ	tə-dúu	tə-dúu
PL	under	one-CLF	one-CLF

‘Later, the rabbits go live among many bushes, one rabbit per one bush.’

A1.1.24

အ	ဒုၼ်အဒါ	မ့ၼ်	ဟဲ	န့ၼ်	ကိးလိဝ်	အသး	တ
ʔə	dùuʔədá	mĕ	hé	nè	kóʔlòʔ	ʔəθáʔ	tə
3.PL.POSS	enemy	if	come	then	call.out	3.PL.REFL	NEG

ဟ	တ	မစၢၤ	လိဝ်အသး	လာၤတၼ်
hú	tə	məsə	lòʔəθáʔ	lātà
hear	NEG	help	3.PL.REFL	no.more

‘If their enemy comes, then they call out for each other, but they do not hear and do not help each other anymore.’

A1.1.25

မ့ၼ်	နီဟူ	အဂၤ	တဒု	ယု	တၼ်မၤစၢၤ
mĕ	nǎhú	ʔəyā	tə-dúu	xé	tāmāsə
if	hear	another	one-CLF	ask	help

တၼ်ဆၼ်	တ	လဲၤ	မၤစၢၤဝဲ	လာၤတၼ်
bàs ^h à	tə	lĕ	māsəwé	lābà
but	NEG	go	help	no.more

‘If they hear another one ask for help, they do not go help anymore.’

A1.1.26

ဘီၼ်သီၼ်	အံၤ	လာ်	တၢ်သ့ၼ်ခုလးခု	အပူၤ	လဲၤ	ဖီၼ်		
bə̀θò	ʔi	lá	tà̀θùkʰúθáʔkʰú	ʔəpū	lɛ̃	pʰə̀		
tiger	DEM	from	happiness	in	go	catch		
အီၼ်ဝဲ	ပဒဲ	တ	နံၤ	တဒု	ဒီး	တူးတ့ၢ်မး	လာ်	ပဒဲ
ʔə̀wé	pədé	tə	nī	tə-dú	dóʔ	túʔtəmáʔ	lá	pədé
eat	rabbit	one	day	one-CLF	and	almost	that	rabbit
အဝၢၤ	က	လီၤတူၼ်ဝဲ						
ʔəsə̀	kə	lɪ̀tùʔwé						
generation	FUT	be.gone						

‘In happiness, the tiger goes, catches, and eats one rabbit each day, and soon the rabbit generation will be gone.’

A1.2

ကူၼ်အၢတၢ်	န့ၼ်	တၢ်တၢ်
kùʔsà	nè	tə-yē-bà
plot	COP	NEG-good-INT
‘Bad plans.’		

A1.2.1

တၢ်စံးဝဲဒၼ်	လၢ	ကၢၤ	တၢ်တၢ်	အၢ	န့ၼ်
tàsiʔwédà	lá	kə.ɹè	tə-pʰlè	ʔəpū	nè
once.upon	in	garden	one-CLF	in	then

ဆၢၼ်တီၢ်	အိၼ်ဝဲ	ခံ	ကလုၼ်	လၢအမ့ၢ်	တၢ်တီၢ်
sʰàpʰókòpʰó	ʔòwé	kʰí	kəlùʔ	láʔəmè	tàpʰóŋɔ̄
animal	COP	two	kind	such.as	wildcat

ဒီး	ဆီ	တီ
dóʔ	sʰó	pʰó
and	chicken	little

‘Once upon a time, there are two kinds of animals in a garden: a wildcat and a little chicken.’

A1.2.2

တၢ်တီၢ်	န့ၼ်	ကူၼ်ထီၼ်ဝဲဒၼ်	လၢ	က	တီၼ်	အိၼ်
tàpʰóŋɔ̄	nè	kùtʰòwédà	lá	kə	pʰò	ʔò
wildcat	then	scheme	that	IRR	catch	eat

ဆီ	တီ	ကိးဆၢ	ကတီၢ်ဒီး
sʰó	pʰó	kóʔsʰó	kətòdéʔ
chicken	little	every	time

‘The wild cat himself schemes to catch and eat the little chicken all the time.’

A1.2.3

ဆီ	ဖိ	စူးကီး:	သုဂ်ညါဝဲ	လာ	တၢ်ဖိညါ	အဲဂ်ဒီး:
s ^h ɔ	p ^h ó	sèkɔʔ	θèŋáwé	lá	tàp ^h ónɔ	ʔèdóʔ
chicken	little	also	know	that	wildcat	want

အိဂ်	အိ	အယိ	အဝဲ	မံ	လာ	သုဂ်	လဂ်
ʔò	ʔɔ	ʔəxó	ʔəwé	mí	lá	θè	là
eat	3.SG.OBJ	so	3.SG.NOM	sleeps in	leaves	among	

ကျါ	ဒ်သိ:	တၢ်ဖိညါ	သု	တ	ထံဂ်	အိ
klá	díθóʔ	tàp ^h ónɔ	θú	tə	t ^h i	ʔɔ
so	that	wildcat	2.PL.NOM	NEG	see	3.SG.OBJ

တၢ်ဂ့ၤ

təyē

NEG.good

‘The little chicken knows that the wildcat wants to eat him so he sleeps among leaves so that you all can’t see him well.’

A1.2.4

တၢ်တဟါ	န့ဂ်	ဆီ	ဖိ	အိဂ်ဂုသုဂ်	လာ
bàtəhá	nè	s ^h ɔ	p ^h ó	ʔòk ^h úθù	lá
one.night	then	chicken	little	hides	in

ထံလူၤသုဂ်	အယုထီ	တဖျာဂ်	အအိဂု
t ^h ílūθà	ʔəxét ^h ɔ	tə-p ^h lè	ʔəʔópū
gourd	dried	one-CLF	inside

‘One night, the little chicken hides inside a dried gourd.’

A1.2.5

ဖဲ	မုၢ်နၤတီ	အဆၢကတီၢ်	န့ၣ်	တၢ်ဖိညီၤ	ဟဲ	ယုဝဲ
p ^h é	mùnāk ^h ɔ́	ʔəs ^h əkətì	nè	tàp ^h ɔ́nɔ́	hé	xúwé
when	night	time	then	wildcat	come	search

ဆီ	ဖိ	ဒ်သိး	က	အိၣ်ဝဲ	အဂီၢ်
s ^h ɔ́	p ^h ɔ́	díθóʔ	kə	ʔòwé	ʔəy̯ò
chicken	little	so.that	IRR	eat	for

‘When it is night, the wildcat comes to search for the little chicken in order to eat him.’

A1.2.6

ဆီ	ဖိ	န့ၣ်	ပျဲတၢ်	ဒိၣ်မး	ဒီး	ကနိး
s ^h ɔ́	p ^h ɔ́	nè	plítà	dòmáʔ	dɔ́ʔ	kənóʔbà
chicken	little	then	scared	great	and	shake

တၢ်အသး	အပိ	ထံလူၤသၣ်	လီၤတဲၣ်	သ့ၣ်ဖးကွဲၣ်
ʔəθáʔ	ʔəxó	t ^h ílūθà	lɔ́tèʔ	θèp ^h áʔkwìʔ
3.SG.REFL	so.that	gourd	falls	breaks

‘The little chicken is greatly scared and is shaking so that the gourd falls and breaks.’

A1.2.7

ထံလူ၁သပ်	လီ၁တဲဝ်	သိပ်	ဖးဒိပ်	အပိ		
tʰɿlūθà	lɿtɛʔ	θò	pʰáʔdò	ʔəxó		
gourd	fall	noise	big	because		
တၢ်ဖိညီ၁	ဖးတၢ်အသး	ဒီး	ယုၢ်ဝဲ	အခါ	အ	ဒိပ်
tʰəpʰóŋɔ̃	pʰúʔbàʔəθáʔ	dɔʔ	xèwé	ʔəkʰá	ʔə	kʰɔ̃
wildcat	startle	and	run	during	3.SG.POSS	leg
တၢ်တိၢ်	ဒီးသ့ၣ်ဖူ	ဒီး	အခိပ်	တၢ်ထံး	ဒီး	လၢၢ်
bàtò	dɔʔθèpʰú	dɔʔ	ʔəkʰò	bàtʰíʔ	dɔʔ	lè
bump.over	log	and	head	hit	on	rock
အပိ	တၢ်ဖိညီ၁	နပ်	သံဝဲ	ဒပ်		
ʔəxó	tʰəpʰóŋɔ̃	nè	θíwé	dà		
so.that	wildcat	COP	die	EXCL		

‘The gourd falls loudly and startles the wildcat. While running, he trips over a log, hits his head on a rock, and dies.’

A1.3

သပ်မံယီၤ	လာ	အ	ငီဝး	တဒု
θàmíjǝ	lá	ʔə	ŋónǎʔ	1-dú
cat	that	3.SG.NOM	dumb	one-CLF

‘One stupid cat.’

A1.3.1

တတျီ	န့ၣ်	သပ်မံယီၤ	ဖိ	အိၣ်ဝဲ	တဒု
təblǝ	nè	θàmíjǝ	pʰó	ʔòwé	tə-dú
one.time	then	cat	little	COP	one-CLF

‘There is a little cat.’

A1.3.2

အဝဲ	ဆၢထၢၣ်	လာ	မ့ၣ်အူ	ပူၣ်	အကပၤ	ဒီး	ပီ
ʔəwé	sʰətʰə	lá	mèʔú	pù	ʔəkəpā	dóʔ	xó
3.SG.NOM	stand	by	fire	place	beside	and	bake
အိၣ်ဝဲ	ဆွဲၣ်	ဖိ					
ʔòwé	sʰwè	pʰó					
eat	crab	little					

‘He stands by the fireplace and bakes and eats a little crab.’

A1.3.3

ဖနပ်	အခါ	တၢအုး	တဒု	ဟဲ	ဆူ	အ
p ^h énè	ʔək ^h á	tāʔúʔ	tə-dú	hé	s ^h ú	ʔə
when	during	monkey	one-CLF	come	to	3.SG.NOM

အိပ်	ဒီး	တဲဝဲဒပ်	ယ	က	မၤတၢ	နၤ	က
ʔò	dóʔ	téwédà	jə	kə	māsə	nā	kə
COP	and	say	1.SG.NOM	IRR	help	2.SG.OBJ	IRR

သ့ ငါ
 0é fiá
 can Q

‘During this, a monkey comes to where he is and says, “Can I help you?”’

A1.3.4

သပ်ယိ	ထိ	ဝံးဆၢ	အိၤ	တၢ်မနုၤ	အပိ
θàmjǝ	p ^h ó	síʔs ^h ə	ʔə	bàmənū	ʔəxó
cat	little	answers	3.SG.OBJ	why	because

တသ့
 tə0é
 NEG.can

‘The little cat answers him, “why not?”’

A1.3.5

ယ	ဝံး	ဘျး	နၤ	လာ်	န	သးအိၣ်	မၤတၢ်
jə	síʔ	blúʔ	nā	lá	nə	θáʔò	māsə
1.SG.NOM	say	thank	2.SG.OBJ	for	2.SG.POSS	offer	help

ယၤ	အယိ
jā	ʔəxó
1.SG.OBJ	because

“I say thanks to you because of your offer to help me.’

A1.3.6

ယ	လိၣ်တၢ်	န	တၢ်မၤတၢ်
jə	ʔòbà	nə	tàmāsə
1.SG.NOM	need	2.SG.POSS	help

“I need your help.”

A1.3.7

မ့ၢ်	ဝံး	ဒိန့ၣ်	ထူးထီၣ်	ဆွဲၣ်	ဖိ	လာ်	မ့ၢ်အူ
mè	síʔ	dínè	tʰúʔtʰə	sʰwè	pʰó	lá	mèʔú
if	say	like.that	pull.up	crab	little	from	fire

ပူၣ်	ညါပူၣ်	ဒီး	ယံ	ယ	က	အိးန့ၢ်
pù	ɲápū	dóʔ	jé	jə	kə	ʔóʔnè
place	inside	and	1.SG.TOP	1.SG.NOM	FUT	open

နၤ	ဆွဲၣ်	ဖိ	အ	ဝံး
nā	sʰwè	pʰó	ʔə	pʰíʔ
2.SG.POSS	crab	little	POSS	skin

“‘If you say so, pull the little crab from the fireplace and me, I will open your little crab’s shell.’”

A1.3.8

သၢ်မံယီၤ	ဖိ	နၢ်နၢ်	တၢ်အး	ဖိ	အယ
θà míjǔ	p ^h ó	nà'nè	tā'íú?	p ^h ó	ʔəxó
cat	little	believe	monkey	little	so

မၤဝဲဒိ	တၢ်အး	တဲ	အီၤ	အသိး
māwédí	tā'íú?	té	ʔǔ	ʔəθó?
do.like	monkey	tells	3.SG.OBJ	as

‘The little cat believes the little monkey so he does as the monkey tells him so.’

A1.3.9

မ့မ့	တၢ်အး	လၢ	အသးက့ၣ်	တဒု	န့ၣ်
mémè	tā'íú?	lǎ	ʔəθá?kè	tə-dú	nè
if	monkey	that	heart-crooked	one-CLF	then

ဆၢတၢ်	လၢ	သၢ်မံယီၤ	ဖိ	အလီၤခံ
s ^h á t ^h ə	lǎ	θà míjǔ	p ^h ó	ʔəlǔk ^h í
stand	from	cat	little	behind

‘But that crooked-heart monkey stands behind the little cat.’

A1.3.10

တၢ်အုး	ဟံးန့ၣ်	ဆွဲၣ်	လာ်	သၣ်မံယီၤ	ဖိ	အ	စု
tā?ú??	hí?nè	s ^h wè	lá	θàmjǝ	p ^h ó	?ə	sú
monkey	take	crab	from	cat	little	POSS	hand

ပူၤ	ဝံၤ	အိးဝဲ	အဖံး	ဒီး	အိၣ်ဝဲဒၣ်	တတၢ်
pū	wī	?ó?wé	?əp ^h í?	dó?	?òwédà	təbè
in	after	open	skin	and	eat	one-CLF

ဝံၤ	တတၢ်
wī	tə-bè
after	one-CLF

‘The monkey takes the crab from the little cat’s hand then opens the shell and eats one piece after another himself.’

A1.3.11

တၢ်ဆၣ်	သၣ်မံယီၤ	ဖိ	တ	သ့ၣ်ညါ	ဝွဲဝဲ
bàs ^h à	θàmjǝ	p ^h ó	tə	θèná	t ^h wéwé
but	cat	little	NEG	know	about.it

တၢ်
bà
INT

‘But the little cat doesn’t know anything about it.’

A1.3.12

လာခံ	ကတၢ်ဂိ	သၢ်မံယီၤ	ဖိ	တ	အီၣ်	တၢ်	ခွဲၣ်
lákhí	kətə̀	θàmíjǝ̀	pʰó	tə̀	ʔə̀	bà	sʰwè
later	last	cat	little	NEG	eat	INT	crab

အမံၣ်ညါ	အ	စု	ဖိ	န့ၣ်	မ့ၣ်အူ	ကိၣ်သွးတၢ်အီၤ
ʔəmèʔjǝ́	ʔə̀	sú	pʰó	nè	mèʔú	kòθwáʔbàʔǝ̀
front	3.SG.POSS	hand	little	then	fire	scorched

‘In the end, the little cat never eats any crab and the front of his little hand is scorched by the fire.’

A1.4

ခုၣ်နီၣ်လၢ ဒီး နီၣ်မုၢ်အံၤ
 k^hùnnḁlé dḁ? nḁmùḁ?
 Ku Naw Lay and Naw Moo Aye

‘Ku Naw Lay and Naw Moo Aye.’

A1.4.1

တတၢ်န့ၣ်	ပုၤ	ဒီးမၤဝၤ	အိၣ်ဝဲ	ခံၣ်	အ	မံၤ
təblónè	pwā	dómáwā	ḁḁwé	k ^h í-yā	ḁ	mī
one.time	person	couple	COP	two-CLF	3.PL.POSS	name

မ့ၢ်ဝဲ ခုၣ်နီၣ်လၢ ဒီး နီၣ်မုၢ်အံၤ
 mèwé k^hùnnḁlé dḁ? nḁmùḁ?
 COP Ku Naw Lay and Naw Moo Aye

‘One time there is a couple named Ku Naw Lay and Naw Moo Aye’

A1.4.2

အဝဲသ့ၣ်	အိၣ်ဒီး	အ	ထွံၣ်	ဖိ	တဒု	အ
ḁwéḁè	ḁdḁ?	ḁ	t ^h wì	p ^h ó	tə-dú	ḁ
3.PL.NOM	have	3.PL.POSS	dog	little	one-CLF	3.PL.POSS

ထိး တဒု ဒီး ထိၣ်လွံၣ် ဖိ တတၢ်
 t^hó? tə-dú dḁ? t^hḁlwì p^hó tə-bè
 pig one-CLF and dove little one-CLF

‘They have one dog, one pig, and one dove.’

A1.4.3

တနံၤ	န့ၣ်	အ	ဝၤ	လဲၤ	လၢ	ပှၢ်	ပူၤ	ဒီး
tənī	nè	ʔə	wā	lē	lá	pwà	pū	dóʔ
one.day	then	3.SG.POSS	husband	go	to	forest	in	and

ထံၣ်	ဂ့ၢ်	တတိ	လၢ	အ	လိၣ်ထီၣ်	အသး	လၢ
tʰi	γū	tə-bó	lá	ʔə	lòtʰə	ʔəθáʔ	lá
see	snake	one-CLF	that	3.SG.NOM	change	3.SG.REFL	to

ပှၢ်ကညီ

pwākəjə

human

‘One day her husband goes in the forest and sees a snake who transforms himself to a human.’

A1.4.4

ဂ့ၢ်	လၢ	အ	လိၣ်ထီၣ်	အသး	လၢ	ပှၢ်ကညီ	တဂၤ
γū	lá	ʔə	lòtʰə	ʔəθáʔ	lá	pwākəjə	tə-γā
snake	that	3.SG.NOM	change	3.SG.RELF	to	human	one-CLF

အံၤ	တဲ	န့ၢ်	ခုၣ်နီၣ်လု	ဒိအံၤ	န	က	ကနီ
ʔi	té	nè	kʰùndlé	díʔi	nə	kə	kəno
DEM	tell	to	Ku Naw Lay	like.this	2.SG.NOM	IRR	wrestle

ဒီး	ယၤ	ခါ
dóʔ	jā	fiá
with	1.SG.OBJ	Q

‘The snake who changes himself to a human speaks to Ku Naw Lay like this, “you want to wrestle with me?”’

A1.4.5

န	မူၼ်	ယၼ်	န့ၼ်	န	တၼ်	ဟ့ၼ်
nə	mè	xà	nè	nə	bà	hè
2.SG.NOM	if	lose	then	2.SG.NOM	must	give

ယၼ်	န	မၢ
jā	nə	má
1.SG.OBJ	3.SG.POSS	wife

‘If you lose, then you must give me your wife.’

A1.4.6

ယဲ	ယ	မူၼ်	ယၼ်	တၼ်	တၼ်လၢ	န
jé	jə	mè	xà	tək ^h ɔ	təlɔ	nə
1.SG.TOP	1.SG.NOM	if	lose	then	something	2.SG.NOM

သးလီ	န့ၼ်	ယ	ယၼ်	ယ	က	ဟ့ၼ်	နၼ်
θáʔlɔ	nè	xé	jā	jə	kə	hè	nā
want	then	ask	1.SG.OBJ	1.SG.NOM	FUT	give	2.SG.OBJ

‘Me, if I lose, then something you want, ask me, and I will give it to you.’”

A1.4.7

ဒီး	အဝဲသ့ၼ်	စးထီၼ်	ကနီ	လိၼ်အသး	ဒီး
dóʔ	ʔəwéθè	sáʔt ^h ɔ	kənólò	ʔəθáʔ	dóʔ
and	3.PL.NOM	start	wrestle	3.PL.RELF	and

ခုၼ်နီၼ်လ့	ယၼ်ဝဲဒၼ်	အယိ	ဟဲက့ၼ်ဝဲ	ဆူ	အ	ဟံၼ်
k ^h ùnðlé	xàwédà	ʔəxó	hékēwé	s ^h ú	ʔə	hì
Ku Naw Lay	lose	so	return	to	3.SG.POSS	house

‘And they start to wrestle together and Ku Naw Lay loses, so he returns back to his house.’

A1.4.8

မၤကဒီးတနံၤ	ဖဲ	မုၢ်ဆုၣ်ထီၣ်	န့ၣ်	ခုၣ်နီၣ်လု	စံးတၢ်
mākə́dʒʔtəni	pʰé	mùsʰèʰə̀	nè	kʰùnṽlé	síʔbà
another.day	when	dawn	then	Ku Naw Lay	tell

အ	မါ	ယ	က	လဲၤ	ကၤတၢ်	လၢ
ʔə	má	jə	kə	lɛ̃	kātà	lɔ́
3.SG.POSS	wife	1.SG.NOM	FUT	go	trade	in

ထံၣ်ကၤကီၢ်ဂၤ

tʰíyākṽyā

foreign.land

‘Another day at dawn, Ku Naw Lay tells his wife, “I will go trade in a foreign land.’

A1.4.9

အိၣ်တ့ၢ်	လၢ	ဟံၣ်	ဂ့ၤဂ့ၤ
ʔətè	lɔ́	hì	yē~yē
stay	in	house	good~good

‘Stay in the house, be careful.’

A1.4.10

န	မ့ၢ်	ဒုးအိၣ်	ထိး	ဆၢၣ်	န့ၣ်	စံၣ်	လီၤ	လၢ
nə	mè	dúʔṽ	tʰóʔ	sʰà	nè	sì	lɔ́	lɔ́
2.SG.NOM	if	feed	pig	food	then	step	down	from

ဟိၣ်ခိၣ်	လီၤ	တ့ၢ်
hòkʰò	lō	təyē
ground	on	NEG.good

‘If you feed the pig food, don’t step down on the ground.’”

A1.4.11

လူ	လီၤ	အီၤ	လာ	ဟံၣ်	ဖိခိၣ်	တက့ၢ်
lú	lī	ʔī	lá	hì	p ^h ɔk ^h ò	təkè
pour	down	3.OBJ	from	house	over	IMP

‘Pour it down from inside the house.’

A1.4.12

ဒီး	အဝဲ	မၤလိၣ်	အ	မါ	ဝံၤ	ဒီး	လဲၤ
dóʔ	ʔəwé	mālòʔ	ʔə	má	wī	dóʔ	lē
and	3.SG.NOM	command	3.SG.POSS	wife	after	and	go

‘And he commands his wife and goes.’

A1.4.13

နီၣ်မုၢ်အံ	အိၣ်တ့ၢ်ဝဲ	လာ	ဟံၣ်	ဒီး	အ	ဝဲး	ဝွံၣ်
nəmùʔé	ʔətèwé	lá	hì	dóʔ	ʔə	t ^h óʔ	t ^h wì
Naw Mu Aye	stay	in	house	with	3.SG.POSS	pig	dog

ဒီး	ထိၣ်လွံၢ်	ဖိ
dóʔ	t ^h òlwī	p ^h ó
and	dove	little

‘Naw Mu Aye stays in the house with her pig, dog, and little dove.’

A1.4.14

မၤကဒီး	လာံ	တနံၤ	နီၣ်မုၢ်အ့	တုၣ်လီၤ	ထိး
mākədɔʔ	lákʰí	tənī	nəmùʔé	bùlɔ̃	tʰóʔ
later.on	next	day	Naw Mu Aye feed		pig

ဆုၣ်	ဒီး	မၤဝဲ	ဒိ	အ	ဝၤ	မၤလိၣ်	အီၤ
sʰà	dɔʔ	māwé	dí	ʔə	wā	mālòʔ	ʔɔ̃
food	and	do	as	3.SG.POSS	husband	command	3.SG.OBJ

အထိး

ʔəθóʔ

like

‘Later on the next day, Naw Mu Lay feeds the pig food and does as her husband commands her.’

A1.4.15

ဖဲ	အဝဲ	လူလီၤ	ထိး	ဆုၣ်	အခါ	ကလီၤ	ဖးဒိၣ်
pʰé	ʔəwé	lúlɔ̃	tʰóʔ	sʰà	ʔəkʰá	kəlɔ̃	pʰáʔdò
when	3.SG.NOM	pour	pig	food	during	python	big

တဘိ	ဟဲ	ဒီး	တံယဝဲ	အ	ထိး
tə-bó	hé	dɔʔ	bíxàʔ	ʔə	tʰóʔ
one-CLF	come	and	tie	3.SG.POSS	pig

‘When she pours the pig food, a big python comes and wraps around her pig.’

A1.4.16

အဝဲ	နီယုဂ်ဟးကွံင်	တၢ်ဆၢ	ကလီၤ	တတိ	အံၤ
ʔəwé	nóxèháʔkwìʔ	bàs ^h à	kəlɔ̃	tə-bó	ʔi
3.SG.NOM	shoo	but	python	one-CLF	DEM
တံယၢ်	အ	ထိး	ယံး	နဂ်	အလီၤ
bíxàʔ	ʔə	t ^h óʔ	xíʔ	nè	ʔəlɔ̃
tie	3.SG.POSS	pig	firm	than	before

‘She shooed but this python tied her pig tighter than before.’

A1.4.17

ဖဲ	နဂ်	အခါ	အဝဲ	အ	သံၣ်	လီၤတဲၣ်	အယိ	
p ^h é	nè	ʔək ^h á	ʔəwé	ʔə	θì	lɔ̃tèʔ	ʔəxó	
when	then	during	3.SG.NOM	3.SG.POSS	comb	drop	so	
အဝဲ	တံၣ်	လီၤ	ထၢ	ထီၣ်	က့ၤ	အ	သံၣ်	အခါ
ʔəwé	sì	lɔ̃	t ^h á	t ^h ò	kē	ʔə	θì	ʔək ^h á
3.SG.NOM	step	down	pick	up	back	3.SG.POSS	comb	during
ကလီၤ	တတိ	အံၤ		ဟဲယိၤ	ဆူ	အ	အိၣ်	
kəlɔ̃	tə-bó	ʔi		héxɔ̃	s ^h ú	ʔə	ʔò	
python	1-CLF	DEM		come	to	3.SG.NOM	COP	
ဒီး	က့ၤ	တွံၣ်န့ၣ်	အိၤ	ဆူ	အ	ပူၤ		
dóʔ	kē	twìnùʔ	ʔɔ̃	s ^h ú	ʔə	pū		
and	back	pull	3.SG.OBJ	to	3.SG.POSS	hole		

‘Then when she drops her comb, she steps down and picks it up, then this python comes to where she is and pulls her back to his hole.’

A1.4.18

ထိပ်လွှဲ	ထိ	တဘျဲ	ထိပ်	တဂါမၤအသး	တဖျဲ	အံၤ
t ^h òlwì	p ^h ó	tə-bè	t ^h ì	tāmā?əθá?	təp ^h à	?ì
dove	little	one-CLF	see	what.happen	PL	DEM

ခဲလၢ်	အယိ	လဲၤ	ယူၤဝဲ	ဆူ	ခုၣ်နီၣ်လု	အ
k ^h élà?	?əxó	lē	jūwé	s ^h ú	k ^h ùnǎlé	?ə
all	so	go	fly	to	Ku Naw Lay	3.SG.NOM

အိပ်	ဒီး	ပှၤထိပ်ဝဲဒုၣ်	ထကတြၢ်ဇိပ်ကူ	ကလိၤ	တ
?ò	dó?	pwēt ^h əwédà	t ^h əkətrúfìkú	kəlǎ	bí
COP	and	chirp	bird song	python	tie

သံ	နီၣ်မုၣ်အ	ခုၣ်နီၣ်လု	ဟဲ	က့ၤ	ချချ
thí	nəmù?é	k ^h ùnǎlé	hé	kē	k ^h lé~k ^h lé
die	Naw Mu Aye	Ku Naw Lay	come	back	quick~quick

‘The little dove sees all these things that happen and goes fly to where Ku Naw Lay is and chirps like this “the python constricted Naw Mu Aye; Ku Naw Lay come back quickly.”’

A1.4.19

ထဲ	ခုၣ်နီၣ်လု	နီၣ်ဟူ	အ	ထိပ်လွှဲ	ထိ	ပှၤထိပ်
p ^h é	k ^h ùnǎlé	nàhú	?ə	t ^h òlwì	p ^h ó	pwēt ^h ə?
when	Ku Naw Lay	hear	3.SG.POSS	dove	little	chirp

န့ၣ်	အဝဲ	ဟဲ	က့ၤ	ချချ	ဆူ	အ	ဟံၣ်
nè	?əwé	hé	kē	k ^h lé~k ^h lé	s ^h ú	?ə	hì
then	3.SG.NOM	come	back	quick~quick	to	3.SG.POSS	house

‘When Ku Naw Lay hears his little bird chirp, he comes back quickly to his house.’

A1.4.20

တၢ်ဆၢ	အဝဲ	တ	ထံၣ်ဝဲ	အ	မၢ	လၢၤတၢ်
bàs ^h à	ʔəwé	tə	t ^h iwé	ʔə	má	lābà
but	3.SG.NOM	NEG	see	3.SG.POSS	wife	no.more

‘But he didn’t see his wife anymore.’

A1.4.21

အဝဲ	ကိၣ်တၢ်	လၢ	အ	မၢ	အဂီၢ်	ဒိၣ်မး
ʔəwé	kòtā	lá	ʔə	má	ʔəyò	dòmáʔ
3.SG.NOM	worry	about	3.SG.POSS	wife	for	very.much

အယိ	ကတဲၣ်ကတီၣ်ထီၣ်	အသး	လၢ	က	လူၤ	က့ၤ
ʔəxó	kətèʔkətòʔt ^h ò	ʔəθáʔ	lá	kə	lū	kē
so	prepare	3.SG.REFL	that	FUT	chase	back

အ	မၢ	အဂီၢ်
ʔə	má	ʔəyò
3.SG.POSS	wife	for

‘He worries about his wife very much so he prepares himself to get his wife back.’

A1.4.22

အဝဲ	ကိးထီၣ်	အ	ထွံၣ်	ဒီး	လဲၤ	လူၤ	ဃု	က့ၤ
ʔəwé	kóʔt ^h ò	ʔə	t ^h wì	dóʔ	lē	lū	xú	kē
3.SG.NOM	call	3.SG.POSS	dog	and	go	chase	find	back

အ	မၢ
ʔə	má
3.SG.POSS	wife

‘He calls his dog and goes to get his wife back.’

A1.4.23

ဖ	အ	ထွဲပ်	ထိ	မီၤတၢ်	အလီၤန့ၣ်	အဝဲ	ခုၣ်ဝ
p ^h é	ʔə	t ^h wì	p ^h ó	mōtā	ʔəlɔ̀nè	ʔəwé	k ^h ùwé
when	3.SG.POSS	dog	little	bark	spot	3.SG.NOM	dig

ဒီး	တူၤ	အ	လီၤထီၣ်	န့ၣ်	အဝဲ	ထံၣ်တၢ်
dóʔ	tū	ʔə	līp ^h ló	nè	ʔəwé	t ^h ibà
and	reach	3.SG.POSS	hole	then	3.SG.NOM	behold

အ	မၢ	ဒီး	ကလီၤ	တတိ	တစိၣ်ထိ	ဒီး
ʔə	má	dóʔ	kəlɔ̀	tə-bó	təsòp ^h ó	dóʔ
3.SG.POSS	wife	and	python	one-CLF	moment	and

အ	မၢ	ဒီး	ကလီၤ	ဟါမၢ်ကွဲၣ်
ʔə	má	dóʔ	kəlɔ̀	hámàkwìʔ
3.SG.POSS	wife	and	python	disappear

‘When his little dog barks at a place, he digs and reaches the snake’s hole and he sees his wife and the python for a moment and his wife and python disappear.’

A1.4.24

မ့ၢ်လၢ	အဝဲ	တၢ်ယိၣ်	တၢ်အါကဲၣ်ဆိး	အပိ	တ
mèlɔ̀	ʔəwé	bàjò	tāʔákès ^h óʔ	ʔəxó	tə
because	3.SG.NOM	worry	so.much	so.that	NEG

သ့ၣ်ညါ	တၢ်တံး	အသး	လၢၤတၢ်
θèná	tābwíʔ	ʔəθáʔ	lɔ̀bà
know	tire	himself	no.more

‘Because he worries so much, he doesn’t know himself to be tired anymore.’

A1.4.25

ቢኮሮ	ጠገላላ	ፊ	ጠገ	ሳ	ጠገ	ጠገ፡
k ^h ùwé	tàlǝ	k ^h í	tǝ	θá	tǝ	wimá?
dig	place	two	place	three	place	after

ወኮሮ ጠገ ጠገ	ጠገ	ጠገ	ጠገ	ሳ	ጠገ	ጠገ
t ^h ibàwédà	ʔə	má	ʔò	lá	kəlǝ	ʔə
behold	3.SG.POSS	wife	sitting by	python	3.SG.OBJ	

ጠገ

kəpā

beside

‘He digs in two or three places, then he sees his wife sitting by the python beside her’

A1.4.26

ወኮሮ	ጠገ	ጠገ፡	ጠገ	ጠገ	ጠገ
p ^h énè	kəlǝ	síʔbà	ʔǝ	nə	mè
then	python	tell	3.SG.OBJ	2.SG.NOM	if

ጠገ፡	ጠገ	ጠገ	ጠገ	ጠገ	ጠገ	ጠገ፡	ጠገ	
θáʔlǝ	kē	nə	má	nè	nə	bà	kúʔ	lǝ
want	back	2.SG.POSS	wife	then	2.SG.NOM	must	cut	out

ጠገ	ጠገ	ጠገ	ጠገ፡	ጠገ	ጠገ፡
nè	jā	nə	kòʔbó	ʔə	θwì
for	1.SG.OBJ	2.SG.POSS	neck	POSS	blood

‘Then python tells him “if you want your wife back, then you must cut out your neck’s blood for me.”’

A1.4.27

ခုန်နီလု	သ့ၣ်ညါ	လၢ	မ့ၣ်	ကူးလီၤ	အ	ကိတ်တ
k ^h ùnṵlé	θèná	lá	mè	kúʔlɔ̃	ʔə	kòʔbó
Ku Naw Lay	know	that	if	cut	3.SG.POSS	neck

န့ၣ်	က	သံ	အယိ	ကူးလီၤ	အ	စု	အ	သ့ၣ်
nè	kə	θí	ʔəxó	kúʔlɔ̃	ʔə	sú	ʔə	θwì
then	FUT	die	so	cut.out	3.SG.POSS	hand	POSS	blood

ဒီး	ဟ့ၣ်	ကလီၤ	ဖးဒိၣ်	အံၤ
dóʔ	hè	kəlɔ̃	p ^h áʔdò	ʔí
and	give	python	big	DEM

‘Ku Naw Lay knows that if he cuts his neck then he will die, so he cuts out his hand’s blood and gives it to this big python.’

A1.4.28

တၢ်ဆၢၣ်	ကလီၤ	တဲ	အီၤ	အဝဲ	အံၤ	တမ့ၣ်
bàs ^h à	kəlɔ̃	té	ʔɔ̃	ʔəwé	ʔí	təmè
but	python	tell	3.SG.OBJ	3.SG.NOM	DEM	NEG.COP

န	ကိတ်တိ	အ	သ့ၣ်	တၢ်	အယိ	ယ	တ
nə	kòʔbó	ʔə	θwì	bà	ʔəxó	jə	tə
2.SG.POSS	neck	POSS	blood	INT	so	1.SG.NOM	NEG

ဟ့ၣ်	က့ၤ	န	မါ	တၢ်
hè	kē	nə	má	bà
give	back	2.SG.POSS	wife	INT

‘But the python tells him “this is not your neck’s blood, so I will not give your wife back.”’

A1.4.29

ခုၣ်နီၣ်လၢ	မၤ	တၢ်မၤန့ၣ်မး	တ	သ့	လၢၤတၢ်
k ^h ùnnlè	mā	tāmənūmá?	tə	θé	lǝbà
Ku Naw Lay	do	anything	NEG	can	no.more

‘Ku Naw Lay cannot do anything anymore.’

A1.4.30

လၢခံကတၢ်	အဝဲ	ကူးလီၤ	အ	ကိပ်တိ	အ
lók ^h íkətə	ʔəwé	kúʔlǝ	ʔə	kəʔbó	ʔə
finally	3.SG.NOM	cut.out	3.SG.POSS	neck	POSS

သ့ၣ်	ဒီး	ဟ့ၣ်လီၤ	ဝံၤမး	ကလီၤ	မးဒိၣ်	ပျဲက့ၤ
θwì	dóʔ	hèlǝ	wimáʔ	kəlǝ	p ^h áʔdò	plékē
blood	and	give.to	after	python	big	let.go

အ	မၤ
ʔe	má
3.SG.POSS	wife

‘Finally, he cuts out his neck’s blood and gives it, and the big python lets his wife go.’

A1.4.31

တၢ်ဆၢ	အ	မါ	ထံၣ်ဝဲ	လၢ	အ	ဝၢ
bàs ^h à	ʔə	má	t ^h iwé	lá	ʔə	wā
but	3.SG.POSS	wife	see	that	3.SG.POSS	husband

သံ	လၢ	အဝဲ	အဂီၢ်	ဒီး	အသး	တ	မုၢ်	အယ
θí	lá	ʔəwé	ʔəyð	dóʔ	ʔəθáʔ	tə	mùʔ	ʔəxó
die	for	3.SG.OBJ	for	and	3.SG.REFL	feel	bad	so

ဖဲ	ပုၤ	ဒွဲၣ်အူ	အ	ဝၢ	အ	ဝိၣ်	န့ၣ်
p ^h é	pwā	dwèʔú	ʔə	wā	ʔə	sò	nè
when	people	burn	3.SG.POSS	husband	POSS	body	then

အဝဲ	စ့ၢ်ကီၤ	စံၣ်န့ၣ်	ဆူ	မုၢ်အူ	ပုၤ	ဒီး
ʔəwé	sèkʔ	sìnuʔ	s ^h ú	mèʔú	pū	dóʔ
3.SG.NOM	also	step.in	to	fire	in	and

သံကွၢ်ဝဲဒၣ်

θíkwìʔwédà

die

‘But his wife sees that her husband dies for her and she feels bad, so when people burn her husband’s body, she also steps into the fire and dies.’

APPENDIX TWO: THE S'GAW KAREN WRITING SYSTEM

A2.1 THE S'GAW KAREN WRITING SYSTEM

The S'gaw Karen writing system was developed by Rev. Jonathan Wade in 1834. Wade borrowed the writing system from Burmese and adapted it for S'gaw Karen. The Burmese writing system is itself based on Old Mon, which developed from Brāhmī (Myanmar-Language Commission iv-viii). The Burmese and S'gaw writing systems both feature circular symbols because dried palm leaves were used as writing material beginning in the 17th century, and straight lines would result in the palm leaves being torn by the writing stylus; however, early Burmese graphemes were square rather than circular since most writing was still inscribed in stone (Lieberman 2003: 136). Because the S'gaw Karen writing system was purposefully created, as compared to one that developed over a long period of time, it is a fairly accurate representation of the spoken language. Additionally, there is neither an authority responsible for maintaining a standardization of the language nor is there an organized system of public education in S'gaw Karen that could maintain orthographical conventions that do not reflect the spoken language. Those readers interested in the S'gaw Karen writing system are referred to Saw Lar Baa's (2001) master's thesis *The Phonological Basis of a Northwest*

Karenic Orthography, which includes a suggested method of expanding the S’gaw Karen writing system to also represent dialectal variations of S’gaw and other Karenic languages.

The S’gaw Karen writing system is an example of an abugida. Abugida writing systems are well-suited to represent languages that have a consonant-vowel syllable structure. Abugidas are similar to abjad writing systems, like those used in Hebrew and Arabic, in which the main written unit of a syllable can only represent a consonant. While abjad systems do not include vowel symbols, which are inferred by the reader, abugidas indicate vowels through diacritic marks affixed to the consonant symbol. Abugidas differ from both alphabets in that vowels are not represented by a symbol that can be used as a main syllable (rather than as a diacritic) and from syllabaries, like those used in Cherokee and Japanese, in that consonant symbols and vowel diacritics can take many combinations rather than there being a different symbol representing each consonant and vowel combination.

In S’gaw Karen, the central symbol of a syllable represents a consonant. An optional medial consonant can be written under the main consonant symbol, forming a consonant cluster (see §2.2.4 and §A2.3 below). Vowels are represented with diacritic

marks around the consonant symbol, including above, below, and to the right of the consonant symbol. Tone values are represented with a separate symbol to the right of the consonant/vowel combination, with the exception of the mid-high tone which is not representing orthographically (see Figure 6).

$\begin{array}{c} V \\ C_1 \ T \\ C_2 \end{array}$		$\begin{array}{c} i \\ k^h \text{ } \\ w \end{array}$
--	---	---

Figure 6: The Structure of the S'gaw Karen Syllable for /kʰwì/ 'saw'

Much of the literature on S'gaw Karen available in the United States and on the internet provides transliteration guides between the S'gaw Karen writing system and English. These guides illustrate the transliteration conventions established by Reverend Wade, and they are not IPA transcription guides since Wade created his writing system before the creation of the IPA. Baa's (2001) thesis is, to my knowledge, the only publication which provides a correlation between the S'gaw Karen writing system and the IPA for each symbol. As Baa's work can be difficult to access in the United States, I have provided the equivalences between the S'gaw Karen writing system and IPA

symbols according to my proposed phonological system (See §2.2 for differences between my proposal and Baa 2001).

A2.2 S'GAW KAREN CONSONANTS

Below are the equivalences between the S'gaw Karen writing system and IPA for consonants (see Table 4):

Table 4: Written Representation of S'gaw Karen Consonants

<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="2">Stops</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>p</td> <td>၀</td> </tr> <tr> <td>p^h</td> <td>၆</td> </tr> <tr> <td>b</td> <td>၈</td> </tr> <tr> <td>t</td> <td>၉</td> </tr> <tr> <td>t^h</td> <td>၁၀</td> </tr> <tr> <td>d</td> <td>၁၁</td> </tr> <tr> <td>k</td> <td>၁၂</td> </tr> <tr> <td>k^h</td> <td>၁၃</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ʔ</td> <td>၁၄</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Stops		p	၀	p ^h	၆	b	၈	t	၉	t ^h	၁၀	d	၁၁	k	၁၂	k ^h	၁၃	ʔ	၁၄	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="2">Fricatives</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>θ</td> <td>၁၅</td> </tr> <tr> <td>s</td> <td>၁၆</td> </tr> <tr> <td>s^h</td> <td>၁၇</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ʃ</td> <td>၁၈</td> </tr> <tr> <td>x</td> <td>၁၉</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ʎ</td> <td>၂၀</td> </tr> <tr> <td>h</td> <td>၂၁</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ɦ</td> <td>၂၂</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Fricatives		θ	၁၅	s	၁၆	s ^h	၁၇	ʃ	၁၈	x	၁၉	ʎ	၂၀	h	၂၁	ɦ	၂၂	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="2">Nasals</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>m</td> <td>၂၃</td> </tr> <tr> <td>n</td> <td>၂၄</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ɲ</td> <td>၂၅</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ŋ</td> <td>၂၆</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Nasals		m	၂၃	n	၂၄	ɲ	၂၅	ŋ	၂၆
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A2.3 S'GAW KAREN CONSONANT CLUSTERS

Below are the equivalences between the S'gaw Karen writing system and IPA for consonant clusters (see Table 5):

Table 5: Written Representation of S'gaw Karen Consonant Clusters

pw	၄	ml	မု	lw	လွ
tw	တွ	kl	ကု	rw	ရ
t ^h w	တွ	k ^h l	ခု	bw	ဘွ
dw	ဒွ	pr	ပြ	pl	ပု
nw	နွ	br	ဘွ	p ^h l	ဖု
kw	ကွ	tr	ဘွ	bl	ဘု
k ^h w	ခွ	t ^h r	ဘွ	pY	၄
sw	စွ	θr	ဘွ	p ^h Y	၄
s ^h w	ဆွ	kr	ဘွ	bY	ဘွ
θw	ဘွ	k ^h r	ခွ	mY	မု
jw	ဘွ	p ^h j	၄	sY	စု
ɲw	ညွ	mj	မု	s ^h Y	ဆွ

A2.4 S'GAW KAREN VOWELS

Below are the equivalences between the S'gaw Karen writing system and IPA for vowels (see Table 6). Vowels are never syllable initial and must be preceded by a consonant. Often one finds claims that vowels may be syllable initial, but in those

instances vowels are actually preceded by a glottal stop. Note that the equivalences are all shown with a mid-high tone, which is the default tone when a tone phoneme is otherwise not explicitly written (see §A2.5 and §A2.6).

Table 6: Written Representation of S’gaw Karen Vowels

ꨀ	ꨁ	ꨂ	ꨃ
ꨄ	ꨅ	ꨆ	ꨇ
ꨈ	ꨉ	ꨊ	ꨋ
ꨌ	ꨍ	ꨎ	ꨏ
ꨐ	ꨑ	ꨒ	ꨓ

A2.5 S’GAW KAREN TONES

Below are the equivalences between the S’gaw Karen writing system and IPA for tones (see Table 7). Note that the mid-high tone is not represented by a symbol (see §A2.6).

Table 7: Written Representation of S'gaw Karen Tones

Mid-high	n/a
Mid	ˊ
Mid-low	ˋ
Low	ˋ
High falling checked by a glottal stop	ˋ
Low falling checked by a glottal stop	ˋ

A2.6 /ə/ WITH NO TONE PHONEME AND THE MID-HIGH TONE

It is not clear why Wade (1861) chose not to create a symbol for the mid-high tone. Likewise, the vowel /a/ is frequently not represented with a diacritic. As a result, in certain instances the tone or the vowel must be inferred. Below are three rules used to write a syllable in instances when the vowel is /ə/ without a tone phoneme, when a vowel has a mid-high tone phoneme, or when the vowel is /a/.

1. If the vowel of a syllable is /ə/ and has no tone phoneme, then a consonant symbol is written alone with neither a vowel diacritic nor a tone symbol.
2. If a syllable has a mid-high tone phoneme, then only the consonant symbol and vowel diacritic are written and the tone is not represented by a symbol. It is only

in this instance, when the tone is mid-high, that /a/ is represented with a diacritic.

3. If the syllable has the vowel /a/ and any tone phoneme other than mid-high, then only a consonant symbol and tone symbol are written but /a/ is not represented with a vowel diacritic.

IRB EXEMPTION



12/5/2013

Collin Olson
English
Collin.Olson@mtsu.edu

Protocol Title: A S'gaw Karen Corpus, Phonology, and Discussion of Some Grammatical Features

Protocol Number: #14-164

Dear Investigator(s),

Your study has been designated to be exempt. The exemption is pursuant to 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2). Educational Tests, Surveys, Interviews, or Observations.

We will contact you annually on the status of your project. If it is completed, we will close it out of our system. You do not need to complete a progress report and you will not need to complete a final report. It is important to note that your study is approved for the life of the project and does not have an expiration date.

The following changes must be reported to the Office of Compliance before they are initiated:

- Adding new subject population
- Adding a new investigator
- Adding new procedures (e.g., new survey; new questions to your survey)
- A change in funding source
- Any change that makes the study no longer eligible for exemption.

The following changes do not need to be reported to the Office of Compliance:

- Editorial or administrative revisions to the consent or other study documents
- Increasing or decreasing the number of subjects from your proposed population

If you encounter any serious unanticipated problems to participants, or if you have any questions as you conduct your research, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,

Kellie Hilker
Compliance Officer
615-494-8918

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Collin Olson
1904 Cross Creek Dr
Murfreesboro, TN 37127

December 6, 2013

Dear Tim Moffatt of the Drum Publication Group,

I am a graduate student at Middle Tennessee State University. I would like your permission to translate four short stories in S'gaw Karen from one of your publications in order to build a corpus with which I can study various elements of the S'gaw Karen language. I will not reproduce any of the text of this publication in S'gaw Karen, but I will use the translated English version.

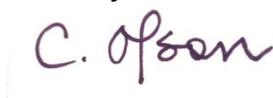
The publication that I would like to use is:

Stories for Little Children. Kanchanaburi, Thailand: 2005.

Please indicate your approval of this permission by signing the letter where indicated below and returning it to me as soon as possible. My email address is CollinSOlson@gmail.com. Your signing of this letter is to confirm that you or your company, Drum Publications, owns the copyright to the above described material.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,



Collin Olson

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Tim Moffatt
Drum Publication Group
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Thailand