Is Newari a Classifier Language?[1]

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Joseph Greenberg in a paper presented to the XIth International Congress of Linguists in Bologna in 1972 sought to determine the conditions under which a non-classifier language might become a classifier language. In approaching this question he was obliged to raise the prior question as to the definition of the linguistic type to which we refer as 'classifier language.' His study was based upon over a hundred different classifier languages spoken in all parts of the world, but no mention was made of Newari. In a later paper Mary Sanches [1973] does make mention of Newari but indicates that from the sources available to her it was not entirely clear whether Newari actually has numeral classifiers or not. The purpose of this paper is to take a look at Newari in the light of Greenberg's study with a view toward determining whether Newari is to be considered a classifier language or not, and if so upon what basis.

I. ANALOGICAL PREREQUISITES.

One of the important results of Greenberg's study is a set of implicational universals of the form, 'If a language is a classifier language, it will have characteristic X.' A statement of this form claims that no classifier language will lack the listed characteristic but it does not claim that only classifier languages will have these characteristics. Furthermore, these implicational universals are empirical, not definitional. It is therefore conceivable that a classifier language could be found in which the implicational universal would be violated in that the relevant characteristic would be lacking. It will be of interest, therefore, to examine Newari briefly in the light of these implicational universals. We will ask what characteristics are thus far universally shared by classifier languages and whether Newari possesses these characteristics or not.

Non-unit counters. According to Greenberg's implicational universals, if a language is a classifier language, it will have non-unit counters. A language can have non-unit counters and not be a classifier language. Non-unit counters may be thought of as providing a pattern which can be taken as part of the analogical basis for the development of true classifier constructions. English, which is a non-classifier language, has non-unit counters.

1. a bunch of carrots.

2. a stack of books.

3. a heap of beans.

Non-unit counters are characterized by the fact that they name sets which are indeterminate in number. Newari also has non-unit counters.

4.	saphuu cha-pạ	a stack of books.
5.	su cha-kale	a sheaf of straw.
6.	tarkāri cha-thu	a bunch of vegetables[2]
7.	swāā cha-jwāā	a bouquet of flowers

Both English and Newari possess part of the analogical basis for the development of true classifiers. English has not developed such a system. Examples 4 through 7 do not constitute evidence that Newari is a classifier language, but only that if it is a classifier language it obeys one of Greenberg's implicational universals.

Quasi-unit counters. A language can have quasi-unit counters and still not be a classifier language, though if Greenberg's implicational universal holds true, no classifier language lacks quasi-unit counters. The hypothesis is that a language which lacks quasi-unit counters will not become a classifier language without first developing quasi-unit counters. Greenberg distinguishes two kinds of quasi-unit counters: those which name countable units which lack wholeness and internal structure and those which name units which function as particulates. English has both kinds. Counters which name units which lack structured wholeness may be illustrated by constructions of the following sort.

8. slice of bread

9. piece of meat

10. sheet of paper

Slices, pieces, and sheets are examples of countable units which lack wholeness and internal structure. To show the difference between this kind of unit and units which are structured wholes, Greenberg notes that if we cut a piece of meat in two we will have two pieces, whereas if we cut a structured whole such as a dog or an automobile in two we have, not two dogs or two automobiles but a single dog [a dead one] and a single automobile [a wrecked one]. Newari also has quasi-unit counters of this sort.

11. lā cha-kuu — a piece of meat

12. bhwaa̤ cha-pāā — a sheet of paper

13. cā cha-dhii — a lump of clay

14. jā cha-kha̤ — a serving of rice

15. jā cha-pee — a mouthful of rice

Particulates have another set of characteristics. Greenberg illustrates these characteristics with the following English examples.

16. a grain of sand

17. a blade of grass

18. strand of hair

These units are internally structured wholes but they are rarely used for counting. As units they are small, lack individuality, and the heads which they quantify [sand, grass, and hair] approach the status of liquids. The function of these units is to particularize mass nouns. Their universe of numeration is largely limited to quantifiers such as a, one, a bit, not a, and the like. Newari also has quasi-unit counters of this sort.

19. laa cha-phuti — a drop of water

20. jāki cha-gaa — a grain of rice

21. sa̤ cha-pu — a strand of hair

22. ghāe̤ cha-pu — a blade of grass

The examples given thus far still do not prove that Newari is a classifier language. They only indicate that Newari possesses the analogical basis for the development of true classifiers. The Newari counters presented thus far are quite well matched by similar counters in English, which is generally viewed as a non-classifier language.

Measure constructions. Greenberg notes that not all languages have measure constructions. Hopi is one such example. Among those languages that lack measure constructions, however, there are none that are classifier languages. Measure unit counters differ from quasi-unit counters and from non-unit counters in that the unit counter itself has no reality apart from the numeral and noun head

with which it occurs in construction. Ounces are not counted like apples. When we speak of five cups of flour, we refer to an amount of flour, not to five individual cups. A single cup may have been used to measure the whole amount of flour. In this respect, measure constructions are more similar to true classifier constructions than are either of the other two constructions considered above. Newari has a large variety of measure unit counters.[3]

23. pālu ạ̣̄tā-chi	a quarter pau of ginger
24. ālu cha-dhāni	a dharani of potatoes
25. kāpaa ku-chi	one cubit of cloth
26. la̱ kwae-chi	two miles of road
27. si̱ cha-tu	a finger's width of wood
28. kāpaa cha-sāā	one bolt of cloth
29. bu̱ cha-pii	one ropani of land
30. bu̱ cula-chi	a quarter-ropani of land
31. duru kuu-chi	two manas of milk
32. syaabaji pha-chi	one pathi of deep-fried beaten rice

Such examples do not provide evidence in favor of the view that Newari is a classifier language. Non-classifier languages such as English also have measure constructions. What it indicates is that Newari has another of the analogical prerequisites for the development of a true classifier system.

II. TRUE CLASSIFIERS.

A language may be considered a classifier language or not depending upon whether it has true classifiers or not. Greenberg gives the following as characteristics of true classifiers.

a. They are overt expressions of unit counting.

b. They are used with reference to structured units which are normally counted as individuals.

c. They impose a semantic classification upon the head noun.

d. They function as individualizers of a head which is indeterminate for number.

e. They have no reality outside of the numeral expression.

In order to determine whether Newari is a classifier language or not, we will take the five criteria listed above one by one and attempt to determine whether there are any classifiers in Newari which meet the stated criteria.

Overt expressions of unit counting. The function of a classifier is to make it possible to count certain nouns by ones. Consider the following nouns.

33. chẹ̄ house

34. manuu person

35. kathi stick

36. lākāā shoe

37. nhāe nose

38. mari pastry

39. thala container

40. swāā flower

41. saphuu book

42. laa upper garment

It is not possible in Newari to count nouns such as these directly with numbers. 'One' is cha, and 'two' is ni, but *cha chẹ̄ and *ni chẹ̄ are impossible. If one wishes to count nouns such as these by ones, one is obliged to use true classifiers. In English there is no such requirement. At this point English and Newari are typologically different.[4]

33a. chẹ̄ cha-khā one house

34a. manuu cha-mha one person

35a. kathi cha-pu one stick

36a. lākāā cha-pā one shoe

37a. nhāe cha-pu one nose

38a. mari cha-pā — one pastry

39a. thala cha-gaa — one container

40a. swāā cha-phwaa — one flower

41a. saphuu cha-guu — one book

42a. laa cha-pāā — one upper garment

Used to count structured units. Each of the nouns listed above is a structured unit in the sense intended here. If one cuts a thala 'container' in half, one does not have two containers but rather one [a broken one].[5] Thus, counting by ones in these examples involves identifiable structured entities with wholeness and closure.

Impose a semantic classification upon head nouns. We have chosen eight different classifiers as candidates for the status, 'true classifier.' There may be many more. Although there may be some overlap among the sets of head nouns which these classifiers select, there is fairly clear evidence that the choice of a classifier does involve semantic considerations.

43. bhegaa cha-gaa — one earthen pot

bhegaa cha-mha — one woman dwarf[6]

The classifiers, -gaa, and -mha, do not in general occur with the same noun heads. The classifier, -gaa, occurs in general with round objects, containers, and with certain building terms. The classifier, -mha, occurs with animate beings. Even where they do occur with heads of identical phonological shape, they impose a semantic classification, which in these cases also serves as a semantic disambiguation.

44. mikhā cha-gaa — one eyeball [round object]

mikhā cha-pā — one eye [paired object]

The classifiers, -gaa, and -pā, do not generally occur with the same noun heads. The fact that both occur with mikhā 'eye' is a result of the fact that there are two ways of classifying an eye in Newari. It may be viewed as a round object in the rather gorey sense of 'eyeball' or it may be viewed in a more normal sense as a paired object. The classifier -pā also occurs with flat objects.

45.	kii cha-mha	one insect [animate being]
	kii cha-pu	one bamboo nail [long thin object]
46.	wā cha-pu	one tooth [long thin object]
	wā cha-gaa	one grain of paddy [particulate]
	wā cha-phuti	one drop of rain [particulate]
47.	pāā cha-guu	one downward slope [geographic feature]
	pāā cha-pāā	one turn [at giving a feast and performing a pujā within a guthi] [reduplicative]
48.	culyā cha-guu	one elbow [miscellaneous]
	culyā cha-pā	one bracelet [flat object]
49.	pā cha-pu	one axe [long thin object]
	pā cha-pā	one feather [flat object / reduplicative]
50.	bu̯ cha-kuu	one portion of a field [quasi-unit counter]
	bu̯ cha-phwaa	one blossom [flower-shaped]
51.	ghaa cha-gaa	one pitcher [container]
	ghaa cha-cāā	one mill stone
52.	nakii̯ cha-mha	one guthi president's wife [animate]
	nakii̯ cha-pu	one nail [long thin object]
53.	pusā cha-gaa	one seed grain [round object particulate]
	pusā cha-guu	one lid [miscellaneous]
54.	salii̯ cha-gaa	one small clay wine cup [container]
	salii̯ cha-pāā	one winnowing tray [flay object]

55.	āju cha-thāe	one goal in hide and seek [location]
	āju cha-mha	one grandmother [animate]
56.	kwae cha-kuu	one piece of bone [quasi-unit counter]
	kwae cha-pu	one spiral key door opener [long thin object]
57.	hi cha-phuti	one drop of blood [particulate]
	hi cha-pu	one sweet potatoe [long thin object][7]
58.	lusi cha-pu	one shaft for beating rice [long thin object]
	lusi cha-kuu	one piece of finger nail [quasi-unit counter]

Function as individualizers of a head which is indeterminate for number. In Newari, neither the plural nor the numeral classifier construction is obligatory with nouns. When neither is present, there is no indication of number. Thus in a sentence such as 59 there is no indication of whether the speaker needed to buy one book or more than one.

59. ji saphuu nyāe māāgu du.

I [gen] book buy need is

I have to buy book [one or many].

This characteristic is one that is quite common among classifier languages. Greenberg makes the following statement [1972: 13].

> A considerable number of classifier languages [e.g. many Iranian and Turkic languages, Korean] have what are generally described as plural affixes. However, closer examination seems to show that in almost every instance the 'unmarked' singular is in fact a form which, like the collective in languages with a compulsory plural is non-committal in regard to number.

In fact, the plural is rarely accepted in Newari as a well formed construction except with animate nouns. Plural, then, is almost entirely restricted to the range of head nouns that do not occur with -mha, another observation of Greenberg's is relevant [1972:13].

> . . . classifiers in the large majority of classifier languages without plural inflections are performing the same individualizing function as both classifiers and singulative affixes in languages with collectives. We should expect then that in the typical classifier language, the classifiable noun when not accompanied by a classifier should show the same lack of numeral determination that we have found with collectives in languages like Arabic.

Apparently, Newari patterns as a typical classifier language in this regard as well. Here again it contrasts typologically with English.

No reality outside of the numeral expression. True numeral classifiers typically make no reference to the non-linguistic world. They are simply part of the mechanism that a classifier language uses to count by ones. A number of the classifiers we have used as illustrations of true classifiers in Newari do not occur outside of the numeral classifier construction. The forms which occur only in bound construction with numerals include -khā [classifier for chẹ 'house'], -pu [classifier for long thin objects], -gaa [classifier for round objects and containers, particulate for round granules], -phwaa [classifier for flowers and flower-shaped objects]. These classifiers have no meaning apart from the construction itself and thus cannot be said to have independent reference to the non-linguistic world. They clearly qualify as true classifiers.

The classifier for locative nouns, abstract nouns, and for certain miscellaneous nouns, -guu has homophones or near-homophones which occur in other syntactic functions, but the classifier -guu is readily distinguishable from these.

60. jike saphuu ni-guu du. cha-gulii yekwa tasbir du.

I have two books. In one of them there are many pictures.

Example 60 illustrates the fact that classifiers in Newari have a pronominal use and that they inflect for oblique case forms [-gulii is the locative of -guu and for this reason we represent this classifier as -gu[li] in Section III]. There is an attributive or nominalizing suffix -gu occurring with verbs which also has the locative form -gulii.

61. wạạ dhāā-gulii ji biswās ma-wạạ

I couldn't believe in what he said.

This form, -gulii, however, is not at all involved in quantification but is rather a locative nominalizer for the verb. In any event neither this -gulii nor that of the classifier system has any independent reference to the real world dispite the homophony illustrated above.

There are other classifiers which do have homophones with independent reference to the non-linguistic world. The classifier for flat objects, -pā is homophonous with nouns meaning 'feather' and 'axe'. The classifier -pāā is homophonous with a noun meaning 'downward slope', and with a noun meaning 'turn at giving a feast and performing a puja for the guthi'. The meanings involved are such as to preclude the hypothesis that these classifiers have independent reference to the non-linguistic world. When one counts pastries one is not counting feathers despite the fact that the classifier -pā is used.

The classifier -mha is somewhat more problematical in this regard. Homophonous with -mha is a noun meaning 'body'. When one counts animate beings one is indeed counting bodies. The noun mha may be counted directly: cha-mha 'one body', ni-mha 'two bodies'. In arguing that Newari is a classifier language we do not use -mha as a crucial example. It is not a typologically convincing example at this point since it is difficult to prove that it has no non-linguistic reference within the classifier construction. Within Newari, however, it patterns as a classifier, which may account for the feeling of speakers that within the classifier construction -mha has no reality and is simply a way of counting. In the remainder of this paper we will view -mha as a true classifier, though our reasons for doing so are not as strong as they are for the other classifiers. The claim that Newari is a classifier language does not in any event depend solely upon whether or not -mha qualifies as a true classifier.

III. A TENTATIVE LISTING.

We conclude from the foregoing that Newari is indeed a classifier language on Greenberg's criteria, and that it has at least half a dozen or so true classifiers. The point of view taken thus far has been a typological one. We have been looking at Newari from outside and imposing external typological criteria upon Newari rather than looking from within in an effort to arrive at a natural analysis. A natural analysis of the Newari classifier system in terms of the language itself requires the investigation of a very wide range of particles, some of which may be classified as true classifiers and others of which most certainly would not be, but all of which function in very much

the same way within the same construction so far as Newari itself is concerned. This broader investigation, however, goes well beyond the limits of this paper. In this section we are simply concerned to answer the question, 'What would a sample listing of the classifiers of Newari look like?' We give only a representative sampling of true classifiers.

Nouns in Newari may be divided into two classes, those that can be counted by ones, and those which cannot. The words, saphuu 'book' and che 'house' are examples of nouns which are 'unit countable.' The nouns laa 'water' and cā 'clay' are examples of nouns which are 'unit non-countable.' Unit countable nouns are, syntactically speaking, those that are counted with true classifiers. The following is our tentative classification of true classifiers in Newari together with a rough indication of the semantic classifications imposed by these true classifiers upon the head nouns of the classifier construction. It should be noted, however, that the labels for idiomatic classifiers as not at all semantic. Since the idiomatic true classifiers are largely unique in their cooccurrence pairings with head nouns, no such semantic classification is relevant.

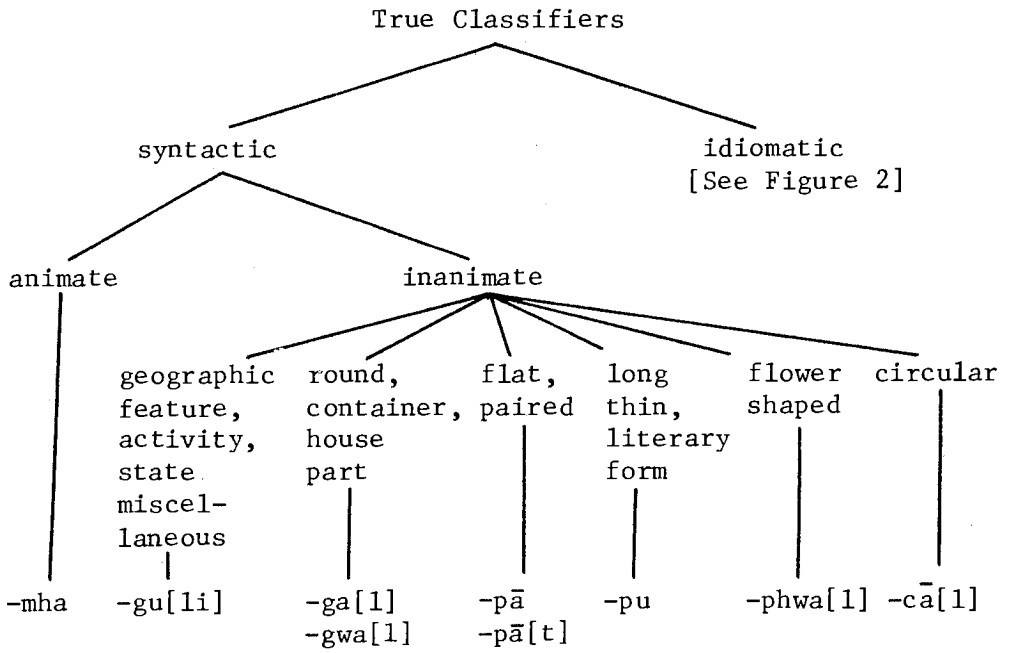

Figure 1. Tentative classification of true classifiers in Newari.

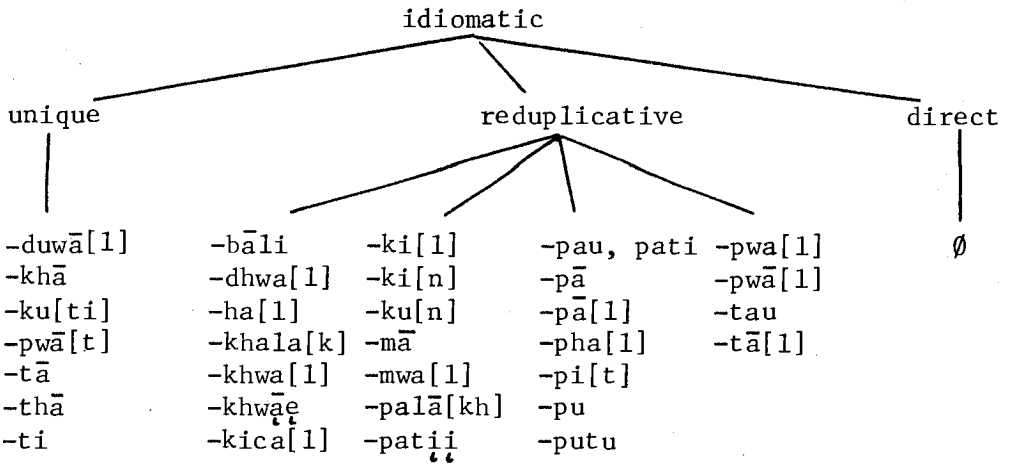

Figure 2. The idiomatic subclass of true classifiers in Newari.

The parenthesized elements in the representations of the classifiers given in Figures 1 and 2 relate to the oblique forms of these classifiers. Thus, while we have ghaa cha-gaa 'one pitcher' we also have ghaa cha-galae 'in one pitcher' and ghaa cha-galaa 'from one pitcher, with one pitcher'.

The semantic classifications given in Figure 1 cover a relatively wide range of classifier-noun head pairings. For several classifiers, however, there are residual pairings that do not fall strictly within the expected classification. At this point we limit our illustrations mainly to the regular pairings for each classifier.

Noun heads with -mha. The primary uses of -mha as a classifier are with animate beings and with personified objects.

manuu cha-mha	one person
macā cha-mha	one child
khicā cha-mha	one dog

The affix -mha is also used as an adjectival marker with animate heads.

waa-mha manuu	the person who came

In this position, however, -mha is not a classifier. It is not involved in quantification. Its substitution set in this position does not include any other classifier, but only the inanimate adjectival marker, -gu.

waa dhāā-gu khạ	the topic about which he spoke

The adjectival -mha is sometimes used with the force of a determiner.

kāe-mha	the one who is [someone's] son

Noun heads with -gu[li]. The classifier -gu[li] has a relatively wide range of uses. It is used as a true classifier with nouns referring to locations and geographic features,

dee cha-guu	one settlement
gāā cha-guu	one village
gụ cha-guu	one forest, one hill

with nouns referring to abstract states,

khạ cha-guu	one matter, one topic
bhāe cha-guu	one language
bicāā cha-guu	one thought

with nouns referring to activities.

jyā cha-guu	one task
akkal cha-guu	one trick
andāj cha-guu	one guess

In addition to these uses, we have a residue of miscellaneous items that take -gu[li] as their primary true classifiers but do not appear to fit any of the large semantic classes which are normally associated with -gu[li].

saphuu cha-guu	one book
kacā cha-guu	one branch
bāiskal cha-guu	one bicycle
kāpi cha-guu	one note book
sarir cha-guu	one body

There are also a number of disputed usages which result from the fact that -gu[li] as the miscellaneous classifier is often substituted for other classifiers in various contexts. It is sometimes used in place of reduplicative classifiers,

pwāā cha-pwāā	one hole
pwāā cha-guu	one hole

It is used in place of the non-unit counter -tā in the sense, 'kinds of,'

mari cha-pā	one pastry
mari cha-tā	one kind of pastry
mari cha-guu	one kind of pastry

It is used by some in place of -gaa in container constructions of measure,

cha-gaa agaa appā	one kilnful of bricks
cha-guu agaa appā	one kilnful of bricks

Certain speakers use -gu[li] as a kind of indefinite article. In this function it is used by some as a replacement for nearly any inanimate classifier.

chę cha-khā	one house
chę cha-guu	a certain house

Authorities differ widely as to the acceptibility of these disputed usages.

Noun heads with -ga[l] and -gwa[l]. The more general of these two classifiers is -ga[l]. Although both of these classifiers occur with round objects,[8]

laddu cha-gaa	one bread ball
laddu cha-gwaa	one bread ball
ālu cha-gaa	one potatoe
ālu cha-gwaa	one potatoe

only -gaa occurs with containers,

thala cha-gaa	one pot
ghaa cha-gaa	one pitcher

with house parts

thāā cha-gaa	one pillar
aagaa cha-gaa	one wall
ninãã cha-gaa	one ridge pole

and as a particulate with grains and granules.

jāki cha-gaa	one grain of rice

Noun heads with -pā and -pā[t]. Both of these classifiers occur with what might be considered as flat objects, but they do not occur interchangeably with the same noun heads. We have found no semantic way of predicting which noun head will occur with which of these classifiers.

laa cha-pãã	one upper garment
kwat cha-pãã	one coat
sukhuu cha-pãã	one mat
deemã cha-pãã	one dish
khwãã cha-pãã	one face
lãsã cha-pãã	one mat, bed
mhicã cha-pãã	one pocket

With -pā we have flat objects such as the following:

mari cha-pā	one pastry
swāri cha-pā	one flat thin pastry
biskut cha-pā	one cookie
khee-waa cha-pā	one fried egg

and paired objects such as the following:

papuu cha-pā	one wing
lākãã cha-pā	one shoe

mwajā cha-pā	one sock
panjā cha-pā	one glove
nhaepaa cha-pā	one ear
khāpā cha-pā	one leaf of a double door
khaamu cha-pā	one of a pair of carrying baskets

Noun heads with -pu. This classifier occurs with long thin objects. The class of long thin objects in Newari includes not only those physical objects which appear long and thin such as

kalam cha-pu	one pen
la cha-pu	one road
gā cha-pu	one shawl

but also abstract literary forms that can be conceptualized as long and thin such as

bākhaa cha-pu	one story
kabitā cha-pu	one poem
me cha-pu	one song

It serves also as a particulate with unit non-countable noun heads such as

su cha-pu	a piece of straw
sa cha-pu	a strand of hair

Noun heads with -phwa[1]. The classifier -phwa[1] occurs with noun heads that refer to flower-shaped objects.

dhuugri cha-phwaa	one earring
tuki cha-phwaa	one earring
swāā cha-phwaa	one flower

Noun heads with -cā[1]. The classifier -cā[1] occurs with noun heads that refer to circular or wheel-shaped objects.

ghaa cha-cāā	one mill stone

ghari-yā khāā cha-cāā	one watch crystal

Classifiers with only one noun head. Certain classifiers occur uniquely with a single noun head. The following are examples of such unique collocations.

chẹ cha-khā	one house
lukhā cha-duwāā	one gate[9]
ghāā cha-kuu	one wound
mata cha-pwāā	one lamp
mari cha-tā	one pastry
pujā cha-thā	one puja [on a particular night]
balā cha-ti	one arrow

Each of these classifiers occurs only with the noun head given or with compounds in which that head occurs. The head noun, of course, can occur with various other classifiers. In the case of -ku[ti] some question may be raised as to whether or not the occurrence cited is in fact unique. We do have such pairings as

lā cha-kuu	a piece of meat
lusi cha-kuu	a piece of fingernail

but -ku[ti] in each of these instances means 'piece of' and is thus a quasi-unit counter. Our feeling is that the -ku[ti] of ghāā cha-kuu differs from these instances in being a true classifier.

Reduplicative classifiers. There are a number of nouns that quantify by reduplication of the noun, or of a portion of the noun. The reduplicated portion then functions as a true classifier.

wā-bāli cha-bāli	one harvest of paddy
dhwaa cha-dhwaa	one line
haa cha-haa	one leaf
dāpā khalaa cha-khalaa	one drummer's association
sala-khwaa cha-khwaa	one horse's hoof

pāli-khwāe cha-khwāe	one footprint
kicaa cha-kicaa	one shadow
khwatā-kii cha-kii	one bamboo dam
na-kii cha-kii	one iron nail
kuu cha-kuu	one corner
swāā-mā cha-mā	one flower plant
parsi-mwaa cha-mwaa	one folded portion of a sari
palāā cha-palāā	one step
patii cha-patii	one finger
pau cha-pau	one sheet
pā cha-pā	one feather
guthi-pāā cha-pāā	one turn at feeding a guthi and performing a puja
jhyāā-phaa cha-phaa	one window sill
duru-pii cha-pii	one nipple
aa-pu cha-pu	one mango seed
putu cha-putu	one tie string [as on a man's upper garment]
simā-pwaa cha-pwaa	one crotch of a tree
bhau-pwāā cha-pwāā	one cat hole
pwaa cha-pwaa	one abcess
tau cha-tau	the base of one pot
tāā cha-tāā	one strike of a gong, one tally

Direct quantification, Ø. There are some nouns that quantify directly. Many of these share certain of the characteristics of classifiers and may be considered classifiers whose head nouns are regularly deleted.

ca-chi	one night
cha-kucā	one piece [cut off of something]
cha-ku	one load

The purpose of this paper was to answer the question, 'Is Newari a classifier language?' In Section I we reviewed various kinds of evidence that might be wrongly used to urge an affirmative answer to this question. In Section II we presented the kind of evidence that supports an affirmative answer to this question under Greenberg's criteria. In Section III we tried to give a representative sample of the true classifiers of Newari. As this point we feel that the evidence should speak for itself.

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FOOTNOTES.

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Emeneau [1956:14] states that within the Indian linguistic area, the classifier construction is originally Indo-Aryan and was borrowed by the Munda and Dravidian languages. Whether Newari can be included in the Indian linguistic area in this sense is open to some doubt. Though to our knowledge it has never been suggested that Newari is related to Thai, it may be of interest in passing to note a few similarities between the Newari classifier system and that described by Hass [1942] for Thai. Both languages have a pronominal use of the classifier construction. The

pronominal use of the classifier in Newari may be illustrated as follows.

swa-khā chẹ ana du	There are three houses there.
cha-khāe ā̤ẹpā pau du	On one of them there is a tile roof

Time words operate as independent classifiers in Thai. They pattern as classifiers with respect to word order but their head nouns are never expressed. The parallel examples in Newari would be

la-chi	one month
cha-nhu	one day
dạ-chi	one year

Furthermore, a permutation of number and time classifier carries with it a change of meaning. When the number precedes the classifier the meaning expressed is temporal duration in Thai. When it follows the meaning is temporal location. A change in word order in Newari is also possible with certain words in this construction, though the change in meaning involved is slightly different [cha-nhu 'one day' vs. nhi-chi 'all day, for the whole day'].

[2]A bunch, -thu in Newari, is long and thin, tied together, and thin enough to hold in one hand.

[3]A number of the measure unit counters are often used without overt numerals. This kind of idiomatic quantification may be exemplified as follows.

ghyaa tyā̤ạla	eight pau of clarified butter
ālu pạla	a pau of potatoes
ālu bagala	two pau of potatoes

[4]There are three possible orders of elements within the classifier construction.

duru kuu-chi Noun Classifier-Numeral	two manas of milk
che cha-khā Noun Numeral-Classifier	one house

cha-khā	chẹ one house
Numeral-Classifier	Noun

The first of these orders is limited mainly to measure constructions, the second is a normal order where the numeral is not under focus, the third order focuses attention upon the numeral and is used regularly in counting.

[5]There is an expression, bā thala hị! 'Bring a container half [full of something]! ' which uses thala as a unit of measure. At this point we are ignoring such measure constructions with containers except to mention simply that there is a very large class of such containers in Newari and that they function in a manner highly analogous to that of classifiers. In such an expression one is not counting containers, but rather the contents of containers.

[6]Authorities differ as to the meaning of bhegaa as an animate noun. Thakurlal Manandhar glosses it as 'a woman with copious hips'.

[7]Authorities differ as to the appropriate classifier for hi 'sweet potatoe'. Thakurlal Manandhar prefers the classifier -gaa.

[8]Certain authorities reject the use of -gwaa with laddu and ālu and recommend it rather as a kind of particulate as in jā cha-gwaa 'a grain of cooked rice'.

[9]Authorities differ as to the correct form of this classifier. Thakurlal Manandhar prefers -dawā[l].