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Classifiers and Measure Terms in Garo

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ABSTRACT: The paper attempts to present the classifiers and measure terms of Garo with regards to individuation and quantification. An exhaustive work on classifiers of Garo has not been done much. However, Burling (2004) described different types of classifiers in Am·beng, one of the varieties of Garo, spoken in Modhupur village of Bangladesh.

KEYWORDS: Classifier, measure, one-dimensional, two-dimensional, three-dimensional, specific, general, unique, generic.

I. INTRODUCTION

Garo is one of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in North-Eastern part of India. They live in the hills of Meghalaya and are one of the largest groups of tribes of north-east. Meghalaya is divided into three hills namely the Khasi Hills, the Garo Hills and the Jaintia Hills. The Garos particularly occupy the Garo Hills. The term Garo stands for both the tribe and the language. They call themselves 'A.chik' which means 'hillmen' (Sangma, 1983). Apart from Meghalaya, Garos are also found in many districts of Assam such as Kamrup, Goalpara, and Karbi Anglong. Few of them are also found in the states of Tripura, West Bengal, Nagaland and also in Bangladesh.

II. COUNTING AND MEASURING IN GARO

Garo have the use of classifiers to represent the semantic classification of objects or articles, i.e. it depends on the physical shape, size and state of the objects (Burling, 2004). Some of these are related with human or non-human beings, gods and ghosts etc. Classifiers in Garo are typically mono-syllabics and few are bi-syllabics. From a semantic point of view, it can be stated that Garo possesses numeral classifiers which are further divided into two subcategories: classifiers and quantifiers. They may also be referred to as sortal and mensural classifiers. The phenomenon of counting is associated with classifiers whereas that of measuring is related to measure terms.

2.1 COUNTING IN GARO: THE CLASSIFIERS

Classifiers in Garo is broadly divided into animate and inanimate classifiers. The animate category can be further sub-divided into human and non-human. The classifiers in Garo always precedes the numeral. Table 1 gives an inventory of the classifiers in Garo.

Table 1: The Classifiers in Garo: An inventory

Type	Classifier
Animate (Human)	sak-
Animate (Non-Human)	maŋ-
1D – long and flexible objects	dɨŋ-
1D – long, rigid, generic and default classifier	gɐʔ-
1D – long and flexible objects	dɨŋ-
1D – long, rigid, generic and default classifier	gɐʔ-
2D –flat and flexible objects	kʰɨŋ-
2D – flat and rigid objects	gɨl-
2D – round objects	roŋ-
Specific (repeaters)	bal-
	sɨŋʔ-
Specific (non-repeaters)	kʰuʔ-
	mɨŋ-
	sam-
	kʰoʔ-
	kʰamʔ-
	ʧol-
	dam-
	tʰaʔ-
	dɨl-
	gɐlʔ-
	dot-
	bol-
	pʰoŋ-
General	pʰaŋ-
Interior (hole)	kʰol-
Consistency	dot-

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Function	tʰeʔ-

As shown in Table 1 the inanimate classifier can be classified in terms of shape and dimensionality, consistency, uniqueness etc. The semantic parameters interact with each other and they are described within the following section.

2.1.1 ANIMATE CLASSIFIERS

Garo has two animate sub-types namely human and non-human. It can be stated that animate classifiers in Garo are restricted only to distinguish from a human to a non-human, but not in terms of biological sex and honorificity. Therefore, they are considered as strict sub-types. These are exemplified in (1-3). The classifier sak- is used for referring to humans which refers to humans of all age and sex. It also includes kinship terms as well.

1) mande/meʔasa/meʔʧik sak-sa
man/boy/girl CLF-one
'one man/boy/girl'
2) matʧu/aʧak/meŋgo/wak maŋ-sa
cow/dog/cat/pig CLF-one
'one cow/dog/cat/pig'
3) matʧa/moŋma/makbɨl maŋ-sa
tiger/elephant/bear CLF-one
'one tiger/elephant/bear'

The examples (2-3) is an illustration of animate classifiers which is used to refer to non-humans. The classifier maŋ- is used for non-humans in Garo and which does not make any distinction between domestic and wild animals or birds. It is used with non-human aspects for all kind of animals, birds, fish and insects of all sizes and shapes.

2.1.2 INANIMATE CLASSIFIERS

Garo exhibits number of numeral classifiers. Classifiers in Garo are not simply assigned to nouns in an arbitrary way but rather convey important meanings. A single noun can be used with more than one classifier and each classifier contributes a different meaning. Inanimate classifiers in Garo are sub-divided into various types based on their physical properties like material, shape, size and consistency. There are also unique and repeater classifiers present in the language. The different semantic categories that determine the choice of the classifier are as follows:

2.1.2.1 SHAPE AND DIMENSIONALITY

Allan (1977) states shape as a second category of classification, as material (animate classifiers) being the first category and which has traditionally been divided into the major dimensional subcategories of long, flat and round. He is of the view that in the recent times, the terms are more precisely preferred to be used as a 'saliently one-dimensional, two-dimensional and three-dimensional'. Garo shows the sub-categories of one-dimensional, two- dimensional and three-dimensional which is illustrated below.

(a) One-Dimensional

The saliently one-dimensional subcategory is often associated with rope-like objects, and with trees and wooden objects. In Garo, the saliently one-dimensional classifier combines with the consistency categories of rigid and flexible. Thus, Garo has a one-dimensional classifier for flexible rope-like objects and another one-dimensional classifier for rigid stick-like wooden objects. Example (4) show dɨŋ- with flexible one-dimensional referents and (5) shows geʔ- with rigid one-dimensional referents.

4) budu/kʰnidɨŋ dɨŋ-sa
rope CLF-one
'one rope'
5) goʔdɨk/ʧokʰi geʔ-sa
stick/chair CLF-one
'one stick/chair'

The rigid one-dimensional classifier geʔ- covers a wide range of objects which are not even one-dimensional but are all objects of daily life and gives a semantic extension of this classifier. For instance, from one-dimensional object it extends to wooden or bamboo like objects in terms of material make up, which then extends to daily life or household objects. It also includes non-wooden household objects as in (6).

6) basiŋ/baltʰɨn/ʧamos geʔ-sa
bucket/bucket/spoon CLF-one
'one bucket/spoon'

(b) Two-Dimensional

This refers to flat objects that extend to horizontal and vertical axis. In Garo, the saliently two-dimensional classifiers are employed when the referent entity has a flat surface extended vertically and horizontally. Like one-dimensional classifier, there are two types of two-dimensional classifiers used for flexible and rigid objects. kʰɨŋ- is a classifier used for referring thin flat objects like books, paper, leaves and clothes as illustrated in (7).

7) kʰiʔtʰap kʰɨŋ-gni
book/cloth CLF-two
'two books'

Following Allan's (1977) definition of two-dimensional classifier, Garo makes a distinction between flexible and rigid objects, of which kʰɨŋ- as

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discussed above refers to flat and flexible objects whereas gɨl- is a two- dimensional classifier which refers to flat and rigid objects as shown in (8-9).

8) bolpʰlak gɨl-gni
wood plank CLF-two
'two wood planks'

9) tʰin/ata gɨl-gni
tin/chapati CLF-two
'two roof tins/chapatis'

(c) Three-Dimensional

The three-dimensional classifier in Garo is roŋ- which refers to round objects that are rigid or flexible. It may also be used as a generic classifier. It also holds true with the definition of Allan (2000, p. 301) stating that the saliently three-dimensional subcategory is often associated with fruit which may in many languages combine with the size category in 'seed-like' ('small' and 'three-dimensional'), and less often with 'large' size in bulky as exemplified below.

10) tʰe?gatʧu/dobɨtʧi roŋ-sa
mango/egg CLF-one
'one mango/egg'

In addition to the above dimensional categories, Allan (1977) categorised another subcategories of non-dimensional shape and the most widespread subcategory is that of 'prominent curved exterior', pertaining to entities like hills, humps, heaps, horns, rising smoke, fingernails, ribs, bowlike objects, floats etc. in such varied languages as Yucatec, Louisiade, Navajo, Enindiljuagwa, Proto-Bantu and Thai.

It may be mentioned that Garo exhibit this subcategory. The classifier 'tʰot' is used to refer to large size and bulky objects like hills, mountains and rocks.

11) a?bri/roŋ?brak tʰot-sa
hill/mountain/rock CLF-one
'one hill/mountain'

Secondly, there is a hollow subcategory which applies to classifiers for container-like and pipe-like objects with a hollow interior (Allan, 2000, p. 301). According to him, the hollow subcategory combines with an 'annular' subcategory in classifiers for holes and entrances of various kinds, which are saliently hollow with a linear surround, and for rings, garlands and garments that encircle the body, which are saliently a linear surround with a hole. In Garo, the classifier kʰol- is a derived form of the noun 'a?kʰol' which means 'holes'. The use of the word kʰol in a phrase or a sentence does not form any meaning of its own unless it is repeated. This classifier is used for orifices, holes and caves. This can be illustrated as follows:

12) roŋ?kʰol kʰol-sa
cave CLF-one

'one cave'

13) gɨŋkʰol kʰol-gni
nostril CLF-two
'two nostrils'

2.1.2.2 CONSISTENCY

Consistency refers to the plasticity of the object under manipulation. The two most frequent values are flexible and rigid (Aikhenvald, 2000). However, in Garo the classifier dot- can be used for both flexible and rigid. This is exemplified below:

14) ruti/kʰroŋ dot-sa
bread/post CLF-one
'one loaf of bread/post'

The classifier dot- may be referred to living or once living objects, most often those that are vertical and round in cross section such as posts, lengths of bamboo, stalks and unsplit pieces of firewood as illustrated in (15).

15) am?bol/ wa?a dot-sa
firewood CLF-one
'one unsplit piece of firewood'

2.1.2.3 CONSTITUTION

According to Aikhenvald (2000), constitution or state refers to the physical state of an entity, such as liquid or solid. The measure term grok- here, can be regarded as belonging to this type.

Besides the above discussed categorisation, there are other inherent nature or time-stable properties used in noun-categorization that have to do with the material and function of the items (Aikhenvald, 2000). As such, inherent nature properties are realized through specific or unique classifiers which combine with just one noun and they are generally culture specific (p. 273). According to Grienvald (2012) the term 'unique' is used for classifiers that denote a single referent and is distinguished from specific classifier that refer to a smaller class than what she terms as 'general classifiers' which refer to any items in taxonomic class like plant or animal. Thus, the classifiers bal-, ʤak-and pʰaŋ- refers to flowers, leaves and trees respectively in Garo. They may also be termed as specific classifiers as they refer to various parts, if not kind of trees; whereas pʰaŋ- is a plant classifier and may be termed as a general classifier.

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2.1.2.4 GENERAL

In Garo, there is a general classifier for tree viz. pʰaŋ-. This classifier can occur with any kind of tree whether they are fruit bearing or not.

16) tʰe?rik/ tʰe?broŋ pʰaŋ-dok
banana/jackfruit CLF:tree-six
'six banana trees/jackfruit trees'

The classifier pʰaŋ- is a reduced form of the noun 'bolpʰaŋ' which means 'tree'. However, it may be noted that the generic word for tree, viz. 'bol' becomes redundant in the numerical noun phrase in presence of this classifier as exemplified in (17).

17) tʰe?gatʧu (bol) pʰaŋ-bri
mango (tree) CLF:tree-four
'four mango trees'

The classifier pʰaŋ- also occurs with the word for tree as in (18).

18) bol pʰaŋ-boŋa
tree CLF:tree-five
'five trees'

It may be mentioned that pʰaŋ- is semantically not only extended as a classifier to refer to bigger plants or trees, it can also be referred to shrubs/bushes as well.

19) genda/golap pʰaŋ-gni
marigold/rose CLF:shrub-two
'two marigold plants/rose plants'

It may also be noted that pʰaŋ- is also a repeater classifier in Garo based on the word for tree or any plant which is still attached to the ground or alive as shown in (20).

20) bol/bipʰaŋ pʰaŋ-sa
tree/plant CLF-one
'one tree/plant'

2.1.2.5 SPECIFIC

a) Specific (flower)

Garo has one specific classifier from the plant domain, viz. bal- referring to flower respectively. This classifier is derived from the noun /bibal/ 'flower' as illustrated in (21).

21) golap/genda bal-sa
rose/marigold CLF-one
'one rose/marigold'

The classifier bal- is another repeater in Garo and it is a specific classifier as it can only occur with flowers as shown below.

22) bibal bal-sa
flower CLF:flower-one
'one flower'

b) Specific (leaf)

The two-dimensional classifier ʤak- can be considered as a specific classifier too, as it refers to leaves, as in (38).

23) pan ʤak-gni
betelnut leaf CLF:leaf-two
'two betelnut leaves'

As in the example (23), the semantic extension of the leaf here does not only limit to betelnut leaf, but also refers to any leaf which is present in the language. Like bal-, the classifier ʤak- has also been derived from the noun /biʤak/ which means 'leaf'. It can also be considered as a repeater classifier as it can occur only with leaves, for instance, in (24).

24) biʤak ʤak-sni
leaf CLF:leaf-seven
'seven leaves'

2.1.2.6 UNIQUE

Besides specific and general classifiers, Garo also exhibit a decent number of unique classifiers, each of which have different semantic extensions. This can be illustrated with the following examples.

25) kʰattʰa kʰu?-/ miŋ-sa
word CLF:unique-one
'one word/speech'

26) gɨt/ʧanʧia/ʤumaŋ miŋ-sa
song/think/dream CLF:unique-one
'one song/thought/dream'

The classifier kʰu?- and miŋ- as exemplified in (25) and (26) refers to an abstract entity like word and thought. In (25), either of the two can be used in Garo depending on the context. The unique classifier kʰu?- is a reduced form of the noun /kʰu?sik/ which refers to 'mouth'. It is extended to refer to the number of bites taken or to the number of foods being put into the mouth either with the help of spoon or hand. It is extended to have 'one mouthful of rice' which is again categorized as a measure term.

27) ʤak sam-gni
hand CLF:unique-two
'two hands'

28) mɨkron sam-sa kʰana
eye CLF:unique-one blind
'blind in one eye's

29) wagam kʰo?-gni
tooth CLF:unique-two
'two teeth'

The semantic extension of the unique classifiers sam- as exemplified in (27) and (28) refers to any bilateral body part, hands, eyes, etc., whereas kʰo?- refers to teeth as exemplified in (29).

30) ge?apatʰal kʰam?-gni
paddy field CLF:unique-two
'two parts of paddy fields'

31) ʧimɨk/ʧiriŋ/ʧibima dɨl-sa

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fountain/stream/river CLF:unique-one
'one fountain/stream/river'

The classifier kʰam?- as exemplified in (30) particularly refers to smaller parts of paddy fields. This has a culturally important referent in Garo. The fields are divided into smaller parts as part of the process for cultivation and that is when those divided parts are referred to as /kʰam?/. However, the semantic extension of the larger part of the paddy field or the whole is expressed by a generic classifier dam-. In (31), dɨl- is used to refer to water with a natural flowing watercourse whereas in case of ponds, lakes etc., the generic classifier dam- is used to refer to them. Other types are ʧol- and tʰa?- as exemplified in (47) and (48).

32) rama ʧol-sa
road/way CLF:unique-one
'one road/way'

33) me?a tʰa?-gni
bamboo shoot CLF:unique-two
'two bamboo shoots'

The unique classifier ʧol- itself is a noun which means a 'way' or a 'path' as shown in (32). But, if /ʧol/ is used as a noun, it will take a classifier for its semantic expression as illustrated in (34).

34) ʧol miŋ-gɨttʰam doŋ?a
way CLF:unique-three be.PRES
'there are three ways'

The unique classifier miŋ- has already been discussed in (25). For the classifier tʰa?- as in (33) refers to bamboo shoots. Another type viz. pʰoŋ- which is a one-dimensional unique classifier also occurs in Garo. The classifier refers to spherical shape objects like in (35).

35) biri/biji/guli/bra pʰoŋ-sa
cigarette/needle/bullet/arrow CLF-one
'one cigarette/needle/bullet'

From the data collected and analyzed, it can be mentioned that there are a greater number of unique classifiers found in the language in comparison to other type of classifiers. Another type is the unique classifier siŋ?- which is a derived form of the noun /wa?siŋ/ which refers to a bamboo cylinder used to cook food in and which has a culturally important referent in Garo. It may also be noted that this unique classifier is a repeater classifier which is based from the word /wa?siŋ/ as illustrated in (36).

36) wa?siŋ siŋ?-sa
bamboo cylinder CLF:unique-one
'one bamboo cylinder'

2.1.2.7 GENERIC CLASSIFIER

Garo has many generic classifiers which is used generally to facilitate counting. It may be termed as residual classifier in the sense that all the referents which are not covered by other inanimate classifiers are covered by this type. It is different from a general classifier which refers to a certain taxonomic class, as it is an extended form of a three-dimensional classifier. This is exemplified in (37-40) below.

37) nok/basiŋ tʰe?-sa
house/water vessel CLF-one
'one house/water vessel'

38) tebɨl/ am?pʰok/ampatʧi ge?-sa
table/stool/mat CLF-one
'one table/stool/mat'

39) soŋ/biap/pokʰri/ʧibol/a?ba dam-boŋa
village/place/pond/lake/field CLF-five
'five villages/places/ponds/lakes/fields'

40) dam-gɨttʰam mata
CLF-three wound
'wounded in three places'

As exemplified in (37-40), tʰe?-, ge?- and dam- are three-dimensional classifiers where tʰe?- and ge?- refers to nouns like variety of household objects in everyday use, utensils, furniture, agricultural implements and musical instruments whereas the classifier dam- refers for locations or places like village, field, garden etc., and things which are in fixed places. The classifier bol- as a noun means 'tree, wood' and as a classifier it is used for things that are long and wooden such as axes and knives which have wooden handles. This classifier can also be used for motor vehicles. This can be illustrated as follows:

41) attʰe bol-gɨttʰam
knife CLF-three
'three knives'

42) gari bol-bri
car CLF-four
'four cars'

2.2 MEASURING IN GARO: THE MEASURE TERMS

Arrangement and quanta are the main categories which are usually associated with measure words or quantifying expressions or mensural classifiers (Allan, 1977, Aikhenvald, 2000).

2.2.1 ARRANGEMENT

Measure terms in Garo show both permanent and temporary arrangement as illustrated in the following sections.

43) ritiŋ-sa bi?saraŋ/maderaŋ
MT:line-one children/people
'one line of children/people'

44) wagam ritiŋ-sa
tooth MT:line-one

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'one line of teeth'

45) baʔra dan-sa
cloth MT:fold-one
'one-fold of clothes'

The arrangement measure term as exemplified in (43) and (44) show both temporary and permanent arrangement, while the line of children or people is temporary, that of teeth is fixed. The measure term dan- in (45) shows temporary arrangement.

2.2.2 QUANTA

Measure terms in Garo show the types of group, collection, pair, partitivity, precise and imprecise measure and uniqueness. They are illustrated in the following sections.

46) kʰomɨla ali-sa
orange MT:pile-one
'one pile of oranges'

47) ʤalʔik/barɨŋ ʧam-sa
chilli/brinjal MT:heap-one
'one small heap of chilies/brinjal'

The measure term ali- is specifically used for counting oranges and which refers to quantity 'four'. Therefore, when /kʰomɨla ali-sa/ is referred, it is understood that there are four oranges present in a pile. However, ʧam- as shown in (47) does not have any specific quantity nor is required inorder to form a heap. It simply refers to a small heap where number of objects varies. There is another type ʧok- which has the same meaning as ʧam-, but the use of either one of them may depend on the context.

It can be mentioned that Garo has a cultural measure unit for betelnut and banana to refer to its bunch and cluster as illustrated in (48-50).

48) tʰeʔrɨk akʰa-sa
banana MT:bunch-one
'one bunch of bananas'

49) tʰeʔrɨk ol-sa
banana MT:cluster-one
'a cluster of bananas'

50) gui/narɨkel bada-sa
betelnut/coconut MT:cluster-one
'a cluster of betelnuts'

There is another measure term ʧap- which is a traditional measure unit specifically used for counting betelnut leaf and the noun /ʧap/ refers to number twenty. Therefore, one bunch consists of twenty number of betelnut leaves and whenever a larger number of betelnut leaves are counted, the measure term mutʰa- is used which is basically borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages as exemplified in (51).

51) pʰan ʧap-/ mutʰa-sa
betelnut leaf MT:bunch-one
'one bunch of betelnut leaves'

pʰun- is another type of measure term which is used for counting betelnuts. This can be illustrated as.

52) gui pʰun-sa
betelnut MT:betelnut-one
'eighty betelnuts'

A unique measure term tʰoŋʔ- denoting for length, for pieces cut crosswise of bamboo, wood, firewood, slices of fruits or vegetables, the part of a broken pencil and other extended objects.

53) amʔbol/alu/dalɨm tʰoŋʔ-sa
firewood/potato/pomegranate MT:piece-one
'a cut piece of firewood/potato/pomegranate'

The measure term pʰak- refers to halves such as half of a betelnut, half of a fruit, half of a piece of bamboo split lengthwise, one side of a piece of paper or of a coin and also has extended meaning to other objects as illustrated in (54) and (55).

54) sal/gui pʰak-sa
day/betelnut MT:half-one
'half a day/of betelnut'

55) rama pʰak-sa
road MT:side-one
'the other side of the road'

The partitive measure terms tʰeŋ-, sri- and ʧɨleŋ- are another measure term in Garo, in which tʰeŋ- denotes a piece of meat. It could be for both cooked and uncooked piece of meat of any animate (non-human) objects, whereas sri- is mainly used for fruits. The use of measure term ʧɨleŋ- refers to splitting or slicing, which has similar meaning as that of sri-. The basic difference between the two is that sri- is accurate whereas ʧɨleŋ- may not be accurate while splitting or slicing. These measure terms are illustrated in (56) and (57).

56) beʔen tʰeŋ-sa
meat MT:piece-one
'one piece of meat'

57) tʰeʔe sri-gni
marsh melon MT:slice-two
'two slices of marsh melons'

Quanta measure term ʤora- denoting pair are same for both animate and inanimate objects. For example, in (57).

57) mande/matʧu/ʤuttʰa ʤora-sa
man/cow/shoe MT:pair-one
'a pair of men/cows/shoes'

Other collection measure terms in Garo are ʧokʧɨm-, ʧom?bak- and kʰasot- as exemplified in (58-60).

58) bibal ʧokʧɨm-sa
flower MT:bunch-one
'a bunch of flowers'

59) rasɨn ʧom?bak-sa
onion MT:bunch-one
'one bunch of onion'

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60) amʔbol/meʔkʰin kʰasot-sa
firewood/banana flower MT:heap-one
'one heap of firewood/banana flower'

ʧokʧim- denotes a bunch of flowers and it is unique as it occurs only with flowers respectively. ʧomʔbak- and kʰasot- refers to a bunch or heap of any inanimate objects which does not have any specific number.

kʰatʰom- and kʰuʔ- are another quanta measure terms which refers to an imprecise amount as illustrated in (77) and (78).

61) anʔʧeŋ/alu kʰatʰom-sa
sand/potato MT:bagsful -one
'one bagsful of sand/potato'

62) mi kʰuʔ-sa
rice CLF:mouth-one
'a morsel of rice'

Another type grok- is a measure term used with the draught of water, milk or such other liquids objects as illustrated in (63).

63) ʧi/ʧu/dud grok-sa
water/beer/milk MT:liquid-one
'a draught of milk'

Garo has a good number of body part derived measure words. For instance, various parts of a hand are used as a unit of length or to show the distance as illustrated in (64).

64) miroŋ/ʧini ʤakʰom-gni
rice/sugar MT:handful-two
'two handful of rice/sugar'

65) budu kʰru-gni
rope MT-two
'two finger spans of rope'

kʰru- is a unit of length which measures from end of the end of thumb to end of middle finger or little finger, when they are stretched as far apart as possible. Another measure term mɨk- denotes the unit of length which is measured from the elbow to the tip of the extended middle finger and counted as half a yard. For example, in (82).

66) tal/waʔa mɨk-boŋa
wire MT:cubit-five
'five cubits of wire/bamboo'

It is to be noted that Garo has adopted the borrowed English measure terms like kg, litre etc. and also few borrowed Indo-Aryan measure terms like bikʰa, kʰattʰa etc. for daily usage and are freely used with native numerals. However, the native word for 5-kilogram, 40 kilogram and 80 kilogram still survives in the present time as in (86-88).

67) ʧini/ata dora-sa
sugar/flour MT:measure-one
'five kilograms of sugar/flour'

68) ʧini mon-sa
sugar MT:measure-one
'40 kilogram of sugar'

Another type of classifiers is found in the language. These are called the auto-classifiers, which are subclass of nouns that can be quantified without intervention of a classifier. Instead the numeral always directly follows the noun. Auto-classifiers in Garo consist of time nouns, i.e. nouns denoting a unit of time and some miscellaneous nouns.

The time nouns are bɨlsi 'year', ʤa 'month', anti 'week', sal 'day', wal 'night', kʰantʰa 'hour', minit 'minute' and seken 'second'.

Examples of other nouns that are auto classifiers are nok 'house', nokkʰɨŋ 'household', soŋ 'village', rokom 'variety', ʧaŋ 'time', aʔkʰol 'hole', ʤaktʰom 'fist', ʤaʔkʰu 'footstep', ʤakpʰa 'palm', bɨl 'strength, stroke, blow' ʤɨnma 'group', dol 'group' and ʧasoŋ 'generation'.

The words kʰap 'cup', gɨlas 'glass' and botol 'bottle' are English loans and the words tʰala 'plate' and ʧamos 'spoon' are borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi. All nouns denoting pots, pans, plates, jugs and baskets can be used to indicate a volume and are thus measure nouns.

It may be noted that the word tʰoktʰak 'a drop or its volume' is the only auto-classifiers in Garo, that can also be used as a mensural classifier. This can be illustrated as follows:

69) mɨkkʰa/mɨkʧi tʰoktʰak-sa
rain MT:drop-one
'one rain drop/tear drop'

When measure nouns are used as mensural classifiers denoting a volume, they are preceded by a semantically compatible noun and followed by a numeral just like other classifiers. When measure nouns are used as nouns denoting an object, they can be quantified themselves with the right classifier. When the measure nouns are quantified in their function as noun, denoting an object and not a volume, they are used with their own classifiers. For most measure nouns, but especially for the borrowed ones, the residue classifier ge? is used. There is also a special classifier for receptacles, viz. tʰe?, that can be used for all measure nouns, but for some measure nouns use other classifiers.

III. CONCLUSION

From the data presented, it can be observed that the classifiers in Garo mainly occur to categorize animate and inanimate types as shown in Table 1. The category of consistency plays a role in the shape and dimension subtype of the inanimate classifier in the language. Garo is mostly a suffixing

language and the classifier is always prefixed to the numeral. The classifier in Garo can occur pre-nominally and post-nominally. However, their order with the numeral is fixed in both the positions.

Abbreviations and symbols

CLF	classifier
/	and, or
//	phonetic transcription
?	glottal stop
-	morpheme break
1D	one-dimensional
2D	two-dimensional
3D	three-dimensional

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