Joseph Greenberg in a paper presented to the XIIth 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 INAS Journal

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. sāphuu cha-pā
   a stack of books.
5. su cha-kale
   a sheaf of straw.
6. tarkāri cha-thu
   a bunch of vegetables
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-kūu a piece of meat
12. bhwa cha-pāā a sheet of paper
13. cā cha-dhī a lump of clay
14. jā cha-kha 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. jākī cha-gaa a grain of rice
21. sā cha-pu a strand of hair
22. ghāē 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.

23. pālu ᾅttā-či a quarter pau of ginger
24. ālu cha-dhāni a dharani of potatoes
25. kāpaa ku-či one cubit of cloth
26. lā kwae-či two miles of cloth
27. sī cha-tu a finger's width of wood
28. kāpaa cha-sāā one bolt of cloth
29. bū cha-piī one ropani of land
30. bū cula-či a quarter-ropani of land
31. duru kuu-či two manas of milk
32. syaabaji pha-či 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. che house
34. manuu person
35. kathi stick
36. lākaš shoe
37. nhāe nose
38. mari pastry
39. thala container
40. swā flower
41. saphuu book
42. laq 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 che and *ni che 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. che cha-kha one house
34a. manuu cha-mha one person
35a. kathi cha-pu one stick
36a. lākaš cha-pū one shoe
37a. nhāe cha-pu one nose
6 INAS Journal

38a. mari cha-pā  
one pastry

39a. thala cha-gaa  
one container

40a. swaa cha-phwa  
one flower

41a. saphuu cha-guu  
one book

42a. laa cha-pāa  
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 contain-ners but rather one [a broken one]. 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 classi-fiers 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

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. pāa cha-guu one downward slope [geographic feature]
   pāa cha-pāa one turn [at giving a feast and performing a puja 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. bū cha-kuu one portion of a field [quasi-unit counter]
   bū cha-phwa one blossom [flower-shaped]
51. ghaa cha-gaa one pitcher [container]
   ghaa cha-cāa one mill stone
52. nakī cha-mha one guthi president's wife [animate]
   nakī cha-pu one nail [long thin object]
53. pusā cha-gaa one seed grain [round object particulate]
   pusā cha-gu one lid [miscellaneous]
54. salī cha-gaa one small clay wine cup [container]
   salī cha-pāa one winnowing tray [flay object]
55. āju cha-thāe 
   one goal in hide and seek [location]
āju cha-mha 
   one grandmother [animate]
56. kwæ cha-kuu 
   one piece of bone [quasi-unit counter]
kwæ 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]
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 māgu 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 -kha [classifier for cha 'house'], -pu [classifier for long thin objects], -gaa [classifier for round objects and containers, particulate for round granules], -phwa [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, -gulu has homophones or near-homophones which occur in other syntactic functions, but the classifier -gulu is readily distinguishable from these.

60. jike saphuu ni-guul 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 -gulu 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. waa dhaa-gulii ji biswaas ma-waa

I couldn't believe in what he said.
This form, -guli, however, is not at all involved in quantification but is rather a locative nominalizer for the verb. In any event neither this -guli nor that of the classifier system has any independent reference to the real world despite 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 -pā 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.
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-galaeh* 'in one pitcher' and *ghaa cha-galaah* '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
- *maca cha-mha* one child
- *khiccha 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*.
waq dhāa-gu khq

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

kāe-mha

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

gā chā-guu one village

gu cha-guu one forest, one hill

with nouns referring to abstract states,

khq chā-guu one matter, one topic

bhāe cha-guu one language

bicāa 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

bālskal 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,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pwāā} & \text{ cha-pwāā} \quad \text{one hole} \\
\text{pwāā} & \text{ cha-guu} \quad \text{one hole}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mari} & \text{ cha-pā} \quad \text{one pastry} \\
\text{mari} & \text{ cha-tā} \quad \text{one kind of pastry} \\
\text{mari} & \text{ cha-guu} \quad \text{one kind of pastry}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cha-gaa} & \text{ agaa appā} \quad \text{one kilnful of bricks} \\
\text{cha-guu} & \text{ agaa appā} \quad \text{one kilnful of bricks}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{chē} & \text{ cha-khā} \quad \text{one house} \\
\text{chē} & \text{ cha-guu} \quad \text{a certain house}
\end{align*}
\]

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

Noun heads with -ga[1] and -gwa[1]. The more general of these two classifiers is -ga[1]. Although both of these classifiers occur with round objects, it only -gaa occurs with containers,
thala cha-gaa one pot
ghaa cha-gaa one pitcher
with house parts
 thāa cha-gaa one pillar
 aagaa cha-gaa one wall
 nināa 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[ti]. 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.

lāa cha-pāa  one upper garment
 kwat cha-pāa  one coat
 sukhuu cha-pāa  one mat
 deemā cha-pāa  one dish
 khāāa cha-pāa  one face
 lāsā cha-pāa  one mat, bed
 mhičā cha-pāa  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
 lākāa 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
lā cha-pu  one road
gā cha-pu  one shawl

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

bākhāa cha-pu  one story
kabītā 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
sq̄ cha-pu  a strand of hair


dhūugri cha-phwa  one earring
tuki cha-phwa  one earring
swāa cha-phwa  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-cāa  one mill stone
Is Newari a Classifier Language 17

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.

ché cha-kāā one house
lukhā cha-duwāā one gate
ghāā cha-kūū one wound
mata cha-pwāā one lamp
mari cha-tāā one pastry
pujā cha-thāā 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-kūū a piece of meat
lusī cha-kūū 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-kūū 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-bālī cha-bālī 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-khwē cha-khwē – one footprint
kicca cha-kicca – one shadow
khwātā-kii cha-kii – one bamboo dam
na-kī cha-kī – one iron nail
kuu cha-kuu – one corner
swā-mā cha-mā – one flower plant
parsī-mwaa cha-mwaa – one folded portion of a sari
palāa cha-palāa – one step
patī cha-patī – one finger
pau cha-pau – one sheet
pā cha-pā – one feather
guthi-pāa cha-pāa – one turn at feeding a guthi and performing a puja
jhyā phaa cha-phaa – one window sill
duru-piū cha-piū – one nipple
qū-pu cha-pu – one mango seed
putu cha-putu – one tie string [as on a man's upper garment]
simū-pwaa cha-pwaa – one crotch of a tree
bhau-pwāa cha-pwāa – one cat hole
pwāa cha-pwaa – one abcess
tau cha-tau – the base of one pot
tāa cha-tāa – 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.
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 Haas [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 chaq̱a du ana  
There are three houses there.

chā-khāe ḫīp̱a 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

du-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'].

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

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

ghyaq̱a tyq̱ala  
eight pau of clarified butter

ālu pāla  
a pau of potatoes

ālu bagala  
two pau of potatoes

4There 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
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.

There is an expression, bā thala hi! '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.

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

Authorities differ as to the appropriate classifier for hī 'sweet potatoe'. Thakurlal Manandhar prefers the classifier -gaa.

Certain authorities reject the use of -gwaa with laddu and alu and recommend it rather as a kind of particulate as in lā cha-gwaa 'a grain of cooked rice'.

Authorities differ as to the correct form of this classifier. Thakurlal Manandhar prefers -dawā[1].