

CHAPTER 6

CLASSIFIER NOUNS

6.1 Previous Studies

As stated in the number nouns chapter (chapter 9), Modern Khmer numbers and classifiers are constituents of noun phrases that normally appear together.

For Maspero (1915:294), '*les déterminatifs spécifiques*' are used for enumerating things, people, animals and time. They are placed immediately after the number.

Jacob (1968:83-90) called classifier nouns 'numeral coefficients', and they occur in close junction immediately after the 'numeral' (e.g., *neək* (for human reference), *thəj* (for day), *daəəm* (trunk of a tree), *pɛɛŋ* (for cup of measurement)).

Ehrman (1972:17-18) said the classifier class in Khmer is used for indicating units of time, for measuring things and for other non-measuring words.

Huffman (1967) said that classifiers in Modern Khmer belong to the noun class.

Headley (1977: xviii) set up a 'classifier class' for words that occur in the context of noun + numeral + classifier.

All of the previous analyses agree on the distribution of the classifiers: they must cooccur with number nouns.

Based on the requirements of the lexibase dependency grammar, my first goal is to determine the syntactic word class of classifier words. The second goal is to show the syntactic dependency relationships between classifiers and other words in the same NP constructions, particularly with number nouns.

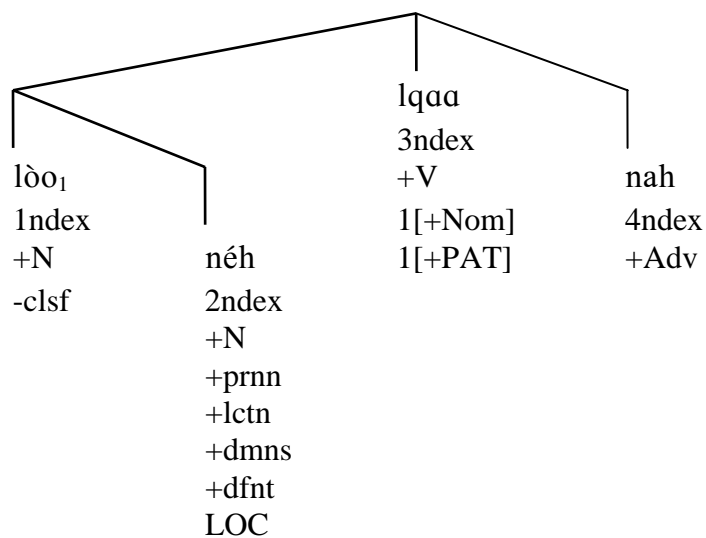
6.2 What Word Class do Classifier Words Belong to?

In Old Khmer, classifiers are nouns, as demonstrated by Sak-Humphry (1992:200). In Modern Khmer, I propose to analyze this group of words as nouns due to their syntactic distributions as demonstrated in the following section. This analysis would be consistent with the characterization of Khmer as a right-branching language.

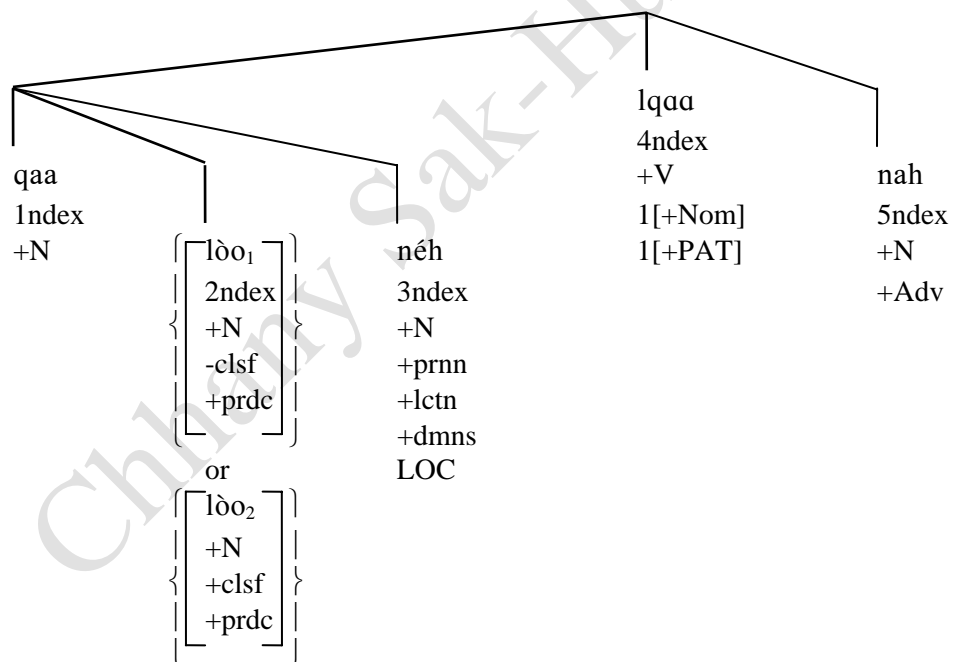
6.2.1 Classifiers Function as the Predicate Dependents of the Anaphoric Noun *qaa*

Let us examine these sentences:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|------|------|------|
| 1. | <u>lò</u> ₁ | néh | lqaa | nah | |
| | lot | this | good | very | |
| | 'This lot is very nice.' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 1a. | qaa | <u>lò</u> ₁ or <u>lò</u> ₂ | néh | lqaa | nah |
| | the one | lot or twelve | this | good | very |
| | 'This lot is very nice.' or 'These twelve are good.' | | | | |



In example 1, the nominative noun $lòò_1$ [+Nom, -clsf] is the regent of the LOC pronoun $néh$. It has the meaning of ‘lot’ or plot of land (loan word from French).



Example 1a can have two interpretations. The dependent of the anaphoric noun qaa could be $lòò_1$ [-clsf] ($lòò_1$ as an ordinary noun meaning ‘lot’ or plot of land (loan

word from French)), or *lòò*₂ [+clsf] (*lòò*₂ as a classifier noun which means six pairs or 12 or one dozen (referring to something that can be counted). Its interpretation depends upon the context.

Comparing examples 1 and 1a, we can conclude that the classifier word *lòò*₂ [+clsf] cannot occupy the subject slot and function as the Nom-PAT of the verb *lqaa*. Only the ordinary or common noun *lòò*₁ [-clsf] can function as the Nom-PAT of the verb *lqaa*; thus it is the head noun of a free NP. I conclude from this that *lòò*₂ is lexically marked [+clsf, +prdc].

2. khɲom luk snỳt₁ nóh haaəj
 I sell comb that already
 ‘I sold that fine-toothed comb already.’
- 2a. khɲom luk qaa snỳt₁ or snỳt₂ nóh haaəj
 I sell the one comb clsf that already
 ‘I sold the fine-toothed comb already.’ or ‘I sold that bunch already.’

In example 2, the word *snỳt*₁ [-clsf] functions as the Acc-PAT of the verb *luk*. In turn, *snỳt*₁ is the regent of the LOC locational demonstrative pronoun *nóh*.

In example 2a, the dependent of the anaphoric noun could be (1) *snỳt*₁ [-clsf] (as an ordinary noun meaning ‘very fine-toothed comb’), or (2) *snỳt*₂ [+clsf] (as a classifier meaning ‘bunch of bananas’), and thus, the interpretation is based up on the context. By comparing these two examples, we can hypothesize that *snỳt*₁ [-clsf] is an ordinary noun and the *snỳt*₂ [+clsf] is lexically a predicate [+prdc] noun because it cannot occupy the object slot.

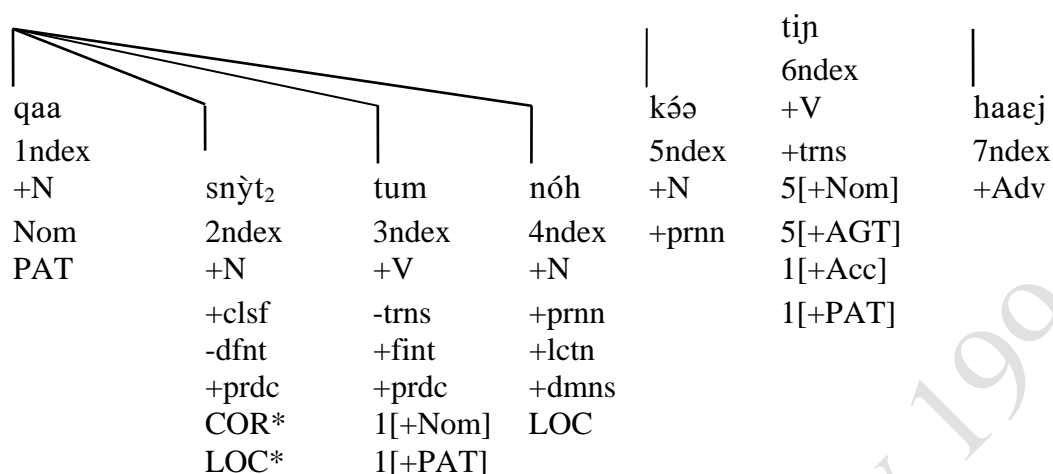
Although they are presumably derivationally related--that is, although these two pairs of words $l\grave{o}o_1$ [-clsf] and $l\grave{o}o_2$ [+clsf, +prdc], or $sn\grave{y}t_1$ [-clsf] and $sn\grave{y}t_2$ [+clsf, +prdc], are identical in form--they differ consistently in meaning and distribution.

As analyzed in chapter 4, the anaphoric noun *qaa* can have verbs and nouns as its dependents. Consequently, based on these examples, we can claim that the classifier word $l\grave{o}o_2$ [+clsf] or $sn\grave{y}t_2$ [+clsf] is a noun because only a noun (beside the verb) can be the dependent of the anaphoric noun *qaa*. Of course, it is etymologically related to $sn\grave{y}t_1$, which is an ordinary free noun and may also function as a dependent of *qaa*.

3. *qaa* $l\grave{o}o_2$ *tum* *n\acute{e}h* *phqaa\epsilon m* *nah*
 the one lot or twelve this good very
 ‘These twelve which are ripe, are very sweet.’
- 3a. *qaa* $sn\grave{y}t_2$ *tum* *n\acute{o}h* *k\acute{o}\epsilon* *tij\eta* *haa\epsilon j*
 the one bunch ripe there they buy already
 ‘That one bunch which is ripe, they bought it already.’

In example 3, the noun $l\grave{o}o$ functions as the dependent of the anaphoric noun *qaa* and has the predicate relative verb *tum* and the LOC *n\acute{o}h* as its co-dependents. From this context, it is clear that the noun $l\grave{o}o_2$ [+clsf, +prdc] is the classifier noun, because only a dozen of some kind of fruit or something can be sweet, and not the ordinary noun $l\grave{o}o_1$ [-clsf] (a lot of land). Thus, the classifier noun $l\grave{o}o_2$ bears the predicate feature required by its regent, the anaphoric noun *qaa*.





In this stemma (example 3a), the k noun *snýt₂* [-dfnt, +clsf] functions as the dependent of the anaphoric noun *qaa* and has the predicate relative verb *tum* and the LOC *nóh* as its co-dependents. From this context, it is clear that the predicate noun¹ *snýt* [+prdc] is the classifier noun *snýt₂* [+dfnt, +clsf, +prdc] because only a bunch of banana can get ripe, and not the ordinary noun *snýt₁* [-clsf], ‘fine-toothed comb’.

Thus, in summary we can state that classifier words belong to the noun class, because they can function as the predicate dependent of the anaphoric noun *qaa*, and have etymologically related words which are ordinary free nouns.

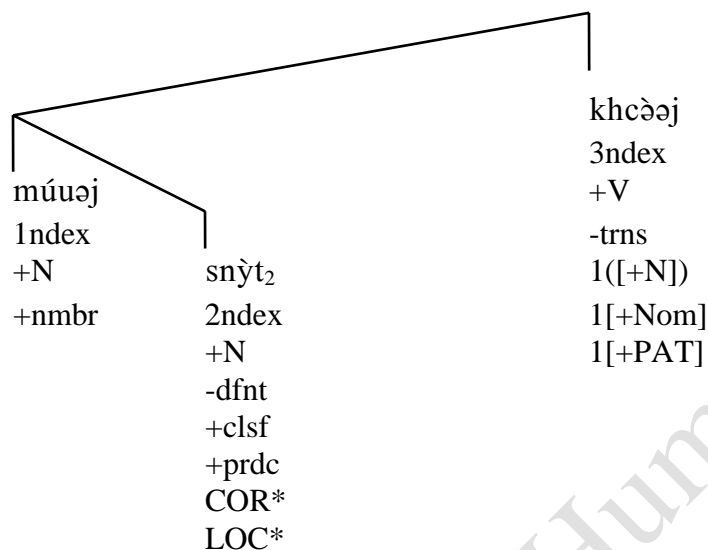
6.2.2 Classifiers Function as Predicate Dependents of Number Nouns

4. mǘuəj snýt₂ khcəəj
 one bunch green
 ‘One bunch (of fruit) is green.’

¹The classifier noun *snýt₂* [+clsf] cannot function as COR dependent of *qaa* because the two nouns do not refer to two separated entities; and it cannot function as LOC because it is not a locational noun.

4a. *múuəj* *khcəəj*
 one green
 'One is green.'

4b. **snýt₂* *khcəəj*
 bunch green

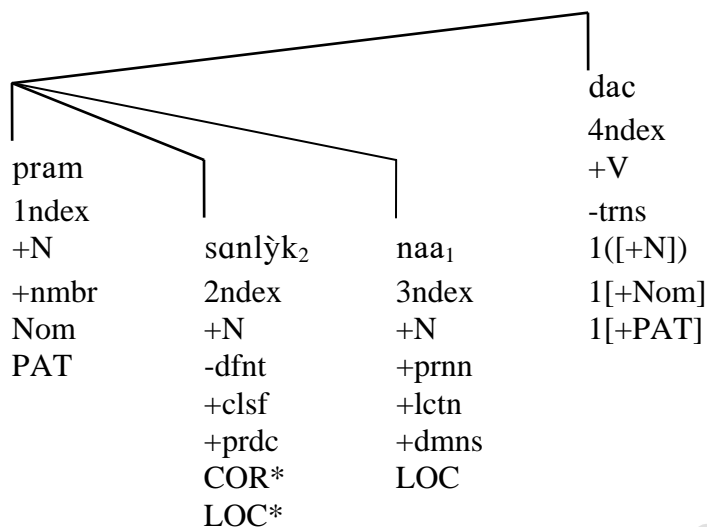


By comparing this set of examples 4, 4a and 4b, we can claim that the non-definite classifier word *snýt₂* must cooccur with the number word *múuəj*, that both words *múuəj snýt₂* form a constituent, and that the classifier word *snýt₂* must be the dependent of number noun *múuəj*. The same analysis is applied to examples 5, 5a and 5b.

5. *pram* *sənlyk₂* *naa₁* *dac*
 five sheet where tear
 'Which five sheets are torn?'

5a. *pram* *naa₁* *dac*
 five where tear
 'Which of those five are torn?'

5b. *sanlyk₂ naa₁ dac
 sheet where tear



In examples 4 and 5, the number nouns *múuəj* and *pram* function as the Nom-PAT of the intransitive verbs *khcəəj* and *dac*, and can have the non-definite words *snýt₂* and *sanlyk₂* as their dependents. The reason that they are the dependents rather than the regents of the number nouns *múuəj* and *pram* is because they cannot appear as free nouns themselves and cannot function as the Nom-PAT of those verbs (see examples 4b and 5b), and also because this analysis is consistent with the strongly right-branching structure of Khmer syntax. Technically, as dependents of nouns, the words *snýt₂* and

*sanlyk*₂ could be determiners, adjectives or nouns. As justified and stated in my papers,² Khmer could not otherwise have determiners and adjectives as word classes; thus, it leaves noun class as the last possible solution. This is not an arbitrary proposal, because, as shown in examples 1a and 2a, these words have (1) homophonous and etymologically related forms which are free nouns (more examples of homophones of classifier nouns are discussed in the following section), and (2) they are nouns because they are the dependents of the anaphoric noun *qaa*, and have a predicate function in relation to its regent. In lexibase, only nouns, verbs and prepositions can bear the predicate syntactic feature, and the word *qaa* occurs otherwise only with N or V dependents.

As a subclass of nouns, these classifier nouns could bear one of the following three syntactic functions to a regent noun: Correspondent (COR), locus (LOC) or predicate ([+prdc]). The classifiers *snýt*₂ and *sanlyk*₂ cannot function as the COR to its regent number nouns *múuəj* and *pram* because: both the words *snýt*₂ and *múuəj*, or *sanlyk*₂ and *pram*, are not perceived as entities which are distinct from their regent. In addition, a paraphrasing with the predicate indirect possessive noun *rbah*₂ is unacceptable (as in **múuəj rbah*₂ *snýt néh khcəəj*, or **pram rbah*₂ *sanlyk nóh dac*). This test supports the claim that *snýt*₂ and *sanlyk*₂ cannot bear the (COR) case relation.

²Details of the discussion that Khmer has no determiners and adjectives can be found in my papers on ‘The Analysis of the Words *neh*, *nóh* and *hnýŋ*’ and ‘Adjectives or Stative Verbs in Khmer’ (Sak-Humphry forthcoming).

They cannot function as the LOC dependent either, because lexically *snýt₂* and *sanlýk₂* [-lctn] are not location nouns. In addition, in applying the *nəw₁* paraphrasing test to these two constructions, the results are also ungrammatical (as in **múəj nəw₁ snýt néh khcəəj*, or **pram nəw₁ sanlýk nóh dac*).

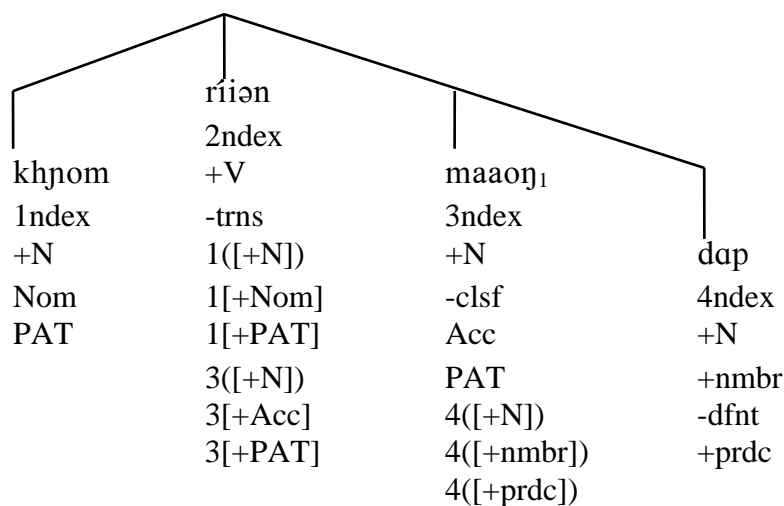
In summary, we can claim that classifier nouns must cooccur with the anaphoric noun *qaa* and the number nouns, and that they must have predicate functions in relation to these two regent nouns.

The following section will show the direction of the syntactic dependency relationships in number-classifier pairs, and determine the cooccurrence constraints that obtain between them.

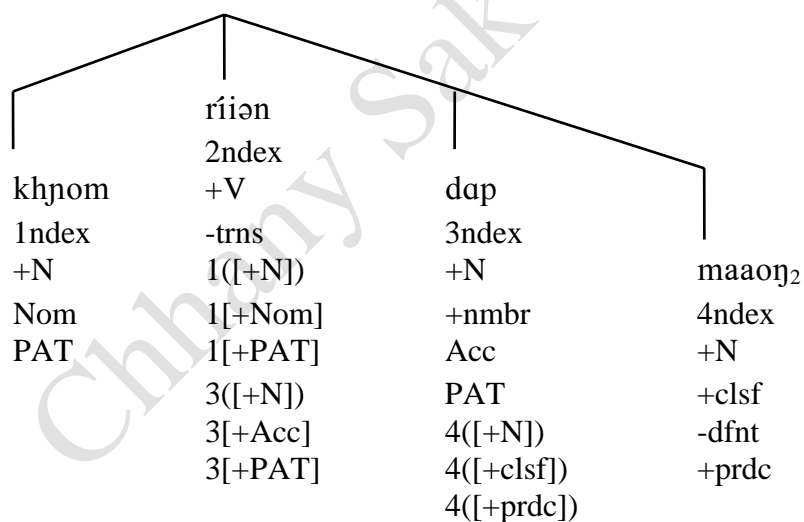
6.3 Syntactic Relationship Between Classifier Nouns and Number Nouns

Let us examine these two sentences:

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|-------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 6. | khɲom | ríiən | <u>maaon</u> ₁ | dap |
| | I | study | hour | ten |
| | 'I study at 10 o'clock.' | | | |
| | | | | |
| 6a. | khɲom | ríiən | dap | <u>maaon</u> ₂ |
| | I | study | ten | hour |
| | 'I study for ten hours.' | | | |



In example 6, the ordinary noun *maaon₁* [+N, -clsf] functions as the Acc-PAT in relation to its intransitive verb *riian*. This noun is the regent of the number noun *dap* where *dap* [+nmbr, -dfnt, +prdc] bears the predicate feature in relation to the ordinary *maaon₁* [+N, -clsf].

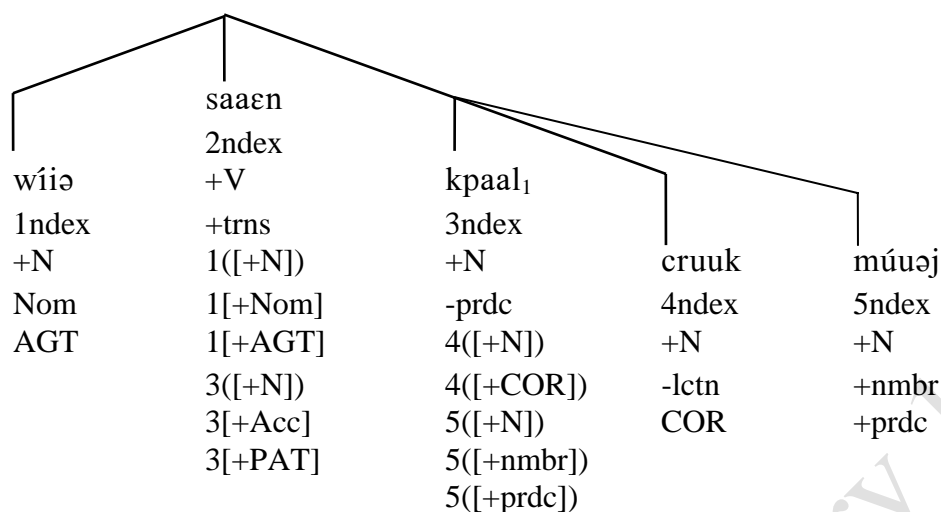


In example 6a, the word *maaon₂* is the dependent of the number noun *dap*. As a dependent of a noun, *maaon₂* generally could be a determiner, a verb or a noun. The

possibility of being a determiner is ruled out because Khmer does not have a determiner class. It could not be a verb either because it cannot be negated. Thus the last possibility is a noun. This choice (being a noun) is more appropriate than the other previous two because (1) we have a related word *maaon*₁ as a noun (as shown in example 6), and (2) it is consistent with Khmer right-branching typology.

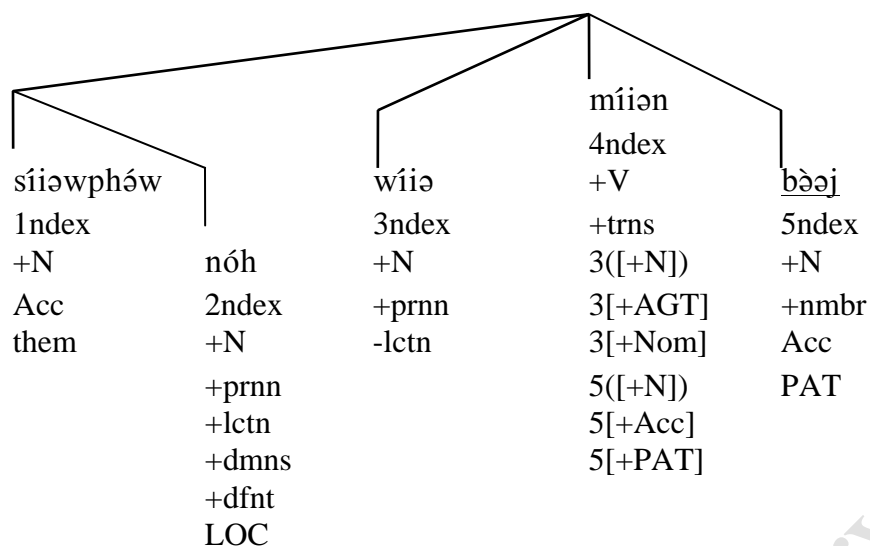
This analysis therefore supports our claim that the non-definite classifier noun *maaon*₂, which comes after a number noun, bears the predicate feature in relation to that regent number noun.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 7. | wíiə | saaen | <u>kpaal</u> ₁ | | |
| | he | sacrifice | head | | |
| | 'He sacrifices the head to the spirit.' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 7a. | wíiə | saaen | <u>kpaal</u> ₁ | <u>múuəj</u> | |
| | he | sacrifice | head | one | |
| | 'He sacrifices one head to the spirit.' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 7b. | wíiə | saaen | <u>kpaal</u> ₁ | cruuk | <u>múuəj</u> |
| | he | sacrifice | head | pig | one |
| | 'He sacrifices one pig's head to the spirit.' | | | | |

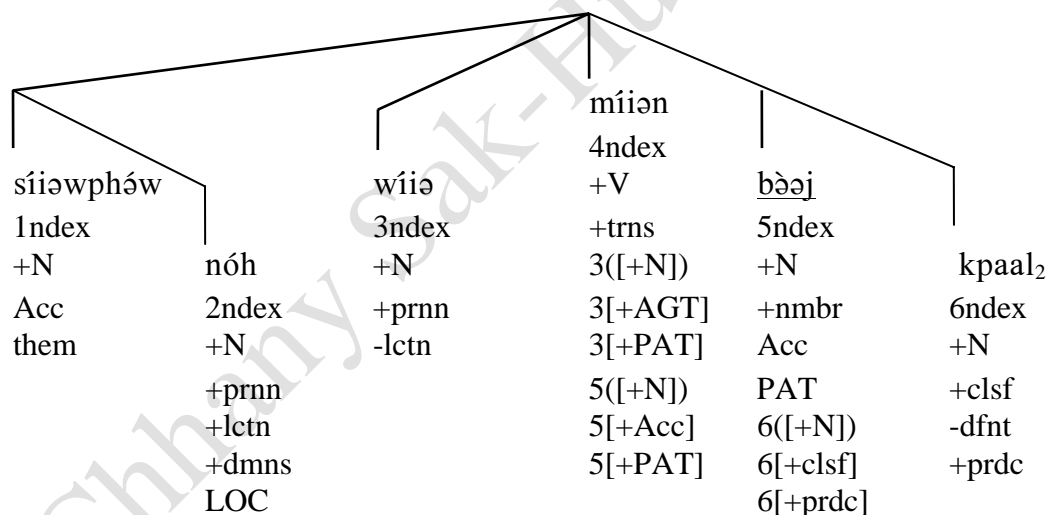


Comparing examples 7, 7a and 7b, we can say that the ordinary noun *kpaal*₁ is a non-predicate [-prdc] noun because it functions as the Acc-PAT of the verb *saaen*. It has two dependents, the COR noun *cruuk* and the predicate number noun *múuəj*.

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|------|------|-------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 8. | síiəwphəw | nóh | wíiə | míiən | bəəj | |
| | book | that | she | have | three | |
| | ‘That book, she has three.’ | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| 8a. | síiəwphəw | nóh | wíiə | míiən | bəəj | kpaal ₂ |
| | book | that | she | have | three | clsf |
| | ‘That books she has three volumes.’ | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| 8b. | *síiəwphəw | nóh | wíiə | míiən | kpaal ₂ | |
| | book | that | she | have | clsf | |



In example 8, the number noun *bəəj* functions as the Acc-PAT of the transitive verb *míiən*.



Comparing examples 8, 8a and 8b, we can say that the noun *kpaal₂* cannot function as the dependent of the verb *míiən* (example 8b is ungrammatical) but can be the dependent of the number noun *bəəj* (example 8a). As the dependent of the number

noun *bəəj*, *kpaal*₂ can only function as the predicate dependent to its regent, the number noun *bəəj*.

In conclusion, we can state that a classifier noun is a predicate noun in relation to its regent, the anaphoric noun *qaa* or a number noun. In terms of its distribution, it must come after its regent noun.

6.4 Syntactic Relationship Between Classifier Nouns, Number Nouns and Regent Nouns

9.	tnaaot	pùuən	<u>thlíiəj</u> ₂	tum
	sugar palm	four	cluster	ripe
	Nom	+nmbr	+clsf	+V
	PAT	-dfnt	-dfnt	-trns
		+prdc	+prdc	
	'Four clusters of sugar palms are ripe.'			

9a.	*tnaaot	<u>thlíiəj</u> ₂	tum
	sugar palm	cluster	ripe

9b.	tnaaot	pùuən	tum
	sugar palm	four	ripe
	Nom	+nmbr	+V
	PAT	-dfnt	-trns
		+prdc	
	'Four sugar palms are ripe.'		

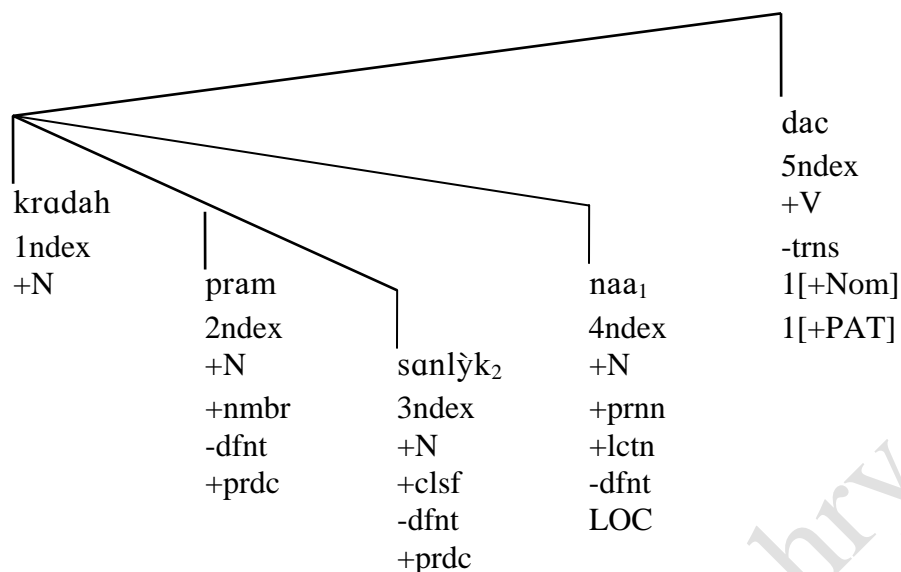
9c.	pùuən	<u>thlíiəj</u> ₂	tum
	four	cluster	ripe
	Nom	+clsf	+V
	PAT	+prdc	-trns
	'Four clusters (of palm fruits) are ripe.'		

9d.	tnaaot	<u>mathlíiəj</u> ₂	tum
	sugar palm	one cluster	ripe
	'One cluster (of palm fruits) is ripe.'		

By comparing examples 9, 9a, 9b and 9c, we can state that the classifier noun *thliiəj*₂ cannot function as the dependent of the ordinary noun *tnaaot* (example 9a is ungrammatical), but can function as the predicate dependent of the number noun *pùuən* (supported by example 9c). Thus in construction 9, the number noun *pùuən* functions as the predicate of the dependent noun *tnaaot*, and in turn, is the regent of the predicate classifier noun *thliiəj*₂.

In example 9d, the word *mathliiəj*₂ is a contraction form of the two words *múuəj thliiəj*₂; lexically it bears the features [+nmbr, +clsf, +prdc]. Only the number noun *múuəj* forms a contraction with its dependent classifier.

10.	kradaah paper	pram five	<u>sanlÿk</u> ₂ clsf	naa ₁ where	dac tear
	'Which five sheets of paper are torn?'				
10a.	* <u>sanlÿk</u> ₂ clsf	naa ₁ where	dac tear		
10b.	pram five	<u>sanlÿk</u> ₂ clsf	naa ₁ where	dac tear	
	'Which five sheets (of something) are torn?'				
10c.	*kradaah paper	<u>sanlÿk</u> ₂ clsf	naa ₁ where	dac tear	
10d.	kradaah paper	pram five	naa ₁ where	dac tear	
	'Which five papers are torn?'				



By comparing examples 10, 10a, 10b, 10c and 10d, we can conclude that the non-definite classifier noun *sanlyk₂* can only function as the predicate dependent of the number noun *pram* (supported by examples 10b and 10c) and can have the non-definite interrogative locational pronoun *naa₁* as the LOC co-dependent of the number noun *pram* (supported by examples 10a and 10b).

6.5 Conclusion

In summary we can claim that a classifier is a noun which can function only as the predicate dependent of an anaphoric noun and a number noun. Thus, it is a predicate noun and cannot have a dependent of its own but can have co-dependents.

6.6 Classifier Nouns Function as Dependents of Other Nouns

In this section we are checking the possible occurrence of classifier nouns as the dependents of nouns of other classes.

6.6.1 Classifier Nouns as Dependents of the Anaphoric Noun *qaa*

In the above section we have seen that classifier nouns can function as the predicate dependent of the anaphoric noun *qaa*.

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|------------|--------------|
| 11. | <i>qaa</i> | <u><i>ným</i></u> | <i>néh</i> | <i>thlaj</i> |
| | the one | yoke | this | expensive |
| | 'This one yoke (of animals) is expensive.' | | | |

As shown in this example and in previous examples, classifier nouns can function as the predicate dependents to the anaphoric noun *qaa*. This construction is in effect a way around the inability of classifiers to occur in the syntactic position of other free nouns.

6.6.2 Classifier Nouns as Dependents of Pronouns

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| 12. | <i>jáəŋ</i> | <i>piir</i> | <u><i>neək</i></u> | <i>ríəŋ</i> |
| | we | two | clsf | study |
| | 'We two are studying.' | | | |
| 12a. | <i>piir</i> | <u><i>neək</i></u> | <i>ríəŋ</i> | |
| | two | clsf | study | |
| | 'Two people are studying.' | | | |
| 12b. | * <i>jáəŋ</i> | <u><i>neək</i></u> | <i>ríəŋ</i> | |
| | we | clsf | study | |
| 12c. | * <i>jáəŋ</i> | <u><i>piir</i></u> | <i>ríəŋ</i> | |
| | we | two | study | |

Comparing these four examples (12 to 12c), we can conclude that the classifier *neək* can function as the predicate dependent of the number noun *piir* (as shown in

examples 12 and 12a), but it cannot function as the dependent of the pronoun *jəəŋ* (as shown in example 12b).

13.	qampów	piir	<u>daaem</u> ₂	<u>naamúuəj</u> ₁	phqaaem
	sugar cane	two	trunk	which one	sweet
	Nom	+nmbr	+clsf	+prnn	+V
	PAT	+prdc	+prdc	+prdc	-trns
	'Which two trunks of sugar canes are sweet?'				
13a.	*naamúuəj ₁	<u>daaem</u> ₂ ³	phqaaem		
	which one	clsf	sweet		

In comparing examples 13 and 13a, we see that the pronoun *naamúuəj*₁ cannot function as the regent of the classifier noun *daaem*₂, but instead it is the dependent of the regent noun *qampów*. These examples also show that a classifier noun must follow rather than precede a number noun.

Thus pronouns can never take classifier nouns as their dependents.

6.6.3 Classifier Nouns as Dependents of Extension Nouns

14.	kròoc	múuəj	phlòn	rólúuəj			
	orange	one	forty	rot			
	'Forty oranges are rotten.'						
14a.	*kròoc	<u>daael</u>	phlòn ⁴	rólúuəj			
	orange	which	forty	rot			
15.	wiiə	còolcət	<u>skaa</u>	piir	<u>praqap</u>	tòoc	néh
	he	like	candy	two	boxes (clsf)	small	here
	'He likes these two small candy boxes.'						

³This classifier word is used for counting trees, sticks, pencils, or cigarettes.

⁴This classifier word is equivalent to forty and is used for counting fruit and vegetables.

15a.	*wíiə	còolcət	<u>kaar</u>	<u>praqap</u>	tòoc	néh
	he	like	the fact	boxes (clsf)	small	here

Based on these examples (14, 14a, 15 and 15a) we can conclude that the classifier nouns cannot be the dependents of the extension noun *daaεl* or *kaar*.

6.6.4 Classifier Nouns as Dependents of Relator Nouns

Relator nouns require their dependents to bear the COR dependent; this implies that classifier nouns can never function as their dependents, since classifiers are lexically [+prdc].

16.	* <u>khmawdaj</u>	muk	<u>daaεm₂</u>	bak		
	house	two	clsf	brake		
16a.	<u>khmawdaj</u>	piir	<u>daaεm₂</u>	bak		
	pencil	two	clsf	brake		
						'Two pieces of pencils are broken?'
17.	*phteəh	pram	<u>rbah₂</u>	<u>khnaaŋ₂</u>	koət	chəh
	house	five	clsf	possession of	he	burn
17a.	*phteəh	<u>rbah₂</u>	pram	<u>khnaaŋ₂</u>	koət	chəh
	house	clsf	five	possession of	he	burn
17b.	phteəh	pram	<u>khnaaŋ₂</u>	rbah ₂	koət	chəh
	house	five	clsf	possession of	he	burn
						'His five houses got burned?'

Examples 16 (ungrammatical) and 16a suggest that the locational relator noun *muk* cannot take the classifier noun *daaεm₂* as its dependent.

Examples 17, 17a and 17b show us that the non-locational relator noun *rbah₂* cannot function as the regent of the classifier noun *khnaaŋ₂*.

6.6.5 Classifier Nouns as Dependents of Location Nouns

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|------|
| 18. | <u>phteəh</u> | pram | <u>khnaaŋ</u> ₂ | naa ₁ | chəh |
| | house | five | clsf | where | burn |
| | 'Which of these five houses got burned down?' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 18a. | * <u>phteəh</u> | <u>khnaaŋ</u> ₂ | naa ₁ | chəh | |
| | house | clsf | where | burn | |
| | | | | | |
| 18b. | pram | <u>khnaaŋ</u> ₂ | naa ₁ | chəh | |
| | five | clsf | where | burn | |
| | 'Which of the five (houses) got burned down?' | | | | |

Comparing examples 18, 18a and 18b, we can state that the classifier noun *khnaaŋ*₂ cannot function as the dependent of the location noun *phteəh*. Thus a classifier noun does not take a location noun as its dependent.

6.6.6 Classifier Nouns as Dependents of Ordinary Nouns

As illustrated in section 5, when ordinary nouns, number nouns and classifier nouns cooccur together, ordinary nouns cannot take classifier nouns as their dependents.

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| 19. | <u>kóo</u> | piir | <u>ným</u> | daaɛl | nəw ₁ |
| | cow | two | yoke | which | locate |
| | kraaom | phteəh | chýy | | |
| | under | house | sick | | |
| | 'The two yokes of cows which are under the house are sick.' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 19a. | * <u>kóo</u> | <u>ným</u> | daaɛl | nəw ₁ | |
| | cow | yoke | which | locate | |
| | kraaom | phteəh | chýy | | |
| | under | house | sick | | |

These two examples show that the ordinary noun *kóo* cannot function as the regent of the classifier noun *ným*.

6.7 Conclusion

In Modern Khmer, classifiers are nouns because they can function as the dependents of the anaphoric noun *qaa* and the number nouns, and must bear the predicate [+prdc] feature required by these two regents. Thus they are predicate nouns. They are etymologically related to free ordinary nouns. Their syntactic distribution is consistent with the strongly right-branching structure of Khmer syntax. They cannot have any other nouns as their regents. In terms of their distribution, classifiers must come after their regents, must bear the predicate function, and never have dependents of their own.

Chhany Sak-Humphrey 1996