Words for 'one' in Baima

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Words for 'one' in Báimǎ[*]

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This article describes different words for 'one' in Báimǎ, a language spoken at the border of Sìchuān and Gānsù provinces in China. According to Sūn Hóngkāi, the profusion of words for 'one' in Báimǎ is one of the features that distinguish Báimǎ from Tibetan. This paper discusses the distribution of various words for 'one' in a corpus of Báimǎ stories collected during a fieldwork in 2003, and comments on their meanings and functions, on restrictions of their co-occurrence, and on their interchangeability and etymology. Contrary to Sūn's conclusion, it is argued that all forms are cognate with Tibetan.

Key words : Báimǎ, numeral 'one', indefinite marker, Classical Tibetan, Tibetan dialects, etymology.

Cet article décrit des mots différents signifiant 'un' en báimǎ, langue parlée à la frontière du Sìchuān et Gānsù en Chine. D'après Sūn Hóngkāi, la profusion des mots pour 'un' est l'une des caractéristiques qui distinguent le báimǎ des dialectes du tibétain. Cet article examine la distribution des mots pour 'un' dans un corpus de légendes báimǎ recueilli sur le terrain. Sont ici exposées les principales valeurs sémantiques ainsi que les emplois des mots pour 'un'. Sont aussi exprimées des remarques sur leur interchangeabilité et leur étymologie. Contrairement à la conclusion de Sūn, il est ici montré que tous ces mots sont apparentés au tibétain.

1. INTRODUCTION: PREVIOUS STUDIES ON BÁIMĂ

Báimǎ 白马 is a Tibeto-Burman language, spoken by approximately 10.000 residents of three counties in Sìchuān 四川 Province and one county in Gānsù 甘肃 Province in the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Báimǎ people (autonym [pe⁵³], Dwags-po in Tibetan) reside in mountainous areas (900 to 4.800 m. above sea level) at the borders of four counties (Jiǔzhàigōu 九寨沟, Sōngpān 松潘 (Zung-chu) and Píngwǔ 平武 in Sìchuān and Wénxiàn 文县 in Gānsù) in the immediate proximity of Qiāng 羌 (to their south-west), Chinese (east and south) and Tibetan ethnic groups (west and north).

The status of the Báimǎ language as either a separate language or a dialect of Tibetan is currently under dispute, partly due to a controversy surrounding the ethnic classification of the Báimǎ people. The Báimǎ were classified as Tibetans in the course of the PRC's State Ethnic Classification Project in 1951. They questioned this conclusion on numerous occasions in the 1960s and 1970s. Pointing out that they are different from grassland Tibetans in lifestyle, religion and folklore, the Báimǎ have repeatedly demanded reclassification. This appeal was granted in the late 1970s, when a group of PRC researchers conducted two surveys in the Báimǎ areas. As a result of these surveys of 12 (1978) and 25 (1979) days, the research group published two collections of papers (Sìchuān Shěng Mínzú Yánjiūsuǒ 1980, Zēng et al. 1987), in which the majority of researchers argued that the Báimǎ were descendents of the ancient Dī 氐 tribe (probably related to the Qiāng), which set up influential kingdoms in the 3rd through the 6th centuries CE in the areas currently inhabited by the Báimǎ.[1] At the beginning of the

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[1] Dictionaries of Chinese usage (e.g. Yáo 2000: 123, 124) list the character 氐 with two readings, *dī* and *dǐ*. The former is the name of an ancient ethnic minority; the

Tibetan Yarlung dynasty (7th century), Dī territory was occupied by the Tibetans, with the exception of present-day Píngwǔ County, which is therefore believed to have preserved a relatively unmixed form of the language originally spoken by the Dī.

Despite the conclusion that the Báimǎ people constitute a distinct ethnic group rather than a branch of Tibetans, they were never officially reclassified. Reclassification of ethnic groups listed as Tibetans remains a sensitive issue in the PRC and is considered by many Tibetans as an attack by the Chinese government on the Tibetan identity (for a discussion see Upton 2000: 3-6). Over-shadowed by such political argumentation, the Báimǎ language remains poorly documented and described.[2] The following scholars have conducted Báimǎ research.

Sūn Hóngkāi participated in the aforementioned surveys of the Báimǎ areas in the late 1970s. He wrote a sketch of Báimǎ phonology and grammar (Nishida and Sūn 1990: 109-168, 209-275; Sūn 1980: 15-25) and collected over 3.000 common vocabulary items (Nishida and Sūn 1990: 321-372). Based on these, Sūn argues that although Báimǎ has features similar to Tibetan, the differences between Báimǎ and Tibetan far exceed those between the three main Tibetan dialects spoken in the PRC. Therefore, Báimǎ should be considered an independent language, distinct from Tibetan but nonetheless part of the Tibetan branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family (cf. Sūn's diagram for Tibeto-Burman in 1983: 100; see also Sūn 2003a, 2003b).

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latter means 'foundation'. In spoken language, however, the latter form appears to have taken over the former, so that the name of the ethnic minority is nowadays typically pronounced *dǐ*. For example, at conferences on minority languages in Mainland China 'Di and Qiang' (ancient nomadic tribes in the western regions of China) are consistently named Dǐ Qiāng. In this article, I follow the prescriptive usage and give the name of the ethnic minority as Dī.

[2] For an overview of Báimǎ studies, see Huáng and Zhāng (1995: 79-81) and Sūn (2003a: 65-66, 2003b: 62-64).

Working in collaboration with Sūn Hóngkāi in the late 1980s, Nishida Tatsuo studied records of what is currently named the Báimǎ language in the *Xīfān yìyǔ* 西番译语 [Vocabularies of Western Barbarian languages], made by Chinese officials during the Qiánlóng reign 乾隆 (1736-1796) of the Qīng dynasty. The results of their collaborative efforts were published in 1990 under the title *Hakuba yakugo no kenkyū: Hakuba no kōzō to keitō* [A study of the Báimǎ-Chinese vocabulary 'Báimǎ yìyǔ': the structure and affiliation of the Báimǎ language]. Nishida agrees with Sūn that Báimǎ should be considered an independent language and he likewise places it in the Tibetan branch.

Āwāng Cuòchéng and Wáng Jiànmín made a survey of 15 days in Píngwǔ County in 1988 and subsequently published a fieldwork report in which they label Báimǎ a dialect of Tibetan. They base this conclusion mainly on a vocabulary of 1000 words, only 150 of which have been published.

Based on language data collected by Sūn Hóngkāi (1990), Zhāng Jìchuān (1994a, 1994b, 1997) wrote three articles on Báimǎ, outlining regular correspondences between the phonological systems of Báimǎ and Classical Tibetan. He suggests that Báimǎ is related to the Khams Tibetan dialect group.

After one month of recording Báimǎ in Píngwǔ County in 1995, Huáng Bùfán and Zhāng Mínghuì published an article in which they also propose a set of sound correspondences between Classical Tibetan and Báimǎ. They thus support Zhāng Jìchuān's hypothesis that Báimǎ should be classified within the Khams dialect group.[3]

Currently, a vast scholarly majority regards Báimǎ, in Jackson Sun's (2003: 788 n. 29) words, as "merely an aberrant Tibetan dialect", while Sūn Hóngkāi still maintains that it should be seen as an independent language.

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[3] For a critique of Huáng Bùfán and Zhāng Mínghuì's (1995) and Zhāng Jìchuān's (1994, 1997) analyses, see Sūn Hóngkāi (2003a: 73-74, 2003b: 77-79).

On the whole, Báimǎ lexicon looks predominantly Tibetan, with some unusual developments and an admixture of words of unknown origin. Estimations of the percentage of this admixture vary. It is believed to be as high as 72% (out of 2000 basic words) by Sūn (1990: 45) and as low as 13% (out of over 3000 lexical items) by Zhāng (1994a: 114, with the reservation that there is another 25% of bisyllabic words, some syllables of which cannot be traced back to Tibetan) or 13.2% by Huáng and Zhāng (1995: 116). To my knowledge, no careful investigation into possible cognate relationships of these words with languages historically or presently surrounding Báimǎ has so far been made. Báimǎ grammar likewise exhibits some features dissimilar to Tibetan dialects (for an overview, see Huáng and Zhāng 1995: 112-115).

The question of the position of Báimǎ within Tibetan remains at this moment unanswered and more research is required before any definitive conclusions regarding the genetic affiliation of Báimǎ can be made.[4]

This article is based on my fieldwork with Báimǎ in October-December 2003. It addresses one of many issues still awaiting scholarly attention, i.e. the question why Báimǎ has so many words for 'one', as posed by Sūn (1990, 2003a, 2003b).

2. SIX WORDS FOR 'ONE'

Sūn Hóngkāi (Nishida and Sūn 1990: 216) notes that Báimǎ has several words denoting the meaning 'one'. Three words for 'one'

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[4] As shown by Jackson Sun (2003a, 2003b), many Tibetan dialects (such as Zhongu and Chos-rje) spoken in northern Sichuan, a borderland between Tibetan and Qiāng, display, similar to Báimǎ, idiosyncratic phonological innovations and esoteric vocabulary. The position of these dialects within Tibetan remains likewise to be ascertained.

are already attested in the *Yìyǔ*: [tʃ$ı^{53}$] 'one', [tʃo^{13}te^{35}]^5 'one' and [(dʑɑ)ɦɔ^{35}] 'one (pound)'. ^{6} While [tʃı^{53}] and [(dʑɑ)ɦɔ^{35}] are translated in Chinese as *yī* 'one', [tʃo^{13}te^{35}] is rendered as a combination of the numeral 'one' followed by the measure word for horses and cloth: 一疋 *yì pǐ*. In addition to these three words, Sūn mentions three more words for 'one': [ko^{53}], [ʃı^{13}] and [ʐı^{53}].^{7} As Sūn points out (2003b: 68-69):

> In Baima, there are many different words for the numeral 'one' which can combine with classifiers. The only one which is cognate with Tibetan is [tʃı^{53}], while the others include [ʃı^{13}], [ko^{53}] and [tʃo^{13}te^{35}]. [...] Currently, it is not clearly understood why there are so many different words for 'one' in Baima, nor is it clear why only certain

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^{5} I transcribe this word as [tʃu^{13}tɛ^{35}]. Hereafter I will use the form [tʃo^{13}te^{35}] when quoting Sūn and [tʃu^{13}tɛ^{35}] when referring to my own transcriptions.

^{6} Báimǎ has four tones: low rising [13], high rising [35], high falling [53], and rising-falling [341]. The original tone of a monosyllabic word is subject to change to the low rising tone, when followed by the high rising or the high falling tone. Function words (particles, prepositions, conjunctions, modal and auxiliary verbs, etc.) follow the same sandhi rule. For instance, the coordinate conjunction [ʐe^{53}] 'and' changes its original tone to the low rising when followed by a word in a high rising or high falling tone, as in example (3).

^{7} Sūn Hóngkāi's transcriptions oppose palato-alveolars [ʃ ʒ] and alveolo-palatals [ɕ ʑ], which contrast has been argued by Hall (1997a, 1997b) to be unattested in natural languages. Sūn's opposition between palato-alveolars [ʃ ʒ] and alveolo-palatals [ɕ ʑ] is described in Huáng and Zhāng (1995) as that between retroflexes [ʂ ʐ] and alveolo-palatals [ɕ ʑ], which analysis is adopted for my own transcriptions. To facilitate the present exposition which makes use of both Zhāng Jìchuān's (1994a, 1997, based on Sūn's transcriptions) and Huáng and Zhāng's (1995) systems of sound correspondences, I preserve original transcriptions in quotations and follow Huáng and Zhāng's analysis in my transcriptions. Thus, the words for 'one' (here without tone marks) [ʃı] and [ʐı] in Sūn Hóngkāi's (1990, 2003a, 2003b) and Zhāng Jìchuān (1994a, 1994b, 1997) correspond to Huáng and Zhāng's (1995) [ʂə] and [ʐə] respectively. I am grateful to the anonymous *CLAO* reviewer for pointing out the problem with the palato-alveolar and alveolo-palatal opposition.

classifiers may combine with [tʃɿ⁵³], and why others can only be used with [ʃɿ¹³], [ko⁵³] or [tʃo¹³te³⁵]. Among these classifiers, some may combine with different forms of 'one', but this kind of interchangeability is not always possible.

Sūn elicited these different words for 'one' by translating combinations of the numeral 'one' followed by a classifier from Chinese to Báimǎ. The frequency of these words in Sūn's data varies considerably:

'One'	Frequency
tʃɿ⁵³	13
ʃɿ¹³	12
tʃo¹³te³⁵	23
ko⁵³	26
ɦɔ³⁵	2
ʒɿ⁵³	7

Table 1 - Frequency of words for 'one' in Nishida and Sūn (1990: 357-359)

As appears from this table, [tʃɿ⁵³] and [ʃɿ¹³], on the one hand, and [tʃo¹³te³⁵] and [ko⁵³], on the other, appear frequently and are distributed evenly, whereas [ɦɔ³⁵] and [ʒɿ¹³] are less common. [ko⁵³] is the most frequent item on the list.

Moreover, according to the list of numerals and classifiers in Nishida and Sūn (1990: 357-359), only [tʃɿ⁵³], [ʃɿ¹³] and [tʃo¹³te³⁵] seem to allow some degree of interchangeability. In two instances, [tʃɿ⁵³] is reportedly interchangeable with [ʃɿ¹³], e.g. 一匹 (布) 'one bolt (of cloth)' can be rendered as either [re¹³ʑy³⁴¹tʃɿ⁵³] or [re¹³ʑy³⁴¹ʃɿ¹³] (p. 357). And in one instance, [tʃɿ⁵³] is interchangeable with [tʃo¹³te³⁵]: 一股 (份) 'one share' can be translated into Báimǎ as either [kiɛ³⁵ tʃɿ⁵³] or [kiɛ³⁵ tʃo¹³te³⁵] (*ibid.*). The word [ʃɿ¹³] is interchangeable with [tʃo¹³te³⁵] in three instances,

e.g. 一盒 'one box' [i¹³xo⁵³ ʃɿ¹³] can also be rendered as [i¹³xo⁵³ tʃo¹³te³⁵] (p. 357).

In sharp contrast to Sūn's findings, my elicitations from Chinese demonstrate a distinct preference for [ʂə¹³] (or [ʃɿ¹³] in Sūn's transcription), and my language consultants report it to be freely interchangeable with [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵]. For instance, 一条狗 'one dog' was translated by my language consultants as [tɕʰi⁵³ ʂə¹³] or [tɕʰi⁵³ tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵]. Sūn lists this word only with [tʃo¹³te³⁵] (p. 358). In other words, my elicitations lead to different frequencies and different degrees of interchangeability, see Table 2 further on.

Direct elicitation of expressions taken out of context cannot clarify potential differences of various lexical items for 'one'. Moreover, the contact language, Chinese, complicates the issue, as the distinction between the stressed numeral *yí ge* 'one' and its weakened counterpart *yi ge* (denoting indefinite reference; close in meaning and function to the English indefinite article *a*) is not always obvious to non-native speakers, because written Chinese does not distinguish between these two usages.[8] Hence, for speakers of a language with a special device to indicate indefinite reference, as is the case with Báimǎ, Chinese expressions containing the numeral 'one' can potentially be translated in their native language either with the corresponding word for 'one' or with the indefinite article.

In order to understand the differences between various words for 'one', I analyzed their distribution in a corpus of texts collected during my three months of fieldwork in 2003 in the Báimǎ Tibetan Township, Píngwǔ County, Sìchuān Province. The corpus consists of 31 Báimǎ legends and stories about Koshino village (Shuǐniújiā 水牛家 in Chinese), once a large and influential Báimǎ community. Sadly enough, Koshino no longer exists. Its population was relocated to other villages of the Báimǎ Tibetan Township in

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[8] On the semantic distinction between *yí ge* and its weakened counterpart *yi ge*, see Chao (1968: 567).

2003. The former location of Koshino will be flooded in the course of 2005 following construction of the Shuǐniújiā dam 水牛家水坝. The legends and stories were narrated by Zhaga Tsere, a 69-year old native of Koshino, and translated into Chinese with the help of Lǐ Déguì 李德贵, a 64-year old native of Iarukhuai village (Luòtōngbà 洛通坝) and presently a resident of Píngwǔ. Hereafter I refer to the corpus as the Zhaga texts, after their narrator.

All the words for 'one' listed in Nishida and Sūn (1990: 357-359) have been attested in the Zhaga texts, but their relative frequency is different. In addition, [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] in the corpus exists also in the shorter (and perhaps original) form [tʃu⁵³].

Form	Meaning	Frequency
tʃə⁵³	'one'	7
ʂə¹³	indefinite marker	58
tʃu⁵³, tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵	'single, alone'	30
ko⁵³	'full'	10
ɦɔ³⁵	'full'	9
ʐə⁵³	indefinite marker	9

Table 2 - Frequency of words for 'one' in the Zhaga texts[9]

[tʃə⁵³], [ʂə¹³], [tʃu⁵³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] and [ko⁵³] all co-occur with a wide variety of words, whereas [ɦɔ³⁵] and [ʐə⁵³] are restricted in distribution. Of the nine occurrences of [ɦɔ³⁵], eight are in the same construction, 'one *chǐ* (Chinese unit measure, equivalent to 0.3 m)'. Likewise, of the nine occurrences of [ʐə⁵³], seven are in combination with 'year' and two in combination with 'tael'.

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[9] Zhāng (1997) already suggests that the forms [ko⁵³] and [ɦɔ³⁵] are cognate with the Tibetan *gang* 'full', whereas [tʃɿ⁵³], [ʃɿ¹³] and [ʒɿ⁵³] are all cognate with the Tibetan *gcig* 'one' (pp. 151-152). He does not, however, discuss the form [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] or the precise relationship between [tʃɿ⁵³], [ʃɿ¹³] and [ʒɿ⁵³].

As was the case with my direct elicitations, [ʂə¹³] enjoys the highest frequency and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] is the second most favored way to express the meaning 'one'.

Let us now turn to the semantic distribution of these lexical items in the Zhaga texts. The generalizations below are mainly based on my fieldwork data, but I also rely on Sūn's data, whenever he reports lexical items not attested in my corpus.

3. SEMANTIC DISTRIBUTION OF WORDS FOR 'ONE' IN THE ZHAGA TEXTS

The following characteristics of words for 'one' have been taken into consideration in this analysis:
(a) their meaning as understood from the context;
(b) the type of classifiers with which each particular word for 'one' can co-occur.
For the convenience of the exposition, I divide Báimǎ classifiers into "container" and "non-container" classifiers. Container classifiers denote quantities of commodities and products, such as liquids and edibles, which normally require taking some kind of container (*cup*, *pot*, *pound*, etc.) as the measure classifier. For example, *cup* in the expression *one cup of tea* is a container classifier. Container classifiers may also function as nouns in their own right. Examples of container classifiers in Báimǎ are: [kʰa⁵³] 'mouth', [ka¹³ʑi³⁴¹] 'bowl', [sɔ¹³tʃo³⁵] 'pot', [tʃʰo¹³zə⁵³] 'bucket', [dʑɑ³⁴¹] 'pound', [ʂo⁵³] 'tael'. Some measures of length (for instance, '*chǐ*') can likewise function as container classifiers in Báimǎ.

As evidenced in the Zhaga texts, all lexical items for 'one' in Báimǎ have distinct meanings and functions.

3.1. [tʃə⁵³]

[tʃə⁵³] appears in contexts where the exact number, 'one', of the entity spoken about is communicated. Thus, it can be accounted

for as having the meaning '(exactly) one (not two, three, etc.)'. [tʃə⁵³] co-occurs with non-container classifiers, as in the following examples.[10]

In sentence (1), the protagonist of the story, a magic frog born into a human family, wants to bring lunch to his father, who is working in the fields. Since, as a frog, he does not have hands to carry lunch, he has to ask his mother to make a hole in one of the pancakes prepared for lunch and tie it with a rope to his neck.

(1)　　kʰɯ⁵³　　kɛ¹³du³⁵　kɛ⁵³　　tʰo¹³ndʒu³⁵　tʃə⁵³　　tɑ⁵⁵　　ʂə⁵³,
　　　　1S　　　neck　　　on　　　pancake　　　　one　　　tie　　　IMP
　　　　?　　　ske.?　　　kha　　　?　　　　　　gcig　　sdom　shog

　　　　ɦo¹³ru⁵³　pʰu⁵³　　　　mbo¹³　ʑe¹³　　　dzɛ³⁵.
　　　　hole　　　make.a.hole　COM　　be　　　said
　　　　?　　　　phug　　　　　?　　　red　　　bzlas
　　　　'So he said, "Tie one pancake to my neck, make a hole in it".'

In the next example (taken from another story), the main character, a gifted Báimǎ scholar, travels in a company of friends to the county capital to take part in official examinations. On the way, they need to stay over in an inn.

(2)　　ʂɑ⁵³　　tʃə⁵³　　ndy¹³　　ji⁵³　　çe¹³　　de¹³　　ʂə¹³,
　　　　day　　　one　　　reside　NOM　　made　was.in　3PF
　　　　zhag　　gcig　　'dug　　?　　　byas　bsdad　?

　　　　ko¹³wɑ³⁵　zɛ⁵³　ndʑi⁵³　çe¹³　de¹³　ɲi¹³,　ʂɑ⁵³
　　　　leg　　　with　　go　　made　was.in　after　day

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[10] This article represents work in progress; not all glosses and tone sandhi are final. As proposed by the anonymous *CLAO* reviewer, Classical Tibetan etymology is given for Báimǎ words in example sentences to make the article more accessible to Tibetologists. The "?" sign marks those cases where no good Classical Tibetan etymology can be proposed. In Tibetan transcriptions, I follow Wylie's (1959) standard system. Different verb stems are indicated in the gloss line by different tense forms of verbs.

rkang.ba	re	'gro	byas	bsdad	nas	zhag
tʃə⁵³	ʂɑ⁵³	ɲi³⁴¹	ndy¹³	ɕe¹³	de¹³	ʂə¹³.¹¹
one	day	two	live	made	was.in	3PF
gcig	zhag	gnyis	'dug	byas	bsdad	?

'So, they stayed for one day... they went on foot and stayed one or two days.'

In both example sentences, [tʃə⁵³] is the numeral 'one'.

In two occurrences in the Zhaga texts, [tʃə⁵³] is reduplicated so as to express the meaning 'one by one' or 'each other' (cf. Sūn 1990: 218-219). Sentence (3) derives from a story about the rivalry between the villages of Iadʑy (Huángyángguān 黃羊关) and Koshino.¹² The bone of contention was the issue who had to pay taxes for land owned by wealthy Koshino people in Iadʑy. This dispute cost many people their lives and at some point, a native of Koshino urged the people of these two villages to stop fighting.

(3)	ta⁵³	Ia¹³dʑy³⁵	z̯ə¹³	Ko¹³ʂə⁵³	ɲi³⁴¹	te⁵³	ta⁵³
	now	*Iadʑy*	with	*Koshi*	two	DU	now
	da(.lta)	PN	re	PN	gnyis	do	da(.lta)

tʃə⁵³tʃə⁵³	ʈʂo⁵³	mɑ⁵³	zo¹³	ʂɛ⁵³.
one.one	mutually	not	manufacture	IMP
gcig.gcig	?	ma	bzo	shog

'People of Iadʑy and Koshino, do not do this to each other.'

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¹¹ The third person verbal suffix [ʂə¹³] is homophonous (i.e. identical in form, but distinct in meaning) with the indefinite marker [ʂə¹³].

¹² Ia¹³dʑy³⁵ used to be populated by the Báimǎ and this name is quoted in many Báimǎ stories and legends. The Báimǎ population of Ia¹³dʑy³⁵ is now completely sinified. Only older speakers have some passive knowledge of Báimǎ. The element [nɔ⁵³] in the name of the Koshino village means 'inside', thus Koshino means 'inside Koshi'. The village is variously referred to as Koshi and Koshino.

In addition, the reduplication of [tʃə⁵³] 'one' is sometimes used to emphasize the number 'one', as in the next example:

(4) z̞ə³⁴¹pu¹³sə³⁵ jɐ¹³ z̞ə⁵³ ɲe⁵³ tʃə⁵³tʃə⁵³ ndʒa¹³
     python   year one   person one.one   eat
     sbrul.?   lo   zhig   mi   gcig.gcig   'cha

ji⁵³ ɕe¹³ de¹³.
NOM   made was.in
?   byas bsdad
'Every year the python ate one human being.'

3.2. [ʂə¹³]

[ʂə¹³] is normally used when a person or thing is newly introduced in the story. It does not report the exact number 'one', but seems to act as an indefinite marker, narrowing down the reference of the preceding noun to a single member of a class. For example:[13]

(5) ta⁵³ na⁵³na⁵³ dʑɛ³⁴¹*ka¹³tsɿ⁵³* ʂə¹³ tse⁵³ ɕʰʊ¹³.
     now   here   Chinese.beggar[14] INDF arrive appeared
     da(.lta) ('di.)na rgya.LW   shig sleb   byon
     'A beggar came here today.'

(6) tɕʰø⁵³ wɛ¹³wɑ³⁵ ʂə¹³,   pu¹³ndʒa⁵³... wɛ¹³wɑ³⁵
     2S   frog   INDF   wife   frog
     khyod   sbal.ba   shig   ?   sbal.ba

wɑ¹³gɛ³⁵, tɕʰø⁵³ pu¹³ndʒa⁵³ tsʰə³⁵ ndʑi⁵³
frog.old   2S   wife   search go

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[13] The indefinite marker [ʂə¹³] is homophonous (i.e. identical in form, but distinct in meaning) with the third person verbal suffix [ʂə¹³].

[14] [-ka¹³tsɿ⁵³] is probably a loan from Chinese, cf. Sichuanese 讨口子 [tʰau⁵³ kʰəu⁵³tsɿ⁵³] 'beggar'.

     (sbal.)ba.rgas   khyod ?   'tshol 'gro

     kɑ³⁵(lɑ⁵³)   tsʰə³⁵   ndʐi⁵³   ʐe¹³,   dzɛ³⁵.
     where   search   go   be   said
     ga(.na)   'tshol   'gro   red   bzlas
     '"You are a frog, a wife... an old frog, where are going to
     look for a wife?" he said.'

(7)   La¹³nɡa⁵³   *tɕiouʂɿ*   a¹³ji⁵³   ɡɛ¹³ɡu³⁵
         Langa   just.be   grandmother old
         PN   LW   a.yis   rgas.rgus

         ʂə¹³   de¹³   ʂə¹³.*¹⁵*
         INDF   was.in   3PF
         shig   bsdad   ?
         'In Langa, eh... there was an old lady.'

[ʂə¹³] co-occurs with non-container classifiers and can co-occur with two other words for 'one', [ko⁵³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵], as seen in the following sections.

3.3. [tʃu⁵³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵]

     [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] exists in two variants, the short form [tʃu⁵³], as in sentence (8), and the long form [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵], as in sentence (9). The syllable [tʃu⁵³] in [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] changes its original high falling tone to the low rising tone when accompanied by a syllable in the high rising tone (see footnote 8). [tʃu⁵³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] have a wide range of meanings. In this section, I will provisionally gloss [tʃu⁵³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] according to their meaning in each particular sentence.

(8)   kʰɯ⁵³   tʃu⁵³   ɦo¹³jɑ³⁵   ʂə¹³.
         1S   only.one be.over   3PF

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¹⁵ [tɕiouʂɿ] (or *jiu shi* in Pīnyīn transcription) is a loan from Chinese.

Similar to [tʃə⁵³] and [ʂə¹³], [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] does not co-occur with container classifiers. Unlike all other words for 'one' it can be used not only as an attributive, but also as a nominal phrase, e.g. in examples (9) and (11), which usage accounts for over a half of its occurrences in the Zhaga texts (19 instances out of 38). On three occasions, [tʃu⁵³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] co-occur with the indefinite marker [ʂə¹³], for example:

(11) kʰɛ⁵³ mɑ¹³mu³⁵   ɲi³⁴¹ te⁵³ tʃu⁵³   ʂə¹³
      1P   mother.daughter two   DU   single   INDF
      ?   ma.ʔbu(.mo)   gnyis do   gcig.po shig

      ndʒa¹³ ji⁵³   z̩e¹³.
      eat   NOM   be
      'cha   ?   red
      '(The python) is going to eat one of the two of us.' (literally, 'a single one of the two of us')

3.4. [ko⁵³]

The original meaning of [ko⁵³] is 'full', as in [tʃʰu⁵³ ndi¹³ ko⁵³] 'so full of water'. In the Zhaga texts, it co-occurs with container classifiers exclusively.

(12) ɑ¹³ɲi³⁵,   tʃʰɛ³⁵   ko⁵³ tʰe¹³,   dzɛ³⁵.
      grandfather   tobacco   full   smoke   said
      a.mes   ?   gang   'then[17] bzlas
      'Sir, smoke a pipe, he said.' (literally, 'a pipe full of tobacco')

Examples of [ko⁵³] given in Nishida and Sūn (1990: 357-359) support the hypothesis that the usage of [ko⁵³] is restricted to container classifiers. For instance, 一锅 [sɔ¹³tʃo³⁵ ko⁵³] 'pot-full' (compare 一个锅 [sɔ¹³tʃo³⁵ tʃɿ⁵³] 'one pot', 1990: 357), 一把(米)

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[17] *'then* means 'pull, draw' and is also used in the meaning 'smoke', cf. similar usage in Zhongu (Sun 2003a: 825).

[pɑ⁵³rɪ¹³ ko⁵³] 'hand-full (of rice)' (1990: 358), 一口 [kʰa⁵³ ko⁵³] 'mouth-full', 一碗 [ka¹³ʑi³⁴¹ ko⁵³] 'bowl-full', 一桶 [tɔ¹³zɪ⁵³ ko⁵³] 'bucket-full', 一缸 [dzɑ¹³nbo⁵³ ko⁵³] 'vat-full' (ibid.).

3.5. [ɦɔ³⁵]

In Sūn's examples (Nishida and Sūn 1990: 359), [ɦɔ³⁵] appears to co-occur with only two nouns, 'pound' and '*chǐ*', i.e. 一斤 [dʑɑ¹³ɦɔ³⁵] 'one pound', 一尺 [kʰɑ¹³ɦɔ³⁵] 'one *chǐ*'. In my corpus, it is attested in combination with '*chǐ*' (8 occurrences) (e.g. [jɑ¹³ɕi⁵³kʰɑ¹³ɦɔ³⁵ʂə¹³] 'a handkerchief of one *chǐ*') and on one occasion, with the word 'trough, manger', i.e. [tʃʰu⁵³ ɣɑ¹³ɦo³⁵] 'one trough of water'. On three other instances of the use of 'trough, manger' in the Zhaga texts, this word rather co-occurs with [ko⁵³] 'full', i.e. [ʃɑ⁵³mɑ⁵³ ɣɑ¹³ ko⁵³] 'one manger of peas', [tʃʰu¹³ndʑa³⁵ ɣɑ¹³ ko⁵³] 'one through of water'. 'Pound', '*chǐ*' and 'trough' are all container classifiers.

3.6. [ʐə⁵³]

Similar to [ɦɔ³⁵], [ʐə⁵³] is restricted in distribution. In Sūn's examples (Nishida and Sūn 1990: 359, 'year' p. 324), it is used in the following expressions:

一斗 [ʃo¹³ʐɪ⁵³] 'one bushel',
一两 [ʃɔ¹³ʐɪ⁵³] 'one tael',
一驮 [kʰi³⁵tʃʰa¹³ʐɪ⁵³] 'one sack (load carried on the back)',
一对 (一对手) [tʃʰa¹³ʐɪ⁵³] 'one pair (one pair of hands)',
一夜 [go¹³ʐɪ⁵³] 'one night',
一个月 [dzɑ¹³ʐɪ⁵³] 'one month'
一年 [ie⁵³ʐɪ⁵³] 'year'.

Of these words, three are container classifiers ('bushel', 'tael' and 'sack') and four non-container classifiers ('pair', 'night' 'month' and 'year').

In the Zhaga texts, [ʐə⁵³] co-occurs seven times with 'year', as in sentence (4), and two times with the word for 'tael', as in sentence (13):

(13) | tʃʰɛ³⁵ | ʂɑ⁵³ | mbo¹³ | ʐe¹³, | tʃʰɛ³⁵ | ʂo¹³ | ʐə⁵³ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| tobacco | burn | COM | be | tobacco | tael | one |
| ? | ?sregs | ? | red | ? | srang | zhig |

jɔ³⁵kʰu⁵³   ʐe¹³.
take.bring   be
?.khur   red
'When the tobacco was used up, one used to borrow one tael of it.'

An explanation of the difference between [ʐə⁵³] and other words for 'one' follows in §4.2.

4. COUNTERPARTS OF BÁIMǍ WORDS FOR 'ONE' IN CLASSICAL TIBETAN AND TIBETAN DIALECTS

The distribution of various words for 'one' as outlined in the previous section, with the numeral 'one', [tʃə⁵³], an indefinite marker, [ʂə¹³] and the word 'full' used with container classifiers in the meaning of 'one', [ko⁵³], partly resembles the various usages of 'one' in Classical Tibetan and modern Tibetan dialects.

For the comparisons in this section, I use Classical Tibetan sources, in the tradition of Báimǎ studies (Zhāng 1994, 1997; Huáng and Zhāng 1995) and various Tibetan dialect data with an emphasis on the Khams group, to which Báimǎ allegedly belongs.

In Classical Tibetan, the numeral 'one' develops into the indefinite article, which has three phonologically conditioned forms: (1) *cig*, used if the preceding word ends in *ga*, *da*, or *ba*, as in *khab cig* 'a needle'; (2) *shig*, used after *sa*, as in *ras shig* 'a cloth'; and (3) *zhig* in all other cases (cf. Jäschke 1954: 19-20). Spoken

varieties of Tibetan usually have one form for the indefinite article, for instance [tɕi] in Khams (Mǎ and Hú 1987, vol 2, p. 7, Häsler 1999: 95).

The word for 'full', *gang* in Classical Tibetan, combines with container classifiers in the meaning 'one' in Classical Tibetan and modern Tibetan dialects. For instance, the *Zàng-Hàn dà cídiǎn* [Comprehensive Tibetan-Chinese dictionary], edited by Zhāng Yísūn (1993), gives the second meaning of the word *gang* 'full' as 'one', which is illustrated with the following examples: *rgya-ma gang* 'one pound', *dkhar-yol gang* 'one bowl' and *gom-pa gang* 'one step' (Zhāng 1993, vol. 1, p. 339).[18] The expression 'one bowl' is listed in the *Tibeto-Burman lexicon* (Huáng et al. 1992) as a combination of the words 'bowl' and 'full' for, among others, Lhasa (Central) Tibetan, [pʰoː⁵⁵pa⁵⁵ (kʰaŋ¹³)] and 'Ba'-thang (Khams) Tibetan, [pʰʊ⁵⁵rʊ⁵⁵ (kõ¹³)].

The three remaining Báimǎ words for 'one', [ɦɔ³⁵], [ʐə⁵³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵], do not appear to have counterparts in Tibetan. Indigenous numeral systems are often among the earliest features lost when a language becomes endangered. They are susceptible to attrition through contact with another language even within an otherwise robust language, as argued by Comrie (2004). Do [ɦɔ³⁵], [ʐə⁵³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] reflect some kind of substratum numeral system of Báimǎ which survived intensive contact of the Báimǎ with the Tibetans and the Chinese?

4.1. [ɦɔ³⁵]

As mentioned in §2.5, [ɦɔ³⁵] co-occurs with container classifiers ('pound', '*chǐ*', 'trough'). The word 'trough' can be used with both [ɦɔ³⁵] and [ko⁵³]. Let us consider the possibility that [ɦɔ³⁵] is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of [ko⁵³]. Further scrutiny of the list of words with which [ko⁵³] and [ɦɔ³⁵] co-occur,

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[18] Compare Bacot (1948: 30): *nga la ja dkar-yul gang 'khyer shog* "Apporte-moi une (pleine) tasse de thé."

reveals that [ko⁵³] is normally not used after the low back vowel [ɑ], when the latter is not preceded by the nasal [nb] cluster, for instance, 一包(东西) 'one package' [tɕi⁵³nbɑ⁵³ko⁵³] (Sūn 1990: 358). Hence, it is plausible that [ɦɔ³⁵] is an allomorph of [ko⁵³] 'full' after the low back vowel [ɑ], e.g. [dʑɑ¹³ɦɔ³⁵] 'one pound', [kʰɑ¹³ɦɔ³⁵] 'one *chǐ*', [ɣɑ¹³ɦo³⁵] 'one trough'. That the word 'trough' can now co-occur with both [ɦɔ³⁵] and [ko⁵³] probably evidences erosion of this earlier distinction. It remains, however, unclear why [ko⁵³] and [ɦɔ³⁵] are dissimilar in their tonal contour. Unfortunately, the origin of this tonal dissimilarity is difficult to determine, given the limited set of examples.

4.2. [ʐə⁵³]

[ʐə⁵³] co-occurs with both container ('bushel', 'tael', 'sack') and non-container classifiers ('pair', 'night', 'year' and 'month'). To compare, in Tibetan dialects, the first three words would be used with the word for 'full'. For example, 'one bushel (of barley)' is [nɛ¹³ mbo⁵³ kõ¹³], literally, 'barley bushel full', in Sde-dge Tibetan (Gésāng 2002: 151). 'One tael of gold' is [ser⁵⁵saŋ⁵⁵kʰaŋ¹³], literally, 'gold tael full', in Gzhis-ka-rtse (Central) Tibetan (*ibid*., p. 54).

The words 'pair', 'night', 'year' and 'month' are used with the numeral 'one' in Classical Tibetan and modern Tibetan dialects. For instance, 'one night' is *zhag gcig* in Classical Tibetan and [xɑʔ²³¹ (tɕiʔ⁵³)] in 'Ba'-thang Tibetan; 'one month' is [zla ba (gtɕig)] in Classical Tibetan and [ndɑ¹³ (tɕiʔ⁵³)] in 'Ba'-thang Tibetan (Huáng et al. 1992: 304).

The modern Báimǎ situation does not suggest any particular feature which would unite the words that co-occur with [ʐə⁵³] 'one' in one group, except, maybe, their relatively high frequency of occurrence. However, so are also 'pound' and '*chǐ*' which co-occur with [ɦɔ³⁵].

If we examine Classical Tibetan cognates of the Báimǎ words that co-occur with [ʐə⁵³], on the other hand, we find out that

all of them can be grouped together by taking the phonologically conditioned form of 'one', *zhig* 'a'. Consider the following table:

English	Báimă		Tibetan	
'one bushel'	ʂo¹³	ʐə⁵³	'bo	zhig
'one tael'	ʂɔ¹³	ʐə⁵³	srang	zhig
'one sack'	kʰi³⁵tʃʰa¹³	ʐə⁵³	khal-cha	zhig
'one pair'	tʃʰa¹³	ʐə⁵³	cha	zhig
'one night'	ɢo¹³	ʐə⁵³	dgong	zhig
'one month'	dzɑ¹³	ʐə⁵³	zla-ba	zhig
'one year'	jɐ⁵³	ʐə⁵³	lo	zhig

Table 3. Classical Tibetan cognates for 'bushel', 'tael', 'sack', 'pair', 'night', 'year' and 'month' in Báimă

In these (high frequency) combinations, Báimă probably retained the original phonologically conditioned form of the Classical Tibetan weakened form of 'one', even after Báimă underwent phonological change and simplification of syllables. The form [ʂə¹³] pervasively took over other forms as the standard rendering of the indefinite marker.

4.3. [tʃu⁵³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵]

The case of [tʃu⁵³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] is more complex than that of [ɦɔ³⁵] and [ʐə⁵³], given the frequent occurrence of the former as a nominal phrase. [tʃu⁵³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] appears to be more than merely the numeral 'one'. Is it perhaps, as suggested in the *Yìyǔ*, some kind of fusion of the numeral 'one' (of which the initial cluster, [tʃ], is still present) and a classifier (cf. §2)?

Cross-linguistically, the numeral 'one' often undergoes such fusions with classifiers, as is, for instance, the case in Peking Mandarin, where the numeral 'one' *yī*, fuses with the general

classifier *ge* 'item' into the form *yí* 'one item' (see Dǒng 2003, Liú 2004, Chirkova 2004). In Malayic languages, which like Báimǎ, have a large variety of forms for the numeral 'one', this multiplicity is the result of combining proclitic 'one' with a numeral classifier, which is then further reanalyzed as a simple numeral 'one' (Gil 2004). Such a scenario is, nonetheless, unlikely for Báimǎ, given its classifier-numeral word order.

Since the use of numerals in Báimǎ resembles that in Classical Tibetan and Tibetan dialects, it is reasonable to expect that [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] is a fusion of the numeral 'one' and a nominalizing suffix or a demonstrative. In fact, Classical Tibetan has at least two forms derived from the numeral 'one', which correspond to the meaning and function of [tʃu¹³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] in Báimǎ. One of these candidates is the noun *gcig-po* 'only, sole, alone, another', as for instance in *kho rang gcig-por yong-ba red* 'He came alone.' (Zhāng 1993, vol. 1, p. 740). Another form is the adverb *gcig-pu* 'alone, single, on one's own', as in *nga gcig-pur lus-pa* 'I am the only one left' (ibid.).

Overall, the relationship between Báimǎ [tʃu¹³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] with Tibetan *gcig-po* or *gcig-pu* is complex. The meaning of [tʃu¹³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] overlaps with that of *gcig-po* or *gcig-pu*, but is not restricted to it. [tʃu¹³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] can mean not only 'single' or 'alone', but also more generally 'one'. For instance, of the examples of [tʃu⁵³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] given in §3.3, [tʃu¹³] in sentence (8) would correspond to Tibetan *gcig-pu*, [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] in example (11) to *gcig-po*, while [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] in sentences (9) and (10) corresponds to the numeral *gcig* 'one' (or the numeral followed by the definite article *de* 'that'). However, given the frequent occurrence of [tʃu⁵³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] as a nominal phrase, suggesting a nominalized form of 'one' being their origin, as well as their resemblance to *gcig-po* or *gcig-pu*, I propose to explore the possibility of the former being derived from the latter. In the reconstruction below, I take the shorter form, [tʃu¹³], to be the original form and the longer one, [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵], a later development.

Based on systematic correspondences of Báimǎ to Classical Tibetan listed in Zhāng (1994a, b, 1997) and Huáng and Zhāng (1995), let us reconstruct what possible changes *gcig* on the one hand and the suffixes *po* and *pu* might have undergone in Báimǎ.

(1) words ending in *-ig* in Classical Tibetan systematically correspond to words ending in [i/ɪ] (Zhāng 1994a: 16) or [i/ə] (Huáng and Zhāng 1995: 94) in Báimǎ. For instance, [tʰigs] 'drop' in Tibetan becomes [tʰi⁵³] in Báimǎ (Huáng and Zhāng 1995: 94), *gcig* 'one' becomes [tʃɪ⁵³] in Sūn's or [tʃə⁵³] in Huáng and Zhāng's transcription.

(2) The bilabial unvoiced stop *p* in the Tibetan suffixes *pa* and *po* changes to the bilabial semivowel *w* in Báimǎ, as pointed out by Huáng and Zhāng (1995: 88). For example, Tibetan [kʰaŋ pa] 'house' is [ŋo²¹wa⁵³] in Báimǎ (ibid.). When the Tibetan suffixes *pa* and *po* are preceded by *m-* or *n-*, *p* becomes *mb*. For example, 'alive' is [gson po] in Tibetan and [sø²¹mbu⁵³] in Báimǎ (ibid.).

Further examination of the examples of Tibetan-Báimǎ correspondences, listed in Zhāng (1994b) and Huáng and Zhāng (1995), suggests the following developments relevant for the present analysis:

(1) The suffix *po* systematically changes to *wu* (Huáng and Zhāng's transcription) or *u* (Sūn's transcription used by Zhāng Jìchuān). When *po* is preceded by a nasal, it changes to *mbu*. For instance, Tibetan 'finely grinded (flour)' [ndʑam po] corresponds to [ndʒa²¹mbu⁵³] in Báimǎ (Huáng and Zhāng 1995: 93), *sel-po* 'a basket carried on the back' is [she¹³u⁵³] (Zhāng 1994b: 66).

(2) both *pa* and *po* correspond to a syllable in the high falling tone (53) in Báimǎ. For example, Tibetan *'ug-pa* 'owl' changes into [u³⁵uɑ⁵³] (Zhāng 1994a: 14), *bzang-po* 'good' into [zɐ¹³u⁵³]

('excellent' in Báimă), *mang-po* 'much, many' into [mɐ¹³u⁵³] (ibid., p. 13), [rtsam pa] 'roast barley flour' into [tsa²¹mba⁵³] (Huáng and Zhāng 1995: 88).

On the basis of the above, the original Tibetan *gcig-po* 'only, sole, alone' yields *[tʃɿ⁵³u⁵³] in Báimă.

Another probable candidate for the origin of [tʃu¹³] in Báimă, *gcig-pu*, is likely to undergo similar changes. I could not find any words with the suffix *pu* in either Zhāng's or Huáng and Zhāng's lists of Tibetan-Báimă correspondences. Given the above pattern, it is nonetheless reasonable to postulate that such a combination in Tibetan would again yield the *[tʃɿ⁵³u⁵³] form in Báimă.

Hence, both *gcig-po* 'lonely, single' and *gcig-pu* 'single, the only one' are likely to develop into the Báimă form *[tʃɿ⁵³u⁵³]. This combination is then expected to collapse into [tʃu⁵³] through frequent usage. The transformation of [tʃu⁵³] into [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] would tentatively proceed along the following lines.

In Báimă, topics are often marked by the word [tɛ⁵³] 'that', as in the following sentence:

(14) çe¹³lo³⁵   tɛ⁵³   gu¹³ka⁵³   ndzɛ³⁵   tse⁵³   ʐe¹³
      bird.eagle that   evening   night   arrive be
      bya.glag   de   dgongs.kha mtshan   sleb   red

      je¹³kɛ³⁵   tɛ⁵³   çe¹³lo³⁵   ti⁵³   ʂuɛ³⁵pɑ⁵³
      everyday   that   bird.eagle that.OBL   wing
      ?   de   bya.glag   de.?   gshog.pa
      ʐʊ³⁴¹   ʐu³⁵   ʂə¹³.
      under   keep.warm 3PF
      zhabs   ?   ?
      'As for the eagle, in the evening, at night... every day, the eagle was keeping the child warm under its wings.'

[tʃu⁵³] (and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵]) are often used as topics, cf. examples (8) to (10), in which function it commonly co-occurs with [tɛ⁵³]. The juxtaposition of [tʃu⁵³] and [tɛ⁵³] led to the change of the original high falling tone of [tʃu⁵³] to the low rising tone, i.e. [tʃu¹³]. As was the case with [ɦɔ³⁵], in this model, I again cannot explain why the high falling tone of the second syllable, [tɛ⁵³] changes to the high rising tone, [tɛ³⁵]. The same pattern (variation between the high falling and the high rising tone in the second syllable of a bisyllabic word) is observed in a number of words in Báimǎ, e.g. [so⁵³] 'three', but [tʃo¹³so³⁵] 'thirteen' (Nishida and Sūn 1990: 356); 'to augment' is [kʰɛ⁵³nɛ⁵³] or [ʃu⁵³nɛ³⁵], 'to devaluate' is [ko⁵³ʒɑ⁵³tʃø⁵³] and [ko⁵³ʒɑ⁵³tʃo³⁵] (ibid., p. 371). The underlying mechanism of this alternation will hopefully be understood in due time.

Being reanalyzed as one form, [tʃu¹³te³⁵] is in turn frequently followed by [tɛ⁵³] when acting as sentence topic, for example:

(15)　na⁵³　　　ʂo¹³hu³⁵　　ɲe⁵³　　　tɕʰø¹³nɔ⁵³　　pu⁵³
　　　here　　　rich　　　　person　　family　　　son
　　　('di.)na　phyug.po　mi　　　　khyim.nang　bu

　　　tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵　　tɛ⁵³　　　ʂə⁵³　　mbo¹³ʂə¹³.
　　　only　　　　that　　　die　　　COM　3PF
　　　gcig.po　　de　　　　shi　　　?　　　?
　　　'The only son of a rich family here passed away.'

Hence, [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] is [tʃu⁵³] used as topic. After having coincided into the same form, the originally distinct meanings of *gcig-po* and *gcig-pu* are expected to get obscured with the possibility that the new form is reanalyzed into a more general word 'one'.

5. CONCLUSION

The six words for 'one' in Báimǎ, [tʃə⁵³], [ʂə¹³], [tʃu⁵³] and [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵], [ko⁵³], [ɦɔ³⁵] and [ʐə⁵³], all have distinct meanings and

functions. The form [tʃə⁵³] is the numeral 'one', the form [ʂə¹³] the indefinite marker, the form [ko⁵³] means 'full'. In the meaning 'one', [ko⁵³] is restricted to co-occurrence with container classifiers. The form [ɦɔ³⁵] is possibly a phonologically conditioned allomorph of [ko⁵³] 'full', whereas the form [zə⁵³] appears to retain earlier phonologically conditioned form of the Classical Tibetan indefinite marker. Finally, the form [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] means '(single) one' and is frequently used as a nominal phrase.

As for the co-occurrence and interchangeability of the forms, [tʃə⁵³] and [ʂə¹³] are in a complementary relationship. They do not co-occur for the obvious reason that indefinite reference is incompatible with an exact number reference. [tʃu¹³tɛ³⁵] is a fusion of the numeral 'one' with a nominalizing suffix and a demonstrative. Serving as a noun, i.e. 'one entity', it can take the indefinite article [ʂə¹³]. In expressions without context, it is used as a synonym for (and thus interchangeable with) the word [tʃə⁵³] 'one'. Finally, [ʂə¹³] freely co-occurs with expressions with the word [ko⁵³] 'full'.

As far as the usage of various words for 'one' is concerned, Báimǎ resembles Tibetan. This suggests that Báimǎ and Tibetan share a common origin and that the former is perhaps even a dialect of the latter. At present, no one disputes the common origin of Báimǎ and Tibetan. As for Báimǎ as a Tibetan dialect, more research is required to determine the precise position of Báimǎ within Tibetan. This investigation promises to become one of the most exciting directions in Báimǎ studies.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person personal pronouns
COM	completion expressed by the suffix [mbo¹³]
DIR	direction of the action
DU	dualis expressed by the form [te⁵³] 'two'
IMP	imperative
INDF	indefinite reference expressed by the word [ʂə¹³]

INST	instrumental expressed by the form [$r\varepsilon^{53}$]
LW	loan word
NOM	nominalizer expressed by [ji^{53}] and [$m\alpha^{53}$]
OBL	oblique case form
P	plural
PF	perfective aspect
PN	place name
S	singular

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