Words for 'one' in Baima
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This article describes different words for 'one' in Báimā, a language spoken at the border of Sìchuān and Gānsū provinces in China. According to Sūn Hóngkāi, the profusion of words for 'one' in Báimā is one of the features that distinguish Báimā from Tibetan. This paper discusses the distribution of various words for 'one' in a corpus of Báimā 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: Báimā, numeral 'one', indefinite marker, Classical Tibetan, Tibetan dialects, etymology.

Cet article décrit des mots différents signifiant 'un' en báimā, langue parlée à la frontière du Sichuan et Gansu en Chine. D'après Sūn Hóngkāi, la profusion des mots pour 'un' est l'une des caractéristiques qui distinguent le báimā des dialectes du tibétain. Cet article examine la distribution des mots pour 'un' dans un corpus de légendes báimā 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.

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Bámǎ 马 is a Tibeto-Burman language, spoken by approximately 10,000 residents of three counties in Sichuān 四川 Province and one county in Gānsǔ 甘肃 Province in the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Bámǎ 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 Pingwǔ 平武 in Sichuān and Wènxiàn 文县 in Gānsǔ) 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 Bámǎ 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 Bámǎ people. The Bámǎ 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 Bámǎ have repeatedly demanded reclassification. This appeal was granted in the late 1970s, when a group of PRC researchers conducted two surveys in the Bámǎ areas. As a result of these surveys of 12 (1978) and 25 (1979) days, the research group published two collections of papers (Sichuān Shēng Mínzú Yánjūsuǒ 1980, Zēng et al. 1987), in which the majority of researchers argued that the Bámǎ were descendents of the ancient Dí 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 Bámǎ.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 Pingwǔ 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. 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 dī. For example, at conferences on minority languages in Mainland China 'Dī and Qiang' (ancient nomadic tribes in the western regions of China) are consistently named Dī Qiāng. In this article, I follow the prescriptive usage and give the name of the ethnic minority as Dī.

Working in collaboration with Sun Hongkai in the late 1980s, Nishida Tatsuo studied records of what is currently named the Báimā language in the Xīfān yìyǔ 西番译语 [Vocabularies of Western Barbarian languages], made by Chinese officials during the Qianlong reign 乾隆 (1736-1796) of the Qing 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 Báimā-Chinese vocabulary 'Báimā yìyǔ': the structure and affiliation of the Báimā language]. Nishida agrees with Sun that Báimā should be considered an independent language and he likewise places it in the Tibetan branch.

Åwäng Cuòchéng and Wáng Jiānmín made a survey of 15 days in Pingwǔ County in 1988 and subsequently published a fieldwork report in which they label Báimā 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 Sun Hongkai (1990), Zhāng Jichuān (1994a, 1994b, 1997) wrote three articles on Báimā, outlining regular correspondences between the phonological systems of Báimā and Classical Tibetan. He suggests that Báimā is related to the Khams Tibetan dialect group.

After one month of recording Báimā in Pingwǔ County in 1995, Huáng Bùfán and Zhāng Mǐnhuì published an article in which they also propose a set of sound correspondences between Classical Tibetan and Báimā. They thus support Zhāng Jichuān’s hypothesis that Báimā should be classified within the Khams dialect group.³

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

On the whole, Bái mǎ 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.  

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 Hóngkǎi (Nishida and Sūn 1990: 216) notes that Báimǎ has several words denoting the meaning 'one'. Three words for 'one' as shown by Jackson Sun (2003a, 2003b), many Tibetan dialects (such as Zhōng and Chos-e) 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: \([\text{tš}î\text{53}]\) 'one', \([\text{tʃo}^{35}\text{te}^{35}]\) 'one' and \([(d\text{ə})\text{ɦi}^{35}]\) 'one (pound)'.

While \([\text{tʃi}\text{53}]\) and \([(d\text{ə})\text{ɦi}^{35}]\) are translated in Chinese as \(\text{yī} 'one'\), \([\text{tʃo}^{13}\text{te}^{35}]\) is rendered as a combination of the numeral 'one' followed by the measure word for horses and cloth: \(\text{一疋} 'one'\). In addition to these three words, Sūn mentions three more words for 'one': \([\text{ko}^{53}]\), \([\text{ts}^{13}]\) and \([\text{tʃi}^{53}]\).

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 \([\text{tʃi}^{53}]\), while the others include \([\text{ts}^{13}]\), \([\text{ko}^{53}]\) and \([\text{tʃo}^{13}\text{te}^{35}]\). [...] 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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1. I transcribe this word as \([\text{tʃu}^{11}\text{te}^{35}]\). Hereafter I will use the form \([\text{tʃo}^{13}\text{te}^{35}]\) when quoting Sūn and \([\text{tʃu}^{11}\text{te}^{35}]\) when referring to my own transcriptions.

6. Bāimǎ 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 \([\text{ʃe}^{35}]\) '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 Hóngkǎi's transcriptions oppose palato-alveolars \([\text{ʃ} \text{z}]\) and alveolo-palatalts \([\text{ʃ} \text{z}]\), which contrast has been argued by Hall (1997a, 1997b) to be unattested in natural languages. Sūn's opposition between palato-alveolars \([\text{ʃ} \text{z}]\) and alveolo-palatalts \([\text{ʃ} \text{z}]\) is described in Huáng and Zhāng (1995) as that between retroflexes \([\text{ʃ} \text{z}]\) and alveolo-palatalts \([\text{ʃ} \text{z}]\), which analysis is adopted for my own transcriptions. To facilitate the present exposition which makes use of both Zhāng Jīchuān'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) \([\text{ʃi}]\) and \([\text{z}i]\) in Sūn Hóngkǎi's (1990, 2003a, 2003b) and Zhāng Jīchuān (1994a, 1994b, 1997) correspond to Huáng and Zhāng's (1995) \([\text{ʃ} \text{z}]\) and \([\text{ʃ} \text{z}]\) 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 [tfî53], and why others can only be used with [jfî13], [ko53] or [tfоо3te35]. 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 Bǎimǎ. The frequency of these words in Sūn's data varies considerably:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'One'</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tfî53</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fî13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tfоо3te35</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko53</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fоо35</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zоо53</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

As appears from this table, [tfî53] and [jfî13], on the one hand, and [tfоо3te35] and [ko53], on the other, appear frequently and are distributed evenly, whereas [fоо35] and [zоо53] 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 [tfî53], [jfî13] and [tfоо3te35] seem to allow some degree of interchangeability. In two instances, [tfî53] is reportedly interchangeable with [jfî13], e.g. 一匹 (布) 'one bolt (of cloth)' can be rendered as either [re13зý34tfî53] or [re1зý30тî13] (p. 357). And in one instance, [tfî53] is interchangeable with [tfоо3te35]: 一股 (份) 'one share' can be translated into Bǎimǎ as either [kie35 tfî53] or [kie35 tfоо3te35] (ibid.). The word [jfî13] is interchangeable with [tfоо3te35] in three instances,
e.g. 一盒 'one box' $[i^{13}x^5 \text{fa}^{13}]$ can also be rendered as $[i^{13}x^5 \text{fo}^{13}\text{te}^{35}]$ (p. 357).

In sharp contrast to Šün's findings, my elicitation from Chinese demonstrate a distinct preference for $[s^\text{sa}^{13}]$ (or $[\text{ji}^{13}]$ in Šün's transcription), and my language consultants report it to be freely interchangeable with $[\text{fo}^{13}\text{te}^{35}]$. For instance, 一条狗 'one dog' was translated by my language consultants as $[\text{ti}^{53}h^3\text{ta}^{13}]$ or $[\text{ti}^{53}h^3\text{fo}^{13}\text{te}^{35}]$. Šün lists this word only with $[\text{fo}^{13}\text{te}^{35}]$ (p. 358).

In other words, my elicitation 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 $y^1 \text{ge 'one'}$ and its weakened counterpart $\text{yige (denoting indefinite reference; close in meaning and function to the English indefinite article a)}$ is not always obvious to non-native speakers, because written Chinese does not distinguish between these two usages. Hence, for speakers of a language with a special device to indicate indefinite reference, as is the case with Báimá, 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 Báimá Tibetan Township, Pingwú County, Sichuán Province. The corpus consists of 31 Báimá legends and stories about Koshino village (Shuǐniújiā 水牛家 in Chinese), once a large and influential Báimá community. Sadly enough, Koshino no longer exists. Its population was relocated to other villages of the Báimá Tibetan Township in

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8 On the semantic distinction between $y^1 \text{ge}$ and its weakened counterpart $\text{yige}$, see Chao (1968: 567).
2003. The former location of Koshino will be flooded in the course of 2005 following construction of the Shǔníújiā 冬水牛家水坝. The legends and stories were narrated by Zhaga Tsere, a 69-year old native of Koshino, and translated into Chinese with the help of Lí Déguì 李德贵, a 64-year old native of Lārǔkuài 来河村 and presently a resident of Píngwū. Hereafter I refer to the corpus as the Zhaga texts, after their narrator.

All the words for 'one' listed in Níshídà and Sūn (1990: 357-359) have been attested in the Zhaga texts, but their relative frequency is different. In addition, [tʃu'user35] in the corpus exists also in the shorter (and perhaps original) form [tʃu'user33].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʃu'user33</td>
<td>'one'</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʂə'user33</td>
<td>indefinite marker</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃu'user33, tʃu'user33'tʃə'user35</td>
<td>'single, alone'</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko'user33</td>
<td>'full'</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃə'user35</td>
<td>'full'</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zə'user33</td>
<td>indefinite marker</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

[tʃu'user33], [ʂə'user33], [tʃu'user33] and [tʃu'user33'tʃə'user35] and [ko'user33] all co-occur with a wide variety of words, whereas [ʃə'user35] and [zə'user33] are restricted in distribution. Of the nine occurrences of [ʃə'user35], eight are in the same construction, 'one ㄔī (Chinese unit measure, equivalent to 0.3 m)'. Likewise, of the nine occurrences of [zə'user33], seven are in combination with 'year' and two in combination with 'tael'.

9 Zhāng (1997) already suggests that the forms [ko'user33] and [ʃə'user33] are cognate with the Tibetan gcig 'full', whereas [tʃu'user33], [ʃi'user33] and [ʂi'user33] are all cognate with the Tibetan gei'one' (pp. 151-152). He does not, however, discuss the form [tʃu'user33'tʃə'user35] or the precise relationship between [tʃi'user33], [ʃi'user33] and [ʂi'user33].
As was the case with my direct elicitations, [sɔ̃¹³] enjoys the highest frequency and [tfɔ̃⁵³] 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 Sün'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 Báimá 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 Báimá are: [kʰa⁵³] 'mouth', [kã¹³zi¹⁴³] 'bowl', [sɔ̃⁵³tʃo⁵³] 'pot', [tfɔ̃⁵³zʊ̃⁵³] 'bucket', [dza⁴⁴³] 'pound', [sɔ⁵³] 'tael'. Some measures of length (for instance, 'chi') can likewise function as container classifiers in Báimá.

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

3.1. [tfɔ̃⁵³]

[tfɔ̃⁵³] 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.)'. [tfə^33] 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) kʰw^53 ke^53 du^35 tf o^35 ndʒu^35 tfə^53 tə^55 šə^53,
1S neck on pancake one tie IMP
? ske.? kha ? gcig sdom shog
fio^35 ru^53 phu^53 mbo^73 zε^53 dzε^35.
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) šə^53 tfə^53 ndż^13 ji^53 ce^13 de^13 šə^13,
day one reside NOM made was.in 3PF
zhag gcig 'dug ? byas bsdad ?
ko^13 va^35 zε^53 ndʒi^33 ce^13 de^13 ji^13, šə^53
leg with go made was.in after day

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 bsad nas zhag

tf²³  şo²³  ni³⁴  ndy³³  çe³³  de³³  şo³³.

one day two live made was.in 3PF
geg zhag gnyis 'dug byas bsad ?
'So, they stayed for one day... they went on foot and stayed
one or two days.'

In both example sentences, [tf²³] is the numeral 'one'.

In two occurrences in the Zhaga texts, [tf²³] is
reduplicated so as to express the meaning 'one by one' or 'each
other' (cf. Sün 1990: 218-219). Sentence (3) derives from a story
about the rivalry between the villages of Iadžy (Huángyángguān 黃
羊关) and Koshino. The bone of contention was the issue who had
to pay taxes for land owned by wealthy Koshino people in Iadžy.
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) ta³³  Ia³³dzty³³  zo³³  Ko³³şo³³  ni³³  te³³  ta³³
now  Iadžy  with  Koshi  two  DU  now
da(lta) PN  re  PN  gnyis  do  da(lta)
tf²³tf²³  tšo³³  ma³³  zo³³  şe³³.

one.one  mutually  not  manufacture  IMP
geg.geg  ?  ma  bzo  shog
'People of Iadžy and Koshino, do not do this to each other.'

11 The third person verbal suffix [şo³³] is homophonous (i.e. identical in form, but
distinct in meaning) with the indefinite marker [Şo³³].
12 Ia³³dzty³³ used to be populated by the Báimǎ and this name is quoted in many
Bámà stories and legends. The Bámà population of Ia³³dzty³³ is now completely
sinified. Only older speakers have some passive knowledge of Báimā. The element
[nt²³] 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 \([tə53]\) 'one' is sometimes used to emphasize the number 'one', as in the next example:

(4)  
\[\text{python} \quad \text{year} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{sbrul}.? \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{zhig} \quad \text{mi} \quad \text{geig} \quad \text{geig} \quad \text{’cha} \]

\[\ji53 \quad \ce13 \quad \de13.\]

NOM made was.in

? byas bsdad

'Every year the python ate one human being.'

3.2. \([sə13]\)

\([sə13]\) 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:  

(5)  
\[\text{now} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{Chinese.beggar14} \quad \text{INDF} \quad \text{arrive} \quad \text{appeared} \quad \text{da(,ta)} \quad (’di.)\text{na} \quad \text{rgya.LW} \quad \text{shig} \quad \text{sleb} \quad \text{byon} \]

'A beggar came here today.'

(6)  
\[\text{2S} \quad \text{frog} \quad \text{INDF} \quad \text{wife} \quad \text{frog} \quad \text{khyod} \quad \text{sbal.ba} \quad \text{shig} \quad ? \quad \text{sbal.ba} \]

\[\text{wå13} \quad \text{ge53} \quad \text{t⁢h⁢o53} \quad \text{we13} \quad \text{wa53} \quad \text{sə13}, \quad \text{pu13} \quad \text{ndə53} \quad \text{...} \quad \text{we13} \quad \text{wa53} \]

\[\text{2S} \quad \text{old} \quad \text{wife} \quad \text{search} \quad \text{go} \]
(sbal.) ba. rgas khyod ? 'tshol 'gro
ko³⁵(la³⁵) tsʰ³⁵ ndʒi³⁵ ze¹³, dzé³⁵.
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) La³ⁿqa³⁵ tɕiouסטי a³²ji³⁵ ge¹³gu³⁵
Langa just.be grandmother old
PN LW a.yis rgas.rgus
šə³³ de³³ Šə³³,¹⁵
INDF was.in 3PF
shig bsdad ?
'In Langa, eh... there was an old lady.'

[šə³³] co-occurs with non-container classifiers and can co-occur with two other words for ‘one’, [ko³³] and [tʃu¹te³³], as seen in the following sections.

3.3. [tʃu³³] and [tʃu³³te³³]

[tʃu³³te³³] exists in two variants, the short form [tʃu³³], as in sentence (8), and the long form [tʃu¹³te³³], as in sentence (9). The syllable [tʃu³³] in [tʃu¹³te³³] changes its original high falling tone to the low rising tone when accompanied by a syllable in the high rising tone (see footnote 8). [tʃu³³] and [tʃu¹³te³³] have a wide range of meanings. In this section, I will provisionally gloss [tʃu³³] and [tʃu¹³te³³] according to their meaning in each particular sentence.

(8) kʰu³³ tʃu³³ fio³³ja³⁵ šə³³.
1S only.one be.over 3PF

¹⁵[tɕiousteen] (or jiu shi in Pinyin transcription) is a loan from Chinese.
Sentence (8) is taken from a story about two brothers, one rich and the other poor. The poor brother leads a happy life despite his poverty, for he is always laughing and playing with his children; the rich brother feels lonely and unhappy. One day, the rich brother attempts to entertain himself and his wife by playing a ball game. Since they are very wealthy, they use lumps of silver as balls, but this does not cheer them up:

(9)  tɕˀ.ō̞₃₃ kɑ̃³⁴ta̞₃₃, ŋɑ₃₃ kɑ̃³⁴ta̞₃₃, tfü³⁵te̞³⁵
2S piece 1S piece one.item
khyod LW nga LW gcig
tɕˀ.e̞³₅ tɕˀ.e̞³₅, tfü³⁵te̞³⁵ tʰ̈³⁵te̞³⁵
DIR: vertically.up set.out one.item DIR:down.the.slope
chas gcig

(10) a̞³ma̞₃₃, a̞³pa̞₃₃ tfü³⁵te̞³⁵ sə̞³⁵ ma̞₃₃
mother father one.entity gave.birth NOM
a.ma a.pha gcig gsos ma
ze̞³₃ dze̞³₅ sə̞³₃.
be said 3PF
red bzlas ?

'We are born of the same parents, he said.'

Similar to \([\text{tf}^3\text{a}^3]\) and \([\text{sa}^3]\), \([\text{tf}^3\text{u}^3\text{t}^3\text{e}^3]\) 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, \([\text{tf}^3\text{u}^3]\) and \([\text{tf}^3\text{u}^3\text{t}^3\text{e}^3]\) co-occur with the indefinite marker \([\text{sa}^3]\), for example:

\[
(11) \quad \text{kh}^3\text{e}^3 \quad \text{mu}^3\text{te}^3 \quad \text{tf}^3\text{u}^3 \quad \text{sa}^3
\]
\[
1P \quad \text{mother-daughter} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{DU} \quad \text{single} \quad \text{INDF}
\]
\[
? \quad \text{ma.?bu(.mo)} \quad \text{gnyis do} \quad \text{gcig.po} \quad \text{shig}
\]
\[
\text{nd}^3\text{za}^3 \quad \text{ji}^3 \quad \text{ze}^3.
\]
\[
\text{eat} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{be}
\]
\[
\text{‘cha} \quad \text{red}
\]
\[
(\text{The python) is going to eat one of the two of us.' (literally, 'a single one of the two of us')}
\]

3.4. [ko^3]

The original meaning of \([\text{ko}^3]\) is 'full', as in \([\text{tf}^3\text{u}^3\text{ndi}^3\text{ko}^3]\) 'so full of water'. In the Zhaga texts, it co-occurs with container classifiers exclusively.

\[
(12) \quad \text{a}^3\text{ni}^3 \quad \text{tf}^3\text{e}^3 \quad \text{ko}^3 \quad \text{te}^3 \quad \text{ko}^3 \quad \text{dze}^3
\]
\[
\text{grandfather} \quad \text{tobacco} \quad \text{full} \quad \text{smoke} \quad \text{said}
\]
\[
\text{a.mes} \quad ? \quad \text{gang} \quad \text{‘then}^\text{17} \quad \text{bzlasure}
\]
\[
\text{‘Sir, smoke a pipe, he said.' (literally, ‘a pipe full of tobacco')}
\]

Examples of \([\text{ko}^3]\) given in Nishida and Sūn (1990: 357-359) support the hypothesis that the usage of \([\text{ko}^3]\) is restricted to container classifiers. For instance, \(\text{一锅} [\text{sa}^3\text{tf}^3\text{o}^3\text{ko}^3]\) 'pot-full' (compare \(\text{一个锅} [\text{sa}^3\text{tf}^3\text{f}^3\text{i}^3]\) 'one pot', 1990: 357), \(\text{一把} (\text{米})\)

\text{17 ‘then means ‘pull, draw’ and is also used in the meaning ‘smoke’, cf. similar usage in Zhongu (Sun 2003a: 825).}
[pq\textsuperscript{53}r1\textsuperscript{3} ko\textsuperscript{53}] 'hand-full (of rice)' (1990: 358), 一口 [k\textsuperscript{3}a\textsuperscript{53} ko\textsuperscript{53}] 'mouth-full', 一碗 [ka\textsuperscript{3}zi\textsuperscript{341} ko\textsuperscript{53}] 'bowl-full', 一桶 [t\textsuperscript{o}zi\textsuperscript{53} ko\textsuperscript{53}] 'bucket-full', 一缸 [dz\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{nbo}\textsuperscript{53} ko\textsuperscript{53}] 'vat-full' (ibid.).

3.5. [fi\textsuperscript{35}]

In Sūn's examples (Nishida and Sūn 1990: 359), [fi\textsuperscript{35}] appears to co-occur with only two nouns, 'pound' and 'chǐ', i.e. 一斤 [dz\textsuperscript{a}fi\textsuperscript{35}] 'one pound', 一尺 [k\textsuperscript{3}a\textsuperscript{13}fi\textsuperscript{35}] 'one chǐ'. In my corpus, it is attested in combination with 'chǐ' (8 occurrences) (e.g. [ja\textsuperscript{13}fi\textsuperscript{35}k\textsuperscript{6}a\textsuperscript{13}fi\textsuperscript{35}s\textsuperscript{33}] 'a handkerchief of one chǐ') and on one occasion, with the word 'trough, manger', i.e. [t\textsuperscript{o}u\textsuperscript{33}ya\textsuperscript{3}fi\textsuperscript{35}] 'one trough of water'. On three other instances of the use of 'trough, manger' in the Zhaga texts, this word rather co-occurs with [ko\textsuperscript{53}] 'full', i.e. [ja\textsuperscript{3}ma\textsuperscript{53}ya\textsuperscript{13}ko\textsuperscript{53}] 'one manger of peas', [t\textsuperscript{o}u\textsuperscript{33}nd\textsuperscript{a}ya\textsuperscript{3}ko\textsuperscript{53}] 'one trough of water'. 'Pound', 'chǐ' and 'trough' are all container classifiers.

3.6. [z\textalpha\textsuperscript{53}]

Similar to [fi\textsuperscript{35}], [z\textalpha\textsuperscript{53}] 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 [jo\textsuperscript{33}zi\textsuperscript{33}] 'one bushel',
- 一两 [j\textsuperscript{53}zi\textsuperscript{33}] 'one tael',
- 一驮 [k\textsuperscript{3}a\textsuperscript{3}tf\textsuperscript{3}a\textsuperscript{3}zi\textsuperscript{33}] 'one sack (load carried on the back)',
- 一对 (一对手) [tf\textsuperscript{3}a\textsuperscript{3}zi\textsuperscript{33}] 'one pair (one pair of hands)',
- 一夜 [go\textsuperscript{3}zi\textsuperscript{33}] 'one night',
- 一个月 [dz\textsuperscript{a}zi\textsuperscript{33}] 'one month'
- 一年 [ie\textsuperscript{33}zi\textsuperscript{33}] '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, [zø₃³] co-occurs seven times with 'year', as in sentence (4), and two times with the word for 'tael', as in sentence (13):

(13)  tfʰe₃⁵ ša₃³ mbo¹³ ze₁³, tfʰe₃⁵ so₁³ zø₃³
tobacco burn COM be tobacco tael one
jø³⁵kʰu₃³ ze₃³.
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 [zø₃³] and other words for 'one' follows in §4.2.

4. COUNTERPARTS OF BÁIMĀ 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', [tfø₃³], an indefinite marker, [ša₃³] and the word 'full' used with container classifiers in the meaning of 'one', [ko₃³], 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 Báimā studies (Zhāng 1994, 1997; Huáng and Zhāng 1995) and various Tibetan dialect data with an emphasis on the Khams group, to which Báimā 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 Zāng-Hàn dà cīdiàn [Comprehensive Tibetan-Chinese dictionary], edited by Zhāng Yīsūn (1993), gives the second meaning of the word gang 'full' as 'one', which is illustrated with the following examples: rgya-ma gang 'one pound', dkar-yol gang 'one bowl' and gom-pa gang 'one step' (Zhāng 1993, vol. 1, p. 339). 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, [pho内存pa内存(kh13)] and 'Ba'-thang (Khams) Tibetan, [phU内存ro内存(kō13)].

The three remaining Báimǎ words for 'one', [fʊɔ35], [zɔ53] and [tʊu13te35], 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 [fʊɔ35], [zɔ53] and [tʊu13te35] reflect some kind of substratum numeral system of Báimǎ which survived intensive contact of the Báimǎ with the Tibetans and the Chinese?

4.1. [fʊɔ35]

As mentioned in §2.5, [fʊɔ35] co-occurs with container classifiers ('pound', 'chǐ', 'trench'). The word 'trench' can be used with both [fʊɔ35] and [kʊ53]. Let us consider the possibility that [fʊɔ35] is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of [kʊ53]. Further scrutiny of the list of words with which [kʊ53] and [fʊɔ35] co-occur,

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 [a], when the latter is not preceded by the nasal [nb] cluster, for instance, 一包 (东西) 'one package' [tɕi53nba53ko53] (Sün 1990: 358). Hence, it is plausible that [ɦo55] is an allomorph of [ko53] 'full' after the low back vowel [a], e.g. [dɔa̯53ɦo55] 'one pound', [kʰa̯13ɦo55] 'one chi', [ɣa̯55ɦo55] 'one trough'. That the word 'trough' can now co-occur with both [ɦo55] and [ko53] probably evidences erosion of this earlier distinction. It remains, however, unclear why [ko53] and [ɦo55] 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. [zhɔ53]

[zhɔ53] 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 [ne13 mbo53 kɔ̂13], literally, 'barley bushel full', in Sde-dge Tibetan (Gésang 2002: 151). 'One tael of gold' is [ser55sæ̯53kʰaŋ13], 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 zhaq gcig in Classical Tibetan and [xɔ53 tɕi53] in 'Ba'-thang Tibetan; 'one month' is [zla ba (tɕi53)] in Classical Tibetan and [ndɔ13 (tɕi53)] 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 [zhɔ53] 'one' in one group, except, maybe, their relatively high frequency of occurrence. However, so are also 'pound' and 'chi' which co-occur with [ɦo53].

If we examine Classical Tibetan cognates of the Báimǎ words that co-occur with [zhɔ53], 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Báimǎ</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'one bushel'</td>
<td>ʂo³³</td>
<td>ʈʂʰa³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'one tael'</td>
<td>ʂ³³</td>
<td>ʈʂʰa³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'one sack'</td>
<td>ʈʂʰa³³</td>
<td>ʈʂʰa³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'one pair'</td>
<td>ʈʂʰa³³</td>
<td>ʈʂʰa³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'one night'</td>
<td>ʈʂʰa³³</td>
<td>ʈʂʰa³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'one month'</td>
<td>ʈʂʰa³³</td>
<td>ʈʂʰa³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'one year'</td>
<td>ʈʂʰa³³</td>
<td>ʈʂʰa³³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

In these (high frequency) combinations, Báimǎ probably retained the original phonologically conditioned form of the Classical Tibetan weakened form of 'one', even after Báimǎ underwent phonological change and simplification of syllables. The form [ʂo³³] pervasively took over other forms as the standard rendering of the indefinite marker.

4.3. [ʈʂʰu³³] and [ʈʂʰu³³ʈʂʰ³³]

The case of [ʈʂʰu³³] and [ʈʂʰu³³ʈʂʰ³³] is more complex than that of [ʈʂʰa³³] and [ʈʂʰa³³], given the frequent occurrence of the former as a nominal phrase. [ʈʂʰu³³] and [ʈʂʰu³³ʈʂʰ³³] 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, [ʈʂʰ], 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 *yì* 'one item' (see Dòng 2003, Liú 2004, Chirkova 2004). In Malayic languages, which like Báimá, 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 Báimá, given its classifier-numeral word order.

Since the use of numerals in Báimá resembles that in Classical Tibetan and Tibetan dialects, it is reasonable to expect that [tfu¹³te³⁵] 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 [tfu¹³] and [tfu¹³te³⁵] in Báimá. 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 Báimá [tfu¹³] and [tfu¹³te³⁵] with Tibetan gcig-po or gcig-pu is complex. The meaning of [tfu¹³] and [tfu¹³te³⁵] overlaps with that of gcig-po or gcig-pu, but is not restricted to it. [tfu¹³] and [tfu¹³te³⁵] can mean not only 'single' or 'alone', but also more generally 'one'. For instance, of the examples of [tfu¹³] and [tfu¹³te³⁵] given in §3.3, [tfu¹³] in sentence (8) would correspond to Tibetan gcig-pu, [tfu¹³te³⁵] in example (11) to gcig-po, while [tfu¹³te³⁵] 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 [tfu¹³] and [tfu¹³te³⁵] 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, [tfu¹³], to be the original form and the longer one, [tfu¹³te³⁵], 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 geig on the one hand and the suffixes po and pu might have undergone in Báimǎ.


(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 [kʰan pa] 'house' is [pgɔʷwa53] 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 [so²mbu53] 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 Jichuān). When po is preceded by a nasal, it changes to mbu. For instance, Tibetan 'finely grinded (flour)' [ndzam po] corresponds to [ndʒa²mbu53] in Báimǎ (Huáng and Zhāng 1995: 93), sel-po 'a basket carried on the back' is [ʃe³u⁵³] (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 [u³uə₃³] (Zhāng 1994a: 14), bzang-po 'good' into [zə¹u⁵³]
(‘excellent’ in Báimà), mang-po ‘much, many’ into [me$^{13}u^{53}]$^2$ (ibid., p. 13), [rtsam pa] ‘roast barley flour’ into [tsa$^{21}mba^{53}]$^3$ (Huàng and Zhāng 1995: 88).

On the basis of the above, the original Tibetan gcig-po ‘only, sole, alone’ yields *[tʃ$^{53}u^{53}]$ in Báimà. Another probable candidate for the origin of [tʃ$u^{13}]$ in Báimà, gcig-pu, is likely to undergo similar changes. I could not find any words with the suffix pu in either Zhāng’s or Huàng and Zhāng’s lists of Tibetan-Báimà correspondences. Given the above pattern, it is nonetheless reasonable to postulate that such a combination in Tibetan would again yield the *[tʃ$^{53}u^{53}]$ form in Báimà.

Hence, both gcig-po ‘lonely, single’ and gcig-pu ‘single, the only one’ are likely to develop into the Báimà form *[tʃ$^{53}u^{53}]$. This combination is then expected to collapse into [tʃ$u^{13}]$ through frequent usage. The transformation of [tʃ$u^{13}]$ into [tʃ$u^{13}t$]$^{35}$ would tentatively proceed along the following lines.

In Báimà, topics are often marked by the word [t$e^{53}]$ ‘that’, as in the following sentence:

(14)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
gé$^{13}lo^{35}$ & t$e^{53}$ & gu$^{13}ka^{53}$ & ndze$^{35}$ & tse$^{33}$ & zé$^{13}$ \\
bird.eagle  & that  & evening  & night  & arrive  & be  \\
bya.glag  & de  & dgongs.kha  & mtshan  & sleb  & red  \\
jé$^{13}ke^{35}$ & t$e^{53}$ & gé$^{13}lo^{35}$ & ti$^{33}$ & śue$^{35}pa^{53}$ & \\
everyday  & that  & bird.eagle  & that.OBL  & wing  \\
?  & de  & bya.glag  & de.?  & gshog.pa  \\
zu$^{341}$ & zu$^{35}$ & śa$^{13}$. & \\
under  & keep.warm  & 3PF  \\
zhab  & ?  & ?  \\
\end{array}
\]

‘As for the eagle, in the evening, at night... every day, the eagle was keeping the child warm under its wings.’
[tfù³] (and [tfù³te³]) are often used as topics, cf. examples (8) to (10), in which function it commonly co-occurs with [të³]. The juxtaposition of [tfù³] and [të³] led to the change of the original high falling tone of [tfù³] to the low rising tone, i.e. [tfù³]. As was the case with [fɔ³53], in this model, I again cannot explain why the high falling tone of the second syllable, [të³] changes to the high rising tone, [të³53]. 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 Bāimā, e.g. [sò³] 'three', but [tfò³sò³³] 'thirteen' (Nishida and Sūn 1990: 356); 'to augment' is [kʰë³35] or [fù³ne³53], 'to devaluate' is [kò³³æ³³fò³³] and [kò³³æ³³fò³³] (ibid., p. 371). The underlying mechanism of this alternation will hopefully be understood in due time.

Being reanalyzed as one form, [tfù³te³] is in turn frequently followed by [të³] when acting as sentence topic, for example:

(15) na³³ šë³³hu³³ ne³³ të³³nò³³ pu³³
here rich person family son
(‘di.) na phyug.po mi khyim.nang bu
tfù³³te³³ të³³ šë³³ mbo³³³ sò³³
only that die COM 3PF
gcig.po de shi ? ?
'The only son of a rich family here passed away.'

Hence, [tfù³³te³³] is [tfù³³] 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 Bāimā, [tfɔ³³], [sò³³], [tfù³³] and [tfù³³te³³], [kò³³], [fɔ³³] and [zès³³], all have distinct meanings and
functions. The form [tʃa53] 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 [fi53] 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 [tʃu13te53] means '(single) one' and is frequently used as a nominal phrase.

As for the co-occurrence and interchangeability of the forms, [tʃa53] 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. [tʃu13te53] 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 [tʃa53] '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, Báimā resembles Tibetan. This suggests that Báimā 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 Báimā and Tibetan. As for Báimā as a Tibetan dialect, more research is required to determine the precise position of Báimā within Tibetan. This investigation promises to become one of the most exciting directions in Báimā studies.

Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbrev.</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3</td>
<td>first, second, third person personal pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>completion expressed by the suffix [mbo13]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>direction of the action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>dualis expressed by the form [te53] 'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDF</td>
<td>indefinite reference expressed by the word [ʂə13]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INST   instrumental expressed by the form [ɾe]$^{[33]}$
LW     loan word
NOM    nominalizer expressed by [ji]$^{[33]}$ and [må]$^{[33]}$
OBL    oblique case form
P      plural
PF     perfective aspect
PN     place name
S      singular

REFERENCES


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