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On Yí ‘One Item’, Liǎ ‘Two Items’, and Sā ‘Three Items’

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Abstract: In this article, I examine the expression yí ‘one item’, as compared to the expressions liǎ ‘two items’, and sā ‘three items’ in Peking Mandarin. I discuss the character transcriptions of these expressions, give an overview of their previous treatments, and compare the current usage of yí with that of liǎ and sā. Based on the differences between these expressions, I conclude that while liǎ and sā are words (viz. independent carriers of the meanings ‘two items’ and ‘three items’), the meaning ‘one item’ is represented in Peking Mandarin both by the expression yí ‘one item’ and by the expression yige ‘an item’.

0. This article comments on the expression yí ‘one item, a specimen of’ (e.g. wōmen nàr yǒu yī hòu huāyuàr ‘we have a back garden there’) as compared to the expressions liǎ ‘two items’ (e.g. nèi liǎ húzì shì dàjià ‘those two children had a fight’), and sā ‘three items’ (e.g. wǒ sā duō yuè méi liù niàor ‘I haven’t taken my birds out for a stroll for over three months’).

All expressions are described as attested in a corpus of spoken Peking Mandarin that I collected in 2000-2001. The corpus consists of informal and unplanned conversations with 42 native speakers of Peking Mandarin of various age groups. I have tried to record informants who were not exposed to university education and whose language, as a consequence, retained those features that distinguish it from the official educational model, Standard Mandarin. The conversations range in length from 30 minutes to one hour, they are transcribed into the Hànyǔ Pīnỳīn system of transcription and are saved as computer texts. In its written form, the corpus comprises 17,844 sentences (for further details on the corpus, see Chirkova 2003: 6-11).

Despite the high frequency of its use, the expression yí ‘one item, a specimen of’ has so far been only sketchily described in reference literature (Dù 1993, Wiedenhof 1995, Zhōu 1998). This expression is an equivalent in informal speech of the phrase yige ‘one item’ or its weakened form yige ‘an item’. In the same way, the expressions liǎ ‘two items’ and sā ‘three items’ are generally considered equivalents of liàngge ‘two items’ and sāngge ‘three items’ respectively. In this article, I discuss the character transcriptions of these expressions (§1), give
an overview of their previous treatments (§2), and compare the current usage of
the expression yí in the corpus with that of liǎ and sā (§3).

1. Yí, liǎ, sā: character transcriptions

The expressions yí, liǎ and sā are typical for an informal style of speech, and
are rarely written. Until recently these words did not have well established char-
acter renderings. For example, in Chao’s article1 ‘A note on liǎ (俩), sā, etc.’
(1936), only the word liǎ has a written form, 俩, and the expression sā is given
in transcription. In fact, as noted by Chao (1936: 33), the character rendering for
liǎ, 俩, pronounced as liǎng and defined as 伎俩 jìliǎng ‘skill, craft’ in the
Jíyùn 集韵 [Collected rhymes] dictionary, is not semantically related to the
word liǎ ‘two items’, which only happens to be written with the same character.
Since the publication of Chao’s article, sā also acquired a written form, viz. 仨.
Currently, most dictionaries of Peking Mandarin (cf. Chén et al. 1997, Xú 1996)
and even some general dictionaries of Mandarin usage (e.g. Guō 2000) list both
words, liǎ and sā, with their character transcriptions.2

The expression yí is currently left without a written form and is usually not
included in reference books on Chinese or on Peking Mandarin. Based on the
character renderings for liǎ and sā, which are combinations of the ‘single stand-
ing man’ (dānlírén) radical with the numerals liǎng ‘two’ and sān ‘three’ respec-
tively, Wiedenhof (1995: 66, n. 15) proposes a Chinese character spelling for the
expression yí, viz. 一, which consists of the ‘single standing man’ radical and the
character for the numeral yī ‘one’.

2. Previous treatments

Etymologically, the three expressions yí, liǎ and sā are all fusions of the nu-
merals yī ‘one’, liǎng ‘two’, and sān ‘three’, respectively, with the measure word
ge ‘item’. All numerals from yī ‘one’ to shí ‘ten’ in Peking Mandarin can form
such fusions with the measure word ge, as described by Chao (1936, 1968: 570-571) and more recently by Zhōu (1998: 137). Chao (1968: 571) notes that

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1 In quotations from Chao (1936, 1968), the original transcriptions have as a rule been converted into Hànyǔ
Pīnyīn. Chao’s transcriptions from his (1936) work have been retained in §2 as more adequately reflecting the
phonetic details of the change from the expression liǎngge to the expression liǎ and from the expression
sāngge to the expression sā.

such fusions are possible because the intervocalic \( g \) in the measure word \( ge \) easily weakens into a sonorant \( [\gamma] \) and then disappears, producing such expressions as \( sì'e \) instead of \( sìge \) and \( wū'e \) for \( wūge \).

Chao (1936: 37-38) offers the following phonetic details on the change of the expressions \( li̍n̍gge \) and \( sānge \) to the forms \( li̍a \) and \( sā \). First, he notes (1936: 37, original transcriptions) that in northern and central Chinese dialects, nasal endings are ‘more of the nature of the second element of a diphthong than a stable final consonant.’ Therefore, the weak -\( ng \) in \( li̍ngg \) readily becomes only a nasalizing factor of the preceding vowel, resulting in the form \( li̍a \). The \( n \) in \( san^1-ko^4 \) ‘three items’, on the other hand, easily becomes velarized into -\( ng \), and then reduces, as is the case with \( li̍ngg \), to the nasalizing factor of the preceding vowel \( a \), i.e. \( sā \). Second, the intervocalic \( k \) [\( ʔ \)] of the measure word \( ko^4 \) ‘item’ weakens into \( [\gamma] \) and disappears, with the effect of \( li̍ngg-ko^4 \) and \( san^1-ko^4 \) becoming the forms \( li̍a-\( a \) \) and \( sā-\( a \) \). Finally, Chao points out that because neither \( li̍a-\( a \) \) nor \( sā-\( a \) \) are naturally stable sounds in the dialect, they fall into the slots of the nearest phonologically possible syllables, namely \( li̍a \) and \( sā \).

Chao also states that in a similar fusion of the numeral \( pa^1 \) ‘eight’ with the measure word \( ko^4 \) ‘item’, the ending -\( a \) is likewise easily dropped. He states (p. 37) that he had never heard a clear case of \( pa^{1(2)}-ko^4 \) \( pa^{(2)}-\( a \) \) ‘eight items’ and that this form is realized either as the intermediate weak form \( pa^{1(2)}-\( q\bar{a} \) \) or simply as a somewhat lengthened \( pa(\cdot) \). The reason for the instability and the eventual dropping of -\( a \), in Chao’s explanation, is the aversion to a hiatus between a low and a mid vowel, as is also the case with the forms \( li̍a \) and \( sā \). In his Grammar (1968) he recapitulates this conclusion, pointing out (p. 571) that:

> [w]ith the low vowel \( a \) in \( li̍ang \), \( sān \) and \( bā \), the dropping of the final consonant leaves only a lengthened \( a \) with a centralized vocalic ending, and since such a low diphthong fits badly the rest of the phonological system, it falls into the familiar slot of a simple \( a \), thus resulting in the paradoxical form of a shorter phonological shape representing a longer grammatical form.

All other fusions of numerals with the measure word \( ge \) ‘item’, namely \( i^2-\( a \) \) ‘one item’, \( ssū^2-\( a \) \) ‘four items’, \( wū^5-\( a \) \) ‘five items’, \( liu^4-\( a \) \) ‘six items’, \( ch^i^{1(2)}-\( a \) \) ‘seven items’, \( chiu^3-\( a \) \) ‘nine items’, and \( shih^2-\( a \) \) ‘ten items’, are reported by Chao to retain a schwa.
In his *Běijīng kòuyǔ yǔfā* Zhōu (1998: 137) gives a somewhat different list of the fusions of numerals with the measure word *ge*. Note also that Zhōu makes no reference to Chao’s works. Chao’s and Zhōu’s lists are compared in Table 1 with dissimilar forms printed in boldface:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘one item’</th>
<th>Chao (1936, 1968)</th>
<th>Zhōu (1998)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘two items’</td>
<td>liǎ</td>
<td>liǎ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘three items’</td>
<td>sā</td>
<td>sā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘four items’</td>
<td>sì’e</td>
<td>sè/sì’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘five items’</td>
<td>wù’e</td>
<td>wù’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘six items’</td>
<td>liù’e</td>
<td>liù’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘seven items’</td>
<td>qī’e/qí’e</td>
<td>qí’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eight items’</td>
<td>bā’e/bá’e or bā’e</td>
<td>bá’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘nine items’</td>
<td>jiǔ’e</td>
<td>jiǔ’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ten items’</td>
<td>shí’e</td>
<td>shí’e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1—Chao’s (1936, 1968) and Zhōu’s (1998) lists of fusions of numerals with *ge*

The expression ‘one item’, claimed to have a schwa by Chao, i.e. *yí’e*, is described as having no schwa by Zhōu, viz. *yí*. The expressions ‘seven items’ and ‘eight items’ are reported by Chao to exist in the first, *qī’e* and *bā’e*, and in the second tone, *qí’e* and *bá’e*. Zhōu gives them only in the second tone, *qí’e* and *bá’e*. Moreover, the expression *bā’e/bá’e* ‘eight items’, which according to Chao can either retain or drop the schwa, is said to retain a schwa by Zhōu.

Generally, the numeral *yī* ‘one’ changes its original first tone to the second tone, *yí*, when followed by a syllable in the fourth tone, as in *yí kuài* ‘one piece’. The underlying fourth tone of the measure word *ge* can likewise lead to the change of the original first tone in *yī* ‘one’ to the second tone, *yí*. The numerals *qī* ‘seven’ and *bā* ‘eight’ can also follow this tone sandhi, as pointed out by Chao in his *Grammar* (1968: 571). However, Chao also states that this tone sandhi is present ‘in the speech of a slight majority of the speakers.’ (ibid.). Hence, Chao’s account of the fusions ‘seven items’ and ‘eight items’ as *qī/e/qí’e* and *bā/e/bá’e* appears to reflect this phenomenon.

In my corpus, fusions of numerals above three with the measure word *ge* are infrequent. Numerals above two, and accordingly their combinations with the
measure word \textit{ge}, occur on a much smaller scale than the numerals \textit{yī} ‘one’ (or its weakened counterpart \textit{yì} ‘one’) and \textit{liǎng} ‘two’, as well as their collocations with \textit{ge}. The expression \textit{yige} ‘an item’ is often used to introduce a new specific entity in discourse. Similar to the indefinite article \textit{a/an} in English, it can serve to narrow down the reference of the following noun to a single member of a class. The expression \textit{liǎngge} ‘two items’ is used when speaking about couples of people and pairs of objects. Compare the frequency of occurrence in the corpus of fusions of the numerals from one to ten with the measure word \textit{ge}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fusion</th>
<th>Total in the corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{yī} ‘one item’</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{liǎ} ‘two items’</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{sā} ‘three items’</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{sì} ‘four items’</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{wǔ} ‘five items’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{liù} ‘six items’</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{qī} ‘seven items’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{bá} ‘eight items’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{jiǔ} ‘nine items’</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{shí} ‘ten times’</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2—Frequency of fusions of numerals from one to ten with the measure word \textit{ge}

Interestingly, the fusion \textit{yī} and the fusions from \textit{sì} ‘four items’ to \textit{shí} ‘ten items’ are realized as their corresponding numerals, which are, moreover, often lengthened. See, for instance, the expression \textit{wǔ} ‘five items’ in the next example, which is realized as the lengthened numeral \textit{wǔ} ‘five’. None of the fusions in the table bears any trace of an audible schwa. The fusions \textit{qī} ‘seven items’ and \textit{bá} ‘eight items’ are pronounced in the second tone. Given that in both cases they are followed by words in the fourth tone, i.e. \textit{qī bāi} ‘seven prayers’ and \textit{bá dà xuéyuàn} ‘eight big institutes’, my data leave open the possibility that some speakers of Peking Mandarin use the fusions \textit{qī} and \textit{bā} in the first tone, as attested by Chao.

Consider the following sentence with the forms \textit{wǔ} ‘five items’ and \textit{qī} ‘seven items’. Here, the informant tells a story about the Kāngxī Emperor (1662-1723). In this story, a Muslim minister of the Emperor tells him how many times Mus-
lims have to pray during the day. First he uses the expression wǔge bài ‘five prayers’ with the measure word ge in front of the noun bài ‘prayer’ and then continues with the expression wǔ bài, with the measure word ge incorporated into the fusion wǔ ‘five items’:

(1) Zhèi ge bài... zhèi wǔ ge bài dōu shì
this item prayer this five item prayer all be
shìjiè shàng tōngyī de, dōu shì nèi ge
world up unify SUB all be that item
diān. Shuō yǒu de shì shì wǔ bài, yǒu
place speak exist SUB time be five.item prayer exist
de shíhou shì qī bài, shuō yǒu de
SUB time be seven.item prayer speak exist SUB
shíhour jiù shì wǒ yīnwei máng, méi gōngfù
time just be 1S because busy not.exist free.time
lǐbài, dàn wǒ gěi ta būshàng.
pray but 1S give 3 make.up.for

‘This prayer... these five prayers are the same in the whole world, all of them take place there. So he said, sometimes I pray five times and sometimes seven times, and he also said, sometimes I don’t have time to pray because I am busy, but I will make up for it.’

As shown in Table 2, the expression yī is used as often as the expression liǎ ‘two items’ in the corpus. Despite its high frequency in the spoken language, this form is studied much less than the expressions liǎ ‘two items’ and sā ‘three items’. To my knowledge, yī has so far been attested only by Dù (1993: 142), Wiedenhof (1995: 65-66), and Zhōu (1998: 137). Dù, who first directed attention to this usage, described the expression yī as appearing invariably in the second tone. Further, he identified it with the numeral 一 yī/yì ‘one’. Thus, he reported that the numeral yī can be directly followed by a nominal phrase (which construction he names the ‘yī + noun’ pattern, ‘一+名’ 格式 ‘yī + míng’ géshì)
without an intervening measure word. In reality, the invariable appearance of the expression yí in the second tone suggests that this expression is a fusion of the numeral yī/yi ‘one/a’ and the measure word ge. The underlying fourth tone of this measure word, gē, has led to the second tone of yí, as noted by Wiedenhof (1995: 66). Hence, the expression yí, pronounced clearly without a schwa by my informants, is a fusion of the numeral yī/yi and the measure word ge rather than the numeral yī/yi ‘one/a’ occurring with a nominal phrase without a measure word. In the corpus, this expression appears in the second tone, yí, and in the neutral tone, yī, in rapid speech. I consider all instances of the use of yí or yī followed by a nominal expression without an intervening measure word in the corpus as examples of such a fusion.

As already noted, of all fusions of a numeral with the measure word ge, only the forms liǎ and sā have been well documented. Chao, who comments on them in his aforementioned article ‘A note on liǎ (俩), sā, etc.’ (1936) and in his Grammar (1968), outlines the limitations of their use (1936: 34-36, 1968: 570-571). He also addresses the common misconception that the expression liǎ ‘two items’ written with the ‘single standing man’ radical, 俩, has a special reference to persons, whereas in fact it can be used both for persons and things (1936: 33, 1968: 570). He concludes (1936: 36) that ‘liǎ and sā are the equivalent, in informal style, of liàng and sān, respectively, plus a numerary adjunct for individual objects or persons.’ He notes that other fusions of numerals with ge are possible, but does not comment on them in detail.

Let us now proceed to an overview of the usage of the expression yí in the corpus as compared to that of liǎ and sā. The two following features of fusions of numerals with the measure word ge have to be borne in mind for the comparison. First, in Mandarin, a combination of a numeral with a measure word can serve as a nominal or an attributive phrase. For instance, in the next sentence, the expression liǎng ge ‘the two of them, both of them’ serves as a nominal phrase. In this example, the informant speaks about her two sisters who did not have a chance to study in their youth.

(2) Liǎng ge mín bù tài hǎo de.
   two item fate not too good SUB

   ‘For both of them, life was tough.’

The term attributive phrase refers to words or expressions that serve to modify nominal heads. Consider example (3), in which the expression sānge ‘three
items’ is used as an attributive and modifies the noun 旗 ‘banner’. The informant talks about the administrative system of the Eight Banners, 八旗制度, during the Qing dynasty (1644-1911):

(3) 这三个旗是皇帝亲自管理的.

‘These three banners were administered personally by the Emperor.’

Given that the fusions yi, liǎ, and sā are equivalents of their formal counterparts 一个 or 一个, 二个, and 三个, these fusions can likewise serve as nominal and attributive phrases. Consider, for instance, the following examples, in which the expression liǎ serves as a nominal phrase, in sentence (4), and as an attributive phrase in sentence (5).

(4) 你们俩岁数相当吧?

‘You… you two should be of almost the same age, so you witnessed these happenings.’

In example (5), the informant speaks about the time when Peking was occupied by the Japanese. He recalls that then one could exchange eggs for clothes with the Japanese. Note that the word 大白菜 is the Chinese approximation of the Japanese word tamago 鶏卵 ‘egg’:

(5) 他说，他们那里有一样换，拿两个鸡蛋换两件衣服，换了一点他们的东西。

‘He said, they have clothes there, take two eggs, tamago, to exchange for two items of clothing, to exchange for a little bit of their stuff.’
Second, another feature of the fusions of numerals with the measure word ge important for this analysis is that such fusions are weakened forms of their respective equivalents. As noted by Chao (1968: 567), a stressed combination of the numeral yī and a measure word, in this case yīge, differs from an unstressed combination of yī with a measure word, yīge, somewhat as English one differs from a and an, which are also derived from a weakened one. In a similar manner, the stressed form of liàng ‘two’ followed by a measure word, liàngge in this case, means ‘(exactly) two’, while the weakened form liang followed by a measure word in its full tone or in the neutral tone means ‘a couple of, a few’ (Chao 1968: 570). Chao also states that the weakened form of yī ‘a’ followed by a measure word and the weakened form of liang ‘two, a couple’ followed by a measure word occur only after verbs. In the next section, I will demonstrate that the expression sā ‘three items’ is often used as a weakened form of sānge ‘(exactly) three’.

3. Yī ‘one item’ as compared to liǎ ‘two items’ and sā ‘three items’

3.1. The first notable feature of yī as compared to the expression liǎ and sā, is that while yīge or yīge occur much more often than their informal counterpart yī, the expressions liāngge and sānge occur less frequently than their informal equivalents liǎ and sā. Consider the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yī ‘one item, a specimen of’</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīge/yīge ‘one item’/‘an item’</td>
<td>1112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liǎ ‘two items’</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liāngge ‘two items’</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sā ‘three items’</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sānge ‘three items’</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3—Number of occurrences of yī versus yīge, liǎ versus liāngge, and sā versus sānge

Note that the expression sā is not frequently used in the corpus and occurs in only ten out of a total of 52 recording sessions. I counted the number of occurrences of sānge ‘three items’ only in those 10 sessions which have the form sā. The expressions yī ‘one item’, yīge/yīge ‘one item’/‘an item’, and liǎ ‘two items’ and liāngge ‘two items’ have been calculated for all 52 sessions.
The high frequency of yíge and yige in the corpus reflects the wide range of their use. The stressed expression yíge normally appears as a nominal phrase and in stressed negation, yige (yě/dǒu) méi yǒu ‘there is not a single one’. The weakened form yige ‘an item’ is usually used attributively.

The expression yí can replace both the stressed yíge and the unstressed yige, as examples (6) through (8) show. In the next sentence, in which the expression yí ‘one item’ is used as a nominal phrase, the informant describes two temples in the outskirts of Peking:

(6) Yí jiào Tánzhèsi, yí ge jiào Jiètáisi.
    one.item call Tánzhè.temple one item call Jiètái.temple
    ‘One is called Tánzhè Temple and the other is called Jiètái Temple.’

In example (7), the expression yí is used in the negation méi yǒu yíge ‘there is not a single one’. The informant answers my question whether Manchu women had the habit of foot-binding.

(7) Bù, suǒyǒu de, nǐ kàn nèi ge… duì, tāmen qí
    not all SUB 2S see that item right 3P ride
    mǎ gěn zhè zhàngfu qù yóuliè, qù… qù… qù
    horse follow DUR husband go hunt go go
    dāzhàng shéme de, suǒyí suǒyǒu de Mánzúrén,
    ride what SUB therefore all SUB Manchu.person
    Qiérén jiù děngyú shì méi yǒu yí ge
    banner.person just be.equal be not.exist exist one item
    qí mǎ de… méi yǒu… bú shì, shéme méi
    ride horse SUB not.exist exist not be what not.exist
    yǒu yí qí mǎ de… méi yǒu yí ge
    exist one.item ride horse SUB not.exist exist one item
    guǒ jiào de, méi yǒu.
    bind feet SUB not.exist exist
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‘No, all... you see eh... right, they went on horses to hunt with their husbands, to... to... to fight and to do other stuff, therefore none of the Manchus, that’s to say none of the Banner people rode horses... rode..., no, what am I saying, had her feet bound, none of them.’

In the next example, the expression yi substitutes the stressed yíge in the vivid reduplication yíge dòng yí dòng de meaning ‘one trench after the other’. The informant recalls that at some point during the time of the Kuomintang (1911-1949), the city of Peking was surrounded by trenches.

(8) Jiu Guómíndàng de shihour, jing shi gěi wā de just Kuomintang SUB time all be give dig SUB

ya yí ge dòng yí dòng de, shì a, cáng PH one item hole one.item hole SUB be ah hide
dāng bīng de shī serve.as soldier SUB use

‘So, at the time of the Kuomintang, they were digging all over trench after trench, right?, to serve as trenches for soldiers.’

Such instances where the expression yi substitutes the stressed yíge are rare in the corpus. The use of yi/yì instead of the weakened yíge ‘an item’ as an attributive after verbs, on the other hand, is far more frequent. Note also that Dù (1993) mentions only attributive usages of the expression yí ‘one item, a specimen of’.

In most cases in the corpus, informants tend to use yíge ‘an item’ on the first mention of a person or thing talked about and the form yi/yì on the second mention of this person or thing. Consider the following examples:

(9) Dào niánye zǎi yí ge zhū. Zǎi arrive year.night slaughter one item pig slaughter

yí zhū háohāor de chī diār. one.item pig good.good SUB eat a.little

‘On the New Year’s eve, it was customary to slaughter one pig. They slaughtered a pig to eat one’s fill for once.’
(10) Gěi nǐ shuō yí ge gùshi ba, shuō yí gùshi
give 2S speak one item story SUG speak one.item story
bu shuō le, tài lèi le.
not speak PF too be.tired PF
‘I’ll tell you a story, tell a story and that will be it, I’m too tired.’

Opposite examples, namely the use of the expression yí/yì ‘one item’/‘an item’ on the first mention of a person or thing and the use of the expression yige ‘an item’ on the second mention of this person and thing, are also attested in the corpus, but they are far less frequent.

3.2. As discussed in the preceding sections, yí occurs in the corpus mostly as an attributive expression. By comparison, the expressions liǎ and sā are used as nominal phrases much more often than yí. Consider the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>yí ‘one item’</th>
<th>liǎ ‘two items’</th>
<th>sā ‘three items’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of...</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total in corpus</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4—Frequency of yí, liǎ, and sā as nominal phrases

The high frequency of the use of liǎ ‘two items’ as a nominal phrase is due to its frequent occurrence in the meaning ‘the two/both [of us, you, them]’, e.g. nǐmen liǎ ‘you two’ in example (4).

It is interesting that the addition of liǎ is equally possible after singular and plural (with ミ men) forms of personal pronouns. For instance, in the following sentence, the informant uses the expression liǎ with the third person pronoun tā, which can be used in Peking Mandarin both when referring to a singular person or object or to numerous persons or objects, and with the singular second person pronoun nǐ. In this example, the informant talks about two young Muslims who killed each other in a fight.

(11) Tā liǎ mái yikuār le, shuō nǐ liǎ āi
tā three.item bury together PF speak 2S three.item be.near.to
zhe ba.

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‘The two of them were buried together, as people said: “Rest side by side, the two of you.”’

An example of the use of liǎ ‘two items’ with the plural second person pronoun nimen is given in sentence (4).

3.3. Most informants use both the original forms (yíge/yige, liǎngge, sānge) and the fused forms (yí, liǎ, sā) in their speech. Some stick to either original forms or fused forms. For instance, a few young informants use only the expressions yíge and yige and do not use their fused form yi. Several older informants use the expression sā, and do not use its original form sānge. The following observations refer to those speakers who use both forms. In the case of yíge ‘one item’ or yige ‘an item’ versus yi ‘one item, a specimen of’, the original form is used in the majority of cases. In the case of liǎ and sā, on the other hand, informants usually choose to use either the fused form predominantly, or the original form predominantly. In other words, when informants prefer the expression liǎ ‘two items’ or sā ‘three items’, they would use the expression liǎngge ‘two items’ or sānge ‘three items’ only in a few cases, and vice versa. For example, one of my informants (58 years old) has a strong preference for the fused form liǎ ‘two items’. In the six sessions that I recorded with this informant, he used liǎ 42 times and liǎngge 2 times.

The original and the fused forms convey different structural and discourse meanings. The fused forms are normally used as weakened counterparts of the original forms. For example, similar to yíge versus yí (discussed in §3.1), when both sānge ‘three items’ and sā ‘three items’ appear in the speech of one and the same informant, the former appears on the first mention of the thing or person talked about, whereas the latter appears on further mentions of this thing or person. Consider the following sentence, in which the informant speaks about traditional burials in old Peking. He notes that a certain ritual could only be performed if the deceased had three sons: bǐxū dēi yōu sānge ěrzi ‘he must have three sons’. Four sentences later, still speaking about the same ritual, he uses the form sā instead of the form sānge:

I owe this remark and the related generalization in §4 to an anonymous reviewer of the JCLTA.
(12) Zhè děngyú sā érzi cáí dǎdào zhèi tiáojiàn.

This means that only with three sons you can meet this requirement.

The same tendency, viz. to use fusions of numerals with ge as weakened forms of actual combinations of numerals with the measure word ge is equally characteristic to all other fusions. Consider, for instance, the use of the expression wǔ ‘five items’ after the expression wǔge in example (1).

3.4. In his Grammar (1968: 570), Chao states that there is a common misconception that the word liǎ, written with the ‘single standing man’ radical, 個, has special reference to persons, even though liǎ is grammatically equivalent to its counterpart liàngge, and can be used both for persons and for things. In my corpus, yí, liǎ, and sā confirm this conclusion and can indeed be used both for animate and inanimate objects, for instance, yí nǚ de ‘a woman’ versus yí dà tīng ‘a big hall’, liǎ shénxiān ‘two immortals’ versus liǎ yuè ‘two months’, sā érzi ‘three sons’ versus sā dìr ‘three places’. However, my informants tend to use the expressions yí and sā mainly for inanimate objects, whereas the expression liǎ ‘two items’ is used mostly when referring to people (119 instances of 181 occurrences of liǎ), which fact argues for a shift in the use of this form from Chao’s times.

4. Conclusion

The expression yí ‘one item, a specimen of’ in Peking Mandarin is realized as the numeral yī ‘one’ in the second tone (yī) or in the neutral tone (yi), without any audible schwa. Other fusions of numerals with the measure word ge are likewise realized in the corpus as their corresponding numerals, which are often lengthened. Therefore, these fusions exemplify the phenomenon of a ‘shorter phonological shape standing for a longer grammatical form.’

The differences that exist between the form yí and the forms liǎ and sā outlined in the preceding sections may be explained along the lines of Chao’s analysis of the form pa[(2)-*] ‘eight items’. I propose that, given the phonetic instability of the form yí’e ‘one item’ (this form is not a naturally stable sound in Peking Mandarin and falls into the slot of yī), the expression ‘one item, a specimen of’ is sometimes realized as yí (mostly as an attributive phrase) and at other times as yige (both as a nominal and as an attributive phrase). The expressions yí and yige serve as variants of each other in this meaning, i.e. ‘one item, a specimen of’.
This analysis accounts for the disproportions of the use of *yì* as compared to that of *yīge* and *yige*.

Moreover, the preference of informants to use either the expressions *liǎngge* and *sānge* or their fused forms *liǎ* and *sā* clearly indicates that the latter are words on their own, which is to say that they are independent carriers of the meanings ‘two items’ and ‘three items’ respectively. The meaning ‘one item’, on the other hand, is represented by two variants: the expressions *yī* ‘one item, a specimen of’ and *yige* ‘an item’.

To those informants who use both the fused and the original forms, these forms convey different structural and discourse meanings. The fused form is usually a weakened equivalent of the original form, which occurs on the second or further mentions of the persons or things designated by the form. The fused form is moreover more likely to be used attributively. The original form is used on the first mention of the persons or things talked about and can function both as an attributive and a nominal phrase.

**References**


**Abbreviations**

1, 2, 3 first, second, third person personal pronouns
DUR durative aspect expressed by the particle zhe
P plural
PF perfective aspect expressed by the particle le
PH pause for the hearer expressed by the particle  a or its variant ya
S singular
SUB subordination expressed by the particle de
SUG suggestion expressed by the particle ba