

fingers'); cf. WB *pwat* \*[b]wat 'rub, grind, churn', which apparently yielded the Pa-o loan: *pət* (<\*b-) 'rub together; wear away by friction'). The (limited) Pa-o material includes only one form with final -p: Pa-o *róp* (initial \*h- expected with this 'high series' tone), Pwo-Sgaw \**vɔ* (loss of stop) 'double handful', perhaps an early \*s- prefixed loan from P-Tai \**koop*=/kɔɔp/ 'draw up with both hands; two handfuls' via \*s-koop > sgoop, with secondary voicing, as in Pwo *rě*, Sgaw *ri~sí* 'house' < PK \*s-g(y)ĩ < PTB/PK \*(s-)kyum (cognate lacking in Pa-o).

### Qiang monosyllabization: a third phase in the cycle

Paul K. Benedict

The typical cyclical development in TB/ST can be diagrammed as follows: \*(d)→\*m→\*(d). The proto-language was partly disyllabic because of the (normally) \*/ə/ vocalized prefixes, a state symbolized by \*(d), e.g. PTB \*g-sum = \*gəsum 'three'. Throughout the language stock there has been a marked tendency, first to reduce to a more uniformly monosyllabic state through loss or incorporation of the prefixes and, *secondly, to return to the \*(d) state through re-affixation and compounding*, as perhaps best seen in modern (standard) Chinese, which has disambiguated many of its simplified forms through a system of suffixes, e.g. 'duck': *鴨* s-kap (Arch. Ch., with *鴨* kap as phonetic; cf. PL \*gap) > ?ap (Mid. Ch.) > *yāzi* (atonal -zi, for *zi* 'child' < PTB/PST \*tsa<sup>B</sup>).

Northern Qiang (Ch'iang) has now entered the third phase of the cycle by monosyllabizing many of the 'new' disyllabic forms; cf. the following (Sun): Southern Qiang (Taoping)~Northern Qiang (Mawo) (tone marks omitted): 'earth': *zue pə~zəp*; 'seed': *zue za* (*zue* on diff. tone)~*tʃhaz*; 'last year': *nj pə~nəp*; 'day after tomorrow': *sy dy~syt*; 'stove': *tsu dzu~tsur*; 'decaliter': *que te~quat*, all paralleling 'fifteen': *xa ŋa~han*. On occasion the corresponding S.Q. form is trisyllabic: 'year before last': *dzʔ pa pə~dzəp*; 'water buffalo': *tsue zʔ ŋu* (*tsue* 'water')~*tsəzʔ*. It is of some interest that Qiang is spoken in an area (western Sichuan Province, China) bordering that of Northern Chinese, from which it has borrowed many words, at times treated as above: 'duck' (see above): *ia tsʔ~jats*. Standard Chinese can also be said to be entering this third phase, especially in its use of suffixed -r (< 兒 'child'), hence the possibility exists of regarding this 'as an areal feature.

Monosyllabization, along with tonalization, is also a key developmental feature in Austro-Tai (and Southeast Asia generally), as emphasized in an earlier work (Benedict 1975: 150 ff.); there, however, we are dealing with a 'true' original disyllabism (affixes are additional), symbolized by \*d. The development both in Kadai (incl. Tai) and Miao-Yao has been \*d→\*m, with some tendency to return to a \*d state through compounding (less often through affixation); cf. the notable case pointed out by Egerod (1959): Thai (Siamese) *dâyin* 'hear', a disyllabic word that has incorporated (-yin < \*nín)

PT \*ŋin<sup>A</sup> ~ \*nfn<sup>A</sup> 'hear', from PAT \*[də]ŋiv (the resemblance in the first syllable is entirely fortuitous!).

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