

SQUIBS AND ETYMOLOGIES

Proto-Karen Final Stops

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Final *-ŋ, *-n and *-m must be set up for Proto-Karen (PK) on the basis of their maintenance in Pa-o (STC: 142 and fn. 384; *-n only after high vowels) but Pa-o, Pwo and Sgaw all regularly have -ʔ corresponding to PTB final stop (STC: 144 ff.). It now appears, however, that final *-k, *-t and perhaps *-p should also be reconstructed at the PK level, paralleling the final nasals.

This finding has emerged from two recent papers by the writer (see his 'Four Forays into Karen Linguistic History', *LTBA* 5.1, 1979), one setting up PK final *-s and the other attempting to explain the loss of final glottal stop in several roots (the 'excrement' root should now be excluded; the Kuki-Naga final *-k here is 'morphological' while a secondary TB *e root must be recognized for Kuki-Naga and elsewhere, of a SEA 'areal' type). The numerals are very much involved in all this, with PK suffixed (or final) *-s definitely established for 'four', 'five', 'seven' (already 'frozen' as a final here at the PST level) and 'nine' but curiously lacking in 'two', where it is common in TB. The 'missing' numerals in this series are 'six' (TB final *-k) and 'eight' (TB final *-t), both of which show 'irregularities' in Karen, of contrasting type: general loss of final stop in 'six'; Pa-o maintenance of *-t in 'eight'. This can hardly be a product of chance, it would seem, and in fact both 'irregularities' can be explained by reconstructing suffixed *-s for these two numerals, leading to the following scheme of reflexes:

<u>PK</u>	<u>Pa-o</u>	<u>Pwo-Sgaw</u>	<u>PK</u>	<u>Pa-o</u>	<u>Pwo-Sgaw</u>
*-s	-t	-l			
*-t	-ʔ	-ʔ	*-k	-ʔ	-ʔ
*-t-s	-t	-ʔ	*-k-s	-∅	-∅
*-t+	-t	-ʔ	*-k+	-k	[-ʔ]

Final *-k+ (and by extension final *-t+) must be set up to account for Pa-o lyák 'taste, lick', from PK *hlyak < PTB/PK *s-lyak 'lick/tongue' (hence hardly a loan from WB lyak 'lick'), contrasting with Pa-o sù 'six': note also Pa-o tǎpók 'short' (cf. Lushai phók 'coarse, thick') and làk 'quick', but pók 'to peck' is a possible loan from WB pok (in tshit-pok, id.) while tǎk 'fight', Pwo-Sgaw *ʔdüʔ is an 'areal' word; P-Tai *t+k, WB tuik. For parallel verbal forms having -t in Pa-o the likely PK reconstruction is final *-t+, although *-t-s cannot be excluded: Pa-o khrút (< *gr-), Pwo-Sgaw *ʔi 'grind noisily'; cf. PTB *krit (~*grit) 'grind'; Pa-o tut 'lump'; cf. WB tút 'chubby, stout, short, thick', Rawang thut 'short' < PTB *tut 'cut/break' ~ 'cut off/shortened'; Pa-o khrét, Pwo-Sgaw *khəʔ (< *khr-) 'pry up,

fingers'); cf. WB *pwat* *[b]wat 'rub, grind, churn', which apparently yielded the Pa-o loan: *pòt* (< *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 **ɿɔ* (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

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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 = *gesum '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) > ʔap (Mid. Ch.) > yāzi (atonal -zi, for 子 'child' < PTB/PST *tsa^B).

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': *zuə pə~zəp*; 'seed': *zuə za* (*zuə* on diff. tone) ~ *tʃhaz*; 'last year': *nɿ pə~nəp*; 'day after tomorrow': *sy dy~syt*; 'stove': *tsu dzu~tsur*; 'decaliter': *que te~quat*, all paralleling 'fifteen': *xa ɲa~haɲ*. On occasion the corresponding S.Q. form is trisyllabic: 'year before last': *dzɿ pa pə~dzəp*; 'water buffalo': *tsuə zɿ ɲu* (*tsuə* 'water') ~ *tsəz*. 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 tsɿ~jats*. Standard Chinese can also be said to be entering this third phase, especially in its use of suffixed -r (< ʔr '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) *dāyyin* 'hear', a disyllabic word that has incorporated (-yin < *nín)

PT *ŋin^A ~ *nɪn^A 'hear', from PAT *[də]ŋɪr (the resemblance in the first syllable is entirely fortuitous!).

REFERENCES

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