fingers'); cf. WB pwat *[b]watt 'rub, grind, churn', which apparently yielded the Pa-o loan: pɔ̀t (<_*b-_) 'rub together; wear away by friction'). The (limited) Pa-o material includes only one form with final -p: Pa̍o ròp (initial *h- expected with this 'high series' tone), Pwo-Sgaw *wɔ (loss of stop) 'double handful', perhaps an early *s- prefixed loan from P-Tai *koop=/koop/ 'draw up with both hands; two handfuls' via *s-koop>scoop, with secondary voicing, as in Pwo ʁè, Sgaw ʁi-si 'house'(< PK *s-g(y)i< 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) */ø/ 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'affle s-kap (Arch. Ch., with kap as phonetic; cf. PL *gap)>ʔap (Mid. Ch.)>yǎzi (atonal -zì, for zì 'child'<PTB/PST *təb).

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': nì pə~nəp; 'day after tomorrow': sy dy~syt; 'stove': tsu dzu~tsur; 'deciliter': que te~quot, all paralleling 'fifteen': xa ɡa~hǎn. On occasion the corresponding S.Q. form is trisyllabic: 'year before last': dzə ɡa pə~dzəp; 'water buffalo': tsuə zì ɡu (tsuə 'water')~tsət. 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 tsət~jats. Standard Chinese can also be said to be entering this third phase, especially in its use of suffixed -r (<_er '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 Kadaí (incl. Tai) and Hiao-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) dāyīn 'hear', a disyllabic word that has incorporated (~yin (<nîn)
PT *ŋin^A ~ *ŋin^A 'hear', from PAT *[də]ŋir (the resemblance in the first syllable is entirely fortuitous!).

REFERENCES

