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EVIDENCE FROM SESQUISYLLABIC WORDS
IN THE YUE DIALECTS

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INITIAL CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN OLD CHINESE: EVIDENCE FROM SESQUISYLLABIC WORDS IN THE YUE DIALECTS

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0. Abstract. In Zhōngshān, Cantonese, and other Yuè dialects, 'sesquisyllabic' words — words that are 'a syllable and a half' in length (Matisoff 1973) — are valuable sources that provide language-internal, synchronic data to support the reconstruction of initial consonant clusters in Old Chinese. In this paper, sesquisyllabic evidence supporting earlier clusters in Old Chinese are proposed for the following words 角 'horn, corner', 結 'knot', 筆 'writing brush; straight', 腋 'armpit', 凡 'all', 橫 'crosswise', and 卷 'roll'. Additional sesquisyllabic words with more tenuous linkage to regular Chinese words are also mentioned.¹

1. Introduction. It is commonly agreed among scholars in historical Chinese phonology that initial consonant clusters were present in Old, or Archaic, Chinese, whether they are analyzed as simply initial clusters (e.g. Karlgren 1954), or as composites containing a prefix (e.g. Maspero 1930) or infix (e.g. Wulff 1934). Reconstruction of initial clusters include the use of fān-qiè and xié-shēng evidences; loan-words and foreign transcriptions in Thai, Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian languages; and cognates in Sino-Tibetan languages. From among the various Chinese dialects, evidences of earlier initial clusters are suggested in modern doublets, literary versus colloquial forms of words, rhyming compounds, and polysyllabic words (e.g. Wulff 1934, Boodberg 1937, Yang 1968, 1971, Hashimoto 1972a, 1972b).

There is yet another source for reconstructing initial consonant clusters, namely from dissyllabic structures which alternates with 'sesquisyllabic' forms in some modern Chinese dialects. The term 'sesquisyllabic', coined by Matisoff (1973:86), is used to refer to structures that are 'a syllable and a half' in length.² Among the modern Yuè (Cantonese) dialects one also finds a number of words which can be described as containing sesquisyllables. Such words have consonant clusters in which the initial consonant is pronounced, followed by an epenthetic schwa. Synchronically, these sesquisyllables can be analyzed as reductions of full forms which are polysyllabic in origin. Both the full and reduced forms are present, with the full forms essentially used in citations. It is the reduced forms which normally occur in daily, conversational speech. The syllable structure in Chinese generally does not admit to a sesquisyllabic structure; as a result, a synchronic analysis would very naturally seek to derive the reduced forms from full, polysyllabic ones.

Diachronically, however, there are arguments for proposing initial consonant clusters for at least some of the sesquisyllables in the Yuè dialects. In the Zhōngshān dialect, for example, most of the sesquisyllabic forms recorded in Chan (1980a) are onomatopoeic types of

words. A small handful can, nevertheless, be associated with words which have been reconstructed in Old Chinese (OC) as containing initial consonant clusters. In the cases presented in the following sections, sesquisyllabic forms in Zhōngshān, (Standard) Cantonese, and other Yuè dialects are given. Due to work by the writer in Chan (1980a, 1980b), supporting evidence for initial consonant clusters draws heavily from the Zhōngshān dialect.

2. 角 'Horn, corner' OC *kl- or *kr-. Consider first the colloquial word for 'corner (e.g. of a room)'. The characters usually given for it in Cantonese and Táishān are 角落頭.³ They are pronounced [kɔ:kɿ lɔ:kɿ t'əuɿ] in Cantonese, and [kɔkɿ lɔkɿ hauɿ] in Táishān.⁴ The same term is also found in Zhōngshān, with the citation form of [kɔ:kɿ lɔ:kɿ t'əuɿ]. Colloquially, the word is usually reduced to [k'ɔ:lɔ:kɿ t'əuɿ], or /klokɿ t'auɿ/ underlyingly.

Hashimoto (1972b:34) expresses doubt concerning the connection between the second syllable and the character 落, which is normally pronounced in the Yáng-rù tone in Zhōngshān and Cantonese (viz. tones [ɿ] and [ɿ] respectively). Hashimoto suggests that both the first and the second syllable in fact stand for the character 角, which occurs in Yīn-rù tone [ɿ] in Cantonese. Hashimoto further proposes that 角 is derived from a historical *kl- cluster in Proto-Yuè. (頭 is simply a word-formative suffix and is not relevant to the present discussion (cf. Kratochvíl 1968:68).) Hashimoto's claim that the first two syllables both represent the character 角 is based on two different readings of the character which show that 角 has both a *k- and an *l- initial. The two fǎn-qiè's that she cites for 角 are: 古岳切 and 盧谷切, the first fǎn-qiè giving initial *k-, and the second initial *l- for 角. Accordingly, Hashimoto hypothesizes that when initial clusters fell out of usage, the only means whereby these clusters could survive was by having a syllable inserted between the two consonants in the cluster. This is the process to which Boodberg (1937) has coined the term 'dimidiation'. (Yang (1971) refers to this as a 'process of anaptyxis'.)

To account for the tonal difference between the first and the second syllable in the word for 'corner', Hashimoto suggests that the high tone of the second syllable is a result of a morphologically-conditioned tone change (biàn-yīn 'changed tone'), since such changed tones are not uncommon in reduplicated syllables — or, in this case, pseudo-reduplicated syllables — in the Yuè dialects. The same argument that Hashimoto used for Cantonese can be applied to the Zhōngshān citation form. Note also that Lau (1977:276), for example, records the Cantonese word for 'corner' as 角落 [kɔ:kɿ lɔ:kɿ], thereby supplying an intermediary stage without a changed tone on 落.

With respect to historical Chinese reconstructions, various phonologists have already postulated an initial consonant cluster for 角, which is a Grade II word. It has been reconstructed by Boodberg as AC *glok, for instance, and by Pulleyblank as OC *krák.⁵ With regard to proposing evidence from modern Chinese dialectal forms to support such reconstructions, Whitaker (1952) may possibly have been the first to use the Cantonese polysyllabic form to support a *kl- cluster for 角.

An initial cluster in the word 角 has survived in Proto-Yuè, and apparently in many other Chinese dialects as well. A pioneer in collecting colloquial, polysyllabic forms from modern Chinese dialects to reconstruct initial clusters, Yang (1968) has found a number of polysyllabic words in which k- forms the initial of the first syllable, and l- that of the second syllable. For example, the word 角落 'corner' is kaʔ-laʔ in Yángzhōu, ko-lo in Chángshā, and kok-lok in Nánchāng. Yang also included cognates from Tibetan: k'ug 'corner, con-

cave, angle', and *gru* 'corner, angle, convex or concave', the latter of which exhibits an initial consonant cluster.

Thus, there is ample evidence for the reconstruction of a **kl-*, **kr-* or **gr-* cluster. From a diachronic perspective, the trisyllabic 'full' form for the word in Zhōngshān and Cantonese should, therefore, be analyzed as a citation form which had expanded the sesquisyllable to fit the more prevailing CVC syllable structure in modern Chinese.

It should be noted that despite the full form given by Hashimoto for the word 'corner' in Cantonese, McCoy (1966: 185, fn.27) in fact argues that this word is one of the very rare number of words in Cantonese which possess atonic syllables, indicating such syllables by using the tone diacritic [°].⁶ The nuclear vowel in these syllables is reduced to a schwa and in close juncture with the following syllable (indicated by his use of the hyphen). Of the words in his data, McCoy found only two which contain an atonic syllable. The word for 'corner', [k° - lɔ:kɪ t'ɕɰɪ], is one of them, and 喊嗒呤 [hɐmɪ b° - lɑ:ŋɪ] 'all, completely' is the other.⁷ (The word for 'all' will be discussed in §6.)

McCoy's atonic syllable in close juncture with the following full syllable is precisely what we are here treating as a sesquisyllable. Note that McCoy (1966) denies the existence of the full, citation form in Cantonese. He states that the form containing neutral tone syllables cited in dictionaries were recorded 'as if' they were pronounced with full tones. In the less widely-read article in McCoy (1968), however, citation and reduced, colloquial forms are both presented and used to argue for the reconstruction of consonant clusters in Proto-Cantonese (or Proto-Yuè).⁸ Thus, McCoy reconstructs 角 as having initial **kl-* in Proto-Cantonese, based on the Cantonese full and reduced forms. The full and sesquisyllabic forms for 'corner' in Zhōngshān and Cantonese can, therefore, be viewed as providing evidence for a consonant cluster in the word 角 in both Proto-Yuè and Old Chinese.

3. 結 'Knot' OC **kl-*. Another colloquial term in Zhōngshān which has a sesquisyllabic structure is the word for 'knot': 結 [ki:tɪ]. The citation form is [k'i:tɪ li:tɪ], and the reduced form [k'°li:tɪ]. Hashimoto (1972b:38, fn.26) mentions Whitaker (1952) who has proposed an initial **kl-* cluster for the word 結 'knot', [ki:tɪ] in Cantonese, by connecting it with the colloquial, characterless word [li:tɪ] in the dialect (cf. Zhōngshān [li:tɪ] 'to be in a knot'). Hashimoto, however, rejects Whitaker's proposal based on alternative pronunciations for 'knot' on the premise that the latter has no fǎn-qiè evidence to support her claim. Hashimoto proposes, instead, a connection in Cantonese between the word 繼 [si:tɪ] 'to tie; a bridle' and the colloquial word [li:tɪ]. She bases her claim on the observation that 繼 shares the same phonetic with a word such as 驥, with a fǎn-qiè of 盧協切, showing an initial *l-*. Thus, Hashimoto reconstructs an **sl-* cluster for 繼.

The Zhōngshān evidence, on the other hand, supports Whitaker's suggestion of a **kl-* cluster. While Cantonese alternates between a [k] and an [l] initial for 'knot', in Zhōngshān the same word has the dissyllabic structure [k'i:tɪ li:tɪ], as well as the reduced, sesquisyllabic form [k'°li:tɪ]. If one can assume that the word for 'corner' discussed in §2 and the present word for 'knot' underwent a similar process in the break-up of initial consonant clusters, there is sufficient basis for suggesting that the word 結 originally bore some kind of **kl-* cluster.

In the modern Zhōngshān form of [k'°li:tɪ], one still needs to account for the presence of an aspirated initial instead of the unaspirated one if an association is to be firmly

established between the Zhōngshān colloquial term for 'knot' and the literary one of [ki:tɿ]. There is also the question of the difference in tone between the two forms. Neither poses a major difficulty.

Concerning the irregular initial, a number of colloquial (and literary) words which are pronounced with an aspirated stop initial in Zhōngshān originate from historically voiceless, plain initials. Words containing the Jiàn 見 (*k-) initial, for example, include 掛 [k'ua:ɿ] 'to hang', and 逛 [k'ua:ŋɿ] 'to stroll'. Cantonese has [kua:ɿ] and [kua:ŋɿ] respectively for the two words. It is therefore not implausible to consider the reconstruction of a plain *kl- cluster despite the fact that the colloquial word for 'knot' in Zhōngshān is aspirated.

In the case of the exceptional tonal reflex in the colloquial word 'knot' in Zhōngshān, one might first look at the colloquial form for 'corner'. In 角落頭 [kɔ:kɿ lɔ:kɿ t'ɕuɿ], the first syllable preserves the tonal value of the word 角 [kɔ:kɿ]. Presumably, the second syllable [lɔ:kɿ] is the result of biàn-yīn 'changed tone', such that the syllable originally bore tone [ɿ]. In the word for 'knot', [k'i:tɿ li:tɿ], neither syllable has preserved the Zhōngshān reflex of the tone for 結 [ki:tɿ]. It is possible that the word for 'knot' had undergone an intermediary stage during which only the second syllable was affected by biàn-yīn, as in the case of the word for 'corner', thus rendering an earlier *[ki:tɿ li:tɿ]. One would then assume that the change of the first syllable was a later development in which the dissyllabic form became treated as a rhyming binom, thereby further obscuring its original association with the word 結.

Historically, the reconstruction of a *kl- cluster for 結, a Grade IV word, has been suggested by Pulleyblank (1962), then as a *kδ- cluster. Pulleyblank was motivated to postulate a *kl- cluster for such Grade IV words as 吉 'luck' (Zhōngshān [kətɿ], Middle Chinese (MC) *kjit) and 詰 'to investigate' (Zhōngshān [k'i:tɿ], MC *k'jit) in order to explain why they did not have palatal initials in Middle Chinese, whereas Grade III words, such as 支 'branch' (Zhōngshān, [tsi:ɿ], Early Middle Chinese (EMC) *tɕia), did develop palatal initials. Essentially, he proposed that it was the presence of *-l- in the OC forms of Grade IV words such as 吉 and 詰 which blocked palatalization at the MC stage. Thus, 結 underwent the following process: OC *klɛc > *k(l)ét (Hàn period) > EMC ket > Late Middle Chinese (LMC) kjiat. The word 吉 also did not palatalize at the LMC stage: OC *klɛc > -èt (Hàn) > EMC kjit > LMC kjit (Reconstruction provided by Pulleyblank).

Further evidence of a *kl- cluster can be found in Li (1976:236). Li reconstructs initial *kl- for the Proto-Tai word meaning 'to button, pin together', which is klat in Siamese, corresponding to Chinese 結 'to tie, a knot'. Li also gives the Tibetan cognate of rgyud-pa 'to fasten, string'. Due to lack of language-internal evidence, Li does not reconstruct an initial consonant cluster for Chinese, leaving the form as AC *kit. To date, only the Zhōngshān form provides strong internal evidence of an earlier *kl- cluster for the word.

Besides Pulleyblank, an initial consonant cluster for 結 has also been proposed by Yang (1968), who reconstructed the word with initial *kt- or *kd- based on Pulleyblank's (1962) *kδ- reconstruction. In all Yang's dialectal forms, the relevant dissyllabic portion contains initial k- followed by initial t-. (In one case, initial k- is simply reduplicated.) Note, however, that while these *kt- words mean 'knot' in some of the dialects, in the majority of cases, the words have a number of different meanings, including '(elder) brother', '(this/that) place', 'a swelling, a pimple', 'round', 'troublesome', and 'difficult', suggesting some other source for those words.

Given the Siamese cognate with an initial *kl-* cluster, Pulleyblank's reconstruction of 結 with **kl-*, the alternating pronunciations for 'knot' in Cantonese, and the Zhōngshān sesquisyllabic form with initial /*kl*/, the evidences all point to two conclusions: (1) 結 contains an initial cluster historically, and (2) the cluster should be reconstructed as **kl-* rather than **kt-* or **kd-*.

4. 筆 'Writing brush; straight, direct' OC **pl-* or **pr-*. In this next word, Zhōngshān has two citation forms and one corresponding sesquisyllabic form. To describe an instrument or object that is very straight, or a road or route that is very straight or direct, Zhōngshān uses the expression 拮 ○○ [*ti:m-ɿ pət₁ lət₁*] or [*ti:m-ɿ pət₁ pət₁*]. The sesquisyllabic form is [*ti:m-ɿ pʰlət₁*]. There is no sesquisyllabic form **[ti:m-ɿ lʰlət₁]*. Significantly, a sesquisyllabic form was also obtained by the writer from a native speaker of Kāipíng, yet another Yuè dialect, belonging to the Siyì subgroup. The word is 拮 ○○ [*ʔi:m-ɿ pʰlət₁*] in Kāipíng. In Cantonese, aside from the monosyllabic, colloquial word 拮 [*ti:m-ɿ*] meaning 'straight', there is also a corresponding polysyllabic word 直 ○○ [*tsik-ɿ pət₁ lət₁*], with the reduced form of [*tsik-ɿ pʰlət₁*] (Hashimoto, p.c.).

It may be noted that the literary Chinese counterpart to Cantonese [*tsik-ɿ pʰlət₁*] above is the term *bǐ zhí* 筆直 (pronounced [*pət₁ tsik-ɿ*] in Cantonese), which means 'perfectly straight — as straight as a pencil'. One can, quite reasonably, argue that Cantonese [*pʰlət₁*] is merely the term 筆直 in reverse order, a common difference found between Northern and Southern Chinese terms. Thus, what is proposed here is the linking of the sesquisyllable [*pʰlət₁*] in the Yuè dialects with the word 筆 'a writing brush; straight, direct', which has been reconstructed with a **pl-* or **pr-* cluster. Karlgren, for example, reconstructs 筆 as AC **pliet*. A **pr-* cluster, rather than a **pl-* cluster, is reconstructed by Bodman (1980:166), based on the Tibetan cognate *hbrud*. Pulleyblank (1962:111) reconstructs an initial **pl-* cluster because 筆 is a Grade III word belonging to the so-called *chóng-niǔ* 重紐 ('doublet initials') or Grade III/IV doublet finals. Moreover, *xié-shēng* evidence shows contact of phonetic *yǔ*, *lǚ* 聿 (the old term for 'writing brush, stylus') with both initial **p-*, as in *bǐ* 筆 (Zhōngshān [*pət₁*]), and **l-* in *lǚ* 律 'a law' (Zhōngshān [*lət₁*]). It is also significant, as noted by Boodberg in his comments on "The etymology of 筆 *bǐ* 'stylus, brush'" (1934), that *bú-lǚ* 不律 (**p-* **l-*) has been used to render the pronunciation of the word for 'stylus' in the ancient Wú dialect, as recorded in the *Shuōwén*. The old Wú pronunciation of 不律 thus serves to lend support to the reconstruction of an initial **pl-* cluster in the word 筆.⁹

In the Zhōngshān dialect it would appear that as the association of 筆 to the **pl-* or **pr-* initial cluster became opaque after the general loss of initial clusters in Chinese, the dissyllabic form containing **pl-* became viewed as merely onomatopoeic, and hence the term 拮筆 筆 [*ti:m-ɿ pət₁ pət₁*]. It would, therefore, be reasonable to suppose that, of the two citation forms, [*ti:m-ɿ pət₁ lət₁*] and [*ti:m-ɿ pət₁ pət₁*], the latter is a more recent innovation, where the meaning and origin of [*pət₁ lət₁*], or [*pʰlət₁*], is completely obscured.

5. 脗 'Armpit' OC **kl-*. The next word to be discussed is 脗 'armpit' (Zhōngshān [*kɔ:k-ɿ*], Cantonese [*kɑ:k-ɿ*]), which Karlgren has reconstructed as AC **klāk*. A **kl-* cluster has also been postulated by other phonologists, sometimes with the historically homophonous word 各 'each' (Zhōngshān [*kɔ:k-ɿ*], Cantonese [*kɔ:k-ɿ*]), representing 脗 and others in this set of Grade I words. Thus, Li (1974:251) and Pulleyblank (1962:119), for example, both posit an original **kl-* initial cluster for 各: AC **klak* by Li, and OC **kḏak* (since revised as **klak*) by Pulley-

blank. Support for a *kl- cluster can be found in the xié-shēng series. The word 各, with initial *k-, occurs as a phonetic in the word 落, containing *l-, suggesting an earlier stage when 各, 酪, and others in the series had an initial *kl- cluster.

Colloquial data from a number of Chinese dialects (cf. especially Yang 1968, 1971) also strongly support the postulation of an initial consonant cluster for 酪. Consider first the Cantonese example from within the Yuè dialect group. Included among the various colloquial forms for 'armpit' in Cantonese are those of 腋肋底 [kA:k₁ lA:k₁ tɕ₁] and [kA:k₁ lək₁ tɕ₁] (Whitaker 1952, McCoy 1968, Hashimoto 1972a). Correspondingly, one finds sesquisyllabic counterparts to the above full forms: [k*lA:k₁ tɕ₁] and [k*lək₁ tɕ₁] (McCoy 1968). As argued in the word for 'corner', the character used to represent the second syllable of the full form is essentially a dummy element, in that both the first and the second syllable have been derived from the first character historically.

Dōngguǎn 東莞, another Yuè dialect, has a colloquial form for 'armpit' which is very close to the Cantonese one: 腋肋下 [kək lak hɑ] (from Yang 1971 — no tone marks given). No sesquisyllabic form is included. Based on the Cantonese full and reduced forms, it is clear that the same arguments can be applied here for postulating a *kl- cluster.

Zhōngshān also has a colloquial form for 'armpit' which reveals an initial *kl- cluster. The Zhōngshān form, however, had undergone attrition of the final stop ending, as well as pitch-raising to a high tone, yielding ○○下 [kA:ɾ lA:ɾ hA:ɾ] as the citation form, and [k*lA:ɾ hA:ɾ] as the sesquisyllabic form. It is instructive to know that the form in Fúzhōu (a Northeastern Mǐn dialect), like the Zhōngshān form, shows loss of the stop ending. The word in Fúzhōu is phonetically [kəɾ roʋɾ əɾ] (酪落下), even though it is recorded in the Hànyǔ Fāngyán Cíhuì (1964:195) as [kəɾ louʋɾ əɾ].¹⁰ Zhōngshān regularly preserves the stop endings of historical Rù-shēng words. Its loss of the velar stop ending in this case is likely due to dialectal influence, perhaps from some Mǐn dialect such as Fúzhōu, where the Rù-shēng ending is often lost in tone-sandhi context. On the basis of comparison with the Cantonese, Dōngguǎn and Fúzhōu forms, it is clear that the Zhōngshān form likewise represents an initial consonant cluster for the word 酪.

Evidence from cognates in other East Asian languages also support the argument of an earlier *kl- cluster in the word 酪 'armpit' in Chinese. Yang (1971), for example, finds the word kliek in Khmer (Cambodian), and kelek in Malay meaning 'armpit'. Perhaps the word is also related to Tibeto-Burman *lak for 'arm, hand' (from Benedict 1972:32).

Concluding this section, it should be noted that although the Zhōngshān citation form merely adds to Yang's already long list of polysyllabic forms in various Chinese dialects for the word 'armpit', the sesquisyllabic forms found in Zhōngshān and Cantonese are significant in attesting to an earlier stage in the evolution of consonant clusters in the language. It may be that the schwa was inserted between the initial consonants in the sesquisyllable as the first stage in the break-up of initial consonant clusters; that is, the sesquisyllabic structure may represent the stage at which adjacent consonants in syllable-initial position were separated by means of schwa-epenthesis, thus creating the sesquisyllable. Subsequent changes led to tone alterations in some cases, and attrition of segments in others. The dimidiation of the initial consonant cluster, nonetheless, is captured and preserved in the sesquisyllabic form.

6. 凡 'All, completely' OC *bl-. As stated in §2, McCoy (1966:185, fn. 27) also mentions the Cantonese word for 'all, completely', which is phonetically [həm-ɪ bə° - lA:ŋ-ɪ].¹¹ The same

word is transcribed as [həmɿ pa:ɿ la:ŋɿ] by Hashimoto (1972a:333), although she also gives a sesquisyllabic form identical to McCoy's (p.c.). The phoneticization of Huang's (1970:394) transcription of the word is [həmɿ pa:ŋɿ la:ŋɿ], which corresponds to that given by McCoy (1968) as the reading pronunciation. The colloquial characters often given for the word in Cantonese are: 喊嗒呤. In Zhōngshān this word 'all' is pronounced [həmɿ pa:ɿ la:ŋɿ] in citation form, and [həmɿ p^ola:ŋɿ] in daily speech. In narrow phonetic transcription, the bilabial stop assimilates the voicing of the preceding segment and is pronounced [b]; i.e. [həmɿ b^ola:ŋɿ]. Except for tonal differences, McCoy's form for Cantonese and the corresponding form are identical. Sesquisyllables are also suggested in other Yuè dialects. Wong (1972), for example, gives [ham¹⁰ - pa - laŋ¹⁰] for 'all' in Táishān, where [¹⁰] represents an extremely low-falling tone, and no tone numbers signify an atonic, unstressed syllable. Hashimoto (1972a:19) gives the form [°ham °plaŋ] for Táishān, and [hom² plaŋ²] for Ténghàn.

The sesquisyllabic portion of the colloquial word for 'all' may be linked to the literary word 凡 'all', first proposed by McCoy (1968). The word 凡 is pronounced [fa:nɿ] in Zhōngshān, for example, with the word derived from LMC *ffa:m < EMC *buam. Evidences for an initial cluster in the word 凡 are presented in Pulleyblank (1962:114). 凡 is the phonetic in a character such as 梵 (Zhōngshān [fa:nɿ], EMC *buam^b), which had been used to transcribe the word 'Brahma'. Common Tai 'brəm 'all' has been cited by Haudricourt (1954:359) as a loan from Chinese 凡. The word is also a phonetic in 風 'wind', and may be related to Tai lom 'wind'. Likewise, 凡 is the phonetic in 嵐, which is LMC *lam, and modern Cantonese [la:mɿ]. It is therefore not inconceivable that the word 凡 once bore an initial consonant cluster.

In the Yuè dialects, the presence of a velar nasal ending in the modern reflex of [p^ola:ŋ] can be easily explained in terms of labial dissimilation, changing *-m to -ŋ in the presence of the labial initial *b-. On the other hand, only in Zhōngshān have the sesquisyllabic and disyllabic forms preserved the Yáng-píng tone [ɿ] that occurs in the word 凡 [fa:nɿ]. In Cantonese, for example, [pa:ɿ la:ŋɿ] and [p^ola:ŋɿ] bear the Yáng-qù tone of [ɿ] instead of the Yáng-píng [ɿ] tone that is in the word 凡 [fa:nɿ].

Presumably, the colloquial form for 'all', with initial [p], reflects an older stratum in the Yuè dialects. Observe, for example, the Fúzhōu (Mín) dialect in which the historically homophonous word 帆 'a sail' has two readings, reflecting different chronological layers in the language: a colloquial, older reading of [p'uŋɿ], and a literary, and more recent, one of [huaŋɿ]. The literary word 凡 only has the reading of [huaŋɿ]. (Norman 1971, and author's fieldnotes.)

Turning now to the first syllable, [həm], in the colloquial word for 'all' in the various Yuè dialects, Whitaker (1952:110) associates it with the word 咸 'all' ([ha:mɿ] in Cantonese, and [ha:mɿ] in Zhōngshān). Note that for Zhōngshān at least, [həmɿ] contains the correct tonal reflex for associating with 咸, which also contains the Yáng-píng tone. The only minor discrepancy is in the vocalism. The colloquial word for 'all' in the Yuè dialects suggest an earlier dialectal compound 咸凡 'all + all — all, in all', patterning with such compounds as 自己 'self + self — self, oneself', where the morphemes within the compounds are synonymous.

7. 橫 'Crosswise' OC *gr-. Another colloquial word in Zhōngshān which can be associated with a word which once contained an initial consonant cluster is 〇〇橫 [ka:ɿ la:ɿ ɿa:ŋɿ],

[k^olA:ɿ ɥA:ŋɿ] ‘crosswise, at right angles to’. Lungtu, a Northeastern Mǐn dialect spoken in Zhōngshān county just west of Shíqí (or Shekki, the administrative centre), has a similar form for ‘crosswise’: /kaaɿ laaɿ waaŋɿ/ (from Egerod 1956:91 — except that tone-letters are used here instead of tone diacritics, and /ŋ/ instead of Egerod’s /q/). The word is not a regular Mǐn colloquialism (Norman, p.c.). Because of Lungtu’s proximity to Shíqí, one can only presume that the word in Lungtu was borrowed from Zhōngshān. Ignoring tonal differences between the two dialectal forms for the moment, one can propose that the polysyllabic form of the word ‘crosswise’ in both dialects contain traces of an original consonant cluster. More precisely, the complete forms of Zhōngshān [kA:ɿ lA:ɿ ɥA:ŋɿ] and Lungtu /kaaɿ laaɿ waaŋɿ/ can be connected to the word 橫, which is a Xiá 匣 initial, Grade II word reconstructed by Chou, for example, as AC *grwang. The sesquisyllable [k^olA:ɿ] in Zhōngshān then preserves the initial *gr- cluster, and [ɥA:ŋɿ] is simply the syllable-final of the word.

Regarding initial *g- in the cluster, phonologists have observed that at least some of the words containing the Xiá initial in Middle Chinese had common origins with velar stops, as reflected in the reconstruction of initial *g- in Archaic Chinese by Chou for 橫, and an aspirated *g’- by Karlgren. In terms of historical phonology, the Zhōngshān polysyllabic form for ‘crosswise’ thus provides further evidence for the reconstruction of an earlier initial cluster which contained a velar element. More generally, the Zhōngshān form provides evidence for an initial cluster for the word.

Turning now to the question of the tonal values recorded for the word ‘crosswise’ in Zhōngshān as well as in Lungtu, one observation should first be made concerning 橫 (Zhōngshān [ɥA:ŋɿ], Lungtu /waaŋɿ/). Both dialectal forms are regular reflexes of the historical Yáng-píng tone with respect to the pattern of correspondences to the historical phonological system in the two dialects. Thus, the tones in all three syllables in the Lungtu form, /kaaɿ laaɿ waaŋɿ / are completely regular. In Zhōngshān, while [ɿ] is the regular reflex of Yáng-píng, [ɿ] in the syllables [kA:ɿ lA:ɿ] and [k^olA:ɿ] is not. One possible explanation for the exceptional tonal reflex is that [kA:ɿ] and [lA:ɿ], which would be the expected reflexes for Zhōngshān, are extremely rare. In the data collected by the writer, [kA:ɿ] only occurs in two sources: as a colloquial, characterless word referring to a leg-astride, standing position, and in the expression 老媽○ [loɿ ma:ɿ kA:ɿ] for ‘old woman’. The syllable [lA:ɿ] occurs in the colloquial word ○埃 [lA:ɿ A:ɿ], meaning ‘dirty’, and as a sentence-final particle. In contrast, tone [ɿ] counterparts of syllables [kA:] and [lA:] are far more abundant, and can be found in regular lexical items. One can only speculate at this time that the rarity of syllables [kA:ɿ] and [lA:ɿ] had perhaps motivated the tone change to [ɿ] in Zhōngshān for the word ‘crosswise’.

8. 卷 ‘A roll’ OC *kl-. A final case will be discussed in some detail here concerns the word for ‘somersault’ in Zhōngshān and Cantonese. The word has a citation form of ○○斗 [kɥA:nɿ lA:nɿ tɥɿ] in Zhōngshān, and [kɥA:nɿ tɥɿ] or [kA:nɿ tɥɿ] in Cantonese. The sesquisyllabic forms in the two dialects are: [k^olA:nɿ tɥɿ] in Zhōngshān, and [k^olA:nɿ tɥɿ] in Cantonese. The Cantonese forms are from McCoy (1968), where the word is reconstructed as Proto-Cantonese *klan. McCoy, however, does not attempt to associate a character with the colloquial word for ‘somersault’.

In Chan (1980a), the suggestion was made to link the Zhōngshān form to 卷 ‘a roll’, which is a Grade III, Hé-kǒu word, normally pronounced [ky:nɿ] in the dialect. (A variant

pronunciation, [ku:nɿ], occurs as a classifier for books.) An initial *kl- cluster is not usually reconstructed for the word 卷 (e.g. Karlgren gives AC *kṷan) due to the absence of xié-shēng and fǎn-qiè evidence. However, as noted in Chan (1980a), an initial *kl- cluster had been hypothesized by Pulleyblank (1962:126) for the word 卷. Due to changes in his theory, the motivation for an initial cluster no longer exists (Pulleyblank, p.c.). Originally, Pulleyblank treated *-l- as a derivational infix based on Wulff's theory of a morphological infix *l. Thus, 圈 'turn around' was MC *kiwan, whereas 卷 'a roll' was MC kṷen < OC *kwlan.

It is noted in Chan (1980a) that if Zhōngshān [kwa:nŋ la:nŋ] and [k°la:nŋ] could be linked to the word 卷, it would be the citation form that would have preserved the labial medial. In that case, one would expect that the citation form and the sesquisyllabic form had evolved simultaneously from the break-up of the initial consonant cluster, with the citation form preserving the Hé-kǒu feature. Conceivably then, at an earlier stage, the sesquisyllabic form had initial *kwl-. The final in the Zhōngshān colloquial expression would still present a problem, since the reflexes for 卷 are [y:n] and [u:n].

Interestingly, therefore, one finds in Bodman (1967:34) reference to the Wǔmíng dialect of the Zhuàng language in which, among other examples, the Wǔmíng word klian 'roll, scroll', with a high level tone, is said to have been borrowed from the Chinese words 卷 and 捲 'to roll'. 捲 is reconstructed in Bodman (1980:108) as Proto-Chinese *kwlyar:, with a reconstruction for Li's Old Chinese counterpart also included: *kwljān: (the colon at the end of each reconstruction is used by Bodman to represent glottal constriction in the Shàng tone). In Zhōngshān and Cantonese, 卷 and 捲 are homophonous, both having the Shàng-shēng reading: [ky:nɿ] in Zhōngshān, and [ky:nŋ] in Cantonese. Based on the above reconstructed forms, final [A:n] in 'somersault' is not problematic for the Yuè dialects. It could suggest the survival of an earlier final, before the low vowel was lost.

Whitaker (1952:47) also provides supporting data for reconstructing an initial *kl- cluster for 卷 in observing in Cantonese the doublet [ky:nŋ] and [ly:nŋ] for 'a roll'. In this case, final [y:n] is the regular modern reflex. Given the above observations, the alternative pronunciations for 'a roll' in Cantonese may be genuine evidences of an earlier *kl- cluster. This would parallel the reconstruction of *kl- for the word based in part on the alternate readings for 'a knot' in Cantonese.

9. Conclusion. Besides the seven words discussed above, there are other colloquial terms in Zhōngshān for which no firm association has been made. Two will be cited at this time. 'To be naked (from the waist up)' is 剥○肋 [mɔ:kɿ ts'á:kɿ lá:kɿ] or [mɔ:kɿ ts'°lá:kɿ]. (剥 [mɔ:kɿ] 'to take off'.) Cantonese uses the expression 打赤肋 [tá:ɿ ts'ikɿ lá:kɿ] 'naked' (Hashimoto 1972a). In Táishān the expression is 脱至帛○ [ʔɔtɿ tsi-ɿ p°lakɿ] (Hashimoto, p.c.). (脱 [ʔɔtɿ] 'to take off'.) The Táishān form in particular shows cognate with the word 剥 'to peel', for which Maspero (1930:321) has postulated an initial cluster. He reconstructed 剥 as AC *plòk, based on the Siamese form pløk, 'peel', which has preserved the consonant cluster. In the Táishān form, however, there is still the need to account for the presence of the syllable [tsi-ɿ]. At the same time, it seems likely that the forms [ts'á:kɿ lá:kɿ], [ts'ikɿ lá:kɿ], and [tsi-ɿ p°lakɿ] in the three Yuè dialects had a common origin, with perhaps the Táishān form being the most conservative in its preservation of a bilabial stop.

The second word, meaning 'to talk noisily', in Zhōngshān is [ki:v li:v kA:ɿv la:ɿv], or [k°li:v k°lá:ɿv].¹² This word may be related to the colloquial Thai word, kriaw kraaw 'noisily'

(from Peyasantiwong 1980). Although the word in Thai most frequently refers to the clattering of objects, it can also be used to refer to people greeting each other, or talking boisterously. (Sompong Witayasakpan, p.c.)¹³

While the data presented here are primarily from the Zhōngshān dialect, it is clear that the sesquisyllable is present in a number of Yuè dialects, if it is not in fact a feature common among them. The extent to which this syllable structure occurs in the various Yuè dialects cannot be determined at this time. McCoy (1966) only observes two such cases in Cantonese, and four more later (1968), including the following two words which have not yet been mentioned in the above sections: [k^olɑ:kɿ] 'to make a mark or band around something', and [k^olɯkɿ] 'a pulley, wheel' (to the latter of which McCoy tentatively supplies the characters 粘輪).¹⁴

Isolated citations in Táishān, Kāipíng, and Téngxian suggest that the method of data-elicitation thus far has been inadequate for obtaining sesquisyllabic forms. What are usually recorded in fieldwork are the citation forms, with full tone assignment on each syllable bearing the regular CVC structure. Thus, in the Yángjiāng Yuè dialect, for example, a number of rhyming dissyllabic classifiers have been recorded by Huáng (1959) for which Zhōngshān has both a full and a reduced counterpart. How many of these colloquial words can ultimately be connected to regular words in Chinese would need further research.

In the Yángjiāng dialect, 'a big pile', for instance, is 堆粟 [tui-ɿ lui-ɿ]. In Zhōngshān, the word is [tuɿɿ luiɿɿ] or [t^oluɿɿɿ] (with lip-rounding throughout the entire sesquisyllable). For 'a crowd, swarm', Huáng records only 門漏 [təu-ɿ ləu-ɿ], while both [təu-ɿ ləu-ɿ] and [t^oləu-ɿ] are heard in Zhōngshān. In describing a string or strand of something, the word in Yángjiāng is 串○ [tʃ'in-ɿ lin-ɿ]. In Zhōngshān, the same word is [ts'y:n-ɿ ly:n-ɿ] or [ts^oly:n-ɿ], with simultaneous lip-rounding throughout the initial cluster of the sesquisyllabic form.

One final example to be mentioned from the set of Yángjiāng dissyllabic classifiers is the word for 'a large lump or piece': 嚙○ [kəu-ɿ ləu-ɿ], occurring in the Yáng-qù tone. (The character used here is supplied by the writer based on the Cantonese colloquial graph 嚙 for [kəu-ɿ] 'piece, lump', used to refer to stones, soap, etc., also in the Yáng-qù tone.) In Zhōngshān, 'a (large) lump' is [kəu-ɿ ləu-ɿ] or [k^oləu-ɿ], with Yáng-píng tone.¹⁵ Note that in Zhōngshān the classifier can also be used to describe a round object, such as a ball of yarn, and may perhaps be linked to 球 'ball', reconstructed by Bodman (1980:108), for example, as Proto-Chinese *glu (and *glju in Li's OC reconstruction; cf. also Wǔmíng klau for 'ball', borrowed from Chinese).

Given the existence of sesquisyllables in other Yuè dialects, including in the Four Counties (Siyì, composed of Táishān, Kāipíng, Xīnhuì, and Ēnpíng), which is just northeast of Yángjiāng, one suspects that Yángjiāng probably also has sesquisyllables albeit only the full, citation forms are reported in the literature. How widespread is the phenomenon of sesquisyllabic forms among the Yuè dialects need to be explored in the future. It appears that in general such forms are less prevalent in (Standard) Cantonese. The classifier for 'lump', discussed above, for example, is the monosyllabic 嚙 [kəu-ɿ], with no dissyllabic or sesquisyllabic counterpart. It is quite clear that the paucity of sesquisyllabic forms in Cantonese, and hence their oversight in other Yuè dialects, have left its influence on the description of the non-Standard Yuè dialects.

Sesquisyllabic structures have long been neglected in the description of the phonological

systems of the various Yuè dialects although the recognition of such structures is crucial, both for a detailed study of the phonology of a particular dialect, and for historical purposes. In diachronic studies, sesquisyllables, in conjunction with other data used for the reconstruction of consonant clusters, are without doubt an important source that contributes internal, synchronic evidence for earlier clusters. This paper, providing only limited cases of sesquisyllabic forms, should therefore be viewed as an initiation into the use of such structures for future endeavours in the historical reconstruction of the Chinese language.

NOTES

¹ An earlier version of this paper (Chan 1980b) was presented at the XIIIth International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Charlottesville, Virginia. I thank Professors Edwin G. Pulleyblank, Jerry Norman, South Coblin, and Anne Yue Hashimoto for helpful comments and suggestions. I remain, however, solely responsible for any oversights and errors.

² The writer is indebted to David Strecker for bringing to her attention the concept of the 'sesquisyllable' introduced in Matisoff's (1973) article. Matisoff uses the term to refer to syllables in Proto-Austro-Asiatic where "the prevocalic consonant was often preceded by a 'pre-initial' consonant, as in the modern Cambodian words psaa 'market', thiam 'jaw', ckae 'dog', kjaok 'peacock'".

Matisoff's term 'sesquisyllable' has its counterpart in the British literature. It corresponds to Henderson's (1952) 'extended monosyllable', and Shorto's (1960) dissyllabic structure consisting of a 'minor syllable' followed by a 'major syllable'. (Note that Shorto's definition of a 'minor syllable' differs from Henderson's original (1952) definition and usage of the term. See Henderson (1952) and Shorto (1960) for further details.)

³ Yang (1968) states that the word 角落 first appeared in the early eighteenth century.* The same two characters are also used in other Chinese dialects for their respective colloquial word meaning 'corner'; e.g. kâ?-lâ? in Yángzhōu, ko-lo in Chángshā, and kok-lok in Nán-chāng (from Yang 1968).

⁴ To avoid confusion, the romanization and transcription of (Standard) Cantonese words by various writers cited in this paper have been phoneticized based on Hashimoto (1972a). Moreover, unless specified otherwise, Cantonese forms cited herein are from Hashimoto (1972a). Tones are recorded in Yuen-Ren Chao's system of tone numbers, with a scale of '1' to '5',** representing ascending pitch height. Unless specified otherwise, sources from other Yuè dialects will be cited as they appear in the original texts. Hence, the Téngxian colloquial word for 'all' is [hom² plaŋ²] (from Hashimoto 1972a:19), where the diacritic [²] on the upper right hand represents the Yáng-qù tone [-].

⁵ Pulleyblank distinguishes between clusters in Old Chinese which contain *-l- and those which contain *-r-: *-r- occurs with Grade II words (e.g. 角), and *-l- with Grade IV words (e.g. 結).

⁶ For an opposing view, see Barnett (1950) who presents arguments for a full system of stress differentiations in Cantonese.

* Editor's note: 《禮記·檀弓下》“公室視豐碑”孔穎達(574—648)疏:“角落相望,故云四角。”

** Editor's note: Chao's system of tone numbers is converted into his system of tone-letters in this Journal.

⁷ McCoy (1966:185, fn.27) also records two variant forms for 'corner': [kə° - lɔ:kɿ] and [kə° - lɔ:kɿ].

⁸ This writer was in fact unaware of McCoy's (1968) conference paper at the time of writing Chan (1980a, 1980b). She thanks Professor John McCoy for sending her his revised copy of that paper.

⁹ Boodberg (1934) uses the xié-shēng evidence together with the ancient Wú pronunciation of 聿 to support Karlgren's tentative reconstruction of an initial cluster for 聿: juët < bl-? (pi < pjët < pl-?). Thus, Boodberg states: 'The modern reading lü for 聿, its being phonetic in 律 lü < ljuët, and the ancient Wú pronunciation fully justify Karlgren's reconstruction of an archaic *bl- in this group.'

¹⁰ The open syllables in the Fúzhōu word for 'armpit' was first brought to the writer's attention by Jerry Norman.

¹¹ Note that even in dictionaries one can find the reduced forms. Lau (1977:324), for example, records 'all' as: 噍啤呤 ham⁶ blaang⁶ (= [həmɿ plɑ:ŋɿ]. In earlier works such as Barnett (1950:732), a reduced form is suggested in the bracketing of the second final for the same word: hammbh (aang) laaq.

¹² In Cantonese, the expression [ki:ɿ li:ɿ ka:ɿɿ la:ɿɿ] or [k^hli:ɿ k^hla:ɿɿ] has a slightly different meaning, being closer to that of saying things that are not comprehensible to the listener (e.g. speaking in a foreign language), or 'to be talking gibberish'.

¹³ A stronger definition is found in McFarland (1944:121): 'onomatopoeic. from the noise, tumult or riotous anger of a crowd of people yelling simultaneously'. The author thanks Pontip and Jim Placzek for searching the word in Thai dictionaries. Other definitions include 'noisy, boisterous', and 'talking loudly or noisily'.

¹⁴ Dissyllabic words for 'wheel, roll' in various Chinese dialects have been recorded by Yang (1968). 'To turn round, to roll; a wheel' in Héběi and Northern Mandarin, for example, is kū-lu 轆轤. Yang associates the dialectal forms with two Chinese characters: (1) 輾, reconstructed by Karlgren as AC *g'lwār and *g'lwər, and by Li as AC *g'lwān 'turn round (as a wheel)'; and (2) 輪, reconstructed by Karlgren as AC *lɿwən 'wheel' and *kuk 'nave of a wheel'. Based on dialectal material, Yang posits initial clusters for 輪: AC *gliwen and *kluk. Yang also includes two Tibetan cognates, k'or-lo 'circle, a disk, roll, wheel', and akú-ru 'a paddle wheel'.

¹⁵ Zhōngshān also has the monosyllabic form, 嚙 [kəɿɿ], which is used as a classifier similar to its Cantonese counterpart. The sesquisyllabic form in Zhōngshān tends to be used more as a nominal. Note that similar to Cantonese, in Zhōngshān the regular reflex of MC voiced obstruents in Píng tone syllables is stops that are unaspirated and voiceless. Words such as [kəɿɿ] are therefore exceptions. In Zhōngshān, colloquial words with unaspirated stop initial in Yáng-píng [ɿ] tone may suggest vestiges of an earlier stratum in the dialect in which the unaspirated form was the regular reflex. Some examples from Chan (1980a) include: 鋤 [tsɔ:ɿ] 'to axe' (versus 鋤 [ts'ɔ:ɿ] 'an axe'), 〇 [tsi:ɿ] 'to poke someone with finger', 濕〇〇 [sɐpɿ tsi:ɿ tsi:ɿ] 'very moist', 〇 [tɿŋɿ] 'to stick something firmly onto the ground', 〇 [tɑ:ɿ] 'still, yet', 〇〇 [lɑ:ɿɿ kɑ:ɿɿ] 'hectic', 〇 [tɿnɿ] 'to sit down hard and abruptly', 〇 [kɑ:ɿɿ] 'to get in the way (e.g. to get underfoot)', and 〇 [kiɑ:ɿɿ] 'to grab'.

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中 文 提 要

在中山、广州及其他粤方言中，“sesquisyllabic”字（一个半音节构成的字）在上古音复声母的拟构上提供了极有价值的语音内部及共时的佐证资料。本文拟构了“角、结、笔、貉、凡、横、卷”等七字的上古音一个半音节字音。同时论及其他跟汉字关系不大明确的一个半音节字。

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