A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE PAANGKHUA LANGUAGE

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The Paangkhua form a small ethnic group in the middle and northern part of the eastern side of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh. Older sources mention them as "Kuki" or "Panko". Shafer (1955) classifies "Pankhua" together with "Bom" under the Lushai unit, where "Bom" is not to be identified with present day Bawm (Bunjogi), classified in the Central Chin (Lai) unit, but stems from a word list for two languages (called "Bunzoo" and "Kuki", i.e. Paang and Bawm) of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, published by Barbe in 1845, full of mistakes and corruptions, with (indigenous) "Bom" entered for (English) "Bunzoo" in what looks like the Paang list, though the heading gives "Bunzoo" (i.e. Bawm) again.

From the vocabularies and grammar data now at my disposal it would seem that Paang is no closer to Lushai than it is to Bawm, but to be distinguished from both, and more allied to the Old Kuki group, by the preservation of certain prefixes, viz. ma- and ra-. There seems to be quite a number of loan words from Lushai in Paang; still, these loans are clearly identifiable only in those cases where original cognates differ from the Lushai forms either in their initial or their final (including tone).

Since 1965, the Chittagong Hill Tracts have been inaccessible to foreigners. However, people from the interior can visit the plains district without restrictions. For a long time, Lushai missionaries have been active among the Paang, who, for their education, might also attend boarding schools in the Bawm area. I employed two informants, one Paangkhua who used Lorrain-Savidge's dictionary of 1899, replacing English by Paang - this source will be referred to as the LP-dialect, and a Bawm, who used the Bawm-English dictionary (on which I have been working from time to time since 1965) - these data will be called the BP-dialect. In case of near synonyms, with a cognate either in Lushai or Bawm, the LP as a rule shows the cognate of the Bawm word, while BP on the contrary shows the word also to be found in Lushai, i.e. each informant tried to establish Paang as a language different from that used for questioning. Judging from a rough count of 100 items, the number of Bawm-Paang cognates not to be found in Lushai, and that of Lushai-Paang cognates not to be found in Bawm, seems to be approximately the same. However, on enthnohistorical grounds it would be more likely that Bawm borrowed from Paang than vice-versa.

The drafting of both dictionaries (LP and BP) was done in the interior, with the informants working according to my instructions. Unfortunately, the Paang informant, after a few pages, dropped the notational system proposed by me, and reverted to his own way of (occasionally) marking the high tone by a circumflex (so that it is clear that, e.g., âi stands for ái, while, however, ûn may stand for ùun, úun or ún). The Bawm informant, on the other hand, gave

tone marks throughout, but apparently had difficulties with the fact that in some cases Paang has exactly the opposite tone sequence than Bawm, while in other cases the tone sequence noted comes close to that of Lushai. Thus, more than often the interpretation of tones must remain mere guesswork; but I also have some tape recordings of Paang texts, partly transcribed and tone marked by myself in collaboration with my Paangkhua informant. In short, the material available up to now is not yet sufficient for a reliable dictionary, but it can serve for a preliminary report, especially for a comparison with Lushai.

A. Phonemes and tones

p	t	ts	*tl	k	*kr
ph	th		tlh	kh	
b	d			*g	
*f	s				h
v	z				
m	n			ng	
	r	*hr			[phonemes only occurring
					in loans are marked with
	l	*hl			an asterisk /*/]

Excluding loans, Paang shows the following set of initials: k, kh, ng, h; ts, s, z; t, th, tlh, d, n, r, l; p, ph, b, m, v. In loans (most probably from Lushai) we find in addition: tl, hl, hr, f, and in loans from Bengali and English also g and kr. The vowel system seems to be the same as that of Lushai (whether Paang differentiates between aai/ai, ooi/oi and uui/ui needs to be checked); also the finals are the same as in Lushai, except that (apart from loan words) no glottal stop appears behind laterals and glides. After plain vowels, cognates of Lushai glottal stopped syllables show, as a rule, a low falling tone, practically indistinguishable from the reflexes of the low tone (2), which in its turn can be followed by a weak glottal closure (both BP and LP give occasionally forms like sậh < thà, ziah < zìa). To be set off against this tone is a low, short, weakly glottalized or breathy tone, appearing with certain particles only, which would have tone 4 (high-falling) in Lushai and which are sometimes also realized with the normal reflex of that tone in Paang, viz. an unshortened high tone.

The Paang tonal system shows mainly two tones, high and low; the high tone corresponding to Lushai tones 1 (high) and 4 (high-falling), and the low tone to Lushai tones 2 (low) and 3 (rising). In addition, Paang has three secondary tones, 1) an emphatic tone, rising above the normal high level and followed by a clearly audible pause before the onset of the next syllable. (In most cases this tone is used for syllables for which we should expect the low tone, e.g. tăm-tàk < tàm-tàk (*32), many; zŏng#zòng or zŏng-zŏng (*22), all; but also ĕem#ĕem or éem-ĕem# (*44), very much: tǔu#pŏu/ (*24), whoever; rŏl-cĕm# or rŏl#cĕm# (*11), biggest); 2) the allotone of the high tone (*4) mentioned above, to be met with certain particles as e.g. tà/táa (connecting particle), (ma)tsù/(ma)tsúu (demonstrative particle), Bawm tone 2, Lushai tone 4, the prefixed form being used before, the unprefixed form after the nominal; 3) a

high-falling tone used in certain exclamations and terms of address only. For the present purpose the tones will be marked as follows: v́=high, v̌=high-rising, v̂v̂=high-falling, vv=low or low-falling, long, v̀=low short/breathy; prefixes will be left unmarked. In general, high-toned syllables tend to show a greater time length than low-toned syllables, explaining the use of the circumflex for high-toned syllables by the Paang informant. A peculiar phenomenon of Paang (otherwise well-known from African tone languages) is the appearance of a mid tone instead of the high tone in second or later position: this tendency may spread over the whole sentence leading to a repeated lowering of the pitch level.

Paang seems unique in showing the same pitch contour for tones 1 and 4, the latter even including lexemes which show a final glottal stop after nasals and glides in Bawm; otherwise in Bawm, too, tones 1 and 4 became indistinguishable, but this only after tones 3 and 4 had merged, a merger also to be found in the other Lai languages as well as (following Weidert 1979) in Thadou, Kom and Anal (Old Kuki). While for Bawm the assumption of an original 3-tone system would be sufficient to explain the variation in verbal forms (except for those with open vowel), we need 4 tones to explain the tonal interchange of Paang verb forms in predicative and attributive usage, viz. high/low (1/2), low/high (2/4 < ?), low/low (3/2), high/high (4/4). In original open vowel verbs Paang probably has v̂v̂/v̂t (1), v̌k/v̌k (2), v̀v̀/v́v́t (3), v́v́k/v̀v̀k (4) - notice the addition of -k in both, from I and II, or former tone 2 and 4 verbs.

In the following lists I give a few examples for Paang ts- < *tr- and s < *tsh-, *trh- and *f-. For the sake of an easier comparison, I shall not use the Lushai (and Bawm) standard alphabet, but replace aw by /o/, o by /ou/, c by /ts/, ṭ by /tr/ and final h by /?/; length will be expressed by vowel doubling. Lushai tones will be marked v́=high, v̀=low, v̌=rising, v̂=falling. Bawm tones are given in the form they take after pronominal particles.

Paang	Bawm	Lushai	
tsǎng	tràng	trǎng	'dry'
tsàng-púi	tráng-pĭi	tràn-púi	'to aid, to help'
àn-tsàm	àn-tràm	ǎn-tràm	'turnip'
tsàp	tràp	tràp	'to cry'
tsáam	tràam	tráam	'hungry'
tsl̀i	trì?	trì?	'to fear'
antsl̀t	(trì?)	trĭi/trìt	'be afraid'
tsĺal	trìal	trĺal	'be striped, spotted'
ratsìal	rĺal	thrìal	'to chew, gnash teeth'
tsùan	trùan	trùan	'to work'

Bawm, too, has *tsh- > s-.

ansaà	sà?	tshà?	'be thick'
sàm	sám	tshàm	'to lack'
sàn-suak	sán-sùak	tshàn-tshûak	'to rescue'
masĺin	sìn?	tshĺin	'to close'
síng-sià	singsía?	tshĭn-tshìa?	'to mark'
sĭm	sĺm	tshl̀m	'south'
sĺat-sám	sĺat-sám	tshĭa-tshâm	'to take an oath'
súng	sùng	tshúung	'inside'
masún	sùn?	tshùn	'to spear'

sùun	súun	tshùun	'noon'
sùum	sùum	tshǔum	'fog'
masùl	súul	tshùul	'womb'
masúi	sùi?	tshùi	'to kick'
séem	séem	tshéem	'to kindle, blow'

*trh- has become ṭh- in Lushai and standard Bawm; in the Northern Bawm villages, being in close contact with Paangkhua, ṭh- becomes s- (and ṭ- > c-) like in Paang (all /s/ are slightly palatalized).

saà	trhá	trhàa	'good'
sáal	trhàal	trháal	'hot season'
masíi	trhìi	trhíi	'bead'
maseè	trhè?	trhè?	'to offer, to give'
masèn	trhén	trhén	'to divide'
súi	trhíit	trhúi	'to sew'

(The Bawm form is regular, since Bawm a) changes ui > ii, and b) uses form II for transitive verbs, with c) form II in tone 1 verbs taking final -t).

sapaà	fapá	fapàa	'son (fâa-, child)'
savàang	fapàang	favàang	'autumn (*fáa-, rice)'
sìng	fíng	fìng	'clever'
ansìim	fìim	fíim	'clear'
masúu	fùu	fúu	'sugar cane'
sung	fùng	fǔng	'rod'
sùun	fúun	fǔun	'wrap up'
sùur	fúur	fùur	'rainy season'
sèi	fèi	fěi	'spear'
maseèp	féep	fèep	'to suck'
síang	fìang	cíang	'clear'
áarsìi	àrfí	áarsìi	'star'
ùi-sòom	ùi-sóom	ǔi-fòom	'mantis'

(The last three forms show irregular correspondences in Lushai and Bawm; Paang has also tsíang besides síang). As there are no tsh- and ṭh- in Paang, s- is apparently substituted for them also in loan words (LP, however, gives some ṭh-), f-, on the other hand, is retained as such, and in both of my vocabularies the number of f:s correspondences only slightly exceeds that of f:f correspondences) (13:10 and 14:12) with the Bawm-Paang dictionary giving fapàa, fíim and fèi instead of the forms with s- quoted above. As the BP dialect comes closer to Lushai and Bawm also by retaining fewer prefixes (see below), Paang f- instead of s- in the above mentioned cases may represent a kind of restitution in a largely bilingual milieu. With regard to *tl-, on the other hand, BP has tlh- throughout, while in LP tl- appears in nearly one third of the cases, ṭ- appears both in LP and BP but only in two or three words.

B. Prefixes and morphophonemics

Excluding sa-, to be derived from *sâa 'animal', *fâa 'child', or *sáa 'rice', Paang has three kinds of prefixes, viz. ra-, ma- and an-, the latter of which appears to be used only with verbs (and a few deverbals). (Otherwise an- serves as a kind of prefix for trees and plants, but is probably identical with àn (3) 'edible greens'). Before verbs, an- serves as a reflexive marker (Lushai in-, Bawm a-), but is much more common than in Lushai or Bawm, since it

regularly also serves to distinguish intransitive from transitive forms, the latter often marked by the prefix ma-. After ma- and an-, verbs seem to appear in form II, cf. in the samples given above: tsî (tr.) 'to be afraid of', antsìt (intr.) 'to feel afraid'. As the personal pronoun prefix (ka-, na-, a-) fuses with the reflexive prefix, the attributive (adjective) form and the predicative form of the third person singular would be indistinguishable but for a change in tone in the predicative form, cf. anlàa 'far' (low tone from unprefixed form in tone 1, cf. Lushai hláa) but anláa 'he is far' (tone 2); antòu 'sitting' (low tone from unprefixed form in tone 1, cf. Lushai tóu), antóu 'he sits' (tone 1). There is, however, no reversal from form II to form I, so that tone 1 in the predicative forms is probably not to be regarded as a "restitution", but as the result of a secondary tonal switch, also to be found in Bawm with all reflexive verbs. However, more reliable material will be necessary before a definite statement can be made.

Prefix ma- serves, as already mentioned, to distinguish transitive from reflexive forms, and it functions as a causative marker as well. As such it is even added when the main word is followed by the causative verb tìir 'to let, cause to', cf. makàl-tíir 'to let go along' (kàl 'to go'), masèn-tíir 'to redden' (sén 'red'), masùal-tíir 'to adulterate' (sùal 'faulty').

In a few cases we also find ra- as a verbal prefix. It appears to be used before transitive verbs only. In the BP dialect, ra- is sometimes replaced by ma-, an- or is just left out. As a prefix ra-, like ma-, commands the verbal form II, and it can in fact be dropped without loss of information - unless the basic (intransitive) verb is in tone 3 or 4, in which case form II (tone 2 or 4) would have the same pitch in Paang, cf. the following examples:

LP	BP	Lushai	Bawm	
rakèek	–	kêek/kè?	–	'to separate'
–	rangàa	hngàt/hngà?	ngà?	'to lay down'
rasìl	masìl	sìk/sì?	sìk/sì?	'to pinch'
rasúuk	masúuk	sùu/sûuk	sùk	'to wash'
rasùa	masùa	tshûak/tshùa?	sùa?	'to release'
raput	pùt	púu/pùt	pùt	'to carry on shoulder'
rabàat	anbàat	bâat/bà?	bà?	'to throw over shoulder'
rakáan	makáan	kâan	kàn?	'to cross over'
rakuài	kuái	kuài	kuài?	'to pull down'
rakhuù	rakhuù	khù?	khù?	'to cover'
–	rakhúng	khûng	–	'to imprison'
rakhóol	khóol	khòol	khòl?	'to stock'
rangáai	rangáai	ngáai/ngài?	ngàai(1)	(1) 'to love'
			ngáai(2)	(2) 'to listen'
ratsàa	ratsàa	tsà?	tsà?	'to send on commission'
ratsàn	tsàn	tsàn/tsàn	tsàn	'to cut up'
ratsìil	tsìil	tsíil/tsìil	tsíil	'to trample, tread'
ratsúum	tsúum	tsùum/tsûm	tsùm?	'to punch'
ratsìal	tsìal	trhìal/trhìal	rìal	'to chew, gnash teeth'
rasìl	ansìl	sìl/sìl	sìl	'to wash (body)'
rasìal	–	sìal/sìal	sìal	'to cut (a road)'
ratlhàng	–	tlhàng/tlhàng	tlhàng	'to choose, to select'
radìil	dìil	díil/dìil	–	'to ask for'
rapìl	píl	pìl?	–	'to take off (coat)'
razòon	anzòon	zòon/zòon	zòn?	'to carry between'

ralàm	làm	lám/làm	lám	'to summon'
ravei	(an)vèi	véi/vèi	véi	'to labour (childbirth)'
ravuan	–	vùan/vôn	vùan?	'to grasp, seize'

The tendency to drop the prefix and to use the stem form II for transitive verbs, observable in the BP dialect, recalls the peculiar fact that Bawm transitive verbs show form II throughout: it seems now possible to explain this by a process similar to that in the BP dialect. The difference between Bawm and Paang is, however, that Bawm shows the glottal stop in what would be glottal stop or tone 4 in Lushai, while Paang uses the high tone without any shortening of the vowel or final glottalizations found both in Lushai and Bawm. Again, both Bawm and Paang have in common that, unlike Lushai, the velar nasal final of form I does not change into a dental nasal in form II, but retains its velar quality.

The process of prefix dropping in the BP dialect can be seen even more clearly with nouns. Unlike verbs, nouns do not seem to change their tone when prefixed. (In the following list ra- will be in parenthesis if not recorded in BP: the list contains only those items for which I have both BP and LP recordings and a cognate in Lushai.)

(ra)kíi	kîi	'horn'
(ra)kĭl	kĭl	'corner'
(ra)kùa	kùa	'hole'
(ra)kúang	kúang	'coffin'
rakhúup	khûup	'knee'
rakhuái	khuái	'bee'
rangáa	ngáa	'five'
rangál	ngál	'skin'
rangúl	ngúl	'rod'
(ra)tsàan	tsáang	'finger-joint'
-(ra)tsíng	-tríng	'soot'
rasùm	sùm	'mortar'
ratúng	túng	'post'
(ra)tháa	thâa	'strength, sinew'
ratlháa	tlháa	'ghost'
(ra)tlhàn	tlhàn	'sweat'
ratlhìng	tlhìng	'marrow'
(ra)tlhúak	tlhúak	'brain'
ranuù	hnùu	'breast, milk'
(ra)paà	pǎa	'mushroom'
rabàal	bŭl-bǎal	'tube, bulb'
(ra)búu	bûu	'nest, book'
rabúng	búng	'banyan tree'
(ra)mái	mái	'pumpkin'
ramàng	mǎng	'dream'
ramíng	hmíng	'name'
(ra)mĭt	mĭt	'ankle'
razáa	zâa	'hundred'
razáa	zâa	'wild goat'
(ra)zĭik	zîik	'new shoot'
(ra)làang	hlǎang	'bier'
(ra)líng	hlíng	'thorn'
(ra)lùng	lŭng	'maggot'
(ra)vàan	vàan	'sky'

ravàam	vàam	'potash'
(ra)vùt	vùt	'ashes'
ravòt	vàt	'land-leech'
(ra)huù	hùu	'steam'
rahòl	hŏl	'charcoal'

It would seem that the prefix is normally dropped when the main syllable is followed by another one, but is kept when another syllable is preceding it, cf.

ìn-ratsíng	in-tríng	'(house)-soot'
sarazáa	sazâa	'(animal)-wild goat'
tsáng-rakèel	tsáng-kèel	'wild plantain'
áar-raláa	áar-láa	'pullet'
bàng-ratúng	bàng-túng	'wall perpendiculars'
kut-ratsàan	kut-tsàang	'finger-joint'
mèi-rahòl	mèi-hŏl	'(fire)-charcoal'

But:

ratháa		'(sinew)'
tha-záam	thà-záam	'veins'
tha-rùi-nèi	thà-hrŭi-nèi	'strong'
rakhuái		'(bee)'
khuái-dáang	khói-dáang	'wasp'
khuái-palìt	khói-hlíi	'boil'
khuái-zúu	khói-zúu	'honey'

But also:

rakhuái-tlháar	khuái-tlháar	'honey-comb'

In a number of cases the prefix ra- may be the remnant of a former full noun, as e.g. in ravàam < rúa-vàam 'bamboo-ashes', cf. ranàal < rúa-nàal, L. rónàal 'a species of bamboo'; perhaps also rangúl < rúa-ngúl 'bamboo-rod'; LP rapaà < rúa-paà, BP máu-paà 'bamboo-mushroom'; moreover, rakhuái < ràu-khuái (?) 'swarm bee'; rathláa < rău-thláa (?) 'spirit-ghost' cf. L. thláa-rău; in others it is definitely an old TB prefix, as in ratháa < *ərsaʔ, cf. WT rtsa (< rsa) 'sinew, strength'; razaà < *ər-ya, cf. WT brgya (< bər-ya) 'hundred'.

A similar picture of prefix depletion in BP appears with nouns prefixed by ma-. I add a few comparisons with Lakher, which has pa- for Paang ma- (but Ø for Paang ra-).

LP	BP	Lushai	Lakher	English
ma'ír	–	ír		'breast'
makáa	káa	káa	pakah < pakaʔ	'mouth'
makàl		kăl		'kidney'
makòk	makòk	tsăkòk		'fern'
makòt	makòt	kòt		'in front of house'
mangàl	rangàl	hngàl	ngia < (ra)ngal	'wild boar'
matsáng	tsáng	tráng	chia < treng	'twig'
matsál	tsál	tsál		'male'
matsìl	tsìl	tsìi		'salt'
matsíl	matsíl	tsíl	pachi < patsil	'spittle'
matsèek	tsèek	trêek	pachi < patreek	'thunderbolt'
matsùap	tsùap	tsúap	pachao < patsuap	'lungs'

(khùm)-masáa		(khùm)-fâa		'bed-bug'
masíi	masíi	trhíi < pathri		'bead'
sùul-ìn	masùul	tshùul	chhi < tshuul	'womb'
matái		tái	patia < patai	'waist'
matíit	tíit	tíi		'muscle'
antíit		tîit	pati < patiit	'centipede'
matìn	tìn	tìn	pato < patin	'nail, hoof'
mathìn	mathìn	thìn	pathi < pathit(?)	'liver'
mathòu	mathòu	thòu	mathyu < mathou	'fly'
	matlhà	tlhàa	mathlaw < mathlaa	'wing'
matlháak	tlháak	tlhâʔ		'offspring'
matlhùung	tlhùung	tlŭung	pathlò < pathluung	'ridge pole'
madáng	dáng	dáng	da < dang	'palate'
manáak	manáak	naâk		'side of body'
(há)-maníit	(háa)níi	(háa)hnîi	(ha)pano < panii	'gums'
mazáa	zàa		pazah < pazaʔ	'palm, sole'
mazùu	mazúu	sazûu	pazu < pazuu	'rat'
mazùun	zùn	zùn	pazô < pazun	'urine'
maraà	raá	ràʔ		'fruit'
	maráng	(B:) táng	para < parang	'father's sister's husband'
marúul	rúul	rúul	pari < paruul	'snake'
malaà	malaà	làa	pala < palaʔ	'cotton'
maláa	maláa	lâa	chalaw < calaa	'spleen'
(óok)malám	(óok)-lêm	(ôok)-lêm	ao-pala < ook-palam	'eclipse'
malúng	lúng	lúng	palô < palung	'heart'
maléi	maléi	léi	palei (tone 1)	'tongue'
malíang	malíang	(líang)	palai < paliang	'shoulder'
malòk	malòk		(Khumi) paleoʔ < palok	'net'
malóng	lóng	lòng		'boat'

For mathòu 'fly', and makòk 'fern', also Bawm shows prefix ma-; for matsáng 'twig', Bawm has, like Lakher, *treng; in the word for 'ridgepole', mathluung, Bawm also shows aspiration; and finally, Bawm also has a long vowel in the word for 'urine', mazùun. For 'centipede' the informant first entered matiit and then replaced it by antiit; this may just be to distinguish it from the homonym matiit 'muscle' (Bawm mèʔ-tíit). LP iit for Lushai -îi is also to be found in maniit/hnîi (Bawm: -nii) 'gums' and would be normal in verbs (form II). Note that Lakher has unaspirated *pani, although it otherwise has hn-(as well as hm-, hl, hr-) after prefixes, too. This is to suggest that Lushai h-before nasals and laterals may also be derived from a prefix other than s-, probably *r-; cf. also Lakher la < -laang, Lushai: hlàang, Paang ralàang 'bier'; Lakher mo < -ming, Lushai hmíng, Paang ramíng 'name'; but there is also Lakher hlo < hling, Paang ralíng 'thorn'; cf. Lakher lo < ling, 'to prick', suggesting a certain variability in prefixes. In some cases Lakher has no prefix ('palate', 'womb', 'branch', 'boar'), in one case Lakher has a prefix while Paang has none, viz. Lakher parei < parial, LP ríal, Lushai ríal 'hail'. Still, a more detailed study of prefixes will require comparative material from Khumi/Khami, for which sufficient data are not yet available.