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Languages and Peoples of the Eastern Himalayan Region (LPEHR)

An overview of Pangkhua: A South Central Tibeto-Burman (Kuki-Chin) language of Bangladesh
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ABSTRACT
This paper provides an overview of Pangkhua, a South Central Tibeto-Burman (Kuki-Chin) language of Bangladesh. Pangkhua is an underdocumented and a largely endangered language spoken by about 2000 people in Rangamati District, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh. In this overview, first, I examine Pangkhua's position in the internal subclassifications of the South Central subgroup and show that its position in the subgroup is not as obvious as has often been regarded. Then, I discuss some of Pangkhua's basic and typologically important characteristics including phonology, morphology, and syntax. As a first account of Pangkhua, this overview will facilitate areal-typological as well as historical and comparative South Central Tibeto-Burman linguistics research.

KEYWORDS
Pangkhua, South Central, Kuki-Chin, Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh

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1 Introduction

Pangkhua (*paŋkʰua*) is a South Central (Kuki-Chin) Tibeto-Burman language spoken by about 2000 people in Rangamati District, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh. It is an underdocumented and a largely endangered language. Pangkhua is an autonym used for both the ethnic identity of Pangkhua people and their language. Other names used in the literature include "Paang", "Pang", "Pang Khua", "Pangkhu", "Pangkho", "Pankhu", "Pankho", "Pankhawi", "Panghoi", "Pangkua" and "Paangkhua" (Farid 2006, Simons and Fennig 2018). In the *Linguistic Survey of India* (Konow 1903:160), the language appears as "Pānkhū", with a bar on "ā" and "ū". Within the community, Pangkhua people frequently use the name 'Dinthar' *ḍinṯʰar* for their village; *ḍin* is a Mizo word meaning 'stay', *ṯhar* is found in both Pangkhua and Mizo meaning 'new'. The compound 'Dinthar' means 'new stay' not only reflects the relatively recent establishment (1979) of a new Pangkhua village in its current location but is also suggestive of, as I have observed during my fieldwork, an ongoing and extensive Mizo influence on Pangkhua. Of the total Pangkhua population, about 600 people live in Pangkhua Para village while the rest are scattered in small households in Rangmati district in Chittagong Hill Tracts. The present description is based on Pangkhua as it in spoken in Pangkhua Para village[2]. See Akter (2020, 2022) for more information about Pangkhua.

Data of Pangkhua in this paper came from more than a year of my fieldwork in Pangkhua Para, Rangamati, Chittagong Hill Tracts during 2017-2020. My fieldwork data consisted of everyday conversation, folktales, interviews, personal accounts, and procedural texts (e.g., hunting methods, house-building techniques, etc.). A significant amount of data also came from my fieldnotes and elicitations. Out of around twenty hours of audio-visual data that I collected during my fieldwork, I fully transcribed, translated, and annotated around eight hours of data. For data collection and interpretation, I worked with six primary consultants and more than a dozen of Pangkhua native speakers of various age groups and gender. In addition to writing a reference grammar, an important purpose of my data collection was to develop documentary and pedagogical materials to aid in the maintenance and revitalization of Pangkhua language and culture. See Akter (2022) for more information about my data collection and processing methods.

In what follows, I discuss Pangkhua's position in South Central in §2, phonology in §3, basic syllable structure in §4, sesquisyllabicity in §5, word formation and morphology in §6, word classes in §7, noun phrase structure in §8, argument indexation on verbs in §9, clause structure in §10, and clause combination in §11.

2 Pangkhua in South Central

Pangkhua's membership in South Central can be evidenced by the fact that the language shares two of the innovations that are usually considered as characteristic of SC languages, namely, verb stem alternation and a phonological change of the Proto-Trans-Himalayan (PTH) initials *s/sy- to Proto-South Central (PSC) *th- (VanBik (2009: 9). While verb stem alternation in Pangkhua is not as robust as in some other SC languages including Mizo, Hakha Lai, and Falam, Pangkhua nonetheless exhibits the feature affecting a handful of its verbs. In Pangkhua, the morphosyntactic conditions that dictate the choices of one stem versus another mainly relate to valence affecting mechanisms. For example, the base form *luṯ*[B] 'enter' occurs in a transitive construction as shown in (1) and the derived form *luʔ*[D] 'enter' occurs in a causative construction

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[2] I have neither noticed nor have found reported that there exist any dialectal differences in Pangkhua.

as shown in (2). See Akter (2022: 244-252) for a detailed discussion of Pangkhua verb stem alternation.

(1) *ʔumṯa ḏai makɒṯ luṯ herinha*
um=ṯa   ḏai   makɒṯ   **uṯ$^{\text{B}}$**   her=in=ha
chase=NF   fence   door   **enter**   almost=LOC=DEF

sam banluŋ ṯiruah
sam   bɑn   luŋ   ṯi=ruɑh
hair   lock   prickle rep=epis
'…(they) chased her (Nemrohoi) (and) as she was about to enter the fence-door, her hair rolled around it and got locked.'

(2) *…ʔanhɒi natsun kanpo tsaŋse skul*
ən=hɒi=nɑ   tsun   kɑn=pɒu   tsɑŋ=si   skul
3.PL.SUBJ=know=SUBR then how=IND.PRON COP=FOC school

maluʔeiṯih ʔaṯiruah
ma-**luʔ$^{\text{D}}$**=ei=ṯi   ə=ṯi   ruɑh
CAUS-**enter**=OBJ.PL=REP 3.SG.SUBJ=say   EPIS
'…after their learning (how to eat), he (their guardian) said, "however it is possible, (I must) send them to school (lit. make them enter the school).'

Table 1[3] presents an exhaustive list of verb stem alternants attested in my corpus:

Base form	Derived form	Gloss
luṯ	*luʔ*	'enter'
miṯ	*miʔ*	'turn off'
sip	*siʔ*	'fill out'
ṯhup	*ṯhuʔ*	'hide'
tsap	*tsaʔ*	'cry'

Table 1 – Verb stem alternation

Regarding phonological change, Pangkhua consistently shares the PSC initials of *th- in its lexicon as shown in Table 2:

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[3]I have adopted the terminology of Bedell et al (2023) in calling one form 'base' (with the superscript B) and another form 'derived' (with the superscript D). In the literature, various names have been used for these two alternante forms including 'independent' and 'dependent' (Chhangte 1993), 'form I' and "form II" (Peterson 1998), "simple" and "infinitive" (Singh 2006), and "stem-1" and "stem-2" (King 2010).

PTH	PSC	Pangkhua	Gloss
*sak	*thak	*thàk*	'itch'
sǝy	*thii	*thí*	'die'
sey	*thay	*thèy*	'fruit'
sat	*that	*thàʔ*	'kill'
m-sin	*thin	*mǝthìn*	'liver'
g-sum	*thum	*thúm*	'three'

Table 2 – PTH initials *s/sy- and PSC/Pangkhua *th (adapted from VanBik 2009:17)

Where Pangkhua's position within the SC subgroup is concerned, most scholars place it in the Central group alongside Mizo, Bawm, and Hakha Lai. For example, Konow (1904: 2-3) in subdividing the 'Chin' [SC] languages into four different groups such as Northern, Central, Old Kuki, and Southern groups, places Pangkhua under the Central. Similarly, VanBik (2009:23) places Pangkhua under Central, albeit in parenthesis due to the lack of data of the language at the time. Pangkhua does not appear in Peterson's (2017a) internal classification of the SC subgroup into Northwestern, Central, and Peripheral, where his Central is further divided into 'Core Central' and Maraic (and Peripheral is further divided into Northeastern, Southeastern, and Southwestern). While some phonological evidence of sound retention supports Pangkhua's position in Central, the morphological and the grammatical evidence do not always align with its classification as a Central language. Since this issue requires a full-length paper, I'll only briefly discuss it here. The phonological evidence comes primarily from Pangkhua's retention of the putative PSC word-initial rhotic *r- like other Central languages. Table 3 shows this with Pangkhua cognates placed in one of VanBik's (2009: 23) PSC reconstruction schemes:

	PSC	Peripheral S- (Cho)	N- (Tedim)	Central (H. Lai)	Pangkhua	Gloss
a.	*ruʔ	*guh*	*guʔ3*	*ruʔ*	*ruʔ*	'bone'
b.	*rik-I, riʔ-II	*gih*	*gik3-I, giʔ3-II*	*rit-I, riʔ-II*	*rik*	'be heavy'
c.	*ruak			*ruak*	*ruak*	'be empty'
d.	*rua	*gaw*	*gua2*	*rûa*	*rua*	'bamboo'
e.	*roʔ	*gawh*		*roʔ*	*rɒʔ*	'burn'
f.	*ruaʔ		*guaʔ3*	*ruaʔ*	*(khua)sur*	'rain'
g.	*raŋ-I, ran-II		*gâng-I gàn-II* (T.Kuki)	*ràŋ-I, răn-II*	*raŋ*	'be quick'
h.	*raal	*ga*	*gaal2*	*râal*	*ral*	'enemy'

Table 3 – Pangkhua's retention of the PSC-initial *r- (adapted from VanBik, 2009:23)

However, Pangkhua has some of the morphological and grammatical characteristics that most Central languages do not show but can be found in some other groups including (Peterson's) Northwestern and Peripheral (especially, in Northeastern and Southeastern Peripheral) languages. They include:

Morphological:

1. Retention of the unproductive *mə-* and *rə-* prefixes 1, e.g., *məḓil* 'belly', *məkal* 'kidney', *mərul* 'snake', *məṯhin* 'liver', *rəkhup*, 'knee', *rəmai* 'pumpkin', *rəvan* 'sky', etc. See Akter (2022:105-114) for a detailed discussion. These mə- and rə- prefixes are also found in several Northwestern (a.k.a. Old Kuki) languages (Löffler, 1985: 279).

2. Retention of the *mə-* prefixal causative, e.g., siʔ 'fill' **məsiʔ** 'make fill', *sei* 'learn', **məsei** 'make learn/teach', *vŋ* 'open' **məvŋ** 'make open', *muʔ* 'see', **məmuʔ** 'show', etc. See Akter (2022:110-114) for a detailed discussion. Most Central languages use a suffix similar to *-ṭir* as a causative marker. For example, in Mizo, the causative is *tîîr* (Chhangte, 1993: 100-01); in Bawm, the causative is *tir* (Reichle, 1985: 56-57); in Falam, the causative is *tɜr* (King, 2010: 74); and in Hakha Lai, the causative is *-ter* (Peterson, 2017 b: 418). *-ṭir* is usually considered as an innovative causative marker in SC languages (Peterson, 2017 b: 418) indicating that Pangkhua has retained the old causative *mə-*, which is quite productive in the language. Note that the old causative *mə-* is also reported in Asho-Chin (as a nasal initial m-), a Peripheral SC language (Jordan (1969: 42).

Grammatical:

4. Grammaticalization of the lexical verb *ṭi* 'say' as marking future. For example, *kal kəṭi* 'kal=kə=**ṭi**' 'go=1.sg.subj=say/**will**' 'I'**ll** go'. See Akter (2022) for a detailed discussion. It may be noted that *ṭi* 'say' has grammaticalized as a future marker in several other non-Central SC languages including Northwestern such as Anal, Lamkang, and Monsang, Peripheral such as Biate, Chorei, and Thadou; and the unclassified Ranglong. The only Central language in which it is reported is Saihrem (Core Central) (Konnerth 2019).

5. Grammaticalization of the cislocative *hvŋ=* as an object marker. For example, *nəhvŋmuʔ* 'nə=**hvŋ**=muʔ' 2.sg.subj=**1.obj**=see' 'You saw **me**'. Grammaticalization of the cislocative *hvŋ=* as an object marker is also reported in several non-Central languages including Sizang and Tedim (Peripheral) (Stern, 1984: 48, 52). Note though that in Bawm, a Central language, the cislocative *hawng* occurs optionally as a 1st person object marker (Reichle 1981:147-149). See Akter (2022: 341-342, 2024) for a detailed discussion.

These morphological and grammatical evidence make Pangkhua's position in Central or at least in Peterson's "Core Central" group fairly questionable.

3 Phonology

3.1. Segmental phonology

3.1.1. Consonants

Pangkhua has twenty-one consonants. Pangkhua consonants occur at eight places of articulation: bilabial, labio-dental, dental, alveolar, postalveolar, palatal, velar, and glottal. Most places of articulations have both voiced and voiceless phonemes except for the velar, glottal, and the affricate. All the consonants given in Table 4 can occur in syllable initial as well as word initial position. A more restricted inventory occurs in the coda. The tilde   sign

indicates allophonic variation, the parenthesis indicates marginal phoneme[4], the diacritic (⌒) indicates double-articulation, and <angle-brackets> indicate orthographic representations of the respective phoneme.

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	**voiceless**	p pʰ		t̪ t̪ʰ <t> <th>				k kʰ <kh>	(ʔ)
	voiced	b		d̪ <d>					
Fricative	**voiceless**		f		s~ʃ				h~ʔ
	voiced		v		z				
Affricate						t͡s <ch>			
Rhotic					r				
Nasal		m			n			ŋ <ng>	
Glide		w					j <y>		
Lateral					l				

Table 4 – Pangkhua consonant phonemes

3.1.2. Vowels

Pangkhua has seven vowel phonemes. There are two high vowels, three mid and two low vowels. Pangkhua vowel inventory is given in Table 5:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Close-mid	e		
Mid		ə	
Open-mid			
Low	ɑ		ɒ

Table 5 – Pangkhua vowels

3.1.3. Tone

Tone carries a comparatively low functional load in Pangkhua. This is evidenced from most of the relatively younger Pangkhua speaker's inability to recognize lexical tonal contrast in a consistent manner. Pangkhua has, nonetheless, a lexically contrastive high tone and low tone[5]. Thus, a lexeme with a high tone may have a different denotation from a segmentally identical

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[4]A marginal phoneme is contrastive in a phonologically restricted environment. For example, in Pangkhua, the glottal stop ʔ is phonetically present in word initial position but is not contrastive. On the other hand, in word-final position, the glottal stop ʔ is consistently heard as a contrastive sound associated with an abrupt-ending low tone. See Akter (2022: 60-61) for illustrations.

[5]Weidert (1987: 14) also found two tonal categories in Pangkhua, a high and a low. A few other South Central languages are also reported to have similar tonal categories. For example, So Hartmann (2009: 47-48) reports two lexically contrasting tones in Daai Chin-a mid-level and a falling. Watkins (2013) reports two lexical tones for Sumtu-a high and a low. However, Zakaria (2017: 73) reports three lexical tones for Hyow, a high-level tone (H), a low-level tone (L) and a falling tone (F).

lexeme with a low tone. For example, *vá* 'fountain' vs *và* 'bird', *ín* 'sleep' vs *ìn* 'house', and *páŋ* 'big container' vs *pàŋ* 'body', etc. A high tone is phonetically realized as a mid-level pitch and a low tone is phonetically realized as a low-falling pitch. Table 6 presents a list of a few monosyllabic tonal pairs. See Akter (2022:76-82) for an acoustic analysis of the distinctive minimal pairs given in Table 6.

Word (H tone)	Gloss	Word (L tone)	Gloss
bʋ́m	'container'	*bʋ̀m*	'a tribe'
béŋ	'compress'	*bèŋ*	'slap'
ḍár	'bell'	*ḍàr*	'shoulder'
kái	'climb'	*kài*	'pull'
káŋ	'dry'	*kàŋ*	'burn'
lák	'take'	*làk*	'rub'
láŋ	'be visible'	*làŋ*	'pass on'
léŋ	'cut'	*lèŋ*	'throw'
lóu	'medicine'	*lòu*	'farm'
sáj	'elephant'	*sàj*	'uncooked rice'

**Table 6 – Monosyllabic tonal minimal pairs**

4 Basic Syllable Structure

Pangkhua is a quantity sensitive language. Basic syllables can be light or heavy, depending on whether or not there is a final X, which indicates a vowel or a consonant. The maximum basic syllable in Pangkhua is (C)(L)V(X), where 'C' is a consonant and 'L' is a lateral. The vowel is obligatory. Other segments are optional. Pangkhua has twelve possible syllable shapes as shown in Table 7:

Weight	Shape	Example	Gloss
Light	V	*ə*	'3.sg'
	CV	*la*	'song'
	CCV	*ṭhli*	'air'
Heavy	VV	*i:*	'cq'
	VC	*in*	'house'
	CVV	*lou*	'medicine'
	CVC	*miṭ*	'eye'
	CVVV	*buai*	'wear'
	CCVV	*thlai*	'run'
	CVVC	*puan*	'cloth'
	CCVC	*ṭhlaŋ*	'hill'
	CCVVC	*ṭhluaŋ*	'straight'

Table 7 – Basic syllables in Pangkhua

Figure 1 presents the basic Pangkhua syllable shape.
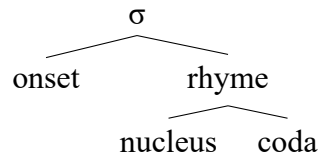
Figure 1 – Pangkhua syllable shape

While all twenty-one phonemes as shown in Table 4 can occur in syllable onset position, only twelve phonemes can occur in coda position. The consonants that cannot occur in coda position include the stops *b, ph, ṯh, kh* the fricatives *f, v, s, z*, and the affricate *ts*.

5 Sesquisyllabicity

Pangkhua has a set of words with sesquisyllabic structure. This word-type consists of a final heavy syllable preceded by a light and phonologically reduced first syllable. The major syllable that carries the tonal properties and prosodic prominence is always word final. The reduction of the non-final vowel in the first syllable and the prosodic prominence of the word-final syllable makes this type of words a disyllabic iamb. Most sesquisyllabic words are nouns and quite a few relate to body parts though their semantics widely vary. A good number sequisyllabic words can also function as adjectival verbs (see §7.2). In my collection of more than 3000 words, at least 127 words were found to have sesquisyllabic structure. See APPENDIX B in Akter (2022) for a full list of Pangkhua sesquisyllabic words. Table 8 presents a list of a few sesquisyllabic words:

Syllable-structure	Word	Gloss
VC.CVː	ənhuː	'hot'
VC.CVV	ənḏəu	'war'
VC.CVC	ənḏak	'eggplant'
VC.CVVC	ənriaŋ	'poor'
CV.CVː	rənuː	'breast'
	səkhiː	'deer'
CV.CVC	mət͡sal	'forehead'
	rəsɑm	'wash'
CV.CVVC	mət͡suap	'lung'
	rəhuan	'gardening-place'
CV.CVVV	məliau	'harm'

Table 8 – Structures of Pangkhua sesquisyllables

6 Word formation and morphology

In Pangkhua, words can be categorized as monosyllabic roots, multisyllabic roots, unproductive prefixed roots, and root-root compounds. Thus, stem formation (pre-inflectional word formation) involves four main types of structure: [MONOSYLLABIC ROOT], [MULTISYLLABIC ROOTS], [PREFIXED ROOTS], and [ROOT-ROOT COMPOUNDS]. Table 9 summarizes them.

Monosyllabic root	Multisyllabic root	Prefixed-root	Compound
u 'husband's elder brother'	*hʋireŋ* 'remember'	*ən-ru* 'thief'	*t̪uibur* 'water bottle' (*t̪ui* 'water', *bur* 'bottle')
lu 'head'	*kʰuanim* 'cloud'	*mə-kal* 'kidney'	*lukʰu* 'hat' (*lu* 'head', *kʰu* 'cover')
kʰal 'ride'	*inrinni* 'Saturday'	*rə-van* 'sky'	*mero* 'dried meat' (*me* 'meat', *ro* 'dried'

Table 9 – Basic word-formation processes in Pangkhua

Pangkhua has both free morphemes and bound morphemes. Bound morphemes include affixes, clitics, and roots. Affixes are mostly suffixes and clitics can be proclitics or enclitics. In (3) and (4), *kəi* '1.SG.SUBJ, *muʔ* 'see', *nʋl* 'again', *t̪hiam* 'story', *ril* 'tell' are free morphemes as they can stand alone and can be uttered as meaningful words:

(3)　*ʔinan kəi ənruha*
　　　in=in　　　　　　　　　kəi　　　　ənru=ha
　　　house=LOC　　　　　　1.SG.SUBJ　thief=DEF.TOP

　　　kəmunʋlləu reŋ ruah
　　　kə=muʔ-nʋl=ləu　　　reŋ　　　ruah
　　　1.SG.SUBJ=see-again=NEG　yet　　　EPIS
　　　'I didn't see the thief yet again in the house.'

(4)　*…t̪hiam kərilpeat̪ei mitsaŋ*
　　　t̪hiam　　kə=ril-pe-at̪=ei=mi　　　　　　　　tsaŋ
　　　story　　1.SG.SUBJ=say-BEN-FUT=OBJ.PL=NZR　COP
　　　'…I'll tell you all this story.'

However, in (3), the word *ənru* 'thief', has a noun root *-ru*, which is a bound morpheme as it cannot stand by itself as a meaningful utterance. *ən-* is also a bound morpheme; unlike *-ru*, it is not a root but a grammatical morpheme, which is synchronically 'unproductive'. The fact that it is a grammatical morpheme and not part of a disyllabic root is clear from its ability to attach to various other roots, e.g. *ənrʋl* 'be big', *ənriaŋ* 'be poor', etc. On the other hand, in *kəmunʋlləu* 'kə=muʔ-nʋl=ləu' '1.SG.SUBJ=see-again=NEG', kə= '1.SG.SUBJ', and =ləu 'NEG' are bound morphemes since they cannot stand alone and attach to a root to create a meaningful utterance. On a clitic-affix continuum, *kə=* '1.SG.SUBJ' in (3) and *=ei* 'OBJ.PL' in (4) are more like clitics, since, among others, they have a syntactic as opposed to word-level scope and they can occur on various kinds of word class.

On the other hand, in (4), *-pe* 'BEN' and *-at̪* 'FUT', are also bound morphemes morphemes as they cannot stand alone and must attach to a root to create a meaningful utterance. On a clitic-affix continuum, they are more like affixes since, among others, they have a word-level scope, and they occur on only one kind of word class (e.g., verb).

Based on the examples above, we can draw a clear division between words on the one hand and morphemes on the other, and between free morphemes and bound morphemes. Further, we can also subdivide the bound morphemes into clitics and affixes. Table 10 summarizes these morphological units in Pangkhua:

Freedom	Type	Category	Example	Gloss
Free	word	lexical	*t̪hiam*	'story'
		grammatical	*kəi*	'1.SG.SUBJ'
Bound	root	lexical	*ru*	'thief'
	clitic	proclitic	*kə=*	'1.SG.SUBJ'
		enclitic	*=ei*	'OBJ.PL'
	affix	suffix	*-pe*	'BEN'
		suffix	*-at̪*	'FUT'

Table 10 – Morphological units in Pangkhua

7 Word classes

The basic Pangkhua words are noun and verb. Adverb is also an open word class and include both derived adverbials and lexical adverbs. Adjectives are not a 'fully developed' word-class and are best considered as a subclass of verb.

7.1. Noun and verb

Nouns and verbs can be diagnostically distinguished based on the respective behavior in predicative functions. Nouns may occur as clause complement (CC) but cannot head a predicate. In (5), the noun *luŋ* 'stone' can occur as a clause-complement but cannot occur as a predicate head (6):

(5)   *ʋhihihi luŋ*
       ʋ=hi=hi=hi   luŋ
       DEM=PROX=PROX=PROX   stone
       'This is a **stone**.'

(6) * *ʋhihihi luŋat̪*
       ʋ=hi=hi=hi   luŋ-at̪
       DEM=PROX=PROX=PROX   stone-FUT
       'This is a **stone**.'

Only a verb can occur as a predicate head and can be inflected for tense (7):

(7)   *ʋhihihi əkalat̪*
       ʋ=hi=hi=hi   ə=kɑl-ɑt̪
       DEM=PROX=PROX=PROX   3.SG.SUBJ=walk-FUT
       'This will **walk**.'

Further, unlike verbs, only a noun as clause subject can be modified by the existential negator *bei* 'NEG.EXIST' (8) but a verb cannot (9). On the other hand, only a verb can be negated by the declarative clause negator *=ləu* 'NEG'(10) but a noun cannot (11).

(8)   *ʔanbei*
         ɑn   **bei**
         curry   **NEG.EXIST**
         'There's **no** curry.'

(9)   *   *ʋhihihi əkalbei*
         ʋ=hi=hi=hi   ə=kɑl   bei
         DEM=PROX=PROX=PROX   3.SG.SUBJ=go   NEG.EXIST
         'This does**n't** run.'

(10)   *ʔʋhihihi əkalləu*
         ʋ=hi=hi=hi   ə=kɑl=**ləu**
         DEM=PROX=PROX=PROX   3.SG.SUBJ=go=NEG
         'This does**n't** run.'

(11) *   *ʔanləu*
         ɑn   **ləu**
         curry   **NEG**
         'There's **no** curry.'

Other distributional properties that distinguish nouns from verbs are as follows: nouns can be modified by demonstratives, gender, augmentative/diminutive, multiplicative, and another noun. Nouns can also function as arguments. Verbs, on the other hand, can be modified by tense, aspect, and modal markers, comitative applicative, and adverb. Verbs can also be marked for participants (see §9).

7.2. Adjectival verbs

Pangkhua does not have a dedicated word class of adjectives. The adjectival functions are accomplished by stative verbs. However, stative verbs functioning as adjectives show at least two distinct structural and distributional properties that separate them from prototypical verbs. First, unlike prototypical verbs (e.g., *zel* 'hit', *ṭha* 'kill', *ṭhʋn* 'move', etc.), stative verbs in their citation forms have always (the unproductive) *ə/ən-* nominalizer in word-initial position. Thus, *ənrʋl* 'be.big', *ənhuai* 'be.beautiful', *əlum* 'be.hot' (object), *əḍai* 'be.cold' (weather), etc. Second, unlike prototypical verbs, which normally take person marking and can be inflected for TAM, stative verbs in their modifying (as opposed to predicative) functions usually does not take person marking and and can never be inflected for TAM. (12) shows that stative verbs in their predicative functions are normally argument marked like other prototypical verbs. However, (13) shows that in modifying functions, a stative verb can occur without person marking. Finally, (14) shows that a stative verb in its modifying functions cannot be inflected for TAM.

(12)   *luŋ ətsaŋ*
         luŋ   ə=**tsaŋ**
         stone   3.SG.SUBJ=**be.hard**
         'The stone **is hard**.'

(13)   *luŋ tsaŋmi hɒŋpekrɒh*
         luŋ   **tsaŋ**-mi   hɒŋ=pek-rɒh
         stone   **be.hard**-NZR   1.OBJ=give-IMP.SG
         'Give me the hard stone.'

(14) * *luŋtsaŋaṯmi hɒŋpekrɒh*
         luŋ   **tsaŋ**-aṯ=mi   hɒŋ=pek-rɒh
         stone   **be.hard**-FUT-NZR   1.OBJ=give-IMP.SG
         'Give me the stone that will be hard.' / 'Give me the hardening stone.'

7.3. Adverb

Pangkhua adverbs include derived adverbials and lexical adverbs. In derived adverbials, the morphological adverbializer *-kən* occurs on a verb to derive an adverbial phrase (advp), which can modify a verb. The functions of morphological adverbials are restricted to describing manner of an action. Lexical adverbs are roots that can express manner (*yaŋ* 'in this way'), time (*ṯua* 'now'), frequency (*nɒl* 'again'), and addition (*seŋ* 'too'). Considering all these various functions, adverbs are the most diverse among all word classes conforming to a cross-linguistic tendency (Givón 2001: 87, Hetterle 2015: 23). (15) illustrates a morphologically derived adverbial:

(15)   *...əʔen [ziarkən] əkal khalviŋ*
         ə=en   [ziar-kən]ADVP   ə=kal-khal-viŋ
         3.SG.SUBJ=look   be.innocent-**MAN**   3.SG.SUBJ=go-CMPL-PRF
         '...looking **innocently**, he went away.'

8 Noun phrase

Noun phrase can be headed by a proper noun head, a pronominal head, or a nominal head. Proper name headed noun phrases can take definiteness markers for discourse-pragmatic functions even though proper names are referentially unique. (16) illustrates this with the proper noun 'Manbo' marked for topic and definiteness apparently for the purpose of reactivating and emphasizing an old topic:

(16)   *...hanan saŋ ʔaḏeŋsinṯih*
         ha=in=in   saŋ   ə=ḏeŋ=sin=ṯi
         DEM=LOC=LOC.EMP   paddy   3.SG.SUBJ=grind=HAB=REP

         manbəutsu haha kham tseklo viŋ...
         manbəu=tsu=ha=ha   kham   tsek=ləu=viŋ
         PN=TOP=DEF=DEF   too   notice=NEG=PRF
         '...then she (Thancher) used to grind the paddy without
         Manbo too already having noticed it...'

Nominal headed noun phrases are headed by common nouns and can have both pre-head and post-head modifiers, though post-head modifiers outnumber pre-head modifiers. Pre-head modifiers include demonstratives, possessives, modifying nominals, and numerals. Post-head

modifiers include verbal adjectives, numerals, relator nouns, qualifying noun, and demonstrative, focus and topic markers. Here, only one example of a nominal headed noun phrase with a relator noun functioning as a post-head modifier is given in (17):

(17)   *...ha hɒlʈa inkum nuaiʔei burʔei*
         ha   hɒl=ʈa   [inkum   **nuɑi=ei**]ₙₚ   bur=ei
         DEM   search=PFV   bed   **under=pl**   bottle=PL

         phəikɒkʔei ʔanmalet ver…
         phəikɒk=ei   ən=mɑ-let   ver
         shoe=PL   3.PL.SUBJ=CAUS-ransack   EXHST
         '...(he) searched all over the places under the bed, the
         bottles and shoes, they ransacked everything to look for (the frog)…'

9 Argument indexation on verbs

Pangkhua exhibits an elaborate argument indexation on verbs. Argument indexes are reduced forms of full independent personal pronouns. Pangkhua marks all subject arguments ('**I** hit you', '**You** hit me', '**He** hit you') in preverbal position. As for object arguments, Pangkhua marks 1st person object ('**You** hit me') and 2nd person object ('I hit **you**') on the verb but does not code 3rd person object ('I hit **him**'). Thus, Pangkhua marks only SAP objects on the verb. Further, Pangkhua makes a distinction between marking 1st person object and 2nd person object. While 1st person object is marked preverbally, 2nd person object is marked postverbally. 3rd person object argument is zero-marked. Further, all animate plural object arguments are marked postverbally. Table 11 summarizes subject argument indexation on the verb and Table 12 summarizes object argument indexation on the verb:

S/A	SG	PL
1	kə=Σ	kən=Σ
2	nə=Σ	nən=Σ
3	ə=Σ	ən=Σ

Table 11 – Subject argument indexation

O	SG	PL
1	*hɒŋ=Σ*	*hɒŋ=Σ=ei*
2	*Σ=ne*	*Σ=ne=ei*
3	*Σ=∅*	*Σ=ei*

Table 12 – Object argument indexation

(18)-(29) illustrate these features. (18)-(23) show the indexation of subject arguments for all three persons and singular and plural number in pre-verbal position. (24)-(26) show the indexation of object arguments with (24) illustrating the pre-verbal marking of 1st person object and (25) post-verbal marking of 2nd person object arguments, while (26) shows that the 3rd person object is zero-marked. Finally, (27)-(29) illustrate the marking of plural objects for

all three persons in post-verbal position. See Akter (to appear) for a detailed discussion of argument indexation on verbs in Pangkhua and South Central languages.

(18) *kəmune*
kə=muʔ=ne
1.SG.SUBJ=see=2.OBJ
'**I** saw you.'

(19) *kənmune*
kən=muʔ=ne
1.PL.SUBJ=see=2.OBJ
'**We** saw you.'

(20) *nəhɒŋmuʔ*
nə=hɒŋ=muʔ
2.SG.SUBJ =1.OBJ=see
'**You** saw me.'

(21) *nənhɒŋmuʔ*
nən=hɒŋ=muʔ
2.PL.SUBJ =1.OBJ=see
'**You all** saw me.'

(22) *əmune*
ə=muʔ=ne
3.SG.SUBJ =see=2.OBJ
'**He/She** saw you.'

(23) *ənmune*
ən=muʔ=ne
3.PL.SUBJ =see=2.OBJ
'**They** saw you.'

(24) *nəhɒŋmuʔ*
nə=**hɒŋ**=muʔ
2.SG.SUBJ=**1.OBJ**=see
'You saw **me**.'

(25) *kəmune*
kə=mu=**ne**
1.SG.SUBJ =see=**2.OBJ**
'I saw **you**.'

(26) *kəmuʔ*
kə=muʔ=[∅]
1.SG.SUBJ=see=[**3.OBJ**]
'I saw **him/her**.'

(27) *nəhɒŋmuʔei*
nə=**hɒŋ**=muʔ=ei
2.SG.SUBJ=**1.OBJ**=see=OBJ.PL
'You saw **us**.'

(28) *kəmuneʔei*
kə=mu=**ne**=ei
1.SG.SUBJ =see=**2.OBJ**=OBJ.PL
'I saw **you all**.'

(29) *kəmuʔei*
kə=**muʔ**=ei
1.SG.SUBJ=see=OBJ.PL
'I saw **them**.'

10 Clause

The basic order of clause constituents is SOV. (30) illustrates these features in a transitive affirmative clause:

(30) *ramŋai lalpek əzel*
[**ramŋai**]ₐ [**lalpek**]ₒ [ə]ₐ=zel
PN.SUBJ **PN.OBJ** 3.SG.SUBJ=hit
'Ramngai hit Lalpek.'

A Pangkhua clause can be either independent (main) or dependent (subordinate). Structurally, an independent clause does not depend on any other clause and can stand by itself as a meaningful

utterance. On the other hand, a dependent clause structurally depends on a main clause to be fully meaningful. Example (31) illustrates an independent clause and example (32) illustrates a dependent clause followed by an independent clause:

(31) *...ṯua kei hakah ṯhiam kərilaṯ*

ṯua   [kei   hɑkɑh   ṯʰiam   kə=ril-ɑṯ]ₘₐᵢₙ/ᵢₙᴅᴇᴘᴇₙᴅᴇₙᴛ ᴄʟₐᵤₛᴇ
now   1.SG.SUBJ one   story   1.SG.SUBJ =tell-FUT
'Now, I'll narrate a story.'

(32) *vɒk nəṯha intsun me: nəṯɒŋ*

[vɒk   nə=ṯʰɑ   intsun]ᴅᴇᴘᴇₙᴅᴇₙᴛ ᴄʟₐᵤₛᴇ   [me   nə=ṯɒŋ]ₘₐᵢₙ/ᵢₙᴅᴇᴘᴇₙᴅᴇₙᴛ ᴄʟₐᵤₛᴇ
pig   2.SG.SUBJ=kill   if   meat   2.SG.SUBJ=get
'If you kill pigs, you get meat.'

11 Clause combining

Pangkhua clause combining strategies include coordinated clauses as well as a combination of independent and adverbial clauses. Various types of adverbial clauses are time clauses, manner clauses, purpose clauses, conditional clauses, reason clauses, and concessive clauses. Multiclause also includes complement clauses.

A coordinated clause can consist of two independent main clauses coordinated by a syntactically free from as shown in (33).

(33) *vaṯeʔin əmasei sinṯih kʰamla əhɒiləṯi*

[vɑ-ṯe=in   ə=mɑ-sei=sin=ṯi]ₘₐᵢₙ ᴄʟₐᵤₛᴇ   **kʰamla**   [ə=hɒi=ləu=ṯi]ₘₐᵢₙ ᴄʟₐᵤₛᴇ
bird-DIM=AGT   3.SG.SUBJ=CAUS-LEARN=HAB=REP   **but**   3.SG.SUBJ=know=NEG=REP
'The little bird used to teach Manbo **but** she didn't learn.'

Unlike a coordinated clause that involves two or more independent clauses, adverbial clauses are subordinate clauses that modify an entire independent clause. A prototypical adverbial clause in Pangkhua precedes the main clause and is marked by a subordinator as shown in (34).

(34) *...ŋun kuṯbi ənḏu ʔintsun*

[**ŋun   kuṯbi   ən=ḏu   intsun**]ᴀᴅᴠ:ᴄʟ
gold   ring   DETR=like   if

ŋun kuṯbi ḏeŋ kalkəṯi

ŋun   kuṯbi   ḏeŋ   kɑl   kə=ṯi
gold   ring   make   do   1.SG.SUBJ=say/will
'**If/as/since (you) like a gold ring**, then I'll go make you a gold ring.'

Complement clause is a type of clause which fills an argument slot of a complement taking predicate. (35) illustrates this with a complement clause functioning as an O argument:

(35) *buh buh hɒŋpekṯu hɒi ŋai əṯi ruah*

[**buh   buh   hɒŋ=pek=ṯu**]ADV:CL   hɒi   ŋai   ə=ṯi   ruɑh
rice   rice   1.OBJ=give=COMP   know   need   3.SG.SUBJ=say   EPIS
'She (Manbo's mother) said, "(I) need to know **who gave us the rice**".'

Symbols and abbreviations

´	high tone	EMP	emphatic
`	low tone	EPIS	discourse episode marker
ˆ	rising-falling tone	EXHST	exhaustive
		EXIST	existential
∗	unacceptable	FUT	future tense
∗	proto-form	HAB	habitual aspect
–	suffix boundary	IMP	imperative mood
=	clitic boundary	LOC	locative case
~	alternates with	MAN	manner adverbial
Ø	zero-marked	NEG	negative
1	first person	NZR	nominalizer
2	second person	O	object argument
3	third person	OBJ	object
ADVP	adverbial phrase	PFV	perfective aspect
ADVR	adverbializer	PL	plural
BEN	benefactive applicative	PN	proper noun
C	consonant	PRF	perfect aspect
CAUS	causative	PROX	proximal demonstrative
CC	complement clause	PSC	Proto-South-Central
CL	clause	PTH	Proto-Trans-Himalayan
CMPL	completive aspect	REP	reportative
COM	complement	SC	South-Central
COMP	complementizer	SG	singular
COP	copular verb	SUBJ	subject
CQ	constituent question	TAM	tense, aspect, and mood
DEF	definitive	TH	Trans-Himalayan
DEM	demonstrative	TOP	topic
DIM	diminutive	V	vowel

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