

1. Phonology⁴

1.1. Consonants

	labial	dental	alveolar	velar	glottal
stop, -voice	p	t	c [ts]	k	
	ph	th	ch [ts ^h]	kh	
+voice	b	d	(j) [dz]	(g)	
	bh	dh	(jh) [dz ^h]	(gh)	
fricative	f	s			h
nasal	m	n		ng [ŋ]	
	mh	nh			
continuant		l, lh	r, rh		
glides	w		y		

g, gh and **j, jh** occur only initially and mainly in loans from Nepali. There is no native Camling word in **j**, and I found only one in **jh**: *jhara* 'all'.

Voice

The opposition voiced : unvoiced is relevant in initial and medial position:

<i>phuima</i>	pluck	<i>bhuima</i>	pound
<i>toma</i>	see, experience	<i>doma</i>	close
<i>ityu</i>	brought from above	<i>idyu</i>	gave him
<i>dhotyü-cyu</i>	assembled them	<i>dhödyü-cyu</i>	stabbed them

Aspiration

The phonemic status of aspiration and breathy voice can be demonstrated by pairs like:

<i>phaku</i>	divided	<i>paku</i>	poured
<i>thungma</i>	cough	<i>tungma</i>	village

⁴ For the spelling of Camling words I have partly followed the suggestions of my consultants (e.g. in writing *ng* for [ŋ]), but sometimes I have chosen linguistically more practicable solutions, like representing [ts^h] by *ch* and not by *chh*. In general, my spelling is a compromise between phonology and pronunciation. Integrated loans from Nepali are transcribed like Camling words. Differences between dialects are not levelled out in my spelling. If a standardization should be envisaged, for example for teaching Camling in schools, the NW-dialect is the most natural basis to choose. Some SE forms with reduced consonant clusters are difficult to recognize for a NW speaker, but not vice versa.

<i>chuima</i>	send	<i>cuima</i>	teach
<i>khaici</i>	you (d)	<i>kaici</i>	we (di)
<i>bhuima</i>	pound	<i>buima</i>	call
<i>dhama</i>	fell	<i>dama</i>	appear
<i>mhuima</i>	fight	<i>muma</i>	do
<i>nhamma</i>	smell badly	<i>namma</i>	smell
<i>lhoma</i>	boil	<i>loma</i>	tell
<i>rhama</i>	stir, cook (millet)	<i>rama</i>	divide

Breathy voice is associated with the syllable:

ludH- + ma	-> lu.mha	pierce
ludH- + yu	-> lu.dhyu	he pierced it

Palatalization

Affricates and dentals are palatalized before front vowels; thus *Camling* [tsamliŋ], but *cetma* [tsetma] ~ [tsjetma] 'tear', *dum* [dum] 'story', but *dim* [dim] ~ [d̪im] with the same meaning.

Quantity

The only lengthened consonants in Camling that occur with some frequency are *p* and *m*. This is partly due to the suffixes *-ma* (f) and *-pa* (m), the latter also used to form agentive nouns, or to grammatical suffixes like *-ma* (infinitive).

<i>chamma, chappa</i>	great-grandmother, great-grandfather
<i>ngamma, ngappa</i>	child's spouse's mother, child's spouse's father
chap + pa -> <i>chappa</i>	writer
ap + ma -> <i>apma ~ amma</i>	shoot, aim at
bob + ma -> <i>bopma ~ bomma</i>	turn upside down

Lengthened consonants occur further in a handful of lexical items, for example: *nammo* 'last year', *tyonna* 'that much', *butta* 'hour, time'. Consonant length has only a small functional load, although there are a few oppositions between infinitives, like *imma* (< im-) 'sleep', vs. *ima* (< id-) 'give'.

1.2. Vowels

Opposition between the five cardinal vowels can be demonstrated with the following verbs:

<i>khima</i>	quarrel	<i>khuma</i>	steal, hide
<i>khema</i>	break (SE)	<i>khoma</i>	cut
<i>khama</i>	be satisfied		

Table 2: Vowels

	front	mid	back
high	i		u
mid	e	[ə]	(ʌ[ɒ]) o
low		a	

Nevertheless there is some free variation, thus between

1) *i* and *u* after the central consonants (dentals and alveolars):

<i>dum</i> ~ <i>dim</i>	language, story
<i>sum-</i> ~ <i>sim-</i>	three
<i>lum</i> ~ <i>lim</i>	grave
<i>rungma</i> ~ <i>ringma</i>	say
<i>turma</i> ~ <i>tirma</i>	be born
<i>tyuko</i> ~ <i>tyiko</i>	that
<i>-yu</i> ~ <i>-yi</i>	3rd patient marker

2) *o* and *u* in a few words (mainly deictics):

<i>oko</i> ~ <i>uko</i>	this
<i>tyoko</i> ~ <i>tyuko</i> ~ <i>tyiko</i>	that
<i>lodyu</i> ~ <i>ludyu</i>	he told him

3) *e* sometimes varies with *o* or *yo*:

<i>de</i> ~ <i>do</i> ~ <i>dyo</i>	what
<i>demno</i> ~ <i>domno</i> ~ <i>dyomno</i>	how much
<i>themma</i> ~ <i>thiomma</i>	dance
<i>phero</i> ~ <i>phyoro</i>	type of millet

The status of the unrounded back vowel [ɒ], which I write <ʌ>, is unclear. I found only one opposition with *a*: the topic marker *-na*, which varies between [na] and [nɒ], and the sequential linker *-na*, which is always [nɒ]. There are no clear oppositions with *o*. As there is no [a] before *r*, a pair like *chorsyu* 'he paid it' vs. *charsyu*⁵ 'he urinated' probably

⁵ Cf. Thulung *sars-* 'urinate'.

represents the opposition /o/ : /a/. Some speakers make no difference in pronunciation between words like *chorsyu* : *charsyu*.

Nasalization

Nasalization is restricted to *o* and *a* in open syllables (*cāyu* 'net', *tō* 'head') and to the diphthongs. There is a great deal of free variation between nasalized and non-nasalized forms, but as the examples below show, nasalization can be phonemic. Often it can be traced to an elided nasal consonant:

<i>phūima</i> (<i>phund-</i>)	jump	<i>phuima</i> (<i>phuid-</i>)	pluck
<i>sēima</i> (<i>sen-</i>)	ask	<i>seima</i> (<i>set-</i>)	kill
<i>sōma</i> (<i>sang-</i>)	come up	<i>soma</i> (<i>sos-</i>)	sort out
<i>tōma</i> (NW: <i>tungma</i>)	eldest daughter	<i>toma</i>	see

Diphthongs

All vowels combine with *i* to form a diphthong. The diphthongs are often the result of consonant elision, as is apparent in the two forms of a verb stem (cf. previous examples and 2.1.1).⁶ As the diphthongs except for *ai* [ɔj] are very infrequent, I found only few minimal pairs:

<i>maima</i> (<i>maid-</i>)	make	:	<i>muima</i> (<i>muit-</i>)	be well-cooked
			<i>məima</i> (<i>məid-</i>)	forget
<i>khaima</i> (<i>khat-</i>)	go	:	<i>khuima</i> (<i>khuid-</i>)	carry to so.
			<i>kheima</i> (<i>khet-</i>)	cut up (SE)
<i>i-lui</i>	our liver	:	<i>i-lēi</i>	one day

All vowels tend to be centralized in diphthongization, and there is a great deal of variation in their realization.⁷ <ai> is pronounced [ɔj] ~ [əj], and <ei> is mostly pronounced towards

⁶ Prevocalic stems with diphthongs are often causatives (see 2.1.2). V + tt → Vi + d, for example *wot-* 'break', *woid-* (<*wott-) 'break for someone'. Sometimes Bantawa forms show the source of the diphthong, for example Cam. *hui-lung*, Bant. *hut-lung* 'hearth', Cam. *təi*, Bant. *tii* 'cloth', Cam. *dāi*, Bant. *din* 'egg'.

⁷ The variation found in the realization of diphthongs can be demonstrated with an example from the LSN. The noun for 'dream' is noted as: *sāimi*, *sāimi*, *sūimi*, *sūimi*, *sāimi*, *sāimi*, *sāimi* (LSN 74a,b). In the more southern areas of the SE dialect all diphthongs are reduced to *e*.

NW, SE	Southern	
<i>khaima</i>	<i>khema</i>	go
<i>ngaima</i>	<i>ngema</i>	keep
<i>seima</i>	<i>sema</i>	kill
<i>woini</i>	<i>eni</i>	friend
<i>kaini</i>	<i>keni</i>	we(pi)

In word-final position only nonaspirated sonorants occur. In medial position the following combinations are common in verbs:

sonorant	+ k:	<i>camke</i> 'we eat it'
sonorant or bilabial	+ s:	<i>tupsa</i> 'ripened', <i>rungsa</i> 'speaking'
sonorant or bilabial	+ d(h)	<i>tapdyu</i> 'poured out', <i>kemdhyu</i> 'chewed'

In nouns we also find other collocations as the result of compounding, for example: *bunqlaima* 'bell', *buktupa* 'cave', *boblotima* 'butterfly'.

[əj], too. But *khaima* (< khat-) and *kheima* (< khet-) are distinguished in careful pronunciation. The diphthong I represent by <əi> is sometimes heard as [ij],⁸ for example [məjma] ~ [mijma] 'forget', sometimes also as [uj], for example [təj] ~ [tij] ~ [tuj] 'cloth'. There seems to be no opposition with *ei* either, but it seems inadequate to subsume [ij] and [əj] under this diphthong.

The diphthong [əj] occurs only after *w* and seems to be an allophone of /ai/, cf. *woima* 'wear', *wat-yu* 'wears'. As my spelling is a compromise between phonology and pronunciation I shall write <oi>. It would not be transparent to a Camling why s/he should write <ai> in a noun like *woini* 'friend'. In a handful of words I hear [ai] after initial *w*, which I represent by <ayi>: *wayi*⁹ 'silent', *wayima* 'thirst', *wayikhi* 'sweet potato'. A sequence of *a* + *i* results from the combination of final *a* with the low location marker *-i*, as in *Niyama-i* 'down at Niyama'.¹⁰

The sequence *o* + *u* occurs only in addressing a person, either with a noun or with an imperative: *a-m-ou!* 'my mother!', *mi-khai-d-ou!* 'don't go!'.

1.3. Syllable structure

The canonical syllable structure is CV(C). The NW-dialect has initial consonant clusters, restricted to *p(h)*, *k(h)* + *r*, *l*.

NW	SE	
<i>khlipa</i>	<i>khipa</i>	dog
<i>khrupsa</i>	<i>khupsa</i>	he got up
<i>prata</i>	<i>pata</i>	he shouted
<i>phloma</i>	<i>phoma</i>	help

The prefix *m-* is syllabic: *m-cha* 'his/her child' (probably < *um-cha). Initial vowels are preceded by a glottal stop:

<i>idunga</i> [ʔidunʒa]	I gave him
but: <i>ta-idunga</i> [tʔoidunʒa]	you gave me

⁸ The simple vowel [i] can be heard in the SE-dialect as a variant of *u* before the velar nasal: *kung* [kuŋ] ~ [kiŋ] 'tooth', *nung* [nuŋ] ~ [niŋ] 'poison', *sung* [suŋ] ~ [siŋ] 'wood', but often NW [uŋ] is SE [ô]: NW *tungma* = SE *tôma* 'daughter', NW *lungto* = SE *lôto* 'stone'.

⁹ Cf. Thulung *waye*; also: Thulung rit. *waye(capt)* 'lowlands', Camling *wayiko*, a ritual for appeasing Nakima's ancestors (in the lowlands). Other than after *w* the sequence *a* + *i* occurs in the name of the ancestor goddess *Nayima*, corresponding to *Naayeem* in Dumi. *a+i* is also found in some loans from Nepali, where it is written (in transcription) <āhi>: *maila* (māhīlā), 'second son', *saila* (sāhīlā) 'third son'.

¹⁰ As all suffixes are separated by hyphens in my examples no ambiguities arise between the diphthong *ai* and *a + i*. In a running text one could distinguish the latter by writing *āi*.

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