

Camling (Chamling)

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	actor	
ABL	ablative	(LOC+)- <i>ka</i> , <i>-naka</i> , <i>-laka</i>
ADDR	address suffix	<i>-ou</i>
ADV	adverbial	<i>-lo</i>
ALL	allative	(LOC+) <i>-ni</i>
AMB	ambulative	<i>-hod-</i>
AUX	auxiliary	
CL	classifier	<i>-ra</i> , <i>-po</i> , <i>-li</i>
COND	conditional	<i>-khō</i> , <i>-nakhō</i>
d	dual	<i>-ci</i>
DAT	animate patient	<i>-lai</i>
e	exclusive	<i>-ka</i>
EM	epistemic or evidential marker	
EMPH	emphatic particle	
ERG	ergative	<i>-wa</i>
FOC	focus	<i>-ko</i>
GEN	genitive	<i>-mo</i>
hiLOC	higher location	<i>-dhi</i> , <i>-di</i>
i	inclusive	
IDEO	ideophon	
IMP	imperative	
INDEF	indefinite	<i>-i</i>
INF	infinitive	<i>-ma</i>
INST	instrumental	<i>-wa</i>
INTJ	interjection	
IPFV	imperfective	<i>-e</i> , <i>-ne</i> , <i>-yo</i>
levLOC	same level location	<i>-ya</i>
LOC	locative	<i>-da</i>
loLOC	lower location	<i>-i</i>
LSN	Linguistic Survey of Nepal	
LW	loanword integrator for verbs from Nep.	<i>-ba</i>
MAN	manner	<i>-lo</i> , <i>-sim</i>
MOD	modal particle	
NEG	negation marker	<i>pa-</i> , <i>mi-</i> , <i>-n-</i> , <i>ina</i> , <i>-ain(a)</i>
negAUX	negative auxiliary	<i>da</i>
Nep.	Nepali	
NML	nominalizer	<i>-ko</i> , <i>-pa</i>
ns	non-singular (dual and plural)	<i>-ci</i>
NW	northwestern (Camling)	
OPT	optative	<i>-n(yo)</i>
P	patient, undergoer	
p	plural	

grammatical marker:

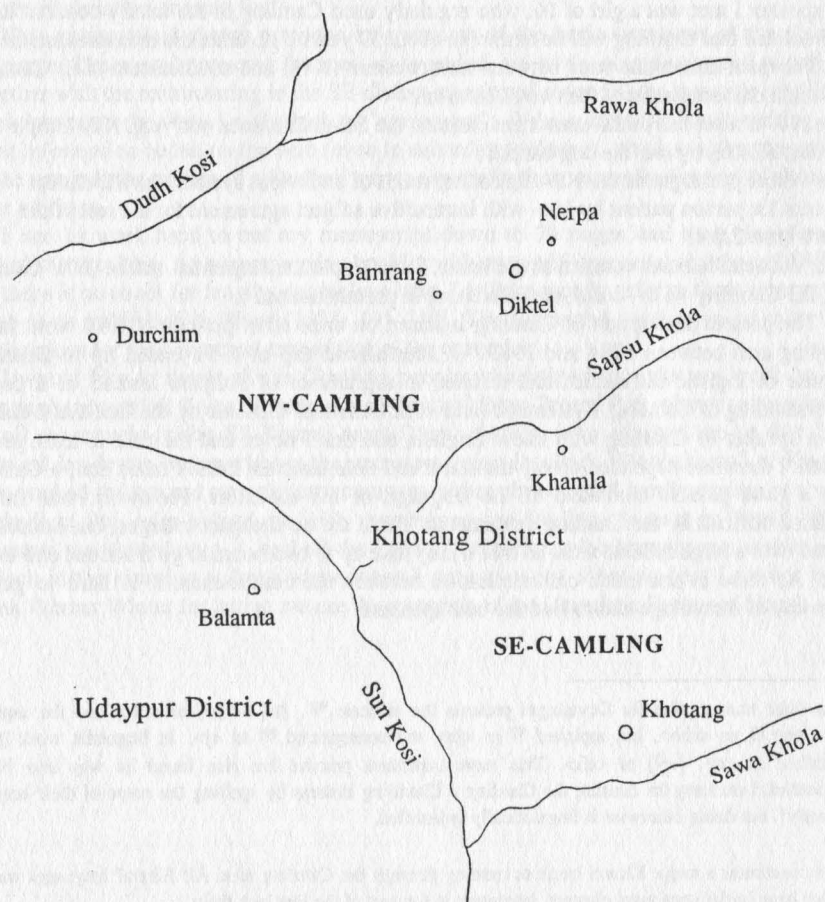
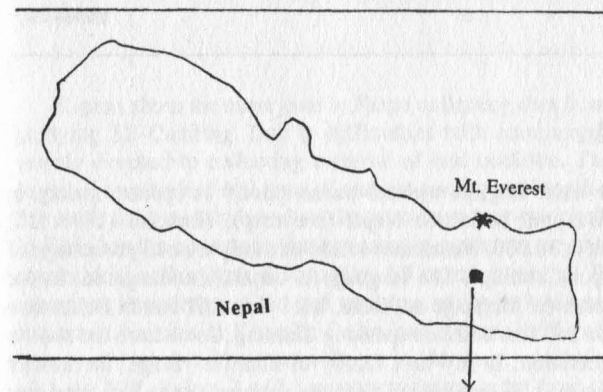
PART	particle	
PERF	perfect	<i>ngas-, -ko hing-</i>
polIMP	(polite) modification of imperative	<i>-na, -ou, -kha</i>
POSS	possessive (prefix)	
PROG	progressive	<i>ngas-, -ungs-</i>
PURP	purposive	<i>-si</i>
REFL	reflexive	<i>-umc-</i>
REL	relational	
REP	report particle	<i>raicha, (a)re</i>
rit	ritual language	
s	singular	
S	intransitive subject	
SE	southeastern (Camling)	
SEQ	sequential subordinator	<i>-no</i>
SIM	simultaneous converb	<i>-sa</i>
TA	tense-aspect	
TEMP	temporal subordinator	<i>-pa</i>
TOP	topic	<i>-na</i>

other notational conventions

[]	inserted vowel
Nn1.1	abbreviations of this type refer to narrator, text and sentence number of my text collection, e.g. Jh1.15 = narrator Jh, text 1, sentence 15
Eb94: xx	refers to texts presented in Ebert 1994
*xx	examples from texts presented in LW/T 11
convers.	examples from conversations

the narrators:

Bal	Baldhar Rai, Khamla (SE)
Dib	"Dibama", Nerpa (NW)
Ha	Harka Bahadur Rai, Nerpa (NW)
Jh	Jhanaman Rai, Khamla (SE)
Lal	Lal Bahadur Rai, Nerpa & Bamrang (NW)
Mc	"Machakuma", Khamla (SE)
Ms	Mayasubba Rai, Nerpa (NW)
Nir	"Nirempa", shaman of Khamla (SE)
Noc	Nochung (= shaman) of Nerpa (NW)



Map of the Camling area

0. Introductory remarks

Camling (or "Chamling" in the older English-oriented transcription)¹ is spoken mainly in Khotang district and parts of Udaypur in eastern Nepal (see map). Hansson (1991: 22) estimates the number of speakers at 30.000, but hastens to add that only a small percentage of them can be said to speak "proper Camling". The language is certainly endangered. In the areas I visited, children do not learn the language anymore; but I was told that in Balamta, a remote place in Udaypur, one can still find children speaking Camling. Sometimes the shift to Nepali runs right through a generation. In my host family of Khamla village, the mother spoke Camling with her children over 25 and Nepali with the younger ones. The youngest full speaker I met was a girl of 16, who regularly used Camling in the family context. It can be predicted that Camling will be extinct in about 50 years if no dramatic measures are taken.

The main dialect line runs between northwestern (NW) and southeastern (SE) Camling. The main characteristics of the two dialects are:

- the NW-dialect has initial consonant clusters, the SE-dialect does not;² e.g. NW *khlipa prata*, SE *khīpa pata* 'the dog barked';
- the verbal paradigm of the NW-dialect has relics of an inverse system, the SE-dialect marks 1st person patient by *kha-* with intransitive subject agreement for the rest of the verb (see 2.2.4).

Other dialectal features concern single items, for example the sequential suffix (NW-Camling *-na*, SE-Camling *-ki* or *-kina*), or differences in pronunciation.

The present description of Camling is based on three short periods of field work in the Camling area between 1984 and 1989.³ A fourth field trip in 1991 ended up in Dhankuta because of logistic difficulties and resulted in a grammar of Athpare instead of a deeper understanding of Camling. Systematic fieldwork was made difficult by the fact that I did not find a speaker of Camling who knew English, and that I never had the time to learn proper Nepali. I therefore depended on my translator and field assistant Dhan Prasad Rai, a Camling with a good passive command of the language of his ancestors. Fieldwork was further rendered difficult by the Camling settlements. There are no compact villages, but houses are spread over a large hillside area, so that it may take up to two hours to go from one end to the next. As there is not much communication between the compounds, it is hard to get an overview of the village and to find the best speakers.

¹ The older transcription for Devanagari presents the affricate च [tʃ] ~ [tʃʰ] as <ch> and the aspirated counterpart छ [tʃʰ] as <chh>, but aspirated ज [tʃʰ] as <jh> and nonaspirated ज [tʃ] as <j>. In linguistic work [tʃ] is transcribed as <c>, [tʃʰ] as <ch>. This more consistent practice has also found its way into Nepali dictionaries. I am sorry for causing the Camling / Chamling distress by spelling the name of their language "wrongly", but doing otherwise is linguistically unjustified.

² This constitutes a major Kiranti isogloss running through the Camling area. All Kiranti languages west of the line have initial consonant clusters, languages to the east of the line lack them.

³ Several travel grants from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft are gratefully acknowledged here.

I spent about the same time in Nerpa collecting data from the NW-dialect and in Khamla studying SE-Camling. Due to difficulties with communication, my time in the field was mainly devoted to collecting material of oral tradition. The result is more than a hundred pages of transcribed oral texts of various quality and length (between 11 and 285 sentences). My analysis is mainly based on the texts from four principal narrators of each dialect (see p. 4). This has the advantage that my sample sentences are not elicited and the drawback that I cannot deal with syntax thoroughly. All narrators except Jh. were older people. Jh. had an enormous knowledge of the oral tradition, which he had learned from his father, who was an important shaman in Khamla. I also had access to 42 questionnaires from the Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LSN) from villages in Udaypur, which for most purposes can be grouped with the NW-dialect. I will sometimes cite material from the LSN in order to illustrate the degree of variation one can find.

This grammatical sketch provides an overview of the basic structures of the Camling language. The most interesting features, to my mind, are a) the complex verbal paradigms, together with the restructuring in the SE-dialect mentioned above; b) the semantic marking of participants on the verb, i.e. the lack of "agreement"; c) the systematic head marking, with most information coded on the verb (even in subordinate clauses, which is rather remarkable in the area); d) the system of altitudinal terms, especially the grammaticalization of altitudinal case markers.

I had to work hard to cut my manuscript down to 70 pages and have therefore not included a text here. An accompanying booklet with texts will appear separately as LW/T 11. As there is no room for lengthy examples either, I will frequently refer to these texts as well as to texts published in Ebert (1994: 191-240). The interested reader can refer to these publications for the contextual embedding of the examples.

I would like to thank all the Camling people who helped to make my work on their language successful: first and foremost my "nicho" Dhan Prasad Rai, who accompanied me on all my travels to the SE-Kiranti area; Dhan's family, who adopted me so that I was allowed inside the house without the ancestors being insulted; "Machakuma" of Khamla, who cooked for me and was pleasant company although we could hardly exchange a word; Sorbadhan Rai, who helped me with translations and finding contacts in Nerpa; all the narrators mentioned on p. 4, and all the friendly neighbors who brought me *arakha* at six o'clock in the morning to keep warm when I got out of my sleeping bag. Last not least I thank Werner Winter for letting me use the materials of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal.

1. Phonology⁴

1.1. Consonants

Table 1: Consonant phonemes

	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 glides	w	l, lh	r, rh	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>dhotyu-cyu</i>	assembled them	<i>dhōdyu-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>chui</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>mhuma</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] ~ [dʲim] 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-s-) '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[ɔ]) 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>thyomma</i>	dance
<i>phero</i> ~ <i>phyoro</i>	type of millet

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

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>muīt-</i>)	be well-cooked
			<i>məima</i> (<i>məīd-</i>)	forget
<i>khaima</i> (<i>khat-</i>)	go	:	<i>khuima</i> (<i>khuid-</i>)	carry to so.
			<i>kheima</i> (<i>khēt-</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 Prevoicalic 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. *d̥ʰi*, 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: *s̄imi*, *s̄imi*, *s̄ūimi*, *s̄yimi*, *s̄ximi*, *s̄yimi* (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)

[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> [ʔiduŋa]	I gave him
but: <i>ta-idunga</i> [tʔiduŋa]	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 [ō]: NW *tungma* = SE *tōma* 'daughter', NW *lungto* = SE *lōto* '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 *ai*.

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>kemdyu</i> 'chewed'

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

2. The verb

2.1. Stems

2.1.1. Stem alternation

The full verb stem occurs only before vowels. Before a consonantal suffix or a pause most stems are reduced or undergo a morphophonological change.

a) Verbs with stem-final *t*, *d*, *s* constitute the majority of verbs.¹¹ The stem-final consonant is elided before a consonant:

stem	preconsonantal stem + INF	
<i>hung-</i>	<i>hung-ma</i>	think
<i>lod-</i>	<i>lo-ma</i>	tell
<i>los-</i>	<i>lo-ma</i>	sell
<i>khis-</i>	<i>khi-ma</i>	comb
<i>caidh-</i>	<i>cai-mha</i>	beat

Elision of the stem-final consonant results in diphthongization of the stem vowels *a*, *e*:

<i>khat-</i>	<i>khai-ma</i>	go
<i>ngas-</i>	<i>ngai-ma</i>	keep
<i>set-</i>	<i>sei-ma</i>	kill

b) Stem-final *k* sometimes leaves a trace in the preconsonantal stem. *a + k* yields *o* before a consonantal suffix, whereas *i / e + k* results in a glide + *u / o*.

<i>pak-</i>	<i>po-ma</i>	put
<i>ngak-</i>	<i>ngo-ma</i>	beg
<i>bik-</i>	<i>byu-ma</i>	sweep
<i>ik-</i>	<i>yu-ma</i>	grind
<i>hek-</i>	<i>hyo-ma</i>	cut

The verb *tyok- ~ tyek- ~ tek- / toma* 'see' is irregular. No changes in the stem were recorded for the following verbs with stem-final *-k*:

<i>khlak-</i>	<i>khlak-ma</i>	trample
<i>chik-</i>	<i>chik-ma</i>	pinch
<i>huk-</i>	<i>huk-ma</i>	bark
<i>phek-</i>	<i>phek-ma</i>	fall off

c) Stem-final *p* optionally changes to *m* before a consonant. The variation *p/m* applies also to verbs which drop *t/d/s*.

<i>ap-</i>	<i>am-ma / ap-ma</i>	shoot
	<i>am-si</i>	in order to shoot
<i>khop-</i>	<i>khom-ma / khop-ma</i>	cut
	<i>sung khom-si</i>	in order to cut wood (Eb94: Jh5.8-9)
<i>khips-</i>	<i>khim-ma / khip-ma</i>	count
	<i>khim-sa</i>	counting (Eb94: Bal6.80)

d) Stem-final sonorants are mostly retained before a consonantal suffix, but the rhyme *aŋ* becomes *ō* before a consonant (cf. group b), and stem-final *n* may result in a nasalized diphthong:

<i>dung-</i>	<i>dung-ma</i>	drink
<i>hung-</i>	<i>hung-ma</i>	wait
<i>bil-</i>	<i>bil-ma</i>	squeeze, milk
<i>khang-</i>	<i>khō-ma</i>	see
<i>sang-</i>	<i>sō-ma</i>	come up
<i>sen-</i>	<i>sen-ma ~ sēima</i>	ask

e) In open stems there are no changes

<i>khi-</i>	<i>khi-ma</i>	quarrel, fight
<i>ca-</i>	<i>ca-ma</i>	eat
<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-ma</i>	do

2.1.2. Transitive and causative stems

The augment *-t* (after vowel) ~ *-d* (after consonants, which are sometimes elided) makes an intransitive verb transitive. The augmented stem can have causative, applicative, benefactive or simply transitive meaning. The augment *-s* is found both with intransitive and with transitive verbs. Many verbs are used both transitively and intransitively without any change in the stem (see for example (5a) p. 28).

intransitive

<i>ban-</i>	come over
<i>sang-</i>	come up
<i>i-</i>	come down
<i>ta-</i>	come
<i>wang-</i>	enter
<i>ri-</i>	laugh
<i>prat-</i>	shout

transitive / causative

<i>baid-</i>	bring over
<i>sod-</i>	bring up
<i>it-</i>	bring down
<i>tat-</i>	bring
<i>wod-</i>	take into
<i>rit-</i>	laugh at
<i>praidh-</i> (<*pratt-)	shout at sb.

¹¹ The distribution of verbs in my material is: group a) 228, final *-k* 26, final *-N*, *-l*, *-r* 44, open stems 16. I have not counted verbs with final *-p*, as the group overlaps with group a).

<i>libs-</i>	turn around	<i>libd-</i>	turn sth.
<i>pus-</i>	go	<i>put-</i>	take
<i>ims-</i>	sleep	<i>ibd-</i>	make sb. sleep

intrans. / transitive

<i>wot-</i>	break (itr./tr.)
<i>wat-</i>	wear / put on
<i>ca-</i>	eat
<i>mu-</i>	do, make
<i>ngas-</i>	stay / keep

causative / benefactive

<i>woid-</i> (<*wott-)	break for sb.
<i>woid-</i>	put on for sb.
<i>caid-</i>	graze
<i>maid-</i>	make, make for sb.
<i>ngaid-</i>	leave for sb.

transitive

<i>taps-</i>	heap up	<i>tapd-</i>	heap up for sb.
<i>hors-</i>	throw	<i>hord-</i>	throw at/for sb.

3 stems are attested for:

<i>dung-</i>	drink	<i>dungs-</i>	give suck	<i>dungd-</i>	make sb. drink
<i>si-</i>	die	<i>set-</i>	kill	<i>seid-</i>	kill for sb.

Due to the final consonant elision, the simple and the derived verbs are sometimes identical in preconsonantal position. Thus *i-* and *it-* both have the infinitive *ima*, *ta-* and *tat-* have the infinitive *tama*.

Analytic causatives are formed with the help of *maid-* 'make'; benefactives are expressed by a compound verb construction with the verb *pid-* (obsolete for 'give'; (see 2.7.1).

2.2. Participant and direction marking**2.2.1. Person and number affixes**

Camling, like the neighboring Kiranti languages, is characterized by complex verbal paradigms, in which person is marked partly by prefixes, partly by suffixes, sometimes independently of role and number. The person-number affixes of the various combinations of participants can be seen in Table 3. In order to avoid confusion I shall first discuss the more complex pattern of the NW-dialect and turn to the SE-dialect in 2.2.4.

The prefixes

ta-	2nd person
mi-	3rd person plural (intransitive) subject
pa-	inverse direction

The prefix *ta-* stands for 2nd person independently of semantic role and number (cf. 2.2.2):

2s	ta-khata	'you went'
3s→2s	ta-tyoka	'he saw you'
2p→3s	ta-tyok-u-m (2-see-3P-1/2pA)	'you (p) saw him'

**Table 3: Person-number markers
NW-dialect**

ag ent	patient									ltr.	
	1s	1de	1pe	1di	1pi	2s	2d	2p	3s		3ns
1s						-na	-naci	-nani	-unga	-ungcunga	-unga
1de						↓	↓	↓	-cka	→	-cka
1pe						↓	↓	↓	-umka	-umcumka	-i(m)ka
1di									-ci	→	-ci
1pi									-um	-umcum	-i
2s	ta- -unga	ta- -cka	ta- -i(m)ka						ta- -u	ta- -ucyu	ta-
2d	↓ (ta- -ci)	↓	↓						ta- -ci	→	ta- -ci
2p	↓ (ta- -i)	↓	↓						ta- -um	ta- -umcum	ta- -i
3s	pa- -unga	pa- -cka	pa- -i(m)ka	pa- -ci	pa- -i	ta- -a	ta- -ci	ta- -i	-u	-ucyu	-
3d	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	pa- -ci	→	-ci
3p	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	pa-	-ucyu	mi-
SE-dialect											
	1s	1de	1pe	1di	1pi						
2s	kha-ta-	→	→			same as NW					
2d	kha-ta- -aci	→	→								
2p	kha-ta- -i	→	→								
3s	kha-	→	→	→	→						
3d	kha- -ci	→	→	→	→						
3p	kha-mi-	→	→	→	→						

The prefix *mi-* marks 3rd person plural agent in affirmative intransitive forms. Third person plural transitive forms have the inverse marker *pa-*. The analysis of this prefix as a direction marker will be justified in 2.2.3.

3p	mi-khata	'they went'
3p→3s	pa-tyoka	'they saw him'
3→1s	pa-tyok-unga (INV-see-1s)	'he/they saw me'

The suffixes**a) -unga** 1st person singular

First person singular is represented in aorist forms by the suffix *-unga*, again independently of semantic role. (For the imperfective form see p. 27.) The suffix elides the vowel of open verb stems, but stem-final *i* results in a glide:

1s	khat-unga	'I went'
	t-unga (ta-)	'I came'
	ry-unga (ri-)	'I laughed'
1s→3s	los-unga	'I sold it'
2s→1s:IMP	"	'sell (to) me!'
3s→1s	pa-id-unga	'he gave (to) me'

- b) -i 2nd plural patient (P) and intransitive subject (S)
 -i(m) 1st plural patient (P) and intransitive subject (S)
 -m 1st and 2nd plural actor (A)
 -ka exclusive

The 1st and 2nd plural patient and intransitive subject marker is *-i* in final position. 1p is optionally *-im* before the exclusive marker *-ka*.

3s→1pi	pa-tyok-i	(INV-see-1pP)	'he saw us (pi)'
3→2p	ta-tyok-i	(2-see-2pP)	'he/they saw you'
1pe	khat-i(m)-ka	(go-1pS-e)	'we (pe) went'
3s→1pe	pa-tyok-i(m)-ka	(INV-see-1pP-e)	'he saw us (pe)'

The 1st and 2nd person plural actor marker *-m* follows the 3rd patient marker *-u*.

2p→3s	ta-tyok-u-m	(2-see-3P-2pA)	'you (p) saw him'
1pe→3s	tyok-u-m-ka	(INV-see-3P-1pA-e)	'we (pe) saw him'

The glossing of *-i*, *-i(m)* and *-m* is to some degree arbitrary. *-i* could be characterized as SAPpP/S (with SAP for 'speech act participant') — a somewhat unwieldy gloss. On the other hand, it might seem tempting to connect 1p *-im* and *-m*. However, the latter is not a postvocalic variant of *-im*; rather, *-im* is a nonfinal variant of *-i* in the function 1p. We therefore have to postulate role specific suffixes. In the SE-dialect, *-i* also comes to stand in 1st or 2nd plural actor configurations, due to morphological detransitivization (see 2.2.4). I shall therefore gloss *-i* as "1/2p". *-im* will be glossed as "1p", *-m* as "1/2pA".

- c) -na 1→2
 -ni 2nd person plural (in 1→2 and imperative)

The old Tibeto-Burman 2nd person marker *-na* is used in Camling to mark the configuration 1→2. The 2nd plural marker *-ni* is restricted to this configuration and to imperatives.

1s→2s	phlo-na	'I helped you (s)'
1s→2p	phlo-na-ni	'I helped you (p)'
2pIMP	bana-ni	'come!'

- d) /-u/ 3rd person patient or "direct"

This suffix has the variants *-yu* ~ *-yi* after "central" consonants (dentals and alveolars), but before *-m* it is always *u*.¹²

3s→3s	tyok-u		'he saw him'
	chaid-yu ~ chaid-yi		'he knew it'
	hors-yu ~ hors-yi		'he threw it'
1pi→3s	lod-u-m	(tell-3P-1/2pA)	'we told him'
2p→3s	ta-chaid-u-m-e	(2-know-3P-1/2pA-IPFV)	'do you (p) know it?'

Other suffixes do not influence the realization of /-u/; for example: *lodyu-ko* 'told him' (nominalized form), *lodyu-na* 'told him and then' (sequential form). In open stems /-u/ replaces the stem vowels *u* and *i*; stem vowel *a* + /u/ yields *o*.

3s→3s	ng-u (ngi-)	'he fried it'
	ch-yu (chu-)	'he tied it'
	bh-o (bha-)	'he hewed it down'
	c-yo (ca-)	'he ate it'

The status of the suffix /-u/ will be discussed in 2.2.3.

- e) -ci dual
 -ci 3rd person nonsingular patient

The dual marker *-ci* follows the finite base consisting of stem + *a* (see 2.3.1) except in 1→2 configurations, where it is preceded by *-na*. It marks dual A and S irrespective of person, as well as dual patient for 1st and 2nd person.

1di = 3d	khata-ci	(go-d)	'we (di) went'; 'they (d) went'
2d→3	ta-loda-ci	(2-tell-d)	'you (d) told him/them'; 'he/they told you (d)'
= 3→2d			
3d→3	loda-ci	(tell-d)	'they (d) told him/them'
= 1di→3			
3→1di	pa-loda-ci	(INV-tell-d)	'he/they told us' (di)
1s→2d	lo-na-ci	(tell-1→2-d)	'I told you two'

¹² With open stems *-u-m* is reduced to *-m*, whereas *-u* alone replaces or affects the stem vowel:

ca + um → cam we ate it
 ca + u → c+o → cyo he ate it

One could alternatively try to analyze *-um* as a portmanteau suffix for 1/2p→3. However, the separation of *u* from *m* is clearly preferable; *u* in *tyokum* 'we saw it' represents the same morpheme as *u* in *tyoku* 'he saw it'.

The 3rd nonsingular patient marker *-ci* always follows the 3P marker */-u/* (plus the person-number markers *-m*, *-ng*), which are repeated after *-ci*. Outer suffixes like the exclusive and the imperfective marker follow the copy.

1s→3ns	lod-u-ng-c-u-ng	(tell-3P-1s-3nsP-3P-1s)	'I told them'
1pe→3ns	lod-u-m-c-u-m-ka	(tell-3P-1/2pA-3nsP-3P-1/2pA-e)	'we told them'

With certain imperfective forms the copy is not easily identifiable on the surface level, for example *lod-ung-c-ši* (<lod-ung-c-ung + e) 'I will tell them'. Some informants do not copy *-yu* after *-ci*: *lod-yu-c-yu* ~ *lod-yu-ci* 'he told them'.

The dual marker and the 3rd nonsingular patient marker cannot occur together; with a dual actor, a 3rd nonsingular patient remains unmarked; thus: *tyoka-ci* 'they (d) saw him / them'; 'we (di) saw him / them'.

2.2.2. Principles of person and number marking

The main principle underlying the verbal paradigm of the NW-dialect is the marking of speech act participants without regard to semantic role. This principle is immediately visible from the presentation in Table 3: all configurations with a 1st or 2nd person patient show vertical arrows, indicating that the same form is used irrespective of the number of the actor. (The horizontal arrows in 3rd person patient forms are due to the impossibility of combining dual *-ci* and 3nsP *-ci*.) The following forms show that 2nd person *ta-* is a true participant marker. Number is indicated by a separate suffix.

2s	ta-bana	'you came'			
2d	ta-bana-ci				
2p	ta-ban-i				
2s→3s	ta-lod-yu	'you told him'	3→2s	ta-loda	'he/they told you'
2d→3s	ta-loda-ci		= 3→2d	ta-loda-ci	
2p→3s	ta-lod-u-m		3→2p	ta-lod-i	

The 1st person singular marker is also independent of semantic role, though combined with aspect (see p.27).

1s	ban-unga	'I came'			
1s→3s	lod-unga	'I told him'	3s→1s	pa-lod-unga	'he told me'

1st and 2nd person plural have role specific markers, *-i* for 1/2p P and S, *-m* for 1/2pA. If both agent and patient are speech act participants, this is indicated by the portmanteau suffix *-na* if 1st person is acting towards 2nd (1→2). Number is indicated for the patient only.

1→2s	lo-na	(tell-1→2)	'I/we told you'
1→2d	lo-na-ci	(tell-1→2-d)	'I/we told you (d)'
1→2p	lo-na-ni	(tell-1→2-2p)	'I/we told you (p)'

If 2nd acts towards 1st person, this configuration invariably has the participant marker *ta-*, but the suffixes mark person-number of the patient:

2s→1s	ta-lod-unga	'you told me'
2s→1de	ta-loda-c-ka	'you told us (d)'
2s→1pe	ta-lod-im-ka	'you told us (p)'

Consultants were, however, uncertain concerning these configurations, and forms like the following were produced more than once in interrogation:¹³ *ta-loda-ci* 'you (d) told me/us', *ta-lod-i* 'you (p) told me/us'. Occasionally, speakers tried to mark number of the actor in 1→2 configurations (for ex. *lo-na-c-ka* 'we both told you (s)').

2.2.3. Inverse configurations

In earlier publications (Ebert 1987, 1990, 1994: 26f) I suggested to analyze the prefix *pa-* as an inverse marker and the suffix *-u* as a direct marker. The 3→3 configurations are crucial for this interpretation:

3s→3	tyok-u	'he sees him'		3p→3	pa-tyoka	'they see him'
------	--------	---------------	--	------	----------	----------------

The distribution of the affixes is self-explanatory in an empathy hierarchy, which values 3s higher than 3p: 1 > 2 > 3s > 3p. The empathy hierarchy reflects the natural viewpoint of the speaker. With actions initiated by a higher ranking participant towards a lower ranking participant the attention flow corresponds to natural viewpoint; the configuration counts as direct. If an action is directed from a third person towards a speech act participant, attention flow is contrary to natural viewpoint; the configuration counts as inverse and is marked. 1→2 and/or 2→1 configurations often have a special status in direction marking languages, they count neither as direct nor as inverse.

As Table 4 demonstrates, the system is disturbed (for full paradigm see appendix). The 1st person singular marker *-unga* has been generalized to all configurations, and the dual actor forms have no *-u*. Moreover, 2nd person *ta-* does not combine with inverse *pa-* due to a one-prefix-restriction.¹⁴ That all three must be recent developments becomes clear from

¹³ Configurations involving both 1st and 2nd nonsingular participants do not occur in my texts, which are usually more reliable than the elicited forms.

¹⁴ The restriction also holds for negative *pa-*:
id-unga I gave him INV *pa-id-unga* he gave me NEG *pa-i-n-unga* I did not give him
 but: *ta-id-yu* you gave him *ta-id-a* he gave you *ta-id-ina* he did not give you

comparison with other Southern Rai languages like Bantawa and Athpare, which have *-u* in all direct configurations and no *-u* in inverse (see paradigms in Ebert 1994: appendix).¹⁵

Table 4: Inverse marking in NW-Camling

direct		inverse	
1s→3s	-unga	3→1s	pa- -unga
1di→3	-ci	3→1di	pa- -ci
1de→3	-c-ka	3→1de	pa- -c-ka
1pi→3s	-u-m	3→1pi	pa- -i
1pe→3s	-u-m-ka	3→1pe	pa- -im-ka
2s→3s	ta- -u	3→2s	ta-
2d→3s	ta- -ci	3→2d	ta- -ci
2p→3s	ta- -u-m	3→2p	ta- -i
3s→3s	-u	3p→3	pa-

The Camling direction system is obviously in decay, and the analysis of the affixes as direction markers is somewhat unsatisfactory. An alternative would be to analyse *-u* as a 3rd person patient marker, *pa-* as a 3rd person actor marker. But apart from the fact that this leaves exactly the same dual and 1s forms unexplained, it does not account for 3s→3 *-u* vs. 3p→3 *pa-*. Moreover, direction is not marked in negated forms. It would be difficult to explain why just the "3rd person" markers *pa-* and *-u* would be absent in negation. If I gloss *-u* as 3P (and not as direct) this is a compromise I made in order to let the glosses also account for the forms of the SE-dialect (see below). Somewhat inconsistently I keep INV for the prefix *pa-* as a reminder that it is not a 3A marker.

2.2.4. Southeastern Camling inverse replacement

The SE-dialect has developed different forms to code inverse actions directed towards 1st person. Instead of the usual 1st person markers the verb takes the prefix *kha-*, which is independent of number and not subject to the one-prefix-restriction. All other forms are as in the NW-dialect. The new forms have the advantage of unambiguous actor marking. In this way some ambiguous forms of the old paradigm are coded more clearly:

NW		SE	
2→1de	ta-loda-c-ka	2s→1	kha-ta-loda 'you told me/us'
2d→1	"	2d→1	kha-ta-loda-ci
3s→1di	pa-loda-ci	3s→1	kha-loda 'he told me/us'
3d→1di	"	3d→1	kha-loda-ci
3p→1di	"	3p→1	kha-mi-loda-ci
3d→3	"	3d→3	pa-loda-ci 'they(d) told him/them'

Of course new ambiguities arise in the SE-paradigm, but they are more systematic — so at least it seems to me — than those of the old paradigm: number of 1st person patient remains unmarked throughout.

Table 5: SE-Camling inverse replacement

NW		SE	
3→1s	pa- -unga	3s→1	kha-
3→1di	pa- -ci	3d→1	kha- -ci
3→1de	pa- -c-ka	3p→1	kha-mi-
3→1pi	pa- -i		
3→1pe	pa- -im-ka		
2→1s	ta- -unga	2s→1	kha-ta-
2→1de	ta- -c-ka	2d→1	kha-ta- -ci
2→1pe	ta- -im-ka	2p→1	kha-ta- -i

The *kha-* forms seem to imitate the principle of marking inverse by a prefix; I have therefore called these forms "pseudoinverse" in an earlier publication (Ebert 1991). But the pattern of participant marking has been totally restructured, as can be seen from Table 5 and from the arrows in Table 3. The inverse forms of NW-Camling conform to an older principle of marking speech act participants on the verb; the inverse prefix *pa-* indicates only direction. The SE prefix *kha-* stands for 1st person patient; the rest of the verb agrees with 2nd or 3rd A as if it were an intransitive paradigm:

2p→1	kha-ta-lod-i	'you told me/us'	cf. intransitive
3p→1	kha-mi-loda	'they told me/us'	2p ta-khat-i 'you went'
			3p mi-khata 'they went'

The paradigm has undergone a morphological detransitivization. The (NW) 2pS marker *-i* becomes a 2pS/A marker, and the (NW) 3pS prefix *mi-* signals 3pA/S in SE-Camling. Syntactically the verb remains transitive; 3rd person actors have the ergative marker:

¹⁵ For example: Camling Bantawa Athpare
 direct: *caidha-ci* *dhatta-cu* *lepta-cu* we(di) beat him
 inverse: *pa-caidha-ci* *im-dhatta-ci* *a-lepta-c-e* he beat us(di)

- (1) mina-ci-wa kha-mi-loda. 'The people told me.'
man-ns-ERG 1P-3pA/S-tell

The only trace that is left of the inverse paradigm are the 3→3 forms, with *-u* in 3s→3s, *pa-* in 3p→3s. As there is no inverse marker in any other form, the basis for a directional analysis of *-u* and *pa-* is too weak in SE-Camling.

2.3. Tense-aspect forms

2.3.1. Finite base and basic TA-forms

Camling has two basic tense-aspect forms, an unmarked aorist/(past) and a marked imperfective/(nonpast). For the following discussion the full paradigms in Appendix A should be consulted. Forms and translations like the following seem to suggest that *a* is a past marker, *e* a nonpast marker:

3s	khata	'he went'	khate	'he will go'
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Under this analysis one could assume that *a* is not realized after a pronominal suffix ending in *a*, and that *e* elides a preceding *a*.

1s-2s	tō-na	'I saw you'	tō-n-e	'I will see you'
1pe→3s	tyok-u-m-ka	'we saw it'	tyok-u-m-k-e	'we will see it'

However, there is no *a* after other person markers either, as in *khat-i* 'we (pi) went', *tyok-u-m* 'we (pi) saw it'. The only forms for which a past marker *a* could possibly be postulated are three intransitive forms and two transitive ones, all of which have no person-number suffix.

3s	khata	'he went'	khate	'he will go'
3p	mi-khata	'they went'	mi-khate	'they will go'
2s	ta-khata	'you went'	ta-khate	'you will go'
3s→2s	ta-tyoka	'he saw you'	ta-tyoke	'he will see you'
3p→3s	pa-tyoka	'they saw him'	pa-tyoke	'they will see him'

On the other hand, there is an *a* after the stem in dual forms in both tense-aspects:

3d	khata-ci	'they (d) went'	khata-ce	'they (d) will go'
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It seems most economic to regard stem + *a* as a finite base, from which all TA-forms are derived. The aorist is then unmarked. The vowel of the base is elided by a vowel suffix:¹⁶

¹⁶ The situation is analogous in Athpare, where past is marked by *-e* and stem + *a* constitutes a past base (see Ebert 1997: 41-43); cf. Athp. khada + i + e → khadie 'we went', khada + ci + e → khadace 'they (d) went'.

khata + i	->	khati	'we went'
loda + u	->	*lod-u -> lodyu	'he told him'
loda + ci + e	->	lodace	'we/they (d) will tell him/them'

In order not to complicate the glossing, I do not separate *a* from the stem in the examples.

As the forms above show, the imperfective is often marked by *e*, which elides most preceding vowels, but not the 1/2p marker *-i*.

	AOR (unmarked)		IPFV	
1pe→3s	tyok-u-m-ka	'we saw it'	tyok-u-m-k-e	'we will see it'
3d	khata-ci	'they (d) went'	khata-c-e	'they (d) will go'
1pi	khat-i	'we went'	khat-i-e	'we will go'

Elision of the stem vowel of open stems seems to be unpredictable; cf.

m-e (< mu-)	'he will do'
ta-e (< ta-)	'he will come'

(but progressive *m-ungse* 'he is doing', *t-ungse* 'he is coming').

There are a number of special forms in the paradigm. The imperfective 3rd patient suffix is *-yo* irrespective of the preceding consonant. Open stems add *-yo* to the aorist form.

	AOR		IPFV	
3s→3s	tyok-u	'he saw him'	tyok-yo	'he will see him'
	lod-yu	'he told him'	lod-yo	'he will tell him'
	c-yo	'he ate it'	cyo-yo	'he will eat it'
	mu	'he did it'	mu-yo	'he will do it'

The 1st person singular imperfective is *-ung-e* only for some speakers of the NW-dialect. Otherwise it is marked by the portmanteau suffix *-ōi*.

1s	khat-ōi / khat-ung-e (NW)	'I will go'
1s→3s	lhap-ōi / lhap-ung-e (NW)	'I will catch it'

The 1st and 2nd person plural forms have the imperfective marker *-ne* (NW also *-e*):

1pi	khat-i-ne / khat-i-e (NW)	'we will go'
1pi→3s	cam-ne / cam-e (NW)	'we will eat it'

Imperfective is as a rule marked only once at the end of a simple or compound verb, but occasionally the final suffix is copied backward.

3s→3s	pod-yu-pid-yo	(put-3P-V2:give-3P:IPFV)	'he will put it for him'
3s→3s	cyo-pak-yo	(eat:3P-V2:TEL-3p:IPFV)	'he will eat it up'
1s→3ns	los-ung-c-ōi / los-ōi-c-ōi	(sell-1s-3nsP-1s:NPT)	'I will sell them'

2.3.2. Tense or aspect?

The basic TA-forms of Kiranti languages are usually described in temporal terms as past and nonpast (thus also Ebert 1994: 29f). Often they seem to be mixed tense-aspect forms. My data from Camling texts suggest that the TA-forms are basically aspects and that the temporal interpretation as past and nonpast is secondary. The aorist is used to express the sequence of events in narratives or to report past events in conversation. Narrators change to the imperfective when they report habitual or iterated actions or describe backgrounding situations.

- (2) a. *tyo m-cha cōi hya-ni hya-ni pus-e-ni.*
 that her-child FOC across-ALL across-ALL go-IPFV-EM
 'That child of hers [the monkey] used to roam far away.' (Ms1.56-60)¹⁷
- b. *khaja capca-wa mattai cyo-yo-ko raicha. dakana rhaik-yo-ko.*
 snack tiger-ERG only eat:3P-IPFV-NML REP after scold-3P:IPFV-NML
 'Only the Tiger used to eat the snack ... So [the mother] used to scold him.'
 (Bal1.17/19)
- c. *demno ap-yo tinno i-ra kun-e-ko lungto parba*
 how_often aim-3P:NPT that_often one-CL be_beautiful-NPT-NML stone catch:LW
la-e-ni. khang-e-ni, lungto lais-yo-nɔ hors-yo-
 AUX-NPT-EM look-NPT-EM stone take_out-3P:NPT-SEQ throw-3P:NPT-
kas-yo-ni.
 V2:TEL-3P:NPT-EM
 'As often as he threw [his net] he caught a beautiful stone. He would look at it, take it out and throw it away.' (Ha2.77-78)

The imperfective is obligatory with general, future or irrealis statements, and with present time reference of stative verbs. Sentences (3a,b) exemplify the imperfective in general statements:

- (3) a. *Camling la dherəi chyus-e. — kaika-lai pa-chyus-ain-e.*
 C. language very be_painful-IPFV we(pe)-DAT NEG-hurt-NEG-IPFV
 'The Camling language is very difficult.' — 'For us it is not difficult.' (Convers.)
- b. *i-tō bat-e-pa syus-e; khi-ma tir-e.*
 our-hair get_white-IPFV-TEMP itch-IPFV; comb-INF must-IPFV
 'When our hair gets white, it itches; we have to comb it.' (Convers.)

¹⁷Abbreviations after examples refer to the informant, text and sentence number of my corpus. See p.4 for further explanations.

The imperfective forms of the stative verbs *hingma*¹⁸ 'be' and *chyuma* 'hurt, be painful' in sentence (4a,b) receive a present interpretation, whereas the dynamic verbs *ima* 'give' and *hōma* 'get wet' in (4a,c) can only refer to the future. Dynamic verbs require a progressive if they refer to the present.

- (4) a. *kanga u-dhi hing-ōi, khana huilo ta-hing-e; dosonɔ i-n-e*
 I this-hiLOC be-1s:IPFV you down 2-be-IPFV how give-1→2-IPFV
 thɔɔɔ?
 PART
 'I am up here and you are down there; how shall I give it to you?' (*Ha2.43)
- b. *nam chyus-e.*
 sun be_painful-IPFV
 'The sun is burning.' (Convers.)
- c. *mi-khai-d-ou, ta-hōp-e.*
 NEG-go-negAUX-polIMP 2-get_wet-IPFV
 'Don't go, you will get wet.' (Convers.)

The sensibility of the TA-forms to aktionsart is further evidence for their aspectual function. An analysis in terms of tense cannot account for this.

The temporal function is manifest in the use of the aorist with stative verbs in past contexts. The existential verb *hingma* usually has the aorist form *hinga* in narrative contexts (cf. (18a), (51a)). Conditional clauses can sometimes serve as a diagnostic device for an aspect form; in a purely aspectual system conditional clauses referring to the future must be the perfective. In Camling this is not the case (cf. (13), (64)). Moreover, not all informants used the imperfective consistently, and it seems that a primarily aspectual system is presently developing into a primarily temporal one.

2.3.3. Progressive-Perfect

A compound verb construction (see 2.7.1) with *ŋas-* 'stay, remain, keep' as second verb expresses progressive, continuative and perfect meaning.

- ding-ōi -ngas-ōi* (drink-1s:IPFV-V2:STAY-1s:IPFV) 'I am/keep drinking',
 'I have drunk'
ta-ding-u-ngas-yu (2-drink-3P-V2:STAY-3P:IPFV) 'you were/kept drinking',
 'you had drunk'

¹⁸*hingma* is an initiotransformative verb, meaning both 'sit down' and 'sit, be, exist'. In (4a) we are dealing with the stative meaning component. For a more detailed treatment of the interaction of aktionsart and aspect in Kiranti languages see Bickel (1996) on Belhare, Ebert (1997: 68-70) on Athpare.

If the form has progressive meaning, it is contracted to stem + *-ungs* ~ *-ōs* in the SE-dialect. In NW-Camling *-ungs* may be used with intransitive verbs only.

NW lod-yu-**ngas**-yu SE lod-**ungs**-yu ~ lod-**ōs**-yu 'he was telling him'
 prat-e-**ngas**-e ~ prat-**ungs**-e pat-**ungs**-e ~ pat-**ōs**-e 'he is shouting'

(5a) gives the translations for an LSN sentence from the NW-dialect; the three verb forms were used with approximately equal frequency. (*mu-* 'do' can be used transitively or intransitively.) The transitive sentence (b) is from the SE-dialect.

(5) a. khana oda de ta-mu-**ngas**-yo? / ta-m-e-**ngas**-e / ta-m-**ungs**-e
 you here what 2-do:3P-V2:STAY-3P:IPFV 2-do-IPFV-V2:STAY-IPFV 2-do-PROG-IPFV
 'What are you doing here?' (LSN 2.17)

b. uko rochakule-lai nhaid-**ungs**-ung-ko ...
 this orphan-DAT chase-PROG-1s-NML
 'I was chasing the orphan ...' (*Jh2.87)

With perfect or continuative meaning the form is not contracted. The following perfect examples are from the SE-dialect, where the form contrasts with the progressive:

(6) a. museppa m-ngalung-da map-u-**ngas**-yu.
 ash her-face-LOC rub-3P-V2:STAY-3P
 'She had rubbed ash on her face.' (Eb94: Bal6.58)

b. a-dajai-ci jhara khaba la-si mi-khat-e-**ngas**-e. kanga uda
 my-e.brother-ns all money pick-PURP 3p-go-IPFV-V2:STAY-IPFV I here

kha-mi-chit-yi-dyo-**ngas**-e.
 1P-3p-leave-3P-V2:TEL:3P-V2:STAY-IPFV

'All my brothers have gone to earn money. They have left me here all by myself.'
 (Jh6.15-16)

With stative verbs, *ngas-* has only continuative meaning:

(7) a. "lou," ringa-ko raicha-ki tyuda ngo repa-**ngasa**-ko raicha.
 INTJ say-NML REP-SEQ there EMPH stand-V2:STAY-NML REP
 "'O.k.," she said and remained standing there.' (Eb94: Jh5.30)

b. kai let-i-**ngas**-i-nakhō tip-i-ne; si-i-ne-daka pa-tip
 we(pi) be_alive-1/2p-V2:STAY-1/2p-COND meet-1/2p-IPFV die-1/2p-IPFV-after NEG-meet-
 um-ne.
 1/2p:NEG-IPFV

'If we remain alive, we will meet; after we die, we will not meet.' (Convers.)

2.3.4. The *-ko* perfect

Camling has a second perfect form, which is probably a calque of Nepali *-eko + cha/thiyo* (Perf.PCPL + 'is/was'). In Camling the verb preceding the nominalizer *-ko* is fully inflected, whereas the auxiliary is unmarked for person. The text examples do not reveal any difference in function between the two perfects.

(8) a. kā-lyona huilo khim pani m-ung-**ko hing**-e....

I-TOP below house also make-1s-NML be-IPFV
 'I have also built a house down there.' (Eb94: Lal3.36 and following sentences)

b. so-pa-wa dhit-yu-**ko hing**-e tyoko-lai ngo a-cha id-ōi.
 who-NML-ERG find-3P-NML be-IPFV he-DAT EMPH my-child give-1s:IPFV
 'Whoever finds it [= will have found it], to him I'll give my child.' (Eb94: Bal6.3)

2.3.5. Ambulative

In Camling 'doing while moving aimlessly around' is expressed by the root extension *hod*. (9a) expresses that the hero of the story is preparing food somewhat distractedly, while moving about the place (see also *Jh2.13, *Ha2.8).

(9) a. i-ra mina rō mu-**hod**-yu ...

one-CL man rice make-AMB-3P
 'A man was preparing food [while moving around].' (Jh8.5)

b. kholi-di khata-ki sung khop-**hod**-yi-pana, de doso?
 forest-hiLOC go-SEQ wood cut-AMB-3P-TEMP what how
 'He went up into the forest and while he was [moving around] cutting firewood,
 what happened?' (Eb94: Jh5.9)

The *hod-* form can also have habitual or iterative meaning:

(10) tyuko also phui-**hod**-e, tyuko phutai! aja phui-**hod**-e-ko.
 he nowadays jump-AMB-IPFV he IDEO today jump-AMB-IPFV-NML
 'Nowadays he [monkey] jumps around; phutai! he jumps around.' (Nir1.112)

2.4. Negation

It was not possible to elicit a consistent negative paradigm from informants. There is much dialectal and individual variation, but also an uncertainty about less frequent configurations. In repeated interrogation informants often gave different forms. In the following I shall

discuss some forms that occur in texts as well as in my notes from interrogations. A negated paradigm can, for example, look like this:

	asserted	negated	
1s	khat-unga	pa-khai -n-unga	'I did not go'
1di	khata-ci	pa-khata -ci-na / -c-aina / -c-āi	etc.
1de	khata-c-ka	pa-khata -ci-m-ka	
1pi	khat-i	pa-khat -imna / -umna	
1pe	khat-i(m)-ka	pa-khat -imka / -umka	
2s	ta-khata	ta-khat -ina / -aina / -āi	
2d	ta-khata-ci	ta-khata -ci-na / -c-aina / -c-āi	
2p	ta-khat-i	ta-khat -imna / -umna	
3s	khata	pa-khat -ina / -aina / -āi	
3d	khata-ci	pa-khata -ci-na / -c-aina / -c-āi	
3p	mi-khata	pa-khat -ina / -aina / -āi	

The following rules generally hold for the basic TA-forms:

- Negation is marked by a prefix and a suffix. The negative prefix *pa-* is not realized before the 2nd person marker *ta-* due to the one-prefix-restriction (cf. inverse forms). Further, negative *pa-* replaces 3pS *mi-* of intransitive positive forms.¹⁹
- The negative suffix is *-ina*, *-aina*, *-āi* (an adaptation to Nepali?) if there is no person marker.
- Configurations involving 2nd person or 1st person inclusive plural have *-umna* or *-imna*. *-na* is dropped in exclusive forms.²⁰
- The 1st person singular has a negative infix *-n-* following the preconsonantal stem: *pa-chāi-n-unga* 'I did not know it', *pa-ca-n-āi* 'I will not eat it' (see also (49a,b)).
- There is no direction marking in negated forms. From this it follows that forms which are distinguished only through the presence or absence of *-u* or *pa-* in the positive are identical in the negative. (Note that the absence of *-u* cannot be explained by the one-prefix-restriction.)

¹⁹ As third person plural S and A (i.e. inverse *pa-*) cannot be expressed in negated forms, speakers sometimes use the suffix *-ci* instead, which in positive forms marks only 3rd person nonsingular patient. For example: *pa-t-un-c-āi* (NEG-come-NEG-3ns-NEG) 'they did not come' as negation of asserted *mi-ta* in sentence (61a), *pa-dhit-āi-c-āi* (NEG-find-NEG-3ns-NEG) 'they did not find [water]' (Jh1.29, of asserted *pa-dhūta*).

²⁰ Informants switched unsystematically between the vowels *u* and *i* in this suffix. Of the 41 LSN questionnaires from Udaypur 24 have *-imka*, 1 *-umka*, 2 *-əimka*; 3 have inclusive forms in example (a). For (b) the distribution is: 22 *-umka*, 2 *-imke* (sic!), 4 *-imna/-əimna*, 4 *-umna*.

(a) kai-ka-wa khu-lai oko cawa pa-los-imka. 'We did not sell him this paddy.'
we-e-ERG he-DAT this paddy NEG-sell-1p:NEG:e (LSN 4.10)

(b) kai-ka-wa ira-i hipatyima bunga pa-tyok-umka. 'We did not see any red flowers.'
we-e-ERG one-INDEF red flower NEG-see-1p:NEG:e (LSN 6.4)

The strong preference for *u* in the second sentence could be due to the preceding velar. (Note that the 3rd person patient marker is *-yu* ~ *-yi* after "central" consonants (see p.19), but *-u* after velars.)

	asserted		negated	
3s→3s	lod-yu	'he told him'	pa-lod-aina	'he did not tell him'
3s	ringa	'he said'	pa-ring-aina	'he did not say'
3s→1di	pa-loda-ci	'he told us(d)'	pa-loda-c-aina	'he did not tell us two'
1di→3s	loda-ci	'we(d) told him'	pa-loda-c-aina	'we(d) did not tell him'
1pi→3s	lod-u-m	'we told him'	pa-lod-imna/-umna	'we did not tell it'
1pi	ring-i	'we said'	pa-ring-imna/-umna	'we did not say'
1pe→3s	lod-u-m-ka	'we told him'	pa-lod-im-ka/-um-ka	'we did not tell it'
1pe	ring-im-ka	'we said'	pa-ring-im-ka/-um-ka	'we did not say'

Some speakers of the NW-dialect have a totally different paradigm for the imperfective, with *-ō* in forms that have no personal suffixes and *-mi* in 1st and 2nd person forms, sometimes restricted to plural.²¹ In the aorist they use *-mna* in dual forms.

3s→3s	los-yo	'he will sell it'	pa-los-ō ²²	'he will not sell it'
1pi→3s	los-u-m-e	'we will sell it'	pa-los-um-mi	'we will not sell it'
3d→3s	losa-ci	'they sold it'	pa-losa-ci-mna	'they did not sell it'

The negative counterpart of the perfect-progressive is formed by *mi-* + stem followed by an inflected form of *ngas-*.

	cf. asserted
mi-tō ngas-um-ne	tyok-u-m-ngas-u-m-ne
NEG-see STAY-1/2p:NEG-IPFV	see-3P-1/2pA-V2:STAY-3P-1/2pA-IPFV
'we haven't seen it'	

²¹ The variation can again be demonstrated with data from the LSN. In two sentences with a negated 1st person singular ('I did/could not see ...', LSN 2.9, 6.7), 17 different forms were used, which can be reduced to a few types (totally aberrant forms not taken into consideration):

	occurrences together
A) pa-√ -n -1s -mi pa-khō-n-ung-mi, pa-to-n-u-mi, pa-tek-n-o-mi ...	28
	pa-cam-n-u-mi, pa-cap-n-u-mi, pa-cap-n-ung-ni ...
B) pa-√ -n -1s -wa/ma pa-khō-n-u-wa, pa-tek-u-wa, pa-to-n-ung-ma, pa-cap-n-u-wā	13
C) pa-√ -n -1s pa-to-n-unga, pa-cam-n-unga	18
D) pa-√ -ni -1s pa-cap-ni-nga	5
E) pa-√ -1s pa-tyek-unga	2

(Form D is interesting as the 1s suffix *-nga* in this intransitive form might constitute evidence for the late generalization of *-u-nga* as 1s marker.)

²² 20 of the LSN informants translated the verb in 'he does not sell fish' with *palosō*; other forms used are: *palosaine*, *palosane*, *palosāi*.

mi-tim	ta-ngas-um-ne	ta-tips-u-m-ngas-u-m-ne
NEG-meet	2-STAY-1/2p:NEG-IPFV	2-meet-3P-1/2pA-V2:STAY-3P-1/2pA-IPFV
'you (p)	have not met him'	

2.5. Imperative, hortative, optative

The singular and dual imperatives are identical with 3rd person aorist forms; the plural and honorific form has the 2nd person plural suffix *-ni* (cf. 1→2 forms).

s	d	p	
hinga	hingaci	hingani	'sit down!'
pusa	pusaci	pusani	'go!'
rya	ryaci	ryani	'laugh!'

Transitive verbs retain the patient markers in the imperative:

ding-u	'drink it!'
los-yu	'sell it!'
id-unga	'give it to me!'

The negative imperative has the negator *mi* + preconsonantal stem followed by an imperative form of the auxiliary *da* (3P *dyo*; *da* could be cognate with the postverb *da*; see p.36).

	positive imperative	negative imperative	
itr.	khata 'go!'	mi-khai-da 'don't go!'	
	wanga 'climb up!'	mi-wō-da 'don't climb up!' (Eb94: Bal6.29)	
	rya-ni 'laugh (p)!'	mi-ri-da-ni 'don't laugh (p)!'	
tr.	mu 'do it!'	mi-m-dyo 'don't do it!' (Jh13.28)	
	cyo 'eat it!'	mi-ca-dyo 'don't eat (it)!'	

1st person patient forms have the infix *-n-* following the preconsonantal stem (cf. p. 31):

mi-sei-n-ung!	'don't kill me'	(*Jh2.104).
mi-lham-n-ung!	'don't catch me!'	(*Ha2.90)
mi-ca-n-unga!	'don't eat me'	(Eb94: Jh5.13)

Often the imperative form is followed by *-na*, *-ou* or *-kha* to make it sound more polite. The combination *-ni* + *-ou* is realized as [njou] or [neu]. See also (13), (19a,b).

- (11) de-i pɔni mi-chita-ny-ou!
 what-INDEF also NEG-leave-2p-polIMP
 'Do not leave anything!' (*Ha2.20)

- (12) ei nana, pepar kha-ida-n-na!
 INTJ e.sister cigarette 1P-give-2p-polIMP
 'Hey sister, give me a cigarette!' (Convers.)

A hortative is expressed by 1st person imperfective forms. In the following text example the speaker uses a plural form first and then corrects it to a dual.

- (13) so-so-pa-wa "khat-i-ne, syo khata-c-e" ta-lod-e-kha, "kā-na
 who-who-NML-ERG go-1/2p-IPFV INTJ go-d-IPFV 2-tell-IPFV-COND I-TOP

pucho-mo m-burhi bo," lod-yi-ki mi-khai-d-ou, chaida!
 snake-GEN his-wife PART tell-3P-SEQ NEG-go-negAUX-polIMP refuse

'If anyone tells you "Let's go! Come on, let's go!" tell him "I am the snake's wife" and don't go, refuse!' (Eb94: Jh5.29)

The optative suffix *-nyo* ~ *-nyi*²³ is very rare. All narrators used it in the myth of origin, when the ancestor god Paruhō tells Kurima what Nayima should do with the newborn children:

- (14) a. hōcha-lai layotyoni-da pak-u-nyo-nɔ ngas-yi-nyo. ɔru-ci-lai
 manchild(rit.)-DAT baby_basket-LOC put-3P-OPT-SEQ keep-3P-OPT other-ns-DAT

cōi labo-sippa-ci lam-u-nyo-nɔ tyuda im-maid-yi-c-yi-nyo.
 FOC leaf-?-ns look_for-3P-OPT-SEQ there sleep-make-3P-3nsP-3P-OPT

'Let her put manchild into a nursing basket and keep him there. As for the others, let her collect leaves and put them to sleep there.' (Jh1.45-46)

- b. tyuko m-cheikuma set-yi-nyo.
 that his-sister(of male) kill-3P-OPT
 'Let him kill his sister.' (*Nir4.9)

²³ As only 3→3 forms are attested, it is difficult to say anything about the formation, but the suffix seems to be related to *nu- / nyo* 'be/is good'. Cf. Allen (1975: 57) for a similar suggestion for the Thulung optative marker *nū*.

2.6. The reflexive paradigm

The reflexive is marked by the root extension *-umc* ~ *-unc* in the NW-dialect, *-āic* (*-āit* before the dual suffix) in the SE-dialect. The finite base marker *a* occurs on the reflexive morpheme, but in the infinitive *-nci* is attached to the infinitival suffix *-ma*.

	<i>hupma-nci</i> 'wash oneself'		
	NW	SE	
1s	hupd-umc-unga	hupd-āic-unga	'I washed myself'
1di	hupd-umca-ci	hupd-āita-ci	etc.
1de	hupd-umca-c-ka	hupd-āita-c-ka	
1pi	hupd-umc-i	hupd-āic-i	
1pe	hupd-umc-i-ka	hupd-āic-i-ka	
2s	ta-hupd-umca	ta-hupd-āica	
2d	ta-hupd-umca-ci	ta-hupd-āita-ci	
2p	ta-hupd-umc-i	ta-hupd-āic-i	
3s	hupd-umca	hupd-āica	
3d	hupd-umca-ci	hupd-āita-ci	
3p	mi-hupd-umca	mi-hupd-āica	

Text examples and a field note regarding hygiene:

- (15) a. arakha dung-ma-na daya-i ngo dha-ma-nci tire.
 liquor drink-INF-SEQ fire_place-loLOC EMPH descend-INF-REFL must
 'After drinking *arakha* we must descend to the fire place.' (Noc1.25)
- b. jhara Tharuhō-Bajuhō-dekhi mi-ras-umca-ni.
 all Terai(rit.)-from 3pS-divide-REFL-EM
 'They [the ancestors] all separated in the Terai.' (Eb94: Lal3.9)
- c. kaika i-rung hapta-da hupd-āic-i-k-e.
 we(pe) one-time seven-LOC wash-REFL-1/2p-e-IPFV
 'We wash once a week.' (Convers.)

2.7. Complex verbs

2.7.1. Compound verbs

Both verbs are inflected in a Camling compound verb — different from the common South Asian pattern, which consists of a nonfinite main verb and a finite postverb (V2). But the sequence is contracted to a certain degree: prefixes occur exclusively on V1, outer suffixes on V2. Only that part of the suffixes remains after V1 which makes a syllable together with the stem-final consonant.

1s→3s	māid-ung-kas-unga	(forget-1s-V2:TEL-1s)	'I forgot it'
1di→3s	māida-kasa-ci	(forget-V2:TEL-d)	'we forgot it'
1s→2s	māi-n-e-kai-n-e	(forget-1→2-V2:TEL-1→2-d-e-IPFV)	'I will forget you'
3s→1pe	pa-māid-i-kas-i-ka	(INV-forget-1/2p-V2:TEL-1/2p-e)	'he forgot us'
2s→1pe	ta-māid-i-kas-i-k-e	(2-forget-1/2p-V2:TEL-1/2p-e)	'you will forget us'
1pe→3ns	māid-u-m-kas-u-m-c-u-m	(forget-3P-1/2pA-V2:TEL-3P-1/2pA-3nsP-3P-1/2pA-e)	'we forgot them'

The elements after V1 cannot be analyzed as copies of suffixes. Forms like the following show that the two verbs are inflected independently. *-yu* is not a copy of *-yo*, and if *-um* were copied after *ca-* we would expect **com-*.

3s→3s	māid-yu-kas-yo	(forget-3P-V2:TEL-3P:NPT)	'he will forget it'
3s→3s	bik-u-pid-yu-c-yu	(sweep-3P-V2:give-3P-3nsP-3P)	'he swept it for them'
2s→3s	ta-c-yo-pak-u	(2-eat-3P-V2:TEL-3P)	'you ate it up'
1pe→3s	ca-m-pak-u-m-k-e	(eat-1/2pA-V2:TEL-3P-1/2pA-e-IPFV)	'we will eat it up'

The list of Camling second verbs is similar to that found for many other South Asian languages; cf. Table 6 with the list in Masica (1976: 146). As full verbs they are mainly verbs of motion or position. As second verbs they are mostly telicizers, i.e. they indicate that an event is conceived as having an inherent limit. Camling *cama* is an activity verb meaning 'eat'; the compound verb *cama-poma* 'eat up' is an accomplishment verb. Camling *imma* is an initiotransformative verb meaning both 'fall asleep' and 'sleep'. The compound verb *imma-dama* specifies the transformative meaning component 'fall asleep'.

Table 6: Postverbs

	meaning as full verb	as V2
1. <i>chud-</i>	arrive	telicizing
2. <i>chungs-/chod-</i>	send / send to	"
3. <i>da-/dyo</i>	-	"
4. <i>dha-/dhas-</i>	fall / descend	"
5. <i>khat-/khaid-</i>	go / take	"
6. <i>kas-</i>	(< throw)	"
7. <i>pak-</i>	put	"
8. <i>si-/set-</i>	die / kill	"
9. <i>ngas-/ngaid-</i>	stay, remain / keep	atelicizing
10. <i>lond-/lais-</i>	come out / take out	inchoative
11. <i>pid-</i>	(< give)	benefactive

The postverb has intransitive, transitive or bitransitive shape (cf. 2.1.2) in accordance with the main verb:

imsa-da	(sleep-V2:TEL)	'fell asleep'
bungs-yu-dyo	(heap_up-3P-V2:TEL:3P)	'heaped it up'
hors-yu-chungs-yu	(throw-3P-V2:send-3P)	'threw it'
hord-yu-chod-yu	(throw_at-3P-V2:send_to-3P)	'threw it at (someone)'

In the following I shall first comment on the telicizing postverbs and then on those with other functions. Because of limitations of space I shall give only 3rd (→3rd) person forms. For full sentences I refer to examples in other sections and to texts published elsewhere.

1. *chud-* 'arrive' and 2. *chungs-* 'send' / *chod-* 'send to somebody' keep much of their full verb meaning as V2. They signal completion of movement towards speaker and away from the speaker respectively. I found *chud-* only with motion verbs.

ta-chuda	(came - arrived)	'she arrived'	(18c)
sanga-chuda	(came up - arrived)	'she arrived from below'	(Jh11.6)
idyu-chungsyu	(gave - sent)	'she sent him away with...'	(Ms1.60)
khuidyi-chodyi	(poured - sent to)	'he poured it all over her'	(31b)

3. *da-* occurs only as V2 and corresponds largely to the Limbu 'relinquitive aspectivizer' (van Driem 1987: 121). Apart from telicizing the verb, it often indicates that someone or something stays or is left behind (see also (6b), p.28):

chityi-dyo	'she left it behind'	(29a)
pa-ngas-da	'they left it behind'	(32a)
pa-chita-da	'they left it behind'	(*Jh2.12)
horsyi-dyo	'he threw it'	(*Jh2.38)

4. *dha-/dhas-* 'fall / descend' is used in a rather straightforward way. The telicized verb in the aorist indicates that the endpoint of a downward movement was reached; *dapsyi-dhasyi* 'she pulled him down' (*Jh2.38) implies that the boy was pulled all the way down to the earth (and not just downwards).

5. *khat-* 'go' / *khaid-* 'take' and 6. *kas-* are similar in meaning, both indicating movement away from speaker and disappearance of an object. *kas-* does not occur as a finite verb in my material, but it is certainly cognate with Bantawa *kes-* 'throw away'. Both telicizers are very frequent. Some combinations, like *sya-khata* 'died(-went)', *ma-khata* 'was lost(-went)' are practically lexicalized.

wang-khata	'went into'	(29a)
pera-khata	'flew away'	
sata-khata	'slipped away'	

mobhda-kasa	'was spilled'	
i-la rapte-kase	'our language got stuck'	
mobhdyi-kasyi	'poured out, spilled'	(*Jh2.13)

horsyu-kasyu	'threw away'
khussyu-kasyu	'hid away'
setyi-kasyi	'killed her off' (66a)

7. *pak-* 'put' indicates that something is done to the end, often in such a way that the object ceases to exist (*cyo-paku* 'ate it up'). The full verb is transitive, but we are probably dealing with the same V2 in *hubda-paka* 'it was cleaned completely' (Jh6.12).

8. *si-/set-* 'die / kill': According to Masica (1976: 145) this is not an explicator verb (= V2), because in contrast to all other compounds it would be V1 that modifies V2, as in 'kill by hitting'. To my mind the translation 'hit to death' seems equally correct. The V2 indicates completion in the sense that finishing off a living being means killing it (cf. German *tot-schlagen*, lit.: 'dead-hit', where *tot-* is comparable to the prefix in *auf-essen* 'eat up').

apuy-setyu	'he shot him dead'	
waptyu-setyu	'he scratched her to death'	(Jh1.79)
caidhyi-setyi	'he beat her to death'	(31b)

9. *ngas-* 'stay, remain, keep' in V2 position is grammaticalized as a progressive-perfect marker (cf. 2.3.3). The applicative *ngaid-* keeps its literal meaning: *kyhol-ung-ngaid-ung* 'hang it and keep it for me' (*Ha2.48).

10. *lais-* 'take out' seems to have inchoative meaning, as does the corresponding Bantawa V2. I found only one occurrence in the texts:²⁴ *cityi-laisyi* 'she started to tease him' (*Ha2.5).

11. *pid-* occurs only as V2, but it is easily recognizable as an older form of the verb 'give'²⁵, which became *id-* in Camling except in V2 position. See also (43b).

chapdyu-pidyu	'he wrote it for him'
paku-pidyu	'he put it down for him'
kam maidyu-pidyu	'he worked for him'

2.7.2. Emotive verb complexes

Emotional states are expressed by an abstract noun, which refers to the emotion, followed by the auxiliary verb *lama*. The experiencer is indicated by a possessive prefix, whereas the auxiliary takes an impersonal form (cf. examples (47b), (57b), (62c)).

²⁴ 'start to' is normally expressed by *puis-* (+ infinitive), e.g. *cama puisyu* 'he began to eat it'. See also (55b).

²⁵ Cf. Athpare *pid-*, Bantawa *pid-*, Limbu *pi:r-* 'give' — all used as benefactive markers.

-sikha lama	'like, love'	kap-sikha lae	'you (s) like'
-cāima lama	'dislike, hate'	m-cāima lae	'he dislikes'
-kurma lama	'be afraid'	ic-kurma lae	'we(d) are afraid'
-bulma lama	'be/get angry'	a-bulma lae	'I am angry'
-ngaima lama	'be ashamed'	kic-ngaima lae	'they feel ashamed'

2.8. Nonfinite forms

Camling has three nonfinite verb forms:²⁶

simultaneous converb	√ + -sa
purposive	√ + -si
infinitive	√ + -ma

The simultaneous converb indicates an action performed by the same person at the same time as the action of the finite verb: *rō ca-sa hinga* 'he stayed eating rice'. The purposive occurs mainly with verbs of motion, for example:

- (16) a. wa la-si khata. 'She went to fetch water.'
 water pick-PURP go
- b. rō ca-si bana-ni! 'Come to eat (rice)!'
 rice eat-PURP come-2p

The infinitive is used as a citation form and as a noun. In questions it expresses the modal meaning 'shall':

- (17) a. de mu-ma? 'What to do?' / 'What shall we do?'
 what do-INF
- b. dosonA i-ma khana-lai? 'How shall I give it to you?' (*Jh2.36)
 how give-INF you-DAT

For nonfinite forms in subordination see section 5.1.

²⁶ There is a further form in *-sim*, the function of which is difficult to determine, as there are only a few occurrences in the texts. The form is mostly attributed to verbs like *ngalma* 'act (in a certain way)', *muma* 'do', *tirma* 'become' (see also *Jh2.64).

tyuko khram-sim khram-sim tira, tyudaka ngo imsa-da-ko raicha.
 that weep-MAN [redup] become then EMPH sleep-V2:TEL-NML REP

'He wept and wept, and finally he fell asleep.' (*Ha2.26)

In (70b) it is used like a converb. One informant uses the form Vb-Vb-*sim-sim*: *mam-mam-sim-sim ngal-sa* 'gropingly' (*mam-* 'grope'; *Ha2.67, 69). I have tentatively glossed *-sim* by MAN[NER].

3. Nominals

3.1. Nouns

3.1.1. Lexical form

Natural gender

There is no grammatical gender in Camling, but nouns denoting animates often indicate natural gender through the suffixed (more seldom prefixed) gender markers *ma* (f) and *pa* (m). The suffixes form part of indigenous kinship terms and a few animal names.

<i>kok-ma</i> / <i>kok-pa</i>	grandmother / grandfather
<i>ma-sung(-ma)</i> / <i>pa-sung(-pa)</i>	old woman / man
<i>ma-howa</i> <i>pa-howa</i>	fore-elders (ritual)
<i>misung-ma</i> / <i>misung-pa</i>	enemy
<i>wa-ma</i> / <i>wa-pa</i>	hen / rooster
<i>kutyu-ma</i> / <i>kutyu-pa</i>	female / male puppy
<i>tung-ma</i>	first daughter

Many animal names have either *-ma* or *-pa*, without there being any relation to natural sex. Cows are female, but there is only the form *pyupa*.

Noun class markers

Camling has a few noun class markers. No sharp borderline can be drawn between them and composite nouns.

-sa 'animal': *was* 'chicken, bird', *ngasa* 'fish', *rapasa* 'fish otter', *pirasa* 'deer', *sosa* 'porcupine', *lusa* (frog species). The second syllable of *bose* 'pig' could also go back to *-sa*.

-khli, *-khle* 'excrement, secretion': *wakhli* 'chicken droppings' (cf. *was* 'chicken'), *bokhli* 'pig droppings' (cf. *bose* 'pig'), *nakhle* 'snot' (cf. *nabro* 'nose'), *mikhle* 'eye pus' (cf. *micu* 'eye'), *takhle* 'brain' (cf. *ta-khlo* 'head').

-wa 'bird': *tuwa* 'pheasant', *khlaw* (bird sp.), *mōwa* (bird sp.; < *mak+wa black+bird).

-wa 'water, liquid': *bo-wa* 'soup', *mik-wa* 'tears'.

There is a suffix *-wa* in some names for plants or parts of plants, too: *sungpuwa* 'tree', *bungwa* 'flower', *labowa* 'leaf', *betikowa* 'egg plant', as well as in names for (longish?, flat?) objects: *saruwa* 'bone', *liblowa* 'small knife', *saplowa* 'money'.

Compound nouns

Compound nouns can be formed by simple juxtaposition; for example:

<i>wa-hui</i>	river (<i>wa</i> water + <i>hui</i> down)
<i>mi-dhima</i>	ashes (<i>mi</i> fire + ?)
<i>mi-cukowa</i>	black ashes

Binominal constructions

Binominal constructions are characteristic of ritual speech. In the most frequent formation a noun - which can be from everyday or from ritual language - is followed by a fantasy word with identical last syllable(s):

<i>saruwa-kuruwa</i>	bones
<i>kokma-pirima</i>	grandmother; also: ancestor spirit?
<i>mochama-khirima</i>	name of family goddess
<i>niyama-tapkuma</i>	ritual name for low, fertile land

In many formations the first word is a compound itself:

<i>cari-kha-liptikha</i>	village (<i>cari</i> 'ancestor land', <i>-kha</i> 'place')
<i>Tharuhō-Bajuhō</i>	Terai (<i>Tharu</i> - ethnic group of Terai, <i>hō</i> 'king')
<i>tōyami-nirimi</i>	man (<i>tōya</i> 'brain', <i>*mi</i> 'person')
<i>waburi-chiburi</i>	ritual offerings presented in a gourd (<i>wabu</i>)
<i>wayirō-musirō</i>	food offerings (<i>rō</i> 'rice')
<i>samori-lungmori</i>	disease

These binominal constructions differ from the typical Southasian echo formations in that there is no fixed pattern for the second element and that they are not normally used in everyday language. Also, they do not have the sense of 'and such things' (like Nep. *dhūlo-mūlo* 'dust and dirt'). Moreover, the two parts can be separated in possessive constructions or even by a verb: *m-saruwa m-kuruwa* (his-bones his-x; *Ha2.13), *m-kokma m-pirima* (his-grandmother his-x), *siki muma pori muma* (weaving do x do).

3.1.2. Derived nouns

Agentive nouns

are formed from verb stems with the suffix *-pa* in the NW-dialect, with the prefix *ka-* and optional *-pa* in the SE-dialect.

NW <i>dip-pa</i>	SE <i>ka-dip(-pa)</i>	blacksmith (beater)
<i>sip-pa</i>	<i>ka-sip(-pa)</i>	taylor
<i>khur-pa</i>	<i>ka-khur(-pa)</i>	carrier
<i>set-pa</i>	<i>ka-set(-pa)</i>	murderer, killer

The formation of agentive nouns is productive and ad-hoc constructions are frequent. The forest demon who eats the meat of her daughter Jhungma in the story of Khocilipa is referred to as *Jhungma ca-pa* 'Jhungma eater' (*Ha2.61 - NW) or *m-cha ka-ca* 'the one who eats her child' (*Jh2.61 - SE). The ancestor of the Camling, who according to the oral tradition came later to the ancestral land than the Thulung, is called *dōsi ka-sō* 'the later-

comer' (Nir4.7). Different from the corresponding *-pa* forms in neighboring Kiranti languages, the Camling agentive noun is not used in attributive position. All relative clauses are nominalizations of verbs with finite markers (see 6.2.1).

Patientive or instrumental nouns

are derived from verbs with the help of the suffix *-kha*:

<i>ca-kha</i>	food (<i>ca-</i> eat)
<i>woi-kha</i>	clothes (<i>wat-</i> wear)
<i>khyo-kha</i>	ear-rings, nose ornament (<i>khyo-</i> hang)
<i>khang-kha</i>	something to see
<i>bha-kha</i>	knife (<i>bha-</i> cut)
<i>bui-kha</i>	device for pounding rice (<i>bui-</i> pound)
<i>ngasa lhap-kha cāyu</i>	net for catching fish (<i>lhap-</i> catch),

Sometimes the formation seems to have a locational meaning: *i-po-kha i-hing-kha* 'our village' (= our sowing-place our living-place), *wa-la-kha* 'well' (*wa la-* 'scoop water'), but then it also combines with nouns. *-kha* probably originates in a nominal suffix *-kham* ('place?'), which is found only in a few expressions in ritual language, e.g. *Paru-kham* 'Paru's place'. There is also a non-productive suffix *-khu(ng)* with similar meaning, cf. *cari-khu lipti-khu* ~ *cari-kha lipti-kha* 'ancestral place' (ritual, < *cari* 'ancestral land').

3.2. Classifiers, numerals, number

Camling has only numerals 'one' to 'three' of Tibeto-Burman origin; higher numerals are borrowed from Nepali. The numerals combine with three qualifying classifiers.

numerals		classifiers	
<i>i-</i>	one	<i>-po</i>	human
<i>haka-</i>	two	<i>-li</i>	round object
<i>sum-/sim-</i>	three	<i>-ra</i>	others; neutral

for example:

<i>i-po maricha</i>	one girl
<i>haka-po mina-ci</i>	two people
<i>sim-li suntala</i>	three oranges
<i>sim-ra pyupa</i>	three cows

The functional load of the qualifying classifiers is minimal. They are not necessary for individualization, nor are they important for identifying the referent (they do not combine with demonstratives). Forms with *-ra* are winning general acceptance with all nouns (see *ira* in (18c)). The numeral 'one' also takes the invariable form *ito*.

Quantifying classifiers are exemplified in: *i-lēi haka-lēi* 'one or two days', *i-rung* 'once', *haka-rung* 'twice', *i-homa rō* 'one mana (measure) rice'. Most quantifying classifiers are loans from Nepali; they are freely combined with Camling numerals: *i-baje* 'one hour', *i-mana rō* 'one mana rice', *haka-phesa* 'two pieces' (*Ha2.32).

(18) a. nam-chaimanungma imo i-tōma-da masung rΛ pasung haka-
once_upon_a_time our(pi) our(p)-village-LOC old_woman and old_man two-

po hinga-ci-ko raicha, tyukoci-mo kic-cha-ci sim-po mi-hinga-ko
CL be-d-NML REP they-GEN their-child-ns three-CL 3pS-be- NML

raicha.
REP

'Once upon a time there lived in our village two, an old woman and an old man;
they had three children.' (*Jh2.1)

b. haka-li sim-li dha-ko raicha.
two-CL three-CL fell-NML REP
'Two or three [grains] fell down.' (Eb94: Bal6.41)

c. i-lēi-na i-ra ronambhema ta-chuda-ko raicha.
one-day-TOP one-CL R. (cannibal) come-V2:arrive-NML REP
'One day a cannibal called Ronambhema arrived.' (*Jh2.19)

Number is obligatorily marked only for human participants. Nouns as well as 3rd person pronouns and demonstratives distinguish only singular and nonsingular, the latter being marked by *-ci*. But with 1st and 2nd person pronouns the suffix *-ci* indicates dual (see below). The ambiguity of *-ci* is repeated in the verbal suffixes (cf. p. 19).

3.3. Personal pronouns and possessives

1st person pronouns are distinguished for inclusive and exclusive as well as for dual and plural. While the 2nd person also has distinct forms for dual and plural, the 3rd person has only a nonsingular. *khu* and *khuci* are restricted to referents. For nonhumans the demonstratives *uko* and *tyuko* serve as pronouns (see 3.4).

The system of possessive prefixes and of possessive pronouns is defective, there are no prefixes for exclusive nonsingular possessors. Sometimes *a-* is used as a general exclusive possessive prefix, for example *amka a-tungma* 'our village' (LSN 1.3), but informants also resort to *i-*: *amka Wachappa i-chappa* 'our Wachappa, our ancestor' (Eb94: Lal3.57). The Camling always spoke to me of *i-la* 'our language' (see (62a), (65)), certainly not including me as one of them. Only *anga* and *amka* are genuine possessive pronouns; the other forms are made up of prefix + genitive (*icmo*, *imo*) or they are genitives based on the personal pronouns (*khamo*, *khumo*).

Table 7: Personal pronouns and possessives

	pers. pron.	poss. prefixes	poss. pronouns
1s	kanga ~ kā	a-	anga
1di	kaici	ic- ~ ΛC-	icmo ~ Λcmo
1de	kΛcka		
1pi	kai(ni)	i-	imo
1pe	kaika		amka
2s	khana	kap-	khamo
2d	khaici		
2p	khaini	kai-	khaimo
3s	khu	m-	khumo
3ns	khuci	kic-	khucimo

The possessive pronouns are used as independent nominals or in prenominal position. They can be combined with a possessive prefix.

(19) a. "anga a-khim khanga-ny-ou!" /.../ "anga khō-si pusa! ..."
my my-house look-2p-pollIMP mine look-PURP go
"Look at my house!" /.../ "Go to look at mine! ..." (Eb94: Lal3.36-38)

b. aso khamo kap-lam ngas-y-ou!
now your your-road keep-3P-pollIMP
'Keep your way now!' (Noc5.32)

The prefixes are obligatory with inherently relational nouns (kinship terms, nouns denoting body parts, parts of objects), but they can also indicate material possession. The group of relational nouns includes emotions, like *a-bulma* 'my anger', *kap-kurma* 'your fear' (cf. 2.7.2), and terms that specify order, like *m-bhusi* 'the first', *m-dōsi* 'the last' (lit.: 'his back'), *m-sikimpa* 'the youngest, last born', *m-selam* 'the next day'.

3.4. Demonstratives, interrogatives and indefinites

Demonstrative pronouns are derived from the deictic roots *u ~ o* (proximate), *tyu ~ tyo* (distal)²⁷ with the help of the nominalizer *-ko* (seldom *-pa*, but cf. below). Other demonstrative forms are derived from the same roots, for example with the locative case marker *-da* (or *-dhi*, *-i*, *-ya*; cf. 3.6). The second part of the forms is not always transparent. Interrogatives often have a parallel build-up based on the interrogative roots *kho* or *do ~ de*.

²⁷ The opposition *u* : *tyu* is probably of recent origin (and reminiscent of Nepali *yo* : *tyo*). In frozen paired expressions the oppositeness is Ø (adverb) : *u-*; e.g. *hyani-ukhyani* 'here and there, to and fro'.

The distal demonstrative serves as an anaphoric device. In prenominal position the nominalizer *-ko* is sometimes elided: *tyo Khocilipa* 'that Khocilipa'.

Table 8: Demonstratives and interrogatives

deictic +PROX		-PROX		interrogative	
<i>u ~ o</i>		<i>tyu ~ tyo</i>		<i>kho</i>	
				<i>de</i>	what
<i>uko ~ oko</i>	this	<i>tyuko ~ tyoko</i>	that	<i>khoko</i>	which one
<i>uda</i>	here	<i>tyuda</i>	there	<i>khoda</i>	where
				<i>delo</i>	when
<i>oso</i>	like this	<i>tyoso</i>	like that	<i>doso</i>	how
<i>osoko</i>	one like this	<i>tyosoko</i>	one like that	<i>khosoko</i>	what type
<i>onono</i>	this much	<i>tyonno</i>	that much	<i>demno</i>	how much

A doubled interrogative has indefinite meaning: *so-so* 'whoever, anyone' (13), *de-de* 'whatever, anything', *khoni-khoni* 'wherever, anywhere' (70a).

Indefinite pronouns are also derived from interrogatives and non-personal pronouns with the suffix *-i*. A negated indefinite form is usually followed by the particle *pāni* 'also, even' (cf. (11) and fn. 20, ex. (b)). The whole construction is borrowed from Nepali.²⁸

<i>so</i>	'who'	<i>so-i</i>	'anyone'	(+ <i>pāni</i>)	+ NEG	'nobody'
<i>de</i>	'what'	<i>de-i</i>	'anything'	(+ <i>pāni</i>)	+ NEG	'nothing'
<i>ira</i>	'one'	<i>ira-i</i>	'any'	(+ <i>pāni</i>)	+ NEG	'none'

- (20) *tyuko-ci dhit-u-m-ne-nakhō si-mai-ma tire-nā pa-dhit-u-m-*
that-ns find-3P-1/2pA-IPFV-COND die-make-INF must-SEQ NEG-find-3P-1/2pA

-ne delo-i pāni.
IPFV when-INDEF also

'If we find them [special type of birds] we must kill them, but we never find them.' (Nir1.201)

Case markers and the topic marker do not attach directly to the indefinite and interrogative pronouns but require the nominalizer *-pa*. This also holds for indefinites borrowed from Nepali; see *ariko-pa-mo* 'other's' in (21c), which corresponds to Camling *khai-pa-mo* (*Jh2.5; see also *so-pa-wa* (8b), (44a,b), *so-so-pa-wa* (13)).

- (21) a. *de-pa-wa pa-chupda-ci?*
what-NML-INST INV-cover-d
'With what did they cover him?' (Lal2.27)
- b. *ito-pa-na yen-yi-ko raicha: ...*
one-NML-TOP heard-3P-NML REP
'a certain person heard ...' (Lal2.12)
- c. *ariko-pa-mo dhikki ...*
other-NML-GEN grinding_stone
'others' grinding stones' (Dib2.4)

With demonstrative pronouns *-pa* is sometimes used on top of the nominalizer *-ko*:

- (22) a. "lou, *u-ko-pa-wa-na a-cha bo set-yu,*" *rungmanā*
INTJ this-NML-NML-ERG-TOP my-child PART kill-3P QUOTE
'He must have killed my child, she thought, ...' (*Jh2.62)
- b. *khawa-wa ding-u-pana, "lou, u-ko-wa ding-u," pa-ringa-ki*
(bird)-ERG drink-3P-TEMP INTJ this-NML-ERG drink-3P INV-said-SEQ

tyu-ko-pa-mo m-lem pa-bhurda-ko raicha.
that-NML-NML-GEN his-tongue INV-twisted-NML REP

'When the khawa bird drank they said: "Look, this one drank," and they twisted his tongue around.' (Since then the khawa has a twisted tongue.) (Jh1.33)

There is a frozen ablative form of the interrogative root *kho* with a nominalizer: *kho-pa-la* 'where from' (besides the regular ablative form *khodaka*), but only *kho-da* 'where (at)' and *kho-ni* 'where to'.

3.5. Case markers

Case is marked by the following suffixes:

	<i>-wa</i>	ergative, instrumental
	<i>-mo</i>	genitive
locational:	<i>-da</i>	locative (general)
	<i>-di ~-dhi</i>	locative (higher location)
	<i>-i</i>	locative (lower location)
	<i>-ya</i>	locative (same level)
	(-LOC)- <i>ni</i>	allative
	(-LOC)- <i>ka</i>	ablative
	<i>-laka, -naka</i> (NW)	ablative

²⁸ Cf. Nepali *ko* 'who', *kohī* 'somebody, anyone', *kohī pāni* + NEG 'nobody'. The suffix *-hī* itself originally meant 'also, even'.

The Nepali "dative" marker *-lai*²⁹ is optionally used with human patients (see (43a), (44a)). Ergative and instrumental share the marker *-wa*. The ergative marker does not combine with 1st and 2nd person pronouns (cf. 4.4.2).

(23) a. *khu-wa lungto-wa pucho set-yu.*
 he-ERG stone-INST snake kill-3P
 'He killed the snake with a stone.'

b. *khana khu(-lai) ta-set-yu.*
 I he-DAT 2-kill-3P
 'You killed him.'

Possessors are marked by the genitive suffix *-mo*. An inalienable head noun should have a possessive prefix; with other nouns the prefix is optional. For further examples see (18a), (22b), (33b), (34c), (47c), (50b).

(24) a. *khu-mo m-pa-mo (m-)khim* 'his father's house'
 he-GEN his-father-GEN (his-)house

b. *ic-nicho-mo m-saruwa-ci* 'our younger brother's bones' (*Jh2.16)
 our(di)-y.sibling-GEN his-bone-ns

The locative cases serve to mark stative location or direction. The allative marker *-ni* is optional. Allative *-ni* and ablative *-ka* are suffixed to the locative case marker.

khim-da 'at/to the house'
khim-da(-ni) 'to the house'
khim-da-ka 'from the house'
kho-da-ka 'where from?'
ale-da-ka 'from today'

The ablative serves to mark source and path. In the NW-dialect the latter is also expressed by *-la(ka)* or *-naka*, which do not combine with locative *-da*.³⁰

i-la-da-ka (our-language-LOC-ABL) 'in our language, in Camling'
Sapsu-la(ka) (Sapsu-ABL) 'along the Sapsu river'
sungpuwa-dhung-naka (tree-top-ABL) 'over the tree', s. (32b)

²⁹ I adopt the term "dative", which is common for this case in descriptions of Nepali.

³⁰ Separation of *-ka* is problematic for the NW variants. *-la* and *-na* are older locative and ablative markers still to be found in several languages of the area. Cf. the isolated NW-Camling form *khopa-la* 'from where' = SE *khodaka*. I treat *-laka*, *-naka* as one suffix.

3.6. The UP-DOWN dimension

Camling shares with some other Kiranti languages³¹ a unique system of case markers indicating relative altitude: *-di* ~ *-dhi* for a location higher than the place of orientation, *-i* for a lower location, and *-ya* for a place at approximately the same altitude:

khim-dhi 'at / to the house' (at a higher altitude)
khim-i-ni 'to the house' (at a lower altitude)
khim-ya-ka 'from the house' (at the same altitude)

The opposition UP-DOWN, which is equivalent to north-south under the geographical conditions of the Himalayan slopes, is of eminent importance in Camling mythology and rituals (cf. Ebert, to appear). The barren area of the high mountains is the seat of the male ancestor gods Salapa and Paruhō and associated with poverty, but also with respect. The lowland of the Terai is the place of the female ancestor-gods Simnima and Nayima and symbolizes fertility, but also impurity. The opposition is present in many aspects of everyday life. For example, the place of the hearth and the place of honor is always in the upper section of the house (towards the mountain or north); garbage is thrown out only through the side door which faces the 'lower side', i.e. normally south. (25a,b) illustrates the opposition UP-DOWN associated with the male and female ancestor gods, indicated by altitudinal case markers.³²

(25) a. *dhalo Paruhō-di wanga. Paruhō-di wanga-pana pheri de ringa-ko*
 up P.-hiLOC climb P.-hiLOC climb-TEMP PART what say-NML
raicha? ..."oso-ko thau-i uko Nayima-Cinima hing-e."
 REP such-NML place-loLOC this N. live-IPFV

'He went up to Paruhō's place. Having climbed up to Paruhō's place, what did he say? "In such-and-such lowland-place lives a certain Nayima-Cinima."
 (Nir1.75-78)

b. *Niyama-i Tapkuma-i wa-timma-la-i-ka uko Simnima pora...*
 N.-lowLOC T.-lowLOC water-meeting-PLACE?-lowLOC-ABL this S. grow
 'Down at Niyama Tapkuma, out of the place where the waters meet, Simnima grew up ...' (Nir1.28)

(26) is from a dialogue between Hōcha, the first man, who lives UP, and Nakima, the snake king's daughter, who lives DOWN in the water.

³¹ For parallels in other Kiranti languages see Ebert (1994: 94f) and Ebert (to appear).

³² I cannot think of a better English term for these cases. German has "Höhenkasus", which is used in Mongolian studies for 'up to' (in expressions like 'up to the knee'), but the term fits much better for the Kiranti type of cases.

(26) "anga a-gaũ-di-ni khata-c-e," bhando raicha hõcha-wa. -
 my my-village-hiLOC-ALL go-d-IPFV said(Nep.) REP manchild-ERG

"aina, anga a-gaũ-i khata-c-e," bhando raicha Nakima-wa.
 no my my-village-loLOC go-d-IPFV said(Nep.) REP N.-ERG

"'Let's go up to my village,' said Manchild. - 'No, let's go down to my village,'
 said Nakima.' (Nir1.240-241)

In the myth of Khocilipa (*Jh2, *Ha2) the elder sister goes down to the Terai, the younger goes up into the mountains (cf. the NW-versions in (31c), (51a,b)).

(27) khuci i-po mādhes-i i-po himal-di wanga-ci-ko raicha.
 they one-CL lowlands/Terai-loLOC one-CL Himalaya-hiLOC climb-d-NML REP
 'The two went, one down to the Terai, one up to the Himalayas.' (*Jh2.19)

The system of altitudinal marking with nouns is in decay, many Camling speakers use only the all-purpose locative marker *-da*. The system emerges clearly from its use in texts from the SE-dialect, as demonstrated with some examples above. In the NW-dialect I have found the altitudinal cases with deictics (see below), but only one narrator, notably a shaman, used them with nouns, too. Other speakers would indicate the UP-DOWN dimension through adverbs (cf. (31)).

The altitudinal case markers combine with deictic roots or frozen nominal derivations. Only the hiLOC marker *-dhi* (*-di* is not possible here) is suffixed directly to a deictic root: *u-dhi* 'up here' and *tyu-dhi* 'up there' are formed in analogy to *u-da* and *tyu-da* (Table 8) with the all-purpose locative case marker *-da*.

Table 9: Altitudinal terms

LOC		ALL	ABL
<i>u-dhi</i>	up here	<i>u-dhi-ni</i>	<i>u-dhi-ka</i>
<i>u-kh-i</i>	down here	<i>u-kh-i-ni</i>	<i>u-kh-i-ka</i>
<i>u-kh-ya</i>	over here	<i>u-kh-ya-ni</i>	<i>u-kh-ya-ka</i>
<i>tyu-dhi</i>	up there	<i>tyu-dhi-ni</i>	<i>tyu-dhi-ka</i>
<i>tyu-kh-i</i>	down there	<i>tyu-kh-i-ni</i>	<i>tyu-kh-i-ka</i>
<i>tyu-kh-ya</i>	over there	<i>tyu-kh-ya-ni</i>	<i>tyu-kh-ya-ka</i>
<i>dha-lo</i>	up, above	<i>dha-ni</i>	<i>dhalo-ka</i>
<i>hui(-lo)</i>	down, below	<i>hui-ni</i>	<i>huilo-ka</i>
<i>hya(-lo)</i>	across, far	<i>hya-ni</i>	<i>hyalo-ka</i>

(28) a. [Khocilipa, sitting in the tree, to Ronambhema, standing below:]
 kanga **u-dhi** hing-õi, khana **huilo** ta-hing-e; dosonA i-n-e
 I this-hiLOC be-1s:IPFV you down 2-be-IPFV how give-1→2-IPFV
 thAlA?
 PART
 'I am up here and you are down there; how shall I give it to you?' (*Ha2.43)

b. [Rhonambema to Khocilipa in the tree:]
 dosonA **tyu-dhi** ta-wanga?
 how that-hiLOC 2-enter
 'How did you get up there?' (*Jh2.28)

Before the loLOC and levLOC markers *-kh* is inserted, which is probably related to the locational noun suffix *-kha* (p. 41) or some other place marker, like *-kham* (*Paru-kham-di* 'up at Paru's place', *-khung* in *chuppu(khung)* 'mortar').

(29) a. Wabuma-di wang-khata **tyu-kh-i** m-nicho chit-yi-dyo.
 W.-hiLOC enter-V2:go that-PLACE-loLOC his-y.sibling leave-3P-V2:TEL:3P
 'He [Paruhõ] went up to Wabuma and left his younger sister down there.' (Nir1.9)

b. **khai!** **u-kh-ya-ka** ta-ko thyo!
 INTJ this-PLACE-levLOC-ABL come-NML was (Nep.)
 'Khai! It has come from over here!' (Jh13.9)

The adverbs *dhalo*, *hui(lo)*, *hya(lo)* are primarily non-deictic. Like the case markers, with which they are obviously cognate, they refer to geographical areas at a higher, lower or same altitude with the point of orientation. But when transferred to the immediate surroundings, they can be used in a distal deictic sense, like *huilo* in (28a), and *hya* in the following example:

(30) **hya** lungto-dhõda hing-e.
 across stone-on be-IPFV
 'He is over there on a stone.' (*Ha2.12)

In paired expressions the proximate term is always opposed to an adverbial one: *hya-ni ukhya-ni* 'hither and thither' (47a), *hya-pa-la ukhya-pa-la* 'from this side and from that side'.

The altitudinal adverbs are locative terms, they do therefore not require the locative case marker. The ablative suffix requires the adverbial suffix *-lo*, whereas the optional allative suffix *-ni* does not combine with *-lo*. Note that the mythological names Hiyama and Salapa are used as locative nouns in (31c).

(31) a. **huilo-ka** chuid-yi-c-yi.
 down-ABL send-3P-3nsP-3P
 'She sent them from below.' (Nir1.14)

- b. *chippu-da-ka dhalo-ka khuid-yi-chod-yi-pana, si-ma rungsa-*
mortar-LOC-ABL up-ABL pour-3P-V2:send_to-3P-TEMP die-INF be_about-

pa caidh-yi-set-yi-ko raicha
TEMP hit-3P-V2:kill-3P-NML REP

'When he poured [hot oil] on her from the mortar from above and when she was almost dying, he hit her to death.' (*Jh2.51)

- c. *m-na Tōwama hui-ni Hiyama-ni wanga-ni-ko, m-nicho*
her-e.sister T. down-ALL lowlands-ALL enter-EM-NML her-y.sister

Khiyama dha-ni Salapa-ni wanga-ni-ko.
Kh. up-ALL S.-ALL enter-EM-NML

'Towama, the elder sister went down to the lowlands and Khiyama, the younger, went up to Salapa's place.' (*Ha2.101)

Attributive forms are derived with the older nominalizer *-pa* rather than with *-ko*: *dha-pa khim hui-pa khim* 'from the upper houses to the lower houses' (*Ha2.19).

3.7. Relational markers

-khida, -khiya near (a person)
-tōda near
-koya, -kuya inside
-dhungda (NW)/ -dhōda (SW) on

- (32) a. *m-romma-dhungda ito liblowa-mo sano m-cha ... pa-ngasa-da-ci.*
his-grave-on one knife-GEN small its-child INV-keep-V2:TEL-d
'Then, on his grave, they lay down a small knife ...' [i.e. a knife carried in a little slit beside the main sheath] (*Ha2.31)

- b. *sungpuwa-dhungda-ka haka-ra suga-ci pera-ci. (or: sungpuwa-dhung-naka)*
tree-on-ABL two-CL parrot-d fly-d tree-on-ABL
'Two parrots flew over the tree.' (LSN 7.5)

- c. *ʌni khana tyo Paruhō-tōda khai-ma tire.*
PART you that P.-near go-INF must
'You must go to that Paruhō.' (Jh1.16)

- d. *tin khep ghum-ba mi-la-e-nʌ mochama-khiya mi-wang-e.*
three times go_in_circle-LW 3pS-AUX-IPFV-SEQ (family god)-near 3pS-enter-IPFV

'They go three times around [the hearth] and then they go over to the family god's place.' (Noc6.37)

These relational markers are halfway grammaticalized as postpositions. They originate in combinations of a noun or nominalizing suffix and a locative case marker: *-tō-da* (head-LOC); *-khida* < *-khi* ~ *-kha* place? + *-da* LOC. The origin is no longer transparent to the average speaker, but note that the path marker *-naka* ~ *-laka* of the NW-dialect is suffixed to the nominal suffix and not to *-da* in the second variant of (32b). Only a few speakers vary in the assignment of case markers. I therefore do not split up a suffix like *-dhōda* and simply gloss it by 'on', except if a different case marker is used.

- (33) a. *dhalo khim-da wanga, khim-dhō-di wanga-ki pata-ko raicha.*
up house-LOC climb house-on-hiLOC climb-SEQ shout-NML REP
'He climbed up on the house, he climbed to the top of the house and shouted.'
(*Jh2.58)

- b. *tyuko siy-e-ko-mo m-sata lam-sa /.../ wa-ku-ya lam-sa*
that die-IPFV-NML-GEN her-soul search-SIM water-inside-levLOC search-SIM

lam-sa khai-ma-nʌ po-ma-da-ma tire. tyu-daka dhalo chum-ma
search-SIM go-INF-SEQ put-INF-V2:TEL-INF must that-after up lead-INF

tire wa-putt-e-ko-tō-di wa-lud-e-ko-tō-di, /.../
must water-spring_up-IPFV-NML-near-hiLOC water-come_out-IPFV-NML-near-hiLOC

tyu-dhi-ka pheri wa-ku-ya-ka ngo khola syom-ma-nʌ
that-hiLOC-ABL again water-inside-levLOC-ABL EMPH river follow-INF-SEQ

chum-ma hui wa-sipd-yo-ko-tō-i.
lead-INF down water-dry_up-3P:IPFV-NML-near-loLOC

'Searching for the dead's soul he [the shaman] has to go under water, searching, searching. Then he must lead it up to where the water comes out, to the spring. From up there again he has to follow the river [going] under water, and he must lead it down to where the water gets dried up.' (Nir5.27-28)

Less grammaticalized local relations are expressed by possessive constructions, for example *sungpu-mo m-bhor-da* (tree-GEN its-root-LOC) 'under the tree'.

4. Basic sentence patterns

4.1. Word order

Camling has SOV or rather APV word order. In unmarked order the actor or intransitive subject takes the initial position, a benefactor comes to stand before a patient. Modifiers, including subordinate clauses, precede the head. In accordance with areal tendencies, a numeral can sometimes follow the noun. There is in general much freedom to rearrange the elements according to communicative needs; (34a) represents an extreme case. The end of the sentence is in most cases unambiguously marked by a final particle (see 4.6). Elements occurring after the verb or the final particle are afterthoughts. Any major constituent can occur in postfinal position. See further (45) for a postposed ergative, (63c) for a postposed instrumental noun.

- (34) a. m-tō-da ch-yu-nΛ id-yu-kolyo m-tō-da-ka raichakupa-lai-na
his-hair-LOC tie-3P-SEQ give-3P-TEMP his-hair-LOC-ABL orphan-DAT-TOP

Cakhradomma-wa bokha-da dhaps-yu-dhas-yu-ni.
C-ERG earth-LOC pull-3P-V2:down-3P-PART

'When he tied it to his hair and gave it to her, the orphan was pulled by his hair and down to the ground by Cakhradomma.' (*Ha2.45)

- b. i-mana camacam chit-yu-ko raicha chuppukhung-da.

one-(measure) rice leave-3P-NML REP mortar-LOC
'She left one mana rice, it is said, in the mortar.' (*Ha2.21)

- c. bhaipa-ko m-tō hinga-ko thyo rochakupa-mo.

long-FOC his-hair be-NML was(Nep.) orphan-GEN
'His hair was long, the orphan's.' (*Ha2.51)

4.2. Locational, existential and identificational sentences

The verb *hingma* 'sit, exist, be' expresses location and existence. Possession is expressed by a possessive noun phrase with the existential verb. The negative counterparts have no verb, but the invariable particle *paina*.

- (35) a. anga a-khim hing-e. I have a house.
anga a-khim paina. I have no house.
my my-house be-IPFV/not

- b. a-challa-ci oda paina. 'My brothers are not here.' (Jh6.21)
my-brothers-ns here not

Identity statements have no copula and are negated by *aina* 'no, not'. In the predication of a quality *hingma* is optional.

- (36) uko mina anga a-nicho. 'This man is my younger brother.'
uko mina anga a-nicho aina. 'This man is not my younger brother.'
this man my my-y.sibling not

- (37) khamo kap-tō lamo hing-e. 'Your hair is long.' (Jh2.36)
your your-hair long be-IPFV

4.3. Interrogative sentences

Constituents can be questioned with the following interrogative words:

<i>de, (do)</i>	what	<i>so</i>	who
<i>delo, delΛ</i>	when	<i>khoko</i>	which
<i>denΛ</i>	why	<i>khoda</i>	where (at)
<i>demno, demnΛ</i>	how much	<i>khoni</i>	where (to)
<i>doso(nΛ)</i>	how, in which way		
<i>dosoko</i>	which, in which way		

The preferred position of the question word is before the verb or the final position in sentences without a verb. But as with word order in general, there is much freedom (cf. (44a,b)).

- (38) a. yaya denΛ khrap-e? 'Why is the child weeping?'
child why weep-IPFV
- b. khamo nung de? 'What is your name?'
your name what
- c. uko mina so? 'Who is this person?'
this person who

Yes-no questions are marked only by a rising intonation. The answer 'yes' is expressed by *ho* (= Nepali) or by asserting the questioned verb, the answer 'no' by *aina* or negation of the questioned verb.

4.4. Participant coding

4.4.1. Independent coding on nominals and verbs

Participants are coded by person-number affixes on the verb and, if necessary, by noun phrases. Pronouns are optional and used only if the speaker wants to make the reference more explicit. The verbal affixes often code more information than the nominals. 1st person pronouns have number-specific forms, but are not marked for role, which is understood from the verb.

- (40) a. kaika khat-im-ka 'we (pe) went'
 we(pe) [=itr. S] go-1pS/P-e
- b. kaika phlod-u-m-ka 'we (pe) helped him'
 we(pe) [=Actor] help-3P-1/2pA-e
- c. kaika pa-phlod-im-ka 'he/they helped us (pe)'
 we(pe) [=Patient] INV-help-1pS/P-e

Only dual verb forms, which are multiply ambiguous, can sometimes be disambiguated by a pronoun. The 3rd person pronoun *khuci*³³ is in turn disambiguated by the verb.

- (41) a. kai-ci khata-ci 'we (di) went'
 we-d go-d
- b. khu-ci khata-ci 'they (d) went'
 s/he-ns go-d
- c. khu-ci mi-khata 'they (p) went'
 s/he-ns 3pS-go

Nonsingular number is obligatorily marked only with nouns denoting humans. With nonhuman patients, the suffix *-ci* is optional on the noun, but according to my textual and elicited data nonsingular should be marked on the verb. This is not born out in the LSN data, which show variation also in the verbal marking:

- (42) a. kanga lam-da kebha nui(-ci) tyok-ung-c-unga. nonsingular marked
 I road-LOC many monkey-ns see-1s-3nsP-1s noun:17 verb:10
 'I saw many monkeys on the road.' (LSN 6.1) both:1

³³ Note that *-ci* marks

- dual with 1st and 2nd person pronouns; dual patient of 1st and 2nd person with verbs; dual actor for all persons with verbs;

- nonsingular with 3rd person pronouns and nouns; nonsingular patient of 3rd person with verbs.

- b. khana oko haka-ra suga(-ci) ta-lhap-u-ci. noun:23 verb:9
 you this two-CL parrot(-ns) 2-catch-3P-3nsP both:8
 'Did you catch these two parrots?' (LSN 3.8)

Nonsingular of actors (A and S) is obligatorily marked in my own data, but the LSN informants are not very consistent in distinguishing dual and plural participants. The marking is more systematic for human participants than for non-humans.³⁴

At most two participants can be represented in the verb (see 2.2.2). In case of conflict, participants higher on the empathy scale "1st/2nd > 3rd animate > 3rd inanimate" are preferred. With bitransitive verbs, including benefactive compounds, it is therefore the animate benefactor or goal that is indicated.

- (43) a. khana kā-lai tyoko ghari ta-id-unga.
 you I-DAT that watch 2-give-1s
 'You gave that watch to me.'
- b. wa-mo gagro anga siri-da pod-ung-pid-unga!
 water-GEN gourd my carrying_basket-LOC put_for-1s-V2:give-1s
 'Put the water jar into my carrying basket [for me].' (LSN 7.12)
- (44) a. uko-lai phakai mu-ma so-pa-wa ta-cap-u-m-ne?
 this-DAT court do-INF who-NML-ERG 2-can-3P-1/2pA-IPFV
 'Who of you can go and court him?' (Nir1.16)
- b. khai-ni maddhe so-pa-wa tyoko khim ta-m-u-m-ko?
 you-p among who-NML-ERG that house 2-make-3P-1/2pA-NML
 'Which of you has built that house?' (LSN 3.11)

³⁴ In (a) below the human actor was marked for nonsingular by all 41 informants, and the verb has the dual form in most cases. In (b) the singular, dual and plural verb forms were used with nearly equal frequency, and all three were sometimes combined with the nonsingular marker on the noun.

- (a) haka-ra cha-cl ospa sungpa-da wanga-ngasa-c-e. /mi-wang-e-ngas-e. dual: 27, pl.: 6
 two-CL child-ns just tree-LOC climb-V2:PROG-d-IPFV / 3pS-... ns marked on verb
 'Two boys are climbing the tree just now.' (LSN 3.3)
- (b) sungpuwa-dhung-naka haka-ra suga(-ci) pera / pera-cl / mi-pera. dual:13, pl.:11
 tree-top-ABL two-CL parrot-ns fly fly-d 3pS-fly
 'Two parrots flew over the tree.' (LSN 7.5)

I am not sure if all this can still be interpreted as genuine variation or if it is a sign of decay. The six informants who used the plural form in (a) do not seem to have dual forms in their repertoire at all. In (b) the same informants used partly *mi-*, partly singular forms. Eight of the eleven informants who had *mi-* in (b) used the dual form in (a).

Out of the 41 informants of the LSN questionnaires for Udaypur district 38 marked the second person plural on the verb in (44b). Only three let the verb agree in the 3rd person with *so* 'who' (as in the Nepali model sentence). In the following sentence the patient of the main clause is identical with the S of the headless relative clause; but the verb of the relative clause is in the 3rd person intransitive form, that of the main clause is in the 1st person patient form.

(45) daka tyuda khim-da mi-hing-e-ko-ci-lai rairewa-kukuwa
then there house-LOC 3pS-live-IPFV -NML-p-DAT (rit.)

kha-maid-e nochung-wa.
1P-make-IPFV shaman-ERG

'Then the healer performs the *rairewa-kukuwa* ritual for us, who live in the house.' (Jh17.25)

The concept of "agreement" does thus not apply to the Camling verb. Nor do the verbal markers or case marking motivate the postulation of a grammatical category "subject".

4.4.2. Case marking

Camling is morphologically a split ergative language. 3rd person actors are marked ergatively, whereas 1st and 2nd person actors have no case marker. This holds at least for traditional Camling. The LSN data show a few ergative markers with 1st and 2nd person actors, more in the aorist than in the imperfective. This suggests Nepali influence, where the ergative is largely restricted to perfective tenses. The patient remains unmarked in Camling, and so does the subject of an intransitive clause.

- (46) a. kanga khana lo-na. 'I told you.'
I you tell-1→2
- b. khana khu ta-loda? 'Did you tell him/her?'
you s/he 2-tell
- c. khu-wa kaini pa-lod-i. 'She told us.'
s/he-ERG we(pi) INV-tell-1/2p
- d. khu khim-da khata. 'She went home.'
s/he house-LOC go

It is, however, very common to mark an animate patient with the borrowed case marker *-lai*. This involves no changes in the rest of the system:

- a'. kanga khana(-lai) lo-na. 'I told you.'
c'. khu-wa kaini(-lai) pa-lod-i. 'She told us.'

Thus case marking does not depend on notions like "subject" and "object". The only subject-like properties are to be found in nonfinite clause combining.

4.5. Topic and focus markers

Topic is marked by *-na* (sometimes *-lo* ~ *lyo* or *-lona*³⁵). Topic marking is mostly optional, as topicality is already indicated by the initial position in the clause. A topic marker is preferred if there is a topic change (47a) or if the topic of a question is taken up in the answer (47b). The topic marker can follow a case marker. In (47c) the topic is Khliyama and not her bones.

- (47) a. kic-nicho-lai bowa mu-ma-na i-ma-lai rō pa-ma-ci-kona
their-y.brother-DAT soup make-INF-SEQ give-INF-DAT rice INV-make-d-TEMP
- khu-na m-sikha la-na hya-ni ukh-ya-ni ngal-hoda ...
he-TOP his-happyness AUX-SEQ across-ALL here-levLOC-ALL move-AMB

'When they cooked rice in order to make soup for their little brother, he was happy and moved hither and thither ...' (*Jh2.13)

- b. rō khoda hing-e? - rō-na khlipa c-yo.
food where be-IPFV food-TOP dog eat-3P
'Where is the meat?' - 'The dog ate it.' (Convers.)
- c. Khliyama-mo-na m-saruwa matrai hinga-ko raicha.
Kh.-GEN-TOP her-bones only stay-NML REP
'Of Khliyama only the bones remained.' (Lal2.61)

It is very common to have a topic marker with sentence adverbs and with adsentential clauses (see 5.2.4).

- (48) ale-na kai-na i-sai-si bo mi-pusa-ko thalal.
today-TOP we(pi)-TOP our(pi)-kill-PURP PART 3pS-set_out-NML PART
'Today, as for us, they apparently set out in order to kill us.' (Dib5.2)

³⁵ *-lo* is probably cognate with the adverbial (manner) subordinator (see 5.2.2). A suffix *-lo* is found with various functions in most Kiranti languages. In the eastern languages Bantawa, Athpare, and Limbu it is a manner subordinator, in Limbu it also indicates simultaneity. Bantawa *-lo* is also a topic marker. The northwestern languages Thulung and Khaling have a temporal subordinator *-lo*.

There is a special construction to stress the certainty of a statement. The verb is preposed in infinitival form with a topic marker and followed by a finite form of the same verb. This construction is often used in a formula at the beginning of a narration:

- (49) a. *le-ma-na* *jhara pa-le-n-ṣi-nakhō* *paṇi pichanda*
 know-INF-TOP all NEG-know-NEG-1s:IPFV-COND even little
tat-ṣi.
 bring-1s:IPFV
 'Although I surely do not know everything I shall bring (=tell) a little.' (Jh1.3)

- b. *cam-ma-na kā cap-ṣi,* *wa-ku-i* *yung-ma pa-cap-n-ṣi.*
 can-INF-TOP I can-1s:IPFV water-inside-loLOC stay-INF NEG-can-NEG-1s:IPFV
 'Sure I can [make the go-in-between], but I cannot stay down in the water.'
 [the *totemi* bird says; so the crab has to go. The sentence is from the mythology of creation and the continuation of (44a)] (Nir1.17)

The focus marker *-ko*, identical with the nominalizer,³⁶ is used with nominal predicates:

- (50) a. *pa-i-na-n-e,* *uko a-rō-ko.*
 NEG-give-1→2-NEG-IPFV this my-food-FOC
 'I don't give you any, this is my food!' (*Jh2.34)
- b. *Khocilipa-mo m-na-ci haka-po hinga-ci-ko thyo; tungma-ko*
 Kh.-GEN his-e.sister-ns two-CL be-d-NML was(Nep.) eldest-daughter-FOC

Tōwama ra m-nicho Khliyama.
 T. and her-y.sibling Kh.

'Khocilipa had two elder sisters; Tuwama was the eldest daughter, and Khliyama her younger sister.' (*Ha2.1)

Contrastive focus is marked by *cṣi* (= Nepali *cāhī*), sometimes after both nouns, sometimes after the second noun of a contrasted pair (see also *Jh2.40).

- (51) a. *Tuwama Tharuhō-Bajuhō pusa-ko raicha, Khliyama cṣi "dibung-da*
 T. Terai (rit.) go-NML REP Kh. FOC mountain-LOC

hing-ṣi," runga-na tupsungma-malungma-da hinga-ko raicha.
 stay-1s:IPFV say-SEQ mountains (rit.)-LOC stay-NML REP

'Tuwama went to the Terai, but Khliyama said "I will stay in the mountains," and she stayed in the mountain wilderness.' (Lal2.45)

- b. *Khliyama cṣi bhot, Tuwama cṣi hui madhes wang-khata.*
 Kh. FOC north/Tibet T. FOC down lowlands enter-V2:go.
 'Khliyama went north, Tuwama went down to the lowlands.' (Dib2.35)

Sometimes *cṣi* just seems to give some emphasis to the preceding noun.

Additive focus is indicated by the particle *paṇi* 'also, even'; restrictive focus by the particle *mattraī* (SE *matṭai*) 'only' (see (47c)). Both particles are borrowed from Nepali.

4.6. Sentence-final markers

Camling sentences seldom end in a verb, especially if the verb form is rather short, but are usually rounded off by some particle or clitic. The sentence-final report particles *raicha* [rəjtsə] ~ [rətsə] and (*a*)*re* characterize narrative texts and can be repeated sentence after sentence. They indicate that the speaker knows the event only from hearsay. Sentences are embedded as nominalized complements to *raicha* (see *Jh2 throughout). With *are* nominalization is optional.

- (52) a. *i-ra mina jal am-si khata-ko raicha.*
 one-CL man net throw-PURP go-NML REP
 'A man went fishing, it is told.' (Jh15.1)
- b. *Paruhō-na "doso ngalma thala?" ringa-ko are.*
 P.-TOP how act PART say-NML REP
 'Paruhō thought: "How shall I go about it?"' (Ms1.11)

Both *raicha* and *are* have been borrowed from Nepali, but are used somewhat differently from their source. Nepali *re* is a quote particle; Nepali *rahecha* indicates that the speaker has just become aware of the fact he is reporting.

The clitic *ni* (also borrowed from Nepali) basically marks facts that cannot be doubted. As a sentence-final marker it is often followed by the nominalizer *-ko* (see (31c)). In actual use, there is not much difference between *raicha* and *ni* in narratives, the distribution being due to individual preference rather than to semantics. Informant Jh. uses *raicha* throughout the "Story of Khocilipa", Ha. starts with *raicha* and then switches to *ni* (see texts in LW/T 11). *raicha* cannot, however, be used outside of reports.

4.7. Nominalization

The nominalizer *-ko* is one of the most frequent morphemes in Camling. Any verb, sentence or adverbial can be nominalized and any nominalized form can stand as a noun or as an attribute (cf. adnominal clauses in 5.2.1).

³⁶ Cf. Mandarin Chinese *de*, which is also a nominalizer, attributivizer and focus marker.

(53) a. ase-ko (dum) pheri rungma?

yesterday-NML story again say
'Shall I tell yesterday's (story) again?'

b. khim mi-hing-e-ko mina-ci-lai id-yu. = khim mi-hinge-ko-ci-lai idyu.

house 3pS-stay-IPFV-NML person-ns-DAT give-3P
'He gave it to those in the house.'

Moreover, the whole sentence can be nominalized, i.e. nominalized verbs can stand in the place of the finite verb. The function of the nominalizer is then to focus on the whole utterance.³⁷ Affirmative nominalized sentences are frequent in lively speech and especially in dialogue.

(54) kho-ni ta-khat-e-ko?

which-ALL 2-go-IPFV-NML
'Where are you going?' (cf. Nep. kahā jāne?)

There are not many sentence-final nominalizers in this volume as most examples are taken from narrative texts and end in a report particle. The nominalizer before *raicha* may originally have had focussing value, but as it is obligatory (now), it cannot be assigned a pragmatic function.

The Camling nominalized verbs are reminiscent of participles in Nepali (and elsewhere). Both constitute relative clauses, form a perfect together with the copula, and occur in finite position. The Nepali sentence corresponding to (54) has the future participle *jāne*. I do not know if the resemblance between the Camling nominalizer *-ko* and the Nepali past participle ending *-eko* has played a role in the assimilation of the functions. It is not necessary to assume Nepali influence, as there are parallels inside Sino-Tibetan for nominalizers that also indicate focus, both of constituents and of the whole sentence (cf. fn. 35), and nonfinite forms in finite function are a characteristic trait of Central Asian languages. The influence is more likely to have gone in the other direction.

5. Clause Combining

Subordinate clauses are preposed in Camling and the subordinator takes the clause-final position. A few types of clauses have nonfinite verb forms — i.e. without finite tense and person markers — but in most clauses the verb is not reduced.

5.1. Nonfinite clauses

Nonfinite clauses are usually based on subject identity, i.e. the unexpressed A/S of the reduced clause is identical with A/S of the main clause. The only exception I found is (57b).

Infinitive clauses are complements to modal, evaluative, or phasal verbs. In all examples I found in the texts there is A/S identity.

(55) a. huilo lum ti-ma tir-e. lum ti-ma-nɿ tyu-daka huilo chailungma
below grave dig-INF must-IPFV grave dig-INF-SEQ that-after below flat_stone

thung-ma tir-e,
spread-INF must-IPFV

'Down there we must dig a grave. We must dig a grave and then down there we must spread a (huge flat) rock, ...' (Noc5.26-27)

b. kham-ma puis-yi-ko raicha.

weep-INF start-3P-NML REP
'He started weeping.' (*Jh2.14).

The purposive is mainly used in connection with motion verbs. A person goes somewhere in order to do something (see also *Jh2.12, 40; *Ha2.26). The patient is indicated by a possessive prefix (see also (48)).

(56) a. rō ca-si bana-ni!
rice eat-PURP come-2p:IMP
'Come to eat!' (Convers.)

b. ira mina jal am-si khata-ko raicha.

one man fishing_net aim-PURP go-NML REP
'A man went fishing (with a net).' (Jh7.1)

c. kaika kap-la-si ta-i-k-e.

we(pe) your(s)-pick-PURP come-1/2p-e-IPFV
'We will come to pick you up.' (Nir1.74)

The purposive clause is quite easily postposed. (57b) is unusual, as it shows a postposed purposive with ergative syntax in a temporal clause.

³⁷ See Bickel 1995 for a detailed argument concerning the Belhare nominalizer.

- (57) a. pasung khata-ko raicha sung khom-si.
old_man go-NML REP wood cut-PURP
'The old man went to cut firewood.' (Jh5.8)
- b. [Nayima wants to see Paruhō before marrying him:]
Paruhō khata-ko raicha khō-si-kona m-cāima la-ko raicha
P. go-NML REP look-PURP-TEMP her-disgust AUX-NML REP
Nayima.
N.
'When Paruhō went to be looked at, Nayima found him disgusting.' (Jh1.17)

The simultaneous converb describes an action accompanying the action expressed by the main verb, which is most often a verb of motion or rest. There is necessarily subject identity. The converb is often reduplicated. (See also (33b), (70a), *Jh2.12, 21, 55, 83; *Ha2. 19).

- (58) m-nicho lam-sa lam-sa khata-ko khō-sa khō-sa wa-da khō-sa
her-y.brother search-SIM go-NML look-SIM water-LOC look-SIM
khata, ...
go
'She went searching searching for her younger brother, looking she went by the water, ...' (Jh7.8-9)

5.2. Nonreduced clauses

5.2.1. Adnominal (relative) clauses

Clauses nominalized by *-ko* are attributed as relative clauses or constitute headless relative clauses. The noun which is coreferential with the head noun is deleted in the clause. In (59) we get a preposed topicalized patient with a relative clause.

- (59) i-ra khopra-da wa hinga + wa-na khawa-wa ding-u-ko raicha.
one-CL hole_in_tree-LOC water be water-TOP (bird)-ERG drink-3P-NML REP
'there was water in a hole in the tree' 'the water, the khawa bird drank it'
- > i-ra khopra-da hinga-ko wa-na khawa-wa ding-u-ko raicha.
one-CL hole_in_tree-LOC be-NML water-TOP (bird)-ERG drink-3P-NML REP
'The water that was in the hole of a tree, the khawa bird drank it.' (Jh1.32)

The following examples show the possibilities of relativizing different constituents; in (a) it is the actor that is relativized, in (b) the patient, in (c) a locative complement.

- (60) a. m-cha lais-yu-ko wama cahi-ba la-e.
her-child take_out-3P-NML hen need-LW AUX-IPFV
'A hen which has hatched out chickens is needed.' (Nir5.8)

- b. mahowa-pahowa-ci pa-tata-ko dim-ci
fore-elders(rit.)-ns INV-bring-NML story-ns
'the stories that the fore-elders brought' (Jh1.2)
- c. ras-umca-c-ko nung
divide-REFL-d-NML year
'the year in which the two separated' (Lal2.66)

(61a,b) illustrate a headless relative clauses. A pronominal head remains inside the clause (c).

- (61) a. oko sum-po-ci chuid-unga-ko pa-t-un-c-āi.
this three-CL-ns send-1s-NML NEG-come-NEG-3ns-NEG
'The three I sent did not arrive.' (Lal2.112)
- b. bata cahi-ba la-e, arakha pa-m-e-ko tyuko bata ...
(vessel) need-LW AUX-IPFV liquor INV-make-IPFV -NML that
'A special vessel is needed, one in which liquor is made, that vessel ...' (Nir5.19)
- c. tyuko khur-yu-ngas-yu-ko hors-yu-ko raicha.
that carry-3P-V2:STAY-3P-NML throw-3P-NML REP
'He threw away what he was carrying.' (Jh8.16)

5.2.2. Ad-verbal (manner) clauses

Manner clauses, marked by *-lo*, specify the way in which an action is carried out. They are attributed to the verb — hence "ad-verbal" — and consequently take the position before the verb.

- (62) a. i-la kun-e-lo ta-pils-e.
our-language beautiful-IPFV-MAN 2-speak-IPFV
'You speak our language well.' (Convers.)
- b. m-dhar wot-e-lo dhaid-āi.
his-neck break-IPFV-MAN throw-1s:IPFV
'I will throw (the stone) in such a way that his neck breaks.' (Jh11.11)
- c. misoma-mithoma i-kurma la-e-lo ta-e-ko raicha.
witch our-fear AUX-IPFV-MAN come-IPFV -NML REP
'The witch comes in such a way that we are frightened.' (Jh13.20)

-lo clauses attributed to *tir-* 'become' or *mu-* 'make' indicate that a person or thing gets into a certain condition:

- (63) a. *rhota-lo tira m-kurma-wa.*
 be_diarrhetic-MAN become his-fear-INST
 'He got diarrhea with his fear.' (Jh10.15)
- b. *m-runema laida-na hōpa-kasa-lo tira.*
 his-sweat come_out-SEQ tire-V2:TEL-MAN become
 'He sweated and he got tired.' (Jh10.12).
- c. *m-cha-ci pani pora-lo mu-ko raicha.*
 his-child-ns also grow-MAN make-NML REP
 'He [the jackal] made his children grow.' (Jh8.19)

Cf. also: *beli lhode-lo mu* 'he made the oil boil' (*Jh2.49, 50, *Ha2.53), *wa hōsa-lo mu* 'he made the water dry up' (Jh1.22).

5.2.3. Conditional and concessive clauses

Conditional clauses are marked by the suffix *-khō*, in the SE-dialect also by *-nakhō* (cf. (7b), (13), (20b)). *nakhō* can like English *if not* stand by itself in paired clauses of the type *If ... If not ...* (*Ha2.37-39).

- (64) *kā-lai cōi kaliya ta-tir-e-na ta-khat-e-khō, Nayima*
 I-DAT FOC go-in-between 2-become-IPFV-SEQ 2-go-IPFV-COND N.
kha-ta-khud-āin-e-khō, i-patti-ko kap-labetung wot-ōi kou!
 1P-2-bring-NEG-IPFV-COND one-side-GEN(Nep.) your-wing break-1s:IPFV INTJ
 'If you will act as a go-in-between for me, if you don't bring Nayima to me, I shall break one of your wings!' (Jh1.13)

The Nepali particle *pani* 'also, even' following the conditional marker yields a concessive meaning (cf. (49a)).

- (65) *also jhara i-la-da-ka mi-pils-e-nakhō pani ling-la*
 nowadays all our-language-LOC-ABL 3pS-speak-IPFV-COND even brahmin-language
pa-hol-e.
 INV-mix-IPFV
 'Nowadays all, even if they speak our language, they mix with Nepali.' (Convers.)

5.2.4. Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are most often marked by *-pana*, *-palo(na)*, *-palyo*. The subordinator consists of an old nominalizer followed by a topic marker. One can also find the productive nominalizer *-ko* instead of *-pa* (see *-kona* in (57b), *Ha2.28; *-kolyo* in (34d)). The combination with the topic marker is almost automatic, and I therefore gloss the combined suffix as TEMP (see also (22b), (25a)). However, in a generic or hypothetical setting no topic marker seems to be possible; cf. (3b), (66b).

- (66) a. *Saphopte-wa-na Khliyama-lai-na cityi-palona m-ghitro-da*
 S.-ERG-TOP Kh.-DAT-TOP tease-3P-TEMP his-neck-LOC
khro-na set-yi-kas-yi-ko raicha.
 bite:3P-SEQ kill-3P-V2:TEL-3P-NML REP

'Saphopte, when she annoyed him, bit Khliyama in the neck and killed her off.'
 (Lal2.56)

- b. *also syiraha-ci ca-m-ne-pa i-sinyo lond-e, paina?*
 always sour-ns eat-1/2pA-IPFV-TEMP our-saliva come_out-IPFV not
 'Always when we eat sour things our saliva comes out, doesn't it?' (Dib2.90)

Anteriority can be explicitly expressed by the locative-cum-ablative marker *-daka* (see (also 7b)) or by the suffix *-hemo* ~ *-hema(ka)*. Both can be followed by a topic marker *-na* or *-lo* without any significant change in meaning. All anterior subordinators, with or without topic marker, will be glossed as 'after' (cf. also *tyu-daka(na)* 'after that'). Anterior clauses can often be interpreted as reason clauses.

- (67) a. *pa-tata-ci-hemona kic-bhai kic-nicho-lai bowa pa-ma-ci-na*
 INV-bring-d-after their-brother their-y.sibling-DAT soup INV-make-d-SEQ
pa-ida-ci-ko raicha.
 INV-give-d-NML REP

'Having brought it home, they prepared soup for their younger brother.' (*Jh2.6)

- b. *uileko tyiso mi-ringa-daka i-ma ngo parne khu-lai ngo.*
 earlier thus 3pS-say-after give-INF EMPH must(Nep) he-DAT EMPH
 'As they had said so earlier, they had to give [their daughter] to him.' (Eb94: Bal 6.4)

I have not found posterior clauses nor simultaneous clauses except for those expressed with the converb in *-sa*.

5.2.5. Sequence clauses

A sequence of events is marked by the suffix *-nA* following a finite verb, as in (63c), (64), (66a). Unlike other subordinators in nonreduced clauses, *-nA* can also link infinitives (47a).³⁸ Speakers of the SE-dialect use *-ki* more often than *-nA* (ex. (33a)) or both linkers together (see *-kinA* in ex. (22)). The clauses are usually connected on the basis of identical subjects, i.e. one finds sequential constructions with S=S, A=A, and S=A. In one case of A/S≠A the narrator repairs this apparent performance error:

- (68) ... khu paṇi lam-u-ki phuida-nA khaid-yi-ko raicha, wahui-wa
s/he also search-3P-SEQ jump-SEQ take-3P-NML REP river-ERG

khaid-yi-ko raicha.
take-3P-NML REP

She also searched and jumped and it carried her away; the river carried her away.'
(*Jh2.80)

In my text material I found a few examples which could possibly be interpreted as instances of ergative syntax (see also (2a)):

- (69) capca-lai paṇi guleli-wa ap-u-nA tupsung-malungma-da wanga.
tiger-DAT also arrow-INST shoot-3P-SEQ mountains (rit.)-LOC enter
'[He=man] shot with his arrow at the tiger and [the tiger] went into the mountain wilderness.' (Lal1.20)

It is, however, difficult to argue on the basis of pronoun deletion in a language where pronouns are optional. Pronouns are often omitted even if ambiguities arise. The interpretation 'he [=man] ran into the jungle' is theoretically also possible for (69).

5.3. Correlative clauses

In correlative linking the first clause has an interrogative word, the second a demonstrative (see also (2c)).

- (70) a. dakana pasung-wa sung khop-u-ki kho-ni kho-ni lamt-e tyuda-
then old_man-ERG wood cut-3P-SEQ where-ALL where-ALL walk-IPFV there

³⁸ The status of *-nA* is somewhat unclear. It mostly corresponds to the sequential converb ("conjunctive participle") in other Southasian languages, for example Nepali *-era*. But it also seems to have functions similar to Nepali *ra* 'and'. It does not, however, coordinate noun phrases, which are simply juxtaposed (if not linked by Nepali *ra*, as in (50b)).

- ni tyuda-ni nhai-sa nhai-sa uko pucho paṇi ta-e-ko³⁹ raicha.
ALL there-ALL follow-SIM follow-SIM this snake also come-IPFV-NML REP

'Then the old man cut wood and wherever he would go, there the snake would come, too, following him.' (Eb94: Jh5.14)

- b. wui-sim wui-sim demno kholai tir-e tyonno kholi-di
run-MAN run-MAN how_much dawn become-IPFV that_much jungle-hiLOC

wang-e-ko raicha.
enter-IPFV-NML REP

'Running, running, the more it dawned, the deeper he ran up into the jungle.'
(Jh12.26)

5.4. Quote clauses

Another person's words or thoughts are usually rendered in the form of direct speech. The deictic elements have the perspective of the person who speaks or thinks. The reported content is embedded to a finite illocutionary verb, optionally preceded by a sequential or converbal form of the general speech act verb *rungma* 'say, utter, think' (cf. Nepali *bhan-era bhanyo*).

- (71) a. Ram-wa "selama ta-khat-e" runga-nA / runga-sa sen-unga.
R.-ERG tomorrow 2-go-IPFV say-SEQ say-SIM ask-1s
'Ram asked me: "Are you going tomorrow?"'
or: 'Ram asked me whether I would go the next day.'

- b. Paruhō-na "doso ngalma thAlA?" ringa-ko are.
P.-TOP how act PART say-NML REP
'Paruhō thought: "How shall I go about it?"' (Ms1.11)

The general speech act verb is to some degree grammaticalized as a complementizer in the form *rungma ~ rungmapa*. I then gloss it as QUOTE. For a more detailed description see Ebert (1986).

- (72) "a-kurungpa" rungma pa-chōit-aina, Saphopte-wa paṇi "a-cyodum-ci"
my-mat.uncle QUOTE NEG-know-NEG S.-ERG also my-niece-ns

³⁹ I hear *ta-ko* on the tape, but the narrative was told at a formidable speed, and many words were difficult to identify even for my field assistant.

rungma pa-chəit-aina.

QUOTE NEG-know-NEG

'She [Khliyama] did not know that he was her uncle, and Saphopte did not know that they were his nieces.' (Lal2.46)

In the presentation of the texts I shall set off reported speech by quote markers, although beginning and end are not always easy to determine, and there are many instances of semi-indirect discourse.

Appendix: Verbal paradigms

A1: Intransitive paradigm

	aorist	imperfective
1s	-unga	-ṣi
1de	-c-ka	-c-k-e
1pe	-i(m)-ka	-i(m)-k-e
1di	-ci	-c-e
1pi	-i	-i-ne
2s	ta-	ta- -e
2d	ta- -ci	ta- -c-e
2p	ta- -i	ta- -i-ne
3s		-e
3d	-ci	-c-e
3p	mi-	mi- -e

Intransitive paradigm: *khat-*, *khaima* 'go'

	aorist	
1s	khatunga	I went
1di	khataci	we two (& you) went
1de	khatacka	we two (not you) went
1pi	khati	we all (& you) went
1pe	khati(m)ka	we all (not you) went
2s	takhata	you (s) went
2d	takhataci	you two went
2p	takhati	you all went
3s	khata	he/she went
3d	khataci	they both went
3p	mikhata	they all went
	imperfective	
1s	khatṣi	I will go
1di	khatace	we two (& you) will go
1de	khatacke	we two (not you) will go
1pi	khatine	we all (& you) will go
1pe	khati(m)ke	we all (not you) will go
2s	takhate	you (s) will go
2d	takhatace	you two will go
2p	takhatine	you all will go
3s	khate	he/she will go
3d	khatace	they both will go
3p	mikhate	they all will go

A2: Transitive paradigm

		aorist			
		NW-dialect		SW-dialect	
1→2s		-na			
→2d		-na-ci			
→2p		-na-ni			
1s→3s		-unga			
→3ns		-ung-c-unga			
1di→3		-ci			
1de→3		-c-ka			
1pi→3		-u-m			
→3ns		-u-m-c-um			
1pe→3s		-u-m-ka			
→3ns		-u-m-c-um-ka			
2s→3s	ta-	-u			
→3ns	ta-	-u-c-yu			
2d→3	ta-	-ci			
2p→3s	ta-	-u-m			
→3ns	ta-	-u-c-um			
2→1s	ta-	-unga	2s→1	kha-ta-	
2→1de	ta-	-c-ka	2d→1	kha-ta- -ci	
=2d→1e					
2→1pe	ta-	-i(m)-ka	2p→1	kha-ta- -i	
=2p→1e					
3→1s	pa-	-unga	3s→1	kha-	
3→1di	pa-	-c-i	3d→1	kha- -ci	
3→1de	pa-	-c-ka	3p→1	kha-mi- -i	
3→1pi	pa-	-i			
3→1pe	pa-	-i(m)-ka			
3-2s	ta-				
3-2d	ta-	-ci			
3-2p	ta-	-i			
3s→3s		-u			
→3ns		-u-c-yu			
3d→3	pa-	-ci			
3p→3	pa-				

imperfective

		NW-dialect	SE-dialect
1→2s		-n-e	
→2d		-na-c-e	
→2p		-na-n-e	
1s→3s		-ōi	
→3ns		-ōi-c-ōi	
1di→3		-c-e	
1de→3		-c-k-e	
1pi→3		-u-m-ne	
→3ns		-u-m-c-um-ne	
1pe→3s		-u-m-k-e	
→3ns		-u-m-c-um-k-e	
2s→3s	ta-	-yo	
→3ns	ta-	-o-c-yo	
2d→3	ta-	-c-e	
2p→3s	ta-	-u-m-ne	
→3ns	ta-	-u-m-c-um-ne	
2→1s	ta-	-ōi	2s→1 kha-ta- -e
2→1de	ta-	-c-k-e	2d→1 kha-ta- -c-e
=2d→1e			
2→1pe	ta-	-i(m)-k-e	2p→1 kha-ta- -i-ne
=2p→1e			
3→1s	pa-	-ōi	3s→1 kha- -e
3→1di	pa-	-c-e	3d→1 kha- -c-e
3→1de	pa-	-c-k-e	3p→1 kha-mi- -e
3→1pi	pa-	-i-ne	
3→1pe	pa-	-i(m)-k-e	
3→2s	ta-	-e	
3→2d	ta-	-c-e	
3→2p	ta-	-i-ne	
3s→3s		-yo	
→3ns		-o-c-yo	
3d→3s	pa-	-ci	
3p→3s	pa-	-e	

Transitive paradigm: *lod-l loma* 'tell'

aorist

	NW dialect		SE dialect	
1→2s	lona	I/we told you		
→2d	lonaci	I/we told you two		
→2p	lonani	I/we told you all		
1s→3s	lodunga	I told him/her		
→3ns	lodungcunga	I told them		
1di→3	lodaci	we (I & you) told him/them		
1de→3	lodacka	we (I & he) told him/them		
1pi→3s	lodum	we (& you) told him		
→3ns	lodumcum	we (& you) told them		
1pe→3s	lodumka	we (not you) told him		
→3ns	lodumcumka	we (not you) told them		
2s→3s	talodyu	you told him		
→3ns	talodyucyu	you told them		
2d→3	talodaci	you two told him/them		
2p→3s	talodum	you all told him		
→3ns	talodumcum	you all told them		
2→1s	talodunga	you told me	2s→1 khataloda	you told me/us
2→1de	talodacka	you told us two	2d→1 khatalodaci	
=2d→1e		you two told me/us		
2→1pe	talodimka	you told us all	2p→1 khatalodi	
=2p→1e		you all told us		
3→1s	palodunga	he/they told me	3s→1 khaloda	he told me/us
3→1di	palodaci	he/they told us two (you & me)	3d→1 khalodaci	
3→1de	palodacka	he/they told us two (him & me)	3p→1 khamiloda	
3→1pi	palodi	he/they told us all (& you)		
3→1pe	palodimka	he/they told us all (not you)		
3→2s	taloda	he/they told you		
3→2d	talodaci	he/they told you two		
3→2p	talodi	he/they told you all		
3s→3s	lodyu	he told him		
→3ns	lodyucyu	he told them		
3d→3	palodaci	they both told him/them		
3p→3	paloda	they all told him/them		

imperfective

	NW dialect		SE dialect	
1→2s	lone	I/we will tell you		
→2d	lonace	I/we will tell you two		
→2p	lonane	I/we will tell you all		
1s→3s	lodōi	I will tell him/her		
→3ns	lodōicōi	I will tell them		
1di→3	lodace	we (I & you) will tell him/them		
1de→3	lodacke	we (I & he) will tell him/them		
1pi→3s	lodumne	we (& you) will tell him		
→3ns	lodumcumne	we (& you) will tell them		
1pe→3s	lodumke	we (not you) will tell him		
→3ns	lodumcumke	we (not you) will tell them		
2s→3s	talodyo	you will tell him		
→3ns	talodyocyo	you will tell them		
2d→3	talodace	you two will tell him/them		
2p→3s	talodumne	you all will tell him		
→3ns	talodumcumne	you all will tell them		
2→1s	talodōi	you will tell me	2s→1 khatalode	you'll tell me/us
2→1de	talodacke	you will tell us two	2d→1 khatalodace	
=2d→1e		you two will tell me/us		
2→1pe	talodimke	you will tell us all	2p→1 khatalodine	
=2p→1e		you all will tell us		
3→1s	palodōi	he/they will tell me	3s→1 khalode	he'll tell me/us
3→1di	palodace	he/they will tell us two (you & me)	3d→1 khalodace	
3→1de	palodacke	he/they will tell us two (him & me)	3p→1 khamilode	
3→1pi	palodine	he/they will tell us all (& you)		
3→1pe	palodimke	he/they will tell us all (not you)		
3→2s	talode	he/they will tell you		
3→2d	talodace	he/they will tell you two		
3→2p	talodine	he/they will tell you all		
3s→3s	lodyo	he will tell him		
→3ns	lodyocyo	he will tell them		
3d→3	palodace	they both will tell him/them		
3p→3	palode	they all will tell him/them		

Transitive paradigm: *tyok-l toma* 'see'

aorist

	NW dialect		SE dialect
1→2s	tona	I/we saw you	
→2d	tonaci	I/we saw you two	
→2p	tonani	I/we saw you all	
1s→3s	tyokunga	I saw him/her	
→3ns	tyokungcunga	I saw them	
1di→3	tyokaci	we (I & you) saw him/them	
1de→3	tyokacka	we (I & he) saw him/them	
1pi→3s	tyokum	we (& you) saw him	
→3ns	tyokumcum	we (& you) saw them	
1pe→3s	tyokumka	we (not you) saw him	
→3ns	tyokumcumka	we (not you) saw them	
2s→3s	tatyoku	you saw him	
→3ns	tatyokucyu	you saw them	
2d→3	tatyokaci	you two saw him/them	
2p→3s	tatyokum	you all saw him	
→3ns	tatyokumcum	you all saw them	
2→1s	tatyokunga	you saw me	2s→1 khatatyoka you saw me/us
2→1de	tatyokacka	you saw us two	2d→1 khatatyokaci
=2d→1e		you two saw me/us	
2→1pe	tatyokimka	you saw us all	2p→1 khatatyoki
=2p→1e		you all saw us	
3→1s	patyokunga	he/they saw me	3s→1 khatyoka he saw me/us
3→1di	patyokaci	he/they saw us two (you & me)	3d→1 khatyokaci
3→1de	patyokacka	he/they saw us two (him & me)	3p→1 khamityoka
3→1pi	patyoki	he/they saw us all (& you)	
3→1pe	patyokimka	he/they saw us all (not you)	
3→2s	tatyoka	he/they saw you	
3→2d	tatyokaci	he/they saw you two	
3→2p	tatyoki	he/they saw you all	
3s→3s	tyoku	he saw him	
→3ns	tyokucyu	he saw them	
3d→3	patyokaci	they both saw him/them	
3p→3	patyoka	they all saw him/them	

imperfective

	NW dialect		SE dialect
1→2s	tone	I/we will see you	
→2d	tonace	I/we will see you two	
→2p	tonane	I/we will see you all	
1s→3s	tyokāi	I will see him/her	
→3ns	tyokāicāi	I will see them	
1di→3	tyokace	we (I & you) will see him/them	
1de→3	tyokacke	we (I & he) will see him/them	
1pi→3s	tyokumne	we (& you) will see him	
→3ns	tyokumcumne	we (& you) will see them	
1pe→3s	tyokumke	we (not you) will see him	
→3ns	tyokumcumke	we (not you) will see them	
2s→3s	tatyokyo	you will see him	
→3ns	tatyokocyo	you will see them	
2d→3	tatyokace	you two will see him/them	
2p→3s	tatyokumne	you all will see him	
→3ns	tatyokumcumne	you all will see them	
2→1s	tatyokāi	you will see me	2s→1 khatatyoke you'll see me/us
2→1de	tatyokacke	you will see us two	2d→1 khatatyokace
=2d→1e		you two will see me/us	
2→1pe	tatyokimke	you will see us all	2p→1 khatatyokine
=2p→1e		you all will see us	
3→1s	patyokāi	he/they will see me	3s→1 khatyoke he'll see me/us
3→1di	patyokace	he/they will see us two (you & me)	3d→1 khatyokace they'll "
3→1de	patyokacke	he/they will see us two (him & me)	3p→1 khamityoke
3→1pi	patyokine	he/they will see us all (& you)	
3→1pe	patyokimke	he/they will see us all (not you)	
3→2s	tatyoke	he/they will see you	
3→2d	tatyokace	he/they will see you two	
3→2p	tatyokine	he/they will see you all	
3s→3s	tyokyo	he will see him	
→3ns	tyokocyo	he will see them	
3d→3	patyokace	they both will see him/them	
3p→3	patyoke	they all will see him/them	

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