

RELATIVE CLAUSES IN TAMANG: A TYPOLOGICAL COMPARISON

A thesis

Submitted to the Central Department of Linguistics

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Linguistics

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December, 2014

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude and heartfelt appreciation to my thesis supervisor Mr. Krishna Prasad Chalise, Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Nepal for his constant guidance, insightful comments and genuine encouragement in the preparation of this dissertation. His feedback proved a boon to me for the preparation of dissertation.

I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Dan Raj Regmi, the head of the Central Department of Linguistics for his valuable and constructive suggestions and inspiration.

I would like to extend my thankfulness to Ms. Sonu Lama, Ms. Sajina Waiba, Ms. Nani Maya Waiba, Mr. Bikram Waiba, Mr. Ashim Waiba, Mr. Ashok Waiba, Mr. Dhan Bahadur Tamang and Mr. Dorjee Lama for providing linguistics data for this study.

Similarly, I would like to express my special thanks to my friend Sabin Yonzon for his excellent performance in computer works and also for his cosy support in collecting data for this thesis.

I am equally thankful to Mrs. Sarita Karki and Mrs. Amita Subedi for their help whenever I needed.

Finally, I would like to thank my family members for their moral support in the completion of this work.

Simran Rai

ABSTRACT

This study presents an analysis of relative clause structures in Tamang within the framework of (Givón, 2001). This study focuses on the analysis of the relative clauses found in Tamang and compares them with the relative clauses in Bhujel, Magar Kaike and Limbu. This study has been organized into four chapters. The first chapter deals with the introduction. It includes the background of study, objectives of the study, statement of the problem, review of the literature, methodology and significance of the study. The second chapter deals with the relative clauses in Tamang. The third chapter deals with the typological comparison of the relative clauses found in Tamang and other TB languages: Bhujel, Magar Kaike and Limbu. The fourth chapter, we present the summary and conclusion of the study.

The main finding of the study is that there are two types of relative clauses in the TB languages including Tamang. Regarding the position of relative clauses with respect to the head noun Tamang has prenominal and headless relative clauses. In prenominal relative clause, the relative clause precedes the head noun and in headless relative clause the head noun is deleted or there is no head noun within the construction of the relative clause which is itself understood by different case marking. Regarding the position of relative clause there are initial, medial, and final relative construction found in Tamang. Both copying and chopping construction are common in Tamang language. The way of expressing relativized noun phrase, that is, the gap strategy, pronoun retention strategy and relative pronoun strategy are found in this language. Regarding the grammatical relations such as subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique, adjunct, and possessor can be relativized in Tamang. In Tamang, the nominalizer <-ba> functions as a relative marker in relative clauses.

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List of symbols

[]	constituent boundaries
-	morpheme boundry
< >	morpheme/allomorph
:	length
∅	null (silent) morpheme

List of Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative case
Adj	adjective
Adv	adverb
AP	adjective phrase
CJ	conjunction
CLF	classifier
CONCES	concession
COND	conditional
COP	copula

DAT	dative case
DEF	definite
DIST	distal
DJ	disjunct
ERG	ergative case
FOC	focus
GEN	genitive case
HON	honorific
HORT	hortative mood
INCL	inclusive
INDIR	indirect knowledge
IMP	imperative mood
INF	infinitive
INFR	infirential
INST	instrumental
LOC	locative
n.	noun
NEG	negation
NML	nominalizer
NP	noun phrase
NPST	non-past
OPT	optative
PL	plural

PREF	perfective
PROG	progressive
Pro	pronoun
PST	past
PTCP	participial
PURP	purposive
Q	question
REF	reflexive
REL	relative
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
SIM	simultaneous
TOP	topic marker

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This study is an attempt to analyze the relative clause in Tamang. A relative clause is a subordinate clause which functions as modifiers of a noun phrase. The reference of NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the relative clause. A relative clause is one that functions as a nominal modifier (Payne 1997: 325), much in the same way that an adjective does. (*like, The girl [whom I love]*). The clause within the brackets is subject relative clause become the complement of the subordinate clause, (Whom) represents the object of the matrix clause.

The Tamang are inhabitants of the Himalayan region and also found in the Kathmandu valley and around it. With the reference of monasteries, Lama (2053:71) concludes that the Tamang people settled around Kathmandu Valley many years before. Varenkamp (1996:10) writes 'in the mid 7th century the Tibetan King Songsten Gampo marched into present day Nepal with an army possibly made up of the Tamangs' ancestor. It is likely that they came down from Kyirong in Tibet via the Bhote Koshi Valley and continued to the Kathmandu valley and beyond into India.'

In Nepal, Tamang are found in the district of Sindupalchok, Rasuwa, Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Lalitpur, Dhading, Makwanpur, Nuwakot, Ramechaap, Dolokha, Chitwan and Kavrepalanchok. According to the Population Census of Nepal, 2011 the number of Tamang people in Nepal is 1, 539, 830 and the number of mother tongue speaker as 1, 353, 311. And in India, Tamang can be found in Darjeeling, Doors, Dehradun, Sikkim, Kalimpong and its neighbouring regions.

Grierson (1909) has classified some selected languages of Nepal. He has included Tamang under Himalayan groups of languages along with Gurung, Magar, Newar etc. He has called Tamang as Murmi.

Matisoff (1996) has classified the Tibeto-Burman branch and Himalayan sub-branch of languages into different branches and sub-branches. According to him, Himalayish sub-branch contains eight groups. One of them is TGTM which consists of four

languages: Tamang, Gurung, Thakali and Manang. TGTM group of the languages descends from Sino-Tibetan language family.

DeLancey (1998) groups Tamang, Gurung, and Thakali under the Bodish of Bodic branch. Watters (1998) places Tamang, Gurung and Thakali together in the Bodish group of Trans-Himalayish under the Tibetic of Tibeto-Burman.

Bradley (2002) has classified Sino-Tibetan family of languages. He has included TGTH branch of Bodish section under Bodic division. TGTH branch includes Tamang, Gurung, Thakali and Chhantyal.

Eppele et al. (2012) has classified that Tamang belongs to the Sino-Tibetan family, Tibeto-Burman, Western Tibeto-Burman, Bodish, Western Bodish, Gurung-Tamang, Tamang

1.2 Statement of the problem

There have been various linguistic studies regarding the Tamang language. No one has focused on relative clause. So, we have tried to study the relative clause in Tamang. The specific problems considered in this study are given below:

- a. How are relative clauses formed in Tamang?
- b. Does Tamang share the relative clause structures with Bhujel, Magar Kaike and Limbu languages?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The general objective of this study is to analyze relative clause in Tamang. The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

- a. To find out the relative clause strategies in Tamang, and
- b. To compare the Tamang relative clause strategies with Bhujel, Magar Kaike and Limbu languages from typological perspective.

1.4 Literature review

Tamang covers a wide range of documents, texts, dissertation including doctoral dissertation. Many native and non-native scholars have conducted their research in this language.

Grierson (1909) has pointed out some of its major characteristics of Tamang. These include absence of grammatical gender system, relative pronoun, degree of comparative and superlative and voice, presence of postposition and loose tense.

Everitt (1972) describes the clause and sentence patterns of Tamang. He states that Tamang conforms, in most respects the patterns for the SOV language (except for the place of the negation before the verb and of numbers after the noun). Although there is great freedom to move the arguments about, for rhetorical purposes. In complex verb phrase modals follows the verb root. He has analyzed subordinate clauses precedes the main clause. He has discussed the nominalized form of Tamang. In his study, he has analyzed the clause subordination pattern, mostly through participial and gerundive constructions.

Taylor (1973) has studied the clause pattern in Tamang. In her study, she has analyzed the basic patterns, inflected patterns, derived patterns and dependent patterns of Tamang. In basic patterns, she discussed the simple clause type. In inflected patterns, she discussed the TAM. In derived patterns, she discussed the different types of rules. In dependent patterns, she discussed the dependent clauses. In the dependent pattern, she discussed the dependent nominal clause. In the dependent nominal clause, the nominal clause is formed by adding nominal affix to the verb stem. She states, that the nominal affix function of nominalizer. To carry out this research she collected the corpus data spoken in the village of Shaugon, Tupche Panchyat, Nuwakot district of the Bagmati zone.

Kansankar (1998) has studied the syntactic typology of Newar and Tamang. His work is focus on Eastern variety of Tamang. In his study, he has compared the structural similarities and differences in the two languages at the clause and phrase level. He has also discussed the relative clause. He states that, in Tamang the nominalizer functions as relativizer.

Chalise (1999) has studied morpho-syntax of Tamang verbs. He has analyzed the structure of the Tamang verb stem, tense, aspect, modality, complex predicates and clause combining. In his study he has discussed the finite and non-finite subordinate clauses. In finite subordinate clause he has discussed adverbial clauses. And in non-finite subordinate clause he has discussed purposive, infinitive and whole sentence nominalization. But he has discussed the nominalization. His study is focus on Western variety of Tamang.

Poudel (2002) carried out a descriptive study of Tamang (as spoken in Dhankuta District). In his study, he deals with its phonology, morphophonemics, morphology and syntax. He has also done relative clause but not in detailed. He has discussed only

about prenominal and headless. In prenominal relative clause, the relative clause precedes the head noun and in headless relative clause there is no head noun. His work is based on Dhankute Tamang dailect.

Yonzon (2014) has studied clause combining in Tamang. He has analyzed the subordination and coordination. In subordination he has discussed the complement clause, adverbial clause and relative clause. In his study, he has also discussed the relative clauses. In relative clause he has, discussed the position of the relative clause and grammatical relation that can be relativized. He has used corpus data to carried out this research.

1.5 Methodology

1.5.1 Data collection

This study is based on the collected texts produced by the native speakers of Dewpur village of Kabhre Palanchok district. The data were recorded by using laptop with the Audacity. The data were collected by using the tools and techniques such as sentencelist, interview and text recording. There are altogether ten texts from different genres such as narratives (life experience, professional experience and further plan), procedural text, conversation and rituals etc have been taken. The collected data were transcribed by using international phonetic alphabet (IPA). The recorded texts were analyzed in Toolbox 1.5.8 version.

1.5.2 The theoretical framework

This study is based on formal and functional perspective. This model is primarily based on the works of Givón (2001) and Pyane (1997).

1.6 Significance of the study

This study will help to investigate, describe and analysis the relative clause in Tamang. This study will help the teaching materials developement for the mother tongue education. This study will be significant for the person who involved in language teaching and learning. This will be refrence book for the upcoming researchers who want to do research in relative clause for any other language.

1.7 Limitaions of the study

This study is limited to the description of relative clause spoken in Dewpur village in the District of Kabhre Palanchok. The data are taken from the native speakers. This research is confined to the contemporary analysis of the analyzed data taken from

different language informants. So, the data from other dialects are not generally incorporated. There are ten texts from different genres. So, this study does not provide the full IPA transcription.

1.8 Organization of the study

This study has been organized into four chapters. The first chapter deals with the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research methodology and method of data collection. The second chapter deals with the relative clause structure in the Tamang language. The third chapter presents the typological study. The fourth chapter presents the summary and conclusion of the study. Finally, annexes include some of the analyzed text.

CHAPTER 2

RELATIVE CLAUSES

2.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the relative clauses in Tamang. It consists of five sections. In section 2.1, we deal with the relative clauses. Section 2.2 discusses the types of relative clauses; section 2.3 discusses the typological parameters of relative clauses, and section 2.4 discusses the other types of relative clauses. Section 2.5 summarizes the finding of the chapter.

2.1 Relative clauses

In Tibeto-Burman languages nominalization is one of the highly productive phenomena as well as pervasive derivational morphosyntactic strategies to adjust the grammatical category of the root of the verb (Matisoff 1972, Noonan 1997, Watters 2006). Many TB languages employ nominalization as one of the basic morphosyntactic strategies for relativization. The roots of the verbs are affixed with the nominalizer (Subbarao, 2009). Nominalization is a multifunctional instrument (Bickel, 1999: 272) observed the morphological convergence of nominalization, relativization, genitivization, and non embedded nominalizations and termed this “Standard Sino-Tibetan Nominalization. Nominalization is a main strategy to form relative clauses in Tamang.

Givón (2001:175) states that relative clauses are clause size modifiers embedded in the noun phrase. To some extent their syntax parallels that of other major types of subordinate clause-verbal complements embedded in the verb phrase. Functionally relative clauses together with other noun modifiers, partake in the grammar of referential coherence, furnishing either anaphoric or cataphoric clues for referent identification.

Whaley (1997: 259) states that relative clauses also referred to as adjective clauses are typically found as modifiers of noun.

2.2 Types of relative clause

There are two types of relative clauses. They are: restrictive relative clause and non-restrictive relative clause. But in Tamang we have found only restrictive relative clause.

2.2.1 Restrictive relative clause

In a restrictive relative clause, the relativized NP consists of the nominalizer (in its various forms) with or without an accompanying common noun; when the latter is present the relativizer serves as a determiner. The NP of the relative clause is co-referential with the head noun. The head in itself has a certain potential range of referents, but the restricting clause restricts this set of referents by giving a proposition that must be true of the actual referents of the overall construction (Comrie, 1989) as in (1) in English.

(1) The girl [whom I met yesterday] left this morning.

Tamang employs nominalization as one of the morpho-syntactic processes of relativization. The nominalizer *-ba* functions as a relativizer in Tamang. The examples in (2a-b) illustrate the formation of restrictive relative clause in Tamang;

- (2) a. *ani niba klala min tsa sindupalchok*
[a-ni ni-ba] kla-la min tsa sindupalchok
1SG-PL go- NML place-GEN name TOP sindupalchok
'The name of the place where we went was Sindupalchok.' (SMTS_004)
- b. *p atri ke laba mhigade*
[p at - ri ke la-ba] mhi-gade
field - LOC Work do-NML person-PL
'The man who work at the field.' (LMG_004)

In the above examples, the marker *'-ba'* works as relativizer for both inanimate NP *kla* 'place' as in (2a), and animate NP *mhi* 'person' in (2b).

2.3 Typological parameters relative clauses

There are several typological parameters by which relative clauses can be grouped (Payne, 1997:326). The typological parameters are as follows:

- (i) The position of the clause with respect to the head noun,
- (ii) The mode of expression of the relativized NP (sometimes called the case recoverability strategy) and
- (iii) Grammatical relations that can be relativized.

The first typological parameters by which relative clauses can vary is the position of the clause with respect to the head. Payne (1997:326) groups relative clauses into four types based on the position of the modifying clause with respect to the head noun. They are: (a) pronominal (the modifying clauses occur before the head noun (b) postnominal (the modifying clause occurs after the head noun (c) internally headed (the head noun occurs within the modifying clause) and (d) headless (there is no head noun). But in Tamang language there exist only pronominal and headless relative clauses.

Kroeger (2005:232-33) claims that there is a correlation between the position of the modifying clause and word order. Verb initial languages and most SVO languages like English have postnominal relative clauses. Many verb final languages SVO have pronominal relative clauses. Both Payne and Kroeger claim the postnominal relatives are the most common type and pronominal relatives are the preferred option only in SVO languages.

Basing our analysis on the relative position of the head NP vis-à-vis the clauses, we find there are two types of restrictive relative clauses in Tamang: they are pronominal and headless.

2.3.1 The position of the clause with respect to the head noun

In terms of the position, the relative clause can be classified with respect to its head as pronominal, and headless. The relative clauses in Tamang can be pronominal and headless relative clause.

a. Prenominal

The prenominal relative clauses occur in OV languages. In a prenominal relative clause the head NP occurs outside the relative clause and the relative clause precedes the head NP. Relative clauses in Tamang are prenominal as they occur in nominal modifiers to the head. Prenominal relative clause can be shown as in (3a-d):

(3) a. *kan tsaba mhi tilma sidzi*

[kan tsa-ba] mhi tilma si-dzi
rice eat-NML man yesterday die-PST

‘The man who ate rice died yesterday.’(ADB_014)

b. *airak t u ba mhi jamburi nidzi*

[airak t u ba] mhi jambu-ri ni-dzi
alcohol drink-NML man kathmandu-LOC go-PST

‘The man who drinks alcohol went Kathmandu. (BSWPN_005)

c. *ts oi dobala ram ikdzamri pas tadzi*

[ts oi do-bala] ram ikdzam-ri pas ta-dzi
book read-PERF ram exam-LOC pass be-PST

‘The Ram who had read books passed the exams.’(RSA_005)

In the above example (3a), the relative clause *kan tsaba* ‘rice eat-NML’ pre-modify the head noun *mhi* ‘man’ and thereby function as nominal modifier. The nominalized verb *tsa-ba* ‘eat-NML’ in the relative clause *kan tsa-ba* ‘rice eat-NML’ refers to the activity that the *mhi* ‘man’ performs as the head noun.

In the above example (3b), the relative clause *airak t u -ba* ‘alcohol drink-NML’ pre-modify the head noun *mhi* ‘man’ and thereby function as nominal modifier. The nominalized verb *t u -ba* ‘drink-NML’ in the relative clause refers to the activity that the *jambu-ri* ‘kathmandu-LOC’ performs or the location that the head has performed.

In example (3c), *ts oi do-bala* ‘book read-NML’ pre-modify the head noun *ram* ‘Ram’ and thereby functions as nominal modifiers. The verb in perfective aspect *do-bala* ‘read-PERF’ in the relative clause *ts oi do-bala* ‘book read-NML’ restricts the head noun with the reference of the activity that the head has performed.

b. Headless

Headless relative clauses are those clauses which themselves refers to the noun that they modify. In general languages in which nominal modifiers are themselves nouns are more likely to employ headless relative clauses as a major relative clause strategy than languages for which there is a distinct and large class of adjectives (Payne 1997:328).

Headless relative clauses may occur in Tamang. In Tamang, only subject and object NP position can be relativized in headless relative clause constructions. Headless relative clause as in (4);

- (4) a. *korbari nilaba dzjaba muba*
 [kor-bari ni-la-ba] dzjaba mu-ba
 travel-PURP go-do-NML good be-NPST
 ‘[The place] where we go is good for travel.’(SMTS_003)
- b. *[adzjaba] bimari tadzi*
 [a-dzjaba] bimari ta-dzi
 NEG-good sick be-PST
 ‘[The person] who was not good became sick.’(CMS_008)
- c. *siba borbari suru laba mula*
 [si-ba bor-ba-]ri suru la-ba mu-la
 die-NML take-NML-LOC start do-PRF be-NPST
 ‘For dead person the ceremony has been started.’(CMS_008)
- d. *kraba p utbal kla ban mula*
 [kra-ba] p utbal kla -ban mu-la
 cry-NML football play-PROG be-NPST
 ‘The person who weeps is playing football.’ (RSA_009)

In example (4a), the subject of the modifying clause is relativized, and it is the location in the main clause taking the nominative case marker *-ba*. However, in the example, the nominative case marker *-ba* is attached to the modifying clause *nila-ba* 'where go' in (4a) because the modifying clause refers to the location.

In example (4b), the subject of the modifying clause is relativized and it is the experiencer in the main clause taking the nominative case marker *-ba*. However, in the example, the nominative case marker *-ba* is attached to the modifying clause *adzja-ba* 'not good' because the modifying clause refers to the experiencer and there is no head noun. Case markers are attached directly to the nominalized verb in a headless relative clause.

In example (4c), the subject of the modifying clause is relativized and it is the experiencer i.e. *siba borbari* 'the man who died' in the main clause taking the nominative case marker *-ba*. However, the nominative case marker *-ba* is attached to the modifying clause *si-ba* 'die-NML' because the modifying clause refers to the experiencer and there is no head noun.

In example (4d), the subject of the modifying clause is relativized. *kra-ba* 'the man who weeps' in the main clause taking the nominative case marker *-ba*. However, the nominative case marker *-ba* is attached to the modifying clause *kra-ba* 'cry-NML' because the modifying clause refers that there is no head noun.

2.3.2 The mode of expression of the relativized NP

In some relative clauses we can find some way of identifying the role of the referent of the head noun within the relative clause. Such role of the case can be identified in Tamang by using different syntactic strategies. This parameter is sometimes stated as a 'case recoverability' problem Payne (1997:330). Some of the case recoverability strategies are employed to observe the case role within relative clauses.

The three main strategies are used to identify the relativized function of the head noun within the modifying clause. They are: gap strategy, pronoun retention strategy and relative pronoun strategy.

a. The Gap strategy

The case role of the missing co-referent argument in an embedded relative clause can also be recovered without any morphological provisions. That is the co-referential argument may be gapping ('deleted') without a trace. In recovering the case role of the gapping argument under such condition, the following information is presumably available to the hearer Givón (2001: 184).

- i. The lexical-semantic case-frame of the subordinate verb;
- ii. The lexical identity of missing argument;

iii. The case-roles of the other arguments in relative clause.

Tamang is a verb final language with prenominal relative clauses and headless relative clauses. Tamang uses the following strategies to mark the relativized function of the head noun within the gap strategy. They are:

- (1) Subject
- (2) Object
- (3) Oblique
- (4) Adjuncts

In the ‘GAP’ strategy the head noun does not occur inside the modifying clause, instead whatever position the head noun would occupy in the clause is gapped and the head noun is interpreted as filling that gap. The relativized NP can be left out in a relative clause by leaving a 'gap' after the correlative pronoun in a relative clause to identify the grammatical relation of the 'left out' NP within the relative clause as in the following examples:

- (5) a. *[Ø ani niba] kla*
 Ø a-ni ni-ba kla
 Ø 1SG-PL go-PRF place
 'The place where we go'.(SMTS_006)
- b. *[adzjaba sem-Ø t oba] mhi*
 a-dzjaba sem-Ø t o-ba mhi
 NEG-good heart-Ø carry-PRF person
 'The person who has bad mind.'(CMS_002)
- c. *[Ø ak e mamse taja suba] k et*
 Ø ak e mam-se taja su-ba khet
 Ø grandfather grandmother-ERG peach plant-NML field
 'The field where grandfather and grandmother planted peach.'(MSB_002)
- d. *[Ø mi kola lanan maja laba] remkola*
 Ø mi kola lanan maja la-ba remkola
 Ø girl very much love do-NML boy
 'The boy who loved a girl very much.'(PAPS_002)

In example (5a), the subject of the modifying clause *ani niba* ‘1SG-PL go-NML’ is missing or ‘gapped’ which is represented by \emptyset and the head noun *kla* ‘place’ is interpreted as the subject of the modifying clause filling this ‘GAP.’

In example (5b), the resumptive pronoun strategy is employed to relativize the possessor of the subject. The relation of the head noun *mhi* ‘person’ with *sem* ‘heart’ is that *mhi* ‘person’ is the possessor of *sem* ‘heart’.

In example (5c), the subject of the modifying clause is missing or ‘gapped’ which is represented by \emptyset and the head noun *khet* ‘field’ is interpreted as the subject of the modifying clause filling this gap.

In example (5d), the resumptive pronoun strategy is employed to relativize the possessor of the subject.

i. Relativization of subjects

The relativization of the subjects in Tamang can be shown as in (6a-d):

- (6) a. \emptyset *adzjaba torse bimari tadzi mhi*
 [\emptyset a-dzjaba] tor-se bimari ta-ba mhi
 \emptyset NEG-good way-ERG sick be-NML person
 ‘The person who was not good became sick.’(CMS_008)
- b. \emptyset *jamburi tsiba mhikade tsa lanan sahlukade hinna*
 [\emptyset jamu-ri tsi-ba] mhi-kade tsa lanan
 \emptyset kathmandu-LOC sit-NML man-PL TOP many
 sahu-kade hin-na
 owner-PL be-NPST
 ‘A lot of people who stay in Kathmandu are rich people.’ (DTFS_015)
- c. [\emptyset *ada maja laba] keti tsa ashika hinna*
 [\emptyset a-da maja la-ba keti tsa
 \emptyset 1SG-DAT love do-NML girl TOP
 ashika hin-na
 ashika be-NPST
 ‘The girl [who loves me] is Ashika.’

- d. [Ø tila k aba] ap anta siba ro
 [Ø tilma ha-ba] ap anta si-ba ro
 Ø yesterday come-NML relative die-PST INDR
 ‘The relative who came yesterday died.’(PAPS_006)

Example (6a) shows that the head noun *mhi* ‘person’ is gapped inside the modifying clause. The position of the gapped argument shows that the subject of the modifying clause is relativized.

In example (6b), the head noun *mhi-gade* ‘person-PL’ is gapped or missing inside the modifying clauses and the gapped argument is the subject of the modifying clause.

In example (6c), the head noun *keti* ‘girl’ is gapped inside the modifying clause. The position of the gapped argument shows that the subject of the modifying clause is relativized.

In example (6d), the head noun *ap anta* ‘relative’ is gapped or missing inside the modifying clause and the gapped argument is the subject of the modifying clause.

ii. Relativization of objects

The relativization of objects strategy in Tamang can be shown as in (7a-d):

- (7) a. *t^he mi kola [ashikda maja laba Ø]*
 t^he mi kola [ashik-da maja la-ba] Ø
 that girl ashik-ERG love do- NML Ø
 ‘The girl whom Ashik loved Ø.’(CMS_017)
- b. *[t ese Ø briba] tam Ø tsu kitabri mula*
 [t e-se Ø bri-ba] tam Ø tsu kitab-ri mu-la
 3SG-ERG Ø write-NML story Ø TOP book-LOC be-NPST
 ‘The story [which he wrote] is in this book.’ (DFTS_010)
- c. *[k epa memese pa ba] mendola Ø bagaitsari ts arba mendo p ardzim*
 k epa meme- se pa -ba mendo-la-Ø
 big grandfather -ERG tell-NML flower-GEN-ABL
 bagaitsa- ri ts ar – ba mendo p ar- dzi-m

garden- LOC new- NML flower blossom-PST-INFR

‘The flower which is in your garden has blossom said the grandfather.’(MLD_005)

d. [akasse mhikadedda Ø pwiba] s mtsar

akas-se mhi-kade-da Ø pwi-ba s matsar

akash-ERG man-PL-DAT Ø send-PST News

‘The news which he sent to the people.’(ACS_017)

In example (7a), the modifying clause which is inside the brackets lacks an object and the head noun *mi kola* ‘girl’ is understood to be the object of the verb *la-ba* ‘do-PST’. The head noun *mi kola* ‘girl’ fills the gap in the relative clause. In example (7b), the modifying clause (which is inside the brackets) lacks an object and the head noun *tam* ‘story’ is understood to be the object of the nominalized verb *bri-ba* ‘write-NML’. The head noun *tam* ‘story’ fills the gap in the relative clause. In this example, the head noun has two different grammatical relations: one is subject of the main clause, and the other is object of the modifying clause. In example (7c), the object of transitive verb *pa -ba* ‘tell-NML’ is gapped inside the modifying clause. The head noun *mendo-Ø* ‘flower’ is understood as filling this gap.

In example (7d), the object is gapped inside the modifying clause and the head noun *samcar* ‘news’ fills the gap inside the modifying clause.

iii. Relativization of oblique argument

Oblique arguments can also be relativized. The relativization of oblique argument in Tamang can be shown as in (8a-f);

(8) a. akas tsamilila namsari hadzim

akash tsamili-la namsa-ri ha-dzi-m

akash chamile-GEN village-LOC come-PST-INFR

‘Akash came to the chamile’s village.’(ACS_004)

b. [akas tsamilila Ø haba] namsa Ø tsamili

akash tsamili-la Ø ha-ba namsa-Ø tsamili

akash chamile-GEN Ø come-NML namsa- ABS chamile

‘The village to where Akash came is Chamile village.’(ACS_004)

- c. *ashik dz jalgjam p apsi nidzim ro*
 ashik dz jal-gjam p ap-si ni-dzi- m ro
 ashik window-ABL down-SEQ go-PST- INFR INDIR
 ‘Ashik was going down from the window.’(PAPS_019)
- d. *[ashik Ø p apsi niba] dz jal Ø ro*
 ashik Ø p ap-si ni-ba dz jal-Ø ro
 ashik Ø down-SEQ go- NML window-ABS INDIR
 ‘The window from where Ashik is getting down.’(PAPS_019)
- e. *t e a k warase gagri den gunaso ladzi*
 t e a k wara-se gagri den gunaso la-dzi
 that jug-INST pitcher with complain do-PST
 ‘The jug shared his pain to the pitcher.’(BSWPN_009)
- f. *t e [gagri Ø den gunaso ladzi] a k wara Ø*
 t e gagri Ø den gunaso la-dzi a k wara- Ø
 that pitcher Ø with complain do-PST jug-ABS
 ‘The jug shared his problem with the pitcher.’(BSWPN_009)

In above example (8a), the case marker *-ri* ‘locative’ indicates the noun *namsa* ‘village’ is a goal since *hadzi* ‘come-PST’ is a motion verb. In example (8b), the goal noun is gapped inside the modifying clause, and the head noun *namsa* ‘village’ is interpreted as the goal argument inside the modifying clause. The noun *namsa* ‘village’ functions as the subject of the matrix verb so it receives absolutive case. In example (8c), the case marker *-gjam* ‘ablative’ indicates that the noun *dz jal* ‘window’ is a source. In example (8d), the source NP is gapped inside the modifying clause and the head noun *dz jal* ‘window’ is interpreted as the ablative argument inside the modifying clause. The noun *dz jal* ‘window’ is the subject of the matrix verb so it receives absolutive case in the above sentence. In example (8e), the case marker *-se* indicates that the NP *a k wara* ‘jug’ is instrument which is gapped inside the modifying clause. In example (8f), the instrumentl noun phrase is gapped inside the modifying clause and the head noun *a k wara* ‘jug’ is interpreted as the instrument

argument inside the modifying clause. The noun phrase *a k wara* ‘jug’ functions as the object of the matrix verb. So, it receives absolutive case.

iv. Relativization of adjuncts

The relativization of adjuncts in Tamang can be shown as in (9a-b).

- (9) a. *[lamase Ø na sal mraba] g ewari mula*
 lama-se Ø na sal mra-ba g ewa-ri la-dzi
 monk- ERG Ø light kindle-NML funeral-LOC be-NPST
 ‘The monk kindle the light in funeral ceremony.’(ADB_009)
- b. *[amase Ø kan minba] g ewari mula*
 ama-se Ø kan min-ba g ewa-ri la-dzi
 mother- ERG Ø rice cook-NML funeral-LOC be-NPST
 ‘The mother cook food in funeral ceremony.’(ADB_010)

Adjunct locative phrase can be relativized as shown in the example (9a). Here, the head noun *g ewa-ri* ‘funeral-LOC’ is gapped and relativized inside the modifying clause. In the example (9b), the head noun *g ewa-ri* ‘funeral-LOC’ is gapped and relativized inside the modifying clause.

v. Relativization of possessors

Cross-linguistically several strategies are used to relativize possessive noun phrase. Most SVO languages have postnominal relative clauses which may use either relative pronoun like English *whose*, as for relativizing possessive noun phrase (Kroeger 2004:177). For example in English;

- (10) The person whose sister I hate.

Kroeger (2004:180-81) points out that some noun phrase positions are harder to relativize (less accessible) than others. Oblique arguments are harder to relativize than subject and object. Kroeger (2004:181) describes this pattern in terms of an ‘Accessibility Hierarchy’ (Comrie and Keenan 1979:650):

SUB>OBJ>OBL>Possessor

Relativization of possessors in Tamang involves a different strategy than relativization of other grammatical relations. as in (11).

- (11) a. *ai gjamri [t ela dza Ø birami taba] mhida sjapdzi*
 a-i gjam-ri [t e-la dza Ø birami ta-ba] mhi-da
 1SG-ERG road-LOC 3SG-GEN son Ø sick be-NML man-DAT
 sjap-dzi
 meet-PST
 ‘I met the man [whose son was sick] on the road.’ (ADB_015)
- b. *[t e siba] mhila dz ame kolakade haba mula*
 t e si-ba mhi-la dz ame kola-kade ha-ba mu-la
 that die- NML person-GEN daughter child-PL come- NML be-NPST
 ‘The dead person [whose daughter has come].’(ADB_003)
- c. *ai [t ela siba] apa mra dzi*
 a-i t e-la si-ba apa-la dza-da mra -dzi
 1SG-ERG 3SG- GEN die-NML father-GEN son-DAT see-PST
 ‘I saw the son [whose father was dead].’(ADB_013)

In example (11a), *t e-la* ‘3SG-GEN’ modifies *dza* ‘son’ which is the subject of the modifying clause. The relation of the head noun *mhi* ‘person’ with *dza* ‘son’ is that *mhi* ‘person’ is the possessor of *dza* ‘son’.

In example (11b), the relation of the head noun *dz ame kolakade* ‘daughter child-PL’ with *siba mhi* ‘died person’ is that *dz amekolakade* ‘daughters’ is the processor of *siba mhi* ‘died person’.

In example (11c), the genitive marker *-la* is marked on *apa-la* ‘father-GEN’ to show the relationship with possessor *dza-da* ‘son-DAT’.

b. The pronoun retention strategy

In this strategy a pronoun that explicitly references the grammatical relation of the relativized NP by its position, its form or both is retained within the relative clause (Payne 1997:331).

- (12) a. *ai [t ela ra Ø birami taba] mhida mra dzi*
 a-i t e-la ra Ø birami ta-ba mhi-da
 1SG-ERG 3SG-GEN goat Ø sick be-NML man-DAT
 mra -dzi
 see-PST
 'I saw a man [whose goat was sick].'
- b. *[tsa lanan kraba] mula anim t ela ap antakaden kraba mula*
 tsa lanan kra-ba mu-la ani-m
 bride much cry-NML be-NPST and-INFR
 t e-la ap anta-kade-n kra-ba mu-la
 3SG-GEN relative-PL-INFR cry-NML be-NPST
 'The bride will cry and his relative also cry'.(MDL_029)
- c. *ase [t ela ap ata birami birami taba] mhi mradzi*
 a-se t e-la ap anta birami ta-ba mhi mra -dzi
 1SG-ERG t e-GEN relative sick be-NML man see-PST
 'I saw a man whose relative was sick.' (ACS_018)

In example (12a), the resumptive pronoun strategy is employed to relativize the possessor of the subject. A resumptive pronoun or pronoun retention *t e-la* '3SG-GEN' modifies *ra* 'goat'. The relation of the head noun *mhi* 'person' with *ra* 'gaot' is that *mhi* 'person' is the possessor of *ra* 'gaot'.

In example (12b), the resumptive pronoun strategy is employed to relativize the possessor of the subject. A resumptive pronoun *t e-la* '3SG-GEN' modifies *kra-ba* 'cry-NML'. The relation of the head noun *tsa* 'bride' with *kra-ba* 'cry-NML' is that *tsa* 'bride' is the possessor of *kra-ba* 'cry-NML'.

In example (12c), the pronoun retention strategy is employed to relativize the possessor of the subject. A resumptive pronoun *t e-la* 'ashik-GEN' modifies *ap anta* 'relatives'. The relation of the head noun *mhi* 'person' with *ap ata* 'relatives' is that *mhi* 'person' is the possessor of *ap ata* 'relatives'.

c. The relative pronoun strategy

Relative pronouns are typically similar to other pronouns in the language either the question words or the pronouns used to refer to non-specific, indefinite items. Relative pronouns can be thought of as combining the functions of a plain relativizer and a clause internal pronoun that refers to the relativized NP (Payne: 1997:333). In this type of strategy relative pronouns *hala* 'who', *hana* 'where', *hadziba* 'which', *haima* 'when', etc. are used in the Tamang relative clause. as in (13a-e).

(13) a. *asa hana niba a i hodzi nila*

asa hana ni-ba a i hodzi ni-la
 uncle where go-NML aunt there go-NPST
 'Uncle will go where aunt go.' [MDL_017]

b. *hana dzame nidzi hodzari ela apa sibala muba*

hana dzame ni-dzi hodza-ri e-la apa si-bala mu-ba
 where daughter go-PST there-LOC 2SG-GEN father die-PERF be-NML
 'Daughter went where your father had died.' [MSB_023]

c. *tša patila mhikadese pa ba mula hadziba t rla mudzi*

tša pati-la mhi-kade-se pa -ba mu-la hadziba
 bride side-GEN person-PL-ERG tell-NML be-NPST which
 t r-la mu-dzi
 surname-EMP be-PST

'The person from the side of bride asked which sub-cast you belong.' (MDL_007)

d. *tša patise biba mula haima bja laseda*

tša pati-se bi-ba mu-la haima bja la-se-da
 bride side-ERG say-NML be-NPST when marriage do-ERG-DAT
 'From the side of bride says when should be the marriage?' (MDL_017)

e. *tirekunu t e i hala k epa biba bisairi dz ag da tabase*

tire- kunu t e i hala k epa bi - ba
 one- day that two who big say-NML
 bisai-ri dz ag da ta-ba-se

topic-LOC fight be-NML-ERG

'One day they fight with each other in the topic of who is big?' (MAEN_003)

In the example (13a), the REL pronoun *hana* 'where' functions as the relativizer of location. In example (13b), the REL pronoun *hana* 'where' functions as the relativizer of location. In the example (13a), the REL pronoun *hana* 'where' functions as the relativizer of location. In example (13b), the REL pronoun *hana* 'where' functions as the relativizer of location. In example (13c), the REL pronoun *hadziba* 'which' functions as the relativizer of possession. In the example (13d), the REL pronoun *haima* 'when' functions as the relativizer of time. In example (13e), the REL pronoun *hala* 'who' functions as the relativizer of nominative case.

i. Correlative clauses

Correlatives, where the relativized element is represented both in the relative clause and in the main clause (Mazaudon, 2003:11). Tamang makes use of interrogative pronouns for correlative relative clause. They are simply innovations under the influence of the contact language, Nepali. Tamang correlative clause can be presented as in (14).

- (14) a. *hala ase d men pinba t e mhi dzjaba mula*
[hala a-se d men pin-ba] t e mhi dzja-ba mu-la
who 1SG-ERG money give-REL that man good-NML be-NPST
'The man whom I give money is good.' (MSB_024)
- b. *[halase kelaba] t ese d men jandzi*
[hala-se ke-la-ba] t e-se d men jan-dzi
who-ERG work-do-NML that-ERG money get-PST
'The man who works hard got the money.' (MDL_019)

In example (14a-b), the interrogative pronouns are used in the Tamang relative clause.

2.3.3 Grammatical relations that can be relativized

Most of the grammatical relations such as subject, object, locative and instrumental can be relativized in Tamang. In Tamang nominalizer *-ba* functions as a relativizer.

a. Subject

The noun phrase in the subject position can be relativized in Tamang as in (15a-b).

- (15) a. [*ada damen pinba*] *mhi ashu hinna*
[a-da damen pin-ba] mhi ashu hin-na
1SG-DAT money give-NML man aunt be-NPST
'The person who gives me money is my aunt. (MDL_027)
- b. [*kan tsaba*] *dza ashik hinna*
[kan tsa-ba] dza ashik hin-na
rice eat-NML son ashik be-NPST
'The son who eats rice is Ashik. (ACS_012)

In examples (15a-b), the subject position can be relativized in relative clause construction.

b. Object

The noun phrase in the object position can be relativized in Tamang as in (16a-b).

- (16) a. [*m garse pinba*] *nariol memese tsadzi*
[m gar-se pin-ba] taja meme-se tsa-dzi
monkey-ERG give-NML peach grandfather-ERG eat-PST
'The grandfather ate peach which was given by monkey.'
- b. [*t ese pinba*] *kan ramse tsadzi*
[t e-se pin-ba] kan ram-se tsa-dzi
3SG-ERG give-NML rice ram-ERG eat-PST
'Ram ate rice which was given by him.'

In examples (16a-b), the noun phrase is relativized in the object position.

c. Locative

The noun phrase in the locative position can be relativized as in (17a-b).

- (17) a. [*sajina tsiba*] *namsari dewpur hinna*
sajina tsi-ba namsa-ri dewpur hin-na
sajina sit-NML village-LOC dewpur be-NPST

‘The village where Sajina lives is Dewpur.’ [AMS_005]

b. [*ani niba*] *kla sindupaltsok hinna*

a-ni ni-ba kla sidupaltsok hin-na

1SG-PL sit-NML place sindhupalchok be-NPST

‘The place where we go is Sindhupalchok.’ [SMTS_005]

In examples (17a) and (17b), the noun phrase is relativized in the locative position.

d. Instrumental

The noun phrase in the instrumental position can be relativized as in (18a-b).

(18) a. [*ramse ase pinba*] *l t ise ale todzi*

ram-se a-se pin-ba l t i-se ale to-dzi

ram-ERG 1SG-ERG give-NML stick-INST brother beat-PST

‘Ram beat the brother with a stick which I gave him.’ [RSA_018]

b. [*gopalse ase pinba*] *godzase me satdzi*

gopal-se a-se pin-ba godza-se me sat-dzi

gopal-ERG 1SG-ERG give-NML khukuri-INST cow kill-PST

‘Gopal killed the Cow with a Khukuri which I gave him.’ [LGM_018]

In examples (18a) and (18b), the noun phrase is relativized in the instrumental position.

2.4 Other types of relative clauses

2.4.1 Copying and chopping relative clauses

Comrie (1989) has defined relative clause in terms of chopping and copying of the head of the two and he states that chopping is more common in English. In Tamang both copying and chopping constructions are common in relative clause.

a. Copying construction

When head of a relative clause is again repeated in a sentence, this process is referred to as copying construction.

In Tamang, the copying construction can be shown as in (19a-c);

(19) a. *dzamese ge baba mula dzamekade dosi mula*

dzame-se ge ba-ba mu-la dzame-kade do-si
 daughter-ERG bread bring-NML be-NPST daughter-PL return-SEQ
 mu-la
 be-NPST

‘The daughter who brings bread has returned.’ (ADB_007)

b. *t e lama [ai na ar ruptaba lama] jakh ri mula*

t e lama a-i na ar rupta-ba lama jakh ri mu-la
 that monk 1SG-ERG tomorrow meet-NML monk same be-NPST

‘The monk whom I will meet tomorrow is same monk.’ (ADB_089)

c. *t e mhi [sonamse ruptaba mhi] dzjaba muba*

t e mhi sonam-se rupta-ba mhi dzjaba mu-ba
 that person Sonam-ERG meet-NML person good be-PST

‘The man whom Sonam met was very good.’ (ADB_097)

In example, (19a) show the head of the relative clause *dzame* ‘daughter’ repeated in both main and subordinate clause. In example (19b) show the head of the relative clause *lama* ‘monk’ repeated in both main and subordinate clauses. Similarly in (19c), the head of the relative clause ‘*mhi*’ ‘person’ is repeated in both main and subordinate clauses.

b. Chopping construction

When the head of the RC is not mentioned again then that process in relativization is referred to as a chopping construction. English also exhibits this construction as in (20) below;

(20) The man who came yesterday was my brother.

Similarly, in Tamang the chopping construction can be shown as in (21a-c).

(21) a. *gopal lanan ts tu mudzim t e satai ra ts abari nibadzim*

gopal lanan ts tu mu-dzi-m t e satai ra
 gopal much clever be-PST- INFR 3SG always goat

ts a -bari ni-ba-dzi-m
 graze-PURP go-NML-PST-INFR

‘Gopal was so clever who always goes to graze a goat.’ (LGM_002)

b. *mhi [mi mase pa ba] dzjaba muba*

mhi mi ma-se pa -ba dzjaba mu-ba
 person min ma-ERG say-NML good be-PST

‘The man whom Min ma talked about was very good.’ (ADB_099)

c. *[amase Ø kan minba] g ewari mula*

ama-se Ø kan min-ba g ewa-ri la-dzi
 mother- ERG Ø rice cook-NML funeral-LOC be-NPST

‘The mother cooked food in funeral ceremony.’ (ADB_010)

In the above examples, (21a-c), the head of the relative clause *gopal* 'name of a person' *mhi* man and *kan* food are mentioned only once but not repeated in the subordinate clauses.

2.4.2 Finite and non-finite relative clauses

The relative clause can also be termed as finite and non-finite verb constructions which are more common in English (Comrie, 1989:153). In Tamang both types of constructions are common in relative clause.

a. Finite verb construction

When the verb in the relative clause is inflected with tense then it is called as finite verb construction. In Tamang, we can find this type of construction as in (22a) and (22b) below:

(22) a. *t e jakh ri mhi hinna [halaba timda maja l la]*

t e jakh ri mhi hinna hala-ba tim-da maja l -la
 that one person be.NPST REL-NML home-DAT love do-NPST

‘He is the only man who loves his home.’ (ADB_091)

- b. *lamase olaba mula lamakade dosi*
 lama-se ola-ba mu-la lama-kade do-si
 monk-ERG speak randomly-NML be- NPST monk-PL return-SEQ
 ‘The monk who speaks randomly has returned.’ (ADB_007)
- c. *t e jakh ri mhi hinna [halalba timda maja ladzi]*
 t e jakh ri mhi hinna hala-ba tim-la maja la-dzi
 that one person be.NPST REL-NML home-DAT love do-PST
 ‘He is the only man who loved his home.’ (ADB_092)

In the above examples (22a-b), both relative clauses within the brackets can inflect with other tenses such as in (22c).

b. Non-finite verb construction

When the verb in the relative clause is not inflected with tense then it is called as non-finite verb construction. In Tamang, we can find this type of construction as in (23a) and (23b) below:

- (23) a. *[airak thu ba bani] dzjaba areba*
 airak thu -ba bani dzjaba are-mu-la
 alcohol drink-NML habit good NEG-be-NPST
 ‘Drinking alcohol is not a good habit.’ (ADB_090)
- b. *[na ar ruptaba] dzjaba mula*
 na ar rupta-ba dzjaba mu-la
 tomorrow meet-NML good be- NPST
 ‘It is good to visit tomorrow.’ (ADB_087)

In the above examples (23a) and (23b), both relative clauses within the brackets do not inflect with tense.

2.5 Summary

The analysis of relative clause in Tamang shows a number of features and typology. In section 2.1 we have discussed the relative clause. In Tamang relative clause is formed by attachment of suffix-*ba* to the root verb of the relative clause. In section 2.2, we have presented the types of relative clause. In section 2.2.1, we have presented

the restrictive relative clause. In section 2.3, we presented the typological parameters relative clause. We analyzed the relativization in Tamang with relation to its typological parameters. In section 2.3.1, the position of clause with respect to the head noun within the position of relative clause, we discussed the prenominal and headless relative clause found in Tamang. In the subsection 2.3.2, we discussed about the mode of expression of the relativized NP. Regarding gap strategy, we discussed relativization of subjects, objects, oblique argument and possessors. We discussed about the pronoun retention strategy. We discussed the relative pronoun strategy. And finally, we discussed the correlative clause. In 2.3.3, we presented the grammatical relations that can be relativized. Within the grammatical we discussed the subject, object, location and instrumental can be relativized in Tamang. In section 2.4, we presented the relative clause with respect to its position namely clause initial, medial and final positions. Finally, in section 2.5, we presented other types of relative clause. Regarding other types, we discussed the copying, chopping, finite and non-finite constructions of relative clause in Tamang language.

CHAPTER 3

TYPOLOGICAL COMPARISON

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with relative clause found in TB languages mainly in Tamang, Bhujel, Magar Kaike and Limbu languages. It presents a typological study of relative clauses. It consists of three sections. Section 3.1 presents the formation of relative clauses in TB languages. Section 3.2 presents the typological parameters of relative clauses and finally section 3.3 presents the summary of this chapter.

3.1 Formation of relative clause

Relative clause is one that functions as a nominal modifier (Payne, 1997: 235).

Relative clauses, also referred to as adjective clauses, are typically found as modifiers of a noun (Whaley, 1997:259). A relative clause is a subordinate clause that is linked to a higher clause. In Tamang nominalizer-*ba* functions as a relativizer. In Tamang there is only one suffix-*ba* can be used to relativized the clause. Whereas in Bhujel there are two nominalizers-*m y* and *-o* are affixed to the root of the verb to form relative clause. Similarly, in Magar Kaike there are three forms of nominalizers:-*pa*, *-nan*, and *ma*. Both *-pa* and *-nan* are affixed to the verb as suffixes whereas *-ma* is attached to an adjective to show the comparison between the two entities of the clause. In Magar Kaike, only the nominalizer-*pa* and *-nan* are employed to form relative construction. The nominalizer *pa* may be followed by genitive marker-*n* and *-nan* is followed by the dative marker-*g*. In Limbu, there are two affixes are used to form relative clause. Both prefix-*ke* and suffix-*ba* are attached to the verb. The participle *-ke* is relativizer and *-ba* is nominalizer. Different types of relative clause can be presented as in (24a-d).

In Tamang

- (24) a. *namsari muba dzami kolad uguse duk alasi pa hap ladzi*
[namsa-ri mu-ba] dzami kola-d ugu-se duk a-la-si pa hap
village-LOC be-NML all child-PL-ERG struggle-do-SEQ study
la-dzi
do-PST

All the children [who were in the village] studied very hard.’ (DFTS_015)

Example (24a), a relative clause which precedes the head noun. In this example the suffix *-ba* functions as a relativizer.

In Bhujel,

- b. *wa satm y kuy*
wa sat-m y kuy
foul kill-INF dog

‘The dog which kills birds.’ (Regmi, 2005: 338)

According to Regmi (2005: 338), example (24b), shows the formation of relative clause in Bhujel. In this example the root of the verb is suffixed by the suffix *-m y*. The relative clause in which the verb is suffixed by *-m y* be referred to as infinitival participle.

In Magar Kaike,

- c. *jim do pan simi sowapa*
jim do -pa-n simi sowa-pa
house make-NML-GEN man arrive-PERF.CJ

‘The man who made house arrived.’ (Regmi, 2013: 111)

Similarly in (24c), shows the formation of relative clause in Magar Kaike. In this example, a relative clause is syntactically a nominalized clause functioning as a nominal modifier of the head noun. The nominalizer *<-pa>* employs to form relative construction in Magar Kaike.

In Limbu,

- d. *kristjan d arma pr tsar katsok japmitsi*
[kristjan d arma pr tsar ke-tsok-ba] japmi-tsi
christian religion promotion REL-do-NML man-3NSG

‘The people who promote the Christian religion.’ (Ebert, 1994:140)

In example (24d), shows the formation of relative clause in Limbu. In this example the clause in bracket prefix-*ke* and suffix-*ba* are attached to the verb. The participle *ke* is a relativizer and *-ba* is a nominalizer.

The TB languages also employ correlative relative clauses or finite relative clauses. To form correlative clauses the Tamang, Bhjel, Magar Kaike and Limbu does not have relative pronouns. It makes use of interrogative pronouns for making correlative relative clauses. Correlative clause can be shown as in (25a-d).

In Tamang,

- (25) a. *halase kan tsaba t e mhi akas hinna*
 hala-se kan tsa-ba t e mhi akas hin-na
 who-ERG rice eat-NML that man akash be-NPST
 ‘The man who eats rice is Akash.’ (ACS_023)

Example (25a), the interrogative pronouns *-hala* ‘who’ is used in the Tamang correlative clauses.

According to Regmi (2011: 193), the correlative clauses in Kaike language is given as in (25b).

- b. *su ai prasna loppa ana simi la ja*
 [su a-i prasna lop-pa] ana simi la ja
 who 1SG-ERG question ask-PST.CJ that man good COP
 ‘The man whom I asked the question is good.’ (Regmi, 2011: 193)

Examples (25b), the finite relative clause or correlative relative clause is initiated by interrogative pronoun *su* ‘who’.

Similarly in Bhujel ,

- c. *sukoj mjan alto muna ukaj a man parajna*
 su-koj mjan alto mu-na u-kaj a man
 who-GEN hair black stay-NPST 3SG.DIST-DAT 1SG liking
 paraj-na-
 occur-NPST-1/2

‘I like the woman who has black hair.’ (Regmi, 2007: 341)

Examples (25c), the finite relative clause or correlative relative clause is initiated by interrogative pronoun *su* 'who'.

In Panthare Limbu,

d. *atin japmin t um hen japmin keg ppa po:*

atin japmi-n t um hen japmi-n ke-g p-pa po:
which person-DEF 3SG that person-DEF 3-rich-NML be

‘Who work hard that would be rich.’ (Subba, 2005: 42)

Examples (25d), the finite relative clause or correlative relative clause is initiated by interrogative pronoun *atin* ‘which’.

3.2 Typological parameters

The typological parameters of relative clause in can be grouped as follows:

- the position of the clause with respect to the head of the noun,
- the mode of expression of the relativized noun phrase, and
- grammatical relations that can be relativized

3.2.1 The position of the clause with respect to the head of the noun

In this typological framework, there can be three types of relative clauses in a natural language in terms of the position of the relative clause with respect to the head noun phrase.

- Externally headed relative clauses
- Internally headed relative clauses
- Headless relative clauses

a. Externally headed relative clauses

In externally headed relative clause, the head noun lies after and outside the relative clause. The pronominal relative clauses occur before the head noun of the main clause. Externally headed relative clause can be shown as in (26a-d):

In Tamang

- (26) a. *kan tsaba mhi*
 [kan tsa-ba] mhi
 rice eat-NML man
 ‘The man who eats rice.’(BSWPN_005)

In Tamang, the prenominal relative clause the head NP occurs outside the relative clause and the relative clause precedes the head NP. In this example, *mhi* ‘man’ is the head noun it occurs outside the relative clause. *kan tsa-ba* ‘rice eat-NML’ is premodify the head noun *mhi* ‘man’ and *mhi* ‘man’ respectively and thereby functions as nominal modifiers.

According to Regmi (2005: 342), in Bhujel the externally headed relative clause the head noun occur after and outside the relative clause. Externally headed relative clauses as in (26b);

- b. *wa sato kuy*
 [wa sat-o] kuy
 jungle stay-PTCP dog
 ‘The dog which killed birds.’ (Regmi, 2005: 342)

In example (26b), shows the externally headed relative clause in Bhujel. In this clause the head noun occurs after and outside the relative clause. In this example *kuy* ‘dog’ is the head noun. It occurs after the relative clause. *wa sat-o* ‘jungle stay-NML’ is premodify the head noun *kuy* ‘dog’ and *kuy* ‘dog’ respectively and thereby functions as nominal modifiers.

In Magar Kaike,

- c. *ku t otpan simi la tsimnan*
 [ku t ot-pa-n] simi la tsim-nan
 honey extract-NML-GEN man hand lick-NML
 ‘The man who extracts honey licks hand.’ (Regmi, 2013: 119)

Similarly in (26c), shows the externally headed relative clause in Magar Kaike. In Magar Kaike, the externally headed relative clauses, the head is overtly present in the matrix clause. In this example the head noun occurs in the matrix clause.

In Panthare Limbu

- d. *sa: wet kehi ba j mbe*
 [sa: wet ke-hi -ba] j mbe
 buffalo REL-keep-NML yambe
 ‘Yambe who is keeping a buffalo.’ (Subba, 2005: 36)

In example (26d), shows the externally headed relative clause in Limbu. In this example, the clause in brackets, prefix-*ke* and suffix-*ba* are attached to the verb. The participle-*ke* is a relativizer and *-ba* is a nominalizer. In this example the verb within the relative clause is marked as a participle. The head of the relative clause is *j mbe*. This noun is preceded by the relative clause.

b. Internally headed relative clauses

In internally headed relative clause, the head noun is found within the relative clause. In Bhujel, the head noun can occur within the clause. Internally headed relative clause in Bhujel as in (27a-b),

- (27) a. *[ten mic ya nao]*
 ten mic ya na-o
 today goat have-PTCP
 ‘The goat which today I have.’ (Regmi, 2005: 342)

In example (27a), the head noun *mic ya* ‘goat’ lies inside the nominal clause and known as internally headed relative clause.

Similarly in Panthare Limbu,

- b. *ande:n ak enmjak japmi mew je pa henmjak to:k mebirusi*
 [ande:n ak enmjak japmi me-w -je] pa hnmjak to:k me-bir-u-si
 before how many man 3PL-be-PST as much rice 3PL-give-PST-PL
 ‘They were given rive as much people as they were before.’ (Subba, 2005: 38)

Similarly in (27b), the head noun is within the relative clause in bracket. The nominalizer <-pa> is the only thing that marks the clause in bracket as a relative clause.

In Tamang and Magar Kaike do not have internally headed relative clauses.

c. Headless relative clause

Headless relative clauses are those clauses which themselves refers to the noun that they modify. In general languages in which nominal modifiers are themselves nouns are more likely to employ headless relative clauses as a major relative clause strategy in languages for which there is a distinct and large class of adjectives (Payne, 1997: 328). Headless relative clauses can be shown as in (28a-b).

In Tamang,

- (28) a. *habada pintola*
 [ha-ba-]da pin-to-la
 come-NML-DAT give-need-NPST
 ‘You should give food to those who come.’ (PAPS_021)

Example (28a), the subject of the modifying clause is relativized, and it is the recipient in the main clause taking the dative case marker-*da*. However, in this example, the dative marker-*da* is attached to the modifying clause (*haba-da* ‘to those who came’ because the modifying clause refers to the recipient and there is no head noun).

According to Subba (2005: 38), Limbu can use headless relative clauses when the head noun is non-specific. The headless relative clauses in Limbu can be presented as in (28b).

- b. *kunsa kehippan p era*
 [ku-nsa ke-hip-pa-n] p er-a
 3GEN-brother REL-bit-NML-DEF come-PST
 ‘One who beats his brother came.’ (Subba, 2005: 38)

In example (28b), the clause without head noun, is in bracket is headless relative clause in Limbu.

In Bhujel and Magar Kaike languages, there is no headless relative clause.

3.2.2 The mode of expression of the relativized noun phrase

The second major parameter by which relative clause can vary is how the NP relativized is expressed. This parameter is sometimes states as a case recoverability problem. That is, in any relative clause there must be some way of identifying the role of the referent of the head noun within the relative clause (Payne, 1997: 330). The grammatical role of the relativized noun phrase can be different from the role of its head noun within the relative clause. Such role can be identified in a natural language by using different syntactic strategies (Regmi, 2004: 128). The strategy which is used to recover the cases of the covert NP in embedded clause is referred to as the gap strategy (Givón, 2001).

In Tamang,

- (29) a. *[∅ sikts akda toba] bid jart i*
 ∅ sikts ak-da to-ba bid jart i
 ∅ student-DAT beat-NML student
 ‘The student [who beat the teacher].’ (RSA_010)

Example (29a), the subject of the modifying clause is missing (or gapped ‘ which is represented by ∅) and the head noun *bid jart i* ‘student’ is interpreted as the subject of the modifying clause filling this gap.

According to Subbrao as cited in Regmi (2013: 120) it is also known as null (covert) operator strategy. In Magar Kaike, the gap strategy can be found as in (29b).

In Magar Kaike,

- b. *jim do pan simi sibo*
 [jim do -pa-n - ∅] simi si-bo
 house make-NML-GEN man die-PERF.DJ
 ‘The man who made house died.’ (Regmi, 2013: 120)

Example (29b), the missing argument is indicated by ∅. In Magar Kaike, the referential identity of the missing argument inside the relative clause is fully recoverable from the head noun itself because the missing argument of the relative clause is obligatorily co-referent with the head noun.

Similarly in Bhujel,

c. *wa sato mants e*

[wa sat-o] mants e

fowl kill-PTCP man

‘The man who killed birds.’ (Regmi, 2005: 343)

According to Regmi (2005: 343), the language simply puts the verb of the relative clause in a participial form and leaves a gap in the relative clause to indicate the position of the head noun. In example (29c), the verb is participialized and the gap is left in order to identify the head noun in the relative clause.

In Panthare Limbu,

d. *ramle ø maja mettuma mensumain*

ram-le maja mettuma mensuma-in

ram-ERG love say-NPST-NML women-DEF

‘A woman that Ram loves.’ (Subba, 2005: 41)

In example (29d), shows that when the noun phrase relativized in the object of the relative clause, then the gap appears in the object position.

a. Relative-correlative clauses

Correlative clauses referring to a construction which uses a pair of connecting words. A correlative clause is that which is mostly occur in question words, expressing ‘wh-ever.....that/then...’ (Ebert, 1994: 133). In Tamang , Bhujel, Magar Kaike and Limbu languages does not have relative pronouns. But it makes the use of interrogative pronoun to make the correlative relative clauses. In Tamang the interrogative pronoun *hala* ‘who’ is used to form correlative clause. Whereas, in Bhujel and Magar Kaike the interrogative pronouns *su* ‘who’ is used to form correlative clauses. Similarly, in Limbu the interrogative pronouns *atto* ‘where’ is used to form correlative clause. Let’s see the examples from different languages.

In Tamang,

- (30) a. *halase ada nariol pinba t e latakosero hinna*
[hala-se a-da nariol pin-ba] t e latakosero
who-ERG 1SG-DAT coconut give-NML that owl
hin-na
be-NPST
‘The owl who give me a coconut.’ (MAEN_012)

Example (30a), the interrogative pronouns-*hala* ‘who’ is used in the Tamang relative clauses.

According to Subba (2005: 42), the correlative clause in Limbu can be presented as in (30b).

- b. *atto kegettille k adam pa hi o ipse*
[atto ke-gett-ille k adam] pa he -o ips-e
where 2-reach-OBL night TOP there-LOC sleep-2NSG/IMPR
‘Where you will reach and nightfall, stay there.’ (Subba, 2005:42)

In example (30b), shows the correlative construction in Limbu. In this example, the question word *atto* ‘where’ function as a relativizer, shows that the relativized noun phrase is the subject.

In Magar Kaike,

- c. *su i pr sn loppa n simi l ja*
[su -i pr sn lop-pa] n simi l ja
who 1SG-ERG question ask-PERF.CJ that man good COP
‘The man whom I asked question is good.’ (Regmi, 2013: 121)

In example (30c), the relative-correlative clauses marginally exist in Magar Kaike. It makes the use of interrogative pronouns for this purpose. In this example, the interrogative pronouns *su* ‘who’ is used to formed correlative clauses.

In Bhujel,

d. *sukoj mjan galto muna ukaj*

su-koj	mjan	galto	mu-na	u-kaj	a	man
who-GEN	hair	black	stay-NPST	3SG-DIST-DAT	1SG	liking
parajna						
occur-NPST-1/2						

‘I like the woman who has black hair.’ (Regmi, 2005:341)

In example (30d), Bhujel also employ interrogative pronoun *su* ‘who’ is used to form the correlative clause.

3.2.3 The grammatical relations that can be relativized

The grammatical relations such as subject, direct object, indirect object, locative, instrumental and possessive. The grammatical relations accessible for the relativization can be shown as:

a. Subject

The noun phrase in the subject position can be relativized. In Tamang, the NP *keti* ‘girl’ assumes the grammatical relation of subject in the relative clause. Similarly, in Bhujel *kuy* ‘dog’ assumes the subject of the relative clause. In Magar Kaike, the head noun *simi* ‘man’ is subject of the modifying clause. In Panthare Limbu, the interrogative pronoun *attil-le* ‘who-ERG’ is used to relativized in subject position of relative clause. In Panthare Limbu, to relativized noun phrase in subject position the interrogative pronoun *attil-le* ‘who-ERG’ is followed by ergative marker. Let’s see the examples of subject relativization from different languages as in (31a-d).

In Tamang,

(31) a. *ashikda maja laba keti ashika hinna*

ashik-da	maja	la-ba	keti	ashika	hin-na
ashik-DAT	love	do-NML	girl	ashika	be-NPST

‘The girl who loves Ashik is Ashika.’ [PAPS_010]

Example (31a) shows that the head noun *keti* ‘girl’ is the subject of the modifying clause. The position of the argument shows that the subject of the modifying clause is relativized.

In Bhujel,

b. *dza sato kuj*

[dza sat-o] kuj

ti er kill-PTCP dog

‘The dog which killed Tigers.’ (Regmi, 2007: 343)

Example (31b), the relativized noun phrase *kuj* ‘dog’ assumes the grammatical relation of subject in the relative clause.

Similarly in Magar Kaike,

c. *ku t otpan simi la tsimnan*

[ku t ot-pa-n - ø] simi la tsim-nan

honey extract-NML-GEN man hand lick-NML

‘The man who extracts honey licks hand.’ (Regmi, 2013: 121)

Example (31c), the missing co-referent noun occupies the grammatical case role of subject.

In Panthate Limbu,

d. *attille k ema p o:kk u helle t g ur po:*

[attil-le k ema p o:k-k u hel-le t g -u-r po:

who-ERG debet rise-cause/PST he-ERG solve-3SG-SIM should

‘The man who raised this debt should solve.’ (Subba, 2005: 43)

Example (31d), the relativized noun phrase is *attil-le* ‘who-ERG’. It is in the subject position.

b. Direct object

The noun phrase in the direct object position can be relativized. In Tamang, the relativized noun phrase *kan* ‘rice’ is direct object in relative clause. In Bhujel, the relativized noun phrase *tsit i* ‘letter’ is direct object in relative clause. Similarly, in Magar Kaike, the co-referent noun takes the direct object in relative clause. In Panthare Limbu, the interrogative pronoun is used to relativized the direct object position in relative clause. In direct object relativized position the interrogative pronoun *att* ‘whom’ is followed by dative marker- *in*. Direct object relativized can be shown as in (32a-d).

In Tamang,

(32) a. *t ese pinba kan ase tsadzi*

t e-se pin-ba kan a-se tsa-dzi
3SG-ERG give-NML rice 1SG-ERG eat-PST

‘I ate the rice which he gave me.’ [ADB_019]

In example (32a), the relativized noun phrase *kan* ‘rice’ in the relative clause is the direct object.

In Bhujel,

b. *djo ai lek o tsit i*

[djo a-i lek -o] tsit i
that 1SG-ERG write-PTCP letter

‘The letter which I write.’ (Regmi, 2005: 344)

Example (32b), the relativized noun phrase *tsit i* ‘letter’ in the relative clause is the direct object.

In Magar Kaike,

c. *i rowapan simidze d oka bimbo*

[-i rowa-pa-n - ø] simi-je dhoka bim-bo
1SG-ERG believe-NML-GEN man-ERG cheat give-PERF.DJ

‘The man whom I believe cheated me.’ (Regmi, 2013: 121)

Example (32c), the co-referent noun takes the case role of direct object.

Similarly in Panthare Limbu,

d. *attin ments ja:n asira t a hen ja ra:ktu /*

[att-in ments ja:-n a-sira t a] hen ja -ra:kt-u-
whom-DAT girl-DEF 1SG-like that paddy-dance-3SG-1SG/NPST

‘The girl whom I like will dance with her.’ (Subba, 2005: 43)

Example (32d), the noun phrase *att-in* ‘whom-DAT’ is direct object position. It has been relativized.

c. Indirect object

The noun phrase in the indirect object position can be relativized. In Tamang, the relativized noun phrase *nariol* ‘coconut’ is indirect object of relative clause. In Bhujel, the relativized noun phrase *juk* ‘monkey’ is relativized in indirect object position. Similarly, in Magar Kaike the case role of the missing co-referent noun is referred in indirect position. In Panthare Limbu, the interrogative pronoun is used to relativized the indirect object position. In Panthare Limbu, in indirect object relativized position the interrogative pronoun *att* ‘whom’ is followed by dative marker-*in*. Indirect object position relativized as in (33a-d).

In Tamang,

- (33) a. *latakoserose pinba nariol m g rse tsadzi*
latakosero-se pin-ba nariol m g r-se tsa-dzi
owl-ERG give-NML coconut monkey-ERG eat-PST
‘The monkey ate the coconut which is given by owl’ [MAEN_010]

Example (33a), the noun phrase which is relativized is in the indirect object. In this example, the indirect object is *nariol* ‘coconut’ is relativized in relative clause.

In Bhujel,

- b. *djo dzakaj sat juk*
[djo dza-kaj sat-o] juk
that tiger-ERG kill-PTCP monkey
‘The monkey whom the tiger killed.’ (Regmi, 2007: 344)

Example (33b), the noun phrase which is relativized is in the indirect object. The *juk* ‘monkey’ is relativized in indirect object position in relative clause.

In Magar Kaike,

- c. *lamudze k l m bimpan simi i kapi bimpa*
lamu-dze k l m bim-pa-n -ø] simi -i kapi bim-pa
lamu-ERG pen give-NML-GEN man 1SG-ERG copy give-PERF.CJ
‘I gave the exercise book to the person whom Lamu gave a pen.’ (Regmi, 2007: 344)

Example (33c), the case role of the missing co-referent noun is referred to as indirect object.

Similarly in Panthare Limbu,

- d. *sitare attin t i piru hen a ga t ino ma piru*
 [sita-re att-in t i piru] hen a ga t ino ma
 sita-ERG whom-DAT wine give-3SG/PST that I curry
 pir-u-
 give-3SG/PST-1SG

‘I gave the curry to the person whom Sita gave wine.’ (Subba, 2005: 43)

Example (33d), the noun phrase *att-in* ‘whom-DAT’ is the indirect object which is relativized.

d. Oblique

The noun phrase in the oblique position can be relativized. In Tamang, the relativized noun phrase *ala a a t are la* is relativized in the oblique position in the relative clause. Similarly, in Magar Kaike the relativized noun phrase *nu ts u pann* is relativized in the oblique position. In Panthare Limbu, the noun phrase *ha:t him ts d an la:t* is relativized. The relativization of oblique from different languages can be shown as in (34a-c).

In Tamang,

- (34) a. *ala a a t are la namsari nidzi*
 [a-la a a t are -la] namsa-ri ni-dzi
 1SG-GEN young.sister far-GEN namsa- LOC chamile
 ‘The village to where Akash came is Chamile village.’(ACS_004)

Example (34a), the noun phrase *ala a a t are la* ‘1SG-GEN young.sister far-GEN’ is relativized is in oblique position.

In Magar Kaike,

- b. *nu ts u pann jim l ja*
 [nu ts u -pa-n -ø] jim l ja
 2SG stay-NML-GEN house good COP

‘The house in which you stay is good.’ (Regmi, 2013: 121)

Example (34b), the noun phrase *nu ts u pann* ‘2SG stay-NML-GEN’ is relativized is in oblique position of relative clause.

In Panthare Limbu,

- c. *ha:t him ts d an la:t hen a ga tsi:ttu*
 [ha:t him ts d an la:t] hen a ga tsi:tt-u-
 who house On ride/3SGNPST that I hate-3SG-1SG/NPST

‘I hate the man who rides the house.’ (Subba, 2005: 44)

Example (34c), the noun phrase *ha:t him ts d an la:t* ‘who house on ride/3SGNPST’ is relativized is in oblique position.

Apart from the grammatical relations, the NP can also be relativized for locative and instrumental position in Bhujel as in:

e. Locative

The noun phrase in the locative position can be relativized. The noun phrase *kla* ‘place’ is relativized is in locative position in Tamang. Similarly, in Bhujel the noun phrase *kim* ‘house’ is relativized is in locative case. The relativization of locative case can be shown as in (35a-b).

In Tamang,

- (35) a. *akas nilaba kla tapledzu hinna*
 akas ni-la-ba kla tapledzu hin-na
 akash go-do-NML place taplejung be-NPST
 ‘The place where he goes is Taplejung.’ [ACS_015]

Example (35a), the noun phrase *kla* ‘place’ is relativized is in locative case.

In Bhujel,

- b. *djo hau muo kim*
 djo hau mu-o kim
 that brother stay-PTCP house

‘The house in which the brother stayed.’ (Regmi, 2005: 345)

Example (35b), the noun phrase *kim* ‘house’ is relativized is in locative case.

f. Instrumental

The noun phrase in the instrumental position in can be relativized. In Tamang, the enclitic case marker-*se* ‘INST’ indicates that the noun phrase *si ka* ‘stick’ is instrument. Similarly, in Bhujel the noun phrase *d anu* ‘arrow’ is instrument. The relativization of instrumental case can be shown as in (36a-b).

In Tamang,

- (36)a. *ak ese mamda pinba si kase m g r todzi*
 ak e-se mam-da pin-ba si ka-se m g r
 grandfather-ERG grandmother-DAT give-NML stick-INST monkey
 to-dzi
 beat-PST
 ‘The monkey was beaten with the stick given by grandfather to grandmother.’
 [MSB_007]

Example (36a), the noun phrase *si ka-se* ‘stick-INST’ is relativized is in instrumental case.

- b. *dzakaj sato d anu*
 dza-kaj sat-o d anu
 ti er-DAT kill-PTCP arrow

‘The arrow with which (he) killed the tiger.’ (Regmi, 2005: 345)

Example (36b), the noun phrase *d anu* ‘arrow’ is relativized is in instrumental case.

3.3 Conclusion

In this way, this chapter dealt with the typological study of relative clause found in Bhujel, Limbu and Magar Kaike languages. In section 3.1, we presented the formation of relative clause. In Tamang nominalizer-*ba* functions as a relativizer. Whereas in Bhujel there are two nominalizers-*m y* and *-o* are affixed to the root of the verb to form relative clause. Similarly, in Magar Kaike there are three forms of nominalizers:- *pa*, *-nan*, and *ma*. Both *-pa* and *-nan* are affixed to the verb as suffixes whereas *-ma* is attached to an adjective to show the comparison between the two entities of the clause. In Magar Kaike, only the nominalizer-*pa* and *-nan* are employed to form relative construction. The nominalizer *pa* is followed by genitive marker-*n* and *-nan* is followed by the dative marker-*g*. In Limbu, there are two affixes are used to form relative clause. Both prefix-*ke* and suffix-*ba* are attached to the verb. The participle *-ke* is relativizer and *-ba* is nominalizer. In section 3.2, we presented the typological parameters of relative clause. In section 3.2.1, we presented the position of the clause with respect to the head noun. In section 3.2.2, we presented the mood of expression of the relativized noun phrase. In section 3.2.3, we presented the grammatical relations that can be relativized. Within the grammatical we discussed the subject, object, location and instrumental can be relativized. In Tamang, the enclitic case marker-*se* ‘INST’ is suffixed to the noun phrase and it indicates instrumental case.

Table 3.1 Sharing the similarities and differences with Tamang.

Parameters		Tamang	Bhujel	Magar Kaike	Limbu
Position of head	Prenominal				
	Internally headed	×		×	
	Headless		×	×	
Mode of expression	Mode of expression				
	Correlative				
Grammatical relation	Subject				
	Direct object				
	Indirect object				

	Oblique		×		
	Locative			×	×
	Instrumental			×	×

CHAPTER 4

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The main focus of the study was to analyze the relative clause in the Tamang. This study was mainly based on Givón (2001) and Payne (1997). To carry out this research the researcher took data from the native speaker of Dewpur village in the district of Kabhre Palanchok.

Tamang is a Tibeto-Burman language. Tamang falls under the sub-group of Sino-Tibetan language family. A total of 1, 353, 311 people speak Tamang as their mother tongue in Nepal. This is the fifth major language of Nepal. Tamang covers 5.8% and the total population is 1, 539, 830 in Nepal. Tamang is mainly spoken in the district of Dhading, Nuwakot, Rasuwa, Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Lalitpur, Kavrepalanchok, Ramechaap, Dolokha and Makwanpur. Likely in India Tamang can be found in Darjeeling, Sikkim, Kalimpong and Dooars. It is traditionally written in Sambhota script, but one of the leading Tamang organizations Nepal Tamang Ghedung has been using a script known as 'Tamyang' which is well modified version of the Sambhota script. However, most of the Tamang publications adopted Devanagari script due to the influence of Nepali language. It has SOV word order.

There are four chapters altogether with annexes. In chapter 1, we have dealt with introduction, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, literature review, methodology, significance of the study, limitations of the study and organization of the study. We introduced the Tamang language and presented the genetic affiliation of the language.

In chapter 2, we have presented relative clauses in Tamang language. This chapter is the heart of this research in which the relativization in Tamang has been descriptively analyzed. In this chapter, there is a general introduction about relative clause. Firstly we analyzed the relative clauses in terms of its position with respect to its head noun. In this respect, the relative clauses can be prenominal and headless. In Tamang the suffix <-ba> functions as a relativizer. Secondly, the role of the relativized noun phrase can be different from the role of its head noun within the relative clause. Such roles can be identified by using different strategies like gap, pronoun retention, relative pronoun. In relative clauses, three strategies are used to identify the relativized function of the head noun inside the modifying clause. If subject, object, an oblique argument, or an adjunct is relativized then it is gapped. However, if the possessor of the subject is relativized then a resumptive pronoun occurs in the place of

the possessor. Regarding the position of relative clause there are initial, medial and final relative clause. Both copying and chopping construction can be discussed. The grammatical relations such as subject, object, locative and instrumental.

In chapter 3, we have presented the typological study of Tamang relative clauses with three TB languages such as Bhujel, Magar Kaike and Limbu. In the formation of relative clause, we have presented two strategies; participle or non-finite and correlative or finite construction commonly found in TB languages spoken in Nepal. The relative clause with respect to typological parameters, we have presented them in terms of the position of relative clause, the mode of expression of the relativized NP and the grammatical relation that can be relativized. In respect to the position of the relative clause, we presented externally headed, and internally headed relative clauses. The mode of expression consists of different case-roles realized by the relativized noun within the relative clause. The grammatical relation includes subject, direct object, indirect object, locative and instrumental in TB languages. . In Tamang nominalizer-*ba* functions as a relativizer. Whereas in Bhujel there are two nominalizers *-m y* and *-o* are affixed to the root of the verb to form relative clause. Similarly, in Magar Kaike there are three forms of nominalizers: *-pa*, *-nan*, and *-ma*. Both *-pa* and *-nan* are affixed to the verb as suffixes whereas *-ma* is attached to an adjective to show the comparison between the two entities of the clause. In Magar Kaike, only the nominalizer *-pa* and *-nan* are employed to form relative construction. The nominalizer *pa* is followed by genitive marker *-n* and *-nan* is followed by the dative marker-*g* . In Limbu, there are two affixes are used to form relative clause. Both prefix-*ke* and suffix-*ba* are attached to the verb. The participle *-ke* is relativizer and *-ba* is nominalizer.

ANNEXES-1

ABOUT DEPARTED

(NARRATED BY BIKRAM WAIBA)

ADB_001

mhi sidzi bisam ats a lamada oibari niba mula anim lama haba mula

mhi si-dzi bi-sam ats a lama-da oi-ba-ri ni-ba mu-la
person die-PST say-COND before monk-DAT ask-NML-LOC go-NML be-NPST
ani-m lama ha-ba mu-la
and-INFR monk come-NML be-NPST

‘If a man dies, first go to call the monk, and monk will come.’

ADB_002

lama hasi saman basi haba mula siba borbari suru laba mula

lama ha-si saman ba-si ha-ba mu-la si-ba
monk come-SEQ equipment bring-SEQ come-NML be-NPST die-NML
bor-ba-ri suru la-ba mu-la
take-NML-LOC start do-NML be-NPST

‘The monk will bring their equipment, and start their procedures to take the dead body for funeral.’

ADB_003

t e siba mhila dz amekolakade haba mula anim ombokade airak bap baba mula

t e si-ba mhi-la dz ame-kola-kade ha-ba mu-la ani-m
that die-NML person-GEN daughter-child-PL come-NML be-NPST and-INFR
mbo-kade airak bap ba-ba mu-la
guest-PL alcohol rice beer bring-NML be-NPST

‘The daughter of dead person will come and the guests bring the alcohol and rice beer.’

ADB_004

anim na sal mraba mula anim siba mhi dursari borba mula

ani-m na sal mra-ba mu-la ani-m si-ba mhi dursa-ri

and-INFR light kindle-NML be- NPST and-INFR die-NML person grave- LOC
 bor-ba mu-la
 take- NML be-NPST

‘Then lights are lighted, and the dead body is taken to the grave.’

ADB_005

anim siba mhi kra ba mula anim lamakade m lamikade dosi haba mula

ani-m si-ba mhi kra -ba mu-la ani-m lama-kade
 and-INFR die-NML person burn-NML be-NPST and-INFR monk-PL
 m lami-kade do-si ha-ba mu-la
 mourner-PL return-SEQ come-NML be-NPST

‘Then dead body is burnt and the monk and the murner at a funeral return home.’

ADB_006

anim t e siba mhila astu basi kwan por p lasi nak le p iri t anba mula t e p iri garpa mula

ani-m t e si-ba mhi-la astu ba-si kwan por p
 and-INFR that die- NML person-GEN cremated body bring-SEQ cloth collect
 la-si nak le p i-ri t an-ba mu-la t e p i - ri garpa
 do- SEQ winnowing tray on-LOC keep-NML be-NPST that on-LOC cover
 mu-la
 be-NPST

‘The residual bone of the cremated body of the dead body is brought home and the cloths are collected and kept on the winnowing tray and covered.’

ADB_007

lamase olaba mula lamakade dosi niba mula

lama-se ola-ba mu-la lama-kade do-si ni-ba
 monk-ERG speak.random-NML be-NPST monk-PL return-SEQ go-NML
 mu-ba
 be-NPST

‘Monk will speak randomly and the monks return their home.’

ADB_008

anim deben sat dinla kelabari lamada oibari niba mula

ani-m deben sat din-la ke-la-ba-ri lama-da oi-ba-ri
and- INFR again seven day-GEN work-do-NML-LOC monk- DAT ask-NML-LOC
ni-ba mu-la
go-NML be-NPST

‘Then the monks will bring seven days works of funeral rite.’

ADB_009

lama haba mula lamase g ewari na sal mraba mula

lama ha-ba mu-la lama-se g ewa-ri na sal mra-ba
monk come-NML be-NPST monk-ERG funeralrite-LOC light kindle-NML
mu-la
be-NPST

‘Monks will come and kindle the light in the funeral rite.’

ADB_010

deben lama timri dosi niba mula anim deben lamada ter dinri porbari niba mula

deben lama tim-ri do-si ni-ba mu-la ani-m deben
again monk house-LOC return-SEQ go-NML be-NPST and-INFR again
lama-da ter din-ri por-ba-ri ni-ba mu-la
monk-DAT thirteen day-LOC take-NML-LOC go-NML be-NPST

‘Monks will return home and again in thirteen days the men will go to take the monk.’

ADB_011

anim lama saman basi haba mula

ani-m lama saman ba-si ha-ba mu-la
and-INFR monk equipment bring-SEQ come-NML be-NPST

‘Then monk will come with their equipment.’

ADB_012

lama hasi g ewa suru laba mula g ewa tsauda dinri dzinna laba mula

lama ha-si g ewa suru la-ba mu-la g ewa tsauda
monk come-SEQ funeral rite start do-NML be-NPST funeral rite fourteen
din-ri dzin-na la-ba mu-la
day-LOC finish-NPST do-NML be-NPST

‘Monk will come and start to do funeral rite and finish in fourteen days.’

ADB_013

anim labala na gar lanan ombokade haba mula

ani-m la-bala na gar lanan dmbo-kade ha-ba mu-la
and-INFR do-PERF tomorrow much guest-PL come-NML be-NPST

‘Then so many guest come the next day.’

ADB_014

anim lama sjaba mula anim tim na gjam p irkjab teba mula

ani-m lama sjaba mu-la ani-m tim na -gjam p irkjab teba
and-INFR monk dance be-NPST and-INFR house inside-ABL outside move
mu - la
be - NPST

‘The monk will dance and take out the piece of cloths of dead person from the house.’

ADB_015

anim deben na gar t e siba mhila dz a dz amekadede kwan baba mula

ani-m deben na gar t e si-ba mhi-la dz a dz ame-kade-da
and-INFR again tomorrow that die-NML person-GEN son daughter-PL-DAT
kwan ba-ba mu-la
cloth bring-NML be-NPST

‘Again next day that dead men’s son and daughter will bring the cloths.’

ADB_016

anim asa a ise tika t ansi damen pinba mula anim baba kwannon pinba mula

ani-m asa a i-se tika t an-si damen pin-ba mu-la

and-INFR uncle aunt-ERG what keep-SEQ money give-NML be-NPST

ani-m ba-ba kwan-non pin-ba mu-la

and-INFR bring-NML cloth-also give-NML be-NPST

‘Uncle and aunt will keep tika then give money and cloths also.’

ADB_017

asa a i timri nidzi

asa a i tim-ri ni-dzi

uncle aunt house-LOC go-PST

‘Uncle and aunt went home.’

ADB_018

anim lamada bida laba mula dz amekolada non bida laba mula

ani-m lama-da bida la-ba mu-la dz ame-kola-da non

and-INFR monk-DAT bye do-NML be-NPST daughter-child-DAT also

bida la-ba mu-la

bye do-NML be-NPST

‘Then say good bye to the monk and the daughters too.’

ADB_019

dzamekola sibase apa amada lanan duk i shodzi

dzame-kola si-ba-se apa ama-da lanan duk i sho-dzi

daughter-child die-NML-ERG father mother-DAT much sad make-PST

‘When the daughter dies it makes her father mother very sad.’

ADB_020

dzamaida t a mula gorki dzamai mhi siba mula

dzamai-da t a mu-la gor-ki dzamai mhi si-ba mu-la

all-DAT know be-NPST CLF-one all person die-NML be-NPST

‘Everybody knows that one day everyone has to die.’

ANNEXES-2

DEVELOPMENT FOR TAMANG (NARRATED BY SANTABIR TAMANG)

DFTS_001

ala min pasa lama hinna

a-la min pasa lama hin-na

1SG-GEN name pasang lama be-NPST

‘My name is Pasang Lama.’

DFTS_002

ala namsa dewpu kabhre

a-la namasa dewpur kabhre

1SG-GEN village dewpur kabhre

‘My village is Dewpur Kabhre.’

DFTS_003

lanan tama dzatkade tsiba klalan mhi hinla

lanan tama dzat-kade tsi-ba kla-la-n mhi hin-la

many tamang caste-PL sit-NML place-GEN-EMP man be-NPST

‘I am a man who belongs to the place where most Tamang people live.’

DFTS_004

t e taba talden tama dzatla g joida ada lanan maja mula

t e ta-ba talden tama dzat-la g joi-da a-da lanan

that be-NML due.to tamang caste-GEN language-DAT 1SG-DAT many

maja mu-la

love be-NPST

‘Therefore, I have a great love for the language of the Tamang people.’

DFTS_005

t e tabase tama dzatigadela g joiden d armada hara lasi bikas laba mula

t e ta-ba-se tama dzati-kade-la g joi-den d arma-da hara
that be-NML- tamang caste-PL-GEN language-with religi3n-DAT how
ERG

la-si bikas la-ba mu-la

do-SEQ development do-NML be-NPST

‘So, I am going to tell (you) how (we) can develop the language and the religion of the Tamang people’.

DFTS_006

tama dzat tsa radzanitgjam dam ngjam rim himgjam kairanri tsa ts u jap lathanba

tama dzat tsa radzanit-gjam dam n-gjam rim him-gjam kairan-ri
tamang caste TOP political-ABL money-ABL cultura-ABL history-LOC
tsa ts u jap la-t an-ba

TOP separation do-keep-NML

‘The Tamang people are people who are left out in the history (of Nepal) from the every aspect of politics, economy, and culture.’

DFTS_007

tila bisam nepalla bikasla kramrit tsjadzi bisam tsu nepalla b umiri tama gade hinna

tila bi-sam nepal-la bikas-la kram-ri tsja-dzi bi-sam
what say-COND nepal-GEN develop-GEN process-LOC look-PST say-COND
tsu b umi-ri tama -gade hin-na

this land-LOC tamang-PL be-NPST

‘What (I) mean is if you look at the development process of Nepal, it was the Tamang people who had first occupied the land of Nepal.’

DFTS_008

jamburi non ats an tsa tama la gl e muba

jambu-ri non ats a tsa tama -la gl e mu-ba

kathmandu-LOC also before TOP tamang-GEN king be-NPST

‘Even in Kathmandu, the Tamangs reigned first of all.’

DFTS_009

dzasto kirat kal b anda ats a tama gl e muba tama gjalbo muba

dzasto kirat kal b anda ats a tama gl e mu-ba tama

like kirat dynasty than before tamang king be-NML tamang

gjalbo mu-ba

king be-NMML

‘There were the Tamang kings and rulers earlier than the Kirat dynasty.’

DFTS_010

t e gjalboda saisi tapba tsaja lits a haba arko dzatkade hinna

t e gjalbo-da sat-si tap-ba tsa-ja lits a ha-ba arko

that ruler-DAT kill-SEQ tread.on-NML TOP-EMP after come-NML next

dzat-kade hin-na

caste-PL be-NPST

‘The other races who came later destroyed the reign of the Tamangs.’

DFTS_011

t e lama tama gjalbola kairanda bjha si dzun bib inna dzatkadese t enina sasan shodzi

t e la-ma tama gjalbo-la kairan-da dzun bjha -si dzat-kade-se
that do-when tamang ruler-GEN history-DAT any discard-SEQ caste-PL-ERG
t e-ni-la sasan sho-dzi
that-PL-GEN reign make-PST

‘Thus, after discarding the history of the Tamang's rulers, the other various races established their reign.’

DFTS_012

t eda ka se na si pindzi

t e-da ka -se na -si pin-dzi
that-DAT foot-INST press.down-SEQ give-PST

‘They trampled on those (history, language and religion of the Tamangs).’

DFTS_013

mar mar t ansi pindzi

mar mar t an-si pin-dzi
down down Keep-SEQ give-PST

‘The Tamangs are down-trodden.’

DFTS_014

t e tabase tsu tama dzatla kairan tsa darem mubam gr en mula

t e ta-ba-se tsu tama dzat-la kairan tsa darem
that be-NML-ERG this tamang caste-NPST history TOP now
mu-ban gr en mu-la

be-PROG big be-NPST

‘Therefore, the history of this Tamang tribe might be significant if it had existed.’

DFTS_015

tasai non m ai ahamba klari d osi nidzi

ta-sai non m ai a-ham-ba kla-ri d o-si ni-dzi

be-CONCES also seek.for NEG-can-NML place-LOC arrive-SEQ go-PST

‘Though (the history of the Tamangs) exists, it is too difficult to trace it.’

DFTS_016

t e non tama dzat non ahin

t e non tama dzat non a-hin

that also tamang caste also NEG-be

‘It is not only the Tamangs who should unite for this development.’

DFTS_017

nepalri tama ra ban ma golijan dzatla mhigade non gik iksi b rato: mula

nepal-ri tama ra -ba-n ma golijan dzat-la mhi-gade non

nepal-LOC tamang like-NML-EMP mongolian caste-GEN man-PL also

gik dik-si b ra-to: mu-la

one fit-SEQ walk-need be-NPST

‘All the Mongolian people like the Tamangs in Nepal should also be united.’

DFTS_018

tsura ba dzatkade tsa nepalri lanan mula

tsu-ra ba dzat-kade tsa nepal-ri lanan mu-la

this-like caste-PL TOP nepal-LOC many be-NPST

‘There are a lot of ethnic groups in Nepal like these ethnic groups.’

DFTS_019

t r sa k ja lanan areba torla ba:man dzatse tsa tama dzatda sosan lasi tsi mula

t r sa k ja lanan a-re-ba tor-la ba:man dzat-se
but population many NEG-be-NML above-GEN brahman caste-ERG
tsa tama dzat-da sosan la-si tsi mu-la
TOP tamang caste-DAT exploitation do-SEQ sit be-NPST

‘But the high caste Brahmins who are the minority in population have exploited the Tamangs.’

DFTS_020

tara tama kadela gorki bani adzjaba mu-la

tara tama -kade-la gor-ki bani a-dzja-ba mu-la
but tamang-PL-GEN CLF-one habit NEG-good-NML be-NPST

‘But the Tamangs have one bad habit.’

DFTS_021

t ela lagiri sa bid anse non adhikar pindzi tsi mula

t e-la lagiri sa bid an-se non adhikar pin-dzi tsi mu-la
That-GEN For constitution-ERG aslo right give-PST sit be-NPST

‘The constitution has also given the right to everyone for that development.’

DFTS_022

lananra ba aseba kamjorigade tsa jha hinna

lanan-ra ba a-se-ba kamjori-gade tsa jha hin-na
many-like NEG-know-NML weak-PL TOP 1PL be-NPST

‘It is mostly we who are ignorant and weak.’

DFTS_023

jha lits a taba karangade lanan mula

jha lits a ta-ba karan-gade lanan mu-la
1PL after be-NML reason-PL many be-NPST

‘There are many reasons why we are backward.’

DFTS_024

nepal biba bli dzat 36 barnala gorki m endo wharara ban hinna

nepal bi-ba bli 36 barna-la m endo whara-ra ba-n hin-na
nepal say-NML four 36 race-GEN flower field-like-EMP be-NPST

‘Nepal is like a garden of four castes and thirty-six races.’

DFTS_025

tsu whara na ri mudeban dzatkade sardzi bisam nepalla rimt im tor d ola

tsu whara na -ri mu-de-ban dzat-kade sar-dzi bi-sam
this field inside-LOC be-up.to-PROG caste-PL blossom-PST say-CON
nepal-la rimt im tor d o-la
nepal-GEN culture above arrive-NPST

‘If all the ethnic groups which are in this garden blossom, Nepal's cultural heritage will increase.’

DFTS_026

jambuli la ats a nepal o sela ki

jambuli -la ats a nepal o se-la ki
world-GEN before nepal notice know-PST Q

‘Might Nepal be well-known to the world?’

ANNEXES-3
THE STORY OF MONKEY
(NARRATED BY DHAN BAHADUR TAMANG)

MSD_001

tsu kat a k eti barela hinna

tsu kat a k eti bare-la hin-na
this story field about-GEN be-NPST

‘This story is about a field.’

MSD_002

uima uima tila taba ro bisam ak e mamse wharari taja suba ro

uima uima tila ta-ba ro bi-sam ak e
long.time.ago long.time.ago what be-NML INDIR say-COND grandfather
mam-se whara-ri taja su-ba ro
grandmother-ERG field-LOC peach plant-NML INDIR

‘Once upon a time an old man and his wife had planted peach in the field.’

MSD_003

taja sumalts e tsa gorki m gar hasi ak e mam tsu taja suba tsa tsura lasi ahin

taja su-malts e tsa gor-ki m gar ha-si ak e mam
peach plant-when TOP CLF-one monkey come-SEQ grandfather grandmother
tsu taja su-ba tsa tsu-ra la-si a-hin
this peach plant-NML TOP this-like do-SEQ NEG-be

‘When they planted peach, a monkey came to them and said, Grandfather and grandmother! This is not the right way to plant peach.’

MSD_004

pa malts e mamk wi jha se tsura lasi taja suba ataba ro

pa	-malts e	mamk wi	jha	-se	tsu-ra	la-si	taja	su-ba
tell-when		wife	1PL-ERG	this-like	do-SEQ	peach	Plant-NML	
a-ta-ba			ro					
NEG-be-NML			INDIR					

‘After the monkey said that, the grandfather said, Honey, it is said that we shouldn’t plant peach like this.’

MSD_005

bl osiman tsa tapariri jusi morab lasi wharari sumalts e tsa ekdam butta g ren tala ro

bl	o-siman	tsa	tapari-ri	ju-si	morab	la-si	whara-ri
boil-after	TOP		leaf.plate-LOC	put-SEQ	packing	do-SEQ	field-LOC
su-malts e	tsa	ekdam	butta	g ren	ta-la	ro	
plant-after	TOP	very	seedling	big	be-NPST	INDIR	

‘It is said that after we boil the arum peach, put it on a leaf-plate, plant it in the field, it can grow big.’

MSD_006

t eri si ka tsinu t ansi sutola ro bisi ak ese pa dzim

t	e-ri	si ka	tsinu	t an-si	su-to-la	ro	bi-si
that-LOC	stick	sign	keep-SEQ	plant-need-NPST	INDIR	say-SEQ	
ak e-se			pa	-dzi-m			

grandfather-ERG tell-PST-INFR

‘It is said that we should make a sign with a stick there, said the grandfather.’

MSD_007

t e ra lasi susi deben das pandra din lits a wharari p widzi tala bisi tsjabari nidzim

t e ra la-si su-si deben das pandra din lits a whara-ri

that like do-SEQ plant-SEQ again ten fifteen day after Field-LOC

p wi-dzi ta-la bi-si tsja-bari ni-dzi-m

grow-PST be-NPST say-SEQ look-PURP go-PST-INFR

‘They went to see it again ten or fifteen days later after they planted it, thinking, It must have grown big in the field by now.’

MSD_008

nimalts em areba

ni-malts e-m a-re-ba

go-when-INFR NEG-be-NML

‘When they went to see it, there was nothing in the field.’

MSD_009

m garse t e bl oba tajala tapari tsa tesi mrenna tsasi m gar jardzim

m gar t e bl o-ba taja-la tapari tsa te-si

monkey that boil-NML peach-GEN leaf.plate TOP take.out-SEQ

mrenna tsa-si jar-dzi-m

Full eat-SEQ run-PST-INFR

‘The monkey had taken out the plate of boiled arum, ate his fill, and ran away.’

MSD_010

taja are

Taja a-re

peach NEG-be

‘There was no arum left.’

MSD_011

tapari saksjok desi mrenna taja tsasi nidzim

tapari saksjok de-si mrenna taja tsa-si ni-dzi-m

leaf.plate into.pieces tear-SEQ full peach eat-SEQ go-PST-INFR

‘The monkey tore the plate into pieces, ate his fill of the arum and ran away.’

MSD_012

ala taja b asakka tsabala lagiri tsuse p atta tam pa dzim

a-la taja b asakka tsa-bala lagiri tsu-se p atta tam

1SG- peach completely eat-PERF for this-ERG deceitful story
GEN

pa -dzi-m

tell-PST-INFR

‘This monkey told me a falsehood in order to eat my arum completely.’

MSD_013

mamk wi e tsa t e m gar oibari niu

mamk wi e tsa t e m gar oi-bari ni-u

wife 2SG TOP that monkey ask-PURP go-EMP

‘Honey, go call the monkey to our home.’

MSD_014

a birami shotsila tsuri

a birami sho-tsi-la tsu-ri

1SG sick make-sit-NPST this-LOC

‘I will stay here pretending to be sick.’

MSD_015

t eda a birami bisi pa go

t e-da a birami bi-si pa -go

that-DAT 1SG sick say-SEQ tell-HORT

‘Tell him that I am sick.’

MSD_016

ela ak e tila tadzi tila tadzi nati

e-la ak e tila ta-dzi tila ta-dzi nati

2SG-GEN grandfather what be-PST what be-PST grandson

‘Grandson, what happened to your grandfather?’

MSD_017

ela ak e tsjatodzi nati bisi pa niu

e-la ak e tsja-to-dzi nati bi-si pa -ni-u

2SG-GEN grandfather see-need-PST grandson say-SEQ tell-go-EMP

‘Go tell him, grandson, you should go see what happened to your grandfather.’

MSD_018

t e m gar hala

t e m gar ha-la

that monkey come-NPST

‘This monkey will come after you.’

MSD_019

t eda tosi sattodzi bisi sallah ladzim

t e-da to-si sat-to-dzi bi-si sallah la-dzi-m

that-DAT hit-SEQ kill-need-PST say-SEQ discussion do-PST-INFR

‘They discussed with each other, saying, We should hit and kill him.’

MSD_020

anim k wi t e m gar oibari nidzim

ani-m k wi t e m gar oi-bari ni-dzi-m

and-INFR wife that monkey ask-PURP go-PST-INFR

‘Then the grandmother went to call the monkey.’

MSD_021

nimalts e m gar ruptadzi

ni-malts e m gar rup-ta-dzi

go-when monkey meet-be-PST

‘She met the monkey when she went to see him.’

MSD_022

ani aha nati ela ak e tsa birami mula

ani aha nati e-la ak e tsa birami mu-la

and oh grandson 2SG-GEN grandfather TOP sick be-NPST

‘Oh grandson, your grandfather is sick.’

MSD_023

pa malts e jha mam bisi t e m gar hadzi

pa -malts e jha mam bi-si t e m gar ha-dzi

tell-when ok grandmother say-SEQ that monkey come-PST

‘After she saying that, the monkey came, saying ok. I will come, grandmom.’

MSD_024

t e m garse tsa ah mam ak e t a hadzim

t e m gar-se tsa ah Mam ak e t a ha-dzi-m

that monkey-ERG TOP oh grandmother grandfather stink come-PST-INFR

‘The monkey said, grandmother, a bad smell comes from grandfather.’

MSD_025

mam ak e naidzim bisiman m garse pa dzim

mam ak e nai-dzi-m bi-si-man m gar-se

grandmother grandfather rotten-PST-INFR say-SEQ-PROG monkey-ERG

pa -dzi-m

tell-PST-INFR

‘Grandmom, grandfather is rotten, said the monkey.’

MSD_026

ora lasi datela m garla su ri mla tsiba ro

ora la-si date-la m gar-la su -ri mla tsi-ba ro

like do-SEQ present-GEN monkey-GEN mouth-LOC black sit-NML INDIR

‘Since then, it is said, the present monkey’s mouth became black.’

MSD_027

tsu kat a dzindzi

tsu kat a dzin-dzi

this story end-PST

‘This story is finished.’

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