

CLAUSE COMBINING IN TAMANG

A Thesis

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

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ABSTRACT

Tamang is one of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal. It is primarily spoken in the Himalayan region. Tamang population is also found in many other urban and rural areas across the country. This study is an attempt to analyze the clause combining in Tamang from formal and functional perspectives. This study is divided into four chapters, the first chapter deals with the general background of the study. The second chapter deals with subordination. The third chapter deals with coordination. The fourth chapter presents summary and conclusion of the whole work.

In the second chapter, subordination is further divided into three types. They are: complement, adverbial and relative clause. Within complement clause, it is further divided into subject complement and object complement. The complement is marked by the suffix-*ba*. Adverbial clause is divided into temporal, locational, reasonal, conditional, concessive, infinitival, purposive and converb clause. Temporal clause is marked by *ats a*, *haima* etc. Within temporal clause, it exhibits past time, present time and future time. Past time is marked by the suffix-*dzi*, present time is marked by the suffix-*ma* and future time is marked by the suffix-*la*. In locational clause, it is marked by interrogative pronoun *hana* . Reasonal clause is marked by the suffix-*ba* followed by ergative case marker-*se*. In conditional clause, condition is marked by the suffix-*sam*. Concessive is marked by the suffix-*sai*. In infinitival clause, infinitive is marked by the suffix-*ba* when it is added to the verb stem. Purposive clause is marked by the suffix-*bari* when it is added to the verb stem. Within converb clause, it exhibits simultaneous and sequential converb. Simultaneous converb clause is marked by the suffix-*nan* and sequential converb clause is marked by the suffix-*si*. Relative clause is marked by the suffix-*ba*. The suffix-*ba* also functions as nominalizer. The perfect participle is marked by the suffix -*bala* to the verb stem.

In the third chapter, coordination is divided into conjunctive, disjunctive, adversative and exclusion. Conjunctive coordination is marked by *anim*, disjunctive coordination is marked by *wa*. Adversative coordination marker is *t r* . Exclusion coordination marker is marked by *bahek*.

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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
CLF	classifier
CONC	concurrent
CONCES	concession
COND	conditional
COP	copula
DAT	dative case
ERG	ergative case
FOC	focus
GEN	genitive case
HON	honorific
HORT	hortative mood
INCL	inclusive
INDIR	indirect knowledge
IMP	imperative mood
INF	infinitive
INFR	inferential

INST	instrumental
LOC	locative
n.	noun
NEG	negation
NML	nominalizer
NPST	non-past
OPT	optative
PL	plural
PREF	perfective
PROG	progressive
Pro	pronoun
PST	past
PURP	purposive
Q	question
RED	reduplication
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 clause combining in Tamang as spoken in Kabhre Palanchok. Clause can be defined as the unit which is larger than a phrase but equal to or smaller than a sentence. Clause combining refers to the multi verb construction in the language (Payne, 1997:305). Clause combining is the process when two clauses can be combined by coordination (*like, Harry likes cats but Delia likes dogs*), or subordination (*like, She kept running until she was out of breath*). Payne (1997:305), states that in every language there exist different ways of combining basic lexical items, such as verbs, to form more complex expressions. Putting it another way, every natural language has several construction types that involves combination of verbs.

In this research we have tried to study the Tamang clause combining process. In Tamang, some types of clause combining has to be done but some types of clauses cannot be studied till yet. So, we are going to fulfill that types of clauses which are left to do.

Hagen (as quoted in Tamang, 2052:8) opines that the Tamang people came from inner region of Tibet of China and first lived in Thangchet of Rasuwa. Tamang is one of the major Tibeto-Burman community in Nepal. They are also found in the Kathmandu Valley. It is likely that they came down from Kyirong in Tibet via the Bhote Koshi Valley and continued to live in the Kathmandu valley and beyond into India. According to tradition many of these soldiers decided to stay and spread out to the east and west and make a living for themselves.

Hamilton (1802), Hudson (1847) and Macdonald (1989) have used the term ‘Murmi’ for Tamang people. A common belief is that the word ‘Tamang’ has been derived from Tibetan word. So, ‘Tamang’ in Tibetan means presence of large number of people at the entrance or boundry, which signifies the settlement of Tamang people in the border of Tibet i.e., in Nepal. It is also supported by the Tibetan usages of the

word ‘Rongpo’ to Tamang which means the foreigners, inhabited beyond the border of Tibet.

In Nepal, Tamangs are found in the districts of Dhading, Nuwakot, Rasuwa, Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Lalitpur, Kavrepalanchok, Sinupalchok, Ramechaap, Dolokha and Makwanpur. Likewise in India, Tamang can be found in Darjeeling, Doors, Dehradun, Sikkim, Kalimpong and neighbouring regions. 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 is 1,353,311.

Basically Tamang follow the Buddhism in their practices. In Tamang, there are three main ritual specialists. They are -Banboo, Lhaabon and Lama. These three ritual leaders have their own distinct areas. The Banboo is associated with the healing to the evil spirit. The Lhaabon is more concerned with worshipping to the Jyo-Jyomo ancestors. The Lama performs the rites-de-passages of the Tamang ritual life. The Tamang society is combined of different social leaders like, Tamba (genealogist), Mulmi-gorai (secretary), Choho (president) and ritual specialist that have been elemental to the cultural identity of Tamang.

Noonan (1998) includes Tamang and Gurung into two sub-groups of Tamang group and divides Gurung sub-groups into several branches. According to this classification, the genetic classification of Tamang can be shown as follows:

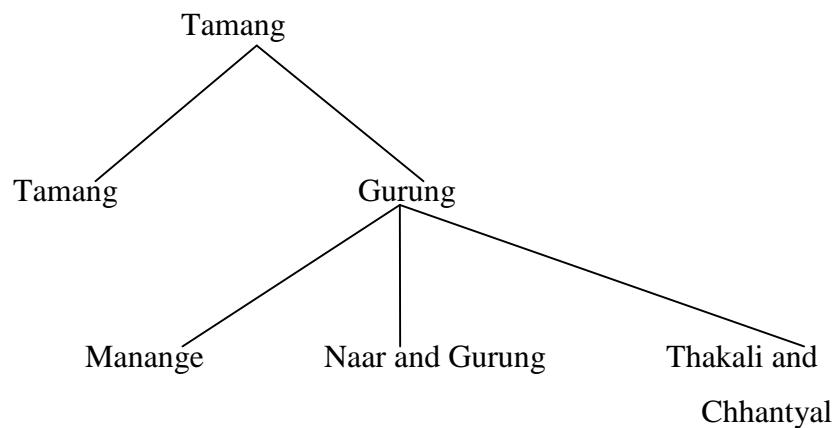


Figure 1.1 Classification of Tamang Group (Noonan 1998)

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 languages. He has included TGTH branch of Bodish section under Bodic division. TGTH branch includes Tamang, Gurung, Thakali and Chhantyal.

Epple et al. (2012) has classified Tamang as a member of Sino-Tibetan language family. According to their classification, the genetic classification of Tamang can be shown as in figure 1.2.

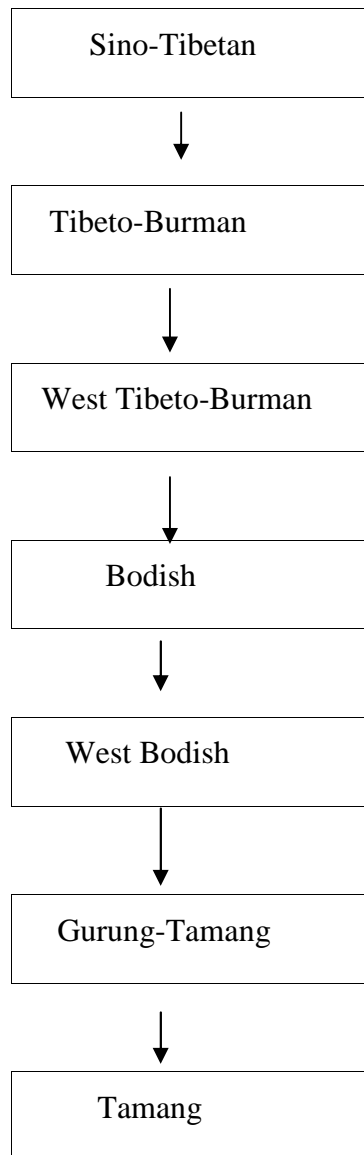


Figure 1.2: Genetic classification of Tamang source (Ethnologue: 2012)

Hofer and MacDonald (as quoted in Varenkamp, 1996:9) have categorised the Tamang dialects into Western and Eastern dialects. Varenkamp (1996) has categorised the Eastern Tamang into outer eastern and central eastern. Outer eastern is further divided into two sub-groupings Dolkha/ Ramechap and Pakhar/ Bagthali.

Central eastern dialect is similar to the Western Tamang. The third dialect, Dhankute Tamang was identified by (Poudel 2002). Eastern variety of Tamangs are further divided as Sailung variety and Temal variety (Yonjan 1997/ 2054). Sailung variety is spoken in the North-Eastern side and temal variety is spoken in South-Eastern side. The Eastern variety has more literature and linguistic description including phonology, grammar, lexicography and teaching materials, etc. than in the western variety.

1.2 Statement of the problem

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

- a. What is the process of subordination in Tamang?
- b. What is the process of coordination in Tamang?

1.3 Research objectives

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

- a. To analyze the process of subordination in Tamang, and
- b. To analyze the process of coordination in Tamang.

1.4 Review of Literature

Some research works have been carried out on this language.

Grierson (1909) has described the grammatical categories of Tamang in brief. In his study, he has pointed the absence of grammatical gender system, relative pronoun, superlative and comparative degree and voice.

Everitt (1972) describes the clause and sentence pattern of Tamang. He states that Tamang conforms in most respects to 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 preceds the main clause. 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. But she has not discussed the clause combining processes. To carry out this research she has collected the corpus data spoken in the village of Shaugon, Tupche Panchyat, Nuwakot Zilla of the Bagmati Anchal.

Kansankar (1998) has studied the syntactic typology of Newar and Tamang. His work is based on Eastern Tamang-variety. In his study, he has compared the structural similarities and differences in the two languages at the clause and phrase level. He has discussed the infinitive clause, relative clause and adverbial clauses. But he has not discussed the complement, conditional, concessive, purposive, converb, correlative and coordination clauses. The methodology used in this study is descriptive in nature.

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 finite and non-finite subordinate clauses. In finite subordinate clauses he has discussed adverbial clauses. He also discussed non-finite clause. In non-finite clause, he discussed purposive, infinitive and whole sentence nominalization. But he has not discussed about the complement, concessive, relative, correlative and coordination clauses. His work is based on the Western Tamang variety.

Poudel (2002) carried out a descriptive study of Tamang (as spoken in Dhankuta District). His work is corpus based. In his study, he deals with its phonology, morphophonemics, morphology and syntax. He has also done clause combining but he has not discuss about the complement, conditional, concessive and correlative clauses. His work is based on Dhankute Tamang dialect.

Yonjon (2003) has studied Tamang nominal morphology. His study is mainly based on the Tiplung VDC and Pinkhuri VDC of Ramechhap district. His study is based on Eastern Tamang variety. His study is based on descriptive model. He has analyzed Noun, pronoun, nominal inflection, classifiers, adjectives and numerals.

Sung (2011) has studied the Eastern Tamang on his sketch grammar. His study presents a descriptive grammatical sketch of Central-Eastern Tamang which is primarily spoken in the district of Kavre. He analyzed that the Eastern Tamang has two dialects namely Central-Eastern and Outer-Eastern Tamang. He said Tamang has a clause changing structure but does not have serial verb constructions. He has discussed both coordination and subordination clause but in subordination he has only discussed adverbial, relative and complement clauses. He has not discussed the conditional, concessive, infinitive, purposive and converb clauses. He has used corpus data to carry out this research.

Several studies have been carried out related to Tamang and its different dialects. So, we have tried to study Tamang spoken in Dewpur village of Kavre Palanchok district. Therefore, the present study aims to study on clause combining based on the data taken from the study area.

1.5 Significance of the study

As clause combining is one of the core areas of grammar, it is relevant to study the clausal system of a language. From the academic point of view, the findings of this study will be helpful to the teaching and learning of Tamang language. This research will be an aid to the mother-tongue education. This study will be useful to teachers, student, book writers, policy makers and further researchers who want to carry out the research on Tamang.

1.6 Research Methodology

1.6.1 Method of data collection

The researcher collected data from the native speaker of Dewpur village of Kabhre Palanchok. The data are collected by using the tools and techniques such as questionnaire (sentence list), interview (asking question) and text recording. The researcher collected ten texts from five native speakers. The variables such as age group, sex, and genres of the text are carefully considered and different types of texts such as narratives (life experience, professional experience and further pain), procedural text, conversation, monologue (memorable event) and rituals etc. have been taken. The researcher has recorded the text by using laptop with Audacity recording software. After editing the text, the text has been put in Toolbox. The recorded texts were analyzed in Toolbox 1.5.8 version.

1.6.2 Theoretical framework

The analysis has been carried out based on Haspelmath (2004), Givón (2001), Payne (1997) and Whaley (1997).

1.7 Limitations of the study

This study is limited to the linguistic description of clause combining in Tamang. This study investigates the clause combining process and its structure in the limited corpus. This study mainly represent the language spoken only in the Dewpur village. So, the data from other dialects are not generally incorporated. There are ten texts from different genres such as narrative, procedural, ritual, and folklore were collected. So, this study does not provide the full description of clause combining process. This study does not provide the full IPA transcription.

1.8 Organization of the study

The study has been organized into four chapters. The first chapter deals with the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research methodology and method of data collection. Chapter two deals with clause combining processes of subordination in Tamang languages. It includes major types of clause combining processes of subordination. Chapter three presents the clause combining process of coordination. In chapter four, we summarize the findings of the study. Finally, annexes include some of the analyzed text.

CHAPTER 2

SUBORDINATION

2.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the subordination of Tamang. It consists of four sections. In section 2.1, we deal with the subordinate clauses in the Tamang language. Section 2.1.1 discusses the complement clauses; section 2.1.2 discusses the adverbial clauses, and section 2.1.3 discusses the relative clauses. Section 2.1.4 summarizes the finding of the chapter.

2.1 Subordination

Subordination refers to the combination of units such that one is dependent on the other. Subordination refers to the dependent clause functions as an element of a sentence. It is an asymmetrical relation. The subordinate clause is said to be one of the constituents of the independent clause. Syntactically the subordinate clause is not equal to the main clause as it is dependent; a subordinate clause is one which functions as a dependent rather than a co-head (Kroeger, 2005). So, subordination involves the combination of two clauses with the help of subordinators, or subordinating conjunctions.

Givón (2001) states that the process of combining one independent and other dependent clause is subordination. One clause is subordinate to another, if it depends on it. The dependent clause is called subordinate clause and the independent clause is called the matrix clause.

Whaley (1997:247) states that subordination refers to the combination of units such that one is dependent on the other.

Thompson and Longacre (1985:172) has distinguished three types of subordinate clauses as complement clause, relative clause and adverbial clause. A complement clause functions as a noun phrase called complements, a relative clause functions as

modifiers of nouns called relative clauses, an adverbial clause functions as modifiers of verb phrases called adverbial clauses.

2.1.1 Complement clauses

A prototypical complement clause is a clause that functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause (Noonan, 1985) in (Payne, 1997:313). A main (or matrix) clause is one that has another clause as one of its core arguments. However, a much wider range of clauses have been called “complement.” Similarly, Whaley (1997:255) states that a complement clause is an argument of a predicate, typically as a subject and an object. Thus, there can be subject and object complement in the language. There are two types of complement clauses: subject complement and object complement in Tamang. In Tamang, the suffix *-ba* marks complement clause which serves as the complement of a verb. According to Kroeger (2005:219) complement clauses are clauses that occur as complements of a verb and function as the subject or object of the matrix clause.

Givón (2001) states that complement clauses or verbal complements are the clauses that function as subject or object arguments of other clauses.

a. Subject complement

A subject complement clause that is an argument of a predicate, typically as a subject (Payne, 1997:313) as in the following figure:

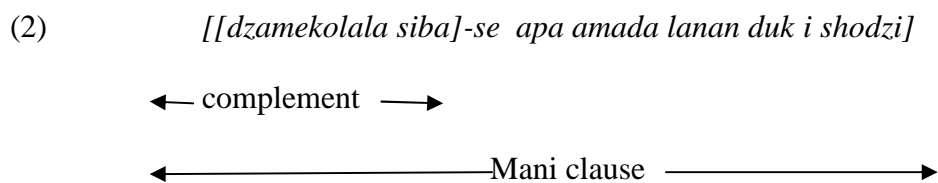


Figure 2.3: The subject complement in Tamang

The sentence given in (2) has been analyzed in (3)

- (3). *dzamekola sibase apa amada lanan duk i shodzi*
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|--------|------------|-------|
| dzame-kola-la | si-ba-se | apa | ama-da | lanan |
| daughter-child-GEN | die-NML-ERG | father | mother-DAT | very |

duk i sho-dzi
 sad make-PST

‘The death of the daughter upset the parents.’ [ADB_019]

Example (3) shows the clause with non-finite forms of the verb *si-ba* ‘die-NML’ is the complement clause which functions as the subject argument of the finite verb *sho-dzi* ‘make-PST’. There is no complementizer but <-ba> nominalizer function as complementizer.

A subordinate clause frequently occurs as the subject of a clause in Tamang as presented in (4).

(4) a. *akas tapledzu ri nilabase tsamileda duk i shodzi*

akas tapledzu -ri ni-la-ba-se tsamile-da duk i sho-dzi
 akash taplejung-LOC go-do-NML-ERG chamile-DAT sad make-PST

‘ Akash had gone to Taplejung that made Chamile sad.’ [ACS_011]

b. *gopalse mhe satba adzjaba tala*

gopal-se mhe sat-ba a-dzja-ba ta-la
 gopal-ERG cow kill-NML NEG-good-NML be-NPST

‘ It is not good for Gopal to kill a Cow.’ [LGM_025]

c. *dzame bjabase amada duk i shodzi*

dz ame bja-ba-se ama-da duk i sho-dzi
 daughter marry-NML-ERG mother-DAT sad make-PST

‘The mother was sad of her daughter’s marriage.’ [MDL_023]

In example (4a), the clause with non- finite verb ‘*nilaba*’ is a complement clause which functions as the subject argument of the finite verb ‘*shodzi*’. Similarly in example (4b), the clause with non-finite verb ‘*satba*’ is the complement clause which functions as the subject argument of the finite verb ‘*tala*’. In example (4c), the clause with non-finite forms of the verb ‘*bjaba*’ is the complement clause which functions as the subject argument of the finite verb ‘*shodzi*’.

b. Object complement

An object complement clause is an argument of a predicate, typically as an object. The object complement as in the following figure (5);

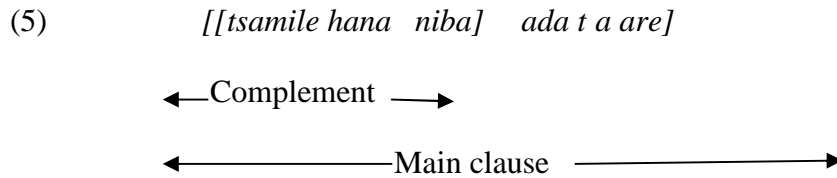


Figure 2.4: The object complement in Tamang

The sentence given in (5) has been analyzed in (6).

- (6). *tsamile hana niba ada t a are*
- | | | | | | |
|---------|-------|--------|---------|------|--------|
| tsamile | Hana | ni-ba | a-da | t a | a-re |
| chamile | Where | go-NML | 1SG-DAT | know | NEG-be |
- ‘I don’t know where Chamile has gone.’ [ACS_024]

In example (6), the clause with non-finite verb *ni-ba* ‘go-NML’ is the complement clause which functions as the complement of the finite verb *a-re* ‘NEG-be’.

A subordinate clause frequently occurs as the object of a clause in Tamang as presented in (7).

- (7) a. *t enise akasda kan tsabari oidzi*
- | | | | | |
|------------|-----------|------|-------------|----------|
| t e-ni-se | akas-da | kan | tsa-ba-ri | oi-dzi |
| 3SG-PL-ERG | akash-DAT | rice | eat-NML-LOC | call-PST |
- ‘They called Akash to eat rice.’ [ACS_023]
- b. *akas haba biba ashiqada biswas mudzim*
- | | | | | | |
|-------|----------|---------|-------------|---------|-------------|
| akas | ha-ba | bi-ba | ashiq-a-da | biswas | mu-dzi-m |
| akash | come-NML | say-NML | ashiq-a-DAT | believe | be-PST-INFR |
- ‘Ashika believed that Akash would come.’ [ACS_012]
- c. *mhi siba biba dz amaida t a mula*
- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|-------|------------|-----|-------|
| mhi | si-ba | bi-ba | dz amai-da | t a | mu-la |
|-----|-------|-------|------------|-----|-------|

person die-NML say-NML all-DAT know be-NPST

‘Everybody knows that a person has to die.’ [ABD_020]

d. *ase gopalse pinba sja tsadzi*

a-se gopal-se pin-ba sja tsa-dzi

1SG-ERG gopal-ERG give-NML meat eat-PST

‘I ate the meat that the Gopal gave me.’ [PAPS_010]

In example (7a), the clause with non-finite form of the verb *tsa-bari* ‘eat-PURP’ is the complement clause which functions as the object argument of the finite verb *oi-dzi* ‘call-PST’. Similarly in (7b), the clause with non-finite forms of the verb *ha-ba* ‘come-NML’ is the complement clause which functions as the object argument of the finite verb *biswas* ‘believe’. Likewise in (7c), the clause with non-finite forms of verb *siba* ‘die-NML’ is the complement clause which functions as the object argument of the finite verb *ta* ‘know’. In (7d), the clause with non-finite forms of verb *pin-ba* ‘give-NML’ is the complement clause which functions as the object argument of the finite verb *tsa* ‘eat’.

2.1.2 Adverbial clause

In general, adverbial clauses serve an "adverbial" function, Longacre and Thompson (1985). Adverbial clauses are not complements because they do not constitute logical arguments of the main verb; rather they simply add adverbial information (Payne, 1997:317).

Whaley (1997:250) mentions that the major issue arises in the description of adverbial clauses and other adverbial structures is the meaning, or range of meaning, and their contribution to a sentence. Adverbial clause constructions are considered "adjuncts" because they typically supplement the information contained by a proposition (i.e. the main clause) rather than serving as arguments of this proposition. Some adverbial clause are, time, location, reason, result, conditional, concessive, infinitive, purposive and converb clause.

a. Temporal clause

Adverbial structures can function to provide information about the relative temporal ordering of the events (Whaley 1997:251). The time adverbial clauses are non-finite clauses which are used to provide information about the relative temporal ordering of the two or more events as in (8):

- (8) a. *halase ra la kolase kan oima gudzi pinla*
 hala-se ra -la kola-se kan oi-ma gudzi pin-la
 who-ERG REF-GEN child-ERG rice ask-when insect Give-NPST
 ‘Who will give stone when his own children ask for bread.’ [BS_011]
- b. *dz mai ra t ela tsjanase tsadzim lets gopal t andan timri dodzim*
 dz mai Ra tsjana-se tsa-dzi-m lets gopal t andan
 all Goat tiger-ERG eat-PST-INFR after gopal empty
 tim-ri do-dzi-m
 house-LOC return-PST-INF
 ‘Gopal returned home with empty hands as the Tiger had eaten all his Goats.’ [LGM_010]
- c. *ak e sidzi biba s m tsar bor lets a dz mai d odzi*
 ak e si-dzi bi-ba s m tsar bor lets a dz mai d o-dzi
 grandfather die-PST say-NML news send After all reach-PST
 ‘After we sent the notice that grandfather died, everyone came.’ [MSB_017]
- d. *ase t e ketida t ela apa sidzi bisi pa maits jam t e karba tsjaidzi*
 a-se t e keti-da t e-la ak e si-dzi bi-si pa
 1SG-ERG that girl-DAT that-GEN grandfather die-PST say-SEQ tell
 maits jam t e kra-ba tsjai-dzi
 as.soon.as 3SG cry-NML begin-PST
 ‘As soon as I told her that her grandfather died she began to cry.’ [MSB_019]
- e. *haima dz amekola nidzi apa ama kardzi*
 haima dz ame-kola ni-dzi apa Ama kra-dzi

when daughter-child go-PST father mother cry-PST

‘When the daughter went, her parents cried.’ [MDL_028]

In examples (8a), temporal adverbial clause is formed by attaching the temporal enclitic-*ma* ‘when’ to a verb root. Similarly in (8b-c), *lets a* ‘after’ is used to combine the non-finite clause with the matrix clause. The non-finite form of verb marked by the subordinator *lets a* ‘after’ is used to indicate the temporal event. In example (8d), *maits jam* ‘as soon as’ is used to combine the non-finite clause with the matrix clause. The non-finite form of the verb marked by the subordinator *maits jam* ‘as soon as’ is used to indicate the following event. In (8e), temporal adverbial clause is formed by attaching the temporal enclitic-*haima* ‘when’ to a verb root.

In time adverbial clause there are three types of time adverbial clause: They are:

(i) Past

(ii) Present

(iii) Future

i. Past time

The past time refers to an event in which event time is preceded by the time of speech (Givón, 2001:286). The past time refers to the event which occurs in past time, as in (9).

(9) a. *gopal t ela apa timri d osi ats a t e timri hadzi*

gopal t e-la apa tim-ri d o-si ats a t e tim-ri

gopal 3SG-GEN father house-LOC reach-SEQ before 3SG house-LOC

ha-dzi

come-PST

‘Gopal came before his father arrived at home.’ [LGM_011]

b. *tse se kan tsadzi ats a mha t ela timri hadzi*

tse -se kan tsa-dzi ats a mha t e-la tim-ri ha-dzi

bride-ERG rice eat-PST before groom 3SG-GEN house-LOC come-PST

‘Bride ate rice before groom came at her home.’ [MDL_015]

In above example (9a-b) the non-finite form of verb *ats a* ‘before’ shows the past form of the past time adverbial clause.

ii. Present time

The concurrent relationship between two clauses is indicated by the morpheme <-ma>. The morpheme combines two clauses such that two events take place at the same time (Chalise 1999). Present time is shown as in (10).

- (10) a. *t sa se ge t sama mhase airak t u ba*
 tsa -se ge tsa-ma mha-se Airak t u -ba
 bride-ERG bread eat-CONC groom-ERG Alcohol drink-NML
 ‘When bride eats bread, groom drinks alcohol.’ [MDL_023]
- b. *lama sjama ap antakadese na sal mraba*
 lama sja-ma ap anta-kade-se na sal mra-ba
 monk dance-CONC relative-PL-ERG light kindle-NPST
 ‘As the monk danced, the relatives were busy to kindle light.’ [ADB_009]

In example (10a) and (10b) shows the present form of adverbial clause.

iii. Future time

Future time refers to an action that has still to take place. In other word future time shows future actions or events. Tamang future times as in (11).

- 11) a. *t e haba mula lets a kan tsaban mula*
 t e ha-dzi mu-la lets a kan tsa-ban mu-la
 3SG come-PST be-NPST after rice eat-PROG be-NPST
 ‘He came after eating rice.’ [MDL_022]
- b. *ashika tim nidzi lets a ke laban mula*
 ashika Tim ni-dzi ni-dzi ke la-ban mu-la
 ashika house go-PST go-PST work do-PROG be-NPST
 ‘Ashika went home after doing work.’ [PAPS_019]

In example (11 a-b) show the event that has still to take place.

b. Locational clause

The meaning of the location can be expressed by adverbial structure (Whaley,1997:252). Hence, the adverbial clause which serves the meaning of the place or location is referred to as location clause. Tamang employs the interrogative pronoun *hana* ‘where’ to indicate location in the subordinate clauses as in (12).

(12) a. *tsameli hana niba akas hodzi nila*

tsameli hana ni-ba akas hodzi ni-la
chamile where go-NML akash there go-NPST

‘Chamile will go where akash go.’[ACS_017]

b. *hana ke ja dzi t eri niu*

hana Ke ja -la ni-u
where work get-NPST go-IMP

‘Go there where you get job.’ [SMTS_004]

c. *hana e nidzi hodzari ela ak e sibala muba*

hana E ni-dzi hodza-ri e-la ak e si-bala mu-ba
where 2SG go-PST there-LOC 2SG-GEN grandfather die-PERF be-NML

‘You went where your grandfather had died.’ [MSB_023]

In examples (12a-c), the interrogative pronoun *hana* ‘where’ is used to combine the non- finite form of verb in matrix clause. The non-finite form of verb is marked by the subordinator *hana* ‘where’ to indicate the locative subordinate clause.

c. Reason clause

When a dependent clause adds a reason to sentence that dependent Clause is an adverbial clause of reason.

Tamang reason adverbial clause is shown in (13).

13 a. *ram birami tabase iskuli ni ahamni*

ram birami ta-ba-se iskul-i ni a-ham-ni

ram Sick be-NML-ERG school-IMP go NEG-can-PST

'Ram did not go to school because he was sick.' [RSA_014]

b. *birami tabase ramse maha tsadzi*

birami ta-ba-se ram-se maha tsa-dzi
sick be-NML-ERG ram-ERG medicine eat-PST

'Ram ate medicine because he was sick.' [RSA_019]

c. *kui teba arko ta -ri ju-ba ta-ba-se a*

kui teba arko ta -ri ju-ba ta-ba-se a
water move next pot-LOC put-NML be-NML-ERG 1SG

dz ilen t andan ta-ba

always empty be-NML

'It has been empty because of shifting water to another pot.' [BSWPN_008]

In example (13a-d), the non-finite form of the verb of the reason clause consists of the root of the verb affixed by the nominalizer-*ba* followed by ergative case marker-*se*.

d. Conditional clause

A conditional clause is a clause, whose semantic role is to express the hypothesis or condition. Generally, tense, aspect and mood are used to give the conditional construction different meaning (Whaley 1997:253). The root of the verb is affixed by the marker-*sam* in the conditional clause. Some conditional clause are reason and hypothetical clause.

i. Cause-effect/ reason

A reason conditional clause is a clause, that expresses the cause or reason of the clause as in (14).

(14) a. *mhi sidzi bisam lama haba mula*

mhi si-dzi bi-sam lama ha-ba mu-la
person die-PST say-COND monk come-NML be-NPST

'If man dies, monk will come.' [ADB_001]

b. *dz ntikade nisam tsa da mar ta-la*

dz ti-kade ni-sam tsa -da mar ta-la
 member of wedding party-PL go-COND bride-DAT see be-NPST

‘If the wedding procession goes, they will see the bride.’ [MLD_026]

The subordinate clause in (14a) indicates the conditions of performing the actions as mentioned in the matrix clause. In (14a), the sentence tells that monk will come on the condition of man’s death. Similarly, in (14b), the subordinate clause indicates the conditions of experience of seeing as mentioned in the matrix clause.

ii. Hypothetical

A hypothetical conditional clause is a clause that expresses the hypothetical condition of the clause. Hypothetical refers to the dependent construction, especially to those where constituents have been linked through the use of subordinating conjunction. Hypothetical conditional clauses in Tamang are shown as in (15).

(15) a. *gopalse mhosen abisam namsalakade haba mula*

gopal-se mhosen a-bi-sam namsala-kade ha-ba mu-la
 gopal-ERG lie NEG-say-COND village-PL come-NML be-NPST

‘The villagers would come if Gopal had lied.’ [LGM_009]

b. *ashik t ela timjam hadzi bisam dzjaba tala*

ashik t e-la tim-gjam ha-dzi bi-sam dzja-ba ta-la
 ashik 3SG-GEN house-ABL come-PST say-COND good-NML be-NPST

‘It would be better if Ashik came from his home.’ [PAPS_015]

The example (15a and b) show the hypothetical condition of clause. Conditional clause in Tamang are marked by the suffix <-sam> added to the verb root.

e. Concessive clause

The clause that reflects a contrast of some sort between the main and subordinate clause are referred to as concessive clause (Whaley 1997:254). Concessive adverbial clauses involve a presupposed contrast or counter expectancy with the adverbial clause supplying the grounds for the counter expectation, and with the main clause

supplying the unexpected event or state (Givón, 1990:835). The root of the verb is suffixed by *-sai* in order to reflect a contrast of some sort between the matrix and the subordinate clause.

Concessive clause is marked with suffix *<-sai>* immediately following the verb stem. *<-sai>* is immediately followed by *non* ‘also’ in this construction. It indicates the contradiction between two situations. Tamang concessive clauses as in (16):

(16) a. *gopal satai kri dzim biba mula tsjana ahasainon*

gopal Satai kri -dzi-m bi-ba mu-la tsjana
 gopal always shout-PST-INFR say-NML be-NPST tiger
 a-ha-sai-non
 NEG-come-CONCES-also

‘Gopal always shouted although the Tiger hadn’t come there.’ [LGM_004]

b. *tsamilila dziban adzjaba tala t e r mdisainon tsiba mula*

tsamili-la dziban a-dzja-ba ta-la t e r mdi-sai-non
 chamile-GEN life NEG-good-NML be-NPST 3SG happy-CONCES-also
 tsi-ba mu-la
 sit-NML be-NPST

‘Chamile lives happily although her life was not good.’ [ACS_020]

c. *dz a adzjaba musainon t e dz amese ta : ba mula*

dz a a-dzja-ba mu-sai-non t e dz ame-se ta :-ba
 son NEG-good-NML be-CONCES-also 3SG daughter-ERG like-NML
 mu-la
 be-NPST

‘Although son is not good, daughter likes him.’ [MDL_014]

d. *t e k andan musainon t e g m ndi are*

t e k andan mu-sai-non t e g m ndi a-re
 3SG Rich be-CONCES-also 3SG arrogant NEG-be

‘Although he is rich, he is not arrogant.’ [MDL_024]

In example (16a-d), the concessive adverbial clauses are non-finite. In Tamang the subordinator *-sai* ‘although’ as a suffix is added to the root of the verb to show the contrast of some sort between the main and the subordinate clause. Concessive clause in Tamang is marked by the suffix <-sai>.

f. Infinitive clause

Infinitive clause contains infinitive verb form. Infinitive is a traditional term for the non-finite forms of the verb usually cited as its unmarked or base form, e.g. go, though some languages mark it syntactically or morphologically (Crystal, 1997:233). The infinitive form may be used alone or in conjunction with the particle 'to'. In Tamang, the infinitive form <-ba> also functions as nominalizer. Tamang infinitive clause can be shown in (17).

(17) a. *latakoserose bizim dz agada laba adzjaba mula*

latakosero-se	bi-dzi-m	dz agada	la-ba	a-dzja-ba	mu-la
owl-ERG	say-PST-INFR	fight	do-INF	NEG-good-NML	be-NPST

‘Owl said it was not good to quarrel.’ [MAEN_005]

b. *akasse ke laba dza dzi mula*

akas-se	ke	la-ba	dza -dzi	mu-la
akas-ERG	work	do-INF	want-PST	be-NPST

‘Akash likes to work.’ [ACS_011]

c. *remkola ten mri kola maja laba dza dzi muba*

rem-kola-se	mri kola	maja	la-ba	dza -dzi	mu-ba
boy-ERG	girl	love	do-INF	want-PST	be-NML

‘He wanted to love her.’ [PAPS_002]

d. *airak t u ba adzjaba mula*

airak	t u -ba	a-dzja-ba	mu-la
alcohol	drink-INF	NEG-good-NML	be-NPST

‘It’s not good to drink alcohol.’ [MDL_016]

e. *akas tapledzu ri niba dza dzi mula*

akas tapledzu -ri ni-ba dza -dzi mu-la

akash taplejung-LOC go-INF want-PST be-NPST

‘Akash wanted to go Taplejung.’ [ACS_011]

In examples (17 a-e), the infinitive is marked by the suffix *-ba* when it is add to the verb stem. In example (17a-c), *laba* ‘to do’, in (17d), *t u ba* ‘to drink’ and in (17e) *niba* ‘to go’ show the infinitive marker.

g. Purposive clause

Clauses of purpose, which are adjuncts, are more often infinitival than finite clause (Quirk et al. 1985: 1107). In other words, the subordinate clause which serves meaning of purpose is referred to as purposive clause. Purposive clauses in Tamang are marked by the suffix *-bari* added to the verb root. Purposive clauses are formed by attaching both suffix *-bari* ‘PURP’ to a verb root. Tamang purposive clause as in (18);

(18) a. *mhi sidzi bisam ats a lamada oibari niba mula*

mhi si-dzi bi-sam ats a lama-da oi-bari mu-la

person die-PST say-COND before monk-DAT ask-PURP be-NPST

‘If a person dies then go to call the monk.’ [ADB_001]

b. *deben sat dinla kelabari lama oibari niba mula*

deben Sat din-la ke-la-bari Lama oi-bari

again seven day-GEN work-do-PURP Monk ask-PURP

ni-ba mu-la

go-NML be-NPST

‘Again the monks will be called for seven days work of funeral rite.’ [ADB_008]

c. *t e ke labari tapledzu ri nilaba bisi bisam*

t e Ke la-bari tapledzu -ri ni-la-ba bi-si

3SG Work do-PURP taplejung-LOC go-NPST-NML say-SEQ
 bi-sam
 say-COND

‘He said I was going to Taplejung for doing work.’ [ACS_011]

d. *t e mis satai iskulri nibari kaibadzim*

t e Mis satai iskul-ri ni-bari kai-ba-dzi-m
 3SG Miss always school-LOC go-PURP late-NML-PST-INFR

‘The miss was always getting late for school.’ [MMR_002]

e. *t e satai ra ts abari nibadzim*

t e Satai ra ts a-bari ni-ba-dzi-m
 3SG always goat graze-PURP go-NML-PST-INFR

‘He always goes to graze goats.’ [LMG_002]

In examples (18a-b), the subordinate clause indicates the purpose of performing the actions as mentioned in the matrix clause. The subordinate clause indicates of going on the purpose of calling the monk. In example (18c), the subordinate clause indicates on the purpose of doing work. In example (18d), the subordinate clause indicates the purpose of performing the action of going. Similarly in example (18e), the clause indicates the purpose of performing the action of going for grazing a goat.

Purposive clauses in Tamang are formed by attaching both the suffix <-*bari-PURP*> added to the verb root.

h. Converb clause

The verbal noun, in association with an appropriate case clitic, can also be used for adverbial subordination, but adverbial subordination can also be accomplished by means of a set specified non finite forms referred to as converbs (Noonan, 1997:401).

There are two types of converb clauses. They are: sequential converb and simultaneous converb.

i. Sequential converb

The sequential converb indicates that the action in subordinate clause occurs before the action in the matrix clause. The verb suffix <-si> is the sequential converb marker in Tamang as in (19);

(19) a. *ra ts asi gopal timri dodzim*

ra	ts a-si	gopal	tim-ri	do-dzi-m
goat	graze-SEQ	gopal	house-LOC	return-PST-INFR

‘Gopal returned home after grazing goats.’ [LMG_010]

b. *kan tsasi t e p atri nidzi*

kan	t sa-si	t e	p at-ri	ni-dzi
rice	eat-SEQ	3SG	field-LOC	go-PST

‘After having rice he went to the field.’ [LMG_004]

c. *lama kan tsasi timri dodzi*

lama	kan	t sa-si	tim-ri	do-dzi
monk	rice	eat-SEQ	house-LOC	return-PST

‘After having rice the monk returned home.’ [ADB_010]

d. *sjo tardisi t enise latakosero da rup tadzi*

sjo	tardi-si	t e-ni-se	latakosero-da	Rup	ta-dzi
river	cross-SEQ	3SG-PL-ERG	owl-DAT	meet	be-PST

‘After crossing the river they met with an owl.’ [MAEN_008]

In the examples (19a-d), the sequential converb is formed by attaching the suffix *-si* to the verbal root. In example (19a), the verb root *ts a-si* ‘graze-SEQ’, in (19b) *t sa-si* ‘eat-SEQ’, in (19c) *t sa-si* ‘eat-SEQ, and in (19d) *tardi-si* ‘cross-SEQ’ have been marked as the sequential converb in Tamang. The sequential converb in an embedded clause marked by *-si* in the verb root.

ii. Simultaneous converb

The simultaneous converb- ‘*nan*’ is suffixed to a verb stem and it indicates that the action of the embedded clause takes place simultaneously with the matrix clause

event. It combines two different actions expressed by two different verbs but happening at the same time or temporally overlapping. In most of the cases, the simultaneous converb clause precedes the matrix clause. The subject argument of the converbal clause is always coreferential with that of the main clause. The simultaneous converb <*nan*> appears mostly with the motion verb.

Ebert (1993) describes converbal clauses under the maximally reduced clause group. Like in many other languages, the argument of the embedded clause is always co-referential with the argument of the matrix clause. Simultaneous converb as in (20);

(20) a. *ani kornan kornan t eri gorki istudejo mar dzi*

a-ni kor-nan kor-nan t e-ri gor-ki istudejo mar -dzi
1SG-PL travel-SIM travel-SIM that-LOC CLF-one studio see-PST

‘While travelling we saw a studio.’ [SMTS_008]

b. *t e ninan ninan gor i keta den keti tampa dziba mra dzi*

t e ni-nan ni-nan gor-ki keta den Keti tam-pan-dzi-ba
3SG go-SIM go-SIM CLF-one boy with Girl talk-PROG-PST-NML
mra -dzi
see-PST

‘While going he saw a boy and a girl talking.’ [RSA_009]

c. *jarnan jarnan t e to den okdzim*

jar-nan jar-nan t e to den t ok-dzi-m
run-SIM run-SIM 3SG tree with collide-PST-INFR

‘While running she was collided with the tree.’ [MMR_004]

d. *ninan ninan ani sindupaltsok d odzi*

ni-nan ni-nan a-ni sindupaltsok d o-dzi
go-SIM go-SIM 1SG-PL sindhupalchok reach-PST

‘While going we reached Sindhupalchok.’ [SMTS_004]

In example (20a-d), the embedded and matrix clauses are transitive, where the embedded action argument is coreferential with the matrix action. The simultaneous converb is marked with *-nan*.

2.1.3 Relative clause

Relative clause is a clause that modifies a noun. A relative clause is one that functions as a nominal modifier (Keenan, as cited in Payne 1997:325). Relative clauses, also referred to as adjective clause, are typically found as modifier of a noun (Whaley, 1997:259). Thus, the relative clause modifies the noun (i.e. head) or noun phrase.

Givón (1990), states that a relative clause codes a proposition of whose participants is coreferential with the head noun that is modified by the clause.

A relative clause is a subordinate clause which functions as modifiers of noun phrase. This is to say, it describes the referent of a head noun or pronoun. A relative clause is a kind of subordinate clause one of whose arguments shares a referent with a main clause element on which the subordinate clause is grammatically dependent. The process of forming a relative clause construction is known as relativization.

Tamang relative clauses as in (21):

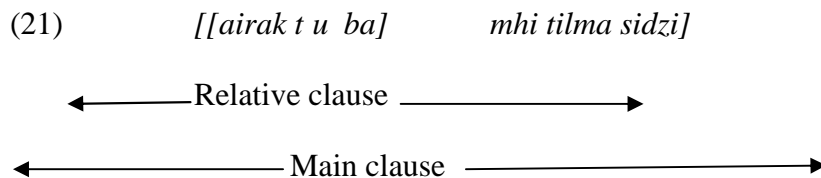


Figure 2.5: Relative clause in Tamang

The sentence given in (21) has been analyzed in (22):

(22). *[airak t u -ba] mhi tilma si-dzi*

<i>[airak</i>	<i>t u -ba]</i>	<i>Mhi</i>	<i>tilma</i>	<i>si-dzi</i>
alcohol	drink-REL	person	yesterday	die-PST

[‘The man] who drinks alcohol died yesterday].’ [ADB_003]

In example (22), *airak t u -ba* ‘alcohol drink-REL’ premodify the head *mhi* and thereby function as nominal modifiers. The nominalized verb *t u -ba* ‘drink-REL’ in the relative clause *airak t u -ba* ‘alcohol drink-REL’ refers to the activity that the *mhi* ‘person’ performs that the head possesses.

The other relative clause in Tamang as presented in (23).

(23) a. *[tsa da ta :ba] mha*
 [tsa -da ta :-ba] mha
 bride-DAT like-REL groom
 ‘The groom [who likes the bride].’ [MDL_014]

b. *[ani niba] kla*
 [a-ni ni-ba] kla
 1SG go-REL place
 ‘The place [where we go].’ [SMTS_006]

In the example (23a) and (23b), the subject of the modifying clauses which is represented by the head noun. In example (23a), *mha* ‘groom’ and (23b) *kla* ‘place’ is interpreted as the subject of the modifying clause.

In Tamang, we found the infinitival participle in the relativized clauses. Let’s see the infinitival participle as in (24).

(24) a. *tapledzu niba akas t ela namsari hadzi*
 tapledzu ni-ba akas t e-la namsa-ri ha-dzi
 taplejung go-REL akash 3SG-GEN village-LOC come-PST
 ‘Akash returned village from Taplejung.’ [ACS_017]

b. *tsjan sjatba gopal timri d odzi*
 tsjan sjat-ba gopal tim-ri d o-dzi
 tiger kill-REL gopal house-LOC return-PST
 ‘Gopal who kills Tiger returned home.’ [LGM_010]

The example, (24a) and (24b) shows the nominalized clauses are governed by the finite verb of the sentence and the nominalizer has its own aspect. It indicates past habitual aspect.

In Tamang we also found perfect participle in the nominalized clauses. Let’s see the perfect participle as in (25).

- (25) a. *ala j a t abala mula*
 a-la j a t a-bala mu-la
 1SG-GEN hand cut-PERF be-NPST
 ‘I have cut my hand.’ [LGM_005]
- b. *taja tsabala m g rda mamse todzi*
 taja tsa-bala m g r-da mam-se to-dzi
 peach eat-PERF monkey-DAT grandmother-ERG beat-PST
 ‘Grandmother beat the monkey who had eaten peach.’ [MSB_013]

In example, (25a) and (25b), shows the nominalized clauses are governed by the finite verb of the sentence and the nominalizer has its own aspect. In example (25a) and (25b) indicates the past perfect aspect.

a. The position of the clause with respect to the head noun

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

i. Prenominal relative clause

Relative clause in Tamang may occur in prenominal position. In a prenominal relative clause, the head noun phrase occurs outside the relative clause and relative clause precedes the head noun phrase.

Prenominal relative clauses in Tamang as in (26);

- (26) a. *[airak t u ba] mhi*
 airak t u -ba mhi
 alcohol drink-REL person
 ‘The person who drinks alcohol.’ [ADB_018]
- b. *[adzjaba sem t oba]mhi*
 [a-dzja-ba sem t o-ba mhi
 NEG-good-NML heart carry-REL person
 ‘The person who has evil mind’. [CMS_021]
- c. *[t e kuise pja ba] gagrila*

[t e kui-se pja -ba] gagri-la
 that water-ERG fill-REL big.water.pot-GEN

‘The big water pot which is filled with water.’ [BSWPN_003]

d. *t e t andan ta gadede [t e su ri tsi-ba] a k wara-la*

t e t andan ta -gade-da [t e su -ri tsi-ba] a k wara-la
 that Empty pot-PL-DAT that mouth-LOC sit-REL pitcher-GEN

‘The empty pots kept on the mouth of pitcher.’ [BSWPN_005]

In examples (26a and b), *airak t u ba* and *adzjaba sem t oba* pre-modify the head noun *mhi* and *mhi* respectively and thereby function as nominal modifiers. The nominalized verb *t u -ba* in the relative clause *airak t u -ba* refers to the activity that the *mhi* performs the head possesses. In example (26b) the nominalized verb *t o-ba* in the relative clause *adzjaba sem t obo* refers to the activity that the *mhi* performs the head possesses. Similarly in (26c and d), *t e kuise pja ba* and *t e su ri tsiba* pre-modify the head noun *gagri* and *a k wara* respectively and thereby function as nominal modifiers. The nominalized verb *pja -ba* in the relative clause *t e kuise pjan-ba* refers to the activity that the *gagri* performs the head possesses. In example (26d), the nominalized verb *tsi-ba* in the relative clause *t e su ri tsiba* refers to the activity that the *a k wara* performs or the location that the head has performed.

ii. 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 in languages for which there is a distinct and large class of adjectives. (Payne 2003:328). In headless relative clause there is no head noun. Headless relative clauses may occur in Tamang.

Relative clauses in Tamang may also occur in headless ones as in (27);

(27) a. *[satai iskulri niba]ri kaibadzim*

[satai iskul-ri ni-ba]-ri kai-ba-dzi-m
 always school-LOC go-REL-LOC late-NML-PST-INFR

['The person] who always had been late to school.' [MMR_002]

- b. [suk den sobari pinba] arembadi

[suk Den so-ba-ri pin-ba] a-re-m-ba-di

[suk With live-NML-LOC give-REL] NEG-be-INFR-NML-PST

['The person] who has not given to live happily.' [CMS_007]

- c. [korbari nilaba] muba

[kor-ba-ri ni-la-ba] mu-ba

travel-NML-LOC go-do-REL be-NML

['The place] where we go for travel'. [SMTS_003]

- d. [adzjaba] bimari tadzi

[a-dzja-ba] bimari ta-dzi

NEG-good-REL Sick be-PST

['The person] who was sick very badly.' [CMS_008]

In Tamang, only subject and object NP position can be relativized in headless relative clause constructions. In examples (27a), the subject of the modifying clause is relativized, and it is the location in the main clause taking the locative case marker *-ri*. However, in the example the locative case marker *-ri* is attached to the modifying clause *niba-ri* 'who go' in (27a) because the modifying clause refers to the location and there is no head noun. In example (27b), the subject of the modifying clause is relativized and it is the doer in the main clause taking the locative case marker *-ri*. However in this example the locative case marker *-ri* is attached to the modifying clause *soba-ri* 'who live' in (27b) because the modifying clause refers to the doer and there is no head noun. Case markers are attached directly to the nominalized verb in a headless relative clause. Similarly in (27c), 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 (27c), the nominative case marker *-ba* is attached to the modifying clause *nila-ba* 'where go' in (27c) because the modifying clause refers to the location. In example (27d), 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 (27d), the nominative case marker *-ba* is attached

to the modifying clause *adzja-ba* 'not good' in (27d) because the modifying clause refers to the experimenter and there is no head noun. Case markers are attached directly to the nominalized verb in a headless relative clause.

b. 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.

i. Subject

The noun phrase in the subject position can be relativized as in (28).

- (28) 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]

- b. *airak ada pinba mhi ala a i hinna*
 airak a-da pin-ba mhi a-la a i hin-na
 alcohol 1SG-DAT give-NML person 1SG-GEN aunt be-NPST
 'The person who gave me alcohol is my aunt.' [MDL_027]

In example (28a), subject position can be relativized in relative clause constructions. Example (28a) 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 (28b), the head noun *mhi* 'person' is the subject of the modifying clause. The position of the argument shows that the subject of the modifying clause is relativized.

ii. Object

The noun phrase in the object position can be relativized as in (29).

- (29) 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 given by him.' [ADB_019]

- b. *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 given by owl’ [MAEN_010]

In examples (29a) and (29b), the object position can be relativized in relative clause constructions.

iii. Locative

The noun phrase in the locative position can be relativized as in (30).

(30) a. *salina tsiba namsari dewpur hinna*

salina tsi-ba namsa-ri dewpur hin-na
 salina sit-NML village-LOC dewpur be-NPST

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

b. *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]

In the above examples (30a) and (30b), the noun phrase is relativized in the locative position.

iv. Instrumental

The noun phrase in the instrumental position can be relativized as in (31).

(31) a. *gopalse ase pinba godzase tsjan satdzi*

gopal-se a-se pin-ba godza-se tsjan sat-dzi
 gopal-ERG 1SG-ERG give-NML khukhuri-INST tiger kill-PST

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

b. *ak ese mamda pinba si kase m g r todzi*

ak e-se mam-da pin-ba si ka-se m g r to-dzi
 grandfather-ERG grandmother-DAT give-NML stick-INST monkey beat-PST

‘The monkey was beaten with the stick given by grandfather to grandmother.’

[MSB_007]

In examples (31a) and (31b), the noun phrase is relativized in the instrumental position.

v. Dative

The noun phrase in the dative position can be relativized as in (32).

- (32) a. *apase dz ameda baba kwan dzjaba mudzim*
apa-se dz ame-da ba-ba kwan dzja-ba mu-dzi-m
father-ERG daughter-DAT bring-NML cloth good-NML be-PST-INFR
'The cloth that the father brought for daughter was good.' [ADB_016]
- b. *m g rse ak eda pinba taja adzjaba mudzim*
m g r-se ak e-da pin-ba taja a-dzja-ba
monkey-ERG grandfather-DAT give-NML peach NEG-good-NML
mu-dzi-m
be-PST-INFR
'The peach that the monkey gave to grandfather was not good.' [MSB_009]

In examples (32a) and (32b), the noun phrase is relativized in the dative position.

2.1.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed clause combining in Tamang. In subordination, we discussed complement clause, adverbial clause and relative clause. In complement clause, we discussed subject and object complement. In Tamang, the complement is marked by the suffix *-ba*. In adverbial clause, we discussed temporal, locational, reasonal, conditional, concessive, infinitival, purposive, and converb clauses. Temporal clause is marked by *ats a, haima*, etc. In temporal clause, past time is marked by the suffix *-dzi*, concurrent time is marked by the suffix *-ma* and non-past time is marked by the suffix *-la*. Locational clause is marked by interrogative pronoun *hana*. Reasonal clause is marked by the suffix *-ba* followed by the ergative case marker *-se*. Condition is marked by the suffix *-sam*. Concessive is marked by the suffix *-sai*. Infinitival clause is marked by the suffix *-ba* when it is added to the verb stem. Purposive clause is marked by the suffix *-ba* and suffix *-ri* when it is added to

the verb stem. Converb clauses are of two types: simultaneous and sequential converb clause. Simultaneous clause is marked by the suffix *-nan* and sequential clause is marked by the suffix *-si*. In Tamang, the nominalizer *-ba* is used to relativized the sentence.

CHAPTER 3

COORDINATION

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the coordination of Tamang. It consists of three sections. In section 3.1, we deal with the coordination in the Tamang language. Section 3.2 discusses the types of coordination. Section 3.3 summarizes the finding of the chapter.

3.1 Coordination

Languages often have morphosyntactic means of linking two clauses of equal grammatical status. Such linkage is termed coordination (Payne,1997:336). Thus, coordination is the process of combining two clauses with the help of conjunctions or coordinating markers (i.e. and, but, etc.) so that they have equal grammatical status. There is no grammatical dependence between the clauses.

Two simple independent clauses combine together with the help of coordinating conjunction is known as coordination. Coordination is a frequently occurring complex syntactic structure that links together two or more elements. The coordinating conjunctions are those in which the constituent clauses are grammatically coordinate, no one being dependent on the others but being added in sequence with or without them. Coordination is a device of recurviseness which involves paralleling two or more structures and combining them by using ‘and, but, and or’

Payne (1997:336) describes Coordination as a morphosyntactic means of linking two equal grammatical status. Payne (1997:338) citing John Payne (1985) says, “The simplest means of conjoining two clauses is the zero strategy. This is where two

phrases or clauses are simply juxtaposed.” Payne (1997:338) also states, “The most common means of indicating conjunction is by the use of a coordinating conjunction such as ‘and’ in English.”

Haspelmath (2004:34) the term coordination refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements. They may be coordinated by one or more coordinators. They may be simply juxtaposed without any coordinators.

In coordination, when two clauses are combined but neither one is embedded in or dependent on the other (Whaley 1997:267) cited in (Dik 1968).

3.2 Types of coordination

There are four types of coordination. They are: conjunction, disjunction, adversative and exclusion. They are briefly discussed as follows:

3.2.1 Conjunction

Conjunction is primarily a logical relationship between proposition. If the conjunction of two propositions is true then each of the component propositions is true (Whaley 1997:339). The independent clauses may be conjoined by using the coordinate conjunction marker *-anim*. The basic function of this form is to combine coordinatively two or more clauses having equal grammatical status.

In Tamang, the coordinator *anim* ‘and’ express the logical relation of conjunction corresponding approximately to English ‘and’ as in (22);

- (22) a. *mhi sidzi bisam ats a lamada oibari niba anim lama haba mula*
 mhi si-dzi bi-sam ats a lama-da oi-ba-ri ni-ba
 person die-PST say-NML before monk-DAT ask-NML-LOC go-NML
 ani-m lama ha-ba mu-la
 and-INFR monk come-NML be-NPST
 ‘If man dies then go to call the monk and monk will come.’[ADB_001]
- b. *na sal mraba mula anim siba mhi dursari borba mula*
 na sal mra-ba mu-la ani-m si-ba mhi dursa-ri

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

take-NML be-NPST

'The lights are lighted and the dead body is taken to the grave.' [ADB_004]

c. *siba mhi kra ba mula anim m lamikade dosi haba mula*

si-ba mhi kra -ba mu-la ani-m m lami-kade do-si

die-NML person burn-NML be-NPST and-INFR mourner-PL return-SEQ

ha-ba mu-la

come-NML be-NPST

'The dead body is burnt and the murner at a funeral return home.' [ADB_005]

d. *tsa lanan kraba mula anim tsa la ap antakadenon kraba mula*

tsa Lana kra-ba mu-la ani-m tsa -la ap anta-kade-non
n

bride Much cry-NML be-NPST and-INFR bride-GEN relative-PL-also

kra-ba mu-la

cry-NML be-NPST

'The bride will cry and her relatives will also cry.' [MDL_029]

e. *mhada tsa se b rmala juba mula anim tsa danon jhari au i juba mula*

mha-da tsa -se b rmala ju-ba mu-la ani-m

groom-DAT bride-ERG garland put-NML be-NPST and-INFR

tsa -da-non jha-ri au i ju-ba mu-la

bride-DAT-also hand-LOC ring put-NML be-NPST

'Bride will put a garland to the groom and groom also put a ring in her hand.' [MDL_026]

In Tamang, it has been found that two clauses are coordinated by the process of juxtaposition where clauses are juxtaposed without any coordinator. Any two constituents; noun or noun phrase, verb or verb phrase, adjective or adjective phrase are combined in this process as in (23);

- (23) a. *lamada bida laba mula dz amekolada non bida laba mula*
 lama-da bida la-ba mu-la dz ame-kola-da non bida
 monk-DAT bye do-NML be-NPST daughter-child-DAT also bye
 la-ba mu-la
 do-NML be-NPST
 ‘Say bye to the monk and the daughters too.’ [ADB_018]
- b. *asa a i dombokade haba mula*
 asa A i dombo-kade ha-ba mu-la
 uncle Aunt guest-PL come-NML be-NPST
 ‘Uncle, aunt, guests will come.’ [ADB_014]
- c. *asa a i timri nidzi*
 asa A i tim-ri ni-dzi
 uncle Aunt house-LOC go-PST
 ‘Uncle and aunt went home.’ [ADB_017]
- d. *asa a ise tika t ansi mula*
 asa a i-se tika t an-si mu-la
 uncle aunt-ERG tika keep-SEQ be-NPST
 ‘Uncle and aunt will keep tika.’ [ADB-016]
- e. *mha dz jaba mula k andan mula*
 mha dz ja-ba mu-la k andan mu-la
 groom good-NML be-NPST rich be-NPST
 ‘Groom is rich and good.’ [MDL_011]

In example (23a), two clauses *lamada bida laba mula* ‘monk-DAT bye do-NML be-NPST’ and *dz amekolada non bida laba mula* ‘daughter-child-DAT also bye do-NML be-NPST’ are coordinated without any coordinators. In example (23b), three noun phrases *asa a i dombokade* ‘uncle, aunt and guest-PL’ have been coordinated. Similarly in example (23c-d) two noun phrases *asa a i* ‘uncle and aunt’ and in (23d)

asa a i ‘uncle and aunt’ have been coordinated. And in example (23e), two adjectives *dz ja* ‘good’ and *k andan* ‘rich’ have been juxtaposed.

Tamang conjunctive coordination contains bound ellipsis. It is the omission of part of a structure that is recoverable from the context. Ellipsis is often employed in the coordination of clause (Whaley 1997:285). Tamang bound ellipsis is shown as in (24);

(24) a. *dz amekadede kwan badzim anim ombokadese airak*

dz ame-kade-da kwan ba-dzi-m ani-m ombo-kade-se airak
 daughter-PL-DAT clothe bring-PST-INFR and-INFR guest-PL-ERG alcohol

‘The daughter brought cloths and the guest alcohol.’[ADB_004]

b. *akas timri nidzi anim tsamile namsari*

akas tim-ri ni-dzi tsamile namsa-ri
 akash house-LOC go-PST chamile village-LOC

‘Akash went home and Chamile to village.’[ACS_009]

Bound ellipsis consists of a subject and at least one complement, object or adjunct. In example (24a), *ombokade-se airak* and in (24b) *ashikqa namsa-ri* are coordinate clause of bound ellipsis. In (24a), the subject+object and in (24b) subject+adjunct form the coordinate clause of bound ellipsis. In (24a), *ba-dzi* and in (24b) *ni-dzi* are the verbs which are ellipited in the clauses of bound ellipsis.

3.2.2 Disjunction

Tamang does not have its native disjunctive coordinator. It has borrowed coordinator from Nepali such as *ki* and *wa*. The disjunctive particles *ki* as well as *wa* express the idea that at most one of the two alternatives can be realized. Disjunctive coordination is shown as in (25);

(25) a. *akas dzjaba mula ki tsamile dzjaba mula*

akas dzja-ba mu-la ki tsamile dzja-ba mu-la

akash good-NML be-NPST or chamile good-NML be-NPST

‘Akash is good or Chamile is good.’ [ACS_010]

b. *ram iskuli d odzim ki ad odzim*

ram iskuli d o-dzi-m ki a-d o-dzi-m

ram school reach-PST-INFR or NEG-reach-PST-INFR

‘Did Ram reach school or not?’ [RSA_011]

c. *asa timri niba ki a i timri niba*

asa tim-ri ni-ba ki a i tim-ri ni-ba

uncle house-LOC go-NML or aunt house-LOC go-NML

‘Uncle will go home or aunt.’ [ADB_017]

d. *mhase airak t u ba ki at u ba*

mha-se airak t u -ba ki a-t u -ba

bride-ERG alcohol drink-NML or NEG-drink-NML

‘Groom will drink alcohol or not.’ [MDL_010]

The example (25a-d) illustrate the use of unmarked disjunctive *ki* at the phrasal level.

These example show that disjunctives are used to provide exclusive alternatives.

Disjunctives may also be understood as inclusive, i.e; more than two alternatives may be available.

3.2.3 Adversative

Tamang lacks a coordination construction for adversative coordination. When two conjuncts are coordinated by an adversative conjunction *t r*, it is implied that a contrast or an opposition exist between the two conjuncts. However, in Tamang the adversative coordinator *t r* ‘but’ borrowed from Nepali which is used for the purpose in Tamang as in (26);

(26) a. *asiqa adzjaba mula t r t e s jogi mula*

asiqa a-dzja-ba mu-la t r t e s jogi mu-la

ashiqa NEG-good-NML be-NPST but 3SG helpful be-NPST

‘Ashiqa is not good but helpful.’ [PAPS_020]

b. *mu ko non tara mula t r ese ts abari ahamni*

mu ko -non tara mu-la t r e-se ts a-ba-ri
 sky full-also star be-NPST but 2SG-ERG count-NML-LOC
 a-ham-ni
 NEG-can-PST

‘Sky full of star but you cannot count.’[ELCD_AW_006]

c. *ashikse ashikada maja laba bisiman t aareba muba t r tiri kunu t eni apase t a tadzi*

ashik-se ashika-da maja la-ba bi-si-man t a-a-re-ba
 ashik-ERG ashika-DAT love do-NML say-SEQ-PROG know-NEG-be-NML
 mu-ba t r ti-ri kunu t e-ni-la apa-se t a ta-dzi
 be-NML but CLF-one day 3SG-PI-GEN father-ERG know be-PST

‘The father doesn’t know that Ashiq loves Ashiqa but one day he knew about their relation.’[PAPS_007]

d. *t sa la ap antakade kraba mula t r t sa akradzi*

t sa -la ap nta-kade kra-ba mu-la t r t sa a-kra-dzi
 bride-GEN relative-PL cry-NML be-NPST but bride NEG-cry-PST

‘The relatives of bride cried but she did’t.’ [MDL_023]

In example (26a-d), two clauses are coordinated by the coordinate marker *-t r*. The example (26a-d) express the notion of contrast or opposition. The adversative coordinate marker in Tamang is *t r*.

3.2.4 Exclusion

Tamang does not have its native exclusive coordinator. It has borrowed coordinator from Nepali such as *bahek*. The term exclusive refers to pronouns, especially the first person role where the addressee is not included along with the speaker. Exclusive coordination in Tamang is shown as in (27).

(27) a. *asiq e bahek ala hala are*

asiq e bahek a-la hala a-re
 ashiq 2SG EXCL 1SG-GEN who NEG-be

‘For me there is no one except you.’ [PAPS_013]

b. *ama bahek dz mai bjari hadzi*

ama bahek dz mai bja-ri ha-dzi
 mother EXCL all marriage-LOC come-PST

‘Everybody came to marriage except mother.’ [MDL_017]

In example (27a-b), two clauses are coordinated by the exclusion coordinate marker-*bahaek*.

3.3 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the coordination in Tamang. We have classified four types of coordination. They are: conjunctive, disjunctive, adversitive, and exclusion coordinations. Conjunctive coordination is marked by *anim*, disjunctive coordination is marked by *wa*. Tamang does not have its own marker but it is borrowed from Nepali. Adversative coordination marker is also borrowed from Nepali and it is marked by *t r*. Exclusion coordination marker is also borrowed from Nepali and it is marked by *bahek*.

CHAPTER 4

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study presents the Tamang language which is spoken in the District of Kabhre Palanchok. The main focus of the study was to analyze the clause combining patterns from formal functional perspectives of Tamang language. The study was mainly based on T. Givón's *Syntax: An introduction*, vol.2 (2001), Thomas E Payne's 'Describing morphosyntax: a guide for field linguistics' (1997), Whaley's 'Introduction to typology: the unity and diversity of language' (1997), and M. Haspelmath's 'Coordinating construction' (2004). The researcher collected corpus data to carry out this research. The data were taken from the native speakers of Dewpur village of Kabhre Palanchok district.

Tamang belongs to the Tibeto-Burman sub-group of Sino-Tibetan language family. It is spoken by 1, 353, 311 Tamangs throughout the Country. It covers 5.8% and the fifth largest speech community out the total population 1, 539, 830 in Nepal. It is traditionally written in Sambhota script, but one of the leading Tamang organization 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 have adopted Devanagari script due to the influence of Nepali language. It has head final SOV word order.

In chapter1, we have reviewed the previous study of Tamang literature and outlined the objectives and methodology of this study. We introduced Tamang language and presented the genetic affiliation of the language. We also included statement of the problem, significance of the study, limitation and organization of the study.

In chapter 2, we have discussed clause combining pattern of Tamang. In Tamang subordination and coordination are the major types of clause combining processes. Both finite and non-finite subordinate clauses can be found in this language. In this chapter, we discussed subordination of Tamang language. In subordination, we discussed complement clause, adverbial clause and relative clause. In complement clause, we discussed subject and object complement. In Tamang, the complement is marked by the suffix *-ba*. In adverbial clause, we discussed temporal, locational, reasonal, conditional, concessive, infinitival, purposive, and converb clauses. Temporal clause is marked by *ats a, haima*, etc. In temporal clause, past time is marked by the suffix *-dzi*, present time is marked by the suffix *-ma* and non-past time or future time is marked by the suffix *-la*. Locational clause is marked by interrogative pronoun *hana* . Reasonal clause is marked by suffix-*ba* followed by ergative marker. Condition is marked by the suffix *-sam*. Concessive is marked by the suffix *-sai*. Infinitival clause is marked by the suffix *-ba* when it is added to the verb stem. Purposive clause is marked by the suffix *-bari* when it is added to the verb stem. There are two types of converb clauses: simultaneous and sequential converb clause. Simultaneous clause is marked by the suffix *-nan* and sequential clause is marked by the suffix *-si*. In Tamang, the nominalizer *-ba* is used to relativized the sentence. The suffix *-ba* which functions as a complementizer as well as relativizer. In relative clause, Tamang has prenominal marker *-ba* which makes the prenominal relative clause. Tamang has also headless relative clause. In relativization process of Tamang we found the subject, object, locative, instrumental and dative relativization processes.

Table 4.1 shows the marker in Tamang language in subordination section.

Table 4.1: Different clause markers in Tamang

Clause	Clause	Markers	Remarks
Complement clause	Subject complement	<i>-ba</i>	
	Object complement	<i>-ba</i>	
Adverbial clause	Temporal clause	<i>ats a, haima</i>	

	Past time	<i>-dzi</i>	
	Present time	<i>-ma</i>	
	Future time	<i>-la</i>	
	Locational clause	<i>-hana</i>	
	Reasonal clause	<i>-ba</i>	
	Conditional clause	<i>-sam</i>	
	Concessive clause	<i>-sai</i>	
	Infinitival clause	<i>-ba</i>	
	Purposive clause	<i>-bari</i>	
Converb clause	Sequential converb	<i>-si</i>	
	Simultaneous converb	<i>-nan</i>	
Relative clause	Relative clause	<i>-ba</i>	

In chapter 3, we have discussed the coordination. In this chapter, we have classified four types of coordination. They are: conjunctive, disjunctive, adversitive, and exclusion coordinations. Conjunctive coordination is marked by *anim*, disjunctive coordination is marked by *wa*. Tamang do not have its own marker but it is borrowed from Nepali. Adversative coordination marker is also borrowed from Nepali and it is marked by *t r* . Exclusion coordination marker is also borrowed from Nepali and it is marked by *bahek*. Table 4.2 shows the marker in Tamang language in coordination section:

Table 4.2: Coordination markers in Tamang

S.N	Clause	Markers	Remarks
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1.	Conjunction	<i>-anim</i>	
2.	Disjunction	<i>-ki/ wa</i>	Borrowed from Nepali
3.	Adversative	<i>- t r</i>	Borrowed from Nepali
4.	Exclusion	<i>bahek</i>	Borrowed from Nepali

APPENDIX-1
THE STORY OF AKASH AND CHAMILE
(NARRATED BY SAJINA WAIBA)

ACS_001

gorki klari gor i mhi muba

gor-ki kla-ri gor- i mhi mu - ba
CLF - one place-LOC CLF-two person be-NML

‘Once there lived two lovers.’

ACS_002

t e ila min akas den tsamile min laba muba

t e- i-la min akas den tsamile min la-ba mu-ba
3SG-two-GEN name akas with chamile name do-NML be-NML

‘Their name were Akash and Chamile.’

ACS_003

anim t enila maja lanan gada tasi nidzi

ani-m t e-ni-la maja lanan gada ta-si ni-dzi
and-INFR 3SG-PL-GEN love much deep be-SEQ go-PST

‘They loved each other deeply.’

ACS_004

anim ekasi akas tsamilila namsari hadzim

ani-m ekasi akas tsamile-la namsa-ri ha-dzi-m
and-INFR suddenly akash chamile-GEN village-LOC come-PST-INFR

‘One day, suddenly Akash came to Chamile’s village.’

ACS_005

anim akasse tsamile den ruptadzi

ani-m akas-se tsamile den rup-ta-dzi
and-INFR akash-ERG chamile with meet-be-PST

‘And Akash met Chamile.’

ACS_006

anim akasse pa dzim ai eda lanan maja la mula

ani-m akas-se pa -dzi-m a-i e-da lanan maja la
and-INFR akash-ERG tell-PST-INFR 1SG-ERG 2SG-DAT much love do
mu-la
be-NPST

‘And Akash told Chamile that he loved her a lot.’

ACS_007

tarem ebina a so aham pa dzim tsamilise pa dzim anon ebina so aham

tarem e-bina a so a-ham pa -dzi-m tsamile-se
now 2SG-without 1SG live NEG-can tell-PST-INFR chamile-ERG
pa -dzi-m anon e-bina so a-ham
tell-PST-INFR 1SG-also 2SG-without live NEG-can

‘Akash told Chamile that he could not live without her, Chamile also told Akash that she also could not live without him.’

ACS_008

ainon eda maja laban mula t r tiga lasi apa den amase t a ja dzi bisam maja la apu

a-i-non e-da maja la-ban mu-la t r tiga la-si apa

1SG-ERG-also 2SG-DAT love do-PROG be-NPST but what do-SEQ father
den ama-se t a ja -dzi bi-sam maja la a-pu
and mother-ERG know get-PST say-COND love do NEG-allow

‘She said that she loved him so much but she was afraid if her parents come to know about their relationship they would not permit them to do so.’

ACS_009

tiga lasi akas a dod ari mula anim akas t ela timri dosi nidzi

tiga la-si akas a dod a-ri mu-la ani-m akas t e-la
what do-SEQ akash 1SG confuse-LOC be-NPST and-INFR akash 3SG-GEN
tim-ri do-si ni-dzi
house-LOC return-SEQ go-PST

‘She asked Akash what to do in such circumstances and she said that she was in great confusion. Then Akash returned his home.’

ACS_010

a ke laban muba haima e tapledzu ri niban mula

a ke la-ban mu-ba haima e tapledzu -ri ni-ban mu-la
1SG work do-PROG be-NML when 2SG taplejung-LOC go-PROG be-NPST

‘He said that he was going to Taplejung for work.’

ACS_011

akas tapledzu ri nilabase tsamileda duk i shodzi

akas tapledzu -ri ni-la-ba-se tsamile-da duk i sho-dzi
akash taplejung-LOC go-do-NML-ERG chamile-DAT sad make-PST

‘When Akash went to Taplejung, Chamile was very sad.’

ACS_012

t r akas haba biba ashiqada biswas mudzim hana sem ni tala t eri niu akas

t r akas ha-ba bi-ba tsamile-da biswas mu-dzi-m hana sem
but akash come-NML say-NML chamile-DAT believe be-PST-INFR where like
ni ta-la t e-ri ni-u akas

go be-NPST that-LOC go-IMP akash

‘But Chamile believed that Akash would come back one day.’

ACS_013

anim t eni i bitsiri apa den amase tilai tam t a adanon

ani-m t e-ni i bitsi-ri apa den ama-se tilai tam

and-INFR 3SG-PL two between-LOC father and mother-ERG some talk

t a a-da-non

know NEG-DAT-also

‘But their parents were unknown about all those things.’

ACS_014

t era tana tanan t e ke labari tapledzu ri nilaba bisi bisam

t e-ra ta-na ta-na-n t e ke la-ba-ri tapledzu -ri

that-2SG(HON) be-RED be-RED-INFR 3SG work do-NML-LOC taplejung-LOC

ni-la bi-si bi-sam

go-NPST say-SEQ say-COND

‘He only told his parents that he was going to Taplejung for work.’

ACS_015

anim tsamilise pa dzim akas eniu ja bidzim anim nidzi

ani-m tsamile-se pa -dzi-m akas e-ni-u ja bi-dzi-m

and-INFR chamil-ERG tell-PST-INFR akash 2SG-go-IMP ok Say-PST-INFR

ani-m ni-dzi

and-INFR go-PST

‘Chamile also let Akash to go for work. So Akash went.’

ACS_016

nisiman akasse tsamilida p on ladzi

ni-si-man akas-se tsamile-da p on la-dzi

go-SEQ-PROG akash-ERG chamile-DAT Phone do-PST

‘After reaching there, he made a call to Chamile (he phoned Chamile).’

ACS_017

tsamilese edzjana lasi d odzi bisi oidzi

tsamile-se e-dzja-na la-si d o-dzi bi-si oi-dzi
chamile-ERG 2SG-good-NPST do-SEQ reach-PST say-SEQ ask-PST

‘Chamile asked him weather he reached safely or not.’

ACS-018

tsamiese pailan pa ba muba akasda e hana nisainon

tsamile-se pailan pa -ba mu-ba akas-da e hana ni-sai-non
chamile-ERG first tell-NML be-NML akash-DAT 2SG where go-CONCES-also

‘Chamile told to Akash not to forget her wherever he went.’

ACS_019

ada amlego ja pa bala muba t r akasse t e pa ba b ts n mledzim

a-da a-mel-go ja pa -bala mu-ba t r akas-se t e
1SG-DAT NEG-forget-HORT Ok tell-PERF be-NML but akash-ERG that
pa -ba b ts n mel-dzi-m
tell-NML word forget-PST-INFR

‘But Akash forgot Chamile’s word.’

ACS_020

deben akasse tapledzu ri aku maja ladzim tsamileda p on k ladzim

deben akas-se tapledzu -ri aku maja la-dzi-m tsamile-da p on
again akash-ERG taplejung-LOC next love do-PST-INFR chamile-DAT phone
k la-dzi-m
leave-PST-INFR

‘In Taplejung Akash fall in love with another girl and he left Chamile and stopped making phone calls.’

ACS_021

lets am akas mena bidari ap ulam namsari hadzim

lets a akas mena bida-ri ap u-la-m namsa-ri ha-dzi-m
 after akash dashine holiday-LOC own-GEN-INFR village-LOC Come-PST-INFR
 ‘Later in Dashine vacation Akash came back to his village.’

ACS_022

akas haba tamse tsamileda k usi tadzi

akas ha-ba tam-se tsamile-da k usi ta-dzi
 akash come-NML matter-ERG chamile-DAT happy be-NPST
 ‘That made Chamile very happy.’

ACS_023

deben tsamileda p on ladzim tsamile a bidesri nidoseda tam tsamilida pa dzim

deben tsamile-da p on la-dzi-m tsamile a bides-ri
 again chamile-DAT phone do-PST-INFR chamile 1SG abroad-LOC
 ni-do-se-da tam tsamile-da pa -dzi-m
 go-return-ERG-DAT talk chamile-DAT tell-PST-INFR
 ‘Once again he made phone call to Chamile and told her that he wanted to go abroad.’

ACS_024

tsamile hana niba ada t a are

tsamile hana ni-ba a-da t a a-re
 chamile where go-NML 1SG-DAT know NEG-be
 ‘He didn’t know where Chamile had gone.’

ACS_025

anim tsamilese pa dzim ra da hana niba ap ula dziban dzjaba tala

ani-m tsamile-se pa -dzi-m ra -da hana ni-ba ap u-la
 and-INFR chamile-ERG tell-PST-INFR 2SG(HON)-DAT where go-NML own-GEN
 dziban dzja-ba ta-la

life good-NML be-NPST

‘Chamile wished that wherever he went, he would have a happy life.’

ACS_026

t era nisi ramdisainon tala pa dzim

t e-ra ni-si ramdi-sai-non ta-la pa -dzi-m

that-2SG(HON) go-SEQ happy-CONCES-also be-GEN tell-PST-INFR

‘Wherever you go, be happy in life , she said.’

APPENDIX-2

THE STORY OF LIER GOPAL

(NARRATED MANOJ WAIBA)

LGM_001

eka desri gorki gopal biba mhi mubadzim

eka desri gorki gopal biba mhi mu-ba-dzi-m

once country-LOC CLF-one gopal say-NML person be-NML-PST-INFR

‘Once upon a time there lived a man. His name was Gopal.’

LGM_002

gopal lanan ts tu mudzim t e satai ra ts abari nibadzim

gopal lanan ts tu mu-dzi-m t e satai ra ts a-ba-ri

gopal much clever be-PST- INFR 3SG always goat graze-NML-LOC

ni-ba-dzi- m

go-NML-PST-INFR

‘He was very clever. He always used to take his goats for grazing.’

LGM_003

tirikunu t ese tsjana hadzi tsjana hadzi bisi kri dzim

ti-ri-kunu t e-se tsjana ha-dzi tsjana ha-dzi bi-si
 CLF-LOC-day 3SG-ERG tiger come-PST tiger come-PST say-SEQ
 kri -dzi-m
 shout-PST-INFR

‘One day he shouted “Tiger had come.”’

LGM_004

anim p atri ke laba mhigade non tsjan hadzinam bisi hadzim

ani-m p at-ri ke la-ba mhi-gade non tsjan ha-dzi-nam
 and-INFR field-LOC work do-NML person-PL also tiger come-PST-COND
 bi-si ha-dzi-m
 say-NML come-PST-INFR

‘Then all the villagers were working in the field they went to help him.’

LGM_005

hamants e t e basuri raps tsidziwa mubadzim

ham-a-n-ts e t e basuri rap-si tsi-dzi-ba mu-ba-dzi-m
 can-NEG-INFR-NPST 3SG flute play-SEQ sit-PST-NML ba-NML-PST-INFR

‘When they reached there, he was just sitting and playing flute.’

LGM_006

anim satai tsjan hadzi bisi kri badzim kelaba mhigade non tsjan hadzinam bisi hamants e

ani-m satai tsjan ha-dzi bi-si kri -ba-dzi-m ke-la-ba
 and-INFR always tiger come-PST say-SEQ shout-NML-PST-INFR work-do - NML
 mhi-gade non tsjan ha-dzi-nam bi-si ham-a-n-ts e
 person- PL also tiger come-PST-COND say-SEQ can-NEG-INFR-NPST

‘He always used to cry out for help and villagers used to come there to help.’

LGM_007

t e satai basuri rapsi tsibadzim

t e satai basuri rap-si tsi-ba-dzi-m

3SG always flute play-SEQ sit-NML-PST-INFR

‘But everytime he was found sitting and playing the flute.’

LGM_008

tirikunu satsen tsjana hadzim t ese tsjana hadzi tsjana hadzi bisi kri dzim

ti-ri-kunu satsen tsjana ha-dzi-m t e-se tsjana ha-dzi tsjana

CLF-LOC-day really tiger come-PST-INFR 3SG-ERG tiger come-PST tiger

ha-dzi bi-si kri -dzi-m

come-PST say-SEQ shout-PST- INFR

‘One day, the Tiger really came. He shouted for help.’

LGM_009

kelabakadese satai t ese mhosen biba tabadzim tini nilada bisi aninim

ke-la-ba-kade-se satai t e-se mhosen bi-ba ta-ba-dzi-m

work-do-NML-PL-ERG always 3SG-ERG lie say-NML be-NML-PST-INFR

tini ni-la-da bi-si a-ni-ni-m

today go-NPST-DAT say-SEQ NEG-go-PST-INFR

‘But the villagers did not come there because he always used to lie.’

LGM_010

dz mai ra t ela tsjanase tsadzim lets gopal t andan timri dodzim

dz mai ra t e-la tsjana-se tsa-dzi-m lets gopal t andan tim-ri

all goat 3SG-GEN tiger-ERG eat-PST-INFR after gopal empty house-LOC

do-dzi-m

return - PST - INFR

‘The Tiger ate all his goats and he returned home with empty hands.’

LGM_011

gopal t ela apa timri d osi ats a t e timri hadzi

gopal t e-la apa tim-ri d o-si ats a t e tim-ri ha-dzi

gopal 3SG-GEN father house-LOC reach-SEQ before 3SG house-LOC come- PST

‘Gopal came home before his father arrived at home.’

APPENDIX-3
THE STORY OF EVIL MAN
(NARRATED BY SALINA WAIBA)

CMS_001

gorki klari gorki dzjaba namsa muba

gor-ki kla-ri gor-ki dzja-ba namsa mu-ba
CLF-one place - LOC CLF - one good- NML village be - NML

‘Once upon a time there was a beautiful village.’

CMS_002

t e namsari gorki adzjaba sem t oba mhi muba

t e namsa-ri gor-ki a-dzja-ba sem t o-ba mhi mu-ba
that village-LOC CLF-one NEG-good-NML heart carry-NML person be-NML

‘In that village there lived a wicked man.’

CMS_003

t ese namsalakadedda satai duk pinba laba muba

t e-se namsa-la-kade-da satai duk pin-ba la-ba mu-ba

3SG-ERG village-GEN-PL-DAT always pain give-NML do-NML be-NML
'He always used to give trouble to the villagers.'

CMS_004

t ela adzjaba beharla karanse namsalakadede hairan laba muba

t e-la a-dzja-ba behar-la karan-se namsa-la-kade-da
3SG-GEN NEG-good-NML behaviour-GEN reason-ERG village-GEN-PL-DAT
hairan la-ba mu-ba
irritate do-NML be-NML

'Because of his bad behaviour, all the villagers were fedup with him.'

CMS_005

dz mai namsala mhikadede hadziba belari tiga lasi bisi

dz mai namsa-la mhi-kade-da hadziba belari tiga la-si bi-si
all village-GEN person-PL-DAT which time what do-SEQ say-SEQ

'All the villagers did not know what he was going to do for them.'

CMS_006

satai t ela semri k ulduli tasi tsimba

satai t e-la sem-ri k ulduli ta-si tsi-m-ba
always 3SG-GEN mind-LOC something be-SEQ sit-INRF-NML

'Always something was happened in his mind.'

CMS_007

dz mai namsalakadede t ese suk se sobari pinba aremba

dz mai namsa-la-kade-da t e-se suk -se so-ba-ri pin-ba
all village-GEN-PL-DAT 3SG-ERG happy-ERG live-NML-LOC give-NML
a-re-m-ba

NEG-COP-INFR-NML

'He did not give the villagers to live peacefully.'

CMS_008

t e tirikunu adzjaba torse bimari tadzi t eda lepa kui pinba mhi hal i atani

t e ti-ri-kunu a-dzja-ba tor-se bimari ta-dzi t e-da lepa
 3SG CLF-LOC-day NEG-good-NML way-ERG sick be-PST 3SG-DAT hot
 kui pin-ba mhi hal i a-ta-ni
 water give-NML person any NEG-be-PST

‘One day he was very sick, there was no one to give him even some hot water.’

CMS_009

namsalakadese k ala hadziba s hajog alabase t ela sasrok diba d uiri tadzi

namsa-la-kade-se k ala hadziba s hajog a-la-ba-se t e-la
 village-GEN-PL-ERG who which help NEG-do-NML-ERG 3SG-GEN
 sasrokdi-ba d ui-ri ta-dzi
 stop breathing-NML condition-LOC be-PST

‘Since he was not getting any help from the villagers, his condition was getting worse.’

CMS_010

tsoro ba d uiri t ese dz mai namsalakadeda ra lan timri oisi pidzi

tsoro -ba d ui-ri t e-se dz mai namsa-la-kade-da ra la-n
 that.like-NML condition-LOC 3SG-ERG all village-GEN-PL-DAT own-INFR
 tim-ri oi-si bi-dzi
 house -LOC ask-SEQ say-PST

‘He invited all the villagers to his home at that condition.’

CMS_011

ala pjar namsala dzjodzjo ale nana a akade

a-la pjar namsa-la dzjodzjo ale nana a a-kade
 1SG-GEN dear village-GEN brother younger brother elder sister younger sister- PL

‘He said dear brother and sisters.’

CMS_012

p hili a dz mai-da map bidzi

p hili a dz mai-da map bi-dzi
 firstly 1SG all-DAT sorry say-PST

‘At first I am very sorry.’

CMS_013

ai ra nikade prati k epa labari ladzi a papi hinna

a-i ra -ni-kade prati k epa labari la-dzi a papi hin-na
1SG-ERG 2SG(HON)-PL-PL towards big mistake do-PST 1SG sinner be-NPST

‘I made a big mistake to you, I am sinner.’

CMS_014

t era tasi a sisi lets a su ri k enla kilakade t osi

t era ta-si a si-si lets a su -ri k en-la kila-kade
like that be-SEQ 1SG die-SEQ after mouth-LOC bamboo-GEN stake-PL
t o-si

carry- SEQ

‘After I die, keep the bamboo stake in my mouth.’

CMS_015

ada k ra lasi bidzi namsalakadede n ram bolise bidzim

a-da k ra la-si bi-dzi namsa-la-kade-da n ram boli-se
1SG-DAT funeral do-SEQ say-PST village-GEN-PL-DAT soft voice-ERG
bi-dzi-m

say-PST- INFR

‘He said softly to the villagers, please do my funeral.’

CMS_016

lets am ekek tanatanan t ese sada k ladzim

lets a-m ekek ta-na-ta-na-n t e-se sa-da k la-dzi-m
after-INFR ekek be-RED-be-RED-INFR 3SG-ERG life-DAT leave-PST-INFR

‘After that he stopped breathing.’

CMS_017

namsalakadese t eda k ra lasi g a p ti pordzi

namsa-la-kade-se t e-da k ra la-si g a p ti por-dzi

village-GEN-PL-ERG 3SG-DAT funeral do-SEQ yard towards take-PST

‘The villagers took him to funeralyard.’

CMS_018

t e belari radzala sipaikadese t e mhikade haba mar dzi

t e bela-ri radza-la sipai-kade-se t e mhi-kade ha-ba mar -dzi
that time-LOC king-GEN army-PL-ERG that person-PL come-NML see-PST

‘At that time an army general saw the dead man.’

CMS_019

t enikadese namsalakadedda ulto mar dzi

t e-ni-kade-se namsa-la-kade-da ulto mar -dzi
3SG-PL-PL-ERG village-GEN-PL-DAT opposite see-PST

‘They saw the villagers opposite.’

CMS_020

t era tasi sipaikadese m lamikadedda p kraidisi borsi anim dzelri judzi

t era ta-si sipai-kade-se m lami-kade-da p kraidisi bor-si ani-m
like.that be-SEQ army-PL-ERG mourner-PL-DAT catch-SEQ take-SEQ and-INFR
dz-el-ri ju-dzi
prision-LOC put-PST

‘The army caught the mourners of the funeral and put them in jail.’

CMS_021

adzjaba sem t oba mhi sodzen ahin sisi lets am non duk a pinb bisi

a-dzja-ba sem t o-ba mhi so-dzen a-hin si-si lets a-m
NEG-good-NML heart carry-NML person live-upto NEG-be die-SEQ after-INFR
non duk a pin-ba bi-si
also pain give-NML say-SEQ

‘The person who had evil mind gave trouble after his death also.’

CMS_022

namsalakadese anuman ladzi anim ja se adzjaba sem t oba mhi lets a ladzi

namsa-la-kade-se anuman la-dzi ani-m ja -se a-dzja-ba
village-GEN-PL-ERG fell do-PST and-INFR 1PL(incl)-ERG NEG-good-NML
sem t o-ba mhi lets a la-dzi
heart carry-NML person after do-PST

‘The villagers felt that if they had followed the evil minded.’

CMS_023

anise duk a ja ba biba tam

a-ni-se duk a ja -ba bi-ba tam
3SG(incl)-PL-ERG pain get-NML say-NML talk

‘They had to face the problems.’

CMS_024

satai semri kentoba mula

satai sem-ri kento-ba mu-la
always heart-LOC accept-NML be-NPST

‘This should be always kept in our mind.’

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