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Eastern Tamang Grammar Sketch

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Eastern Tamang Grammar Sketch

By

Sung-Woo Lee

Presented to the Faculty of
the Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics
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ABSTRACT

Eastern Tamang Grammar Sketch

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Master of Arts
with major in
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The Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics, June 2011

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This thesis presents a descriptive grammatical sketch of Central-Eastern Tamang which is primarily spoken in the Kabhre District of Central Nepal. Tamang is a Tibeto-Burman language with two major varieties (Eastern and Western Tamang) which are mutually unintelligible. Eastern Tamang (with its population of about 759,000) is divided into two dialects, Central-Eastern Tamang and Outer-Eastern Tamang.

Tamang exclusively uses suffixes except for the negative prefix *a-* 'NEG'. Inflectional morphology is restricted to tense, aspect, modality, and negation marking on verbs or auxiliaries (with no agreement marking) and plural number marking on nouns and pronouns. Tamang has differential object case marking which is based on an ergative case system. The basic word order is SOV. Subordinate clauses precede main clauses. Clause subordination is accomplished through subordinating morphemes, a nominalizer, and complementizers. Tamang also has a clause-chaining structure, but does not have serial verb constructions.

Dedicated to the Tamang people in Champagaun who showed their wholehearted kindness to me and my family

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES AND MAPS

30° 80°
30'

30°

29°

28°

27°

26°
15'

81°   82°   83°   84°   85°   86°   87°   88° 88°
13'

NEPAL

CHINA
(Tibet Autonomous Region)

Gorkha

Rasuwa

Nuwakot   Sindhu
Palchowk

Dhading   A   B   Dolakha

C   Kabhre

Makwanpur   Ramechhap

Sindhuli

INDIA

A Kathmandu
B Bhaktapur
C Lalitpur

Figure 1: Map of the Tamang region in Nepal

(Varenkamp 1996:xvii)

85° 00' 85° 30' 86° 00'

Trisuli River

8°00'

← Indrawati River

Bhote Kosi

Sun Kosi

Kathmandu

Tama Kosi

Risankhu

● Dhulikhel

Sailung Δ

7°30' ← Bagmati River

◆

Champhagaun Temal

Sun Kosi

● Hetauda

District boundary
River
Road/Highway

Figure 2: Data collection location (◆)

(modified from Varenkamp 1996:xx)

ABBREVIATIONS

-	Affix boundary	EXCL	Exclusive
=	Clitic boundary	ERG	Ergative
[ ]	Constituent boundaries	FOC	Focus
*	Ungrammatical	FUT	Future
(X)	Optional constituent	GEN	Genitive case
Ø	Null (silent) morpheme	HON	Honorific
1	1st person	HORT	Hortative
2	2nd person	IMD	Immediacy
3	3rd person	IMPER	Imperative
A	Agent	IMPFV	Imperfective
ABL	Ablative case	INCL	Inclusive
ABS	Absolutive case	INDIR	Indirect knowledge (hearsay)
ACC	Accusative	INF	Infinitive
ADJ	Adjective	INSTR	Instrumental
AP	Adjective Phrase	LOC	Locative
ADJZ	Adjectivizer	MIR	Mirative
ADV	Adverb	MOD	Modality
ADVBL	Adverbializer	N	Noun
ALLT	Allative	NEG	Negation
AUX	Auxiliary	NEP	Nepali
BEN	Benefactive	NMLZ	Nominalizer
CAUS	Causative	NOM	Nominative
CLASS	Classifier	NP	Noun Phrase
COMIT	Comitative	NPST	Non-Past
COMP	Complementizer	NUM	Numeral
CONCES	Concession	NUMP	Numeral Phrase
COND	Condition	O	Object
COP	Copula	O_2	Secondary Object
DAT	Dative	OBJ	Object
DEM	Demonstrative	OBL	Oblique
DET	Determiner	OM	Object Marker
DU	Dual	OPT	Optative
EMP	Emphatic	P	Patient

PERM	Permissive		R	Recipient
PFV	Perfective		REFL	Reflexive pronoun
PL	Plural		REL	Relativizer
POSS	Possessive		S	Sentence/Subject
PP	Postpositional Phrase		SEQ	Sequential
PROG	Progressive		SG	singular
PRT	Particle		SUBJ	Subject
PSR	Phrase Structure Rule		TEMP	Temporal marker
PST	Past		TOP	Topic marker
Q	Question marker		V	Verb
QUANT	Quantifier		VERID	Veridical marker
QUOT	Quote		VP	Verb Phrase

1   INTRODUCTION

Tamang is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by over a million people in central Nepal. The two major varieties of Tamang are Eastern Tamang with approximately 759,000 speakers and Western Tamang with approximately 323,000 speakers (2000 census) which are mutually unintelligible languages. Eastern Tamang is divided into two dialects, Outer-Eastern Tamang and Central-Eastern Tamang (Varenkamp 1996:45). The dialect described here is Central-Eastern Tamang which is spoken in the Kabhre District of Nepal.

Some linguistic research has been done on Tamang phonology, grammar, and dictionaries; however, most of the research on Tamang grammar has been done in piecemeal fashion. Furthermore, very little research has been done on Eastern Tamang syntax.

This thesis provides a descriptive grammar sketch of Central-Eastern Tamang as well as a brief overview of the phonology. The thesis devotes particular attention to five features of Central-Eastern Tamang grammar: nominalization (chapter 5), complex predicates (chapter 6), auxiliary verbs (chapter 6), case marking in different types of clauses (chapter 7), and relativization and complementation (chapter 8). These five features are addressed in detail due to their complexity and the problems they pose for an

analysis of Central-Eastern Tamang, and because they have not been adequately dealt with in previous work.

The data is limited to the variety of the Central-Eastern Tamang dialect which is spoken in the Kabhre District of Nepal. My data corpus includes word lists, elicited examples of clauses and sentences, and thirteen texts which are translated into English and Nepali.

1.1   Review of literature

Noonan (2011:214) categorizes Tamang, Gurung, Thakali, Manangpa, Nar-Phu, Chantyal, and Tangbe as "the Tamangic languages" which form a subgroup within the Tibetic branch of the Tibeto-Burman family. According to him, the Tamangic languages are Sino-Tibetan languages which belong to the Tibeto-Burman family, Bodic section, Bodish subgroup, and Tibetic branch (see Figure 3).

```
                        Tibeto-Burman
                             |
                       Tibeto-Himalayan
                      /               \
               Bodic                    Himalayanic
          /      |      \
Central Himalayish   Bodish        Rgyalrong
                  /        \
        West Himalayish      Tibetic
                        /      |      \
                   Ghale  Central Bodish  Tamangic
                                             |
                                          Tamang
                                        /        \
                              Western Tamang   Eastern Tamang
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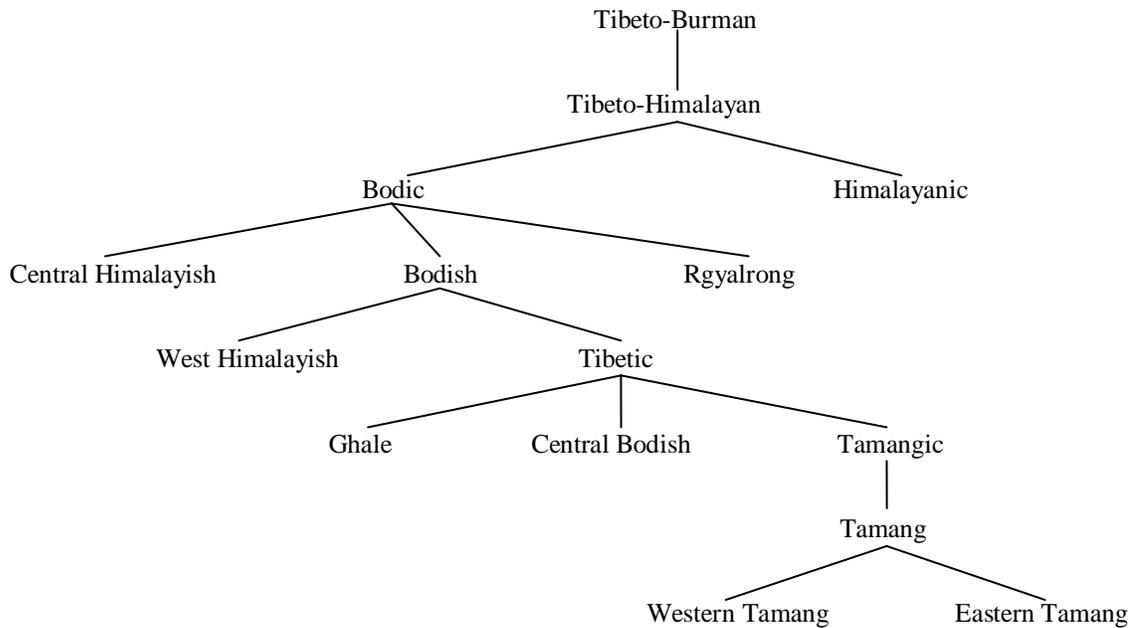
Figure 3: The relationship of the Tibetic languages within TB

1.1.1 *Phonology*

Taylor (1969a, 1969b) and Hari, Taylor, and Pike (1970) have described the phonology and tone of Western Tamang, whereas Mazaudon (1973, 1974, 1976a, 1978, and 1996) and Varenkamp (to appear) have described the phonology of Eastern Tamang.

1.1.2 *Morphology and syntax*

Taylor (1973, 1978) dealt with some syntactical issues in Western Tamang, including clause patterns and topicalization. A Tamang scholar Chalise (1999a) also focused on Western Tamang morphosyntax. Chalise (2003) describes the modality system in Western Tamang, whereas Varenkamp (2003) studied nominalization issues in

Eastern Tamang. A Tamang scholar, Yonjan (1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1995b, and 1996) has made a significant contribution to the morphology and syntax of Eastern Tamang along with Varenkamp (to appear).

1.1.3   Vocabulary lists and dictionaries

A number of vocabulary lists and dictionaries have been produced. Among them are: *A vocabulary of the Tamang language* by Taylor, Everitt, and Karna Tamang (1972) for Western Tamang; *English-Khas-Tamang basic words* and *Tamang-Nepali basic words* by Moktan (1991, 1994) for Eastern Tamang; *Basic word book for Tamang language* by Ajitman Tamang (1994); *Nepali-Tamang vocabulary* and an Eastern Tamang dictionary, *Tamang vyakaran,* by Yonjan (1994a, 1997).

1.1.4   Discourse

Hepburn (1978) dealt with linkage in Western Tamang narrative discourse. I have described participant reference in a narrative text and the discourse features of a hortatory text in Eastern Tamang (Lee 2009, 2010).

1.1.5   Tamang texts

A number of Tamang texts have been written by several Tamang scholars. Bal (1992, 1993, 1994a, and 1994b) has written several conversational texts. Bimala Tamang and Hepburn (1993) have written a textbook for grades one to three. Yonjan (1992c, 1993,

1994b, 1994c, 1994d, 1994e, 1995a) has written several texts including conversational texts and texts describing sociolinguistic issues and Tamang culture. I have also collected thirteen texts in different genres and translated them into English and Nepali (Lee to appear).

1.2 Data sources

This study focuses on Central-Eastern Tamang. The data for this thesis was collected from a linguistic survey, indigenous texts (see §1.1.5), sentence elicitation, and the sources mentioned in sections 2.1 and 2.2. Central-Eastern Tamang and Nepali were the main languages used as a medium of communication to conduct this research.

1.2.1 Linguistic survey

I spent approximately a year doing a linguistic survey in various villages of the Central-Eastern Tamang area with Varenkamp (Varenkamp 1996:x) in order to determine if there are varieties of Eastern Tamang. A standard list of 270 vocabulary items was collected and compared with varieties spoken in different villages to evaluate lexical similarity. A short personal-experience narrative text was recorded and given as a comprehension test using Recorded Text Testing[1] (Varenkamp 1996:117-20) as a method to evaluate the mutual understanding between Tamang speakers in different areas.

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[1] Recorded Text Testing is also called 'comprehension testing'. It "involves recording a short story from a person of one speech variety and playing it for speakers of another variety. Questions about the content of the story are asked to see how well they understand it. The accuracy with which people respond to these questions provides a measurable index of their understanding of that speech variety" (Varenkamp 1996:36).

Folklore or other material which might be widely known was avoided for this testing. Sociolinguistic questionnaires (called "The Language Use and Attitudes Questionnaire") (Varenkamp 1996:37) were used to evaluate patterns of language use and attitudes toward different speech varieties known to the Eastern Tamang. This sociolinguistic study took place in the following districts: Dolakha, Ramechhap, Sindhu Palchok, Sindhuli, Kabhre, Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Lalitpur, Makwanpur, Nuwakot, Rasuwa, Dhading, and Gorkha (Varenkamp 1996:38-43). From this survey, Varenkamp and I concluded that the Eastern Tamang language can be divided into two groups: Outer-Eastern Tamang and Central-Eastern Tamang (Varenkamp 1996:45).

1.2.2   Text collection and interlinearlization

I collected more than thirty texts from different genres through tape-recording while I was living in a village of the Kabhre District in Nepal for about two years. The texts include stories about personal experiences and other people, explanatory texts (for example, a story describing advantages and disadvantages of living in Kathmandu), hortatory texts (for example, a story about how to develop the economic situation of the Tamangs and how to keep Tamang culture), and procedural texts which are related to village life (for example, how to build a house, how to make alcohol, how to conduct a funeral ceremony, etc.).

Thirteen of these recorded texts have been transcribed into Devanagri [2] and translated into Nepalese and English as literally as possible. The analysis of the Tamang texts has been done with the help of Tamang speakers. Three texts are analyzed and interlinearlized into English and Nepali using the Toolbox program. [3]

1.2.3 *Sentence elicitation*

The transcribed and interlinearlized texts have been used for analyzing and describing Tamang. Some sentence elicitation was done via e-mail communication with Tamang speakers in Kathmandu, Nepal, in order to obtain relevant information on Central-Eastern Tamang.

Some Tamang data is taken from the papers of Mazaudon (2003), Chalise (1999a), and Varenkamp (to appear). However, most of the data in this thesis comes from the texts I have collected (Lee to appear) and from the data directly elicited from Tamang speakers. [4]

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[2] Devanagri is an alphabet of India and Nepal.
[3] Toolbox is a data management and analysis tool for field linguists. It is especially useful for maintaining lexical data, and for parsing and interlinearizing text, but it can be used to manage virtually any kind of data (cited from http://www.sil.org/computing/toolbox/information.htm).
[4] Here, and in the remainder of this thesis, all references to Tamang refer to Central-Eastern Tamang, unless noted otherwise.

2   PHONOLOGY

This chapter briefly describes segmental and suprasegmental phonology. Consonants and vowels are described in §2.1 and §2.2, whereas §2.3 deals with syllables and §2.4 with voice quality and tone. Several morphophonemic processes are dealt with throughout the chapter. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the Tamang orthography (see §2.5) which is currently being used by several different Tamang scholars.

2.1   Consonants

2.1.1   Initial consonants

Table 1 presents an inventory of the phonemic consonants in Tamang. There are six points of articulation—labial, alveolar, retroflexed, alveo-palatal, velar, and glottal-- and eleven manners of articulation. The stops /tʰ, t′, t/ are dental, and the sonorants /n, l, r/ are alveolar; however, they are combined into one place of articulation, alveolar, for ease of reference.

All consonants can occur in syllable-inital position.

Table 1: Consonant inventory

			Labial	Alve-olar	Retro-flexed	Alveo-Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Obstruents		aspirated	p^h	t^h	$\underline{t}^h$		k^h	
	Stops	fortis	p'	t'	$\underline{t}'$		k'	
		lenis	p	t	$\underline{t}$		k	
		aspirated				c^h		
	Affricates	fortis				c'		
		lenis				c		
	Fricatives			s				h
Sonorants	Nasals		m	n			ŋ	
	Lateral			l				
	Flap			r				
	Glides		w			y		

As Varenkamp (to appear:11-12) insists, there are no phonemic voiced obstruents. He says, "In speech and transcription the ear can easily be deceived into assuming obstruent voicing, but accoustically there is none. The combination of pitch and vocal quality (phonation type) trick the ear into hearing what one could swear is voicing." Like Korean,[5] fortis stops and affricates contrast with lenis stops and affricates in word-initial position; for example, *p'a* 'shake hand' (fortis) vs. *pạ* 'bring' (lenis). In intervocalic position, lenis stops and affricates are voiced and contrast with fortis stops and affricates; for example, [*nep'al*] 'Nepal' vs. [*deba*] 'money' (see §2.1.2). Lenis stops have a voiced allophone intervocalically, as shown by the rule in (1):

---

[5] Kim (1995:1) says that Korean stops have three-way phonemic contrast: 1) unaspirated tense (or fortis), 2) slightly aspirated (or lenis), and 3) heavily aspirated. For example, *tal* 'moon' (lenis), *ttal* 'daughter' (fortis) and *t^hal* 'mask' (aspiration) ; *pul* 'fire' (lenis), *ppul* 'horn' (fortis) and *p^hul* 'grass' (aspiration). Sohn (1999:45) also shows that there is a distinction between fortis and lenis in his phoneme chart.

(1)   /C$_{[LENIS]}$/ → $\left\{\begin{array}{l} [C_{VD}] \text{ / V\_V} \\ [C_{VL}] \text{ / elsewhere} \end{array}\right\}$

2.1.2   Contrast between initial consonants[6]

(2)   Labial stops /p^h/, /p′/, /p/, and /m/

/p′a/	'shake hand'	/p′e:/[7]	'be shy'
/p^{h}a/	'pay'	/p^{h}e:/	'shine'
/pa̤/	'bring'	/pe/	'be used'
/ma/	'die' (HON)	/me:/	'tail'

(3)   Dental and retroflexed stops /t^h/, /t′/, /t/, /ʈ^h/, /ʈ′/ and /ʈ/

/t^{h}aŋ/	'odor'	/ʈ^{h}waŋ/	'make hole'
/t′aŋ/	'dish'	/ʈ′aŋ/	'swell/pile up'
/taŋ/	'celebrate'	/ʈaŋ/	'a basketful of bread'
/t^{h}on/	'come out'	/ʈ′epa /	'encourage'
/t′oŋ/	'upper part'	/ʈepa /	'money'
/to̤ŋ/[8]	'tree'		

(4)   Alveo-palatals /c^h/, /c′/and /c/

/c^{h}aŋ/	'basket'	/c^{h}o/	'rope'	/c^{h}e/	'hay/loan'
/c′aŋ/	'bride'	/c′o/	'chief'	/c′e/	'wide place'
/caŋ/	'nest'	/co/	'top'	/ce/	'whatever(Nep)'

(5)   Velars /k^h/, /k′/, /k/, and /ŋ/

/k^{h}e:/	'chant'	/k^{h}a/	'come'
/k′e:/	'scold'	/k′a/	'blood'
/ke̤:/	'work'	/ka/	'stick'
/ŋe:/	'spill'	/ŋa/	'1SG'

---

[6] Most of examples are from Varenkamp (to appear:12-15) and Yonjan (1997:2-17). The examples have been checked by Eastern Tamang speakers.

[7] A colon [:] after a vowel indicates the vowel is long; e.g., /e:/ is a long /e/.

[8] Two dots underneath a vowel indicates that the vowel is breathy; e.g., /to̤ŋ/ 'tree' (see §2.4).

(6)   Fricatives /s/ and /h/

/sọ/   'make/   /sai/   'kill'
/họ/   'carry/   /hai/   'yauning(Nep)'

(7)   Nasals /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/

/mị/   'person'   /mạ/   'bridegroom'
/ni/   'go'   /nạ/   'pus'
/ŋị:/   'two'   /ŋạ/   'drum'

(8)   Liquids /l/ and /r/

/la/   'month'   /li:/   'throw'
/ra/   'goat'   /ri:/   'scratch'

(9)   Glides /w/ and /y/

/waŋ/   'enter'   /wa/   'chase'
/yaŋ/   'get'   /ya/   'hand'

Glides have a limited distribution. In syllable-initial position, /y/ precedes the vowels /a/, /e/, /u/, and /o/, but never precedes /i/. The glide /w/ cannot precede /u/ as illustrated in (10).

(10)   Co-occurrence restrictions with /y/ and /w/

/cya:/   'look'   /kʼwan/   'cloth'
/sye:/   'go'(HON)   /twị/   'pick up'
/kyẹŋ/   'bread'   /pʰwi/   'be thirsty'
/syu:/   'sit'(HON)   /kwạ/   'wheat'
/syoŋ/   'stream'   /ninawe/ 'the Ninevites'
                         /ʈwoŋ/   'open'

2.1.3   Final consonants

As Varenkamp (to appear:13) points out, "the nasals, liquids and unaspirated stops are the most prominent consonants in the coda" (see (11)). The fricative /s/ has a more limited distribution, as in (12). No more examples are found in my data.

Example (13) shows that the affricate /c/, and retroflexed stop /ʈ/ occur in syllable

codas primarily in words borrowed from Nepali.

(11) Sample consonant codas
    /pạp/   'liquid'   /t′am/   'story'   /p′al/ 'turn(Nep)'
    /cat/   'caste'   /min/   'name'   /p′ir/ 'worry(Nep)'
    /airak/ 'alcohol'   /kyẹŋ/ 'bread'

(12) /ŋis/   'seven'

(13) /kic/   'take.photo' (Nep)
     /talambaʈ/   'long.bar' (Nep)

As seen in (14), a retroflexed nasal [ɳ] may also occur in syllable codas of Nepali

words preceding /ʈ/ (Varenkamp to appear:13).

(14) /kaɳʈ′a/ 'hour' (Nepali)

Table 2: Possible coda consonants

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflexed	Alveo-Palatal	Velar
Stops	p	t	ʈ		k
Affricates				c	
Fricatives		s			
Nasals	m	n			ŋ
Liquids		l,r			

2.1.4 Consonant clusters

The phonemes displayed horizontally in Table 3 are the first consonant in the

cluster (C_1) and those displayed vertically are the second consonant (C_2). As Varenkamp

(to appear:14) points out, the labials and velar stops are the most common C_1, followed

by liquids (/l/ and /r/) and the glides (/w/ and /y/) in C_2 position. The dentals and retroflexed stops are only followed by a glide /w/, and the glides are never followed by a C_2.[9] Examples of initial consonant clusters are provided in (15).

Table 3: Initial consonant cluster matrix

	p′	pʰ	p	m	w	t′	tʰ	t	n	l	r	ʈ′	ʈʰ	ʈ	c′	cʰ	c	s	y	k′	kʰ	k	ŋ	h
l	+	+	+	+																+	+	+		
r	+	+	+	+																+	+	+		
w	+	+	+	+		+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		
y	+	+	+	+				+	+						+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+

(15) **[Varenkamp to appear:15; Lee to appear]**[10]

/p′lạ/	'spirit,soul'	/myap′/	'wipe'	/sya/	'meat'
/p′re/	'stick'	/tʰwi:/	'join'	/k′laŋ/	'play'
/p′wi/	'send'	/twị/	'pick up'	/k′ra:/	'cry'
/p′yo/	'spring up'	/lyarapa/	'foot-measure'	/k′wan/	'clothes'
/pʰla:/	'palm (of hand)'	/ryam/[11]	'times'	/k′ya/	'put'
/pʰrul/	'hull (corn)'	/ʈ′wagʈ′wag/	'hammer'	/kʰla:/	'leave'
/pʰwi:/	'blow'	/ʈʰwa/	'dig out'	/kʰru/	'wash'
/pʰya:/	'broom'	/ʈwa/	'pig'	/kʰwa:/	'feed'
/pli/	'four'	/c′wi:/	'create'	/kʰyo/	'scoop'
/prẹ:/	'eight'	/c′yan/	'tiger'	/klạ/	'place'
/pwịpwị/	'hair'	/cʰwa/	'bite'	/krẹn/	'big'
/pyạŋ/	'pour out'	/cʰyoŋ/	'jump'	/kwạ/	'wheat'
/mlạ/	'uncooked rice'	/cwi/	'weak/thin'	/kyam/	'road'

---

[9] Some scholars have suggested clusters of /hl/, /hr/, /hy/ and /hw/ (Mazaudon 2003:292; Yonjan 1997:19-20). As Varenkamp (to appear:14) points out, /h/ is not followed by a C_2. He says "Phonetically it would be very difficult to make a distinction between the /h/ actually preceding any of the sonorants permissable in the C_2 position and alternatively the sonorant being affected by breathiness that follows. Rather, the breathy voice quality in a word is more noticeable on sonorant consonants right from the moment of articulation; i.e., /lụ/ 'pour out', not /hlu/; /rọ:/ 'friend', not /hro:/; /yọ/ 'thief', not /hyo/; and /wạba/ 'male (cock)' not /hwaba/."

[10] Most of the consonant cluster data is taken from Lee (to appear) and Varenkamp (to appear:15). In Varenmakp's data, Varenkamp uses the symbol 'j' for a glide. But I use the symbol 'j' for a voiced alveo-palatal affricate and 'y' for a glide.

[11] The forms *-ryam* and *-rem* are dialect variations (see (111)).

/mrap/   'door'   /cyạn/   'body'   /ŋyoi/   'ask'

/mwi /   'buffalo'   /swa/   'tooth'

2.2   Vowels

The phonemic vowels of Tamang are presented in Table 4. Vowel length is a contrastive feature in open syllables, word initially. Only short, single nucleus vowels may occur in closed syllables (Varenkamp to appear:16).

Table 4: Vowel inventory

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Alveolar stops and affricates provide a productive environment for constrasting length as shown in Table 5, though other consonantal environments can be just as productive (Varenkamp to appear:16-17).

Table 5: Central Eastern Tamang length contrasts

/cʰi/	'stamp'	/cʰi:/	'fat'
/tʰi/	'break'	/tʰi:/	'pick up'
/cʰe/	'grass'	/cʰe:/	'age'
/tʰe/	'3sg'	/tʰe:/	'hear'
/t'a/	'happen/become'	/t'a:/	'receive'
/tʰa/[12]	'NEG.IMP'	/tʰa:/	'cut'
/tʰu/	'pick off'	/tʰu:/	'sting'
/c'u/	'start'	/c'u:/	'bark'
/cʰo/	'rope'	/cʰo:/	'offering'
/t'o/	'pound'	/t'o:/	'need'
/tʰo/	'spit'	/tʰo:/	'carry'

Vowel length plays a more significant role in Central Eastern Tamang than in some other Tamang dialects. In CE Tamang, some final consonants in closed syllables are dropped and the vowel is lengthened (Varenkamp to appear:17).

Table 6: Length contrasts in Tamang

Other Tamang varieties	Central Eastern Tamang	Gloss
/kik/	/ki:/	'one'
/prat̪/	/pre̞:/	'eight'
/t'at/	/t'e:/	'take out'
/cʰat/	/cʰe:/	'fight'
/kyat̪/	/ke:/	'work'

Nasality is marginally distinctive (Mazaudon 2003:292). Nasal vowels only occur with Nepali loan word as in (16).

(16) /hũɖi/ 'monkey(Nep)'

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[12] A negative imperative prefix /tʰa-/ is used in Risangkhu area. However, in most of the Eastern Tamang area, the negative imperative prefix is /a-/.

The inventory of diphthongs is shown in Table 7 (Mazaudon 2003:292; Varenkamp to appear:17-18).

Table 7: Diphthong inventory

	ui	oi	ai	au	iau
ie	iu	io	ia	ua	uai
ie:	iu:	io:	ia:	ua:	
	iui	ioi	iai		

However, positing a three-vowel syllable (e.g., iui, ioi) increases the complexity of the syllable structure. The front high vowel, /i/, or the back high vowel, /u/, which is followed by another vowel, is usually interpreted as a glide /y/ or /w/ (Mazaudon 2003:292) (see examples (17) to (19)). The relative duration of the initial high vowels compared to the following vowel(s) is shorter and would suggest an offglide as part of the consonant cluster rather than a part of the syllable nucleus (Varenkamp to appear:17-18).

(17) [ioi]   →   /yoi/
      [gio̱i]   →   /kyo̱i/ 'language'
      [ŋioi]   →   /ŋyoi/ 'ask'

(18) [ua]   →   /wa/
      [kuan]   →   /k'wan/   'cloth'
      [sua]   →   /swa/   'tooth'

(19) [ui]   →   /wi/
      [mui]   →   /mwi/   'buffalo'
      [pui-pa] →   /p'wi-pa/ 'carry'

A labial-palatal glide [ɥ], approximating the sound of a central close rounded vowel [ʉ], is interpreted as the combination of a a semi-vowel /y/ and a vowel /u/ to avoid another vowel realization [ʉ] This may occur when a labial-palatal glide [ɥ] is preceded by an alveo-palatal or velar consonant, as in Table 8.

Table 8: Diphthong variation

[kɥi]	→	/kyui/	'water'
[cɥi]	→	/cyui/	'ten'

If the semi-vowel interepretation is held, the inventory of the diphthongs is shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Diphthong inventory

oi	ai	au	ui*

when preceded by a glide

Examples of dipthongs are shown in (20).

(20) /to̱i/   'load'
      /wa̱i/   'song'
      /aŋkʼausi/ 'hook'
      /kʼyui/   'water'

2.3   Syllable structure

The canonical syllable structure for Tamang is shown in the formula in (21).[13]

(21)   (S) (C$_1$) (C$_2$) V (X)

S stands for supra-segmental (i.e., the pitch and voice quality combination, as discussed in §2.4), C$_1$ for initial consonant, C$_2$ for liquid or glide (r, l, w, y), and X for either a final consonant or a part of complex vowel (i.e., the lengthening of a long vowel, or a second vowel of a diphthong). Complex vowels only occur in open syllables as seen in (22).

(22)   /tʰi:/   'pick up'   /kʼyui/ 'water'
        /tʰe:/   'hear'   /ŋyoi/   'ask'

Syllables in Tamang are maximally bimoraic (two moras in the rhyme) and the most complicated syllable pattern will be either CCVC or CCVV, as illustrated in (23).

(23)   V   /e:/   '2SG'   VC   /om/   'exclamation'
        CV   /ni/   'go'   CVC   /kʼan/   'rice'
        CCV   /mla̤/   'uncooked rice'   CCVC   /mrap/   'door'
        CVV   / tʰe:/ 'hear'   CCVV   /bro̤i/   'taste'

The lengthening of the vowel or second vowel of the diphthong functions as the syllable coda (Varenkamp to appear:19). The inventory of possible syllable types is shown in Table 10.

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[13] Mazaudon (2003:293) has a slightly different formula:
        (Tone) (Initial Consonant) (Liquid) (Semivowel) Vowel (Final Consonant)

Table 10: Syllable types

V	VC
CV	CVC
CCV	CCVC
CVV	CCVV

2.4   Tone and voice quality

Along with all the other languages in the Tamangic or Gurung Branch, Tamang is tonal, albeit "semi-tonal or marginally tonal" (Mazaudon 1978:157). According to Mazaudon, there are four phonetic pitches of the tones; a high falling (^{1}), a mid-high level (^{2}), a mid-low level (^{3}), and a very low-falling (^{4}) if the word is monosyllabic, and falling-rising-falling if the word has two syllables or more. However, because these tone distinctions may apply to a limited amount of vocabulary, I have left tone unmarked in this paper.

Mazaudon (2003:157) also claims, "Words carrying the two high tones (^{1} and ^{2}) have clear voice quality and words in the low tones (^{3} and ^{4}) have a breathy voice quality." In this paper, words with clear voice quality are unmarked, and breathy vowels are marked with the breathy symbol [̤], as in (24).

(24) /ŋa̤/   'drum'
      /pre̤:/   'eight'

2.5   Orthography

Tamang distinguishes fortis and lenis consonants in word-initial position. Fortis is represented as a voiceless unaspirated consonant and lenis as a voiced consonant. For example, fortis /pʹa/ 'shake hand' is represented as *pa* and lenis /pe/ 'be used' as *be* in word-initial position. For ease of reference, aspiration [ʰ] is written as [h] preceded by a voiceless stop or affricate; for example, *tʰam* 'pillar' is written *tham* 'pillar'.

As Glover, et al. (1977:vi) point out for Gurung, Tamang has only one sibilant phoneme /s/, no matter which point of articulation it has. However, loanwords from Nepali are spelt with the same sibilant symbol as in the Nepali source; for example, *barṣa* 'year' is written with a retroflexed ṣ, but *ʃuru* 'beginning' is written with an alveo-palatal ʃ.

A colon [:] after a vowel indicates the vowel is long; e.g., /e:/ is a long /e/. Breathy vowels are written as 'h' following word-initial consonants. But an 'h' following voiceless stops (/p/, /t/, /ʈ/, and /k/) and the affricate /c/ represents aspiration. For example, the 'h' in *dhoŋ* 'tree' indicates the vowel in /to̤ŋ/ is breathy, and the /h/ in *mhi* 'person' indicates the vowel in /mi̤/ is breathy. However, the /h/ in *tham* 'pillar' and *char* 'new' indicates the initial consonant is aspirated, /tʰam/ and /cʰar/ respectively. Interestingly,

breathy vowels do not occur after aspirated stops and affricates, or after fortis stops and

affricates. Breathiness occurs elsewhere as in (25).

(25) /pi̱/   'say'   /ti̱ni/   'sunshine'   /ka̱l/   'hole'
      /ma̱/   'bridegroom'   /na̱/   'give birth' /ŋa̱/   'drum'
      /ca̱/   'son'   /la̱:nan/ 'many'   /pre̱/   'eight'
      /so̱/   'make'   /kwa̱/   'wheat'   /ya̱ŋ/   '1PL.INCL'

Table 11: Orthographic conventions for consonants

		Labial	alveolar	Retroflexed	Alveo-Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	aspirated	ph	th	ṭh		kh	
	fortis	p	t	ṭ		k	
	lenis	b	d	ḍ		g	
Affricates	aspirated				ch		
	fortis				c		
	lenis				j		
Fricatives			s				h
Nasals		m	n			ŋ	
Lateral			l				
Flap			r				
Glides		w			y		

Table 12: Orthographic conventions for vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

(cf. Each vowel has a contrastive length.)

3 SIMPLE CLAUSES AND BASIC CONSTITUENT ORDER

This chapter describes basic declarative clauses. Section 3.1 to §3.3 describe basic intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses with verbal predicates, while non-verbal predicates are introduced in §3.4.

3.1 Intransitive clauses

According to Payne (1997:171), an intransitive verb is "one that describes a property, state, or situation involving only one participant" and doesn't require an object. The basic constituent order of intransitive clauses is SV as seen in (26). Verbs such as *kha* 'come' in (26), *ni* 'go', *dho:ga* 'arrive', *ci* 'sit/stay', *si* 'die', etc., are intransitive. The subject in (26) is in absolutive case which is morphologically unmarked, but indicated by =Ø 'ABS'. [14] Some statements referring to weather, emotion, or sensation can be expressed with intransitive verbs, as in (27) and (28) (Varenkamp to appear:68).

(26) ale=Ø   kha-ji
     young.brother=ABS   come-PFV
     'Younger brother came.'

(27) nam=Ø   kha-ji
     rain=ABS   come-PFV
     'It is raining/rains.'

---

[14] All case markers are analyzed as enclitics which are marked by '=' as opposed to affixes which are marked by '-'. See chapter 7 for a detailed discussion of case marking.

(28) ŋa=la   sem=Ø   ni-ji
      1SG=GEN   heart=ABS   go-PFV
      'I like (it).' [lit. My heart went (to it).]

3.2   Transitive clauses

A transitive verb requires an object. The basic constituent order in Tamang transitive clauses is SOV as seen in (29) and (30).

(29) then-dhugu=se kan=Ø   ca-ji
      3PL-PL=ERG   rice=ABS   eat-PFV
      'They ate rice.'

(30) madan=se   dim=Ø   sho-ji
      Madan=ERG   house=ABS   make-PFV
      'Madan built a house.'

Non-human objects always take absolutive case, =Ø 'ABS' as shown in (29), (30), (31), and (33). However, when the object of transitive clauses is human, it takes the dative case marker =da as in (32) and (34). The subject of transitive clauses is marked by ergative case =se (see (32) to (34)) except a first person singular pronoun which is marked by =i (see (31)).

(31) ŋa=i   nagi=Ø   mraŋ-ji
      1SG=ERG   dog=ABS   see-PFV
      'I saw a dog.'

(32) yhaŋ=se   yho:=da   mraŋ-ji
      1PL=ERG   thief=DAT   see-PFV
      'We saw a thief.'

(33) e:=se   mwi=Ø   sai-ji
      2SG=ERG   buffalo=ABS kill-PFV
      'You killed a buffalo'.

(34) the=se   the=la   ale=da   sai-ji
      3SG=ERG   3SG=GEN   young.brother=DAT   kill-PFV
      'He killed his brother.'

3.3   Ditransitive

A ditransitive verb requires two objects. The constituent order in basic ditransitive clauses is SO$_2$OV with the subject in ergative case, the primary object (the theme) in absolutive case, and the secondary object (the recipient) in dative case. Based on Kroeger (2005:61-62), the primary object in a ditransitive clause takes absolutive case and the secondary object takes dative case because the object of a simple transitive clause usually takes absolutive case =Ø (see (29) and (30)). The dative case =*da* is a special marker for secondary objects (Kroeger 2005:62). Recipients (the secondary object) take dative case =*da* and themes (the primary object) take absolutive case =Ø as seen in (35) and (36).

(35) madan=se   maya=da   paisa=Ø   pin-ji
      Madan=ERG   Maya=DAT   money=ABS   give-PFV
      'Madan gave money to Maya.'

(36) [**Mazaudon 2003:296**]
      am=se   kol=da   kan=Ø   khwa-ji
      mother=ERG   child=DAT   rice=ABS   feed-PFV
      'The mother fed the child rice.'

3.4   Clauses with non-verbal predicates

While §3.1 to §3.3 above describe clauses whose predicate is a verb, this section introduces clauses whose semantic predicate is not a verb. Some clauses with non-verbal predicates have a copula verb which is marked by -*la* 'NPST' and -*ba* 'PST'.

3.4.1   Attributive clauses

Attributive clauses are "clauses in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective" (Payne 1997:111). In a normal conversation, the copula *mu* 'COP' is optional (but preferred) in non-past tense attributive clauses as indicated by the parentheses in (37) to (40), and obligatory in past tense clauses like (41).

(37)   [**Mazaudon 2003:294**]
cu   mento   caca   (mu-la)
this flower   small   COP-NPST
'This flower is small.'

(38)   cu   kwan   lha:nan   kheppa   (mu-la)
this cloth   very   old   COP-NPST
'This cloth is very old.'

(39)   cu   gaḍi   jhyaba   (mu-la)
this car   good   COP-NPST
'This car is good.'

(40)   [**Kathmandu 17**][15]
cur=la   hawapani   jamman   phohor   (mu-la)
here=GEN   air   all   dirty   COP-NPST
'The air here is completely polluted.'

---

[15] The references of the text hearafter are cited from Lee (to appear). The title refers a story title of the text and the number refers to the sentence number of the story.

(41) cu   dim   ŋatchan char mu-ba
     this   house before   new   COP-PST
     'This house was new before.'

3.4.2 *Equative clauses*

Equative clauses are "clauses in which the semantic content of the predication is embodied in a noun" (Payne 1997:111). In a normal conversation, the copula *hin* 'COP' is optional (but preferred) in non-past tense equative clauses as indicated by the parentheses in (42), (43), and (44), and obligatory in past tense clauses like (46). Equative clauses are mainly used for identification. Tamang equative clauses consist of two noun phrases; the first NP is the subject and the second the predicate which is optionally followed by the equative copula *hin* 'COP' in non-past tense as in (42) to (45) or *mu* 'COP' in past tense as in (46). The copula *hin* 'COP' cannot take *–ba* 'PST' for the past tense as in (47), unless it occurs with mirative *-cim* as in (48).

(42) cu   kalam   (hin-na)
     this   pen   (COP-NPST)
     'This is a pen.'

(43) the   mastar   (hin-na)
     3SG/that teacher   COP-NPST
     'He is a teacher.'

(44) ŋa=la   min   madan   moktan   (hin-na)
     1SG=GEN   name   Madan   Moktan   COP-NPST
     'My name is Madan Moktan.'

(45) **[development 2]**
     ŋa=la   namsa   temal   gimdiŋ   kabhre
     1SG=GEN   village Temal   Gimding   Kabre
     'My village is Temal Gimding (in) Kavre (district).'

(46) the=la   aba   ŋatcha   mantri   *mu*-ba
     3SG=GEN   father   before   minister   COP-PST
     'His father was a minister before.'

(47) *the=la   aba   ŋatcha   mantri   *hin*-ba
     *3SG=GEN   father   before   minister   COP-PST
     'His father was a minister before.'

(48) rhaŋ   agambakta   hin-ba   cim
     2SG(HON)   prophet   COP-PST   MIR
     'You are a prophet! (I didn't know!)'

Non-past equative clauses use a different copula verb *hin* 'COP' than attributive clauses which use *mu* 'COP'.[16] The occurrence of *hin* in (44), but not (45) in the same environment (i.e., clause-finally following the NP which functions as the clause predicate) indicates that the copula is optional in non-past tense equative clauses. But the copula *mu* is obligatory in the past tense as seen in (46).

3.4.3   Locative clauses

In locative clauses, the copula *mu* 'COP' is obligatory in both non-past and past tense as seen in (49) and (50). A typical locative clause construction in Tamang consists of a noun phrase followed by a postpositional phrase (PP) with an enclitic case marker =*ri* 'LOC'. However, if the PP contains certain postpositions like *naŋ* 'inside' as in (51), then the locative case marker =*ri* is optional.

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[16] The non-past tense marker –*na* 'NPST' that follows hin 'COP' (e.g., (42)) is a phonologically-conditioned allomorph of –*la* 'NPST' which is conditioned by the preceding nasal environment.

(49) cu kitap ṭebul phi=ri mu-la
   this   book   table   on=LOC COP-NPST
   'This book is on the table.'

(50) cu kitap ṭebul dhi=ri mu-ba
   this   book   table   under=LOC COP-PST
   'This book was under the table.'

(51) ale   dim naŋ(=ri) mu-la
   younger.brother house inside=LOC COP-NPST
   'Younger brother is inside the house.'

3.4.4 *Existential clauses*

Pure existential clauses are constructed with the copula *mu* 'COP' preceded by a

noun phrase as in (52) and (53).

(52) lha:man samasya-gade mu-la
   many problem-PL COP-NPST
   'There are a lot of problems.'

(53) [**development 9**]
   kirat kal bhanda ŋatcha tamaŋ glhe mu-ba
   Kirat dynasty than before Tamang king COP-PST
   'There were Tamang kings before the Kirat dynasty.'

Payne (1997:123) claims "existential constructions typically require a locational

or temporal adjunct, e.g., *under the bed* in the clause: There is a cat under the bed."

One difference between locative and existential clauses is that locative clauses

have a definite subject, while existential clauses have an indefinite subject. For example,

ale 'younger brother' in (51) and *cu kitap* 'this book' in (49) are definite subjects,

whereas *samasyagade* 'problems' in (52) and *tamaŋ glhe* 'Tamang kings' in (53) are indefinite subjects.

Existential clauses and locative clauses also have a different constituent order. Existential clauses with a locative or temporal adjunct usually have the adjunct as the first constituent of the clause, as in (54). The subject *makai* 'corn' in (54) is indefinite. It refers to food stored at home in general, not to specific corn. On the other hand, in locative clauses the subject NP is generally the first constituent of the clause, and it is followed by a locative postpositional phrase as in (49) to (51).

(54) dim=ri   makai   lha:nan   a-re
      house=LOC   corn   many   NEG-COP
      'There is not enough corn at home.'

The copula in negative existential clauses is *re* as seen in (54).

The phrase structure rules which license the clauses described in §3.4 are shown in (55). The parentheses indicate the copula verb is optional in attributive, equative, and locative clauses, but obligatory in existential clauses. The presence of a copula in attributive, equative, and locative clauses is conditioned by tense. The structure of the existential clause is different from that of other clause types.

(55) Attributive clause: S →   NP$_{[SUBJ]}$ AP   (V$_{COPULA}$)
      Equative clause: S →   NP$_{[SUBJ]}$ NP   (V$_{COPULA}$)
      Locative clause: S →   NP$_{[SUBJ]}$ PP   V$_{COPULA}$
      Existential clause: S →   (PP)   NP$_{[SUBJ]}$ V$_{COPULA}$

4   WORD CLASSES

This chapter describes various word classes in Tamang including nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. The grammatical characteristics of each class are defined based on their distributional properties, morphological properties, and basic syntactic functions.

4.1   Nouns

Watters (2002:53) says, "The determination of noun classes in any language is based, in large part, on syntactic criteria." According to Givón (2001:59), nouns can fill the following grammatical roles in a clause: subject, primary object, secondary object, or predicate noun. These syntactic roles are actually filled by noun phrases with a noun usually being the head of a noun phrase.

Schachter and Shopen (2007:7) claim that "the most common function for nouns is as arguments or heads of arguments." They also say, "Typical categories for which nouns may be specified, either morphologically or syntactically, are case, number, class or gender, and definiteness."

Number marking distinguishes singular from plural, and rarely indicates dual. Classifier or gender marking systems divide nouns into subclasses with gender signaled by morphological agreement on words other than the noun.

4.1.1   Nouns and number

Tamang has two collective noun markers: *-kade/gade* and *–dhugu/jugu*. [17] Scholars have different opinions regarding how to distinguish these two markers based on reportedly different functions. [18] However, the data in (56) and (57) suggest there is no distinction between *-kade/gade* and *-dhugu/jugu*. Both animate nouns (e.g., *mhi* 'man/human being' in (56) and inanimate nouns (e.g., *kitap* 'book' in (57)) can be marked for plural by either *-kade/gade* or *-dhugu/jugu*.

(56) mhi-*gade*   kha-ji   mhi-*dhugu*   kha-ji
      man-PL   come-PFV   =   man-PL   come-PFV
      'People came.'   'People came.'

(57) kitap-*kade*   mu-la   kitap-*dhugu*   mu-la
      book-PL   COP-NPST   =   book-PL   COP-NPST
      'There are books.'   'There are books.'

---

[17] The morpheme *–dhugu/-dugu* is pronounced *-jugu* in varieties of Tamang further to the east (Varenkamp 1996; Yonjan 1997). The forms *-kade* and *–gade,* and *–dhugu* and *-dugu* are dialect variants in Eastern Tamang.

[18] Mazaudon (2003:299) considers *–kade* (which she writes as *–kate*) as an indefinite collective noun marker rather than a plural. This extends the meaning of the NP to related, not necessarily identical, objects, like English *etc*.

Chalise (1999a:14) claims that *–kade* is equivalent to an inclusive plural marker (e.g., *tamaŋ-gade* 'all Tamangs') and *–dhugu* is equivalent to an exclusive plural marker (e.g., *tamaŋ-dhugu* 'only Tamangs').

Yonjan (1993:12) claims that *-kade* is for pronouns and *–dhugu* is for nouns as illustrated in the following examples:

ŋani-gade   'we (excl)'
yhaŋ-gade   'we (incl)'
rhaŋ-gade   'you'
teni-gade   'they'

ra-dhugu   'goats'
ale-dhugu   'younger brothers'

Both Chalise and Yonjan give examples from Western Tamang, and Mazaudon's examples are from the Eastern Tamang spoken in Risiangku and Sindhu Palchok district (Mazaudon 2003:291).

The plural markers *-kade/gade* and *–dhugu/jugu* are also used interchangeably with demonstrative pronouns, as seen in (58). When a number occurs without a classifier, the number always follows the noun. For example, *ŋi* 'two' follows *nana aŋa* 'sisters' and *ghi:* 'one' follows *namsa* 'village' in (59).

(58) mhi-*gade*   som   mhi-*dhugu*   som
     this-PL   three   =   this-PL   three
     'these three'   'these three'

(59) kol-dhugu ŋi=la   byaha   namsa   ghi=ri=n   ta-cim
     child-PL   two=GEN   marriage village   one=LOC=EMP happen-MIR
     '(My) children were both married in one village.'

According to Dryer (2008:50-55), Tamang belongs to a language group which has an Adj N and N Num pattern in its constituent word order. Mazaudon (2003:297) also points out that numerals follow nouns in simple Tamang NPs. When a numeral follows a noun, the classifier *gor* is optional, as in (60). However, a numeral can also be followed by a noun as in (61) where the classifier is present. Both orders are possible, but N Num pattern is more frequent in texts and normal dialogue.

(60) **[House 3]**
     jha-gade   (gor)   som   mu-la
     son-PL   CLASS three   COP-NPST
     '(He) has three sons.' [lit. There are three sons.]

(61) gor   som   jha(-gade)
     CLASS three son(-PL)
     'three sons'

4.1.2   Gender and classifiers

Kroeger (2005:128) states, "In languages that have grammatical gender, each noun of the language is assigned to one of a small, fixed set of sub-classes, and the sub-class of each noun is reflected in some type of agreement morphology." However, in Tamang, gender is specified only by compounding nouns with inherently gender-specific words, such as *mriŋ* 'woman/wife', *rhembo* 'man/husband', *mama* 'female (animal)', *whaba* 'male (animal)', and *sya* 'female (human)' as seen in the following examples from Varenkamp (to appear:29):

(62) *mriŋ*   'woman/wife'   + *kola*   'child'   = *mriŋkola*   'girl'
     rhembo   'man/husband' + *kola*   'child'   = *rhemkola*   'boy'
     naga   'chicken'   + *mama*   'female(animal)'   = *nagamama*   'hen'
     naga   'chicken'   + *whaba* 'male (animal)'   = *nagawhaba*   'rooster'
     bhonbo   'shaman'   + *sya*   'female(human)'   = *bhonbosya*   'shaman's wife'

Another common strategy for marking subclasses of nouns is the use of noun classifiers (Kroeger 2005:128). Eastern Tamang has only one noun classifier, *gor*, which is used with numbers for counting any countable objects, as illustrated in (63) and (64).[19] The classifier *gor* is optional when it follows a noun, as in (63) and (64), but is obligatory when the number precedes a noun, as in (65) and (66).

(63) jha   (gor)   som
     son   CLASS   three
     'three sons'

---

[19] Yonjan (1995b:114; to appear:22) distinguishes two classifiers: *mendo* for human nouns and *gor* for non-human nouns. However, he only gives an example of a human noun as seen below:
    rho:-dhugu   kade   mu-la?   mendo   som   mu-la
    friend-PL   how.many   COP-NPST   →   CLASS   three   COP-NPST
    'How many friends (do you have)?'   (I have) three (friends).

(64) mwi   (gor)   ŋi
      buffalo CLASS   two
      'two buffalos'

(65) gor   som   jha
      CLASS   three   son
      'three sons'

(66) gor   ŋi   mwi
      CLASS   two   buffalo
      'two buffalos'

4.1.3   Monomorphemic vs. compound nouns

According to Varenkamp (to appear:30), the majority of nouns in Eastern Tamang are monomorphemic and monosyllabic. The underlying monosyllabic nature of Tamang is seen in a number of bisyllabic words. For example, the compound nouns in (67) are formed from two monosyllabic nouns.

(67) *me*   'fire' +   *pra*   'flour' = *mepra*   'ashes'
      na   'nose' +   *gal*   'hole'   = *nagal*   'nostril'
      dhoŋ 'tree' +   *siŋ*   'wood'   = *dhoŋsiŋ* 'pine tree

4.1.4   Proper names

A proper name refers to a specific individual (Kroeger 2005:136). Like count nouns, proper names can co-occur with a number under certain circumstances, as seen in (68).

(68) ghisiŋ   som   kha-ji
     Ghisiŋ   three   come-PFV
     'Three Ghisings came.'[20]

4.1.5 Honorific nouns

Tamang has several honorific sets of nouns which are shown in Table 13 (Varenkamp to appear:31). Some nouns have honorific and high honorific forms and some have only high honorific forms. Honorific speech is used with people who have relatively higher social status than the speaker, reflecting the absolute social status of the addressee including the elders (DeLancey 2003a:282). High honorific nouns are usually used to show great respect for monks.[21]

(69) lama=se   sol   chyoi-ji
     monk=ERG   rice(HON)   eat(HON)-PFV
     'A monk ate rice.'

Table 13: Honorifics

	Ordinary	Honorific
'rice'	*kan*	*seba/sol*[22]
'name'	*min*	*chan*
'face'	*li:*	*syal*
'arm/hand'	*ya*	*chya*
'leg'	*kaŋ*	*syhap*

[20] Tamang people usually do not count family names, like Ghising, unless they are joking with each other (it is not considered bad manners).

[21] DeLancey (2003a:282) discusses Central Tibetan and other dialects which historically have been spoken in a monarchical context and have a system of honorific vocabulary. Tamang may have a similar honorific system in its vocabulary since it has been heavily influenced by Tibetan culture throughout its history (cf. Fricke 1994:29; Varenkamp 1996:10).

[22] The word *sol* 'rice (HON)' is usually used for lama monks.

4.2   Pronouns

According to Kroeger (2005:136), "A pronoun refers either to someone or something in the immediate context (time and place) where the speaking is taking place; or it may refer to something which has been previously mentioned in the same discourse." The following sections describe personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns.

4.2.1   Personal pronouns

Kroeger (2005:140-41) cites Ingram (1978) saying that "the most commonly occurring pronoun system among the world's languages is one containing six different forms, representing all the possible combinations of three person categories with two number categories" which are combinations of first, second, and third person with singular and plural number. Kroeger (2005:141), also citing Ingram, states that the second most common system is one which adds a dual number category and distinguishes inclusive from exclusive in the first person, while the third most common system is one which has no dual number category but does distinguish inclusive from exclusive. This third pattern is the basic pattern in Tamang.

Tamang personal pronouns are distinguished not only by person and number, but also by inclusivity/exclusivity, politeness, and proximity.

As seen in Table 14 (cf.Yonjan 1995b:116), second person pronouns are distinguished according to politeness—honorific *rhaŋ* '2SG(HON)' vs. non-honorific *e:* '2SG'. Third person pronouns are distinguished according to degree of proximity; i.e., how far the third person is from the speaker and hearer. Kroeger (2005:140) says, "Often this involves a distinction between someone who is visible to the speaker and hearer vs. someone who is invisible." For example, *cu* 'this (man or thing)' refers to someone (or something) close to the speaker, but *the* 'that (man or thing)' refers to someone (or something) far away from the speaker and is sometimes invisible to both speaker and hearer. The third person pronouns *cu* 'this (man or thing)' and *the* 'that (man or thing)' have the same form as demonstrative pronouns (see §4.2.2).[23] The second personal pronoun *rhaŋ* '2SG(HON)' is also used for the reflexive pronoun, as seen in (70).

(70) **[Eastern Tamang 2006:194]**
lha:nan   mhi-dhugu=se   gyam=ri rhaŋ rhaŋ=la   gha   tit-ji
many   person-PL=ERG   road=LOC REFL   REFL=GEN cloak   spread-PFV
'Many people spread their own cloaks on the road.'

Table 14: Eastern Tamang pronouns

	Number	
Person	Singular	Plural
1	ŋa	ŋani/ ŋanigade (exclusive), yhaŋ/ yhaŋ(ni)gade (inclusive)
2	e:	e:ni/ e:(ni)gade/ endhugu
2(HON)	rhaŋ	rhaŋni/ rhaŋ(ni)gade
3 near	cu	cuni/ cu(ni)gade/ cudhugu
far	the	theni/ the(ni)gade/ thendhugu

[23] Kroeger (2005:138) points out that in some languages, third person pronouns often have the same form as articles or demonstratives.

The suffixes *-ni* and *–kade/dhugu* mark plurality on pronouns.[24] The suffix *-ni* is always preceded by a pronoun though it is optional when *–kade* or *–dhugu* follows, as in (71) and (72).

(71) *rhaŋ-ni*   '2SG(HON)-PL'
      rhaŋ-(ni)-gade   '2SG(HON)-PL-PL'

(72) *cu-ni*   'this-PL'
      cu-(ni)-gade   'this-PL-PL'
      cu-dhugu   'this-PL'

Tamang has a distinction in first person plural pronouns between inclusive and exclusive forms. A first person inclusive pronoun, *yhaŋ* or *yhaŋ-(ni)-gade* or *yhaŋ-dhugu* 'all of us, including you' refers to a group which includes both the speaker and the hearer. But a first person exclusive pronoun, *ŋa-ni* or *ŋa-ni-gade* 'we, but not you' excludes the hearer (Yonjan 1997:35).

4.2.2   Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns *cu* 'this' and *the* 'that' are seen in (73) and (74). The demonstrative *cu* 'this' refers to something close to the speaker, but *the* 'that' refers to something far away from speaker. The plural forms of these pronouns are *cuni/ cu(ni)gade* 'these', *theni/ the(ni)gade/ thendhugu* 'those'.

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[24] Varenkamp (to appear:32) distinguishes between *-ni* 'PL' and *-kade* 'collective marker'. He states that *-kade* can be added to any of the plural personal pronouns (optionally omitting the *-ni* or just the *-i*), and the effect is to expand the meaning to 'all of us/you/them'. However, the collective *–kade* does not have the meaning 'all'.

(73) cu   ŋa=la   dim   (hin-na)
      this   1SG=GEN   house   COP-NPST
      'This is my house.'

(74) the   ŋa=la   dim   (hin-na)
      that   1SG=GEN   house   COP-NPST
      'That is my house.'

Demonstratives are also used as modifiers where they function as determiners (see (75)). However, only the singular form *cu* or *the* is used to modify a plural head noun, as in (76). (See discussion of demonstrative modifiers in §5.2.)

(75) cu   dim   ŋa=la   hin-na
      this   house   1SG=GEN   COP-NPST
      'This house is mine.'

(76) cu   dim-gade   ŋa=la   hin-na
      this   house-PL   1SG=GEN   COP-NPST
      'These houses are mine.'

Other demonstratives are *iju* 'this (one)' and *hoja* 'that (one)', which function as determiners; e.g., *iju mhi* 'this person' and *hoja mhi* 'that person' (Varenkamp to appear:33).[25]

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[25] Yonjan (1997:37, 63) gives an example of the demonstrative pronoun *hoja* 'that'.
      ŋa=da   hoja=n   to:-la
      1SG=DAT   that=EMP   need-NPST
      'I need that (one).'

4.2.3   Interrogative pronouns

Tamang interrogative pronouns are equivalent to English WH-question words, as in (77). In Tamang with SOV structure, interrogative pronouns occur *in situ* in interrogative sentences, as seen in (78) and (79).

(77) *hala*[26]   'who'   *tiga*   'what'
      hanaŋ   'where'   *tikda*   'why'
      haima   'when'   *kade*   'how much/ many'
      haraŋba   'how'

(78) the   *kalam*   hin-na   the   *tiga*   hin-na?
      that   pencil   COP-NPST   →   that   what   COP-NPST
      'That is a pencil.'   'What is that?'

(79) aba   *yambu=ri*   se:-ji   aba   *hanaŋ*   se:-ji?
      father   Kathmandu=LOC go(HON)-PFV   →   father   where   go(HON)-PFV
      'Father went to Kathmandu.'   'Where did (your) father go?'

4.3   Verbs

According to Schachter & Shopen (2007:9), verbs express actions, processes, and the like. Syntactically, every finite clause must have a predicate, which is a verb or a copula. Clauses with non-verbal predicates contain an optional copula *mu* or *hin* (see §3.4).

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[26] The words *khala* 'who', *khanaŋ* 'where', *khaima* 'when', *kharaŋba* 'how' are also used as dialect variants.

Morphologically, Tamang verbs are not marked for participant reference or agreement.[27] They are distinguished by a set of affixes only applicable to verbs: 1) the negative prefix *a-*, and 2) tense, aspect and modality suffixes, as in (80).

(80)   a-kha-ni[28]
       NEG-come-PFV
       '(He) didn't come.'

The formula for Tamang verb structure is shown in (81).

(81)   V = ± negative *a-* + stem + suffix

4.3.1   Monomorphemic verbs

Chalise (1999b:74) says, "Tamang is a highly agglutinative language with monosyllabic characteristics." Most Tamang verbs are simple monomorphemic and monosyllabic roots which refer to actions or states as in (82) (Mazaudon 2003:301).

(82)   Monomorphemic verbs
       kha   'come'
       ni   'go'
       pin   'give'
       brha   'walk'
       ca   'eat'
       thuŋ   'drink'
       paŋ   'tell'
       cya   'look'

---

[27] In Kham, another Tibeto-Burman language in Nepal, intransitive and transitive verbs are distinguished by their different agreement-marking pattern (Watters 2002:78).
[28] The perfective suffix *–ji* 'PFV' never occurs with *a-* 'NEG'; instead, perfective aspect is marked by *–ni* 'PFV' in negative clauses.

4.3.2 Compound verbs

Verb roots like *kha*[29] 'come' and *ni* 'go' can combine with another verb root without intervening inflectional morphology to form compound verb stems, as in (83) (Varenkamp to appear:36).[30]

(83) *kin* 'take' + *kha* 'come' → *kinga* 'bring a person from some place'
    sa 'escort' + *ni* 'go' → *sani* 'take someone to a place'
    dho: 'arrive' + *kha* 'come' → *dho:ga* 'arrive (here)'
    phan 'recover'+ *kha* 'come' → *phanga* 'recover slowly'
    mle: 'forget' + *kha* 'come' → *mle:ga* 'forget slowly'

4.3.3 Copula verbs

Tamang has two copula verbs: *mu* and *hin*.[31] The copula *mu* occurs in existential clauses like (84), locative clauses like (85), and attributive clauses like (86).

(84) lha:man samasya-gade mu-la
    many problem-PL COP-NPST
    'There are a lot of problems [or there exist a lot of problems].'

(85) cu kitap ṭebul phi=ri mu-la
    this book table on=LOC COP-NPST
    'This book is on the table.'

---

[29] The root *kha* 'come' is realized as *ga* after a voiced consonant or vowel.
[30] Watters (2002:107-108) describes a similar phenomenon as a serial verb construction in Kham (a Tibeto-Burman language in Nepal). According to Watters, both -*na* 'go' and –*hu* 'come' function as independent verbs but have become lexicalized and no longer separable from the host verb in the following examples:
cah-na-nya 'to go fetch' (*cah-nya)
cih-hu-nya 'to come fetch' (*chi-nya)
However, I consider similar verbs in Tamang as compound verbs, rather than serial verbs.
[31] See §3.4 for more detailed information.

(86) cu   gaḍi   jhyaba (mu-la)
     this   car   good   COP-NPST
     'This car is good.'

The other copula *hin* occurs in equative clauses like (87) and (88). It is also used in affirmative replies in which the question contains the copula *hin* 'be' as in the response to the question in (88).

(87) the   mastar (hin-na)
     3SG/that   teacher COP-NPST
     'He is a teacher.'

(88) cu   kalam   hin-na?   hin-na
     this   pencil COP-NPST   COP-NPST
     'Is this a pencil?'   'Yes, (it is).'

In summary, existential, locative, and attributive clauses take the copula *mu* and equative clauses take the copula *hin*.

The suffix *–ba* marks past tense on copula *mu*.[32] Varenkamp (2003:225) argues that the suffix *-la (-na)* marks a general fact in the non-past, but *-ba* marks perfective aspect sometimes understood as past tense. In (89), the verb *rhe:* 'get up' is inflected for simple non-past tense, while in (90) the same verb is inflected for perfective aspect which is marked by *–ji* 'PFV'. In examples (91) and (92) from Varenkamp (2003:228), the auxiliary verb *mu* 'COP' is cliticized to the main verb and these sentences have a habitual interpretation with *-ba* marking past tense in (92).

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[32] Chalise (1999a:26-32) argues this is 'non-past tense'.

(89) naŋgar   syho:=ri   yona=n   rhe:-la
tomorrow   morning=LOC   early=EMP   get.up-NPST
'Tomorrow, (I) am going to get up early in the morning.'

(90) tilma   syho:=ri   yona=n   rhe:-ji
yesterday   morning=LOC   early=EMP   get.up-PFV
'Yesterday, (I) got up early in the morning.'

(91) syho:=ri   yona=n   rhe:=mu-la
morning=LOC   early=EMP   get.up-COP-NPST
'(I) get up early in the morning.' (or 'I am in the habit of getting up early.')

(92) syho:=ri   yona=n   rhe:=mu-ba
morning=LOC   early=EMP   get.up-COP-PST
'(I) used to get up early in the morning.'

4.3.4 *Honorific verbs*

Some Tamang verbs have honorific stems and high honorific stems. Ordinary forms are usually used for younger people as the subject, as in (93). Honorific stems are usually used for older people to show respect, as in (94). High honorific stems can be used for Buddhist monks or high honorable guests to show great respect, as in (95).

(93) ale   namsa=ri   ni-ji
young.brother   village=LOC   go-PFV
'Younger brother went to the village.'

(94) aba   namsa=ri   se:-ji
father   village=LOC   go(HON)-PFV
'Father went to the village.'

(95) the   lama   namsa=ri   phep-ji
that   monk   village=LOC   go(HIGH.HON)-PFV
'That monk went to the village.'

Table 15: Honorific verb stems

	Ordinary	Honorific	High honorific
'go'	*ni*	*se:*	*phep*
'come'	*kha*	*joŋga*	*phepka*
'sit'	*ci*	*syhu:*	*dhanchya:*
'eat'	*ca*	*sol*	*chyoi*

4.4   Adjectives

Schachter and Shopen (2007:13-14) point out that the traditional definition of adjectives is a class of words denoting qualities or attributes. They also state that adjectives have two syntactic functions. One is as an attributive modifier of nouns within an NP as in (96) where the adjective *jyaba* 'good' modifies the noun *kalam* 'pencil'. The other is as a predicate as in (97), where the adjective *jyaba* 'good' functions as the clause predicate. Attributive adjectives always precede the head noun they modify, as illustrated in (96). Predicate adjectives are preceded by the subject NP and followed by an optional copula *mu*, as in (97).

(96) cu   jyaba   kalam   (hin-na)
      this   good   pencil   COP-NPST
      'This is a good pencil.'

(97) cu   kalam   jyaba   (mu-la)
      this   pencil good   COP-NPST
      'This pencil is good.'

Mazaudon (2003:298) points out that "adjectives differ from stative verbs in that they do not carry verbal suffixes" (such as *–ji* 'PFV', *-la* 'NPST', and *–ba* 'PST') "although

some of them end in a non-alternating final syllable –*pa*", such as *kheppa* 'big' and *jyaba* 'good'.

Tamang adjectives can express dimension or age as seen in (98), color as in (99), value as in (100), and physical property as in (101).

(98)   *kheppa*   'big/old'
       jajaba   'small'
       grhen   'big'

(99)   *wala*   'red'
       piŋ   'blue/green'
       tar   'white'
       ur   'yellow'
       mlaŋ   'black'

(100) *jyaba*   'good'
       naiba   'bad/ruined'

(101) *koŋba*   'hard'
       ŋyamba   'soft'

4.5   Adverbs

According to Schachter and Shopen (2007:20), adverbs frequently include several different sets of words in a language and modify verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs.

Kansakar (1999:24) says, "The adverbs in Tamang modify verbs in terms of time, space, quantity, and manner." There are at least five subclasses of adverbs in Tamang: manner adverbs, temporal adverbs, directional adverbs, adverbs of degree, and sentence adverbials.

4.5.1   Manner adverbs

The most commonly used manner adverbs are *kolse* 'slowly' and *yona* 'quickly/fast', as in (102). Other manner adverbs are derived from verbs. For example, in (103) *mren* 'full' is a stative verb which is inflected for perfective aspect. In (104), the adverbializer *–na* meaning 'in such a way that' or 'with the result that' derives an adverb from the stative verb *mren* 'full' (Mazaudon 2003:306).[33]

(102) ram   dim=ri   yona   ni-ji
        Ram   house=LOC   quickly   go-PFV
        'Ram went home quickly.'

(103) pho   mren-ji
        stomach   full-PFV
        'I am full.' [lit. (My) stomach is full.]

(104) nagi=se   sya   mren-na   ca-si   yar-ji
        dog=ERG   meat   full-ADVBL   eat-SEQ   run.away-PFV
        'A dog ate meat until it was full and ran away.'

4.5.2   Temporal adverbs

Some temporal adverbs are shown in (105) (cf.Varenkamp to appear:49).

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[33] Korean has an adverbializer *–ke* which indicates manner similar to Tamang. In Korean, the adverbializer *–ke* is attached to a stative verb root. For example, *baeburi* 'full' + *-ke* 'ADVBL' becomes *baeburike* 'fully' as follows:

        ram-in   bap-il   baeburi-ke   mək-ət-ta
        Ram-TOP   rice-ACC   full-ADVBL   eat-PST-DEC
        'Ram ate rice fully.'

(105) *somre*   *ŋatcha*   'three days ago'
      oima   *kunu*   'the day before yesterday'
      tilma/tila   'yesterday'
      tini   'today'
      nhaŋgar   'tomorrow'
      reni   *kunu*   'the day after tomorrow'
      somre   *litcha*   'after three days'

The word *re* 'day' is used when counting days, as in (106). Sometimes *kunu* 'day' is added to *re*; e.g., *ti:re-kunu* 'one day' (Lee to appear:76).

(106) *ti:re*   'one day'
      ŋhi:re   'two days'
      somre   'three days'
      bli:re   'four days'
      ŋhare   'five days'
      ɖure   'six days'
      nisre   'seven days'
      bhre:re   'eight days'
      kure   'nine days'
      cyuire   'ten days'
      cyuk-kikre   'eleven days'
      cyuk-ŋhi:re   'twelve days'
      bogal gikre litcha   'after twenty days'
      bogal ŋhi:re litcha   'after forty days'

Temporal words referring to years are illustrated in (107).

(107) *onma*   'many years ago' (or 'once upon a time')
      tigyuŋma   'last year'
      cu palche   'this year/time'
      guriŋma   'next year'

Another word used to count years is *dhiŋ*, as in (108). The Nepali loan word *barsa* 'year' is also used, but the order with numbers is reversed. The modifying numbers

precede the Tamang word *dhiŋ* 'year' in (108), but follow the Nepali loan word *barsa*

'year' in (109). With the Tamang word *dhiŋ* 'year', the only possible word order is Num

+ N, not N + Num (see (60) and (61)).

(108) *ti:*   *dhiŋ*   'one year'
    ŋhi: *dhiŋ*   'two years'
    som   *dhiŋ*   'three years'

(109) *barsa*   *som*   'three years'

    The suffix   *-rem/ryam* [34] 'times' occurs with numerals to express temporal

frequency, as in (110) and (111).

(110) **[marriage 9, 47]**
    ti:-rem   'one time'
    ŋhi-rem   'two times'
    som-rem   'three times'

(111) **[marriage 85]**
    som-rem   mha=se   phya   la=to:-la
    three-times   bridegroom=ERG   bow   do=need-NPST
    'The bridegroom has to bow down three times.'

    Other temporal adverbs are *dhande* or *darem* 'now', *lekchagi* 'for a little while',

litcha 'later', and *ŋatcha* 'early/before'.

4.5.3   Directional adverbs

    Three locative words are listed in (112).

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[34] Both *-rem* and *–ryam* are dialect variants.

(112) *mar*   'down'
     tor   'up'
     kyar   'over there'

    The locative words *mar* 'down', *tor* 'up', and *kyar* 'over there' in (112) are treated as locative NPs when the ablative enclitic *=gyam(se)* is attached as shown in (113) and illustrated in (114) to (116).

(113) *mar=gyam(se)*   'from down'
     tor=gyam(se)   'from above'
     kyar=gyam(se)   'from over there'

(114) the   mar=gyam(se)   kha-ji
     3SG   down=ABL   come-PFV
     'He came from down (below).'

(115) the   tor=gyam(se)   kha-ji
     3SG   up=ABL   come-PFV
     'He came from up (above).'

(116) the   kyar=gyam(se)   kha-ji
     3SG   over.there=ABL   come-PFV
     'He came from over there.'

    The locative words in (112) can also have a directional meaning as seen in (117).

(117) *mar*   'downward'
     tor   'upward'
     kyamsaŋ   'toward opposite side'

    Examples (118) to (120) illustrate directional adverbs.

(118) aba   gaŋ=gyam(se)   mar   ni-ji
     father   hill=from   downward   go-PFV
     'Father went down from the hill.'

(119) aba   gaŋ=gyam(se)   tor   ni-ji
       father   hill=from   upward   go-PFV
       'Father went up from the hill.'

(120) aba   gaŋ=gyam(se)   kyamsaŋ   ni-ji
       father   hill=from   toward.opposite   go-PFV
       'Father went across the hill.'

4.5.4 Adverbs of degree

Schachter and Shopen (2007:20) point out that modifiers of adjectives and adverbs commonly express degree, as in (121). The adverbs *lha:nan* 'very/many' in (121), and *ekdam* 'very(Nep)' in (122) refer to degree.

(121) e:=la   aŋa   lha:nan   sundara   mu-la
       2SG=GEN   young.sister   very   beautiful   COP-NPST
       'Your younger sister is very beautiful.'

(122) the=la   aba   ekdam   bistarse   se:-ji
       3SG=GEN   father   very(Nep)   slowly(Nep)   go(HON)-PFV
       'His father went very slowly.'

4.5.5 Sentence adverbials

Glover (1974:132) says, "Sentence adverbials are free forms modifying a whole sentence by expressing the speaker's attitude to the predication made." Schachter and Shopen (2007:20) point out that sentence modifiers commonly express the speaker's attitude toward the event being spoken of; modifiers of verbs or verb phrases commonly express time, place, direction, manner, etc. For example, *durbhagyavas* 'unfortunately

(Nep)' in (123), and *pakkan* 'certainly (Nep)' are sentence adverbials modifying the

whole sentence.

(123) durbhagyavas   Ram   skul=la   jac=ri   feil   ta-ji
      unfortunately(Nep) Ram   school=GEN   exam=LOC fail(Eng) become-PFV
      'Unfortunately, Ram failed (his) school exam.'

(124) pakkan   then-dhugu   rembo=den   mriŋ   hin-na
      certainly   3PL-PL   husband=COMIT wife   COP-NPST
      'Certainly, they are husband and wife (not just lovers).'

5 NOUN PHRASES AND NOMINALIZATION

5.1 Introduction

Kroeger (2005:87) states that "a Noun Phrase (NP) is a phrasal constituent whose head is a noun." Several elements, including demonstratives, adjectives, and numerals, can combine with nouns to form NPs (Watters 2002:191). This section discusses various elements which combine with nouns to form NPs and their relative word order within NPs.

5.2 Basic word order in noun phrases

Tamang is a head-final language. A simple NP consists of a head noun and optional modifiers, as in (125). Most modifiers precede the head noun which they modify.[35] Some examples of pre-nominal modifiers in Tamang NPs include an attributive adjective as in (125), a demonstrative as in (126), a numeral phrase as in (127), or a modifying clause ending with the nominalizer –*ba*, as in (128).

(125) tar   dim
      white   house
      'a white house'

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[35] Givón (2001:4-10) states that English has two types of modifiers: pre-nominal modifiers which include quantifiers, determiners, adjectives/ adjectival phrases, and noun compounds, and post-nominal modifiers which include relative clauses, noun complements, and prepositional phrases.

(126) cu   dim
      this   house
      'this house'

(127) gor   ghi: dim
      CLASS   one   house
      'one house'

(128) [dim   sho-ba]   mhi
      [house make-NMLZ]   person
      'a man [who builds houses]'

Givón (2001:10) argues that many types of modifiers may be used restrictively or non-restrictively. [36] Modifiers in Tamang NPs have no formal difference between restrictive and non-restrictive but may have a difference in semantic functions which is not clearly shown in the present data.

As illustrated in (125) and (129), adjectives precede the head noun. A preliminary phrase structure rule for NPs is shown in (130).

(129) lha:nan grhen dim
      very   big   house
      '(a) very big house'

(130) NP → (AP) N [Preliminary phrase structure rule (PSR) for NP]

As seen in (131) and illustrated in (129), adjective phrases (AP) are a constituent which consists of an optional degree adverb as a modifier (see §4.5.4) and an adjective as a head. The structure of APs is shown in (131).

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[36] Givón (2001:11) illustrates restrictive relative clauses in (a) and non-restrictive relative clauses in (b).

    a)   The woman [who left early] missed the finale.

    b)   Mary, [who left early], missed the finale.

(131) AP → (Adv) Adj

Demonstratives also precede the head noun as seen in (126). In (132), a demonstrative (*cu* 'this') is followed by two adjective phrases (*grhen* 'big' and *wala* 'red') which in turn are followed by the head noun (*dim* 'house'). A revised phrase structure rule for NPs is shown in (133).[37]

(132) cu   grhen wala   dim
      this   big   red   house
      'this big red house'

(133) NP → (Dem) AP* N   [Revised PSR for NP]

Possessors can also precede the head noun as seen in (134) where *ŋa* '1SG' is a possessive NP which is marked for genitive case.

(134) ŋa=la   dim
      1SG=GEN   house
      'my house'

Kroeger (2005:92) points out that "In English, a possessor phrase functions as a kind of determiner … because possessor phrases do not normally occur together with other determiners in the same NP."[38] However, in Tamang, a demonstrative and a possessor NP can co-occur as long as the possessor phrase precedes the demonstrative, as seen in (135) and (136). A revised phrase structure rule for NPs is shown in (137).

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[37] "AP*" indicates that a sequence of zero or more APs can occur.
[38] The following sentences from Kroeger (2005:92) illustrate that neither order is possible in English.
    a) *Mary's the new motocycle.
    b) *The Mary's new motocycle.

(135) *cu/the   ŋa=la   dim   grhen   mu-la
      *this/that   1SG=GEN   house   big   COP-NPST
      *'This/That my house is big.'

(136) ŋa=la   cu/the   dim   grhen   mu-la
      1SG=GEN   this/that   house   big   COP-NPST
      'This/That house of mine is big.'

(137) NP → (NP[Poss]) (Dem) AP* N [Revised PSR for NP]

Example (138) shows that an NP can have a possessor followed by two adjective phrases. The revised phrase structure rule for NPs in (137) accounts for this possibility.

(138) rhaŋ=la   grhen   char   gaḍi
      2SG(HON)=GEN   big   new   car
      'your big new car.'

Example (139) shows that an NP can have a numeral phrase preceding the adjective phrases. The numeral phrase itself has the classifier *gor* as a modifier and a numeral as a head. The structure of numeral phrases is shown in (140).

(139) **[Varenkamp to appear:55]**
      gor   ŋhi   kheppa   wala   whaba   si-ji
      CLASS   two   big   red   rooster   die-PFV
      'Two big red roosters died.'

(140) NumP → (Class) Num

Example (141) shows that a demonstrative can precede the numeral phrase. A revised phrase structure rule for NPs is provided in (142).

(141) cu   gor   som   lha:nan grhen wala   dim-gade
      this   CLASS   three   very   big   red   house-PL
      'these three very big red houses'

(142) NP → (NP[Poss]) (Dem) (NumP) AP* N   [Revised PSR for NP]

    Examples (143), (144), and (145) contain a relative clause which precedes the head noun (see §8.2.2 for details).

(143) [namsa=ri   mu-ba]   jamman kol-dhugu=se   du:kha   la-si   paḍhap la-ji
      [village=LOC COP-NMLZ]   all   child-PL=ERG   struggle do-SEQ study   do-PFV
      'All the children [who were in the village] studied very hard.'

(144) [goṭhe=ri   mu-ba]   gor   som   mwi   shu   kha-ji
      [hutch=LOC   COP-NMLZ]   CLASS   three buffalo sickness come-PFV
      'Three buffaloes [which were in the hutch] became sick.'

(145) [goṭhe=ri   mu-ba]   rhaŋ=la   mwi   shu   kha-ji
      [hutch=LOC   COP-NMLZ]   2SG(HON)=GEN   buffalo sickness come-PFV
      'Your buffalo in the hutch was sick.'

    In (143), the relative clause is followed by the quantifier *jamman* 'all', whereas in (144) the relative clause is followed by a numeral phrase. Quantifiers and numeral phrases cannot co-occur. In (145), the relative clause is followed by the possessor *rhaŋ* '2SG(HON)'. A revised PSR for NPs is shown in (146).

(146) NP → (Rel Cl) (NP[Poss]) (Dem) ({ NumP / Quant }) AP* N

    In Tamang, only numeral phrases can precede or follow the head noun as a modifier. It is not clear whether there is a meaning difference associated with the difference in word order.

In (147), the noun *kol-dhugu* 'child-PL' is preceded by a numeral phrase *gor* 'CLASS' + *ŋhi* 'two'. But in (148), the noun *kol-dhugu* 'child-PL' is preceded by a demonstrative and an adjective, but followed by a numeral phrase *ŋhi* 'two'. Interestingly, the classifier *gor* 'CLASS' optionally occurs with the numeral head *ŋhi* 'two'. This contrasts with the occurrence of *gor* 'CLASS' with a numeral preceding the head noun as in (147). Notice, in (148), that the enclitic case marker *=se* 'ERG' is attached to the numeral, which is the last constituent in the subject NP, and not to the head noun. The topic marker *ca* is preceded by the head noun of the subject NP as in (147). The phrase structure rule for NPs is shown in (149).[39] The numeral phrase in the prenominal position and numeral in the postnominal position cannot co-occur.

(147) [cu gor   ŋhi jajaba kol-dhugu=se ca] ita   sho-ba   ge la-ji
      this CLASS two small child-PL=ERG TOP brick make-NMLZ work do-PFV
      'These small children, the two (of them), worked as brick makers.'

(148) [cu   jajaba kol-dhugu ŋhi=se   ca] ita   sho-ba   ge   la-ji
      this small child-PL two=ERG TOP brick make-NMLZ work do-PFV
      'These small children, the two (of them), worked as brick makers.'

(149) NP → (Rel Cl) (NP[POSS]) (Dem) ($\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NumP} \\ \text{Quant} \end{array} \right\}$) AP* N (NumP) (Particle)

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[39] Mazaudon's word order rule (2003:297) does not permit numeral phrases before the head noun as illustrated by *gor som mui* 'three buffalo' [NUMP + N] in (144). It only permits them to follow the head nouns as illustrated by *koldhugu ŋhiseca* 'children two' [N + NUMP] in (148).

5.3   Nominalization

Watters (2002:199) describes **NOMINALIZATION** as "a process by which various grammatical units (words, phrases, clauses, etc.) are turned into nouns or NPs." According to this definition, nominalization involves changes in grammatical category.

Noonan (1997:373) points out the wide range of uses of nominalization in Tibeto-Burman languages. According to Noonan, "the reification of events and processes, and the expression of clauses as arguments within clauses" are normally expected as the function of nominalization. He further argues (Noonan 1997:373), however, that nominalization frequently takes on attributive functions (e.g., relative clauses), serving as the 'equivalent' of finite verbs in main clauses, and takes on other functions as well. Noonan (1997:374-75, 381) describes the Chantyal nominalizer -*wa* as having various uses: complementation, purpose clauses, agent and patient nominals, attributive, and verb complex. Noonan (1997:392) considers the -*wa* construction as a single grammatical entity.[40]

Varenkamp (2003:219) states that -*ba* in Tamang is functionally similar to the Chantyal nominalizer -*wa*. The nominalization strategy in Tamang is to add the nominalizer –*ba* to a verb root. Nominalized verbs are normally not inflected for tense or aspect. Givón (2001:190) states, "In many languages, relative clauses (as well as other

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[40] Noonan (1997:392) argues "[T]he –*wa* construction… is a single grammatical entity in modern Chantyal. Despite its many uses, it is not a polysemous form: it is always the same thing, a nominalization, and its diverse uses are simply contextual interpretations of the same grammatical entity."

dependent clauses such as verb complements and adverbial clauses) are all nominalized, so that only main clauses have fully finite syntax." For example, compare the nominalized verb *kha-ba* 'come-NMLZ' in (150) which has no tense/aspect, with the aspect-marked matrix verb *mraŋ-ji* 'see-PFV'.

(150) ŋa=i   [yho: kha-ba]=Ø   mraŋ-ji
       1SG=ERG   [thief come-NMLZ]=ABS   see-PFV
       'I saw [a thief *coming*].'

5.3.1 Citation forms of verbs

Verb forms with the nominalizer *–ba* are used as the citation form in the lexicon (cf. Noonan 1997:375). For example, the verb *ca-ba* 'eat-NMLZ' in (151) is the citation form that would occur in the lexicon.

(151) ca-ba   aŋreji=ri   harhaŋ   la-si   bhi-la
       eat-NMLZ   English=LOC how   do-SEQ   say-NPST
       'How do you say 'eat' in English?'

5.3.2 Relative clauses

Verb forms with the nominalizer *–ba* are used to form a relative clause. Relative clauses precede the head noun which they modify as in (152), where the relative clause is in brackets. The head of the relative clause in (152) is *mhi* 'person' which is gapped (represented by Ø) inside the relative clause. The position of the gapped argument shows that the subject of the relative clause is relativized in (152).

(152) [Ø   airak=Ø   thuŋ-ba]   mhi=se   jhat-dhugu=da   cek-ji
      [Ø   alcohol=ABS   drink-NMLZ]   person=ERG   small-PL=DAT   beat-PFV
      'The person [who drank alcohol] beat the children.'

Example (153) shows that the object of a relative clause can also be relativized. The head of the relative clause is *tam* 'story' which is gapped inside the relative clause. The grammatical relation of the gapped argument is object of the verb *bhri-ba* 'write-NMLZ'.

(153) cu   ca   [the=se   Ø   bhri-ba]   tam=Ø   hin-na
      this   TOP   [3SG= ERG   Ø   write-NMLZ]   story=ABS   COP-NPST
      'This is the story [that he wrote].'

Adjuncts and oblique arguments can also be relativized. For more detailed discussion, see §8.2.2.

5.3.3   Complement clauses

The suffix *–ba* marks complement clauses which serve 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.

The so-called 'action nominalizations' (Watters 2002:199; Comrie and Thompson 2007:335) of the sort *destroy* → *destruction* seldom occur in Tamang. Instead, an action or state NP can be formed from a verb (*sho* 'build') and its object (*dim* 'house') as in

(154) (cf. Comrie and Thompson 2007:335 for English). The complement clause, *dim sho-ba* 'building houses', is the subject of the matrix clause in (154).

(154) dim=Ø   sho-la   [dim=Ø   sho-ba]   garho   ta-la
      house=ABS build-NPST → [house=ABS build-NMLZ] difficult become-NPST
      '(Someone) will build houses.' → '[Building houses] is difficult.'

Example (155) shows that complement clauses can also function as the object of a matrix clause. The object of the matrix verb *mle* 'forget' in (155) is a complement clause which ends with *kha-ba* 'come-NMLZ'.

(155) ŋa=i   [mhi-dhugu   kha-ba]   mle-ji
      1SG=ERG [person-PL   come-NMLZ] forget-PFV
      'I forgot [that people came/ were coming].'

The –*ba* construction can also be used with nominalized complements selected by the head noun or dependents of a noun (cf. Noonan 1997:376). The noun *sem* 'mind' in (156) selects a prenominal clause ending with *thuŋ-ba* 'drink-NMLZ'. The noun *bani* 'habit' in (157) selects a prenominal clause ending with *thuŋ-ba* 'drink-NMLZ'. The difference between the relative clauses described in §5.3.2 and the clauses in (156) and (157) is that the nominalized clauses which are selected by nouns in (156) and (157) do not have any gap relationship with the head noun. For example, the head nouns *sem* 'mind' in (156) and *bani* 'habit' in (157) are not gapped in the preceding nominalized clauses. In summary, some nouns select complement clauses. The pronouns *ŋa=da* '1SG=DAT' and *ŋa=la* '1SG=GEN' are interchangeable in (156) and (157).

(156) ŋa=da   [ciya=Ø   thuŋ-ba]   sem=Ø   mu-la
      1SG=DAT [tea=ABS   drink-NMLZ]   mind=ABS   exist-NPST
      'I want to drink tea [lit. There is a desire with me [to drink tea]].'

(157) ŋa=la   [curoʈ=Ø   thuŋ-ba]   bani=Ø   mu-la
      1SG=GEN   [cigarette=ABS   drink-NMLZ] habit=ABS   exist-NPST
      'I have a habit to smoke [lit. There is my desire [to smoke a cigarette]].'

      For more detailed discussion on complement clauses, see section 8.2.3.

5.3.4   Main verbs followed by an auxiliary verb

      Varenkamp (2003:224) states that main verbs can be marked with –*ba* 'NMLZ'
when they are followed by an auxiliary verb (see §6.2 for a description of auxiliary
verbs). The suffix –*ba* 'NMLZ' can co-occur with the enclitic case marker =*ri* 'LOC'
attached to a main verb that is followed by an auxiliary verb. This frequently occurs with
the auxiliary verb *ham* 'able' (Varenkamp 2003:221). The -*ba=ri* 'nominalizer=LOC'
combination is optional as seen (158) and (159). However, if -*ba=ri* 'NMLZ=LOC' does
not occur, the auxiliary verb cliticizes to the main verb (see §6.2). Nominalized verbs are
not inflected; instead, the auxiliary verb is inflected. For example, in (158) the auxiliary
ham-la 'able-NPST' is inflected for tense, and in (159) the auxiliary *a-ham* 'NEG-able' is
inflected for negation.

(158) the=se   tamaŋ=Ø   paŋ-(ba=ri)   ham-la
      3SG=ERG   Tamang=ABS   speak-(NMLZ=LOC)   able-NPST
      'He is able to speak Tamang.'

(159) yhaŋ=se   airak=Ø   thuŋ-(ba=ri)   a-ham
1PL.INCL=ERG alcohol=ABS   drink-NMLZ=LOC NEG-able
'We are not able to drink alcohol.'

5.3.5 *Purpose clauses*

Very similar to the marking of main verbs in §5.3.4, a nominalization with –*ba,*
plus the enclitic case marker =*ri*, is used to mark purpose clauses (Varenkamp 2003:221,
Noonan 1997:376). In purpose clauses, the nominalizer –*ba* and the case marker =*ri*
'LOC' always occur together attached to the verb root of the nominalized clause. They
seem to be a frozen form –*bari* 'in order to'.[41] Examples (160) and (161) illustrate
purpose clauses with –*ba=ri*.

(160) **[monkey 017]**
[the   hũḍi=Ø   ŋyoi-ba=ri]   ni-u
that   monkey=ABS ask-NMLZ=LOC go-IMPER
'Go to call the monkey (to our home)!'

(161) **[alcohol 001]**
[chyaŋ=Ø   sho-ba=ri=m]   ŋatcha mhla=la kan=Ø   dhai-la
rice.beer=ABS make-NMLZ=LOC=EMP first   rice=GEN rice=ABS cook-NPST
'To make rice beer, (we) first cook rice.'

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[41] Hwang (1995:132-33) gives a similar example in Korean. She says –*ki.wihaye* 'in order to' in Korean
combines the nominalizer ending –*ki* with the verb *wiha* 'be for' + adverbial ending '-*y(e)'*.'' This is similar
to Tamang in that Tamang has the nominalizer –*ba* with the locative =*ri* to express purpose. Hwang argues
"-*ki.wihaye* is a marker clearly indicating a purpose clause, although the original forms (the nominalizer
and verb) from which it is derived are rather transparent (cf. CAUS-causative, PUR-purpose, NOM-
nominative)."
nwukwu-eykey po-i-ki.wihay-ka   ani-la   na-lul.wihay   ettekhatunci
Who-to   see-CAUS-PUR-NOM be.not-but I-for   however.way

talla.cye-ya.hanta.
become.different-must
'(I) must become different somehow, not to show someone, but for myself.'

Another way to form purpose clauses is to attach the nominalizer –*ba* and the enclitic =*la* 'GEN' to a subordinate clause verb which, in turn, is followed by the subordinating morpheme *lagiri* 'in order to/ for' as in (162) (see §8.2.1).

(162) kan   ca-ba=la   lagiri   ge   la=to:-ji
       rice   eat-NMLZ=GEN for   work   do=need-PFV
       '(We) should work to eat rice.'

5.4   Other functions of -*ba*

Many adjectives in Tamang contain –*ba*, particularly those depicting quality or size as in (163) to (166). Varenkamp claims that in some cases the adjective –*ba* construction is a frozen form (e.g., *jyaba* 'good'), as with all such adjectives in Chantyal (Noonan 1997:377; cited in Varenkamp 2003:222).[42] The root of those adjectives cannot occur without –*ba* since –*ba* is already lexicalized.

(163) jyaba   siŋ
       good   tree
       'a good tree'

(164) naiba   bani
       bad   habit
       'bad habit'

(165) jajaba   dim
       small   house
       'a small house'

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[42] Noonan states (1997:377) that "(S)uch forms were thus once analyzable as stative verbs in a relative construction albeit special verbs that could not be conjugated."

(166) kheppa   mhi
     big/old   person
     'a big(old) person'

     Varenkamp points out that a number of adjectives can be analyzed as stative verbs in Central-Eastern Tamang (Varenkamp 2003:222-23). The adjectives *rheŋba* 'long' in (167) and *tunba* 'short' in (168) occur as stative verbs in (169) where both *rheŋ-la* 'long-NPST' and *tun-na* 'short-NPST' are inflected for tense. Because tense marking is a characteristic of verbs, the forms in (169) are analyzed as stative verbs instead of adjectives.

(167) rheŋba   dim
     long   house
     'a long house'

(168) tunba   dim
     short   house
     'a short house'

(169) ŋa=la   kra   a-tha:=sam   lha:nan   rheŋ-la   tha:=sam   tun-na
     1SG=GEN hair   NEG-cut=COND very   long-NPST   cut=COND short-NPST
     'If I don't cut my hair it'll get long, if (I) cut (it, it) will be short.'

     The nominalizer *-ba* in (170) and (172) looks similar to the *–ba* on the adjectives in (163) to (166). However, this nominalizer *–ba* can be deleted and each root can be inflected for tense/aspect; for example, *bhlo-ji* 'boiled (perfective)' in (171) and *si-ji* 'died (perfective)' in (173). The examples (170) and (171) may indicate the possibility of middle voice in Tamang. This is left for further study.

(170) bhlo-ba   taya
       boil-NMLZ   arum
       'the boiled arum' [lit. the *arum* which was boiled]

(171) taya   bhlo-ji
       arum   boil-PFV
       'The arum was boiled.'

(172) si-ba   mhi
       die-NMLZ   person
       'the dead person' [=the person who is dead]

(173) the   mhi   si-ji
       that   person   die-PFV
       'That person died.'

5.5   Conclusion

The suffix *–ba* occurs on citation forms of verbs in the lexicon, complement clauses, relative clauses, main verbs followed by an auxiliary, purpose clauses, and adjectives. The suffix *-ba* functions as a nominalizer when it marks citation forms, complement clauses, relative clauses, and main verbs followed by an auxiliary. The *–ba* marked forms of some adjectives and purpose clauses seem to be frozen.

6   COMPLEX PREDICATES, AUXILIARIES, AND NEGATION

Section 6.1 describes different types of complex predicate constructions, §6.2 discusses auxiliary verbs including how to distinguish auxiliaries from main verbs, and §6.3 explains how to negate verbs and other predicates.

6.1   Complex predicates

Kroeger (2004:255) states that "Complex predicates typically consist of a 'light' verb plus at least one other word, which may be an abstract noun, adjective, participle, etc." There are three ways of forming complex predicates in Tamang: (a) a light verb construction; (b) a complex predicate construction consisting of a verb with a semantically-related noun; and (c) a complex predicate construction involving a Nepali loan word.

6.1.1   *Light verb constructions*

Light verb constructions in Tamang consist of a noun followed by the light verb *la* 'do', as in (174). This supports DeLancey's (2003a:282) claim that "Tibetan, like many other South and West Asian languages, has a very large set of 'light' verbs, which consist of a noun in construction with a semantically fairly empty verb."

(174) *ge*   'work'   + *la-ba* 'do-NMLZ' = 'to work'
     yho: 'thief'   + *la-ba* 'do-NMLZ' = 'to steal'
     sapha   'cleaning(Nep)'   + *la-ba* 'do-NMLZ' = 'to clean'
     bisuwas 'belief(Nep)'   + *la-ba* 'do-NMLZ' = 'to believe'
     rho: 'friend'   + *la-ba* 'do-NMLZ' = 'to help'
     byaha   'marriage(Nep)'   + *la-ba* 'do-NMLZ' = 'to marry'
     saṣan   'reign(Nep)'   + *la-ba* 'do-NMLZ' = 'to rule'

The light verb *la* 'do' is a transitive verb and the immediately preceding noun functions syntactically as the object of a transitive clause. In (175), the object of the light verb construction *yho: laji* 'stole' is the NP *mwi* 'buffalo' which takes absolutive case =Ø. Similarly, in (176) the object of the light verb construction *sapha laji* 'cleaned' is the NP *koṭha=Ø* 'room=ABS'. These complex predicates function as simple transitive verbs. Compare these to the simple transitive sentence in (177) whose predicate *ca-ji* 'eat-PFV' has an object *kan=Ø* 'rice=ABS'. In (178), the object of the complex predicate *bisuwas la-ji* 'believe- PFV' is the NP *maya=la tam* 'Maya's story'.

(175) the=se   mwi=Ø   yho: la-ji
      3SG=ERG buffalo=ABS thief do-PFV
      'He stole a buffalo.'

(176) am=se   koṭha=Ø   sapha   la-ji
      mother=ERG room(Nep)=ABS cleaning(Nep) do-PFV
      'Mother cleaned the room.'

(177) the=se   kan=Ø   ca-ji
      3SG=ERG rice=ABS eat-PFV
      'He ate rice.'

(178) ram=se   maya=la   tam=Ø   bisuwas   la-ji
      Ram=ERG Maya=GEN story=ABS belief(Nep) do-PFV
      'Ram believed Maya's story.'

However, the human object of the complex predicates *rho: la-ji* 'help do-PFV' in (179), *byaha la-ji* 'marriage do-PFV' in (180), and *sasan la-ji* 'reign do-PFV' in (181) takes dative case *=da* 'DAT'. In (181), *nepal* 'Nepal' refers to the people of Nepal, so it takes dative case *=da* 'DAT'.

(179) the=se   am=da   rho: la-ji
      3SG=ERG   mother=DAT   help   do-PFV
      'He helped (his) mother.'

(180) madan=se   maya=da   byaha   la-ji
      3SG=ERG   Maya=DAT   marriage   do-PFV
      'Madan got married to Maya.'

(181) the   gle=se   nepal=da   sasan   la-ji
      that   king=ERG   Nepal=DAT   reign   do-PFV
      'That king ruled over Nepal.'

Another light verb construction consists of a noun followed by the verb *yaŋ* 'acquire' or *ta* 'become/happen'. When the verbs *yaŋ-ba* 'acquire-NMLZ' or *ta-ba* 'become/happen-NMLZ' co-occur with the noun *tha:* 'knowledge', they function as a complex predicate as in (183) and (184). In (185), the complex predicate takes an NP as its object, and in (184), it takes a complement clause as its object.

(182) *tha:* 'knowledge'   +   *yaŋ-ba* 'acquire-NMLZ'   = 'to realize'
      tha: 'knowledge'   +   *ta-ba*   'become/happen-NMLZ' = 'to know'

(183) am=se   [the   mwi   birami ta-ba]=Ø   tha: yaŋ-ji
      mother=ERG [that buffalo sick   become-NMLZ]=ABS knowledge acquire-PFV
      'Mother realized that the buffalo was sick.'

(184) ŋa=da   tamaŋ=la   ghyoi=Ø   tha: ta-ji
      1SG=DAT Tamang=GEN   language=ABS knowledge   happen-PFV
      'I know the Tamang language.'

The verbs *yaŋ* 'acquire' and *ta* 'become/happen' can take other objects as illustrated in (185) and (186). These two examples do not involve complex predicates.

(185) nana=se bajar=ri mhar=la cyap=Ø yaŋ-ji
   old.sister=ERG market=LOC gold=GEN ring=ABS acquire-PFV
   'Elder sister got a gold ring at the market.'

(186) ge la-ba dhwi ta-ji
   work do-NMLZ time become-PFV
   'It's time to work.'

6.1.2 *Complex predicates with a semantically-related noun*

The second type of complex predicate consists of a verb immediately preceded by a semantically-related noun; for example, *whai goba* 'sing a song' in (187). The verb *go-ba* 'sing-PST' can only have the semantically related noun *whai* 'song' as its object, and the verb *syor-ba* 'excrete-NMLZ' can only have the semantically related noun *cyam* 'urine' as its object. Clauses with this type of complex predicate are syntactically transitive as seen by the ergative case marking of the subject in (188) and (189).

(187) *whai* 'song' + *go-ba* 'sing-NMLZ' = 'to sing'
   cyam 'urine' + *syor-ba* 'excrete-NMLZ' = 'to urinate'

(188) the=se whai=Ø go-ji
   3SG=ERG song=ABS sing-PFV
   'He sang a song.'

(189) the   kol=che[43] cyam syor-ji
   that   child=ERG urine urinate-PFV
   'That child urinated.'

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[43] The ergative marker =*se* and =*che* are phonologically conditioned allomorphs.

6.1.3 Complex predicates with a Nepali loan word

The third type of complex predicate consists of a borrowed Nepali noun followed by the verb *di* 'take'. Gurung (Glover 1974:115) uses a similar construction in borrowing Nepali verbs;[44] however, in Tamang the first component of the complex predicate is a noun which is derived from a Nepali verb as seen in (190).

(190)   *nuhai*   'bath(Nep)'   + *di-ba*   'take-NMLZ' = 'bathe'
      khic   'taking.photo(Nep)' + *di-ba*   'take-NMLZ' = 'take a photo'
      paḍh   'study(Nep)'   + *di-ba*   'take-NMLZ' = 'study'

These verbs are syntactically similar to the light verbs described in §6.1.1. The negative prefix *a-* precedes the verb *di* 'take' in (192).

(191) ale=se   photo=Ø   khic   di-ba   mu-la
      young.brother=ERG photo=ERG taking.photo take-PST   COP-NPST
      'Younger brother has taken photos.'

(192) the=se   nuhai   a-di-ni
      3SG=ERG   bath(Nep)   NEG-take-PFV
      'He didn't bathe (himself).'

(193) ama=se   kola=da   syoŋ=ri   nuhai   di-ba   mu-la
      mother=ERG   child=DAT river=LOC bath(Nep) take-PST   COP-NPST
      'A mother has bathed (her) child in the river.'

---

[44] Glover says that the derived loan verb stems have a formative *–di* attached to the borrowed Nepali root. For example, *caha* (Nep) 'need' + *-di* 'deriver'= *cai-di* (Gur) 'need-deriver'.

6.2   Auxiliaries

Steele (1978, cited in Kroeger 2004:251) defines an auxiliary as an element of the clause which is separate from the verb, expresses the categories of tense, aspect and/or mood, and does not subordinate the main verb.

Kroeger (2004:251) says, "[A]uxiliary verbs do not function as independent semantic predicates; they do not take their own arguments as normal verbs do." He also says an auxiliary must co-occur with a regular verb, and if the main verb is left out, it must be recoverable from the immediate discourse context.

Heine (1993:22-24) explains properties of auxiliaries in more detail. He lists twenty-two properties of auxiliaries. The following are applicable to Tamang:

a. They may not be the (semantic) "main predicate" of the clause (e.g., the main verb is *sho* 'make', not *ham* 'able', in (194)).

b. They tend to be cliticizable or necessarily a clitic (e.g., *ham* 'able' can be attached to the main verb, *sho* 'make', as seen in (194), or separated from the main verb, as in (195)).

c. They are inflected with all the morphological information relating to a predicate; i.e., tense/aspect/modality and negation in Tamang. (For example, in (197) the auxiliary *ham* 'able' is inflected with the negative prefix *a-* and the tense suffix *–ni* 'PFV'.)

d. They tend to occur separately from the main verb (e.g., the auxiliary *ham* 'able' is separated from the main verb *sho* 'make' in (195)).

e. They tend to occur in a fixed order and in a fixed position in the clause. In languages with SOV order, an inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb (e.g., the auxiliary *ham* 'able' is always preceded by a main verb such as *sho* 'make' in (195)).

f. In the presence of an auxiliary, the main verb is likely to occur in a nonfinite form, frequently carrying with it some morphological element such as a nominalization, infinitive, participial, or gerundival marker. (For example, in (195) the main verb *sho* 'make' occurs in a nonfinite form and is followed by the nominalizer –*ba* and locative marker =*ri*.)

g. In the presence of auxiliaries, the main verb may be associated with some locative morphology. (For example, the main verb *sho* 'make' occurs in a nonfinite form and is followed by the nominalizer –*ba* and the locative marker =*ri* in (195).)

Tamang auxiliary verbs include: *ham* 'able'*, pin* 'give', *puŋ* 'allow, and *to:* 'need.' These auxiliary verbs are used to indicate ability, benefactive, permissibility, and necessity.

6.2.1 The auxiliaries ham 'able' and to: 'need'

The auxiliary *ham* 'able' sometimes cliticizes to the main verb forming a single phonological word, as in (194). Other times, the auxiliary is separated from the main verb, as in (195). When the auxiliary is separated from the main verb, the nominalizer suffix -*ba* 'NMLZ' and the enclitic case marker =*ri* 'LOC' are attached to the main verb. To summarize, auxiliaries must cliticize to the main verb if the main verb is not nominalized, but they cannot cliticize if the main verb is nominalized.

(194) The=se   dim=Ø   sho=ham-la
      3SG=ERG   house=ABS   make=able-NPST
      'He is able to build a house.'

(195) the=se   dim=Ø   sho-ba=ri   ham-la
      3SG=ERG   house=ABS   make-NMLZ=LOC   able-NPST
      'He is able to build a house.'

If an auxiliary verb occurs, the negative prefix *a-* always attaches to the auxiliary verb as seen in (196) and (197) where it attaches to the auxiliary *ham* 'able', not to the main verb *sho* 'make' as seen in the ungrammatical construction in (198). The non-past tense suffix –*la* cannot occur with the negative prefix *a-* as in (196).

(196) the=se   dim=Ø   sho-ba=ri   a-ham
      3SG=ERG   house=ABS   make-NMLZ=LOC   NEG-able
      'He is not able to build a house.'

(197) the=se   dim=Ø   sho=a-ham-ni
      3SG=ERG   house=ABS   make=NEG-able-PFV
      'He was not able to build a house.'

(198) *the=se   dim=Ø   a-sho=ham-ni
      *3SG=ERG   house=ABS   NEG-make=able-PFV
      'He was not able to build a house.'

Example (199) illustrates a simple transitive clause. The auxiliary *to:* 'need'

cliticizes to the main verb forming a single phonological word in (199). The negative

prefix *a-* always attaches to the auxiliary verb *to:* 'need' in (200), not to the main verb

sho 'make' as seen in the ungrammatical construction in (201).

(199) dim=Ø   sho=to:-ji
      house=ABS   make=need-PFV
      '(We) should build a house.'

(200) dim=Ø   sho=a-to:
      house=ABS   make=NEG-need
      '(We) don't have to build a house.'

(201) *dim=Ø   a-sho=to:
      *house=ABS   NEG-make=need
      '(We) don't have to build a house.'

6.2.2   *The auxiliaries pin 'give' and puŋ 'allow'*

The distribution of auxiliary verbs *pin* 'give' and *puŋ* 'allow' is exactly like other

auxiliary verbs when they are negated, but their semantic function is different in that they

increase the valence of the verb (Kroeger 2004:192-95). Example (202) illustrates a

simple transitive clause with two arguments (agent and theme) and example (203) shows

the same clause with an additional benefactive argument. The auxiliary verb *pin* 'give' is

used to introduce the additional benefactive argument. The negative prefix *a-* attaches to

the auxiliary verb *pin* 'give' in (204), not the main verb *glu* 'buy' as illustrated by the ungrammatical example in (205) (see §6.3 for details regarding negation).

(202) ap=se   kitap=Ø   glu-ji
       father=ERG   book=ABS   buy-PFV
       'Father bought a book.'

(203) ap=se   ŋa=da   kitap=Ø   glu=pin-ji
       father=ERG 1SG=DAT   book=ABS   buy=give-PFV
       'Father bought a book for me.'

(204) ap=se   ŋa-da   kitap=Ø   glu=a-pin-ni
       father=ERG 1SG-DAT   book=ABS   buy=NEG-give-PFV
       'Father didn't buy a book for me.'

(205) *ap=se   ŋa-da   kitap=Ø   a-glu-pin-ni
       *father=ERG 1SG-DAT   book=ABS   NEG-buy-give-PFV
       'Father didn't buy a book for me.'

The auxiliary verb *pin* 'give' is cliticized to the main verb and forms a single phonological word as in (203). It can also be separated from the main verb when the main verb has a sequential marker *–si* as in (206).

(206) ap=se   kol=da   kitab glu-si   pin-ji
       father=ERG child=DAT book buy-SEQ give-PFV
       'Father bought the book for his child.'

Example (207) illustrates a simple transitive clause with two arguments (agent and theme), and example (208) shows the same clause with an additional causative argument. The auxiliary verb *puŋ* 'PERM' is used to introduce the permissive argument which is the clause subject. The negative prefix *a-* always attaches to the auxiliary verb *puŋ* 'PERM' as seen in (209), not the main verb *thuŋ* 'drink' as illustrated by the

ungrammatical example in (210). The auxiliary verb *puŋ* 'allow' is always cliticized to the main verb and forms a single phonological word, as in (208).

(207) ŋa=i   airak=Ø   thuŋ-ji
       1SG=ERG   alcohol=ABS   drink-PFV
       'I drank alcohol.'

(208) ap=se   ŋa=da   airak=Ø   thuŋ=puŋ-ji
       father=ERG   1SG=DAT   alcohol=ABS   drink=PERM-PFV
       'Father let/allowed me (to) drink alcohol.'

(209) ap=se   ŋa=da   airak=Ø   thuŋ=a-puŋ
       father=ERG   1SG=DAT   alcohol=ABS   drink=NEG-PERM
       'Father didn't allow me to drink alcohol.'

(210) *ap=se   ŋa=da   airak=Ø   a-thuŋ=puŋ
       *father=ERG 1SG=DAT   alcohol=ABS   NEG-drink= PERM
       'Father didn't allow me to drink alcohol.'

6.3   Negation

Section 6.3.1 describes clausal negation in different types of clauses, while §6.3.2 describes negative marking on different types of verbs.

6.3.1   Negation in different clause types

6.3.1.1 Negation of events in declarative mood

Examples (211) and (212) illustrate events in declarative mood. Sentence (211) is an intransitive clause and (212) is a transitive clause.

(211) the   kha-ji
     3SG   come-PFV
     'He came.'

(212) ap=se   airak=Ø   thuŋ-ji
     father=ERG   alcohol=ABS   drink-PFV
     'Father drank alcohol.'

Events in declarative mood are negated by inflecting the main verb with *a-* 'NEG' as in (213) and (214). The perfective suffix *–ji* 'PFV' never occurs with *a-* 'NEG'; instead, perfective aspect is marked by *–ni* 'PFV' in negative clauses.

(213) the   a-kha-ni
     3SG   NEG-come-PFV
     'He did not come.'

(214) the=se   airak=Ø   a-thuŋ-ni
     3SG=ERG   alcohol=ABS   NEG-drink-PFV
     'He didn't drink any alcohol.'

6.3.1.2 Negation of non-events in declarative mood

Most non-events or states are clauses with non-verbal predicates. These clauses are negated differently than events in Tamang (cf. Boutin 2010).

Non-negated, attributive clauses can contain the optional copula verb *mu* 'COP' as illustrated in (215) (see §3.4.1). Attributive clauses are negated by inflecting the copula *re* with the negative prefix *a-* as in (216). The copula *re* which is the negative allomorph of copula *mu* is always marked by *a-* 'NEG'.

(215) cu   gaḍi   jyaba   (mu-la)
     this   car   good   COP-NPST
     'This car is good.'

(216) cu   gaḍi   jyaba   a-re
       this   car   good   NEG-COP
       'This car is not good.'

Non-negated, locative clauses contain the copula *mu* 'COP' as illustrated in (217) (see §3.4.3). The copula *mu* has an existential sense in locative clauses. Locative clauses are negated by inflecting the copula *re* with the prefix *a-* 'NEG' as seen in (218).

(217) cu   kitap   ṭebul   phi=ri   mu-la
       this   book   table(Eng) on=LOC   COP-NPST
       'This book is on the table.'

(218) cu   kitap   ṭebul   phi=ri   a-re
       this   book   table(Eng) on=LOC   NEG-COP
       'This book is not on the table.'

Non-negated, existential clauses also contain the copula *mu* 'COP' as illustrated in (219) (see §3.4.4). The copula *mu* has an existential sense in existential clauses. Existential clauses are also negated by inflecting the copula *re* with the prefix *a-* 'NEG' as seen in (220).

(219) dim=ri   makai   lha:nan   mu-la
       house=LOC   corn   many   COP-NPST
       'There is enough corn at home.'

(220) dim=ri   makai   lha:nan   a-re
       house=LOC   corn   many   NEG-COP
       'There is not enough corn at home.'

Equative clauses (see §3.4.2) contain a different copula than attributive, locative, and existential clauses. The copula *hin* 'COP' occurs in both non-negated equative clauses

like (221) and negated equative clauses like (222). Equative clauses are negated by inflecting the copula *hin* with the prefix *a-* 'NEG' as in (222).

(221) the   mastar   (hin-na)
      3SG/that   teacher   COP-NPST
      'He is a teacher.'

(222) the   mastar   a-hin
      3SG/that   teacher   NEG-COP
      'He is not a teacher.'

6.3.1.3 Negation in imperative and optative clauses

Two negative prefixes, *a-* and *tha-*, are used interchangeably in imperative clauses as illustrated in (223) and (224).[45]

(223) a-loŋ-go
      NEG-be.afraid-IMPER
      'Don't be afraid!'

(224) aŋa,   tha-kra-go
      young.sister   NEG-cry-IMPER
      'Sister, don't cry!'

The same two negative prefixes, *a-* and *tha-*, are used interchangeably in optative clauses as illustrated in (225) and (226).

(225) rhaŋ=se   ŋa=n=da   a-mle-gai
      2SG(HON)=ERG   1SG=PL=DAT   NEG-forget-OPT
      'May you not forget us!'

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[45] The difference between the negative prefixes *a-* and *tha-* is dialectal. Most of the Central-Eastern Tamang area uses *a-* as the negative prefix, whereas some of the southern part of Eastern Tamang, like Lisanku, uses *tha-*.

(226) **[Varenkamp to appear:60]**
tha-si-gai
NEG-die-OPT
'May we not die.'

6.3.2   Negative morphology on various types of verbs

In (227), the compound verb stem *dho:ga* 'arrive' is inflected for negation with the negative prefix *a-*.

(227) the   a-dho:ga-ni
      3SG/that   NEG-arrive-PFV
      'He did not arrive'

As seen in (228), when an auxiliary verb (e.g., *ham* 'able') occurs, the main verb (e.g., *thuŋ* 'drink') contains the optional suffix –*ba* 'NMLZ' and the enclitic =*ri* 'LOC'. If the suffix and enclitic do not occur, then the auxiliary verb with its negative prefix *a-* is cliticized to the main verb as seen in (230). The negative prefix *a-* always attaches to the auxiliary verb *ham* 'able' as in (229) and (230), not the main verb *thuŋ* 'drink as in (231). When the sentence is negated, the non-past tense suffix –*la* should be omitted as in (229), but the perfective suffix –*ni* cannot be omitted as in (230).

(228) e:=se   airak=Ø   thuŋ(-ba=ri)   ham-la
      2SG=ERG   alcohol=ABS   drink-NMLZ=LOC able-NPST
      'You can drink alcohol.'

(229) e:=se   airak=Ø   thuŋ(-ba=ri)   a-ham
      2SG=ERG   alcohol=ABS   drink-NMLZ=LOC NEG-able
      'You *cannot* drink alcohol.'

(230) e:=se   airak=Ø   thuŋ=a-ham-ni
   2SG=ERG   alcohol=ABS   drink=NEG-able-PFV
   'You *could not* drink alcohol.'

(231) *e:=se   airak=Ø   a-thuŋ=ham-ni
   *2SG=ERG   alcohol=ABS   NEG-drink=able-PFV
   'You *could not* drink alcohol.'

In light verb constructions (see §6.1), the negative prefix *a-* always attaches to the light verb *la* 'do' as seen in (232).

(232) the=se   ge=Ø   a-la-ni
   3SG=ERG   work=ABS   NEG-do-PFV
   'He didn't work.'

Similarly, in complex predicate constructions like (233), which consist of a verb immediately preceded by a semantically-related noun, the negative prefix *a-* always attaches to the verb.

(233) the=se   whai=Ø   a-go-ni
   3SG=ERG   song=ABS   NEG-sing-PFV
   'He didn't sing a song.'

In complex predicate constructions like (234), which consist of the verb *di* 'take' immediately preceded by a Nepali loan word, the negative prefix *a-* always attaches to the verb *di* 'take'.

(234) the=se   nuhai   a-di-ni
   3SG=ERG   bath(Nep)   NEG-take-PFV
   'He didn't bathe (himself).'

As mentioned in §6.2.2, in clauses with the auxiliary verbs *pin* 'give' and *puŋ* 'allow', the negative prefix *a-* occurs on the auxiliary verb as in (235), not the main verb as in (236).

(235) ap=se   ŋa=da   kitap=Ø   glu=a-pin-ni
       father=ERG   1SG=DAT   book=ABS   buy=NEG-give-PFV
       'Father didn't buy a book for me.'

(236) *ap=se   ŋa-da   kitap=Ø   a-glu-pin-ni
       *father=ERG 1SG-DAT   book=ABS   NEG-buy-give-PFV
       'Father didn't buy a book for me.'

The verbs *mu* 'be' and *re* 'be' function as auxiliary verbs when they occur in a clause with a main verb as in (237) through (240). The negative prefix *a-* always attaches to the negative auxiliary *re* as seen in (238) and (240). The clauses in (237) through (240) are given a perfect aspect interpretation when the auxiliary is not cliticized to the main verb. When the auxiliary *mu* 'be' is cliticized to the main verb, clauses are given a habitual interpretation (see §4.3.3).

(237) ŋa   mher-ba   mu-la
       1SG   sleep-PST   COP-NPST
       'I have slept.'

(238) ŋa   mher-ba   a-re
       1SG   sleep-PST   NEG-COP
       'I haven't slept.'

(239) ale=Ø   bhra-ba   mu-la
       younger.brother=ABS   walk-PST   COP-NPST
       'Younger brother has walked.'

(240) ale=Ø   bhra-ba   a-re
    younger.brother=ABS walk-PST NEG-COP
    'Younger brother hasn't walked.'

7   CASE

According to Kroeger (2005:102), "Every language must have some way of indicating the Grammatical Relations of clausal elements, and of distinguishing one relation from another… For identifying the term relations (subjects and objects), three basic devices are available: word order, **CASE** marking, and **AGREEMENT**." Tamang uses case marking to identify both terms and oblique grammatical relations.

Kroeger (2005:103-104) describes two kinds of case markers: **GRAMMATICAL CASE** markers and **SEMANTIC CASE** markers. The case markers used for term relations (subject, object, and secondary object) are **GRAMMATICAL CASES**, and the ones used for oblique arguments (and some adjuncts) are **SEMANTIC CASES**. For example, grammatical cases may include the nominative case for subject, the accusative case for object, and the dative case for secondary object. Semantic cases may include the genitive case for possessor, the instrumental case for instrument, and the locative case for location.

Most languages that have grammatical case markers follow one of two basic patterns: A **NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE** system or an **ERGATIVE** system (Kroeger 2005:105-106).[46] Both Dixon (1994:55) and Kroeger (2005:107) mention that many

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[46] Dixon (1994:39) argues for three basic case marking systems (where S stands for Subject of an intransitive clause, O for Object of a transitive clause, and A for Agent of a transitive clause):
S=O (absolutive), A different (ergative) – an **ERGATIVE** system
S=A (nominative), O different (accusative) – an **ACCUSATIVE** system
A, S and O all different – **TRIPARTITE** system

languages have a mixture of accusative and ergative strategies for intra-clausal marking, so-called **SPLIT ERGATIVITY**.[47] For example, as Kroeger (2005:107) says, "[P]ronouns may take Nominative-Accusative marking while common nouns take Ergative-Absolutive marking; or animate nouns may take Nominative-Accusative marking while inanimate nouns take Ergative-Absolutive marking."

Dixon (1994:52-55, 70-110) claims that several factors condition these splits including: 1) the semantic nature of verbs; 2) the semantic content of NPs; and 3) tense, aspect, or mood.

This chapter describes the Tamang case marking system. Some questions are set aside due to data limitations, like the factors which determine case marking patterns in embedded clauses. Further study of Tamang syntax may answer this question.

Tamang has a **SPLIT ERGATIVE** case marking system. Most NPs have ergative-absolutive marking, but some objects are marked differently. I analyze this as

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Among these three systems, the most common system is the **accusative** one and the least common is the **TRIPARTITE** system (Dixon 1994:40).

[47] Shain (2009:4-5) explains a mixture of accusative and ergative strategies (**SPLIT ERGATIVITY**) as follows, "The A-argument is encoded like S in a nominative/accusative system while the O-argument is encoded differently. The O-argument is encoded like S in an ergative/absolutive system while the A-argument is encoded differently." Dixon (1994:9) provides the following diagram for **SPLIT ERGATIVITY**.

```
                     A        ergative
                   ⌠
                   ⎰
   Nominative      ⎱ S
                   ⌡
                              ⎤
                              ⎬
   Accusative      O      ⎦ absolutive
```
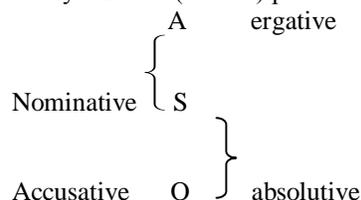
DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING (DOM); i.e., "variation within a single language as to the morphosyntactic realization of direct objects" (Shain 2009:1).

7.1 Grammatical case marking in simple clauses

7.1.1 Case marking of common nouns

The following examples illustrate intransitive (241), transitive (242), and ditransitive (243) clauses. Simple transitive clauses have SOV word order, as seen in (242). In ditransitive clauses, the recipient (e.g., *bidhyarthi* 'student' in (243)) is marked by the dative case marker =*da*, and precedes the primary object (e.g., *kalam* 'pencil' in (243)) which is semantically a theme.

(241) sikchak=Ø   se-la
      teacher=ABS   go(HON)-NPST
      'The teacher will go.'

(242) sikchak=se   dim=Ø   sho-la
      teacher=ERG   house=ABS   make-NPST
      'The teacher will build a house.'

(243) sikchak=se   the   bidhyarthi=da kalam=Ø   pin-la
      teacher=ERG   that   student=DAT   pencil=ABS   give-NPST
      'The teacher will give a pencil to that student.'

As shown in Table 16, simple clauses in non-past tense have three different case markers: =Ø (absolutive) for the subject (S) of intransitive clauses and the object (P) of transitive clauses, =*se* (ergative) for the subject (A) of transitive clauses, and =*da* (dative) for the secondary object/recipient (R) of ditransitive clauses.

Table 16: Case marking of common nouns and proper nouns

Case usage	Case marker	Case name
S	=Ø	Absolutive
P	=Ø	Absolutive
A	=se	Ergative
R	=da	Dative

As seen in (244), (245), and (246), the ergative, absolutive, and dative case markers also occur in past tense clauses (compare the non-past tense examples in (241)-(243)).

(244) sikchak=Ø   se-ji
      teacher=ABS   go(HON)-PFV
      'the teacher went.'

(245) sikchak=se   dim=Ø   sho-ji
      Teacher=ERG   house=ABS   make-PFV
      'The teacher built a house.'

(246) sikchak=se   the   bidhyarthi=da   kalam=Ø   pin-ji
      teacher=ERG   that   student=DAT   pencil=ABS   give-PFV
      'The teacher gave a pencil to that student.'

Past tense clauses use the same case markers as non-past tense clauses: =Ø 'ABS' for the subject (S) of intransitive clauses and the object (P) of transitive clauses, =*se* 'ERG' for the subject (A) of transitive clauses, and =*da* 'DAT' for the secondary object or recipient (R) of ditransitive clauses. Examples (241) to (246) show that case marking is not conditioned by tense/aspect.

7.1.2   Case marking of proper nouns

As seen in examples (247) to (249) and shown in Table 16, proper nouns are case marked the same as common nouns: =Ø 'ABS' for the subject (S) of intransitive clauses and the object (P) of transitive clauses, =*se* 'ERG' for the subject (A) of transitive clauses, and =*da* 'DAT' for the secondary object/recipient (R) of ditransitive clauses. The same case marking occurs in past and non-past tense.

(247) madan=Ø   ni-ji
       Madan=ABS   go-PFV
       'Madan went.'

(248) madan=se   dim=Ø   sho-ji
       Madan=ERG   house=ABS   make-PFV
       'Madan built a house.'

(249) madan=se   Maya=da   paisa=Ø   pin-ji
       Madan=ERG   Maya=DAT   money=ABS   give-PFV
       'Madan gave money to Maya.'

7.1.3   Case marking of pronouns

The pronominal case marker for the subject (S) of intransitive clauses, =Ø 'ABS', is the same as the case marker for common nouns and proper nouns. There is no difference between singular and plural forms in intransitive clauses as seen in examples (250) to (255).

(250) ŋa=Ø   ni-ji
       1SG=ABS   go-PFV
       'I went.'

(251) e:=Ø   ni-ji
   2SG=ABS   go-PFV
   'You (sg) went.'

(252) the=Ø   ni-ji
   3SG=ABS   go-PFV
   'He went.'

(253) yhaŋ=Ø   ni-ji
   1PL.INCL.=ABS   go-PFV
   'We went.'

(254) e:ni-gade=Ø   ni-ji
   2PL-PL=ABS   go-PFV
   'You (pl) went.'

(255) theni-gade=Ø   ni-ji
   3PL-PL=ABS   go-PFV
   'They went.'

However, =*i* 'ERG' which is an allomorph of =*se* 'ERG' occurs on first person singular subjects (A) of transitive clauses as in (256), and =*se* occurs elsewhere. That is, =*se* 'ERG' occurs on first person plural subjects and second and third person subjects (A) of transitive clauses as in (257) to (262).

(256) ŋa=i   dim=Ø   sho-ji
   1SG=ERG   house=ABS   make-PFV
   'I built a house.'

(257) ŋani-gade=se   dim=Ø   sho-ji
   1PL.EXCL-PL=ERG   house=ABS   make-PFV
   'We (incl) built a house.'

(258) yhaŋ=se   dim=Ø   sho-ji
   1PL.INCL=ERG   house=ABS   make-PFV
   'We (incl) built a house.'

(259) e:=se   dim=Ø   sho-ji
       2SG=ERG   house=ABS   make-PFV
       'You built a house.'

(260) the=se   dim=Ø   sho-ji
       3SG=ERG   house=ABS   make-PFV
       'He built a house.'

(261) e:ni-gade=se   dim=Ø   sho-ji
       2PL-PL=ERG   house=ABS   make-PFV
       'You (pl) built a house.'

(262) theni-gade=se   dim=Ø   sho-ji
       3PL-PL=ERG   house=ABS   make-PFV
       'They built a house.'

The ergative case marker *=i* which occurs on first person singular subject pronouns in transitive clauses is unique in contrast to the ergative case marker *=se* which occurs on other subject pronouns in a transitive clause. First person singular pronouns can be different from other pronouns because the speaker may empathize with himself more than anyone else, as Kuno mentioned (Dixon 1994:88).[48]

The case marker for the pronominal object (P) of transitive clauses is the same as the case marker on common nouns and proper nouns: =Ø 'ABS' is used for P (e.g., *the=Ø* in (263)), and *=da* 'DAT' for R (e.g., *ŋa=da, e:=da, and the=da* in (264)).[49]

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[48] According to Kuno's **'*Speech Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy*'** (Kuno 1976:433), it is easiest for the speaker to empathize with himself, it is next easiest for him to express his empathy with the hearer, it is most difficult for him to empathize with the third party (SPEAKER> HEARER > THIRD PERSON) (Dixon 1994:88 footnote).

[49] Further data shows that the case-marking of patients in monotransitive clauses is conditioned by a factor other than syntactic category (e.g., noun or pronoun).

(263) ap=se   the=Ø   sho-ji
     father=ERG   3SG=ABS   make-PFV
     'Father made it.'

(264) ap=se   ŋa=da/e:=da/the=da   paisa=Ø   pin-ji
     father=ERG   1SG=DAT/2SG=DAT/3SG=DAT   money=ABS give-PFV
     'Father gave me/you/him money.'

Tamang case marking is not conditioned by tense or aspect. But the first person singular marking of an Agent (A) =*i* is different from the case marking of other persons. Compare case marking of pronouns in the Table 17.

Table 17: Case marking of pronouns

	1sg	1pl/ 2sg/ 2pl/ 3sg/ 3pl
S	=Ø	=Ø
P	=Ø	=Ø
A	**=i**	=se
R	=da	=da

However, there is a case-marking difference between non-human and human patients which is the topic of §7.1.4 and §7.1.5.

7.1.4   *Case marking of non-human S, A, and P*

The case marking pattern of inanimate S, A, and P is illustrated in examples (265) to (267). Subjects (S) of intransitive clauses take the absolutive case marker =Ø (e.g., *gaḍi=Ø* 'car=ABS' in (265)), and objects (P) of transitive clauses also take the absolutive case marker =Ø (e.g., *dim=Ø* 'house=ABS' in (266) and *ghompo=Ø* 'temple=ABS' in

(267)). The subject of transitive clauses (A) takes the ergative marker *=se* (e.g., *yuŋba=se*

'stone=ERG' in (266) and *saŋkul=se* 'earth.tremor=ERG' in (267)). I have not found any

examples of an inanimate secondary object (Recipient) in ditransitive clauses.

(265) gaɖi=Ø   syoŋ=ri   tai-ji
car=ABS   river=LOC   fall-PFV
'A car fell into the river.

(266) grhen   yuŋba=se   ŋa=la   dim=Ø   phup-ji
big   stone=ERG   1SG=GEN   house=ABS   break-PFV
'A boulder broke my house.'

(267) **[Taylor 1973:107]**
saŋkul=se   ghonbo=Ø   phup-ji
earth.tremor=ERG   temple=ABS   crack-PFV
'The earth tremor cracked the temple.'

The case marking pattern of inanimate S, A, and P is an ergative-absolutive pattern as shown in Table 18.

Table 18: Case marking of inanimate S, A, and P

Case usage	Case marker	Case name
S	=Ø	Absolutive
P	=Ø	Absolutive
A	=se	Ergative
R	*	Dative

7.1.5 Case marking of human S, A, and P

Two prevalent underlying factors determine the pattern of **DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING** (DOM): **ANIMACY** and **DEFINITENESS** (Comrie 1989; cited in Shain

2009:11).[50] In Tamang, DOM mainly depends on animacy, especially humanness, not on definiteness.

With respect to **ANIMACY**, Shain (2009:12) states that "Many studies related to DOM appeal to a non-linguistic conceptual hierarchy on which entities in the universe are ranked according to their aliveness/sentience/capacity for independent motion, i.e. how "animate" they are." Comrie (1989:185; cited in Shain 2009:12) describes the "animacy hierarchy" as follows:

$$\text{human} > \text{animate} > \text{inanimate}$$

For example, people are higher on the animacy hierarchy than dogs, and dogs are higher on the animacy hierarchy than stones.

Shain (2009:13) provides a Hindi (Indo-European) example of this. Hindi requires human objects to be marked with the suffix *-ko*, while non-human objects may be realized without *–ko*. The human object *bacce* 'child' in (268) takes the obligatory object case marker *–ko*, while the inanimate object *patr* 'letters' in (269) does not take the object case marker *–ko*.

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[50] As an example of animacy-related DOM, consider the following examples from Kannada (Dravidian) (de Swart 2007:178-79; cited in Shain 2009:11). Animate objects like *sekretari* 'secretary' must take an accusative marker *-yannu* as in (a), while inanimate objects like *pustaka* 'book' may be unmarked as in (b).

(a) Naanu   *sekretari-yannu*   huDuk-utt-idd-eene
     1SG.NOM   secretary-ACC   look.for-NPST-be-1SG
     'I am looking for a *secretary*.'

(b) Naanu   *pustaka(-vannu)*   huDuk-utt-idd-eene
     1SG.NOM   book(-ACC)   look.for-NPST-be-1SG
     'I am looking for a *book*.'

(268) **[Adapted from de Swart 2007:127; Mohanan 1990:103]**
Ilaa-ne   bacce-ko/*baccaa   uthayaa
Ila-ERG   child-OM/*child   lift.PERF
'Ila lifted the/a child.'

(269) **[Comrie 1989:133]**
Ye   patr   par.hie
these   letters   read.POL
'Please read these letters.'

The Tamang case marking pattern for human S, A, and P is illustrated in examples (270) to (272). Human subjects (S) of intransitive clauses take the absolutive case marker =Ø (e.g., *sikchak=Ø* 'teacher=ABS' in (270)). Human subjects (A) of transitive clauses take the ergative case marker =*se* (e.g., *madan=se* 'Madan=ERG' in (271)). Human objects (P) of transitive clauses (e.g., *maya=da* 'Maya=DAT' in (271)) take the dative case marker =*da*. The non-human primary object (P) of ditransitive clauses takes the absolutive case marker =Ø (e.g., *ra=Ø* 'goat=ABS' in (272)). The secondary object/ Recipient (R) of ditransitive clauses takes the dative case marker =*da* (e.g., *ŋa=da* '1SG=DAT' in (272)).

(270) sikchak=Ø   se-ji
     teacher=ABS   go(HON)-PFV
     'The teacher went.'

(271) madan=se   maya=da   bor-ji
     Madan=ERG   Maya=DAT   take-PFV
     'Madan took Maya.'

(272) **[Taylor 1973:106]**
     the=se   ŋa=da   ra=Ø   pin-ji
     3SG=ERG   1SG=DAT   goat=ABS   give-PFV
     'He gave me a goat.'

In Tamang, *non-human* objects are always marked by the absolutive case =Ø 'ABS' (e.g., *saŋa=Ø* 'millet=ABS' in (273) and *nagi=Ø* 'dog=ABS' in (274)).[51]

(273) theni-gat=se   saŋa=Ø   to-ji
      3PL-PL=ERG   millet=ABS   beat-PFV
      'They beat the millet.'

(274) the=se   kaḍi=se   nagi=Ø   to-ji
      3SG=ERG   stick=INSTR   dog=ABS   beat-PFV
      'He beat the dog with a stick.'

However, when the object of transitive clauses is a *human* Patient, it takes the dative case marker =*da* as illustrated in (275).[52]

(275) sikchak=se   kaḍi=se   bidhyarthi=da   to-ji
      teacher=ERG   stick=INSTR   student=DAT   beat-PFV
      'A teacher beat a student with a stick.'

---

[51] Sometimes Tamang speakers themselves appear to interchangeably use the dative =*da* for non-human animate object as well as human object as follows.

      the=se   kaḍi=se   nagi=da   to-ji
      3SG=ERG   stick=INSTR   dog=DAT   beat-PFV
      'He beat the dog with a stick.'

[52] DeLancey (2003b:259) discusses case marking differences in Classical Tibetan. He claims that "The case marking of objects is lexically determined: verbs representing a change of state in the object ('kill', 'cut', etc.) take unmarked objects [as seen in (a)], while those representing contact ('hit', etc.) require locative marking [as seen in (b)]".

      (a) shing-la   sta-re   gzhus-pa
          tree-LOC   axe   hit-NOM
          'hit the tree with an axe.'

      (b) sta-re-s   shing   'chad-pa
          axe-INSTR   tree   cut-NOM
          'cut down the tree with an axe.'

But the object case marking system in Tamang seems to employ the animacy hierarchy rather than being lexically determined as in Classical Tibetan.

Examples (276) to (278) involve the perception verb *mraŋ* 'see'. In example (276), the human object *yho:* 'thief' takes the dative *=da* as an object case marker, but non-human objects take absolutive marker *=Ø* as seen in (277) and (278).[53]

Mazaudon (2003:296) claims that "it is statistically more frequent that animate objects be put in the dative, and inanimate objects in the absolutive." However, from (276) to (278) and from (279) to (281), it is clear that human object takes the dative *=da* as an object case marker, but non-human objects take absolutive marker *=Ø*.

(276) ŋa=i   yho:=da   mraŋ-ji
      1SG=ERG   thief=DAT   see-PFV
      'I saw the thief.'

(277) ŋa=i   cyan=Ø   mraŋ-ji
      1SG=ERG   tiger=ABS   see-PFV
      'I saw the tiger.'

---

[53] Li (2007:1471-72) provides similar examples of case marking in Nepali transitive clauses. In Nepali, *=lai* 'DAT' marks objects of monotransitive clauses when the object is both animate and specific. Inanimate objects take absolutive case *=Ø* 'ABS', as shown in (a). When the object is animate, it takes dative *=lai* as shown in (b). However, when the object is indefinite animate, it takes absolutive case *=Ø* 'ABS', as shown in (c). To summarize, Nepali dative *=lai* is used for objects of monotransitive clauses when the object is **ANIMATE** and **DEFINITE.**

(a) hijo   ram=le   tyo   sikka=Ø   dekh-yo
     yesterday   Ram=ERG   DET   coin=ABS   see-PFV
     'Yesterday Ram saw that coin.'

(b) hijo   ram=le   mə=lai   dekh-yo
     yesterday   Ram=ERG   1sg=DAT   see-PFV
     'Yesterday Ram saw me.'

(c) hijo   ram=le   dakṭər-həru=Ø   dekh-nə   tsah-yo
     yesterday   Ram=ERG   doctor-PL=ABS   see-INF   want-PFV
     'Yesterday Ram wanted to see doctors.'

(278) ŋa=i   gliŋgaŋ=Ø   mraŋ-ji
       1SG=ERG   himal=ABS   see-PFV
       'I saw the Himalaya mountains.'

Mazaudon (2003:296) also claims that "Definite/indefinite, the degree to which the object is affected, and the information structure of the sentence also play a part." But no examples are given.

Verbs involving a 'change in location' (e.g., *bor* 'take' and *pwi* 'send' in (279) to (281)) have the same DOM pattern. The human objects *maya* 'Maya' and *ale* 'young.brother' take the dative =*da* as an object case marker in (279) and (280), but the non-human object *mwi* 'buffalo' takes the absolutive marker =Ø in (281).

(279) madan=se   maya=da   dim=ri   bor-ji
       Madan=ERG   Maya=DAT   house=LOC   take-PFV
       'Madan took Maya home.'

(280) ap=se   ale=da   bu=ri   pwi-ji
       father=ERG   young.brother=DAT   field=loc   send-PFV
       'Father sent younger brother to the field.'

(281) ap=se   mwi=Ø   bu=ri   pwi-ji
       father=ERG   buffalo=ABS   field=loc   send-PFV
       'Father sent buffalo to the field.'

Verbs involving 'physical affectedness' (e.g., *tha:* 'cut', *khraŋ* 'burn', or *sai* 'kill' in (282) to (288)) have the same DOM pattern. The human object *ale* 'young.brother' of the transitive verb *tha:* 'cut' takes the dative =*da* as an object case marker in (282), but the non-human object *mwi* 'buffalo' takes the absolutive marker =Ø in (283). The human object *jha* 'son' of the transitive verb *khraŋ* 'burn' takes the dative =*da* as an object case

marker in (284), but the non-human objects *naga* 'chicken' and *makai* 'corn' take the absolute marker =Ø in (285) and (286). The human object *ale* 'young.brother' of the transitive verb *sai* 'kill' takes the dative =*da* as an object case marker in (287), but the non-human object *tahum* 'bear' takes the absolutive marker =Ø in (288).

(282) the=se   the=la   ale=da   tha:-ji
       3SG=ERG   3SG=GEN young.brother=DAT cut-PFV
       'He cut his brother.'

(283) the=se   mwi=Ø   tha:-ji
       3SG=ERG   buffalo=ABS   cut-PFV
       'He cut the buffalo.'

(284) the=se   the=la   jha=da   khraŋ-ji
       3SG=ERG   3SG=GEN son=DAT   burn-PFV
       'He burned his son.'

(285) the=se   naga=Ø   khraŋ-ji
       3SG=ERG   chicken=ABS burn-PFV
       'He burned the chicken.'

(286) the=se   makai=Ø   khraŋ-ji
       3SG=ERG   corn=ABS   burn-PFV
       'He burned the corn.'

(287) the=se   the=la   ale=da   sai-ji
       3SG=ERG   3SG=GEN young.brother=DAT   kill-PFV
       'He killed his brother.'

(288) the=se   banduk=se   tahum=Ø   sai-ji
       3SG=ERG   gun=INSTR   bear=ABS   kill-PFV
       'He killed the bear with a gun.'

To summarize Tamang case marking of objects in monotransitive clauses, inanimate objects and non-human animate objects take absolutive case =Ø, whereas human objects take dative case =*da*. Tamang has an ergative-absolutive case marking

pattern on S, A, and P when the object is **NON-HUMAN**, but it has a **TRIPARTITE** pattern when the object is **HUMAN**. In this DOM system, the subject (S) of intransitive clauses takes absolutive case =Ø; the subject (A) of transitive clauses takes ergative case =*se*; human objects in transitive clauses take dative case =*da*; and non-human objects take absolutive case =Ø.

7.2 Semantic case marking

Kroeger (2005:104) distinguishes grammatical case from semantic case. The grammatical cases described in §7.1 include: nominative, accusative, ergative, absolutive, and dative. The Tamang semantic cases are: genitive =*la* in (289), locative =*ri* in (290), ablative =*gyam(se)* in (291), allative =*kyar* in (292), instrumental =*se* in (293), and comitative =*den* in (294) and (295).

(289) ŋa=la   mwi=Ø   si-ji
      1SG=GEN   buffalo=ABS   die-PFV
      'My buffalo died.'

(290) gaɖi=Ø   syoŋ=ri   tai-ji
      car=ABS   river=LOC   fall-PFV
      'A car fell into the river.

(291) ale=Ø   amerikha=gyam(se) kha-ji
      young.brother=ABS   America=ABL   come-PFV
      'The younger brother came from America.'

(292) **[cow 2]**
      mhe=Ø   bhari=kyar   ni-ji
      cow=ABS   slope=ALLT   go-PFV
      'A cow went to the slope.'

(293) the=se   goja=se   mwi=Ø   sai-ji
       3SG=ERG   big.knife=INSTR buffalo=ABS kill-PFV
       'He killed the buffalo with a knife.'

(294) ap=den   am=se   dim=Ø   sho-ji
       father=COMIT mother=ERG   house=ABS   make-PFV
       'Father and mother built a house.'

(295) rhaŋ=den   chyam   ŋa=Ø   ni-la
       2SG(HON)=COMIT together 1SG=ABS go-NPST
       'I will go with you.'

In (296), =ri has three different functions: 1) it marks the temporal adjunct NP *syo* 'morning'; 2) it marks an adverbial purpose clause which ends with the nominalizer –*ba*; and 3) it marks the locative goal *bajar* 'market'.

(296) ap=se   syo=ri   mla=Ø   glu-ba=ri   bajar=ri
       father=ERG morning=LOC uncooked.rice=ABS buy-NMLZ=LOC market=LOC

       se-ji
       go(HON)-PFV
       'Father went to the market to buy rice in the morning.'

The locative case marker =*ri* can attach to relator nouns such as *naŋ* 'inside', *phi* 'on', and *dhi* 'under' as seen in (297) to (299).

(297) naga=Ø   dim   naŋ(=ri)   mu-la
       chicken=ABS house inside(=LOC) COP-NPST
       'A chicken is in the house.'

(298) naga=Ø   ṭebul   phi=ri   mu-la
       chicken=ABS table on=LOC   COP-NPST
       'A chicken is on the table.'

(299) naga=Ø   ṭebul   dhi=ri   mu-la
       chicken=ABS table   under=LOC   COP-NPST
       'A chicken is under the table.'

DeLancey (1997:58) says, "There are many languages in which we more often find postpstitions developing from nouns than from verbs." He gives a classical Tibetan example in (300).

(300) dbyug=pa=can-gyis   ba=glang   de   khyim-gyi nang-du   btang-ba.
       P.N.-ERG   ox   DEM   house-GEN inside-LOC let.go
       'Yugpacan let the ox go inside the house.'

DeLancey (1997:58) claims that relator nouns like *nang* 'inside' behave like head nouns in PP constructions with genitive marking occurring on the dependent noun (e.g., *khyim-gyi* 'house-GEN') and a locative postpostion (i.e., *du* 'LOC') on the relator noun (e.g., *nang* 'inside'). He gives another example from Tibetan in (301).

(301) blo=bzang-gi   don=dag-la
       Lobsang-GEN   for-LOC
       'for Lobsang, for L's benefit'

DeLancey (1997:59) says, "don=dag is reflected only in its semantics; it occurs as an independent noun with the sense 'meaning, purpose', but as a relator noun it has the bleached postpositional sense indicated in my gloss". This has the same function in Tamang as seen in (302).

(302) yhaŋ   tamaŋ=la   lagi=ri
       1PL   Tamang=GEN for=LOC
       'for us, for Tamang's benefit'

However, DeLancey (1997:59) claims that some of the relator nouns such as *nang* 'inside' and *sgang* 'on' occur in Lhasa without genitive marking on the dependent noun, indicating some degree of grammatical decategorialization, as seen in (305).

(303) zim=chung(*-gi)   nang-la
      bedroom(*-GEN)   in-LOC
      'in the bedroom'

In Tamang, the relator nouns *phi* 'on', *dhi* 'under', and *naŋ* 'inside' do not require any genitive marking on the dependent noun as seen in (297) to (299), even though DeLancey (1997:59) claims that genitive marking is optional in Tamang except with *phi* 'on' which does not allow genitive marking. In other words, Tamang relator nouns are already decategorialized.

The instrumental case marker *=se* has the same form with the ergative case marker. The case marker *=se* with *goja* 'big.knife' is instrumental while *=se* with *the* '3SG' is an ergative marker as in (304).

(304) the=se   goja=se   mwi=Ø   sai-ji
      3SG=ERG   big.knife=INSTR buffalo=ABS kill-PFV
      'He killed the buffalo with a knife.'

The different semantic case markers are shown in Table 19.

Table 19: Semantic case marking

Case usage	Case marker	Case name
Possession	=la	Genitive
Location	=ri	Locative
Source	=gyam(se)	Ablative
Goal	=kyar	Allative
Instrument	=se	Instrumental
Accompaniment	=den	Comitative

7.3 Case marking in causative constructions

Case marking in causative constructions with –*na* is illustrated in (305) to (308). The causer always takes ergative case =*se* and the causee always takes dative case =*da*. In (305), the subject of the causative clause (i.e., the causer), *e:* '2SG', takes the ergative marker =*se*. The causee of the clause, *ŋa* '1SG', receives dative case =*da*. In (306), the subject of the causative clause, *ama* 'mother', receives ergative case =*se*, and the causee of the clause, *kola* 'child', receives dative case =*da*. In (307) and (308), the non-human causee *mwi* 'buffalo' receives dative case =*da*. Causees never takes absolutive case =Ø as shown in (309) and (310).

(305) **[Chalise 36]**

e:=se	ŋa=da	[the=da	brigu=Ø	pin-na]	la-ji
2SG=ERG	1SG=DAT	3SG=DAT	pen=ABS	give-CAUS	do-PFV

'You made me give him a pen.'

(306)

am=se	kol=da	mer-na	la-ji
mother=ERG	child=DAT	sleep-CAUS	do-PFV

'Mother caused the baby to sleep.'

(307) the=se   mwi=da   che=Ø   ca-na   la-ji
     3SG=ERG   buffalo=DAT   grass=ABS   eat-CAUS   do-PFV
     'He made the buffalo eat the grass.'

(308) ap=se   mwi=da   bhra-na   la-ji
     father=ERG   buffalo=DAT   walk-CAUS   do-PFV
     'Father made the buffalo walk.'

(309) *am=se   kola=Ø   mer-na   la-ji
     *mother=ERG   child=ABS   sleep-CAUS   do-PFV
     'Mother caused the baby to sleep.'

(310) *ap=se   mwi=Ø   bhra-na   la-ji
     *father=ERG   buffalo=ABS   walk-CAUS   do-PFV
     'Father made the buffalo walk.'

Another type of causative construction involves the verb *puŋ*. In (311) and (312), the subject of the causative clause, *ap* 'father', receives ergative case =*se*, and the causee, *ale* 'young.brother' and *aŋa* 'young.sister', receives dative case =*da*. Non-human causees like *nagi* 'dog' in (313) also receive dative case =*da*.

(311) ap=se   ale=da   ram=da   brigu=Ø   pin=puŋ-ji
     father=ERG   young.brother=DAT   Ram=DAT   pencil=ABS   give=PERM-PFV
     'Father let/allowed younger brother give a pen to Ram.'

(312) ap=se   aŋa=da   ji=Ø   thuŋ=puŋ-ji
     father=ERG   young.sister=DAT   rice.wine=ABS   drink=PERM-PFV
     'Father let/allowed younger sister drink rice-wine.'

(313) ap=se   nagi=da   ji=Ø   thuŋ=puŋ-ji
     father=ERG   dog=DAT   rice.wine=ABS   drink=PERM-PFV
     'Father let/allowed the dog drink rice-wine.'

7.4   Conclusion

The Tamang case marking system is not conditioned by tense/aspect, nor is conditioned by definiteness, but by the "animacy hierarchy."

A Differential Object Marking system assigns **DATIVE** case to the object of a transitive clause when the object is **HUMAN**. However, when the object is **NON-HUMAN**, the case-marking system is ergative. The case marking system is shown in Table 20.

Table 20: Tamang case marking

ERGATIVE case marking occurs when the object (P) is **NON-HUMAN**
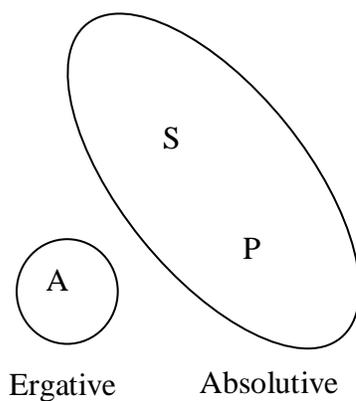
DOM occurs when the object (P) is **HUMAN**
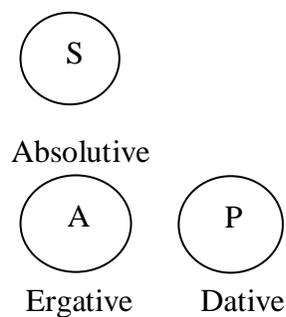
8   CLAUSE COMBINATIONS

This chapter describes clause coordination, clause subordination, and clause-chaining in Tamang.

Coordination and subordination are the two basic ways in which clauses can be combined. According to Kroeger (2005:219), "In a **COORDINATE** sentence, two (or more) S constituents occur as daughters and co-heads of a higher S. Each of the daughter clauses has the internal structure of an independent sentence, and neither is embedded in the other…. A **SUBORDINATE** clause is one which functions as a dependent, rather than a co-head." He (2005:219) also describes three basic types of subordinate clause: Complement clauses, adjunct (or adverbial) clauses, and relative clauses.

Kroeger (2004:242-43) describes clause chaining as follows, "a single sentence may consist of many clauses strung together in a 'chain,' with none of them necessarily being subordinate to any of the others."

8.1   Coordination in clauses

Payne (1997:336) describes COORDINATION as a morphosyntactic means of linking two clauses of 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."

In examples (314), (315), and (316), two clauses of equal grammatical status are connected with the conjunction *otche* 'and', *tara* 'but', or *ki* 'or'. Both clauses in all three examples have independent internal structures with different subjects and verbs.

(314) [ale   mher-ji]   otche [ŋa=e   non   mher-ji]
      [young.brother sleep-PFV] and   [1SG=FOC also   sleep-PFV]
      '[(My) younger brother slept] *and* [I also slept].'

(315) [aba   bu=ri   se-ji]   tara [ŋa ca   dim=ri   ci-ji]
      [father   field=LOC go(HON)-PFV] but [1SG TOP   house=LOC stay-PFV]
      '[Father went to the field] *but* [I stayed at home].'

(316) [bu=ri   pukhri   mu-la]   ki   [lhundi mu-la]
      [field=LOC snake   COP-NPST] or   [fox   COP-NPST]
      '[Is there a snake in the field] *or* [is there a fox]?'[54]

Verbs in coordinate clauses can have different TAM markers. For example, in (317) the verb (*dho:ga-ji* 'arrive-PFV') in the first clause has perfective aspect, while the verb (*ni-la* 'go-NPST') in the second clause has a non-past tense.

(317) the   tilma   dim=ri   dho:ga-ji   otche naŋgar
      3SG   yesterday house=LOC arrive-PFV and   tomorrow

      yambu=ri   ni-la
      Kathmandu=LOC go-NPST
      'He arrived at home yesterday and will leave for Kathmandu tomorrow.'

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[54] Sentence-final rising intonation in (316) makes this a yes/no question rather than a declarative clause (see §9.2.1).

In example (318), two clauses are connected with the comitative enclitic =*den* 'with' which means 'and/or' in this context. Both clauses have an understood theme argument which functions as the subject, a locative-marked NP argument, and a verb with the nominalizer –*ba*.

(318) [yambu=ri   ci-ba]=den   [pahaḍ=ri ci-ba]   khajiba ca   jyaba
      [Kathmandu=LOC stay-NMLZ=COMIT] [hill=LOC stay-NMLZ] which   TOP good

      ta-la
      become-NPST
      'Which one is better, [to stay in Kathmandu] *or* [to stay in the hills]?'

Example (319) shows the relation of comparison between two coordinate clauses which are conjoined by *bhanda* 'than'.

(319) [the=se   paḍhap la-ba]   bhanda [the=la   rho:-dhugu=den   klaŋ-ba]
      [3SG=ERG study   do-NMLZ] than   [3SG=GEN friend-PL=COMIT play-NMLZ]

      jhan   sem   ni-ji
      more   heart   go-PFV
      'He preferred [to play with his friends] *instead of* [studying].'

8.2   Subordination in clauses

Thompson and Longacre (1985:172) distinguish three types of subordinate clauses as Kroeger does: "those which function as noun phrases (called complements), those which function as modifiers of nouns (called relative clauses), and those which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions (called adverbial clauses)."

8.2.1 Adverbial (or Adjunct) clauses

Payne (1997:317) states that **ADVERBIAL (**or **ADJUNCT) CLAUSES** are "not complements because they do not constitute logical arguments of the main verb; rather, they simply add 'adverbial' information."

According to Kroeger (2005:227), the most common types of adverbials (or adjuncts) are adverbs (for example, *sadan* 'always' in (320)), postpositional phrases (see bracketed constituent in (321)), and adverbial clauses (see bracketed constituent in (322)).

(320) syam   [sadan] ge   la-ba=ri   a-ni
      Syam   [always] work   do-NMLZ=LOC   NEG-go
      'Syam [always] does not go to work.'

(321) syam   [som-re   litcha] ge   la-ba=ri   ni-la
      Syam   [three-day   after] work   do-NMLZ=LOC go-NPST
      'Syam goes to work [after three days].'

(322) syam   [the=la   aba   dim=ri   dho:ga=maichyam]
      Syam   [3SG=GEN   father   house=LOC   arrive= as.soon.as]

      ge   la-ba=ri   ni-la
      work   do-NMLZ=LOC   go-NPST
      'Syam goes to work [*as soon as* his father arrives at home].'

All three types of adjuncts can be used to express similar information like time, place and manner (cf. Kroeger 2005:227).[55]

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[55] Thompson and Longacre (1985:177) divide adverbial clauses into two groups: a) those substitutable for by a single word (which includes time, location, manner clauses) and b) those not substitutable for by a single word (which includes purpose, reason, circumstantial, simultaneous, conditional, concessive, substitutive, additive, and absolutive clauses).

Thompson and Longacre (1985:172) identify three ways of marking adverbial clauses in subordinate constructions:[56]

a) *Subordinating morphemes*: The two types of subordinating morphemes are grammatical morphemes with no lexical meaning (e.g., English *to*, as in *to buy beer*) and grammatical morphemes with lexical content (e.g., English *before, when, if*).

b) *Special verb forms*: Some languages have a special verb form in subordinate (dependent) clauses which may be a non-finite form that lacks subject and/or object agreement or tense, aspect, or modality marking.

c) *Word order*: Some languages have a special word order for subordinate clauses (e.g., in German, the finite verb appears at the end of the subordinate clause). There are no word order differences between subordinate clauses and matrix clauses in Tamang. SOV order occurs in both adverbial clauses and main clauses.

Tamang usually uses **SUBORDINATING MORPHEMES** with lexical content to mark adverbial clauses. Subordinating morphemes include enclitics and independent words.

Temporal adverbial clauses are formed by attaching the temporal enclitic *=ma* 'when' as in (323), *=mahenche* 'after' as in (324), or *=maichyam* 'as soon as' as in (325) to a verb root.

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[56] Kroeger (2005:222-23) explains that subordinate clauses often have structural features which are not found in main clauses or independent sentences. The verbs in subordinate clauses may be a non-finite verb form, appear in a different mood, or be a nominalized form. Certain types of subordinate clause lack a subject; a subordinate clause may have a different word order from a main clause; and it may use different types of complementizers.

(323) **[Eastern Tamang 2006:24]**

khalai=se   [rhaŋ=la   kol=che[57]   geŋ   rhi=ma]   yuŋba pin-na
who=ERG   [REFL=GEN   child=ERG   bread ask=when] stone give-NPST
'Who will give a stone [*when* his own child ask (you) for bread]?'

(324) [akhe   mha-ji   bhi-ba   samcar bor=mahenche]   jamman
[grandfather die(HON)-PFV say-NMLZ news   send=after]   all

dho:ga-ji
arrive-PFV
'[*After* (we) sent the notice that grandfather died,] everyone came.'

(325) [ŋa=i   the keti=da   [the=la   aba   si-ji]   bhisi paŋ=maichyam]
[1SG=ERG that girl=DAT [that=GEN father die-PFV] COMP tell=as.soon.as]

the   kra-ba=ri   chyai-ji
3SG   cry-NMLZ=LOC begin-PFV
'[*As soon as* I told her [*that* her father died,]] she began to cry.'

Non-finite verbs occur in Tamang subordinate clauses except complement clauses and conditional clauses with a weak verb *bhi* 'say' (see (332)). Example (325) shows that an embedded complement clause, *the=la aba si-ji* 'her father died', inside an adverbial clause can contain a verb marked with perfective aspect–*ji*.

In (326), the temporal enclitic =*ma* 'when' is followed by the complementizer, *bhanda ŋatchan* 'before than…' indicating a temporal adverbial clause.

(326) [ŋa   the=ri   dho:ga=ma bhanda ŋatcha=n]   the khla-ji
[1SG that=LOC arrive=when than   before=EMP] 3SG leave-pfv
'[*Before* I arrived there,] he had left [lit. '*Before* than when I arrived there, he had left].'

---

[57] The ergative markers =*se* and =*che* are phonologically conditioned allomorphs.

Purpose clauses are formed by attaching both the suffix –*ba* 'NMLZ' and the enclitic =*ri* 'LOC' to a verb root as in (327) (see also §5.3.5).

(327) the   [ʈaŋga rhi-ba=ri]   ŋa=la   dim=ri   kha-ji
       3SG   [money ask-NMLZ=LOC] 1SG=GEN   house=LOC come-PFV
       'He came to my house [*in order to* ask money].'

Another way to form purpose clauses is by attaching the nominalizer –*ba* to a subordinate clause verb along with the enclitic =*la* 'GEN'. This, in turn, is followed by the subordinating morpheme, *lagiri* 'in order to/ for' as in (328) where the subordinate clause verb root is the light verb *la* 'do'.

(328) [eselsi   pas   la-ba=la   lagiri] the=se   mihinet   la-si
       [SLC   pass(Eng) do-NMLZ=GEN for]   3SG=ERG hard.work(Nep) do-SEQ

       paɖhap la-ji
       study   do-PFV
       'He studied very hard [*in order to* pass the SLC (School Leaving Certificate) test].'

Reason clauses are formed by attaching the enclitic =*selama* 'because' to a verb root as in (329).

(329) [ŋa=la   kaŋ shu: kha-ba=selama]   ŋa khalaŋ-e   ni=a-ham-ni
       [1SG=GEN foot ache come-NMLZ=because] 1SG any.place-FOC go=NEG-able-PFV
       '[*Because* my foot aches,] I cannot go anywhere.'

Conditional clauses are formed by attaching the enclitic =*sam* 'COND' to a verb as in examples (330) and (331).

(330) [nam   tai=sam]   ŋa   a-ni
      [rain   fall=COND]   1SG   NEG-go
      '[*If* it rains,] I will not go.'

(331) [ŋa=den   chyam   ṭaŋga   lha:nan   mu=sam]   ŋa=i   char gaḍi
      [1SG=COMIT   together   money   many   COP=COND]   1SG=ERG   new car

      glu-la
      buy-NPST
      '[*If* I have enough money,] I will buy a new car.'

Conditional clauses can also be formed by inflecting the subordinate clause verb for tense/aspect (e.g., perfective aspect –*ji*) and attaching the conditional enclitic =*sam* 'COND' to a **WEAK VERB** like *bhi* 'say' in (332). [58]

(332) [nam   tai-ji   bhi=sam]   ŋa   a-ni
      [rain   fall-PFV   say=COND]   1SG   NEG-go
      '[*If* it rains,] I will not go.'

Concessive clauses are formed by attaching the enclitic =*sai* 'concession' to a verb as in (333).

(333) [the=den   chyam   ṭaŋga   lha:nan   a-re=sai   (non)]
      3SG=COMIT   together   money   many   NEG-COP=CONCES   also

      the=se   the=la   jha=la   bhoj   tayar   la=to:-ji
      3SG=ERG   3SG=GEN   son=GEN   party   preparation   do=need-PFV
      '[*Even though* he doesn't have enough money,] he has to prepare for his son's
      wedding party.'

---

[58] Mazaudon (2003:303) uses the term '**WEAK VERB**' for verbs like *la* 'do' and *bhi* 'say'.

8.2.2   Relative clauses

RELATIVE CLAUSES function as modifiers within an NP. Payne (1997:326) groups relative clauses into four types based on the position of the modifying clause with respect to the head noun: (a) **PRENOMINAL** (the modifying clause occurs *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).

Kroeger (2005:232-33) claims that there is a correlation between the position of the modifying clause and word order. Verb-initial languages (VSO or VOS) and most SVO languages like English have **POSTNOMINAL** relative clauses. Many verb-final languages (SOV) have **PRENOMINAL** relative clauses. Both Payne (1997:326) and Kroeger (2005:233) claim that postnominal relatives are the most common type and prenominal relatives are the preferred option only in SOV languages. This tendency may be due to a universal pragmatic principle that shifts "heavy" information to late in the clause (Payne 1997:326).

Three main strategies are used to identify the relativized function of the head noun within the modifying clause: (a) the **GAP** strategy; (b) the **PRONOUN RETENTION** (or **RESUMPTIVE PRONOUN**) strategy; and (c) the **RELATIVE PRONOUN** strategy (Kroeger 2004:176-78).

Tamang is a verb-final language with prenominal relative clauses and headless relative clauses. Tamang uses two strategies to mark the relativized function of the head noun: (a) the 'GAP' strategy is used to relativize subjects, objects, obliques, and adjuncts; and (b) the **RESUMPTIVE PRONOUN** strategy is used to relativize possessors.

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. For example, in (334), the subject of the modifying clause is missing (or 'GAPPED' which is represented by Ø) and the head noun *bidhyarthi* 'student' is interpreted as the subject of the modifying clause filling this 'GAP'.

(334) [Ø   sikchak=da   to-ba]   bidhyarthi
      [Ø   teacher=DAT   beat-NMLZ]   student
      'the student [*who* beat the teacher]'

But in example (335), the **RESUMPTIVE PRONOUN** strategy is employed to relativize the possessor of the subject. A **RESUMPTIVE PRONOUN** *the=la* '3SG=GEN' modifies *mwi* 'buffalo'. The relation of the head noun *mhi* 'person' with *mwi* 'buffalo' is that *mhi* 'person' is the possessor of *mwi* 'buffalo'.

(335) ŋa=i   [*the=la*   mwi=Ø   birami ta-ba]   mhi=da   mraŋ-ji
      1SG=ERG [3SG=GEN buffalo=ABS sick   become-NMLZ] person=DAT see-PFV
      'I saw a man [*whose* buffalo was sick].'

8.2.2.1 Relativization of subjects

Example (336) shows that 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 (337), the head noun *mhi-gade* 'person-PL' is gapped or missing inside the modifying clause, and the gapped argument is the subject of the modifying clause.

(336) [Ø   ŋa=da   maya   la-ba]   keti   ca   korian   hin-na
      [Ø   1SG=DAT   love   do-NMLZ]   girl   TOP   Korean   COP-NPST
      'The girl [*who* loves me] is a Korean.'

(337) **[Kathmandu 6]**
      [Ø   yambu=ri   ci-ba]   mhi-gade   ca   lha:nan   sahu-gade   hin-na
      [Ø   Kathmandu=LOC   stay-NMLZ] person-PL   TOP   many   owner-PL   COP-NPST
      'A lot of people [*who* stay in Kathmandu] are rich people.'

8.2.2.2 Relativization of primary and secondary objects

In example (338), 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 *bhri-ba* 'write-NMLZ'. 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 (339), the object of the transitive verb *bha-ba* 'bring-NMLZ' is gapped inside the modifying clause. The head noun *kwan=Ø* 'cloth' is understood as filling this gap.[59]

(338) [the=se   Ø   bhri-ba]   tam=Ø   cu   kitab=ri   mu-la
      [3SG=ERG   Ø   write-NMLZ] story=ABS   this   book=LOC   COP-NPST
      'The story [*which* he wrote] is in this book.'

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[59] The normal word order is SO₂OV; however, in (339), the word order in the main clause is OSO₂V. See §8.2.2.3 for an explanation of the word order in clauses like (339).

(339) **[Birth 85]**

[asyaŋ=se Ø bha-ba] kwan=Ø am=se kol=da kwan-na
[uncle=ERG Ø bring-NMLZ] cloth=ABS mother=ERG child=DAT dress-NPST
'The mother dresses (her) child with the clothes [*which* the uncle has brought].'

Example (340) is a simple ditransitive clause. Both the primary object (the theme) and the secondary object (the recipient) of ditransitive clauses can be relativized. In (341), the primary object is gapped inside the modifying clause and the head noun *samcar* 'news' fills the gap inside the modifying clause. In (342), the secondary object is gapped inside the modifying clause, and the head noun *mhi-dhugu* 'person-PL' is interpreted as the secondary object inside the modifying clause.

(340) the=se mhi-dhugu=da samcar=Ø pwi-ji
3SG=ERG person-PL=DAT news=ABS send-PFV
'He sent the news to the people.'

(341) [the=se mhi-dhugu=da Ø pwi-ba] samcar
[3SG=ERG person-PL=DAT Ø send-NMLZ] news
'the news [*which* he sent to the people]'

(342) [the=se Ø samcar=Ø pwi-ba] mhi-dhugu
[3SG=ERG Ø news=ABS send-NMLZ] person-PL
'the people [*to whom* he sent the news]'

8.2.2.3 Relativization of oblique arguments

Oblique arguments can also be relativized. In (343), the enclitic case marker *=ri* 'locative' indicates that the noun phrase *thareŋ=la namsa* 'remote village' is a goal since *ni-ji* 'go-PFV' is a motion verb. In (344) the goal NP 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.

(343) ŋa=la   aŋa   thareŋ=la namsa=ri   ni-ji
      1SG=GEN   young.sister   far=GEN   village=LOC go-PFV
      'My younger sister went to a remote village.'

(344) [ŋa=la   aŋa   Ø ni-ba]   namsa= Ø   thareŋ mu-la
      [1SG=GEN young.sister Ø go-NMLZ] village=ABS   far   COP-NPST
      'The village [*to which* my younger sister went] is far.'

In (345), the enclitic case marker *=gyamse* 'ablative' indicates that the noun phrase *amerikan* 'American' is a source. In (346) the source NP is gapped inside the modifying clause, and the head noun *amerikan* 'American' is interpreted as the ablative argument inside the modifying clause. The NP *amerikan* 'American' is the subject of the matrix verb so it receives absolutive case.

(345) rhaŋ=se   amerikan=gyamse rho:=Ø   mhai-ji
      2SG(HON)=ERG   American=ABL   help=ABS   ask-PFV
      'You asked a help from an American.'

(346) [rhaŋ=se   Ø rho:=Ø   mhai-ba] amerikan=Ø   the=la   aba=Ø
      [2SG(HON)=ERG Ø help=ABS ask-NMLZ] American=ABS 3SG=GEN father=ABS

      hin-na
      COP-NPST
      'The American [(*from whom*) you asked help] is his father.'

The enclitic case marker *=se* 'INSTR' in (347) and (349) indicates that the noun phrases *sabun* 'soap' in (347) and *goja* 'big.knife' in (349) are instruments. In (348) and (350), the instrumental NP is gapped inside the modifying clause, and the head noun

sabun 'soap' in (348) and *goja* 'big.knife' in (350) is interpreted as the instrument argument inside the modifying clause. [60] The NPs *sabun* 'soap' in (348) and *goja* 'big.knife' in (350) function as the object of the matrix verb so they receive absolutive case.

(347) ram=se   sabun=se   kwan=Ø   khru-ji
       Ram=ERG   soap=INSTR   clothes=ABS   wash-PFV
       'Ram washed the clothes with a soap.

(348) namyuŋ=se   [ram=se   Ø   kwan=Ø   khru-ba]   sabun=Ø   ca-ji
       mouse-ERG   [Ram=ERG   Ø   clothes=ABS   wash-NMLZ]   soap=ABS   eat-PFV
       'A rat ate the soap [(*with which*) Ram washed the clothes].'

---

[60] Another way to express an instrumental oblique is to add a light verb *prayog laba* 'to make use of'. Example (a) contains one relative clause embedded in another relative clause. The noun *sabun* 'soap' is the object of the main clause, the head of the outermost relative clause, and the object of the light verb *prayog laba* 'to make use of' inside the relative clause. The noun *dhwi=ri* 'time=LOC' is the head of the innermost relative clause. It functions as a temporal adjunct inside this embedded clause. However, example (a) does not contain an oblique instrument which is relativized, but, instead, it has an object *sabun* 'soap' which is relativized. The oblique instrument is promoted to object which is easier to relativize according to the **ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY** (see §8.2.2.5).

(a) namyuŋ=se   [[ram=se   Ø   kwan=Ø   khru-ba]   dhwi=ri   Ø
     mouse-ERG   [[Ram=ERG   Ø   clothes=ABS   wash-NMLZ]   time=LOC   Ø

     prayog   la-ba]   sabun=Ø   ca-ji
     use(Nep)   do-NMLZ   soap=ABS   eat-PFV
     'A rat ate the soap [*which* Ram used at the time [(*when*) he washed the clothes]].

Similarly, example (b) contains one relative clause embedded in another relative clause. The noun *goja* 'big.knife' is the object of the main clause, the head of the outermost relative clause, and the object of the light verb *prayog laba* 'to make use of' inside the relative clause. The noun *dhwi=ri* 'time-LOC' is the head of the innermost relative clause. It functions as a temporal adjunct inside this embedded clause. Example (b) does not contain an oblique instrument which is relativized; instead, it has an object *goja* 'big.knife' which is relativized.

(b) [[the=se   Ø   mwi   sai-ba]   dhwi=ri   Ø   prayog   la-ba]
     [[3SG=ERG   Ø   buffalo   kill-NMLZ]   time=LOC   Ø   use(Nep)   do-NMLZ]

     goja=Ø   the=la   am=se   bhyaŋ-ji
     big.knife=ABS   3SG=GEN   mother=ERG   throw.away-PFV
     'His mother threw away the knife [*which* (he) used at the time [(*when*) he killed the buffalo]'.

(349) the=se   goja=se   mwi=Ø   sai-ji
      3SG=ERG   big.knife=INSTR buffalo=ABS kill-PFV
      'He killed the buffalo with a knife.'

(350) the=la   am=se   [the=se Ø mwi=Ø   sai-ba]   goja=Ø
      3SG=GEN mother=ERG   [3SG=ERG Ø buffalo=ABS kill-NMLZ] big.knife=ABS

      bhyaŋ-ji.
      throw.away-PFV
      'His mother threw away the knife [(*with which*) he killed the buffalo].'

In examples (348) and (350), the constituents in the main clause occur in normal SOV order and a modifying clause is inserted just before the head noun which it modifies. These examples illustrate the most frequent word order for sentences which contain a relative clause construction. Alternatively, the modifying clause and head noun can occur sentence-initially before the subject as illustrated in (351). There is no meaning difference due to the change of sentence order. Because Tamang tends to avoid two ergative case marked NPs (e.g., *the=la am=se the=se.....*) adjacent to each other as in (350), it is preferable to use the structure in (351) which has OSV order rather than that in (350) where two ergative case marked NPs are adjacent to each other (e.g., *am=se the=se* 'mother=ERG 3SG=ERG').

(351) [the=se   Ø   mwi=Ø   sai-ba]   goja=Ø   the=la
      [3SG=ERG   Ø   buffalo=ABS kill-NMLZ]   big.knife=ABS   3SG=GEN

      am=se   bhyaŋ-ji
      mother=ERG   throw.away-PFV
      'His mother threw away the knife [(*with which*) he killed the buffalo].'

Example (352) is a simple sentence with an oblique accompaniment, *ram=den chyam* 'together with Ram'. In example (353), the head of the accompaniment phrase *mhi* 'person' is gapped and the adverbial element *chyam* 'together' is required along with the emphatic enclitic *=non* '=EMP'.

(352) syam=Ø   ca   ram=den   chyam   kyampəs=ri   paḍhap   la-ji
      Syam=ABS   TOP Ram=COMIT   together   campus=LOC   study   do-PFV
      'Shyam has studied *together with* Ram on campus.'

(353) syam=Ø   ca   [ram=se   kyampas=ri   Ø   chyam=non   paḍhap   la-ba]
      Syam=ABS   TOP [Ram=ERG   campus=LOC   Ø   together=EMP study   do-NMLZ]

      mhi   hin-na
      person   COP-NPST
      'Shyam is the person [*with whom* Ram has studied *together* on campus].'

Instead of relativizing the head of an accompaniment phrase as in (353), Tamang speakers prefer to relativize the subject as in (354) where the subject of the modifying clause is gapped. The oblique instrument is promoted to subject which is the easiest to be relativized based on **ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY** (see §8.2.2.5).

(354) syam=Ø   ca   [Ø ram=den   chyam   kyampas=ri   paḍhap   la-ba]
      Syam=ABS   TOP [Ø Ram=COMIT   together   campus=LOC   study   do-NMLZ]

      mhi   hin-na
      person   COP-NPST
      'Shyam is the person [*who* has studied *together with* Ram on campus].'

8.2.2.4 Relativization of adjuncts

Adjunct locative and temporal phrases can be also relativized as shown in (355) and (356). In (355), the head noun *ghla=ri* 'place=LOC' is a locative phrase which is gapped and relativized inside the modifying clause.

(355) [ap=se   Ø   dim=Ø   sho-ba]   ghla=ri   grhen   yhungba
     [father=ERG   Ø   house=ABS   make-NMLZ]   place=LOC   big   rock

     mu-ba   cim
     COP-PST   MIR
     'There was a big rock at the place [(*where*) father built a house] (I didn't expect that!).'

In (356), an adjunct temporal phrase is relativized. The temporal NP is gapped inside the modifying clause, and the head noun *dhwi=ri* 'time=LOC' is interpreted as a temporal adjunct inside the modifying clause.

(356) [yhaŋ=se   Ø   dim=Ø   sho-ba]   dhwi=ri   paisa   a-re
     [1PL.INCL=ERG   Ø   house=ABS   make-NMLZ]   time=LOC   money   NEG-COP
     '(We) didn't have money at the time [(*when*) we built a house].'

8.2.2.5 Relativization of possessors

Cross-linguistically, several strategies are used to relativize possessive NPs. Most SVO languages have postnominal relative clauses which may use either **RELATIVE PRONOUNS** like English *whose*, as in (357), or **RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS** like Malay *-nya* '3SG', as in (358) for relativizing possessive NPs (Kroeger 2004:177, 183).

(357) The spy [*whose* sister I love].

(358) gadis   [yang   abang=**NYA**   memukul saya] itu   sedang datang
girl   [REL   older.brother=3SG hit   1SG] that   PROG   arrive
'The girl [*whose* elder brother hit me] is coming now.'

Kroeger (2004:180-81) points out that some NP positions are harder to relativize (less accessible) than others. For example, oblique arguments are harder to relativize than subject and object. Kroeger (2004:181) describes this pattern in terms of an '**ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY**' (cf. Comrie and Keenan 1979:650):

SUBJ > OBJ > OBL > Possessor

Relativization of possessors in Tamang involves a different strategy than relativization of other grammatical relations. In example (359), a **RESUMPTIVE PRONOUN** *the=la* '3SG=GEN' modifies *jha* 'son' which is the subject of the modifying clause. The relation of the head noun *mhi* 'person' with *jha* 'son' is that *mhi* 'person' is the possessor of *jha* 'son'.

(359) ŋa=i   gyam=ri   [*the=la*   jha=Ø   birami   ta-ba]
1SG=ERG   road=LOC [3SG=GEN   son=ABS   sick   become-NMLZ]

mhi=da   syap-ji
person=DAT   meet-PFV
'I met the man [*whose* son was sick] on the road.'

However, a possessor of the object of the modifying clause cannot be relativized as in (360). Instead, the object of the modifying clause, *mwi* 'buffalo', is relativized as in (361), and the genitive marker *=la* is marked on *mwi* 'buffalo' to show the relationship with possessor *dhani* 'owner'.

(360) *ŋa=i   [theni-gade=se   *the=la   mwi=Ø   sai-ba]   mhi=da
      *1SG=ERG   [3PL-PL=ERG   3SG=GEN   buffalo=ABS   kill-NMLZ]   person=ABS

      *mraŋ-ji
      *see-PFV
      'I saw the man [*whose* buffalo they killed].'

(361) ŋa=i   [theni-gade=se   sai-ba]   mwi=la   dhani=da
      1SG=ERG   [3PL-PL=ERG   kill-NMLZ]   buffalo=GEN   owner=ABS

      mraŋ-ji
      see-PFV
      'I saw the owner *of* buffalo [which they killed].'

8.2.2.6 Headless relative clauses

In Tamang, only subject and object NP positions can be relativized in headless relative clause constructions. In examples (362) and (363), 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 (*khaba=da* 'to those who came' in (362)) because the modifying clause refers to the recipient and there is no head noun. Case markers are attached directly to the nominalized verb in a headless relative clause (cf. Mazaudon 2003:300).

(362) [Ø   kha-ba]=da   pin=to:-la
      [Ø   come-NMLZ]=DAT   give=need-NPST
      'You should give (food) to (those) [*who* come].'

(363) [sikchak=la   tam   ŋyan-ba-dhugu]=da   inam   pin=to:-la
      [teacher=GEN   story   obey-NMLZ-PL]=DAT   award(Nep)   give=need-NPST
      '(We) should give an award to those [*who* obey what the teacher says].'

In example (364), the object of the complex predicate *tha: taba* 'to know' in the modifying clause is relativized.

(364) [ŋa=i   Ø tha: ta-ba]   ca   ode=n   (hin-na)
      [1SG=ERG   Ø knowledge become-NMLZ] TOP up.to.this=EMP COP-NPST
      'This is [(*all that*) I know].'

8.2.2.7 Tense/Aspect in relative clauses

In English, the modifying clause contains a normal finite verb form, fully inflected for tense and subject agreement. But in Turkish, verbs inside the modifying clause are nominalized (Kroeger 2005:233). This is also true for Tamang where modifying clauses usually do not contain any tense/aspect markers. Only the main clause verb has tense/aspect markers, as in (365) and (366).

(365) [Ø   dim   sho-ba]   mhi=se   ap=da   paisa   mhai-*ji*
      [Ø   house   make-NMLZ] person=ERG father=DAT money ask-PFV
      'The man [*who built* the house] asked father for money.'

(366) [Ø   dim   sho-ba]   mhi=se   ap=da   paisa   mhai-*la*
      [Ø   house   make-NMLZ] person=ERG father-DAT money ask-NPST
      'The man [*who builds/built* the house] will ask father for money.'

However, Watters (2002:202) pointed out that in Kham, some aspect marking is possible when the subject of the modifying clause is relativized. In Tamang, progressive aspect is possible either when the subject (see (367) and (368)) or the object (see (369) and (370)) of the modifying clause is relativized. The progressive suffix *–ban* or *–baigen* occurs with the light verb *la* 'do'.

(367) [Ø dim   sho-*ban*   la-ba]   mhi=se   ap=da   kyui rhi-ji
      [Ø house   make-PROG   do-NMLZ] person=ERG father=DAT   water ask-PFV
      'The person [*who* was building the house] asked (my) father for water.'

(368) [Ø dim   sho-*baigen*   la-ba]   mhi=se   ap=da   kyui rhi-ji
      [Ø house   make-PROG   do-NMLZ] person=ERG father=DAT   water ask-PFV
      'The person [*who* was building the house] asked (my) father for water.'

(369) [sikchak=se   Ø   to-*ban*   la-ba]   bidhyarthi kra-ba   cu-ji
      [teacher=ERG   Ø   beat-PROG   do-NMLZ]   student   cry-NMLZ   begin-PFV
      'The student [*whom* the teacher was beating] began to cry.'

(370) [the=se   Ø   bhri-*baigen*   la-ba]   tam=Ø   rediyo=ri   kha-la
      [3SG=ERG   Ø   write-PROG   do-NMLZ]   story=ABS   radio=LOC   come-NPST
      'The story [*which* he is writing] is coming on the radio.'

In Tamang, all NP positions inside a modifying clause can be relativized using the gap strategy except the possessor of the subject which requires a resumptive pronoun when relativized. Only subject and object NP positions can be relativized in headless relative clauses. The verb inside the modifying clause is not marked for tense/aspect, but progressive aspect is found when the subject or the object is relativized.

8.2.3   *Complement clauses*

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES function as an argument (either subject or object) of a matrix verb (Noonan 1985:42-43; Payne 1997:313).[61] The complement clause may carry tense (**FINITE**) or it may not (**NON-FINITE**) (Kroeger 2005:220). I assume that

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[61] Dixon (2006:15) describes four criteria for recognizing a constituent as a complement clause: 1) A complement clause has the internal constituent structure of a clause, at least as far as core arguments are concerned (S, A, and O should be marked); 2) A complement clause functions as a core argument of a higher clause; 3) A complement clause will always describe a proposition; this can be a fact, an activity, or a potential state, etc.; 4) In every language which has complement clauses, they function as a core argument for verbs with meanings such as 'see', 'hear', 'know', 'believe', and 'like'.

complement clauses bear the same grammatical relation as the NP which they replace (Kroeger 2005:222), as in (371). In the first example, the NP *Mary's story* is the object of the verb *believe*. In the second example, the object is a complement clause introduced by the complementizer *that*.

(371) (a) John believes [Mary's story].
      (b) John believes [*that* the airplane was invented by an Irishman].

Tamang complement clauses are also assumed to bear the same grammatical relation as the NP which they replace. Example (372) is a transitive clause with the object being the NP *maya=la tam* 'Maya's story'. In (373), the object of the matrix verb is a complement clause with a finite (tense-bearing) verb *ni-la* 'go-NPST' which is followed by the complementizer *bhisi* whose literal meaning is 'saying'.

(372) ram=se   [maya=la   tam=Ø]   bisuwas   la-ji
      Ram=ERG   [Maya=GEN   story=ABS]   belief   do-PFV
      'Ram believed [Maya's story].'

(373) ram=se   [maya amerika=ri   ni-la   bhisi]   bisuwas   la-ji
      Ram=ERG   [Maya America=LOC   go-NPST   COMP]   belief   do-PFV
      'Ram believed [*that* Maya would go to America].'

Tamang has four types of complement clauses. The verb that occurs in the matrix clause selects the form of the complement clause (Kroeger 2005:223).

8.2.3.1 Complement clauses with the complementizer *bhisi*

The first type of complement clauses takes the complementizer *bhisi*. Most verbs of saying and knowing (e.g., verbs meaning 'realize', 'think', 'say/tell', 'hear', 'ask',

'believe', etc.) take the complementizer *bhisi,* preceded by a complement clause as in (374) to (380). The complement clause has the same internal structure as a full independent sentence, including a finite verb (e.g., perfective in (374), and non-past tense in (375)), a NP subject, normal word order, and the normal range of possible auxiliary verbs (e.g., auxiliary verb *ham* 'able' in (379), and *to:* 'need' in (380)) (Kroeger 2005:223).

(374) bakhat=se   [the=la   mwi=Ø   si-ji   *bhisi*] tha: yaŋ-ji
Bakhat=ERG   [3SG=GEN buffalo=ABS die-PFV   COMP] knowledge acquire-PFV
'Bakhat realized [*that* his buffalo died].'

(375) bakhat=se   [the=la   mwi=Ø   si-la   *bhisi*] mhan-ji
Bakhat=ERG   [3SG=GEN buffalo=ABS die-NPST COMP] think-PFV
'Bakhat thought [*that* his buffalo might die].'

(376) bakhat=se   [the=la   mwi=Ø   si-ji]   *bhisi*] ŋa=da   paŋ-ji
Bakhat=ERG   [3SG=GEN buffalo=ABS die-PFV   COMP] 1SG=DAT   tell-PFV
'Bakhat told me [*that* his buffalo died].'

(377) bakhat=se   [the=la   mwi=Ø   si-ji   *bhisi*] the:-ji
Bakhat=ERG   [3SG=GEN buffalo=ABS die-PFV   COMP] hear-PFV
'Bakhat heard [*that* his buffalo died].'

(378) jyojyo=se   [khalai=se phon=Ø   la-ji   wa *bhisi*] ŋa=da
elder.brother=ERG [who=ERG phone(Eng)=ABS fall-PFV Q   COMP] 1SG=DAT

ŋyoi-ji
ask-PFV
'Elder brother asked me [*who* called (him)].'

(379) [ap=se   dim=Ø   sho=ham-la   *bhisi*] ram=se   bishuwas la-ji
[father=ERG   house=ABS make=able-NPST COMP] Ram=ERG belief   do-PFV
'Ram believed [*that* (his) father might be able to build a house].'

(380) dipak=se   the=la   mriŋ=da   [Ø gaɖi cuŋ=to:-la   *bhisi*] samjhap
     Deepak=ERG 3SG=GEN wife=DAT [Ø car sell=need-NPST COMP] persuasion

     la-ji
     do-PFV
     'Deepak persuaded his wife [*that* (they) have to sell the car].'

8.2.3.2 Complement clauses with the nominalizer –*ba*

In the second type of complement clause, the verb takes the nominalizer –*ba* and the complement clause is case-marked by =Ø 'ABS'. The suffix –*ba* marks complement clauses which serve as the complement of a verb. The example in (381) illustrates a complement clause which functions as the subject of a matrix clause. In (381), the subject of the matrix verb *hin* 'COP' is a complement clause ending with *ca-ba* 'eat-NMLZ'.

(381) [shu   kha-ba   dhwi=ri   man=Ø   ca-ba]=Ø   lha:nan
     [sickness come-NMLZ time=LOC medicine=ABS eat-NMLZ]=ABS   very

     jyaba   hin-na
     good   COP-NPST
     'It is very good [to take medicine when sick].'

Verbs which take this take this type of complement clause are mainly perception verbs (e.g., *mraŋ* 'see', *tha: yaŋ* 'realize') and the aspectual predicate (e.g., *jin* 'finish'). Interestingly, the verb *tha: yaŋ* 'realize' has two possible types of complement clauses: 1) which has a finite verb and the complementizer *bhisi* as seen in (374), and 2) which only has the nominalizer –*ba* as seen in (384).

(382) ŋa=i   [kan   ca-ba]=Ø   jin-ji
     1SG=ERG [rice   eat-NMLZ]=ABS   finish-PFV
     'I finished [*eating* rice].'

(383) ŋa=i   [yho: kha-ba]=Ø   mraŋ-ji
      1SG=ERG   [thief   come-NMLZ]=ABS   see-PFV
      'I saw [a thief *coming*].'

(384) [ama=se   ḍhwa=la sya dhai-ba]=Ø   ŋa=i   tha: yaŋ-ji
      [mother=ERG pig=GEN   meat cook-NMLZ]=ABS 1SG=ERG knowledge acquire-PFV
      'I realized [*that* mother cooked pig's meat].'

8.2.3.3 Complement clauses with the nominalizer –*ba* and the locative =*ri*

In the third type of complement clause, the verb takes the nominalizer –*ba* and the complement clause is case-marked by =*ri* 'LOC'. When the complement clause is case-marked by =*ri* 'LOC', the matrix verb is usually a modality predicate or an aspectual predicate. The verbs in this class include *mhai* 'seek.for', *loŋ* 'afraid', *chyai* 'begin', etc., as in (385) to (387). The matrix clause subject *jha* 'son' in (385) and *parkas* 'Parkas' in (387) are marked for ergative case =*se* because these clauses are transitive. The complement clause functions as an object of the matrix verb *mhai* 'seek.for' in (385) and *chyai* 'begin' in (387). The complement clause subject is deleted because it is coreferential with the matrix clause subject.

(385) ŋa=la   jha=se   [char gaḍi calap   la-ba=ri]   mhai-ji
      1SG=GEN   son=ERG [new car   driving do-NMLZ=LOC]   seek.for-PFV
      'My son tried [*to drive* a new car].'

(386) the=Ø   [ŋyase   hoṭṭi ni-ba=ri]   loŋ-ji
      3SG=ABS   [at.night there go-NMLZ=LOC] afraid-PFV
      'He was afraid [*to go* there at night].'

(387) parkas=se   [iskul=li[62]   lop-pa[63]=ri]   chyai-ji
      Parkas=ERG   [school=LOC teach-NMLZ=LOC]   begin-PFV
      'Parkas began [*to* teach at school].'

8.2.3.4 Complement clauses with the sequential marker *–si*

In the fourth type of complement clause, the verb takes the sequential marker *–si* as in (388). The aspectual predicate *jin* 'finish' takes complement clauses whose verb is marked by either the nominalizer*–ba* as in (382) or the sequential marker *–si* as in (388).

(388) ŋa=i   [kan   ca-si]   jin-ji
      1SG=ERG   [rice   eat-SEQ]   finish-PFV
      'I finished [*eating* rice].'

8.3   Medial structure (*-si*)

Kroeger (2004:242-43) describes **CLAUSE CHAINING** as "a complex sentence pattern which is sometimes mistakenly identified as a serial verb construction (SVC)." He distinguishes clause chaining from serial verbs. Serial verbs involve sequences of verbs, whereas clause chaining involves sequences of clauses. Clause chaining is primarily found in verb-final (SOV) languages.[64] According to Kroeger (2004:243), only the last verb in the chain carries complete inflectional marking for tense, aspect, and

[62] The locative case marker =*li* is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of =*ri* 'LOC'.
[63] The suffix *–pa* is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of the nominalizer *–ba*.
[64] Longacre (2007:417) states that medial-final chaining is found in OV languages, while initial-consecutive chaining is found in VO languages (VSO and SVO). He claims that the "difference between medial-final chaining and initial-consecutive chaining is that while the final head-clause is regularly present in well-formed medial-final structures, in initial-consecutive chaining the initial head clause is obligatorily present in some languages but present or absent in other languages."

modality and verbs in the non-final clauses (**MEDIAL VERBS**) take a reduced set of tense markers.

In Tamang, there are no tense markers in medial verbs but only sequential marker –*si*: in (389), *….re:-si ...khru-si…. ca-si….. ni-ji* 'Getting up, washing (hands and face), eating, and then (he) went'. Only the last verb *ni* 'go' has the perfective suffix –*ji.*; in (390) *….phep-kha-si ....chyoi-ji* '(father) came…, and then (he) ate.'; in (391) *....ŋyoi-si…...paŋ-ji* 'after calling,….told…'

The difference between complement clauses with the sequential marker –*si* as in (388) and medial structures with –*si* as in (389) to (391) is that complement clauses are selected by matrix predicates but medial clauses are not.

As found by DeLancey (2003a:283) in Lhasa Tibetan, it is common in Tamang clause chains for all arguments of the second and third clauses to be present in the first clause, and thus omitted in the second and third clauses. For example, in (390), the subject *aba* 'father' of the first clause is omitted in the second and third clauses.

(389) [shyo=ri   re:-si]   [ya li: khru-si] [kan ca-si] [skul=ri   ni-ji]
morning=LOC get.up-SEQ hand face wash-SEQ rice eat-SEQ school=LOC go-PFV
'Getting up in the morning, washing hands and face, eating rice, and then (I) went to school.'

(390) [aba   ŋyase   dim=ri   phep-kha-si]   [chya   sol-si]
father   at.night   house=LOC come(HON)-come-SEQ   tea   drink(HON)-SEQ

[sol   chyoi-ji]
rice(HON)   eat(HON)-PFV
'Father came home at night, drank tea, and ate the rice.'

(391) [jamman   gla   gik=ri   ŋyoi-si]   [tam   paŋ-ji]
      all   place   one=LOC   ask-SEQ   story   tell-PFV
      'Calling everybody in one place, (he) told a story.'

Clause chaining structures can also have different subjects in each clause; for example in (392), *aba* 'father' and *ama* 'mother'.

(392) [aba   ŋyase   dim=ri   dho:ga-si]   [am⁶⁵=se   kan   dhai-ji]
      father   at.night house=LOC   arrive-SEQ   mother=ERG   rice   cook-PFV
      'Father came home at night, and then mother cooked the rice.'

However, Tamang clause chains cannot contain more than two different subjects in the chain as illustrated in (393). Sentences with three clauses can contain three different subjects if only two of the clauses belong to a clause chain and the third clause is connected via the coordinating conjunction *otche* 'and' as in (394).

(393) *[aba   ŋyase   dim=ri   phep-kha-si]   [ale
      *father   at.night house=LOC   come(HON)-come-SEQ   young.brother

      re:-si]   [ama   kan   dhai-ji]
      get.up-SEQ mother   rice   cook-PFV
      'Father came home at night, younger brother got up, and mother cooked the rice.'

(394) [aba   ŋyase   dim=ri   phep-kha-si]   [ale
      father   at.night house=LOC   come(HON)-come-SEQ   young.brother

      re:-ji]   *otche*   [am=se   kan   dhai-ji]
      get.up-PFV *and*   mother   rice   cook-PFV
      'Father came home at night, and then younger brother got up. Then, mother cooked the rice.'

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⁶⁵ The word *am* is a short form of *ama* 'mother'.

Clause chaining structures can be partially negated with only some clauses in the chain being negated as seen in (395). In negated clauses, the suffix -*na* occurs instead of the sequential marker –*si*.[66] This shows that they are not serial verbs.

(395) [aba   ŋyase   dim=ri   phep-kha-si]
      father   at.night   house=LOC   come(HON)-come-SEQ

      [sol   a-chyoi-*na*]   [shim-ji]
      rice(HON)   NEG- eat(HON)-SEQ   sleep(HON)-PFV
      'Father came home at night, did not eat rice, and slept.'

The sequential marker –*si* has two different interpretations. First, it can be interpreted as a reason as seen in (396). Second, it can be interpreted as simultaneous aspect as seen in (397) (cf. Mazaudon 2003:307). The progressive –*ban* can also be used to show simultaneous aspect as in (398).

(396) the   bomo   kha-si   tam   paŋ=a-ham-ni
      3SG   anger   come-SEQ   story   tell=NEG-able-PFV
      'He became angry, and therefore (he) couldn't tell anything.'

(397) the   kola   kra-si   kra-si   ŋhye tuŋ-ji
      that   child   cry-SEQ   cry-SEQ   milk drink-pfv
      'That child drank milk crying a lot.'

(398) the   kola   kra-ban   kra-ban   ŋhye tuŋ-ji
      that   child   cry-PROG   cry-PROG   milk drink-pfv
      'That child drank milk crying a lot.'

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[66] Mazaudon (2003:307) claims that "Like the finite suffix –*ci* 'perfective aspect', -*si* indicates that the action has or will definitely happen. It cannot be negated. A negated manner clause is used instead."

8.4   Direct quote structure

In many languages, there are two ways of reporting other's words: **DIRECT**
QUOTES and **INDIRECT QUOTES.** Direct quotes contain the exact words spoken by
someone, and indirect quotes express the content of what was said, but not the exact
words of the person (Kroeger 2005:224).

Tamang forms direct quotes via the quote particle *bhisi* as in (399) to (402).
Constructions with the quote particle *bhisi* are very similar to the complement clauses
described in §8.2.3.1 which contain the complementizer *bhisi*. The main difference is that
the direct quote structure has either a first person (see in (400) and (402)) or second
person (see (399) and (401)) subject in the quote.

(399) ap=se   kol=da   "skul   ni-u"   bhisi   suŋ-ji
       father=ERG   child=DAT   son=DAT this=IMPER   QUOT   tell(HON)-PFV
       'Father said to the child, "Go to school!"'

(400) "ŋa   e:=den   chyam   ni-la"   bhisi   ama=se   suŋ-ji
       1SG   2SG=COMIT together   go-NPST   QUOT   mother=ERG   tell(HON)-PFV
       'Mother said, "I am going with you."'

(401) sahu=se   nokara=da   "koʈha sapha   la-u"   *bhisi*   kul-ji
       owner=ERG   slave=dat   [room   cleaning   do-IMPER   COMP]   command-PFV
       'The master ordered the slave [*saying*, "Clean the room!"]'

(402) ram=se   the=la   mriŋ=da   "ŋa=i   curoʈ   a-thuŋ"   *bhisi* kabul
Ram=ERG   3SG=GEN wife=DAT   1SG=ERG cigarette NEG-drink COMP promise

la-ji
do-PFV
'Ram promised his wife [*that* he would not smoke].' (cf. to smoke = lit. to drink a cigarette)

9 STATEMENTS, QUESTIONS, AND COMMANDS

Previous chapters have focused on statements which are in declarative mood. This chapter focuses on questions which are in interrogative mood and commands which are in imperative mood.

9.1 Statements

DECLARATIVE sentences in Tshangla (a language spoken in eastern Bhutan) contain a clause which has a finite verb marked with a tense/aspect marker (Andvik 2010:174-84). Tamang **DECLARATIVE** sentences which describe events also contain a finite verb which is marked with a tense/aspect marker, such as, -*ji* 'PFV' and -*la* 'NPST'. In Tamang attributive and equative clauses, non-past tense can occur without a copula as in (403) and (404). **PERFECTIVE** aspect carries the sense of the past tense as in (405), and the **NON-PAST** tense marker carries the sense of present or future tense as in (406).

(403) cu   gaḍi   jhyaba   (mu-la)
      this   car   good   COP-NPST
      'This car is good.'

(404) ŋa=la   min   madan   moktan   (hin-na)
      1SG=GEN   name   Madan   Moktan   COP-NPST
      'My name is Madan Moktan.'

(405) dipak   skul=ri   dho:ga-ji
      Deepak   school=LOC   arrive-PFV
      'Deepak arrived at school.'

(406) ale   dim=ri   ni-la
       young.brother   house=LOC go-NPST
       'Younger brother will go home.'

      Tamang statements can also take mirative, hearsay, or veridical particles.

      Payne (1997:255) claims that many languages distinguish between the expression of information that is surprising versus that which is unsurprising or expected. He glosses the form meaning 'surprise' as **MIRATIVE.** Andvik (2010:227) defines **MIRATIVITY** as "an utterance conveying information which is new or surprising to the speaker, or somehow unassimilated into his knowledge structure." Tamang examples with the mirative particle –*cim* are shown in (407) and (408).

(407) rhi=ri   cyan   mu-ba   cim
       jungle=LOC tiger   COP-PST MIR
       'There was a tiger in the jungle! (I didn't expect that!)'

(408) ap=se   Ø dim=Ø   sho-ba   ghla=ri   grhen yhungba
       father=ERG Ø house=ABS make-NMLZ place=LOC big   rock

       mu-ba   cim
       COP-PST   MIR
       'There was a big rock at the place where father built a house! (I didn't expect that!)'

      Declarative sentences also use particles to indicate reported speech, or certainty. For example, the "reported speech" particle *ro* expresses indirect knowledge (**HEARSAY**). The information is reported by someone and the speaker is not sure of the accuracy of the statement (Varenkamp to appear:82).

(409) asyaŋ tini   kha-la   ro
     uncle today come-NPST INDIR
     'It is said that uncle is coming today.'

(410) the=se   mwi=la   sya   ca-ji   ro
     3SG=ERG buffalo=GEN   meat   eat-PFV INDIR
     'It is said that he ate the buffalo meat.'

The particle *ga* indicates certainty or **VERIDICAL** status which expresses "an increased intensity of the truth of the proposition" (Payne 1997:254). In English this veridical status may be indicated with "no really," "I'm sure about this," "in fact," "no way!" or "definitely not" (Varenkamp to appear:81-82).

(411) cu   the=la   mwi   hin-na?   a-hin-ba   ga
     this 3SG=GEN   buffalo COP-NPST NEG-COP-PST VERID
     'Is this his buffalo? No, it is definitely not.'

(412) **[Kathmandu 57]**
     yhaŋ=se   du:kha   la-si   ge   la   a-ham-ji
     1PL.INCL=ERG struggle   do-SEQ   work   do   NEG-able-PFV

     bhi=sam   ca-ba=ri   sutta   a-yo-ba   ga
     say=COND   EAT-NMLZ=LOC even   NEG-be.enough-PST VERID
     'If (we) ourselves are not able to work hard, there *certainly* will not be enough (food for us) to eat.'

Both mirative and hearsay can be expressed in questions as in (413) and (414), but veridical particle cannot occur in question as seen in (415).

(413) asyaŋ tini   kha-la   ro?
     uncle today come-NPST INDIR
     'Is it said that uncle is coming today?'

(414) rhi=ri   cyan   mu-ba   cim?
      jungle=LOC tiger   COP-PST   MIR
      'Was there a tiger in the jungle? (I didn't know that!)'

(415) *ca-ba=ri   sutta   a-yo-ba   ga?
      *EAT-NMLZ=LOC   even   NEG-be.enough-PST   VERID
      'Will there *certainly* not be enough (food for us) to eat?'

9.2   Questions

An interrogative sentence functions as a request for information or confirmation of the speaker's understanding of a state of affairs (Andvik 2010:192). The two basic types of interrogative sentences are yes-no questions and content questions. Kroeger (2005:203) describes yes-no questions as 'closed questions,' because the set of possible answers is closed, containing just two members (*yes* and *no*). On the other hand, content questions are 'open questions,' because the set of possible answers is open, with no limit to the number of possible responses. The most important difference between these two types of questions is that content questions contain a question word whereas yes-no questions do not.

9.2.1   *Yes-No questions*

Kroeger (2005:203) states, "Since yes-no questions do not contain a question word, there must be some other means of distinguishing them from simple declarative sentences." He lists commonly used devices for marking yes-no questions according to their frequency: (a) intonation; (b) clitics or particles; (c) verbal affix (interrogative mood); and (d) change in word order.

Tamang uses intonation or a question particle to indicate yes-no questions. The following examples show that the normal declarative sentence in (416) and (418) has the same form as the yes-no question in (417) and (419) apart from sentence-final rising intonation. There is no difference in word order or verb morphology between the two types of sentences.

(416) the=se   kan=Ø   ca-ji
       3SG=ERG   rice=ABS   eat-PFV
       'He/She ate rice.'

(417) the=se   kan=Ø   ca-ji?
       3SG=ERG   rice=ABS   eat-PFV
       'Did he/she eat rice?'

(418) e:=la   gaɖi   mu-la
       2SG=GEN   car   COP-NPST
       'You have a car.'

(419) e:=la   gaɖi   mu-la?
       2SG=GEN   car   COP-NPST
       'Do you have a car?'

Another way to form yes-no questions is to place the question particle *wa* or *ki* at the end of the sentence as in (420) to (423) or the question particle *na* in sentence initial position as in (424), indicating speaker's doubt or uncertainty.

(420) the=se   kan=Ø   ca-ji   wa?
       3SG=ERG   rice=ABS   eat-PFV   Q
       'Did he/she eat rice? (I am not sure.)'

(421) ŋa=la   jha=da   then-dhugu=se   man   la-la   wa?
       1SG=GEN   son=DAT   3PL-PL=ERG   respect   do-NPST   Q
       'Do they respect my son? (I am not sure.)'

(422) rhi=ri   cyan   mu-ji   wa?
jungle=LOC   tiger   COP-PFV   Q
'Was there a tiger in the jungle? (I am not sure.)'

(423) **[development 38]**
Jambuliŋ=la   ŋatcha   nepal   ŋo   se-la   ki
world=GEN   before   Nepal   notice   know-NPST Q
'Might Nepal be well-known to the world?'

(424) **[lost cow 47,49]**
na[67]   akhe=la   molam=se   mu-ji?
Q   grandfather=GEN   blessing=due.to   COP-PFV

na   rhaŋ=la   karma=se   mu-ji?
Q   REFL=GEN   fate=due.to   COP-PFV
'Is (this) due to my grandfather's blessing or due to my own fate? (I am not sure.)'

The copula *mu* can be marked with *–ji* 'perfective' when it occurs with the particle *wa* as in (422) or *na* as in (424). Interestingly, the copula *mu* takes the past tense *–ba* at the end of declarative mood sentences as seen in (425). However, the copula verb *mu* cannot occur with the **PERFECTIVE** aspect marker *–ji* in declarative mood as shown in (426).

(425) rhi=ri   cyan   mu-ba
jungle=LOC   tiger   COP-PST
'There was a tiger in the jungle.'

(426) *rhi=ri   cyan   mu-ji
*jungle=LOC   tiger   COP-PFV
'There was a tiger in the jungle.'

---

[67] The presence of a clause-intial question particle is typologically unusual.

9.2.2   Content questions

"In content (or information) questions, a question word replaces one of the constituents of the corresponding declarative sentence" (Kroeger 2005:205). The question word in the sentence may appear either at the beginning of the sentence like English or in the same place where the constituent which is replaced by a question word normally would occur in a declarative sentence (Kroeger 2005:205).

Tamang content question words (*hala* 'who', *haima 'when'*, *hanaŋ* 'where', *tiga* 'what', *haraŋba* 'how', and *kade* 'how much/many') except *tikda* 'why' occur in the same place where the constituent which it replaces would occur in a declarative sentence.

Example (427) shows the position of each constituent in a declarative sentence. In example (428), *hala* 'who' replaces *aba* 'father' in the subject position and is marked with ergative case. In example (429), *haima* 'when' replaces *syo=ri* 'in the morning'. In example (430), *hanaŋ* 'where' replaces *bajar=ri* 'in the market'. In example (431), *tiga* 'what' replaces *nho* 'garlic'. The question word *hala* 'who' has the ergative case marker *=che* as in (428) because it functions as a subject of the clause, and *tiga* 'what' has the absolutive case marker as in (431) because it functions as an object of the clause.

(427) ap[68]=se   syo=ri   nho=Ø   glu-ba=ri   bajar=ri   se-ji
     father=ERG morning=LOC garlic=ABS buy-NMLZ=LOC market=LOC go(HON)-PFV
     'Father went to the market to buy garlic in the morning.'

---

[68] The noun *ap* is a short form of *aba* 'father'.

(428) hal[69]=che   syo=ri   nho=Ø   glu-ba=ri   bajar=ri   se-ji?
       who=ERG   morning=LOC garlic=ABS buy-NMLZ=LOC market=LOC go(HON)-PFV
       'Who went to the market to buy garlic in the morning?'

(429) ap=se   haima   nho=Ø   glu-ba=ri   bajar=ri   se-ji?
       father=ERG when   garlic=ABS buy-NMLZ=LOC market=LOC go(HON)-PFV
       'When did father go to the market to buy garlic?'

(430) ap=se   syo=ri   nho=Ø   glu-ba=ri   hanaŋ   se-ji?
       father=ERG morning=LOC garlic=ABS buy-NMLZ=LOC where   go(HON)-PFV
       'Where did father go to buy garlic in the morning?'

(431) ap=se   syo=ri   tig[70]=Ø   glu-ba=ri   bajar=ri   se-ji?
       father=ERG morning=LOC what=ABS buy-NMLZ=LOC market=LOC go(HON)-PFV
       'What was father going to buy (when) he went to the market in the morning? [lit.
       Father went to the market in the morning to buy *what*?]'

The usage of the question word *tikda* 'why' is different from other question words. When *tikda* precedes the verb *se-ji* 'go(HON)-PFV' as in (432), the speaker is asking the reason for going and receives an answer like (433). The question word *tikda* 'why' places the focus on the following word when the following word has a distinguished strong accent. In example (434), when *tikda* 'why' precedes *ap=se* 'father=ERG', the meaning is 'Why did *father* (as opposed to someone else) go to the market in the morning?' In example (435), when *tikda* 'why' precedes *syo=ri* 'morning=LOC', the meaning is 'Why did father go to the market *in the morning* (not another time)?' In example (436), when *tikda* 'why' precedes *bajar=ri* 'market=LOC', the meaning can be 'Why did father go *to the market* (not to another place) in the morning?'

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[69] A question word *hal* is a short form of *hala* 'who'.

[70] A question word *tig* is a short form of *tiga* 'what'.

(432) ap=se   syo=ri   bajar=ri   [tikda]   se-ji?
     father=ERG morning=LOC   market=LOC   [why]   go(HON)-PFV
     'Why did father go to the market in the morning?'

(433) ap=se   syo=ri   bajar=ri   [nho=Ø   glu-ba=ri]   se-ji
     father=ERG morning=LOC market=LOC   [garlic=ABS buy-NMLZ=LOC] go(HON)-PFV
     'Father went to the market in the morning [to buy garlic].'

(434) [tikda]   *ap=se*   syo=ri   bajar=ri   se-ji?
     [why]   father=ERG   morning=LOC   market=LOC   go(HON)-PFV
     'Why did *father* (as opposed to someone else) go to the market in the morning?'

(435) ap=se   [tikda]   *syo=ri*   bajar=ri   se-ji?
     father=ERG [why]   morning=LOC   market=LOC   go(HON)-PFV
     'Why did father go to the market *in the morning* (not another time)?'

(436) ap=se   syo=ri   [tikda]   *bajar=ri*   se-ji?
     father=ERG morning=LOC [why]   market=LOC   go(HON)-PFV
     'Why did father go *to the market* (not to another place) in the morning?'

Tamang uses rising intonation for content questions as it does for yes-no questions; however, there are no tense or aspectual differences between declarative and interrogative clauses.

9.3   Commands

Commands always have a second person actor which functions as the subject of the sentence. Imperative clauses frequently lack a subject NP because the subject includes the person to whom the command is addressed. Furthermore, imperative verbs are frequently not inflected for agreement in person with the subject (Kroeger 2005:199). Imperative verbs are also not normally inflected for tense, because an imperative usually refers to immediate future (Kroeger 2005:200).

Tamang imperative verbs are not inflected for tense, aspect, or person. However, they are marked for imperative mood by a suffix which has two phonologically-conditioned allomorphs, *-u* and *-go*. The allomorph *-u* attaches to verb roots which end in a short vowel as in (437) to (439), whereas the allomorph *-go* attaches to verb roots which end in a consonant as in (440), a long vowel as in (441), or a diphthong as in (442).

(437) cu=ri   ci-u
      this=LOC   sit=IMPER
      'Sit down here!'

(438) cu=ri   kha-u
      this=LOC   come-IMPER
      'Come here!'

(439) ŋa=da   kyui   bha-u
      1SG=DAT   water   bring-IMPER
      'Bring me some water!'

(440) mrap   ʈhoŋ-go
      door   open-IMPER
      'Open the door!'

(441) dhoŋ   tha:-go
      tree   cut-IMPER
      'Cut the tree!'

(442) sikchak=da   ŋyoi-go
      teacher=dat   ask-IMPER
      'Ask the teacher!'

9.3.1 Hortative

In some languages, the 'imperative' form of the verb can take first or third person agreement markers. These are not real commands. The first person forms have a hortative sense and the third person forms function as optatives (Kroeger 2005:201).

Hortative mood is marked by the suffix -*ge* which implies an invitation for the listener to join the speaker in the activity indicated, as in English 'let's….' (Andvik 2010:185). Hortative mood only occurs when the subject has a first person plural reference as in (443) to (445).

(443) yhaŋ   ghandi=la   kyamsaŋ-paʈʈi   ni-ge
      1PL   lake=GEN   opposite-side   go-HORT
      'Let's go to the opposite side of the lake!'

(444) jamman   bhanda   ŋatcha   hala   dho:ga-la   cya-ge
      all   than   before   who   arrive-NPST   see-HORT
      'Let's see who will arrive first among all!'

(445) cu=ri   chapro   som   sho-ge
      this=LOC   shelter   three   make-HORT
      'Let's make three shelters here!'

9.3.2 Optative

Optative mood is marked by the suffix –*gai* which expresses a wish or desire of the speaker, as in English 'may he….' (Andvik 2010:186). Optative examples are shown in (446) to (448).

(446) jamman   mhi-dhugu=se   the   naŋsal   mraŋ-gai
       all   person-PL-ERG   that   light   see-OPT
       'May all people see that light!'

(447) en-dhugu=se   cu   tam   tha: yaŋ-gai
       2PL-PL=ERG   this   story   knowledge   acquire-OPT
       'May you know this matter (or story)!'

(448) "e: kham-gai"   bhi-ba   ŋa=la   sem   mu-la
       2SG   be.healed-OPT say-NMLZ   1SG=GEN   heart   COP-NPST
       'I am hoping you may be healed [lit. I have a heart of thinking that "may you be healed!"]'

10   CONCLUSION

Eastern Tamang is an SOV Tibeto-Burman language. Like most other SOV Tibeto-Burman languages, Eastern Tamang has postpositions rather than prepositions, places relative clause before the head noun, places postpositional phrases before the verb, places genitive modifiers before the possessed noun, and has clause-final markers for subordinate clauses (cf. Dryer 2003:43).

Tamang has twenty-four phonemic consonants and five phonemic vowels with tone playing a marginal role since it applies to a limited amount of vocabulary. Fortis and lenis consonants (both stops and affricates) contrast in word initial position. The syllable structure of Tamang is (C)(C)V(X), where X is either a consonant or a vowel.

The language has only one prefix, the negative *a-*. Suffixes mark tense, aspect, and modality on verbs and auxiliaries, and plural number on nouns and pronouns.

Most verbs are simple monosyllabic roots; however, verbs like *kha* 'come' and *ni* 'go', can combine with another verb to form compound verb stems. Verbs are not inflected for agreement. The copula verb *hin* occurs in equative clauses, while other clause types with non-verbal predicates take the copula *mu*.

Most modifiers precede the head noun within NPs. Pre-nominal modifiers include adjectives, a demonstrative, a numeral phrase, a possessor, or a modifying clause. Numeral phrases can either precede or follow the head noun.

The suffix *-ba* functions as a nominalizer when it marks citation forms, complement clauses, relative clauses, and main verbs followed by an auxiliary. However, it also marks past tense on copular verbs.

Tamang, like other Tibetan languages, has a large set of complex predicates, which consist of a noun together with the semantically 'light' verb *la* 'do'. Tamang auxiliary verbs are used to indicate ability, benefactive, permissibility, and necessity.

The case marking system is conditioned by HUMANNESS. Tamang has an ergative-absolutive case marking pattern on S, A, and P when the object is NON-HUMAN, but it has TRIPARTITE pattern when the object is HUMAN. Intransitive subjects and transitive objects receive absolutive (zero-marking) case, while transitive human objects and secondary objects in ditransitive clauses receive dative case.

Tamang usually uses subordinating morphemes with lexical content to mark adverbial subordinate clauses. With the exception of complement clauses, verbs in subordinate clauses are non-finite.

In relative clauses, two strategies are used to identify the relativized function of the head noun inside the modifying clause. If the subject, the 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 place of the possessor.

This thesis has shown that clitics play a significant role in the grammar of Tamang. Case marking enclitics are phrasal affixes which attach to the end of phrases

and certain types of subordinate clauses. Auxiliary verbs can cliticize to the end of main verbs, and several subordinating morphemes are enclitics which attach to the end of subordinate clauses. I conclude that the placement of all clitics is at the right edge of syntactic constituents. Since Tamang is a head-final language, all enclitics appear to be syntactic heads in some sense which suggests avenues for further research.

APPENDIX 1: MONKEY STORY

(449) cu   katha: kheti bare=la   hin-na
       this   story   field about=GEN   COP-NPST
       'This story is about a field.'

(450) uima   uima   tila   ta-ba   ro   bhi=sam
       long.time.ago long.time.ago   what   happen-PST INDIR   say=COND

       akhe   mam=se   whara=ri taya   su-ba   ro
       grandfather   grandmother=ERG field=LOC arum   plant-PST INDIR
       'Once upon a time an old man and his wife had planted arum in the field. [lit. Long
       time ago, what has happened is that a grandfather and a grandmother planted arum
       in the field.]'

(451) taya   su=malche ca   gor   ghi   hũḍi   kha-si
       arum   plant=when TOP   QUANT one   monkey   come-SEQ

       "akhe   mam   cu   taya   su-ba   ca   cu-raŋ
       grandfather grandmother this   arum   plant-NMLZ TOP   this-like

       la-si   a-hin
       do-SEQ   NEG-COP
       'When (they) planted arum, a monkey came (to them) and (said,) "Grandfather and
       grandmother! This is not the right way to plant arum."'

(452) taya   jyanalasi   blho-si   ṭapari=ri   yu-si   morab   la-si
      arum   nicely   boil-SEQ   leaf.plate =LOC put-SEQ   packing   do-SEQ

      whara=ri   the   ṭapari   lhu-si   siŋka   kya-si
      field=LOC   that   leaf.plate   put.into-SEQ   stick   drive.in-SEQ

      cinu   la-si   than=to:=mu-la   akhe   mam"
      sign(Nep)   do-SEQ   keep=need=COP-NPST   grandfather grandmother

      bhisi   hũḍi=se   paŋ-cim
      COMP   monkey=ERG   tell-MIR
      'The monkey said, "After you boil the arum well, put (it) on a leaf-plate, pack (it),
      (dig a hole), put the plate (into the hole) in the field, (cover the plate with mud),
      drive a stick into (the place), make a sign (with it), and leave it, grandfather and
      grandmother."'

(453) paŋ=malche   mamkhwi   yhaŋ=se   cu-raŋ   la-si
      tell=when   wife   1PL.INCL=ERG   this-like   do-SEQ

      taya   su-ba   a-ta-ba   cim   ro
      arum   plant-NMLZ   NEG-be.OK-PST   MIR   INDIR
      'After (the monkey) said that, (the grandfather said,) "Honey, it is said that we
      shouldn't plant arum like this.'

(454) blho=siman   ca   ṭapari=ri   yu-si   morab   la-si   whara=ri
      boil=after   TOP leaf.plate=LOC put-SEQ   packing do-SEQ   field=LOC

      su=malche   ca   ekdam   buṭṭa   ghren   ta-la   ro
      plant=when   TOP very   seedling   big   become-NPST   INDIR
      'It is said that after (we) boil (the arum), put (it) on a leaf-plate, plant (it) in the
      field, it can grow big.'

(455) the=ri   kaḍi   cinu   than-chi[71] su=to:-la   ro
      that=LOC   stick   sign(Nep)   keep-SEQ   plant=need-NPST   INDIR

      bhisi   akhe=se   paŋ-cim
      COMP   grandfather=ERG tell-MIR
      'It is said that (we) should make a sign (with a) stick there," said the grandfather.'

---

[71] The sequential enclitic =*si* and =*chi* are phonologically-conditioned allomorphs.

(456) paŋ=malche ca=ja   ta-la   anam   o-raŋ   la-si   ca
      tell=when   TOP=EMP be.OK-NPST PRT   this-like do-SEQ   TOP

      su-ge   lom   cya-ge   bhisiman   ca   the   kheppa
      plant- HORT PRT   see-HORT   COMP   TOP   that   old.man

      khwi   sallah   la-si   dim=ri   kha-si   taya   blho-si
      old.lady   discussion do-SEQ   house=LOC come-SEQ   arum   boil-SEQ

      dabye   whara=ri   o-raŋ   la-si   su=ni-cim
      again   field=LOC this-like do-SEQ   plant=go-MIR
      'After (he) said (that), the grandmother (also) said, "OK, let's plant it in this way
      and see!" (Like this,) both grandfather and grandmother discussed (it), came back
      home, boiled the arum, and went to the field to plant (it) like that.'

(457) the   o-raŋ   la-si   su-si   dabye   das   pandra   din
      that   this-like do-SEQ   plant-SEQ   again   ten   fifteen   day

      litcha ca=ja   whara=ri   phwi-ji   ta-la   bhisi   cya-ba=ri
      after   TOP=EMP   field=LOC grow-PST   become-NPST   COMP   see-NMLZ=LOC

      ni-cim
      go-MIR
      '(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)!''

(458) ni=malche=m   a-re-ba
      go=when=EMP   NEG-COP-PST
      'When (they) went (to see it), there was nothing (in the field).'

(459) hũḍi=se   ca=ja   the   blho-ba   taya-la   ṭapari   ca
      monkey=ERG   TOP=EMP   that   boil-NMLZ   arum-GEN   leaf.plate TOP

      te-si   mrenna   ca-si   hũḍi   yar-cim
      take.out-SEQ   full   eat-SEQ   monkey   run.away-MIR
      'The monkey had taken out the plate of boiled arum, ate his fill, and ran away.'

(460) taya   a-re
      arum   NEG-COP
      'There was no arum (left).'

(461) ṭapari   saksyok   ḍe-si   mrenna   taya   ca-si   ni-cim
      leaf.plate into.pieces   tear-SEQ   full   taya   eat-SEQ   go-MIR
      '(The monkey) tore the plate into pieces, ate his fill of the arum and ran away.'

(462) om   litcha   ca=ja   bhran-go   cu   hũɖi=se   ŋa=da
PRT   later   TOP=EMP   wait-IMPER   this   monkey=ERG   1SG=DAT

beman   la-cim
falsehood(Nep)   do-MIR
'Then (the grandfather said) later, "Wait, this monkey deceived me."'

(463) ŋa=la   taya   bhasakka   ca-ba-la   lagiri   ga   cu=se
1SG=GEN   arum   completely(Nep)   eat-NMLZ=GEN   for   VERID   this=ERG

phaʈʈa: tam   paŋ-cim
deceitful   story   tell-MIR
'This (monkey) told me a falsehood in order to eat my arum completely.'

(464) cu   hũɖi   ca   sai=to:-la   darem   bhisi
this   monkey   top   kill=need-NPST   now   COMP

ca   the   akhe=den   mam   sallah   la-cim
TOP   that   grandfather=COMIT   grandmother   discussion   do-MIR
'Saying, "Now (we) should kill this monkey!" the grandfather and grandmother discussed (with each other).'

(465) a   mamkhwi   e: ca   the   hũɖi   ŋyoi-ba=ri   ni-u
PRT   wife   2SG   TOP   that   monkey   ask-NMLZ=LOC   go-IMPER
'Honey, go call the monkey (to our home)!'

(466) ŋa   ca=ja   birami   sho-ʈi-la   cu=ri
1SG   TOP=EMP   sick   make-stay-NPST   this=LOC
'I will stay here pretending to be sick.'

(467) the=da   ca=ja   ŋa   birami   bhisi   paŋ-go
that=DAT   TOP=EMP   1SG   sick(Nep)   COMP   tell-IMPER
'Tell him that I am sick.'

(468) e:=la   akhe   tila   ta-ji   tila   ta-ji   nati
2SG-EMP-GEN   grandfather   what   happen-PFV   what   happen-PFV   grandson
'Grandson, what happened to your grandfather?'

(469) lu   e:=la   akhe   cya=to:-ji   nati   bhisi   paŋ-ni-u
PRT   2SG-EMP-GEN   grandfather   see=need-PFV   grandson   COMP   tell-go-IMPER
'Go tell him, "Grandson, (you) should (go) see (what happened to) your grandfather."'

(470) the hũḍi kha-la
that monkey come-NPST
'This monkey will come (after you).'

(471) the=da to-si sai=to:-ji bhisi sallah la-cim
that=DAT hit-SEQ kill=need-PFV COMP discussion(Nep) do-MIR
'They discussed (with each other), saying, "(We) should hit and kill him."'

(472) jamahenche khwi ca=ja hũḍi ŋyoi-ba=ri ni-cim
then old.lady TOP=EMP monkey ask-NMLZ=LOC go-MIR
'Then the grandmother went to call the monkey.'

(473) ni=malche hũḍi rup-ta-ji
go=when monkey meet-happen-PFV
'(She) met the monkey when (she) went (to see him).'

(474) ani aha nati e:=la akhe ca birami mu-la
and Oh grandson 2SG=GEN grandfather TOP sick(Nep) COP-NPST
'"Oh grandson, your grandfather is sick."'

(475) tila ta-ji tila ta-ji
what happen-PFV what happen-PFV
'What happened? What happened?'

(476) akhe=da bicar la-bha-u nati bhisi
grandfather=DAT thought(Nep) do-bring-IMPER grandson COMP

mam=se ca paŋ-cim
grandmother=ERG TOP tell-MIR
'"Grandson, (you should) consider your grandfather," said the grandmother.'

(477) paŋ=malche yha mam bhisi the hũḍi kha-ji
tell=when O.K. grandmother COMP that monkey come-PFV
'After (she) saying (that), the monkey came, saying, "O.K. (I will come), grandmom."'

(478) kha=malche akhe ca=ja mekuthab kuni=ri tor
come=when grandfather TOP=EMP fire.place corner=LOC above

mher-si ṭi=mu-ba
sleep-CONT stay=COP-PST
'When (the monkey) came, the grandfather (pretended to) be sleeping at the corner of the fireplace.'

(479) ani   akhe=se   ca=ja   phe   syor-cim
      and   grandfather=ERG   TOP=EMP   fart   fart-MIR
      'Then the grandfather farted.'

(480) the   hũḍi=se   ca   "a   mam   akhe=m   thaŋ   kha-cim
      that monkey=ERG   TOP Oh   grandmother grandfather=EMP   stink come-MIR
      'The monkey (said,) "Grandmom, a bad smell comes (from) grandfather!"'

(481) mam   akhe=m   nai-cim bisiman hũḍi=se   paŋ-cim
      grandmother   grandfather=EMP rot-MIR COMP   monkey=ERG   tell-MIR
      '"Grandmom, grandfather is rotten," said the monkey.'

(482) jamahenche=m   akhe=la   pal   ḍoŋre-si   kuthab=la
      then=EMP   grandfather=GEN   turn(Nep) rise-SEQ   fire.place=GEN

      myuŋgur=se   syol   ḍwi-si   the   hũḍi=da
      coal=INSTR   suddenly   pick-SEQ   that   monkey=DAT

      ḍyamma   chek=malche=m   suŋ=ri   ṭa-cim
      Bang!   hit=when=EMP   mouth=LOC   touch-MIR
      'Then, the grandfather's turn (came and he) got up, suddenly picked a hot coal
      from the fireplace, and hit the monkey (with the hot coal). Then, (the hot coal) hit
      the monkey's mouth.'

(483) o-raŋ   la-si   date=la   hũḍi=la   suŋ=ri   mlaŋ
      this-like do-SEQ   present=GEN   monkey=GEN   mouth=LOC   black

      ṭi-ba   ro
      stay-PST   INDIR
      'Since then, it is said, the present monkey's mouth became black.'

(484) cu   katha: jin-ji
      this   story   end-PFV
      'This story is finished.'

APPENDIX 2: DEVELOPMENT FOR THE TAMANG

(485) ŋa=la   min   pasaŋ   lama   hin-na
     1SG=GEN   name   Pasang   Lama   COP-NPST
     'My name is Pasang Lama.'

(486) ŋa=la   namsa   temal   gimdiŋ   kabhre
     1SG=GEN   village   Temal   Gimding   Kabhre
     'My village (is) Temal Gimding (in) Kavre (district).'

(487) lha:nan   tamaŋ   jat-kade   ʈi-ba   glha=la=n   mhi   hin=la
     many   Tamang   caste-PL   stay-NMLZ   place=GEN=EMP   person   COP-NPST
     '(I) am a man who belongs to the place where most Tamang people live. [lit. (I) am
     a man of the place where most Tamang people stay.]'

(488) the   ta-ba   talden   tamaŋ   jat=la   ghyoi
     that   become-NMLZ   due.to   Tamang   caste=GEN   language

     rimʈhim-gat=da   ŋa=da   lha:nan   maya   mu=la
     culture-PL=DAT   1SG=DAT   many   love   COP=NPST

     'Therefore, I have a great love for the language and the culture of the Tamang
     people. [lit. Due to that, I have a lot of love for the language and culture of the
     Tamang tribe.]'

(489) the   ta-ba=se   tamaŋ   jati-gade=la
     that   become-NMLZ=because   Tamang   caste-PL=GEN

     ghyoi=den   dharma=da   kharaŋ   la-si   bikas
     language=COMIT   religion=DAT   how   do-SEQ   development

     la=ham-la   bhi-ba=la   lagiri   ŋa=i   paŋ-ge
     do=able-NPST   say-NMLZ=GEN   for   1SG=ERG   tell-IMD

     la-ba   mu-la
     do-NMLZ   COP-NPST
     'So, I am going to tell (you) how (we) can develop the language and the religion of
     the Tamang people.'

(490) tamaŋ   jat   ca   ra:janiti=gyam
       tamang   caste   TOP   politics(Nep)=ABL

       ṭaŋga=gyam   rimṭhim=gyam   harek   pakcha=gyamse=n
       money=ABL   culture=ABL   every(Nep)   side(Nep)=ABL=EMP

       kairan=ri   ca   chuṭyap   la=than-ba
       history=LOC   TOP   separation(Nep)   do=keep-NMLZ

       jat-kade   hin-na
       caste-PL   COP-NPST
       'The Tamang people are people who are left out in the history (of Nepal) from the every aspect of politics, economy, and culture. [lit. Tamang is the tribe which (people) separated in the history (of Nepal) from politics, from money, from culture, from every aspect.]'

(491) tila   bhi=sam   nepal=la   bikas=la   kram=ri
       what   say=COND   Nepal=GEN   development=GEN   process=LOC

       cya-ji   bhi=sam   cu   nepal=la   bhumi=ri
       look-PST   say=COND   this   Nepal=GEN   land(Nep)=LOC

       ŋatcha=la   pal=ri   kaŋ   nhe-ba   jat
       early=GEN   turn(Nep)=LOC   foot   step.on-NMLZ   caste

       ca   tamaŋ-gade   hin-na
       TOP   Tamang-PL   COP-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.'

(492) yambu=ri=e   non   ŋatcha=n   ca   tamaŋ=la   glhe   mu-ba
       Kathmandu=LOC=also   also   early=EMP   TOP   Tamang=GEN   king   COP-PST
       'Even in Kathmandu, the Tamangs reigned first of all. [lit. Even in Kathmandu, there were Tamang kings long time ago.]'

(493) jasto   kira:t   kal   bhanda   ŋatcha   tamaŋ   glhe
       like(Nep)   Kirat(Nep)   dynasty(Nep)   than(Nep)   early   Tamang   king

       mu-ba   tamaŋ   gyalbo   mu-ba
       COP-PST   Tamang   ruler   COP-PST
       'There were the Tamang kings and rulers earlier than the Kirat dynasty.'

(494) the   gyalbo=da   sai-si   tap-ba   ca=ja
         that   ruler=DAT   kill-SEQ   tread.on-NMLZ TOP=EMP

         litcha   kha-ba   arko   jat-kade   hin-na
         after   come-NMLZ   another(Nep) caste-PL   COP-NPST
         'The other races who came later destroyed the reign of the Tamangs. [lit. It was the other races who came later to kill and tread on those (Tamang) rulers.]'

(495) the   la=ma   tamaŋ   gyalbo=la   kairan=da   byhaŋ-si
         that   do-when   Tamang   ruler=GEN   history=DAT   discard-SEQ

         jun   bibhinna   jat-kade=se   the-n=na   sa:san   sho-ji
         any(Nep) different(Nep) caste-PL-ERG that-PL=GEN reign   make-PFV
         'Thus, after discarding the history of the Tamang's rulers, the other various races established their reign.'

(496) the   ta-ba=se   nepal=la   tamaŋ   jat=da
         that   become-NMLZ=because Nepal=GEN   Tamang caste=DAT

         litcha   kha-ba   sa:sak-kade=se   ca   cu
         after   come-NMLZ   ruler(Nep)-PL=ERG TOP   this

         tamaŋ=la kairan   tamaŋ=la   ghyoi   tamaŋ=la
         Tamang=GEN history   Tamang=GEN   language Tamang=GEN

         dharma=da   ca   bali=se   naŋ=than-ji
         religion=DAT TOP   foot=INSTR   press.down=keep-PFV
         'Therefore, the rulers of Nepal who came later suppressed with (their) feet the history of the Tamangs, the langauge of Tamangs, and the religion of the Tamangs.'

(497) The=da   kaŋ=se   naŋ-si   pin-ji
         that=DAT   foot=INSTR press.down-SEQ   give-PFV
         '(They) trampled on those (history, language and religion of the Tamangs).'

(498) mar   mar   than-chi[72]   pin-ji
         downwards downwards keep-SEQ   give-PFV
         'The Tamangs are down-trodden. [lit. (They) trod (the Tamangs) down.]'

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[72] The sequential enclitic =si and =chi are phonologically-conditioned allomorphs.

(499)

the	ta-ba=se	cu	tamaŋ	jat=la	kairan	ca
that	become-NMLZ=because	this	Tamang	caste=GEN	history	TOP

datte	mu=bam[73]	grhen	mu-la
now	COP=COND	big	COP-NPST

'Therefore, the history of this Tamang tribe might be significant if (it) had existed.'

(500)

ta=sai	non	mhai=a-ham-ba	glha=ri	dho-si	ni-ji
happen=CONCES	also	seek.for=NEG-able-NMLZ	place=LOC	arrive-SEQ	go-PFV

'Though (the history of the Tamangs) exists, it is too difficult to trace it. [lit. Though (it) had happened, (it) has arrived at a place where (we) cannot trace (it).]'

(501)

the	ta-ba=se	tamaŋ	jat=la	ţaŋga
that	become-NMLZ=because	Tamang	caste=GEN	money

ra:janiti	dharma	ghyoi=den	rimţhim=da	bikas
politics	religion	language=COMIT	culture=DAT	development

la-ba=la	lagiri	ca	cur=la=n
do-NMLZ=GEN	for	TOP	this=GEN=EMP

tamaŋ-gat=se	jamman	ghikkhen	ta-si
Tamang-PL=ERG	all	one	become-SEQ

bor=to:= mu-la
send=need=COP-NPST

'Therefore, the Tamangs here (in Nepal) must move forward being united to develop their (own) economy [lit. money], politics, religion, lanaguage, and culture.'

(502)

The=e	non	tamaŋ	jat=ce	a-hin
that=also	also	Tamang	caste=only	NEG-COP

'It is not only the Tamangs (who should unite) for this (development).'

(503)

nepal=ri	tamaŋ	raŋba=n	maŋoliyan	jat=la
Nepal=LOC	Tamang	like=EMP	Mongolian	caste=GEN

mhi-gade	non	ghikkhen	ɖik-si	bhra=to:=mu-la
person-PL	also	one	fit-SEQ	walk=need=COP-NPST

'(All) the Mongolian people like the Tamangs in Nepal should also be united.'

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[73] The enclitic =bam is used for perfective subjunctive, with a meaning that "if it had existed…."

(504) cu=raŋba jat-kade ca nepal=ri lha:nan mu-la
this=like caste-PL TOP Nepal=LOC many COP-NPST
'There are a lot (of ethnic groups) in Nepal like these ethnic groups.'

(505) tara saŋkhya lha:nan a-re-ba tor=la
but population(Nep) many NEG-COP-NMLZ above=GEN

ba:man jat=se ca tamaŋ jat=da
Brahman caste=ERG TOP Tamang caste=DAT

sosan la-si ţi=mu-la
exploitation do-SEQ stay=COP-NPST
'But the high (caste) Brahmans who are the minoriy in population have exploited the Tamangs.'

(506) the sosan la-ba=da anta la-ba=la lagiri
that exploitation do-NMLZ=DAT elimination do-NMLZ=GEN for

ca cur=la lha:nan jat-kade jasto tamaŋ
TOP this=GEN many caste-PL like Tamang

guruŋ thakali rai limbu kiranti bai
Gurung Thakali Rai Limbu Kirat Bai

magar jat-kade jamma=se=n ghikkhen ta-si grhensaŋ
Magar caste-PL all=ERG=EMP one become-SEQ organization

sho-si the jat-kat=la mha-si ţi-ba
make-SEQ that caste-PL=GEN lose-SEQ stay-NMLZ

adhikar-gat=da ca kin=do-la
right(Nep)-PL=DAT TOP take=need-NPST
'To eliminate those who exploit, the numerous ethnic groups here like the Tamangs, Gurungs, Thakalis, Rais, Limbus, Kiratis, Bais, and Magras must unite and form an organization and take back the rights of those ethnic groups which have been (forgotten and) lost.'

(507) the=la lagiri theni-gade=la byabahar paribartan
that=gen for 3pl-pl=gen behavior change
la-si ŋatcha baḍhap ta=to:-la
do-seq forward advance become=need-npst
'For this, (all the ethnic groups) must move forward changing their behaviors.'

(508) tara   taman-gat=la   gor   ghi   bani   a-jyaba   mu-la
but   Tamang-PL=GEN   class   one   habit NEG-good COP-NPST
'But the Tamangs have one bad habit. [lit. But there is a bad habit of the Tamangs.]'

(509) kharaŋba   bhi=sam   gor   ghi=se   jyaba   ge
how   say=COND   class   one=ERG   good   work

la-ba=ri   mhai-ji   bhi=sam   ŋatcha=henche=la=n
do-NMLZ=LOC   seek.for-PFV say=COND   early=from=GEN=EMP

kaŋ   ghu-ba   mathaŋ   bha-ba   bani   mu-la
foot   pull-NMLZ   downward bring-NMLZ habit   COP-NPST
'It is like this, if anyone tried to do good work, there has been a habit of pulling (his) leg down since a long time ago.'

(510) cu   ca   sikcha   a-re-ba=la   karan=se
this   TOP   education NEG-COP-NMLZ=GEN reason=because

mu-la   ta-la   padhap   la-ba   a-se-ba
COP-NPST   happen-NPST   learning do-NMLZ   NEG-know-NMLZ

karan=se   mu-la   ta-la
reason=because COP-NPST   happen-NPST
'This might be due to the lack of education, due to the lack of learning.'

(511) the   bani=da   ca   sudharab   la-si   ghi=se=m
that   habit=DAT   TOP   improvement(Nep) do-SEQ   one=ERG=EMP

ghi=da   du:kha   sukha=ri   rho: la-si   rhaŋ=la
one=DAT   struggle   joy=LOC   help   do-SEQ   REFL=GEN

bikas   la-ba   patti   ŋatcha   badhap   ta=do-la
development do-NMLZ side   before   advance   become=need-NPST
'By improving those (bad) habits, each (of them) should help each other (not only) in their troubles (but) in their joy and should move forward toward the development for (their) own (ethnic groups).'

(512) the=la   lagiri   saŋbidhan=se   non   adhikar   pin-chi
        that=GEN for   constitution(Nep)=ERG also   right(Nep) give-SEQ

        ʈi=mu-la
        stay=COP-NPST
        'The constitiution has also given the right (to everyone) for that (development).'

(513) nepal=la   46   sa:la=la   jana:ndolan   litcha
        Nepal=GEN   46   ground(Nep)=GEN demonstration(Nep)   after

        jamman   jat-kat=da=e   non   rhaŋ=la   ghyoi
        all   caste-PL=DAT=also   also   REFL=GEN   language

        rimʈhim=da   mhendo   sar-si   ro-ba=raŋ   la-si
        culture=DAT   flower   blossom-SEQ   bear-NMLZ=like   do-SEQ

        bikas   la=puŋ-ba=la   lagiri   nepal=la
        development   do=PERM-NMLZ=GEN   for   Nepal=GEN

        saŋbidhan=se   chuʈ   pin-ba   mu-la
        constitution=ERG freedom give-PFV   COP-NPST
        'After the people's movement in 1990 A.D. in Nepal [lit. After the demonstration in 2046 year in Nepal], the Nepal constitution gives freedom to all the ethinc groups to develop their own languages and cultures as the flowers blossom and bear fruit (in the field).'

(514) the   saŋbidhan=se   chuʈ   pin=sai   non
        that   constitution=ERG freedom   give=CONCES also

        tamaŋ-gat=se   athaba   arko   jat-kat=se   rhaŋ
        Tamang-PL=ERG or   another   caste-PL=ERG REFL

        rhaŋ=la   bikas   la=kham-ba   a-re
        REFL=GEN   development   do=come-PFV   NEG-COP
        'Even the constitution gives freedom (to all ethnic groups), the Tamangs or other ethnic groups have not been able to pursue their own development.'

(515) the   ta-ba=se   datte   jamman   jat-kat=se
          that   become-NMLZ=because   now   all   caste-PL=ERG

          yaŋ=to:-ba   pura   adhikar   pin=ma   sarakar=se
          get=need-NMLZ   all(Nep)   right(Nep) give=when government(Nep)=ERG

          pakchapa:t   la-ba=ri   a-ta
          bias(Nep)   do-NMLZ=LOC NEG-be.OK
          'Therefore, the government should not be biased against giving full rights that all the ethnic groups which are entitled to have. [lit. Becaue of that, the government should not be biased while (it) is giving full rights that all ethnic groups should now have.]'

(516) jamman   jat-kat=da   cyocyo   la-si   jagir
      all   caste-PL=DAT   equally   do-SEQ   wage

      ca-ba=la   lagiri   sikcha   yaŋ-ba=la   lagiri
      eat-NMLZ=GEN for   education acquire-NMLZ=GEN for

      cyocyo   mauka   pin=to:-la
      equally   opportunity(Nep) give=need-NPST
      '(The government) should treat all the ethnic groups equally and give (them) an equal opportunity to employment and education. [lit. (The government) should treat all ethnic groups equally and give (them) an equal opportunity to make a wage and to have an education.]'

(517) lha:man=raŋba a-se-ba   kamjori-gade ca   yhaŋ   hin-na
      many=like   NEG-know-NMLZ   weak(Nep)-PL TOP 1PL.INCL COP-NPST
      'It is mostly we who are ignorant and weak.'

(518) yhaŋ   litcha ta-ba   karan-gade lha:nan   mu-la
      1PL.INCL   after   become-NMLZ   reason-PL   many   COP-NPST
      'There are many reasons why we are backward.'

(519)

jun	la=sai	sarakar=se	taman	jat-kat=la
any(Nep)	do=CONCES	government=ERG	Tamang	caste-PL=GEN

mha-si	ni-ba	kairan=den	rimṭhim-gat=da
lose-SEQ	go-NMLZ	history=COMIT	culture-PL=DAT

jogap	la-ji	bhi=sam	nepal=la	jamman
preservation	do-PFV	say=COND	Nepal=GEN	all

jat=la	kairan=e	non	jogap
caste=GEN	history=also	also	preservation(Nep)

ta-la
become-NPST

'Anyhow, if the government preserves the lost history and the tradition of the Tamangs, the history of all ethnic groups of Nepal will be preserved. [lit. Whatever (can be) done, if the government preserves the lost history and the tradition of the Tamangs, the history of all ethnic groups of Nepal will be also preserved.'

(520)

nepal	bhi-ba	bli	jat	36	barna=la	gor
Nepal	say-NMLZ	four	caste	36	race(Nep)=GEN	CLASS
ghi	mhendo	whara=ranba=n	hin-na			
one	flower	field=like=EMP	COP-NPST			

'Nepal is like a garden of four castes and thirty-six races. [lit.As for Nepal, (it) is like a garden of four castes and thirty-six races.'

(521)

cu	whara	naŋ=ri	mu-de-ba=n	jat-kade
this	field	inside=LOC	COP-up.to-NMLZ=EMP	caste-PL

sar-ji	bhi=sam	Nepal=la	rimṭhim	tor
blossom-PST	say=COND	Nepal=GEN	culture	above

dho:-la
arrive-NPST

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

(522)

Jambuliŋ=la	ŋatcha	nepal	ŋo	se-la	ki
world=GEN	before	Nepal	notice	know-NPST	Q

'Might Nepal be well-known to the world?'

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