

The Changing Face of Language and Linguistics in Nepal: Some Thoughts on Thangmi

Mark Turin

Himalayan Languages Project
Leiden University
The Netherlands



1. Introduction

Thangmi is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the districts of Dolakha, Sindhupalcok and Ramechhap in central Nepal by an ethnic group of the same name. The younger generation are often not fluent in their ancestral language and resort to Nepali even in conversations with other Thangmi. By this reckoning if by no other, Thangmi is an endangered language and should be given due attention by the state as well as by programmes oriented towards ethnic upliftment. Furthermore, since Thangmi is an unwritten language and the phonology does not yield easily to being rendered in the Devanagari script, it is of the utmost importance that the spoken language is recorded and described soon. Traditions are inherited orally in the Thangmi community and in this respect, the language functions as a repository of all salient features of Thangmi culture, such as origin stories, songs, clan names, rituals and jokes. In this article

I will discuss my findings on the language and provide some background information so that the Thangmi language may be better positioned in the socio-linguistic context of Nepal.

2. What's In A Name?

Choosing the correct name for an ethnic group or category in Nepal is an increasingly difficult process and the Thangmi provide a good example of this. Over the past few years, there has been a noticeable shift towards the use of ethnic names in the Nepali public arena. The process seems best summarised as a



Thangmi Guru in Dolakha District

being a move away from Nepalified names, often imposed on ethnolinguistic groups by the dominant administration, to a more concerted use of indigenous ethnonyms. An ethnonym is the name used by members of an ethnic group to refer to themselves or their language, and these are fast gaining currency in Nepal. A few examples will serve to prove the point.

The Gurung of central Nepal call themselves *Tamu* in their own language, and the Tamang Thakali of Mustang refer to themselves as *Thakali* ('people from Thak') in conversations with non-Thakali, but in their own language call themselves *Tamang*. There is a comparable situation among the Thangmi. In everyday speech, the Thangmi call their language *Thangmi Kham* or *Thangmi Wakhe*, and refer to themselves as *Thangmi*, but in elevated ritual language some shamans use the term *Thani*. The Nepali designation for the group, on the other hand, is *Thami*. In the same way as various Kiranti peoples such as the Sampang, Kulung, Bantawa and so forth have used (or been forced to use) the collective surname *Rai* in lieu of their proper clan names, so too the Thangmi people have in the past used the collective Nepalified surname *Thami* rather than opting for their respective clan names. This also happens to be the way the name appears on official Nepali census reports and statistics.

The situation is rapidly changing, however, and for the better. The ethnic group formerly known as Limbu are a case in point. For at least two generations, many of the better off Limbu families opted for the surname (or family name) *Subba*, indicating status and prestige, and sometimes even an appointment in the administration of the time. Whilst some families have chosen to keep the *Subba* title, others have turned their backs on the term in favour of something more ethnically sound. One particular favourite is *Yakthumba*, of which there are various spellings. The use of ethnically-conscious names by prominent members of the Limbu community has also encouraged others to follow suit. The popular musician Nirakar Yakthumba of the group 1974 AD is a fitting example of such a trend. Other Limbu have chosen even lesser-known names, such as *Angdembe*, and in so doing have to explain both the spelling as well as the origin of the term to most people they meet. Names, in short, are an ethnically and politically emotive issue.

Over the past few years, it has been interesting to observe how members of the Thangmi ethnic group have also embraced the ethnonym trend and have started using a variety of different

surnames. When I first started working on the Thangmi language, the only surname in circulation was the Nepalified *Thami*. In the last two years, many more prominent Thangmi have started using the ethnonym *Thangmi*. In certain situations, one now finds the use of a clan or lineage name in lieu of, or alongside, *Thami* and *Thangmi*. Examples of this would be *Sri Meghraj Simi Rishmi Thami*, the editor of a Thangmi journal entitled *Dolakhareng*; or *Devendra Dusunpere* writing in the journal *Citizen* (Nagarik); and *Prakash Thami 'Dunshupere'*, the author of a beautiful Thangmi poem in the collection *An Anthology of Poems [National Language]*. I have chosen to cite all these examples because they are the beginning of an important new trend towards ethno-linguistic awareness amongst the Thangmi community. It was pleasing to note that in the list of the 61 nationalities of Nepal on page 123 of the first volume of this journal, *Janajati*, the Thangmi feature in the list of ethnic peoples inhabiting the middle hills under the name *Thani* rather than *Thami*.

When explaining the provenance of their ethnic group, Thangmi themselves resort to explanations which have some etymological connection to their Nepalified name. Amongst other unlikely stories, I have heard explanations based on the Nepali word *tham*, meaning 'pillar, column, prop, main stem' or 'tree trunk'. The story goes as follows: one day a *bahun* saw a semi-naked stranger approaching him carrying a heavy tree trunk. When stopped and questioned about where he was going and what his name was, the man replied that he was hoping to sell the wood for grain and that he had no name. The *bahun* bought the wood for use in the construction of his house and named the man *Thami*, 'the one who carried the wooden pillar'. This account is ethnolinguistically highly unlikely, and only confirms the degree to which Thangmi culture has been assimilated into the socially and politically dominant ideology of Hindu Nepal. Moreover, I have every reason to believe that the indigenous term *Thangmi* precedes its Nepalified equivalent, *Thami*. For an ethnic group who speak a Tibeto-Burman language, the following linguistic explanation based on Tibetan would make much more sense.

The name Thangmi has two possible etymologies in Tibetan, one being *thang-mi* 'people of the steppe or pasture lands', the other being the more disparaging but potentially more plausible *mthah-mi* 'barbarians, border people', a name which original inhabitants of an area might apply to newcomers from another land. The syllable-final consonant [h] in the first syllable of the latter Tibetan term could yield a velar nasal [ng] in the given context if, in this word, the letter does

not serve just as an orthographic device. The prefixed letter [m] is not sounded in modern Tibetan. In modern Tibetan pronunciation, then, either derivation would yield *Thangmi*. It is of course unlikely that an ethnic group would chose such a negative-sounding name for themselves, but if, as I suspect, the Thangmi are a nomadic people who have only relatively recently adopted a lifestyle of sedentary farming, it is highly plausible that they would have been given such a name by the neighbouring Tibetan-speaking population.

In this article, and in all my future writings on the language and ethnic group as a whole, I shall use the native ethnonym *Thangmi* in place of the Nepalfied *Thami*, the latter being a term which the Thangmi themselves are eager to shake off.

3. Population Statistics

In the Nepal Population Census of 1991, conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics, the total Thangmi population of Nepal by 'caste/ethnic group' was recorded at 19,103. Moreover, speakers of Thangmi as a 'mother tongue' were totalled at 14,400, and 822 speakers of Thangmi as a 'second language' were recorded. Over 35 years earlier, the 1952-54 census recorded 10,240 speakers of Thangmi as a 'mother tongue', while the census of 1961 registered a slight decrease in native Thangmi speakers to 9,046. It is worthy of note that the population of ethnic groups of a comparable size in the 1950s and 1960s, such as the Chepang (1961, 9,247 speakers) and the Danuwar (1961, 11,624 speakers), have increased dramatically in number. In the 1991 census, the Chepang-speaking population was recorded at 25,000 and speakers of Danuwar at 24,000. By contrast, according to the census statistics, the Thangmi-speaking population has remained more or less the same size over the same 30-year time period.

Based on my own research among the Thangmi, I find the 1991 figures to be considerable underestimates. In some Village Development Committees (hereafter VDC) there are 2,000 to 3,000 Thangmi inhabitants. By this reckoning, it would take only five VDCs of this size to make up the alleged 14,000-strong Thangmi population. The reality is that there are many more VDCs, perhaps 15 to 20, with such sizeable Thangmi populations. A more realistic, though still conservative, population estimate would be more in the region of 30,000 for the whole Thangmi ethnic group.

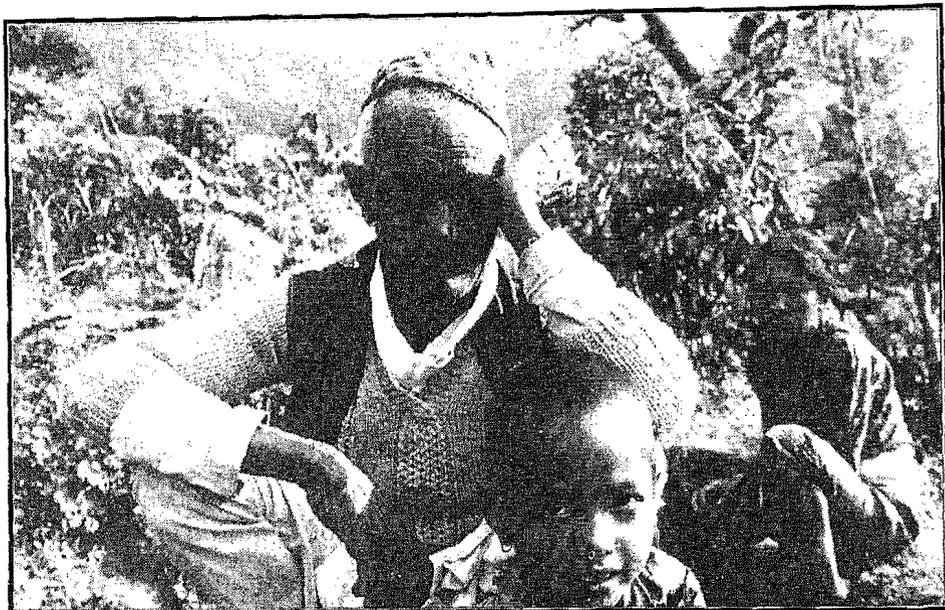
In my opinion, there are two main reasons for this discrepancy. First, ethnic Thangmi and speakers of the Thangmi language usually live in remote and inaccessible areas where population surveys are difficult to conduct with any real accuracy. Second, and perhaps more importantly, many Thangmi pass themselves off as belonging to other more prominent ethnic groups such as Tamang, and less frequently, as Gurung or Rai. The reason that they give for this is simply that since few people in administrative positions have ever heard of the ethnic group, admitting to being Thangmi may unwittingly result in a stream of questions about who they are and where they come from, such as inquiring whether Thangmi are low caste Hindus or indigenous Kiranti people. Moreover, when Thangmi introduce themselves to strangers, they are often mistaken for *kami* 'blacksmiths' or *dhami* 'folk-healer', due to the similar sounding nature of their Nepalified name, *Thami*. All the Thangmi men whom I have interviewed working in areas in which they are not native told me that when they first applied for jobs, they claimed to belong to one of the aforementioned ethnic groups and did not admit to being Thangmi. In brief then, it seems highly likely that there are considerably more Thangmi than have been officially recorded in the census.

Outside of Dolakha and Sindhupalchok, there are small Thangmi populations in at least sixteen other districts of Nepal, some of whom still speak their mother tongue. There is also a Thangmi community in north-east India, largely concentrated in Darjeeling, the product of an emigration earlier this century from the traditional homeland of the high-altitude villages in Dolakha. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* informs us that there was already a Thangmi population of 264 recorded persons in Darjeeling and 32 in Sikkim almost a century ago, a point worthy of note. According to the *Ethnologue* of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, there is even a Thangmi-speaking population in Tibet (Grimes, 1996). Unfortunately, it has been difficult to verify this interesting proposition as yet. In short then, the Thangmi deserve to be recognised as a major ethnic population of the central eastern Himalaya.

4. The History of Linguistic Scholarship on Thangmi

While various linguists have worked on the Thangmi language and commented on its genetic affiliation, there has been no in-depth phonological or grammatical analysis of the Thangmi language to

date. Thangmi was first studied by Sten Konow for the *Linguistic Survey of India* (1909) and then classified alongside Baram as forming an 'Eastern Subgroup' of the 'Complex Pronominalizing' branch of 'Himalayan Languages'. Konow's linguistic sketch, which appeared in Grierson's survey, provided a grammatical outline of Thangmi along with a list of some 200 words and short phrases. The classification, however, was based solely on the 1901 survey results collected by Brian Houghton Hodgson, most likely from Thangmi-speakers residing in India.



Thangmi Man and Grandson

In 1966, almost half a century later, Robert Shafer added his support to the earlier argument for a close genetic relationship between Thangmi and Baram by positing nine lexical similarities shared by the two languages. In Paul King Benedict's 1972 *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus*, both Thangmi and Baram are passed over without mention and are classified as belonging to a 'Himalayish' grouping within 'Tibetan-Kanauri'.

In 1970, the French linguist Geneviève Stein spent upwards of a year in remote Thangmi villages, most notably Alampu, the northernmost Thangmi speaking village. Stein, who never published her findings, correctly noted that the Thangmi speak a "pronominalized Tibeto-Burman language" but hesitated to "put it together with the Kiranti languages...because although pronominalized, it does not

present as complex a verbal morphology as these languages do, [nor] a proper dual nor an opposition inclusive/exclusive" (as cited in Miller 1997 [1979]: 116).

In 1990, the experienced Japanese linguist Sueyoshi Toba worked with informants to compile an 87-page *Thami-English Dictionary*. The list unfortunately remains unpublished, and although it is but a cursory overview of the vast Thangmi lexicon, Toba's dictionary is still the first and only work of this type dealing with the Thangmi language. For this alone Toba's work deserves mention.

In Volume 16 (1999) of the yearly journal *Nepalese Linguistics*, published by the Linguistic Society of Nepal, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Dr. Subhadra Subba Dahal published a 4-page article entitled *Thami Kinship Terms*. Although incomplete, the list of kinship terms is nevertheless an important beginning in the process of documenting the socio-linguistic aspects of the Thangmi people and their endangered language.

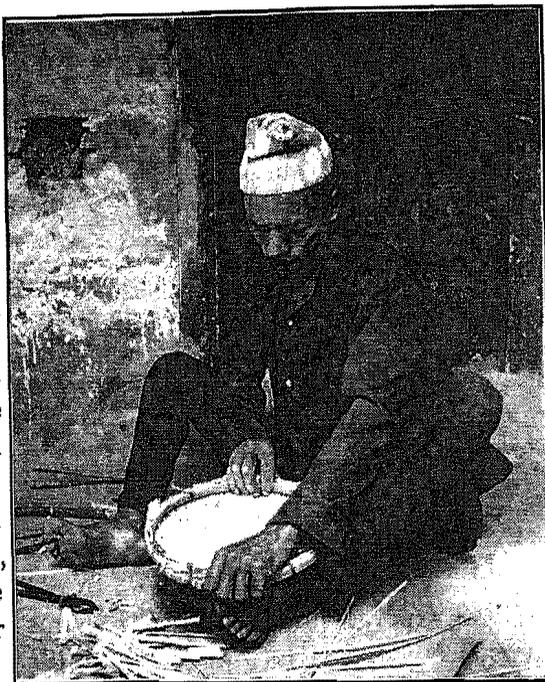
Since 1996, I have been working on the grammar of the Thangmi language as spoken in Dolakha and Sindhupalchok. My research is towards a Ph.D. in linguistics from a university in Europe, which I will publish in the form of a monograph in English, but I am at present also working on a Thangmi-Nepali-English Dictionary in modified Devanagari to be published in Nepal for the Thangmi community itself. For an abbreviated list of articles I have published on the Thangmi culture and language, please consult the references.

5. The Genetic Position of Thangmi within Tibeto-Burman

In 1992, George van Driem advanced his *Mahakiranti* theory, that of a 'hypothetical genetic unit' including Kiranti and Newar (1992: 246). His theory developed the seed of an idea which had been planted some twenty years earlier by Benedict, who had suggested that although Newar could not be 'directly grouped' with Bahing and Vayu, it nevertheless showed 'interesting lexical agreements' with them (1972: 5 & 8). On the basis of recent research on Thangmi by the author and on Baram by van Driem, the *Mahakiranti* hypothesis is gathering weight. Not only does the Kiranti-Newar link seem increasingly likely, but the proposed higher-level grouping to which both Kiranti and Newar belong appears to also include Thangmi and Baram.

While the Baram system of verbal agreement has all but decayed, the verbal morphology of Thangmi is complex and reminiscent of the Kiranti model. Not only does the completeness of the Thangmi verbal paradigm give us an insight into the degenerated Baram agreement system, but it also seems to provide a fascinating link between the canonical Kiranti model of verbal morphology and the simpler, although clearly related, Dolakha Newar agreement system. The Newar are the sole Tibeto-Burman people to have adopted both a Sanskrit literary tradition as well as the Indo-Aryan caste system, and their language shows signs of considerable contact with Indic. Largely due to this influence, the exact genetic position of Newar within the Tibeto-Burman language family remains unclear.

Some of the most convincing linguistic evidence for the genetic link between Thangmi and Newar comes from the analysis of the morphology of their respective verbal agreement systems. It appears that Thangmi occupies a half-way house between a canonical Kiranti-style verbal agreement system and that of the less inflecting Tibeto-Burman languages. Likewise, conjugational affixes of the Dolakha dialect of Newar can be easily traced to their cognate morphemes in other Tibeto-Burman verbal



*Thangmi Man Making a Bamboo Tray
for Winnowing Rice (Lembe in Thangmi)*

agreement systems. The specific presence of the morpheme <-u>, indexing third person future (3/FUT), most probably a reflex of the Proto-Kiranti mor-pheme *<-u> denoting third person patient involvement (3P), is of considerable significance. The Thangmi reflex of this proto-morpheme is also a suffix, <-u>, and this suffix marks quite specifically third person patient (3P). Such evidence points to a genetic affinity between Kiranti and Thangmi, and also to Newar, and the probability of finding regular lexical and phonological correspondences between Kiranti and Thangmi is high. For example,

the Tibeto-Burman reflex for 'meat' has undergone the same semantic evolution in Thangmi, Baram and Newar, and has come to mean specifically 'cow' in all three languages: Thangmi *sha*, Baram *sya* (van Driem, forthcoming), and Newar *sa* (Genetti, 1994: 51).

Another intriguing type of evidence comes in the form of numeral classifiers. In a classifier language, a numeral or a determinative cannot be used alone with a noun, because an extra element, the *classifier*, has to be added. *Classifiers* are thus words which are required by the syntax of certain languages when a noun is modified by a numeral.

Although classifiers, and particularly numeral classifiers, are quite common in Tibeto-Burman languages, relatively few of the languages spoken in the Nepali Himalaya show any sign of having a classifier system for numerals. The notable exception to this is of course Newar, whose numeral classifier system has been well described. It is of great interest that the Thangmi system of numeral classifiers appears largely cognate with Newar. Of the nine numeral classifiers I documented in the Sindhupalcok dialect of Thangmi, five have direct Newar cognates.

Apart from one, all Thangmi numeral classifiers are grammaticalised forms with no clear derivation from any associated native Thangmi nominal lexeme. The classifier for human referents is <-kapu>, which is simply the noun for 'head', and apart from this one case, classifiers can never stand alone and function as a noun. This would perhaps be an argument for suggesting that the classifiers may be borrowed. The similarity between the Dolakha Newar numeral classifiers and those found in the Sindhupalcok dialect of Thangmi are striking to say the least, and although it is of course quite possible that they are borrowed, quite which direction this borrowing may have taken place is the crucial question.

On careful analysis, it appears that the Thangmi classifiers may in fact be the more archaic. My reasoning is that two of the cognate classifiers are disyllabic in Thangmi whereas their Newar counterparts are reduced monosyllabic forms. It would be distinctly unusual for a borrowed classifier to be more complicated in syllabic structure (possessing an extra phoneme) than the older form from which it was taken. Further research may demonstrate that there is a clear set of sound rules which can explain borrowings between Newar and Thangmi.

It is, of course, possible to borrow the category of numeral classifiers since they are used to enumerate things in trade relations, and there is significant evidence of economic dealings between the Thangmi and Newar groups. A further sign of the inter-relationship of the two groups are the various Newar calendrical festivals in and around Dolakha in which the Thangmi play a crucial role.

Of the seven exogamous clans within the Thangmi lineage structure, all but one are named after Thangmi habitations or local plants and trees. The final clan is known as *roimi jati*, the noun *jati* being of course the Nepali word for caste or ethnic group and *roimi* the Thangmi word for the Newar people. Thangmi villagers explained to me that the *roimi* clan is comparatively new and was the result of itinerant Newar traders and salesmen marrying local Thangmi women. These men were then incorporated into the Thangmi kinship and descent structures and assigned their own exogamous clan. The involvement of these two groups with each other is thus not limited to language, trade and exchange, but continues into the realm of social unions through marriage and ritual co-operation.

Quite where this leaves us in trying to understand the complex relationship between the Thangmi and Newar of Dolakha is unclear. If we want to argue for a genetic relationship between the languages, then the burden of proof is on the linguist to show that any similarities and cognates cannot be explained by borrowings. What is indisputable, at any rate, is that even if the shared features of Newar and Thangmi (verbal morphology, the numeral classifier systems and even some core lexicon) are better explained by borrowing, the two groups have been in considerable contact for some time.

6. Dialect Differences

The Thangmi language has two dialects, hereafter referred to as Dolakha dialect and Sindhupalcok dialect. The dialects differ from one another in terms of phonology, nominal and verbal morphology and lexicon. Some of the lexical differences can be explained by regular morphophonological alternations, but these rules by no means account for even half of the differences. The Dolakha dialect of Thangmi exhibits a far more complete verbal agreement system whilst the Sindhupalcok dialect boasts more complex nominal morphology, most particularly with regard to locative suffixes and numeral classifiers.

In this article, as well as in my work on the language in general, I have decided to concentrate my efforts on describing and analysing the Dolakha dialect of Thangmi. The reasons for this focus are twofold. First, on a practical level, when I first travelled to the Thangmi-speaking area, it was in the district of Dolakha that I settled and started to work, only to discover much later that there were speakers in Sindhupalcok also. As a consequence, my early fieldwork was spent collecting and analysing linguistic and ethnographic data from the Dolakha dialect. Second, and perhaps more importantly, is the question of numbers: the speakers of the Dolakha dialect are far more numerous than their Sindhupalcok counterparts. I would guess that there are ten times as many speakers of the Dolakha dialect as there are of the Sindhupalcok dialect. Whilst the Dolakha dialect of Thangmi is spoken throughout almost all villages in the central and northern reaches of the district, the Sindhupalcok dialect is spoken in only a handful of villages in the far-eastern valleys of Sindhupalcok district. Moreover, the four villages in which the Sindhupalcok Thangmi is spoken all run along the border of the district of Dolakha.

Needless to say, there is no reason why dialectical differences and isoglosses should necessarily follow the path of political divisions and administrative units. More often than not, in fact, they do not. However, more so than in many other districts of Nepal, these two districts are separated by a very real geographical feature, namely that of Kalincok Danda. This ridge, running north to south separating the districts from one another, reaches a maximum elevation of 3810 metres and is at all points above 3000 metres, thereby effectively prohibiting cultural and linguistic exchange. Quite how the Thangmi ethnic group came to live on either side of this ridge is a point worthy of future study, but which lies more in the realm of archaeology and comparative anthropology.

7. Concluding Remarks

My aim in this short article has been to place the Thangmi in their rightful place on the socio-linguistic map of Nepal. Until Sara Shneiderman and I started our research on the Thangmi language and culture four years ago, the lack of published work dealing with the Thangmi community of Nepal was lamentable. Since then, partly through our publications, but largely through the efforts of dynamic members of the Thangmi community itself, the ethnic group is becoming better known on the national stage. That one of Nepal's

important and previously forgotten ethnic nationalities is gaining recognition as an integral part of the Himalayan ethno-linguistic mosaic is a cause for celebration. Despite remaining largely unknown to Nepal's ruling elite, the Thangmi people are increasingly aware of their entitlements and rights. Years of oppression and bonded labour under the previous regimes of Nepal have left a noticeable scar on the collective self-image of the Thangmi community, but this is thankfully slowly changing. The Thangmi-speaking population now have their own central committee whose job it is to preserve cultural traditions and, as its leaders say, make the voice of the Thangmi people heard in Nepal. In common with minority peoples all over the world, the Thangmi are eager to use the interest directed towards them by foreign researchers to draw the attention of the national government and international development organisations to their plight.

When I set out for my first period of fieldwork among the Thangmi-speaking population of Dolakha, I had little idea of what I would encounter. I had expected to remunerate language assistants for their time with a modest financial contribution, but this was not what was wanted. On the day of my departure from the village, the shaman in whose house I had stayed said to me: "Whatever food you give us today, we will eat tomorrow. Whatever money you give us tomorrow, we will have used up by next week. Don't do that. Instead, write us a book, a book of words of our language, *in our language*, and then even our grandchildren will know who we were and how we spoke." I was flattered and touched by his request, and will do as he asked.

8. Notes

1. This article was written at the request of friends and colleagues working in the *Rastriya Janajati Vikas Samiti* (National Committee for the Development of Nationalities). It is a pleasure to support the journal *Janajati (Nationalities)* by submitting an article on my research into the Thangmi language. Earlier versions of sections 3 and 4 of this article have been previously published in the journal *Himalayan Culture* edited by Sri Hari Bangsha Kirant, whom I thank for his support.
2. Although the temptation was to provide accurate transcription of Thangmi and Nepali words in this article, I have chosen not to because of the potential difficulties involved in formatting and type-setting. I ask readers whose preference would have been for phonologically-sound transliteration to bear this in mind.

3. For financial support I am most grateful to The Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies (CNWS) of Leiden University, the Netherlands. Thanks go to Sara Shneiderman in Kathmandu, whose careful eye and constructive comments have been as ever invaluable. Without the linguistic and cultural insights of Bir Bahadur "Lile" Thangmi from Suspa VDC, Dolakha and Man Bahadur Thangmi from Cokati-Latu VDC, Sindhupalchok, the research for this article would never have got off the ground. To them, and to all our Thangmi friends and family, heartfelt thanks.

9. References

- Benedict, Paul King. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan, A Conspectus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bista, Dor Bahadur. 1980. *People of Nepal*. 4th Edition (first published in 1967). Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- Breton, Roland J.-L. 1997. *Atlas of the Languages and Ethnic Communities of South Asia*. New Delhi: Sage Publications India.
- Dahal, Subhadra Subba. 1999. 'Thami Kinship Terms', in *Nepalese Linguistics*, Vol. 16. Linguistic Society of Nepal, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, pp. 9-12.
- Driem, George van. 1992. 'In Quest of Mahakiranti', in *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 241-247.
- Driem, George van. forthcoming. *The Baram Language*.
- Dunshupere, Prakash Thami. V.S. 2056 (1999-2000). 'Malo Mahenko Toniko Adhikar Palikai', in *Rastriya Bhasaka Kavita Sangalo* (An Anthology of Poems [National Language]), p.42.
- Dusunpere, Devendra. 2000. 'Thami jatiko paricaya', in *Nagarik: Citizen*, Vol. II, No. 2, Feb-April 2000, Kathmandu, pp. 10-11.
- Genetti, Carol Elaine. 1994. *A descriptive and historical account of the Dolakha Newari dialect*. (Monumenta Serindica no. 24) Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Grierson, George Abraham, ed. 1909. *Linguistic Survey of India*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing.
- Grimes, Barbara, ed. 1996. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (13th Edition). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- HMG. (Census Bureau of Statistics). 1996. *Statistical Pocket Book of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Sajha Prakashan.
- Kansakar, Tej Ratna. 1999. 'Multilingualism and the Language Situation in Nepal', in *Nepalese Linguistics*, Vol. 16. Linguistic Society of Nepal, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, pp. 19-31.
- MacDonald, Alexander W. 1984. 'The Tamang as seen by one of themselves', in *Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal and South Asia*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- Miller, Casper J. 1997 (1979). *Faith-Healers in the Himalaya*. Delhi: Book Faith India.

- National Committee for Development of Nationalities. V.S. 2055-2056 (1999-2000). *Janajati (Nationalities)*. Vol. 1, No. 1-2. Kathmandu.
- Patoul, Philippe de. 1998. *Village Profile of Lapilang VDC*. Practical Research Programme for Development CWIN (Nepal) - ADRAI (Belgium). unpublished report.
- Shafer, Robert. 1966. *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Shneiderman, Sara and Turin, Mark. in press. 'Thangmi, Thani, Thami? Remembering a forgotten people', in *Himalayan Culture*, Kathmandu.
- Thami, Sri Meghraj Simi Rishmi. V.S. 2056 (1999). *Dolakhareng*. Jhapa: Thami Language and Culture Upliftment Centre, 89 pages.
- Toba, Sueyoshi. 1990. *Thami-English Dictionary*. unpublished manuscript, 87 pages.
- Turin, Mark. 1997. 'Too many stars and not enough sky: language and ethnicity among the Thakali of Nepal', in *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 187-199.
- Turin, Mark. 1998a. 'Thangmi: An Overview of a Tibeto-Burman Language and People of Nepal', in *Himalayan Research Bulletin*, Vol. 17, No. 2, March 1998, Portland, Orgeon: Nepal Studies Association, p. 98.
- Turin, Mark. 1998b. 'Himalayan Anthropology: Writing in the Forgotten Thangmi People', in *CNWS Newsletter*, No. 17, Leiden, pp. 12-15.
- Turin, Mark. 1998c. 'The Thangmi verbal agreement system and the Kiranti connection', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 61, No. 3, Oxford University Press, pp. 476-491.
- Turin, Mark. 1998d. 'Vismritapraya: Thamiharu', in *Himal*, Vol. 8, No. 3, November, pp. 48-50.
- Turin, Mark. 1999a. 'Thamiharu Thimika hun?', in *Arko Satdine*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January, 16, p.10.
- Turin, Mark. 1999b. 'Whence Thangmi? Historical ethnography and comparative morphology', in *Topics in Nepalese Linguistics*, edited by Yogendra Prasad Yadava and Warren G. Glover, Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, pp. 451-477.
- Turin, Mark. 1999c. 'By Way of Incest and the Golden Deer: How the Thangmi Came To Be and the Pitfalls of Oral History' in *Journal of Nepalese Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, pp. 13-19.