Nominal morphology of Syangja Gurung

NISHIDA Fuminobu

0．Introduction

This paper is devoted to the noun phrase（NP）. We will discuss the structure of the NP, as well as certain elements of the NP such as pronouns and nouns, and modifications of nouns in the NP.

1．The Gurung language[1]

1.1 Overview

Gurung（*गुरुङ*）[2], a.k.a. Tamu Kyi（*तमु क्यी*）is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the higher mountain area in the kingdom of Nepal. It is also spoken by Gurungs living in the eastern part of this country in which Tibetan speakers are dominant. Not merely Gurungs but also other tribes adjacent to the Gurung speaking area use the term Gurung as their surnames, and at times for their nationality. In spite of the fact that Gurung shows diversity in regional variations, it has been used as a lingua franca of the area. Nowadays, most of the younger generation are not active speakers, but passive listeners of this language. The number of those who speak the language with fluency is decreasing year by year. Most teenagers never speak the language, and instead they use Nepali, the official language of the country. Gurung can be divided into three major dialects: eastern, western, and southern. The Syangja dialect belongs to southern Gurung.

According to the 2011 census of Nepal, Gurung is spoken by 326,000 people in the middle of the country[3] Their population is distributed mainly in the Kaski, Lamjung, Syangja, Tanahu, Gorkha, Parbat, and Manang districts of the Gandaki zone of Nepal, However, migration to

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1）This section is reprint of the first chapter of Nishida（2015）.

2）All of those who speak Gurung are regarded as members of the Gurung nationality, but not all of them speak Gurung. All ages and sexes use Nepali, and most people can talk about common topic in Nepali, which is regarded as economically advantageous. In addition, we have to bear in mind the accuracy of the censes, and they should be used with skepticism and caution. There may be certain politically motivated manipulation of the language data.
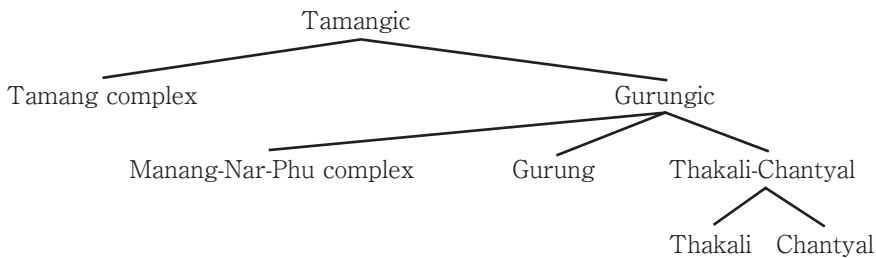
3）Central Bureau of Statistics. 2012. *National Population and Housing Census 2011（National Report）.* Kathmandu: National Planning Commission Secretariat, Government of Nepal.

other parts of the country, particularly eastern Nepal, dates back to the Gorkha conquest and the related events of the 18th and the early 19th centuries. Several thousand of speakers live in India, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Korea, and Japan.

1.2 Linguistic position

Tibeto-Burman is the branch in Sino-Tibetan with the most numerous and highly differentiated individual languages. The genetic classification of Tamang languages including Gurung within the Tibeto-Burman family is still unclear, but it is usually classified in the Tamang branch.

The Gurung language is a member of the Tamangic group along with Gurung, Thakali, Nar-Phu and Tamang. I assume it is lexically and grammatically closest to Manang within this group. These languages share many features, but it is still unknown whether these innovations are due to internal factors, language contact or genetic relationship. At this moment, the most likely classification is as follows, after Noonan（2003:315）:

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                              Tamangic
              _____|_____
             |                                     |
      Tamang complex                           Gurungic
         _____|_____         _____|_____
        |                         |        |                  |
 Manang-Nar-Phu complex        Gurung              Thakali-Chantyal
                                                      ____|____
                                                     |         |
                                                  Thakali   Chantyal
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On the basis of historical development of certain phonological and grammatical features, Nishi proposed the following items as the criteria of sub-grouping of Tamangic languages （Nishi 1991: 84）:

1.	*kl- —> ky-/k- （/__i）	e.g. Manang, Thakali
2.	*kl- —> ly-/l- （/__i）	e.g. Gurung, Syang, Marpha
3.	*g- —> kh-	e.g. Manang
4.	*khr- —> hr-/gr- —> *khr- —> hr	e.g. Manang
5.	*kr- —> ky-/K- （/__i）, *kr- —> k- （/__u<o）	e.g. Syang
6.	*kr- —> t-	e.g. Thakali
7.	Two low vowels, originated in PTAM*-aa and*-a	e.g. Manang, Thakali（possibly Syang and Marpha）
8.	DAT suffix has separate shape from LOC	e.g. Tamang, Gurung
9.	ERG suffix separate shape from ABL	e.g. Gurung
10.	Special suffix for colour terms	e.g. Gurung, Tamang
11.	No particular NEG particle in IMPR	e.g. Gurung, Manang

Applying these criteria, the investigation on subgrouping of Tamangic languages deserve further study.

1 . 3 Language consultant

　　The language consultant directly involved with this work is Mr. Lacchim Gugung. After two months of his birth in Hong Kong, he moved to Syangja district, and grew up there. He received primary and secondary educations in Gurung and Nepali. Now he lives in Hong Kong and speaks Gurung everyday at home. His deep understanding towards this kind of linguistic study and his good speaking and writing ability of Gurung enabled me to grasp the whole picture of aspects of the Gurung language. The grammatical analysis is based on elicited sentences and texts told by the informant. The fieldwork has been carried out in English and Nepali4.

2 . Structure of the NP in Gurung

　　First of all, let's look at the structure of the NP in Gurung. The structure of the NP is usually head-final, though numerals or plural markers follows the head noun. The maximum structure of a simple NP is as follows:

DEM/DEF + ADJ + Noun + （NUM/PL）
Figure 1 : the structure of the Gurung Noun phrase

　　Syangja Gurung has no classifier. Some elements can appear more than once, mainly adjectives. The order given above is the most common one, but the order is actually quite flexible. Compare the following examples:

（1）　a . ʈaʈʰo 2 paʃe 2　　　　b . paʃe 2 ʈaʈʰo 2 kri 1　　　c . paʃe 2 kri 1 ʈaʈʰo 2
　　　　　clever child　　　　　　child clever one　　　　　　child one clever
　　　　　'clever child'　　　　　　'a clever child'　　　　　　'a clever child'

　　　　d . tʃa 1 ʈaʈʰo 2 paʃe 2　　e . paʃe 2 njolo 1 ʈaʈʰo 2　　f . ʈaʈʰo2 paʃe 2 njolo 1
　　　　　that clever child　　　　　child two clever　　　　　　clever child two
　　　　　'that clever child'　　　　'two clever children'　　　　'two clever children'

　　What is the difference in meaning and use among these? In narrated speech, all of these constituent order appears. In elicited examples, the same order as English is dominant. It definitely deserves further study.

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4) Prior to this fieldwork, preliminary fieldwork on Gurung was conducted with other native speakers of Gurung in Hong Kong in summer 2001. The main objective was to find appropriate native speakers and to gather materials on Gurung tribes. Several other Gurung people in Hong Kong have also been generous enough to help me. The information I obtained from them has been directly utilized in this work, and it is extremely significant for my understanding of Gurung in general. I am pleased to record my warmest thanks to them. Along with elicitation data taken from the language consultant, I have also collected a large amount of text and data on socio-cultural aspects of this tribe.

When more than one adjective appears in a single NP, the order of the adjectives in terms of types of adjective is almost same of that in English:

(2) a．tʰoure 2 ʈaʈʰo 2 paʃe 2   b．ʈaʈʰo 2 tʰoure 2 paʃe 2
        tall clever child   clever tall child
        'a tall clever child'   'a clever tall child'
     c．baklo 2 līkō 1 kitaba 1   d．līkō 1 baklo 2 kitaba 1
        thick heavy book   heavy thick book
        'a thick heavy book'   'a heavy thick book'

Modification of a noun by an adjective phrase can be done by a nominalized adjective in a pre-head relative clause structure using genitive marker '-i'. However, it employs the noun post-head adjectives[5]. It mainly depends on the complexity of the modifier whether a post-head adjective or a pre-head relative clause structure is used. Generally speaking, a complex modifier appears in the pre-head relative clause structure, while a simple adjective appears in the post-head position.

(3) a．dʒu 1 balojo-i mi 4   b．tʃʰābele1 mi 4   c．mi 4 tʃʰābele1
        body strong-GEN man   good man   man good
        'man with strong body'
        'good man' 'good man'

Following are examples of complex NPs:

(4) Himala-i 4 barer 2 pri-b-e1（<ba+i） kitaba 1
     Himalaya-GEN about write-GER-GEN book
     'This book written about Himalaya.'

(5) toko 4 ŋa-i 1 mrō-b-e 4 mi 4
     today 1sg ERG see-GER-NOM man
     'the man I saw today'

The example（4）employs both a genitive marker and relative clause structure before the head noun. It is also possible to have NPs in juxtaposition to pronouns or other kinds of NPs where they specify the nature of the pronoun or first NP, as seen in the following examples:

(6) a．ŋi 1 tamu-me 2   b．ŋa 1 gurung 1

5）Japanese does have these two types of modification of a noun by an adjective phrase. Compare the following examples:
(a) ookii ringo [big apple] 'big apple'
(b) ringo-no ookii-no [apple-GEN big-GEN] 'big apple'

    1pl Gurung-pl   1sg Gurung
    'we Gurung people'   'I Gurung（as a Gurung, I…）'

Kinship terms used with personal names also follow this pattern.

（7） a． baba 4 gurung 1   b． adʒõ 2 gurung 1
         father Gurung   uncle Gurung
         'Father Gurung'   'Uncle Gurung'

２.１ The Structure of Noun

　　Nouns and parts of speech used as nominal heads may be pluralized. The ergative, absolutive, genitive, instrumental, experiencer, allative, dative, comitative, meditative, vocative and locative cases are indicated by postpositions. The noun in Gurung is an element which is followed by the relational morphemes that will be introduced in 3.2. Nouns can be differentiated from verbs in being able to co-occur with determiners, especially deictics（the equivalent of *this* and *that*）, while verbs can co-occur with markers of tense（past, non-past）and aspect（completed, progressive）. Adjectives（stative verbs）also can be followed by the determiners; they are distinguished from nouns in that they are able to co-occur with markers of degree.

　　Compound nouns are formed by a juxtaposition of two words, both of which have certain meanings by themselves, as in the following examples. In the case of compound nouns, as is usual with Sino-Tibetan languages, the modifying noun always precede the modified nouns.

（8） a． taga-ʃa 4   b． kuwa- kju 4   c． kra mui 2
         fish-meat   well-water   head-hair
         'fish meat'   'water from well'   'hair on one's head'

     d． na-khũ 2   e． dai-mi 2
         otolaryngological + cavity   male-people
         'nose'   'male'

　　In the case of nouns with tightly semantically and syntactically coordinated subparts, no marker for coordination is used, and the two nouns are simply juxtaposed, as in the following lexical items:

（9） a． ba-ma 2   b． nã-sã 2
         father-mother   morning-evening
         'parents'   'day and night'

２.３ Gender marking

　　As for the gender marking in Gurung, there is no distinction of nouns on the basis of grammatical gender or classes. However, we can find natural gender or words related to humans

and animals. For example, female animals have the postposition /-mā/. Some examples are:

(10)　a．nakju- mā 2   b．tili- mā 4   c．gora- mā 3
　　　　dog-FEMALE   pig-FEMALE   horse-FEMALE
　　　　'female dog'   'female pig'   'female horse'

　　　As seen in the examples above, nouns do not show any change for grammatical gender. Animate nouns are referred to as masculine or feminine on the basis of natural gender. Number is expressed by adding the postposition '-me' and '-ʤogo'which denotes plurality.

(11)　paʃe 2 'child'   paʃe-me 2   'children'
　　　agu 2 'friend'   agu-me 2   'friends'
　　　tī 2 'house'   *tī-me 2   'houses'   tī- ʤogo 2   'houses'
　　　kju 1 'water'   kju-me 1   'lots of water' * kju- ʤogo 1   'water'

The following shows the occurrence restriction of plural markings:

type of noun	common	material	inanimate	abstract
-me	+	+	−	−
-ʤogo	+	−	+	−

Table 1：The occurrence restriction of plural markings

Diminutive marking

　　　The diminutive has one form /-ʤaʤ/, which originally means small, and when this is used as a diminutive marking, it has the concrete sense of 'child'.

(12)　nakju-ʤaʤ 2   b．tili-ʤaʤ 4   c．gora-ʤaʤ 3
　　　dog-DIM   pig-DIM   horse-DIM
　　　'small dog'   'small pig'   'small horse'

'Chick' has a specific form / tʃin 1/ , not /*naka-ʤaʤ 2/. （cf. naka 'chicken'）

2.4 Kinship prefixes
　　　Almost all of the kinship terms in Gurung begin with the vocalic prefix /a-/. The full description of the kinship terminology in Syangja Gurung will be seen in Appendix A（in preparation）. Followings are examples of kinship terminology in Gurung:

(13)　a．a-da 2   'the first brother'
　　　b．a-na 2   'the second brother'
　　　c．a-li 2   'younger brother'

    d．a-ŋa 2   'the youngest brother'
    e．a-teba 2 'maternal uncle'

2.5 Pronouns

    Pronouns include personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, and are presented in the table below.

    The personal pronouns differentiate three persons, three numbers and in the first person plural, inclusive and exclusive. The personal pronouns are:

Number	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
Singular	ŋa 1	ki 1	tʃu 1/tʃa 1
Plural	ŋjo 1 (exclusive)	kjame 1	tʃu me 1/tʃame 1
	ŋi 1 (inclusive)		

Table 2 : The Gurung personal Pronouns

    There are exclusive vs inclusive distinction in the pronouns. The plural forms include a form of the plural marker /-me/, which will be discussed in section 2.1.3.

    The are two forms for the tird person pronoun, /tʃu 1/and /tʃa 1/. The form /tʃu 1/ is used to refer to a third person who has a close relationship to the speaker, or a third person who is close to the speaker spatially (see (14)). On the contrary, /tʃa 1/ is used to refer to a third person who does not have a close relationship to the speaker, or a third person who is not close to the speaker spatially (see (15)) It is often used in indirect quotes when a certain person quoted and the one being mentioned are the same. (see (16)). As in (16), /tʃa 1/ is also used in referring to a certain person in a dialogue.

(14) tʃu 1 Kathmandu-r 1   ja-je3.
    3sg Kathmandu-LOC go-PFT
    'He went to Kathmandu.'(Implying that he has a close relationship with the speaker)

(15) tʃa 1 Kathmandu-r 1   ja-je3.
    3sg Kathmandu-LOC go-PFT
    'He went to Kathmandu.'(Implying that he does not a close relationship with the speaker)

(16) tʃa 1i Kathmandu-r 1   ja-ro3   tʃa 1i   bʰī-je 4.
    3sg   Kathmandu-LOC   go-QUOTE   3sg   tell-PFT
    'He said that he went to Kathmandu.'

(17) a．ki-i 1   tʃu 1   ko 3 a 1?   b．ŋa 1 tʃa 1 ko-je 3
    2sg-ERG 3sg know Q   1sg 3sg know-PFT
    Do you know him?'   'I know him.'

The pronouns can be used in all positions in all kinds of sentences. For non-specific reference, pronouns are not used. Concerning the usage of the pronouns, there is no restriction on addressing or referring to someone using pronouns.

2.6 Omitted pronouns

The subject or object of the sentence can readily be omitted where it is already established as the topic of the discourse. When the reference is clear from the context, this strategy is employed. This applies especially to first and second person subject and also third person subjects which are present at the time of the utterance. Subject and objects may be omitted in Gurung. The omitted subject or object has been the topic of a previous sentence, question or dialogue.

(18) a. tʃu 1 ko 3 a 1?   b. tʃa 1 ko-je 3
          3sg know Q   3sg know-PFT
          '(Do you) know him?'   '(I) know him.'

2.7 Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronoun is invariable in form, serving all persons; it must have an antecedent in its own clause or in the main clause if it is an embedded clause:

(19) ŋa-i 1 tʰe 2 bele 2
      1sg-ERG keep self
      'I keep it by myself.'

(20) ŋa-i 1 tʰe-la 2,   ki-i 1   la 1   bele 2   ro 1
      1sg-ERG hear-PST 2sg-ERG do myself hearsay
      'I hear you did it by yourself.'

The morpheme 'kʰi' meaning 'alone' is also used in the sentence with reflexive meaning.

(21) ŋa-i 1   kʰi 2   tʰe-mo 2
      1sg-ERG alone   keep-EXIST
      'I keep it by myself.'

2.8 Reciprocal

There is no reciprocal pronoun corresponding to *each other* in English. The reciprocal adverb may be used in formal context. In colloquial speech, a reciprocal construction is formed by repeating the clause with the subject and object reserved:

(22) ŋa-i 1   tʃa-lai 1   majã2 la-mo 1,   tʃa-i 1   mani 2   ŋa-lai 1 majã2 la-mo 1.
      1sg-ERG   3sg-DAT like do-EXIST   3sg-ERG also 1sg-DAT like do-EXIST

'I like her, and she also likes me'

When these pronouns are used adjectively, they occur before the nouns they qualify, and the particle '-i' which denotes possession is added to the pronoun. The particle '-i' is in some cases omitted.

(23) ŋa-i 1 nakju 2   ki 1 ʃa 1
     1sg-GEN dog   2sg
     'my dog'   'your teeth'

The symbol '>' stands for 'is more accessible than' in terms of relativization. According to them, there are three major claims concerning the hierarchy:

   a) A language must be able to relativize at least subjects（that is to say, the relativized
       position can be subject）
   b) Relativization must apply to a continuous portion of the hierarchy
   c) If a particular relation x can be relativized using that language's primary relativization
       strategy, all the relations to its left in the hierarchy must be relativizable using the same
       strategy.
   Gurung employs nominalization with the aid of genitive marker to relativize clauses. The followings are some examples:

Gurung relativizes subjects

(24) a . Relativization of a subject
          pa 4 tʰū-b-e 2   mi 4
          wine drink-GER-NOM   man
          'the man who drinks wine'

     b 1 . Relativization of a direct object
         toko 4   ŋa-i 1   mrõ-b-e 4   mi 4
         today   1sg ERG   see-GER-NOM   man
         'the man I saw today'

     b 2 . tʃu 1   ŋa-i 1   tʰū-b-e 2   pa   4   a3
           that   1sg-ERG   drink-GER-NOM   wine   particle
           'That is the wine I drink.'

     c . Relativization of a indirect object
         toko 4   ŋa-i 1   kitaba 4   bī-b-e 2   mi 4
         today   1sg ERG   book   give-GER-NOM   man
         'the man to whom I gave a book today'

ｄ．Relativization of an oblique

ŋa-i 1   lo-di-mo-b-e 2   iʃkla 2

1sg-ERG   study-PROG-GER-NOM   school

'the school where I am studying'

Consistent with Keenan and Comrie's claim, Gurun relativize subject, direct object, indirect object and oblique. These are relativizable portions that constitutes a continuous portion of the relational hierarchy above.

２.９ Demonstratives

There are three different kinds of demonstrative pronoun; close, non-close and distant. The close demonstrative forms are used for persons or things which are close to the speaker. The non-close demonstrative forms are used to refer to persons or things which are not close, but far away from the speaker. They are also used for persons or things which are already talked about, but which are not within sight. The distant demonstrative pronouns are used to refer to persons or things which are away from the speaker.

Demonstrative pronouns can be summed up as follows:

	singular	plural	locative	side	kind
proximate	tʃu 1	tʃume 1	tʃu-r （a）1	tʃu-r （a）1	tʃu- dʒad 1
distal	tʃa 1	tʃame 1	tʃa-r （a）1	tʃa-r （a）1	tʃa-dʒad 1

Table 3：The Gurung demonstrative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns in Gurung are as follows:

（25）ａ．to 1   'what'   ｆ．tole 1   'why'

ｂ．kʰau 1   'which'   ｇ．kʰautʃaine 1   'which one'

ｃ．kʰautʃa 1   'who'   ｈ．kʰani 2   'where'

ｄ．kʰale 2   'how'   ｉ．kʰatitʃa 2   'how much'

ｅ．kʰatil 2   'how many'

Formally these interrogative pronouns can be divided into two types：[to] type and [kʰa] type.

Examples for each interrogative pronoun are as follows:

to 1   'what'

(26) to 1   la-di-mo 1
     what   do-PROG-EXIST
     'What are you doing?'
     tole 1   'why'

(27) tole 1 ki 1 a-ja 1?
     Why 2sg NEG-go
     'Why don't you go?'

(28) ki   ŋa-lai   tole   toi   a-bhi-lo
     2sg 1sg-DAT why any NEG-say-PST
     'Why didn't you say anyting?'

     kʰau 1   which

(29) ki 1   kʰau 1   kju 1   tʰū-m   a?
     2sg   which water drink-EXIST   Q
     'Which water do you drink?'

     kʰautʃaine 1   which one

(30) kʰautʃaine 1   ki-i 1?
     which one   2sg-GEN
     'Which one is yours?'

kʰautʃa 1   who

(31) ki 1 kʰautʃa 1
     2sg   who
     'Who are you?'

kʰani 2   where

(32) tʃa 1   kʰani 2   a?
     that   where   Q
     'Where is that?'

kʰati 2 tir 2   when

(33) kʰati2 tir 2 rouri 2 ja-mo3 ?
     when   sleep go-EXIST
     'When do you（usually）go to bed?'（habitual）

kʰale 2   how

(34) ki 1 kʰale 2 ?
      2sg   how
      'How are you?'

kʰatitʃa 2   how much

(35) tʃa 1 kʰatitʃa 2 ?
      that how much
      'How much is that?'

kʰatil 2   how many

(36) kʰatil 2   mi 3 tʃu-r 1 mo?
      How many man this-LOC EXIST
      'How many people are there in this place?'

2.11 Definite/indefinite marking

The Gurung language does not have definite or indefinite marking on referential NPs.

Numerals and quantifiers

The cardinal number system is a simple decimal system, and the numerals for eleven and up are different, which are loanwords from Nepali. Under heavy influence from Nepali, numerals above ten are replaced by Nepali words.

kri	1	egara 2	11	tiʃ 1	30
njolo	2	bara 2	12	tʃaliʃ 1	40
ʃolo	3	tera 2	13	patʃaʃ 1	50
pljulo	4	tʃaudʰa 2	14	ʃaṭʰi 1	60
ŋaulo	5	pandʰra 2	15	ʃatari 2	70
ṭulo	6	ʃora 2	16	aʃi 2	80
ɲilo	7	ʃatra 2	17	nabe 2	90
pre	8	aṭara 2	18	ʃaj 1	100
ko	9	unajʃ 2	19	ek haʤar 1	1000
tʃu	10	bis 1	20	daʃ haʤar 1	10000

As we can see in the following table, Gurung numerals are cognates with those of Tamang, Newari and Thakali.

Tamang dialect Gloss	Gurung Rishiangku	Newari Taglung	Thakali Syangja	Ghacok	Katumandhu	Tukche
1	kik	kik	kri 1	gri~kri	cha-gu（-li）	ti
2	nii	nyii	nyo-lo 4	ŋi	ni-gu（-li）	ŋi
3	som	som	ʃõ –lo 4	sõ	swa-gu:	som
4	pli	pli	plju-lo 2	pli	pe-gu:	pli
5	ŋaa	ŋa	ŋau-lo 4	ŋa	nya:-gu	ŋɔ
6	tu	tuu	tu-lo 4	tu	khu-gu:	tu
7	nis	nyis	ŋi-lo 2	ŋi	nhae-gu:	ŋis
8	prat	pret	pre 1	pre	cya:-gu:	pre
9	kuu	ku	ko 2	ku	gu-gu:	ku
10	tsyui	tsyi	tʃu 2	tsyu	jhi-gu:	tsyu

Comparison of numerals in some Tamangic languages

Ordinal Numbers are as follows:

(37) paila 2   first   tʃʰe,tʰulo 2   sixth
      doʃro 2   second   ʃa 2   seventh
      tin, tiʃro 2 third   atʰ 2   eighth
      tʃoutʰo 2   fourth   nou-dina 2   ninth
      pan 1   fifth   daʃ-dina 2   tenth

For time expression such as second, minute, hour, day, month, or year, the following expressions are used:

(38) ek 2   first   tʃhe 2   sixth
      dui 2   second   ʃa:t 2   seventh
      tĩn 2   third   ath 2   eighth
      tʃa:r 2   fourth   nou- 2   ninth
      pã:tʃ 2   fifth   daʃ 1   tenth

(39) nou - baʥi 2 ra 2 daʃ - mine 1 ta-je 1
      nine o'clock past ten minute happen-PFT
      'It is nine o'clock ten minutes.'

These are also used for arithmetic.

(40) ek 2 ek 2 ʒori 2 mo 1 ŋolo 2
      one one plus have two
      'One plus one equal to two.'

Besides number systems above, the followings are used for the numbers of time.

（41） tiple 2   once   niple 2   twice
      ʃõple 2   three time   pljiple 2 four times
      ŋauple 2   five times   ʈuple 2 six times

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