

THANGMI SURNAMES

Pratigya Regmi

pratigya@ndri.org.np

The Thangmi language community has an atypical surname and clan system, which is basically differentiated by gender. Males and females have different surnames and clans. Surname and clan identity is passed down from the same sex parents, so two opposite sex siblings from the same biological parents have different clan affiliations.

Keywords: Surname, clan, ethnolinguistic, forefather, foremother

1. Introduction

This paper is an attempt to present the Thangmi surnames system. Thangmi belongs to the Sino-Tibetan family, Tibeto-Burman, Western Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan, Central Himalayan, Thangmi-Baraamu (Ethnologue 2012). Thangmi inhabits many districts of Nepal although indigenous and autonomous to only Dolakha, Sindhupalchock and Ramechhap districts of Nepal (Turin, 2006:74). They are also distributed in different parts of India like West Bengal, Assam, Sikkim and China. Thangmi is an endangered Tibeto-Burman language spoken by 23,151 of the 28,671 ethnic Thangmi (Census 2012). According to Turin (2006:57), *Thangmi*, *Thami* and *Thani* are the existing ethnonyms for the Thangmi ethnic group. There are two dialects of Thangmi, spoken in the districts of Dolakha and Sindhupalchock, referred respectively as Dolakha dialect and the Sindhupalchock dialect (Turin 2006:78).

A surname is a hereditary name common to all members of a family. A clan name is not necessarily a surname. A clan is a group that is not necessarily related to the people having the same surname, such as having different surnames like *Khanal* and *Panthi* entertain same clan affiliation in the Brahmin community. According to Keesing (1935), “a unilineal descent group whose members trace their descent from a known ancestor and know the genealogical connections to that ancestor, is technically called a *lineage*. In patrilineal system, they are called *patrilineages*; in a matrilineal system, they are called

matrilineages. Lineages are distinguished, however, from unilineal descent groupings whose members believe they are descended from a common ancestor, but do not know the genealogical connections. Such categories of groups are called clans.” In general, a surname or clan name is a name that comes down from the father's side, from the grandfather, father, son, great grandson, etc. but in Thangmi, the system is different. According to the Furer-Haimendorf notes, as referred in Turin (2006:34), a double decent system is the most important social characteristics of Thangmi, by which men inherit clan membership from their fathers, and women through their mothers. It is an uncommon feature of social structures of Himalayan groups.

This study is primarily based on the ethnolinguistic research carried out in March-April 2014, among the Thangmi language community of the Doramba Village Council-1 (former Daduwa VDC), Tinghare in Ramechhap district. This paper employs the ethnolinguistic approach to present and analyze the data. In this paper, we present the indigenous Thangmi interpretation of their surname and clan origin, as well as the semantic analysis of the various surnames and clan names.

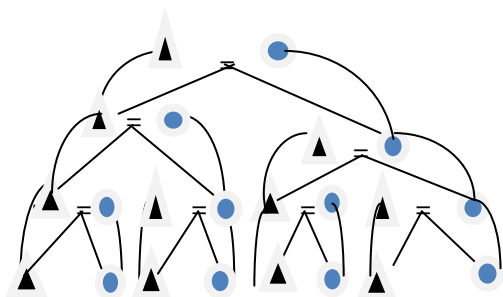
This paper is organized into six sections. Section 2 outlines the model of the Thangmi surname and clan system. The ethnolinguistic basis of the surname and clan systems of males and females is presented in section 3. In section 4, we look at the marriage practices of Thangmi in reference to surname and clan. Section 5 outlines a comparison of surname/clan system and marriage practice of Thangmi with other Tibeto-Burman communities. We summarize the findings of the paper in section 6.

2. Model of surname and clan

The Thangmi¹ surname and clan system is basically differentiated by gender. Male and females are associated with different surnames and clans. Surname and clan identity is passed down from the same sex parents, and therefore

¹Thangmi people basically use the collective surname *Thami* rather than opting for their respective clan names or surname. In light of that, official Nepali census reports and statistics also identify Thangmi people as Thami (Shneiderman and Turin 2006:123)

two opposite sex siblings from the same biological parents have different clan membership. There is no clan affiliation between mother-in-law, father-in-law and daughter-in-law. A similar system is applied to son-in-law as well. The following figure represents the parallel descendent family tree of Thangmi:



Indicators

- ▲ : Male
- : Female
- = : Marriage
- ⤵ : Clan and Surname affiliation

3. Ethnolinguistic basis for surname and clan system

According to the *Thangmi*² shaman of Tinghare, the Thangmi first man (forefather) is known as *japati ts^huku*³ and the first Thangmi woman (foremother) is *sonari adzi*⁴, who came from

²On death ceremony, Thangmi Shaman (*dz^hakri*) used to fleg a cock in remembrance of a dead person for his/her liberation of soul, this process is called *t^hay tasa* in Thangmi, so it is assumed that the group of people having this ritual system are called Thangmi.

³*japati ts^huku* is the combination of four morphemes *ja* a type of taro (Pidalu-Nepali) or senoir/elder, *pa* is most likely cognate with Thangmi *apa* 'father' and *pati*, probably derived from Nepali term 'husband', *ts^huku* 'father-in-law' reflects two completely different roles, not possible to mingle together in the Thangmi community. *japati ts^huku* plays both roles as a 'father' and 'father-in-law' to all Thangmi.

⁴*Sonari adzi* is the combination of three morphemes *so* 'who' *hari* likely to derive from Nepali 'female' and *adzi* denotes mother, elder woman or mother-in-law as well in Thangmi. She also plays the role of mother and mother-in-law to all Thangmi. The morpheme *so* seems not to be directly related with the actual meaning even though it may have some kind of association. It needs further research.

Simranghad around 17th century. On their way, they came across Thankot (now at Kathmandu district), where they settled for some years, and also set a pillar (Nepali: *Tham*). Consequently, people began to call them *Thami*⁵ (*Tham* 'pillar', *mi* 'person'). After some years, *japati ts^huku* and *sonari adzi* left Thankot and headed towards the Eastern part of Nepal. When they reached Thimi (Now at Bhaktapur district), they decided to live there. After spending many years at Thimi, they went to Dolakha. They found the place as desired and finally settled there, so it is assumed that Suspa V.D.C (former) of Dolakha district is the location of the Thangmi people.

Thangmi surnames and clans were not assigned by birth; these later appeared to deal with the social boundary for marriage (sibling incest). According to the origin story, Thangmi foreparents had given birth to the seven sons and seven daughters. They all grew up and reached to the marriageable age. There was no one except brothers and sisters in the community, so they could not find a suitable partner. They believed that to marry with own sibling would be sinful, hence the parents planned to do something for their children. They organized archery contest. They requested their sons to dispatch the arrow, seven boys landed their arrows in varying places and things (mostly flora). Based on the names of the places and the things in which their arrow landed, then they received the surname and clan. Likewise, the seven daughters received their clan name at the same time as their brothers. While the surnames and clan names of the boys were determined by the place and flora their arrows hit, the surname and clan names of the girls were derived from whatever domestic task they were engaged at home and whatever they like the most. After assigning separate surname and clan, boys and girls now with distinct identification, were socially accepted to marry. The children were paired up by age, i.e. eldest son got married with eldest daughter, and so on. After determining separate surnames and clan names for all children, Thangmi parents declared that descendants must strictly follow the rule to maintain clans and surnames for marriage practices, where they were

⁵Tham and Simranghad are Indo-European term even though Thangmi is Tibeto-Burman term. There is a question left, how they are connected. Further research is required to solve it.

compelled to find potential spouse from the other clans, apart from their parents clan.

3.1 Male surname system

There were seven sons of *japati ts'uku* and *sonari adzi*. The existing clans were determined after archery exercise, as described in section 3 above. Descendants of all brothers are found in Dolakha but not in Ramechhap. According to the Shaman of Tinghare, seven brothers and their surnames that still exist in Dolakha are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Seven brothers and their surnames

Sons	Places and things (arrow was landed)	Surnames
First	Suspa	Rismi
Second	lewang'tree of sandalwood'	akjajmi
Third	Dumkot	k ^h urpe
Fourth	Lapilaŋ	t ^h añt ^h oŋmi
Fifth	kjajpol 'the palce where the tree of <i>tsilaune</i> (schimawallichii) can be found'	tampe
Sixth	bigu, tsema 'tree of <i>katus</i> (castanopsisindica) ,	bud ^h apere
Seventh	ruku 'the tree of <i>dzaip^hul</i> '	dzaid ^h ane

According to the Shaman of Tinghare, there are nine different surnames for males in Ramechhap, only six of which were taken from the seven brothers, and rest were more recently created by the Thangmi people as needed. The surnames for male in Ramechhap are described as;

- a) **masant^hali:** It is one of the main branches of the *akjajmi*. The word *masant^hali* is the combination of two words *masan* 'ghost' and *t^hali* 'place'. *Masant^hali* thus means 'the place of the spirit'. The son, who landed his arrow in *tsihane dandi* 'burial place', received the surname as *masant^hali*.
- b) **t^hañt^hoŋmi:** The surname *t^hañt^hoŋmi* is the combination of *t^hañ* 'store of wooden pots, *t^hoŋ* 'dzañ in wooden pot' and *mi* 'person'

in Thangmi. The son, who rooted his arrow into the wooden pot filled with *dzad*, received the surname as *t^hañt^hoŋmi*.

- c) **kesai:** It is assumed that it is one of the branches of *tampe*. The word *kesai* is derived from *kjaj* 'the tree of *tsilaune*'. The son rooted his arrow into the tree of *tsilaune*, received the surname as *kesai*.
- d) **bud^hapere:** The surname *bud^hapere* is derived from the word *bigu* (a place of Dolakha). The son, who rooted his arrow in *bigu*, received the surname as *bud^hapere*.
- e) **dzaid^hane:** The son, who rooted his arrow into the tree of *dzai* 'a type of flower', received the surname as *dzaid^hane*.
- f) **t^holai:** The surname *t^holai* is derived from the word *t^holo* 'needle type grass.' When the son rooted his arrow, it slipped into *t^holo*, and therefore received the surname as *t^holai*. It is assumed as the branch of *akjajmi* in Dolakha, but in Ramechhap it has a more distinct identification.

Additionally, there exist other more recently borrowed surnames for males which are not specified as pure surnames but still accepted as Thangmi. It is assumed that these types of surnames emerged from illegal circumstances. They are described as;

- a) **dajtsa:** The word *daj* refers to 'search or to find' in Thangmi. The daughter of *dzaid^hane* gave birth to a child in her maternal place (*maiti*) secretly; having sexual relations with a Magar boy before marriage and the boy left her. Thangmi brothers searched and found her after, so they created new surname for the newly born baby as *dajtsa*.
- b) **ruimi/roimidati:** This surname arrived later in the Thangmi community. It is assumed that the daughter of a Thangmi family married with a Newar boy and gave birth to a child. A new surname is created for newly born child, which is called *ruimi daji*. The Thangmi people call Newar as *ruimi* or *roimi* and Nepali *dzati* 'caste' is used interchangeably with

ḡati. Thus, *ruimi ḡati* simply refers to ‘the Newar group or clan’ on account of the paternity of the newly born son.

- c) **danguri**: There is another clan *danguri*. The daughter of *ruimi ḡati* had sexual relations with a boy from another community. She left her maternal place and gave birth to a son. The seven brothers searched and found her, and then created a new surname for newly-born baby as *danguri*. The word *dang* refers to ‘search or to find’ in Thangmi.

Sub-surnames are also identified for two major surnames: *rismi* and *akjaṇmi*. They are presented as;

- a) **rismi**: *simi*, *isi*, *t^horo*, *poṇlaṇ*, *roth^o*, *ologore*, *both^oore*, *dolak^he*, *tsaldarismi*
- b) **akjaṇmi**: *sansari*, *tsitre*, *saibo*, *pentetali*, *rismi*, *gole*, *masanth^hali*, *duṇma*, *kuṇkuṇ*, *jek^ha*, *roth^hak*

There are other sub-surnames for Thangmi males, however, there is a level of confusion in the classification of these sub-surnames under major surname types. They are listed as;

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>kjaṇpole</i> | (14) <i>begumpale</i> |
| (2) <i>utsjanaike</i> | (15) <i>gub^huṇa</i> |
| (3) <i>gork^hja</i> | (16) <i>ḡump^hale</i> |
| (4) <i>altapol^horo</i> | (17) <i>abjak^hja</i> |
| (5) <i>ḷnera</i> | (18) <i>potsokt^hali</i> |
| (6) <i>laiwa</i> | (19) <i>kaṇsabati</i> |
| (7) <i>paṇguri</i> | (20) <i>gaṃbaḷ</i> |
| (8) <i>saiba</i> | (21) <i>saḷaha</i> |
| (9) <i>dz^haṇt^hali</i> | (22) <i>gohora</i> |
| (10) <i>naik^hala</i> | (23) <i>potsjo</i> |
| (11) <i>silsildḷṇguri</i> | (24) <i>koṭ^he</i> |
| (12) <i>dz^hjanaiki/</i> | (25) <i>ajudḷguri</i> |
| <i>dzek^hanaiki</i> | (26) <i>gumḡa</i> |
| (13) <i>sjarpi</i> | |

3.2 Male clan⁶ system

⁶ According to Shneiderman and Turin (2006:152), “clan structure consists of roughly seven clans for each sex, although the specific clan names and numbers vary from village to village.” Here, we can also figure out some differences between the clan names and numbers presented by Shneiderman and Turin (2006), and found in Tinghare, Ramechhap.

According to the origin history, after shaping the surname, the fore parents again organized an archery competition to determine the clan name of their sons. The clan of the male was determined by the items, mostly flora, in which their arrow landed. Seven sons received seven different clans. According to the Thangmi historian and Shaman of Tinghare, Thangmi clan system of Ramechhap is quite different from in Dolakha and Sinduplachock. According to Turin (2006:103), the clans for male in the village of Suspa, Dolakha are *akal akyañmi*, *kyaṇpole akyañmi*, *aṇeṇ akyañmi*, *ḡumla akyañmi*, *danguriakyañmi*, *mosan thali akyañmi* and *jāidhane akyañmi*.

Descendants of all brothers have been found in Dolakha but not in Ramechhap. According to the Shamans of Tinghare, clans for seven brothers have been existing in Dolakha, are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Clan system of Thangmi male

Sons	Place and things (arrow was landed)	Clans
First	b ^h ui ^h ‘land’	dzimi
Second	lewaṇ ‘tree of sandal wood’	lewaṇ
Third	sila ‘stone’	sila
fourth	alta ‘tree of Rhododendron’	alta
fifth	kjaṇ ‘tree of <i>tsilaune</i> ’	kjaṇ
sixth	tsema ‘tree of <i>kaṭus</i> ’ or bāku ‘a type taro found in the forest’	tsema or ja
seventh	ruku or bena ‘tree of <i>k^hasru</i> ’	benā

There are six different clans for males in Ramechhap. Among nine surnames, only six of them received their clan names. According to the Thangmi Shamans of Tinghare, clans for the males are described as;

- a) **lewaṇ**: The word *lewaṇ* refers to the ‘tree of sandal wood’ in Thangmi. The son, who rooted his arrow in the tree of sandal wood, received the clan as *lewaṇ*.

- b) **kjaŋ:** The word *kjaŋ* refers to ‘the tree of *tsilaune*’ in Thangmi. The son rooted his arrow into the tree of *tsilaune*, received the clan as *kjaŋ*.
- c) **alta/patareŋ:** The word *patareŋ* refers to the ‘tree of Rhododendron’ in Thangmi. The son, who rooted his arrow into the tree of Rhododendron, received the clan as *alta* or *patareŋ*.
- d) **tsema:** The word *tsema* refers to the ‘tree of chestnut’ in Thangmi. The son rooted his arrow into the tree of chestnut, received the clan as *tsema*.
- e) **benā:** *benā* refers to the tree of *k^hasru* in Thangmi. The son, who rooted his arrow into the tree of *k^hasru*, received the clan as *benā*.
- f) **t^hi:** The word *t^hi* is derived from the word *t^holo* ‘needle type grass.’ The son, who rooted his arrow in the needle type grass, received the clan as *t^hi*.

3.3 Surnames⁷ (clans⁸) of female

Unlike males, females have different types of surnames in Thangmi. As mentioned earlier in section 3, surnames or clans of girls were derived from whatever domestic task they were engaged at home and whatever they liked the most. There is a gender marker *mesmudza* for female. The word *siri* is attached with all surnames. According to Turner (1997:575 and 609) as referred to in Turin (2006: 106), “all clan names for Thangmi female end with the word *siri*, almost certainly cognate with and derived from Indo-Aryan *siri* ‘good fortune, prosperity and happiness’.” Turin (2006:105), has presented the seven different

clans for female as *buḍati*, *yate siri*, *khaṭu siri*, *caltā siri*, *alta siri*, *khasa siri* and *bampa siri*. Basically there are seven daughters of *japati ts^huku* and *sonari adzi*. In addition to that, two other types appeared in Ramechhap, but Thangmi people do not know their actual origin. According to the historian of Tinghare, nine different clans for Thangmi women are found. They are described as;

- a) **jantesiri mesmudza:** The word *jante* refers to the ‘quern’ (Nepali:dzāṭo) in Thangmi. The daughter, who worked perfectly inside the house (household works), received the surname *jantesiri mesmudza*.
- b) **apansiri mesmudza:** In Thangmi, *apan* refers to the ‘wife of forest Shaman’. The daughter, who was physically different (abnormal) from other sisters, received the surname *apansiri mesmudza*.
- c) **paharisiri mesmudza:** The word *pahara* denotes the ‘hills’ in Thangmi. The daughter, who preferred to live in the forest, in a nearby river or in a moist place, received the surname *paharisiri mesmudza*.
- d) **ŋoŋoŋsiri mesmudza:** The word *ŋoŋoŋ* refers to ‘the loom’ (*tan*) in Thangmi. In the past, Thangmi people did not have access to the market. They used to wear home-made cloth (*b^hayra*), which was made from the fiber of nettle (*allo*, *sisnu*). The nettle fiber was woven by women on small wooden hand looms. The daughter, who used to make *b^hayra* with the small wooden hand loom, received the surname *ŋoŋoŋsiri mesmudza*.
- e) **aŋeŋsiri mesmudza:** The word *aŋeŋ* denotes the *ark^haulo* ‘a type of tree’ in Thangmi. The daughter, who typically adored the tree of *ark^haulo*, received the surname *aŋeŋsiri mesmudza*.
- f) **tsjaŋkitsiri mesmudza:** The word *tsjaŋkit* refers to the ‘tree of *tsap*’ in Thangmi. The daughter, who usually liked the tree of *tsap*, received the surname *tsjaŋkitsiri mesmudza*.

⁷ Both surnames and clans for males and females (surname/clan) are found in Tinghare, Ramechhap, but Shneiderman and Turin (2006), presents only the Thangmi clan system in detail and mentions that Thami is in use as a collective surname to all Thangmi. Hence, it represents the distinction adaption of surname and clan system of the Thangmi community, which may vary place to place.

⁸ Thangmi females do not entertain surname and clan differently as males, so they are identified by a single surname/clan. Here, both terms (surname/clan) are used interchangeably for women.

- g) **gjalb^hasiri mesmudza:** The word *gjalb^ha* refers to ‘laziness’ in Thangmi. The daughter, who had a large body, and was lazier, received the surname *gjalb^hasiri mesmudza*.

Additionally, there are two other clans for females in Ramechhap, which are not assumed as the main clan, though they still exist in the Thangmi community.

- a) **k^husbusiri mesmudza:** The word *k^husbu* denotes ‘the beautiful thing’. The daughter, who was beautiful, received the surname *k^husbusiri mesmudza*.
- b) **golesiri mesmudza:** Thangmi people of Tinghare don’t know the history regarding this clan, but it is still existing in the community.

There are various types of sub-surnames for female but there is confusion as to the classification of these sub-surnames under the major surname type. They are listed as;

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) gjaldibuthru | (6) tanjit/tsjanjit |
| (2) ramΛn | (7) t ^h anbala |
| (3) ranon | (8) golet ^h Ali |
| (4) tsalat ^h Ali | (9) k ^h Λspo |
| (5) dΛman | (10) njapit |

4.0 Marriage practices

Marriage ritual is known as *bore* in Thangmi. There are three steps of marriage in the Thangmi community: *saino nasa bore* (*tsardamko bihe*), *lagan bore* (*sindur halne bihe*) and *tabdu bore* (*daidzo dine bihe*). The female clans or surnames do not change after marriage in Thangmi. According to Turin (2006:101), “with regard to marriage, Thangmi are group-endogamous and clan-exogamous, although the latter is more closely adhered to than the former.” There is no cross-cousin marriage and a girl cannot marry a man of her father's clan, even though she is of the clan of her mother's and cannot marry a member of her mother's clan either (Shneiderman and Turin 2006:110). The surname of her father-in-law or mother-in-law should not be matched with the daughter-in-law. If they match, they are assumed as brother and sister, therefore it is very important to manage surname/clan for marriage practices. Similar trends are applicable to the boys as well.

Basically, all existing surnames for males and females can marry each other irrespective of their socio-economic class. There is no distinction made between all surnames accepted as Thangmi but people are suggested take account the intra-ethnic classes of the male and female. It shows that Thangmi people also follow the animal based age counting system (on the basis of Tibetan calendar), which is common among the Himalayan ethnic groups.

There are altogether 12 intra-ethnic classes: rat, cow, tiger, cat, dog, horse, sheep, snake (*nag*), monkey, *garud*, bird and pig. The class of the boy should be higher than the girl's class for marriage. For example, the boy from cow class and the girl from tiger class could not get married.

Additionally, there is most interesting naming system of the bridegroom in the final marriage ceremony. The newly created names are determined by various notable gestures of the bridegroom and other marital activities happening on the final day of the marriage ceremony. Some of them are described as;

- a) **k^haro:** If more salty vegetable is served in the marriage party.
- b) **g^hoksarj:** If the bridegroom is sitting like a dump in the marriage ceremony.
- c) **raktorj:** if the sour *dzañ* is served in the marriage party.
- d) **krepla:** if the bridegroom weeps in the marriage ceremony.
- e) **g^hΛmΛtsja:** if the bridegroom seems egoistical in the marriage ceremony.

5.0 Comparison with other TB languages

Most Tibeto-Burman groups use hereditary surnames passed through the male line but in Thangmi, males and females have distinct surname system. Unlike other Tibeto-Burman groups, Thangmi surname and clan identity is passed down from their same sex parents, by which two opposite sex siblings from the same biological parents belongs to separate clans. According to Shneiderman and Turin (2006:98), “their parallel descent system in which men and women each inherit their clan membership from their same-sex parent-is uncommon anywhere in the world”. According to Yonjan-Tamang

(2006:158), both the son and daughter inherit their father's clan and clan of the female is not changed after marriage in Tamang tradition. There is no separate clan name and surname in Tamang. (based on personal communication with Amrit Yonjan-Tamang). According to Shrestha (2015:69), the Tamang surname is determined by flora, personal trait, profession and origin. There is both a native and more recently borrowing surnames in Tamang. Likewise, surname and clan name is the same in Magar tradition as well (based on personal communication with Bishnu Singjali). According to Baral Magar (2012:25), there are some major surnames and sub-surnames within major surname types in the Magar tradition. Some sub-surnames are also determined by unethical marriage practices as well. Moreover, clan and surname entertain different identities in Surel, but different surnames may have same the clan affiliation. Unlike Thangmi, surnames and clans are passed down from the father's side in Surel. Surname and clan of females are changed after marriage and the Surel community does not accept cross cousin marriage (based on the personal communication with Surel shaman in the Suri village).

The Thangmi language community has a different system of marriage ritual from some other Tibeto-Burman language communities of Nepal. There is no cross-cousin marriage in Thangmi. Some Tibeto-Burman communities like the Magar and Tamang communities accept cross cousin marriage. Tamang accepts two-way cross cousin marriage (Yonjan-Tamang 2012:24), whereas Magars only accept one-way cross cousin marriage (Baral Magar 2012:64). In the Magar tradition, the maternal uncle's daughter is allowed to marry their nephew's son. The girl's family must give first priority to him, but the maternal uncle's son could not get married with his nephew's daughter (ibid.).

6.0 Conclusion

The Thangmi language community has the most typical surname and clan system, basically differentiated by gender. Males and females have different surnames and clans. There is parallel a descendent system in Thangmi, in which men and women each inherit their clan membership from their same-sex parent. This system is rare and uncommon anywhere else in the world. Both

males and females have nine different surnames in Tinghare, Ramechap. Male received six clans and three other clans have yet to be identified. All clans and surnames exist with their particular meaning, which contribute a unique identity to each Thangmi individual. Apart from some identified sub-surnames under major surname types, there exist other sub-surnames for both males and females; still there confusion as to the classification of these sub-surnames under the major surname types.

Unlike some other Tibeto-Burman communities like Magar and Tamang, Thangmi does not accept the cross-cousin marriage. The main surname and clan of both males and females are basically taken into account in marriage practices. Hence, surnames, clans and marriage system in the Thangmi community seem relatively different from other Tibeto-Burman language communities of Nepal.

References

- Baral Magar, Keshar Jung. 2012 (2nd edition).
*Palpa, Tanahura Syangjak aMagarhruko
Sanskriti*. Kathmandu: Asmita Books
Publishers and Distributors.
- Central Bureau of Statistics. 2012. *National
Population and Housing Census 2011
(National Report)*. Kathmandu: Central
Bureau of Statistics.
- Eppele, John W., M. Paul Luis, Dan Raj Regmi
and Yogendra P. Yadava. (eds). 2012.
Ethnologue: Languages of Nepal.
Kathmandu: Linguistic Survey of Nepal.
- Keesing, Roger M. 1935. *Kin groups and
Social Structure*. USA: Holt, Rinehart
and Winston, Inc.
- Shneidermann, Sara, and Mark Turin. 2006.
“Revisiting Ethnography, recognizing a
Forgotten People: The Thangmis of
Nepal and India.” *Studies in Nepali
History and Society*.
Online: [http://www.digitalhimalaya.com/
projectteam/turin/downloads/SINHAS_R
evisiting.pdf](http://www.digitalhimalaya.com/projectteam/turin/downloads/SINHAS_Revisiting.pdf).
- Shrestha, 2015. Tamang surname. *Cognition
Research Journal* 1. 68-72.
- Turin, Mark. 2006. *A Grammar of the Thangmi
Language*. Universiteit Leiden:
Amsterdam.
- Turner, Ralph Lilley. 1997 [1931]. *A Comparative
and Ethnological Dictionary of the
Nepali Language*. New Delhi: Allied
Publishers Limited.
- Yonjan-Tamang, Amrit. 2006. *Tamang
Pahichanka Sandarbharu*.
Kathmandu: D.R. Public Housing.
- Yonjan-Tamang, Amrit, 2012. *Tamang sahitako
Itihas*. Kathmandu: Nepal Academy.