

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 Background

This is the sociolinguistic study of the Sherpa language. It was conducted in eight different districts of Nepal, in 2013. The study areas were located in the northern-east regions of Nepal. These are the major Sherpa settlements in Nepal. Nepal is a multilingual, multicultural and multi ethnic society. The Sherpa is one of the minor ethnic communities of Nepal. The language use by the Sherpa people is called Sherbitam (the Sherpa language). They use Tshohig/Sambhota script for their traditional writing texts. The script is mostly use by Lamas. The Lamas are holy and religious leader for the Sherpa community. The Sherpas are dependent on Lamas for their daily social rites and rituals in the society. The Sherpa language has been classified taxonomically in the southern Bodish unit of the Bodic division of the Sino-Tibetan language family (Grime, 1992). Benedict (1972) used a different method of classification; however he too classifies Sherpa in the Central Tibetan language subgroup, as cited in (Genetti, 2004). According to the CBS (2011) there are 125 different ethnic groups and 123 different languages in Nepal. The Sherpa people live on the southern slopes of Himalayan districts such as Rasuwa, Sindhupalchok, Dolakha, Ramechhap, Solukhumbu, Okhaldhunga, Udayapur, Khotang, Bhojpur, Sangkhuwasabha, Taplejung, Tehrathum, Panchthar and Ilam of Nepal. They follow Vajrayan of Ngyingmapa which is the ancient and biggest sect of the Buddhist universe. The Sherpa is mono-syllabic tonal language under the Tibeto-Burman family. The Sherpa is also one of the endangered languages in Nepal. According to the CBS (2011) the total population of Sherpa is 112946. The mother tongue speakers are 129,771. But, the Sherpa Association of Nepal (SAN), central committee has estimated more than 400,000 Sherpa live only in Nepal. But, CBS (2001) shows there are 112,830 mother tongue speakers of Sherpa in Nepal. This census report shows that most of the Sherpa people speak Sherpa language but the majorities of them do not and could not speak the language in the real life. The use of every language is not possible because of one language policy and multi-cultural characteristics of Nepal.

It is said that the ancestral land of Sherpa lies on the northern side of Solukhumbu district, well- known by Khumbu region or Shyarkhumbu along the Dudhkoshi river. But there are no any strong evidences behind this logic yet. However, for hundreds of years, most of Sherpas have been settled along the eastern hilly districts of Nepal, such as Taplejung, Panchthar, Ilam, Terathum, Sankhuwasabha, Okhaldunga, Bhojpur, Udayapur, Khotang, Ramechhap and Dolakha districts.

1.1 Origin of the Sherpa people

The word Sherpa is originated from “Sherba” which is the combination of two words ‘Shyar’ and ‘ba’. Etymologically, the word ‘Shyar’ is an adjective of ‘Sher’ means ‘east’ and ‘ba’ means ‘People’. So, the word Sherpa refers to the ‘eastern people’ which indicates that the Sherpa reside in the eastern parts of Nepal. The word ‘Sherpa’ has derived from the ‘Sherba’. Linguistically word Sherba became Sherpa by replacing the final ‘-ba’ syllable with ‘-pa’. Here the final consonant sound ‘-ba’ is devoiced. It means the word Sherpa pronounced by non-Sherpas when they visit to the Sherpa valley of Nepal. Since then the word Sherpa has been used in Medias, various publications and textbooks of national and international level. It was publicized after summing the Chhomolongma (the Everest) in 1953 A.D. The first summiteers were Mr. Tenzing Norgye Sherpa (Nepal) and Sir Edmund Hillary (New Zealand).

Some researchers argue that the Sherpas migrated from ‘Kham’ the eastern part of Tibet although there is no strong evidence behind this statement. There is still controversy about when they exactly migrated from Tibet. According to Lee (2009:5), “the Sherpas are not Tibetan but, Nepali. They live in Nepal but their religious life and culture is much closer to Tibetan than Nepali.” However, the name ‘Sherpa’ is not only used in Nepal but also for a group of people in Sichuan district of east Tibet. They call themselves as Amdo Sherpa (Nagamo, 1980 cited in Lee 2009:5). This proves that Sherpa could be just easterner without connection to migration.

The Sherpa has been inhabitant in the northern parts of Nepal. They are indigenous mongoloid people with their own religion, culture, tradition, language and script (Sambhota). The Sherpas are known as the world famous mountaineers, non-violent,

trustworthy and peace loving people. Buddhism was heavily spread in Nepal during the lifetime of 4th Buddha as we called Shakyamuni Gautam Buddha. It was about 2557 years ago. Buddhist architecture/ structure and monuments are found throughout Nepal, mostly in the mountain regions. The language of early Buddhism was in the Sanskrit language, but from the time of Malla Kings, Buddhist monuments and inscriptions were also written in Ranjana which is also known as Newari script. The high mountain Tibeto-Burman people, such as the Sherpa, who have close cultural and linguistic ties to Tibet, use Tibetan/ Buddhist writings. These days Sherpas have a settlement around the Boudhanath stupa. The stupa is called Jyaring khasyor by the Buddhists. They also live at Kapan city and Swambhunath Chhorten in Kathmandu valley, Nepal. They live around these places because of the sacred Buddhist Chhortens. They are also inhabitants in Darjeling, Kalempong and Sikkim of India and various places of Europe and United States of America.

1.2 Statement of the problem

A few research works have been carried out in the sociolinguistics of the Sherpa language. No exact and explicit effort has been made to demonstrate sociolinguistic study of the Sherpa language. The main study of this research is to present the major sociolinguistic situation of the Sherpa language.

The study has focused on the following questions:

- a. Do Sherpa varieties show lexical variation?
- b. What is the situation of bilingual and multilingual in Sherpa speech communities?
- c. What is level of mother tongue proficiency in the Sherpa community?
- d. What is the situation of language vitality and maintenance in Sherpa language?
- e. What are the language resources in the Sherpa language?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The general objective of this study is to explore the sociolinguistic study of the Sherpa language. The specific objectives of this study are:

- a. To analyze the variation of the Sherpa language;
- b. To analyze the domains of language use and bi/multilingualism;
- c. To analyze the mother tongue proficiency in the Sherpa community;
- d. To analyze the language vitality and maintenance in the Sherpa language, and
- e. To evaluate the language resources.

1.4 Review of literature

There are some researches conducted by some researchers in the Sherpa language but no details studies have been carried out yet. The review presented in this section includes literatures to sociolinguistic survey of different languages.

Anthony (1981) has carried out study on 'Evidentiality in the Organization of Sherpa Verbal category'. In the paper, he has explored interaction of evidential categories indicating the source of a proposition, or the speaker's assessment of its validity with some other logical and pragmatic categories commonly expressed in languages at the proportional level. He has described a set of four evidential morphemes in the verbal category that undergoes neutralizations, meaning shifts, and other interaction in the context of different tenses, aspects, and person and proportional rules of dependant noun phrases, to a semantically complicated inflection system at the surface.

Gordon (1969) was the first researcher who produced 'Sherpa Phonemic Summary'. His work is a kind of stepping- stone for other communities who want to study Sherpa language. He has upgraded his phonology with Buckhard Schoettelndreyer, and produced together 'Sherpa Segmental Synopsis'.

Lee (2000) has carried out a sociolinguistic Survey of the Sherpa spoken in Solukhumbu, Ramechhap and Dolakha district in Nepal. In this study, it has been found that the Sherpa spoken in Solu region of Solukhumbu district is intelligible throughout the Sherpa regions. He has also recommended using the Sherpa spoken in Solu region as the

standard variety. Similarly, Lee (2002) has also carried out survey on Sherpa script and orthography by collecting primary data and analyzing the available literature in the Sherpa. During these surveys he has collected data from Khumbu and Solu regions of Solukhumbu, and Ramechhap districts. The result shows that only 8% of the people expressed their wish to use Tibetan script, 4% of the people did not mind in using any script. But the majority of the people i. e. 88% preferred using Devanagari script.

Sherpa (2004) has carried out his research on "Subject Verb Agreement System in the Sherpa and English Language". The main objectives of his study were to identify the subject verb agreement system in Sherpa and compare that with the English language and major findings were that both English and Sherpa verbs do not agree with the category of gender. All genders (masculine, feminine, neutral) take same form of verb in all the tenses and aspects.

Sherpa (2007) has carried out a study on "*The Sherpas*". He has mentioned brief introduction about Sherpa language, culture, settlement, population, religion, education, and legend of Yeti in the Sherpa country of Nepal.

Sherpa (2010) has published trilingual dictionary "*Sherpa-Nepali-English*" based on the Solukhumbu, Dolakha, Sindhupalchowk and Taplejung districts of Nepal. He has mentioned IPA symbols, Sambhota script, Devanagari transliteration, parts of speech of the words and meaning of the lexicon in Sherpa, Nepali and English languages in this dictionary. The dictionary contains 4000 Sherpa lexical 3000 Nepali and English lexicons. But the dictionary lacks still many specific dialectal lexicons of those particular regions.

Sherpa (2011) has published a book "*Sherpa Jaatiko Chinari*". Researcher has mentioned about Sherpa culture, language, demography district wise and village wise of Sherpa population, settlement, major festivals, rites of wedding, birth, and death ceremony, eco-socio-cultural status and political status of Sherpa in Nepal. It is a brief informative book. He could not present exact village wise Sherpa population. He has also missed some of the Sherpa villages to show the accurate population.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study attempts to present some major sociolinguistic features of Sherpa language. It is of great significance from different points of view. As mentioned above, from the major Sherpa inhabitants from districts, Taplejung, Bhojpur, Khotang, Okhaldunga, Solukhumbu, Ramechhap, Dolakha and Sindhupalchowk of Nepal, require a specific study. It is an inevitably essential to document the variation, which is conceived to be the core for all the Sherpas. The current study is significant and fruitful to exploring sociolinguistic situation of the Sherpa spoken in these parts. It is hoped that void remained from the Sherpa language to some extent has been abridged and fulfilled. And it is expected, it benefits to further linguistic researches, Sherpa language teachers, Sherpa text book writers, and any interested persons. The following points are outlined to justify the requirement of the study.

- a. This study lays the foundation for a sociolinguistic study of the Sherpa language spoken in major Sherpa populated districts such; as, Taplejung, Bhojpur, Khotang, Okhaldunga, Solukhumbu, Ramechhap, Dolakha and Sindhupalchowk respectively;
- b. This study can contribute to the ongoing linguistic survey of Nepal by providing sociolinguistic situation of the Sherpa language.
- c. This study presents the socio-cultural linguistic atmosphere existing in Sherpa community of Nepal;
- d. Most importantly, this study makes to communicate among the inter-districts Sherpas without any language shock. Though, they all are Sherpas in the same language speakers but they feel their language is not intangible to other region Sherpa speakers therefore, they communicate in Nepali language when they meet each and any places because Nepali language is the national lingua franca in Nepal;
- e. Linguists, grammarians, researchers, teachers, students, textbook writers and learners of Sherpa language will be benefited;
- f. This study will contribute for the policy makers in the linguistic scenario.

1.6 Research methodology

This study is primarily based on the primary data collected from the Sherpa speakers in the major Sherpa populated districts. The study areas include the eastern districts of Nepal viz Solukhumbu, Sindhupalchowk, Taplejung, Dolakha, Okhaldunga, Ramechhap, Khotang and Bhojpur as well. Sociolinguistic questionnaires and 210 word list used by LinSuN were used for the collection of data. The researcher has chosen informants from different ages, gender, literacy, marital status and with different geographical locations. The researcher has observed so many crucial socio- cultural facts which affect linguistic behavior of the informants so much. This observation has contributed to the analysis of the study.

1.6.1 Data collection

The primary data were collected through sociolinguistic Questionnaire and 210 basic wordlist used by Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN). The secondary data were collected from different libraries and sources available.

1.7 Tools for the study

a. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

The main source of data collection is the sociolinguistic questionnaire used by Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN). The questionnaire covers different aspects of language such as language proficiency, attitude, and patterns of contact, bilingualism/multilingualism, and domains of language use and so on.

b. Wordlist Comparison

The 210 word list used by LinSuN has used. The collection of words includes noun, verb and adjectives. The genres incorporated to collect the words are: time and weather, relationship among human beings, language and thoughts, wealth and property, human organs, building, utensils, weapons, food items, dresses and ornaments.

c. Sampling Model

The table below presents a model for sampling of informants from each point in 8 different districts of speech community.

1.7.1 Total number of respondents

The total number of Sherpa respondents and their literacy, gender and aged groups is given below in table 2.2.

Table 1.1: Sampling of Population

Name of Places	Education		Female	Male	Total Respondents
	L	IL			
Solukhumbu	6	6	6	6	12
Sindhupalchowk	6	6	6	6	12
Taplejung	6	6	6	6	12
Dolakha	6	6	6	6	12
Okhaldunga	6	6	6	6	12
Ramechhap	6	6	6	6	12
Khotang	6	6	6	6	12
Bhojpur	6	6	6	6	12

Note: L-literate, IL-Illiterate

The table 2.2 presents the sampling population of the study. It has selected 12 informants from one district with age ranging from 15-29, 30-59, 60 and above with their gender and educational background in each study point. The questions were asked to the informants and the answers have written in Nepali in the questionnaires. After the data collection, the answers were analyzed for general patterns to fulfill the research goals.

1.7.2 Areas of the data collection

The data were collected mainly from the major Sherpa settlement areas such, as Solukhumbu, Sindhupalchowk, Dolakha, Taplejung, Okhaldunga, Ramechhap, Khotang and Bhojpur districts of Nepal, (see, appendix-A).

1.8 Sources of data

In this research work, both primary and secondary data have used for collection of data.

1.8.1 Primary sources

The 210 basic word list and sociolinguistic questionnaires, have used for the study which were prepared by the LinSuN, (See, appendix-B).

1.8.2 Secondary sources

The secondary data for the study has collected from the available related publications, research papers, texts, journals by the different writers and online related articles. All these materials have studied and analyzed during this study.

1.9 Population of the study

The Sherpa native speakers from major Sherpa inhabitants regions from different districts, Solukhumbu, Sindhupalchowk, Dolakha, Taplejung, Okhaldunga, , Ramechhap, Khotang, and Bhojpur districts of Nepal, was the population of the study.

1.9.1 Sample population of the study

12 Sherpa native speakers from each major Sherpa regions of 8 districts were selected as the sample of population for the study.

1.10 Sampling procedure

A total of 96 Sherpa native speakers were interviewed for sociolinguistics study. Under educational background, there were unable to read and write could be considered as illiterate and literate. The researcher has applied the quota sampling for selecting the sample population from the 8 major Sherpa populated districts, which constitute some of the main abodes of the Sherpa community. There were 12 respondents from each district point. Monolingual, bilingual speakers, high level of language retention, gender balance and age factors were considered while selecting the sample population. (See, appendix-C)

1.11 Tools for the data collection

The researcher has used the following tools while collecting the data for the study.

- a. 210 basic wordlist, (See, appendix-B)
- b. LinSuN questionnaire (See, appendix-E)
- c. Review of related literature, available publications, research papers, Sherpa related books and journals and online articles etc.

1.11. 1 Process of the data analysis

The researcher has followed the following process while collecting the data for the study.

- i. Firstly, the researcher has made a thorough review of the related literatures.
- ii. A set of check list was prepared for collecting data.
- iii. A schedule was prepared for the field to data collection.
- iv. It has filled the sociolinguistic questionnaire and recorded some of the significant texts and basic word lists during the field visit.

1.12 The limitation of the study

Obviously, the study confines to the sociolinguistic aspects of Sherpa language in the major Sherpa settlements village areas of Solukhumbu, Sindhupalchowk, Taplejung, Dolakha, Okhaldunga, Ramechhap, Khotang, and Bhojpur districts. It has framed the comparative and descriptive approach in some aspects rather than theoretical to interpret the data.

The limitations of the study are as follows:

- i. This study is limited to the Sherpa language spoken mainly in the major Sherpa settlements village areas of Solukhumbu, Sindhupalchowk, Taplejung, Dolakha, Okhaldunga, Ramechhap, Khotang, and Bhojpur districts of Nepal.
- ii. This study only focuses on some of major sociolinguistic features of the language.
- iii. It is a general study and tries to explore some linguistic aspects which have not been documented.
- iv. Sociolinguistic questionnaire, 210 Wordlist, interview and observation have been used.
- v. There are so many models of questionnaire but the researcher has used the model of sociolinguistic questionnaire used by LinSuN (2009), project of Nepal.
- vi. It is a general study but not survey.

1.13 Organization of the study

This study has presented into eight chapters. The first chapter has included introduction of the study. Background of the study, origins of Sherpa people, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, review of literatures, significance of the study, research methodology, tools for study, source of data, limitations and organization of the study has included. Second chapter has included geographical locations of the Sherpa people, demography and the Sherpa language, genetic classification of languages, Sherpa rites and rituals, education and summary. Third chapter includes evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity, lexical similarities in percentage among the speech varieties in Sherpas, phonological similarities and differences in the Sherpa varieties, comparison of variant lexical units with Taplejung variety and summary of this study. Chapter 4 contains domains of language use; chapter 5 has included mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism of Sherpa language; chapter 6 has contained language vitality, maintenance, and attitudes towards Sherpa language and other languages; chapter 7 has contained about language resources and chapter 8 contained findings and summaries of this study and all the materials such as community publications and related publications, research papers, language related journals, articles, and online materials related to this study have studied thoroughly.

Chapter 2

People and language

2.0 Outline

A sociolinguistic study is the relationship between the language and its speakers in relation to the society. The sociolinguistic study of a particular language attempts to justify the relationship between the language and the communities.

This chapter deals with the sociolinguistic aspects of the Sherpa language. It has been divided into eight sections. The first section (2.1) has included introduction of the study, origins of Sherpa, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, review of literatures, significance, research methodology, tools, source, limitations and organization of this studies are included. Geographical locations of Sherpa, demography and religion, the Sherpa language, tonality, genetic classification of languages, kinship terms in Sherpa, rites and rituals, education and summary are included in chapter two. Chapter three includes lexical variation of Sherpa, phonological similarities and differences and comparison of lexical variant with Taplejung variety. Chapter four contains domains of language use; chapter 5 has included mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism of the Sherpa; chapter six contains language vitality, maintenance, and attitudes towards Sherpa and other languages; chapter seven includes about language resources, chapter eight has contains findings and summaries of this study and each chapter contains brief summary of the sections.

2.1 Geographical location of Sherpa people

The Sherpa people are characterized by Mongoloid features. Sherpa community is dependent on Lamaism. Lama is holy leader who plays vital responsible in the Sherpa society. Lama must be available in all the social functions in this community. Therefore, in any Sherpa settlements, there must be a Buddhist monastery or at least one Lama needs for their social functions, rituals and rites in their daily life.

They are trusted and admired people in national and international level. Mostly, Sherpas are involved in the field tourism of Nepal. They are in tourism such as leaders, guides,

cooks, climbers, Sherpas (a position of assistant guide), rescuers and helpers whereas a very few Sherpa are involved in tourism business and organizations of the tourism in Nepal.

They live on the southern slopes of Himalayan districts such as Rasuwa, Sindhupalchok, Dolakha, Ramechhap, Solukhumbu, Okhaldhunga, Udayapur, Khotang, Bhojpur, Sangkhuwasabha, Taplejung, Tehrathum, Panchthar and Ilam but recently, they are migrating in a big numbers in Kathmandu for better educations, health facilities, jobs, business and to grab other good opportunities.

There are also minorities of the Sherpa speakers in northern of Udayapur, Sunsari, Nuwakot, and Dhankuta districts. Moreover the Kathmandu valley is a major Sherpa language speaking and cultural practices city in compare to their inhabitant villages.

2.2 Demography

The total population of Nepal is 26,494,504 the Census reported in 2011 and there are 125 ethnic groups/caste groups. The Chhetri is the largest caste group having 16.6% (4,398,053) of the total population of Nepal. The major religions are Hinduism and Buddhism. All the respondents reported that they are Buddhist by born and they follow their ways of life of Vajrayan in Nyingmapa sect which is the ancient and biggest of Buddhism sects. According to the CBS (2011) the regional population of Sherpa is 112,946. (See district wise, Appendix: G).

2.2.1 Population distribution

The Sherpa is one of the minor communities in Nepal. They are in less number. The total regional population of the Sherpa people is presented in Table 2.1

Table 2.1 Population distribution of Sherpa

S.N.	Name of Region	Total Population
1	Eastern	64,237
2	Central	46,508
3	Western	1566
4	Mid-Western	433
5	Far-Western	202

Source: CBS, 2011

Table 2.1 shows that the highest number of population resides in the central development whereas the eastern region is the second largest population of Sherpa. The eastern region is the historical and territorial land of the Sherpa. They have been migrating to the CDR for the purpose of opportunities, such as, education, health, business, and jobs in Kathmandu. The minority of them moved to western, mid-western and far-western regions for the purpose of business and jobs opportunities.

2.3 The Sherpa language

The Sherpa language is under the classification of Tibeto-Burman language family and belongs to Sino-Tibetan language group. According to Hale (1970), Sherpa language is belongs to the central dialect under the Tibeto-Burman language family which is close to Lhasa Tibetan. The language spoken by the Sherpa people is called the Sherpa language. The Sherpa is a mono-syllabic tonal language and an ergative with SOV pattern. It has no future tense and is shown by temporal adverb. The Sherpa is also one of the endangered languages in Nepal. According to the Census (2001) the total population of Sherpa is 154,622 and the Sherpa language speakers is 129,771 whereas the Census (2011) shows that total population of Sherpa is only 112,946 and 114830 of them speak the Sherpa language. But, the Sherpa Association of Nepal (SAN) central committee has estimated more than 400,000 Sherpa live only in Nepal. Recently the Census report (2011) shows

that the number of the Sherpa speakers is 114830 and total population of Sherpa is 112,946 with 1884 more Sherpa numbers than the total of the Sherpa population. This indicates that the population of Sherpa is not exact number by the recent Census Report (2011). The reason is all the Sherpa people do not and could not use the language in the real life because of one language policy by the government of Nepal. The Census Committee needs to collect the real data of the Sherpa people again.

The Sherpa use Tshohig/Sambhota script for their writing systems. According to the national census (2011), reported, there are 125 different ethnic groups and 123 different languages in Nepal. Among them Nepali language is an official language of Nepal and the Sherpa is one of the minor ethnic groups and minor language of Nepal. The Sherpa language is spoken mainly in the northeastern districts of Nepal such as, Ilam, Panchthar, Taplejung, Tehrathum, Sangkhuwasabha, Bhojpur, Khotang, Okhaldungha, Solukhumbu, Ramechhap, Dolakha, Rasuwa, Udayapur, Sindhupalchok and Kathmandu etc.

The Sherpa language is not a dialect of the Tibetan language because there is no any mutual intelligibility with Tibetan. However there are very few similarities on lexical, phonological and tonal feature.

2.3.1 Consonants

Lee (2009) shows that there are 31 consonants and 6 vowels in the Sherpa language. It has categorized into stops, affricatives, fricatives, nasals, laterals, flaps and approximants according to the manner of articulation and in the same way they are classified into seven numbers in the place of articulations, they are bilabials, dentals, alveolar, retroflex, palatals, velars, and glottal consonants, (See, appendix: F).

2.3.2 Vowels

There are only six vowels in the Sherpa language (Lee, 2009). These vowels are categorized into high, mid and low vowels, according to the raise of the tongue. They are classified into front, central and back, according to the horizontal raise of the tongue and they are classified into rounded and unrounded according to the shape of the lips in the Sherpa, (See Appendix: F).

2.4 Tonality

Tone is a term used in phonology to refer to ‘a sequence of the distinctive pitch level of syllable’ (Crystal, 2003). In tonal languages, words are different in meaning by tone. Such languages are lexically significant and contrastive but relative pitch on each syllable. Significant pitch distinguishes the meaning of utterances whereas contrastive pitch makes one thing totally different from another within a functional system. The Sherpa language is tonal as well as mono-syllabic languages which is the most challenging part in the Sherpa phonology and morphology. It has two tones, high and low. Word is a domain of tone in the Sherpa language and Sherpa tone is contrastive only in the first syllable of word. In case of prefixes the tone of the free morpheme is shifted to the bound morpheme that occurs in the initial position of the word. The tonal contrast in Sherpa is shown in the minimal pairs in Table (2.2). The high tone is indicated by () and the lexical items without it or indicate the low tone.

Table 2.2: Examples of tonality in Sherpa

Low Tone		High Tone	
<i>i</i>	Field	<i>ɪ</i>	Fire wood
<i>na</i>	Naked wheat	<i>ná</i>	The day after tomorrow
<i>t ak</i>	Steep slop	<i>t ák</i>	Blood
<i>ra</i>	Goat	<i>r á</i>	Hair
<i>a</i>	I	<i>á</i>	Five
<i>mo</i>	Guess by priest	<i>mó</i>	Grandma
<i>lo</i>	Year	<i>ló</i>	cough
<i>sang</i>	Copper big pot	<i>sáng</i>	Incense
<i>tso</i>	color	<i>tsó</i>	lake
<i>luk</i>	Sheep	<i>lúk</i>	Pour
<i>a</i>	Wheat	<i>á</i>	Kick of animal

2.5 Honorific lexicons

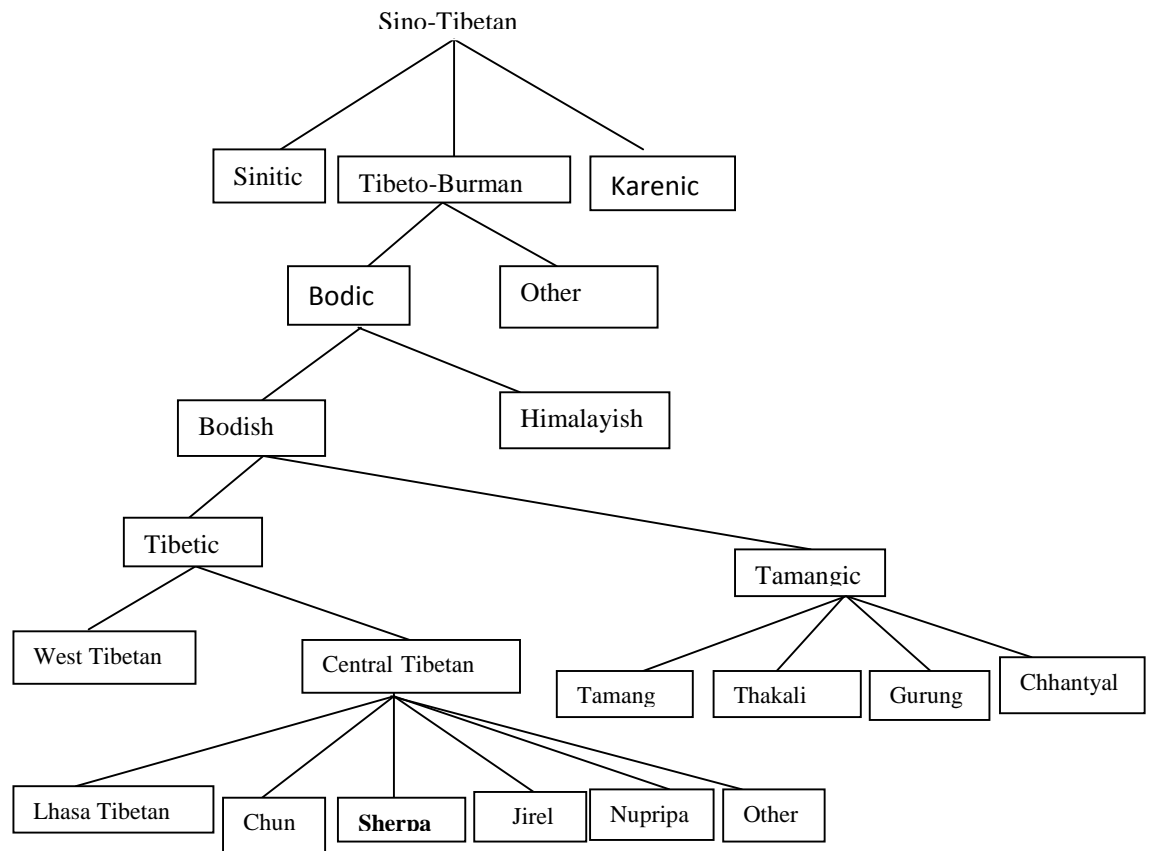
The honorificity is one of the significant features of Bodic languages. The Sherpa receive honorific forms based on the status of its subject and objects. The Sherpa verb and nouns both have honorific forms. Some lexical honorific forms are presented in Table 2.3.

Table: 2.3: Honorific forms of Sherpa

Honorific		Non-honorific		Meaning
<i>ts en/p ep</i>	<i>Chhen/phep</i>	<i>j k</i>	<i>shok</i>	come
<i>ts ak</i>	<i>Chhak</i>	<i>lakpa</i>	<i>lakpa</i>	hand
<i>Sil</i>	<i>sil</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>tu</i>	wash
<i>e</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>so</i>	to have meal
<i>u</i>	<i>shu</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>	sit
<i>Su</i>	<i>sung</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>	tell
<i>Sjim</i>	<i>sim</i>	<i>ilok</i>	<i>ngilok</i>	sleep
<i>Su gu</i>	<i>sunggu</i>	<i>siu</i>	<i>siu</i>	tell
<i>o gu</i>	<i>thonggu</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>shiu</i>	die

2.6 Genetic affiliation of languages

The Sherpa is mainly spoken in the northern of Solu, khumbu, Sindhupalchowk, Dolakha, Taplejung, Ramechhap, Okhaldunga, Bhojpur, Khotang and Boudhanath, Swambhunath, Kapan and Jorpati areas of Kathmandu valley. Griemson and Benedict (1990) have classified the Sherpa language is under Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Bodic, Bodish and Central Tibetan. Bradley (1997) classifies Sherpa as a Central Bodish/Tibetan language of Central Tibeto-Burman is in the Figure 2.1



Source: Based on (Griemson 1990) and Benedict 1972)

2.7 Kinship terms in Sherpa

Kinship systems are universal features of language because it is so important in social patterns. It determines marriage relationship among different clans and it also determines about sex, age, generations and blood relations among the communities. The Sherpa

language is rich in its kinship terms. The kinship terms of the Sherpa people is presented as below. The presentation is mainly based on as Abbi (2001).

i. Non-affinal

The following non-affinal kinship terms were obtained. These terms show non-affinal relations those relations are as follow:

a. tsjaptsu Great grand Kinsmen

a. Grand kinship men

po 'grandfather (Father's and mother's side)'

mo 'grandmother (Father's and mother's side)'

nati 'man's grandchild (M.)'

natini 'man's grandchild (F.)'

b. Parents and children

appa/pala 'father'

pats e 'father's elder brother'

mats e 'mother's elder sister'

au 'father's younger brother/uncle'

ts au 'elder sister's husband'

hama/m mma 'mother'

uru 'mother's younger sister'

au 'mother's younger sister's husband'

adzja 'mother's brothers'

nama 'son's wife'

p dzu 'own son'

p umu 'own daughter'

ts apju 'sister's son (Nephew)'

<i>ts apju ma</i>	‘sister’s daughter (Niece)’
<i>p dzu</i>	‘brother’s son’
<i>p umu</i>	‘brother’s daughter’

c. Siblings and cousins

Cross-cousin marriage is not allowed in the Sherpa cultural code of ethic

<i>atsu/tsudzu</i>	‘elder brother’
<i>nuk</i>	‘younger brother’
<i>adzi</i>	‘elder sister’
<i>numu</i>	‘younger sister’

Affinal

The following affinal kinship terms were obtained in the Sherpa.

a. Own generation

<i>k jowa</i>	‘husband’
<i>kerme/p ermi</i>	‘wife’
<i>mem</i>	‘husband’s father’
<i>jaku</i>	‘husband’s younger brother’
<i>ermu</i>	‘husband’s younger sister’
<i>ibi</i>	‘husband’s mother’
<i>mem</i>	‘husband’s elder brother’
<i>ibi</i>	‘wife’s elder sister’
<i>ermu</i>	‘wife’s younger sister’
<i>samdi</i>	‘son’s wife father’
<i>samdini</i>	‘son’s wife mother’
<i>ts ám</i>	‘elder brother’s wife’

makpa 'younger sister's/daughter's husband'

First ascending generation

mem 'spouse's father, father-in-law'

ibi 'spouse's mother, mother-in-law'

uru-bombu/gerpu 'father's elder brother's wife'

urutsu a 'father's younger brother's wife'

ts au 'father's sister's husband'

First descending generation

nama 'daughter-in-law'

makpa 'daughter's husband'

uru 'step Mother'

p ump edza 'woman'

Source: Field visit, 2013

2.8 The Sherpa rites and rituals

The Sherpa have their own rite and rituals performed according to the Buddhism. The Lamas or religious readers play most important role in the Sherpa community. They could not perform any rite and rituals without Lama. The Sherpa also three most important rites birth, wedding and death rites. Culturally, all Sherpa's babies are named by days. Therefore, many names are repeated in the Sherpa, (see appendix-H). The marriage in the Sherpa is unique. There are several stages to get the proper wedding in Sherpa. *Sodane* is the first proposal from boy's family to a girl's parents. *Demchhyang* is the establishment of a proper agreement. *Thijyang* sets the year and month of the final ceremony. *Pejyang* sets up the actual date of marriage called *Tshangdu/dzendi* where-after a bride goes to live with the bridegroom. When a person dies, a Lama has to invite to perform *Phowa*, reciting hymns and kindling the butter lamp. The Lama, doing *Phowa*, must join his soul with that of the deceased to try to bring about good and positive energy for the deceased. He uses prayers pulling the person's hair so that the deceased spirit

leaves the body via and head. Later, Lamas sit by the dead body reading the *Thoedol*, instructions to the spirit on which path to follow in the afterlife. The dead body is washed to purify and kept in the prayer room. They decide the date and time of cremation. The dead body is cremated on the hill.

The *Nyungne* is most important religious festival, is a kind of meditation with fasting. It is organized at the monastery at the end of May or early June. People believe that *Nyungne* brings a high and powerful merit to the observers. During the fasting, (six syllabic) the prayer '*Om Mani Pad Me Hung Rhi*' is chanted and prostration is frequently followed before the altar. The meaning of the *Om -Ma -Ni -Ped -Me -Hung* is worshipping for six realms of this universe.

The *Losar* is New Year of the Sherpa people. This festival usually falls at the end of January or early February and marks the beginning of the New Year based on the lunar calendar. The Sherpa celebrate '*Gyalbo losar*' as their New Year celebration and as a great social festival throughout the Sherpa community. They wear new cloths and exchange New Year greetings with the word '*Tashidelek*'. The head of the family offers *Chhimar* made up of wheat flour and butter; and gives blessings to the family members. They also have *Khapse* (dip fried cookies) and *Desil* (boiled rice fried with butter, nuts, resin and peas etc.) on the occasion. At the completion of the *Sang Serkim* prayer, they raise the prayer flags and spray up the white flour on their home yards wishing the victory of the god and the defeat of the demons in a joyous sentence '*Keke Sangso Lha Gyallo*'. (Klazel, 2000).

2.9 Educations in Sherpa

The education is the most important aspects for the human beings. It plays vital roles to transform the society, country and human civilizations. The Sherpa are more literates these days. There are primary schools in some of the Sherpa villages. The Sherpa settlements are in the mountain regions. It is very hard life in terms of geographical diversities. There are schools in the mountains but they are very far to reach those schools. The majority of the children speak Sherpa with family at home. Therefore, mother tongue educational system is the best instructions to promote the quality of education in Nepal. There are Sherpa language text books published by the government

of Nepal but it did not apply in the Sherpa community properly. The language shift from mother tongue to other languages is high among the new young generations. The requirement of implementations of mother tongue education in the core regions is an urgent. The informants from most of the core areas suggested that implementing mother tongue education especially in the pre-primary level is necessary. New children feel very hard to understand the Nepali, which is the contact language of Nepal.

The literacy status of the Sherpa, according to national Census 2001, shows 50.4 percent which is almost 4 percent lower than the average national literacy rate. The adult literacy rate aged 15 years and above, of Sherpa is 37.4 percent educational attainment of SLC (School leaving Certificate) and above 16 years is very low (5%) in comparison to other ethnic groups of Nepal. Yet the number of people educated traditionally in the monasteries is not incorporated in the national census of Nepal. The formal education of the informants is shown in Table (2.4).

Table 2.4 Completions of formal education

District	Primary	L. Secondary	Secondary	Higher Education
Solukhumbu	8.33%	—	25%	16.66%
Sindhupalchowk	16.66%	16.66%	—	8.33%
Taplejung	16.66%	16.66%	33.33%	33.33%
Dolakha	8.33%	—	41.66%	25%
Okhaldungha	—	16.66%	33.33%	16.66%
Ramechhap	16.66%	—	25%	8.33%
Khotang	8.33%	16.66%	16.66%	8.33%
Bhojpur	—	8.33%	33.33%	16.66%

Table 2.3 shows that higher percent of the informants from Taplejung (33.33) and Dolakha (25%) varieties completed higher education percentage of informants (16.66) comparison to other varieties. In the same way, a lower a respondents from Solukhumbu, Okhaldunga and Bhojpur varieties completed (16.66%) higher education. Only (8.33%) respondents from Sindhupalchowk, Ramechhap and Khotang varieties completed

(8.33%) higher education. Similarly, respondents from Dolakha varieties completed (41.66%) secondary education. The informants from Taplejung, Okhaldunga and Bhojpur varieties show equal (33.3%) literacy status in secondary education whereas Solukhumbu and Ramechhap varieties (25%) and Khotang (16.66%) completed secondary education. Moreover, informants from Sindhupalchok, Taplejung, Okhaldunga and Khotang varieties (16.66%), and Bhojpur (8.33%) varieties completed lower secondary level. Finally, the respondents from Ramechhap, Taplejung and Sindhupalchowk varieties (16.66%) and Solukhumbu, Dolakha and Khotang (8.33%) completed primary education level. The majority of the respondents show good result in higher education.

2.10 Summary

This chapter presents current situation of the Sherpa people and their culture. The word 'Sherpa' is derived from *Shyarba*. The Sherpa is Tibeto-Burman language of the Bodish subgroup within Tibeto-Burman group of Sino-Tibetan family. The Sherpa involve the largest numbers in field tourism sectors of Nepal which is better business for national interest and the people of Nepal.

Culturally, Sherpa prefer arranged marriage but new generations prefer love marriage. The cross-cousin marriage and polyandry systems are not found in Sherpa society though some national and international writers have mentioned in their books, journals and resource papers. Regarding Sherpas, writers/researchers need to consult with the community with proper research. They follow *Vajrayan* (related to rituals) Buddhism within *Ngyingmapa* sect which is the oldest and largest sects in Buddhism.

Chapter 3

Lexical variation in the Sherpa

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with lexical variations of the Sherpa language. Firstly, the lexical similarity in percentage among the speech varieties in the Sherpa is presented in 3.1 degree of phonological similarity and a difference is in 3.2. 3.3 is presented the comparison of variant lexicons with Taplejung variety and this chapter is summarized in 3.4.

3.1 Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages

Table: 3.1 Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages

S.N.	Lexical similarity %	Evaluation	Remarks
1	60% similarity	A cutoff point/threshold for the evaluation	May not always be a strict cutoff point
2	Less than 60% similarity	Different languages	
3	60 % or more similarity	Different languages or dialects of the same language	Intelligibility testing is required by RTT
4	Higher than 85% similarity	Speech varieties likely to be related dialects	
5	Higher than 95 %	Same languages	

3.2 Lexical similarity among the varieties of Sherpa

Lexical similarity was calculated by using Wordsurv, a computer software program. The lexical items from nine different key points mentioned earlier were entered in the Wordsurv. All the Sherpa language varieties were compared with Solu Sherpa varieties. Ramechhap, Khotang and Okhaldunga regions share a higher percent of similarity. Khumbu and Sindhupalchowk speech varieties show lower percentage of next similarity. Similarly, Dolakha shows third similarity whereas Taplejung presents the least similarity

among these regional speech varieties of Sherpa study. Each variety is compared with Solu variety. Among the 210 words only 197 equivalent words have been found in the Sherpa speech varieties. All the lexical items have been compared with Solu speech variety. The lexical items were entered in Wordsurv, a computer software programme. The result obtained from Wordsurv is in Table 3.2.

Table: 3.2 Percentages of lexical similarity of the Sherpa

Variety	Bhojpur	Dolakha	Khotang	Khumbu	Okhal.	Rame.	Sindhu.	Solu	Taple.
Bhojpur	100%	84%	92%	88%	91%	94%	85%	94%	60%
Dolakha	84%	100%	85%	84%	85%	85%	85%	84%	68%
Khotang	92%	85%	100%	88%	92%	93%	87%	95%	62%
Khumbu	88%	84%	88%	100%	88%	89%	89%	89%	63%
Okhal.	91%	85%	92%	88%	100%	96%	90%	96%	62%
Rame.	94%	85%	93%	89%	96%	100%	90%	97%	62%
Sindu.	85%	85%	87%	89%	90%	90%	100%	89%	67%
Solu.	94%	84%	95%	89%	96%	97%	89%	100%	60%
Taple.	60%	68%	62%	63%	62%	62%	67%	60%	100%

(Note: Okhal-Okhaldunga, Rame-Ramechhap, Sindhu-Sindupalchok and Taple-Taplejung)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 3.1 shows that the lexical difference among the Sherpa varieties ranges from studied 60% to 97% speech varieties. Generally, the 60% is used as a cutoff point for the evaluation of the lexical similarity. When lexical similarity percentages are less than 60% the form of the speech spoken in different key points are considered to be different languages. In the same way if such percentages are 60% or more the intelligibility testing is required by using RTT (Recorded Text Test). Usually, if percentages are higher than 85% the compare varieties are likely to be related dialects. By looking the percentages of lexical similarity, these are not seen to be a significant problem to understand among the Sherpa speakers.

All the lexical varieties are compared with the Solu variety to analyze the lexical similarity and differences among the Sherpa speech varieties. The Bhojpur variety shares (94%) the highest percent similarity with the Solu and Ramechhap varieties. The least similarity (60%) is with the Taplejung variety. The Dolakha variety shares (85%) the highest degree with the Khotang, Okhaldunga, Ramechhap and Sindhupalchowk varieties

and the least lexical similarity (68%) shares with the Taplejung variety. The Khotang variety shares the highest similarity (95%) with the Solu variety and the least similarity (62%) with the Taplejung variety.

In the same way, the Khumbu variety shares (89%) the highest percentage with the Solu, Ramechhap and Sindhupalchowk speech varieties and the least lexical similarity shares (63%) with the Taplejung variety. The Okhaldunga variety shares (96%) the highest degree with the Solu variety and the least similarity shares (62%) with the Taplejung speech variety. The Ramechhap speech variety shares (97%) the highest with the Solu variety and the least similarity shares (62%) with the Taplejung variety. The Sindhupalchowk variety shares (90%) the highest with the Okhaldunga and Ramechhap speech variety and the least similarity shares (67%) with the Taplejung variety. The Solu variety shares (97%) the highest with the Ramechhap and the least lexical similarity shares (60%) with the Taplejung variety and lastly, The Taplejung variety shares the highest with the Dolakha speech variety and the least lexical similarity shares with the Solu and Bhojpur speech varieties. From this study around Junbeshi villages of Solukhumbu region is the better understood on the average.

The Ramechhap variety shares (97%) the highest percentage of similarity with the Solu and the Taplejung speech variety shares (60%) the least similarity with the Solu variety. The Taplejung is lesser similarities among the Sherpa speech varieties in Nepal. The speech variety will be the next Sherpa language domains of linguistic research.

3.3 Phonological similarities and differences of the Sherpa language

Phonological similarity was calculated by using Wordsurv, a computer software programme. The words from nine different key points were entered in Wordsurv. Among the villages, the researcher selected some major Sherpa settlements from each study points. Table 3.2 has covered some lexical variations of the different Sherpa speech varieties. The tables were used to clarify the data. The lexical variations found in each study points has presented in the 3.2.

Table: 3.3 Lexical and phonological variation of the Sherpa language

Lexical and Phonological Variation of the Sherpa Language									
Lexicons	Solu	Khumbu	Rame.	Sindhu.	Dolakha	Okhal.	Khotang	Bhojpur	Taple.
Body	dzu	dzu	Dzu	dzubu	dzubu	dzu	o bu	dzu	dzubu
Ear	namd ok	amd ok	namd ok	amd ok	namd ok	namd ok	namd ok	namd ok	amd ok
Nose	nau	nau	nau	nau	nau	nau	nau	nau	nartok
Teeth	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	so
Fingernail	sermu	sermu	sermu	sermu	sermu	sermu	sermu	sermu	sendok
Bone	rubak	rubak	rubak	rubak	rubak	rubak	rubak	rowa	rukjok
Door	go	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	ortsa
Mortal		ts itsju					ts ukur		
Exe	teri	teri	teri	tari	teri	teri	teri	teri	tari
Thread	ruta	ruta	ruta	ruta	ruta	ruta	ruta	ruta	kutok
Ring	sertup	sertup	sertup	sertup	sartup	sertup	sertup	sertup	sartup
Moon	ula	ukla	audakar	audakar	aula	aula	ula	ukla	audakja
Wind	hurtu	hurtu	lung	hurtu	hurtu	hurtu	hurtu	hurtu	lu bu
Smoke	tuta	t uta	t uta	t uta	t uta	t uta	t uta	t utak	t utak
Ash	t ald zam	t ald zam	t ald zam	t ald zam	t ald zam	t ald zam	t ald zam	t ald zam	k asit ala
Leaf	loma	loma	damak	loma	dama	loma	loma	loma	dama
Root	mar	chatak	mar	chatak	chatak	mar	mar	mar	dzatak
Wheat	ta	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Rice	da	da	da	da	da	or	or	or	de
Ant	t o ma	t o ma	t o ma	t o ma	t o ma	t o ma	t o ma	t o ma	t oksi ma
Spider	bald a	bald a	bald a	bald a	bald a	tse bal	bald a	bald a	bald a
Woman	p ump ed za	p ump ed za	p ump ed za	p ump ed za	p ump edz a	p ump edz a	hamp um	p ump edz a	p ump edza
Father	pala	haba	pala	pala	pala	pala	pala	pala	appa
Mother	mamma	hama	hama	mamma	mamma	mamma	mamma	mamma	hama
Boy	k jokp ed za	dzjoda	k jokp ed za	k jokp ed za	k jokp edz a	k jokp edz a	k jokp edz a	k jokp edz a	k jokp edza
Girl	p ump ed za	dzermu	p ump ed za	p ump ed za	p ump edz a	p ump edz a	p ump edz a	p ump edz a	p ump edza
Today	hari	hari	hari	t ari	hari	hari	hari	hari	hari
Old	awa	aba	aba	aba	aba	aba	aba	awa	aba
Big	erpu	bombu	erpu	bombu	erpu	erpu	erpu	erpu	bombu
Heavy	tsende	tsende	tsende	tsende	tsende	tsende	tsende	tsende	dzendi
White	karmu	karmu	karmu	karmu	karmu	karmu	karmu	karmu	kapu
Red	marbu	marbu	marbu	marbu	marbu	maru	maru	marbu	mapu
Four	dzi	i	dzi	i	dzi	i	dzi	Dzi	i
Six	tuk	t uk	t uk	t uk	t uk	t uk	t uk	t uk	t uk
Twelve	tsi i	tsu i	tsu i	tsu i	tsi i	tsi i	tsi i	tsi i	tsu i
Twenty	k ald zik	i u	i u	i u	isu	k ldzik	k ldzik	k ldzik	i u
What	ka	ka	ka	k a	k a	k a	ka	k a	k a
Where	k eni	k eni	k eni	k ani	k ani	keni	kani	k eni	k ani
These	diwa	diwa	diwa	diwa	diba	diwa	diwa	diwa	diba
Those	t iwa	t uwa	t iwa	t iwa	t iba	t iwa	t iwa	t iwa	t iba
To fly	p uru	p uru	p uru	p uru	p uru	p uru	p uru	p uru	p irku
He	t i	k o	t i	t i	t i	t i	t i	t i	t i
We (incl)	dakpu	dakpu	ora	ora	ora	dakpu	dakpu	dakpu	ora
They	t iwa	k iwa	t iwa	t iwa	t iba	tiwa	k iwa	t iwa	t iba

The lexical items presented in Table 3.2. To begin with, we can see that there are minor phonological variations as can be seen in the case of *s* ‘teeth’. The varieties speakers of Solu and Bhojpur districts are most frequently used -wa at word final position whereas in same position the speakers of Taplejung, Sindhupalchowk and Dolakha districts are used -pa and -ba.

3.4 Comparison of variant lexicons with Taplejung

It has found some lexical differences when it compares among the speech varieties. Lexical items Taplejung shares less similar among other speech varieties. The variations of these lexical items are presented in table 3.2 as given below:

Table: 3.4 Lexical variation compared with Taplejung varieties

Lexicons	Solu	Khumbu	Rame.	Sindhu.	Dolakha	Okhal.	Khotang	Bhojpur	Taple.
Belly	sup	sup	sup	Sup	sup	sup	sup	sup	t opa
Broom	komu	komu	komu	komu	komu	komu	koming	komin	ts ama
Cloth	mad a	mad a	mad a	mad a	mad a	mad a	mad a	mad a	khola
Sand	p ema	p ema	p ema	p ema	p ema	p ema	p ema	p ep ok	ts ima
Potato	ri i	ri i	ri i	ri i	ri i	ri i	ri	ri i	t oma
Buffalo	me i	me i	mar	me i	me i	me i	me i	me i	an ok
Snake	rul	rul	rul	rul	rul	rul	rul	rul	dul
Monkey	riu	riu	riu	riu	riu	riu	riu	lakambu	te
Night	nup	nup	nup	nup	nup	nup	nup	nup	ts emu
Tomorrow	sala	sala	sala	Sala	sala	sala	sala	sala	a u
Wife	p ermi	p ermi	p ermi	p ermi	p ermi	p ermi	p ermi	p ermi	kerme
Good	lemu	lemu	lemu	Lemu	lemu	lemu	lemu	lemu	andi
Small	tikpe	tikpe	tikpe	teikpe	tikpe	tikpe	tikpe	tikpe	atsi ma
How many	tso	ma di	tso	ts o	tso	tso	ts o	ts o	k adzo
Many	ba i	bu i	ba i	ba i	ba i	bu i	ba i	ba a i	adzi
Whole	teri	teri	teri	teri	teri	teri	ari	ari	jukai

A total of seventeen lexical items has found with Taplejung speech variety are different in comparison with Solu speech variety. These lexicons differences are *t opa*, *ts ama*, *k ola*, *ts ima*, *t oma*, *a ok*, *dul*, *te*, *ts emu*, *a u*, *kerme*, *andi*, *atsi ma*, *k adzo*, *adzi*, and *jukai* only a lexical item of Bhojpur and Khotang language varieties is different with Solu language varieties. The word is ‘ari’ meaning of all in English.

Lexical items differing due to vowels are many in the word-list. In other words, a majority of speech variation much similar in the phonological level and minority of words are different in lexical level in the Sherpa language.

3.5 Summary

This chapter discussed the dialect variations among the Sherpas speech communities. It is located in Solukhumbu, Sindhupalchowk, Taplejung, Dolakha, Okhaldunga, Ramechhap, Khotang and Bhojpur districts of Nepal. These are the major Sherpa settlements in Nepal. The speech variations have been discussed on the basis of lexical similarities and the respondents' perceptions. The same lexical items of the Sherpa varieties have compared with Solu variety. Ramechhap shares the highest percentage (97%) of similarity, Okhaldunga with (96%), Khotang with (95%) and Bhojpur with (94%) similarity. Similarly, Sindhupalchowk and Khumbu share same percent which is (89%), Dolakha with (84%), whereas Taplejung shares (60%) which is the highest dissimilar of this research study. The wordlist is Solu based data. It shows that Junbeshi Sherpa language could be the standard of the Sherpa speech varieties in Nepal. The Solu variety shows more lexical similarities to other Sherpa speech varieties. Children seem using mother tongue at homes, neighboring, friends, and schools to communicate. The language vitality appears strong in the Sherpa community. Yet, the new generation has been motivated to Nepali and English due to various reasons. And, the language seems shifting to the contact language, with the increase of mixing codes and loan words. This certainly interfere the Sherpa language in the coming decades. The sense of preservation is highly felt and attempts to preserve the language and its dialects are inevitable.

Chapter 4

Domains of language use

4.0 Outline

This chapter is about the domains of language use. Section 4.1.1 deals with the use of Sherpa language and 4.2 deals most frequently used language at home for talking about education, social matters and writings. Similarly, children's language use while talking to other language speakers is presented in 4.3. In the same way, section 4.4 attempts to present the most frequently use languages whereas the section 4.5 looks at frequency of mother tongue use. Children's medium of instruction at primary level is described in sections 4.6. Use of language in marriage invitation is presented in section 4.7, and the summary of this chapter is given in section 4.8.

4.1 Domains of language use

Majority of the elders Sherpa use the Sherpa language. New generations use less Sherpa language for their daily communication. The elders use the Sherpa language while naming of new baby, wedding, funeral rites, various cultural and religious festivals. The Sherpa language is limited to daily communication. The language is supposed to use only in a fewer domains.

4.1.1 Use of the Sherpa in general domains

The majority of the Sherpas have strong continuity of their language use. The Sherpa language is mostly used at home, with relatives, neighbors, friends, at work place, and especially the Sherpa elders use this language most of the places. They use Sherpa outside home in their locality to disseminate cultural, religious and political view-points. They use this language for telling story, counting, singing songs, joking and proverbs and so on. Nepali is used at schools, at offices, and with non-native speakers. All the Sherpa respondents have been reported that they use Nepali language for minute writings, to visiting of non-Sherpa at homes. The majority of Sherpa believe that non-Sherpa speakers could not understand Sherpa language and they use Nepali with them for

communication. Moreover, minority of Sherpa could speak and understand Nepali language. But the growing tendencies of the private education and migration to cities and modernization have pulled its speakers to other language usages. It needs some language policies to preserve Sherpa language. Therefore, the state needs to encourage the community to use this language.

4.2 Most frequently use languages among the family members

It is presented that frequently use of languages among the Sherpa family members when they talk about education and social topics at home. Their uses of writing scripts are also presented in Table 4.1

Table: 4.1 Frequently used languages in education, social topics and writings

	Education	Percent	Social	Percent	Writing	Percent
Grand Father	Sherpa	100%	Sherpa	100%	Nepali	96.47%
					Sherpa	3.52%
Grand Mother	Sherpa	100%	Sherpa	100%	Nepali	97.64%
					Sherpa	2.35%
Father	Sherpa	100%	Sherpa	100%	Nepali	100%
Mother	Sherpa	100%	Sherpa	100%	Nepali	100%
Spouse	Sherpa	88.88%	Sherpa	88.88%	Nepali	72%
	Nepali	11.11%	Nepali	11.11%		
Children	Sherpa	83.87%	Sherpa	79.03%	Nepali	62%
	Nepali	16.12%	Nepali	20.96%		

Table 4.1 presents that the all the informants reported that all the grandfather use (100%) the Sherpa language when they talk about education and social matters. Almost all of them use (96.64%) the Nepali language whereas they use (3.52%) the Sherpa scripts for writings. But the elder respondents use their writing with the help of somebody who knows Nepali. The all grandmothers also use (100%) the Sherpa language when they talk about education and social matters. The spouse informants use (97.64%) the Nepali and Sherpa (2.35%) for their writings.

In the same way, all the Sherpa (100%) use Sherpa language when they talk about education and social matters at home. The majority of them use Nepali and minorities of them use Sherpa script for their writings. Similarly, most of the spouse informant use (88.88%) the Sherpa language and the Nepali (11.11%) when they talk about education and social matters. Mostly, they use (72%) the Nepali for writings. Similarly, the majority of the children (83.87%) use the Sherpa and Nepali (16.12%) languages when they talk about education and social matters.

The majority of elder informants use Sherpa in their spoken form and the minorities of them use the Sambhota script for their writing and readings. In present, the majority of informants are willing to use the Devanagari script for writing and readings. The majority of younger generations also use the Dewanagari script for the same purposes. Moreover, they use the Nepali language for their daily life activities. The Sherpa speakers are decreasing though young generations are aware to preserve the language and culture. The state needs to come with action oriented plans regarding the language preservation.

4.3 Language use by the children while talking to non-Sherpa

The use of children languages while they talk to other language speakers and their responses are presented in Table 4.2

Table 4.2 Language use by the children while talking to non-Sherpa speakers

Topics	Language	Respondents
Playing with children	Nepali	73.23%
	Sherpa	26.76%
Talking with neighbors	Nepali	78.87%
	Sherpa	19.71%
	English	1.40%
At school	Nepali	100%

Table 4.2 shows that the majority of Sherpa children use the Nepali while playing with other language speakers. Similarly, very often, they also use the Nepali language while they talk to neighbors. All the children use (100%) the Nepali language when they are at

schools whereas the use of Sherpa is being limited at home atmosphere. It data show that the majority of Sherpa children use the Nepali and the minority of them use the Sherpa languages.

4.4 Language most frequently use by the Sherpas

The majority of the respondents reported that they use both the Sherpa and Nepali languages frequently. The responses are in Table 4.3

Table: 4.3 The most frequently use languages

Domains	Sherpa	Nepali
Counting	83.33%	33.330%
Singing	67.70%	32.29%
Joking	66.66%	33.33%
Shopping	5.20%	63.54%
Story telling	63.54%	36.45%
Debate/Discussing	64.58%	35.41%
Praying	90.62%	9.37%
Quarrelling	64.58%	35.41%
Abusing/scolding	67.70%	32.29%
Telling story to Children	58.33%	41.66%
Singing at Home	64.58%	35.41%
Family Gathering	69.79%	30.20%
Village Meetings	59.37%	40.62%

The Table 4.3 indicates that the majority of the respondents use the Sherpa while counting, singing, joking, storytelling, discussing, playing, quarrelling, scolding, telling story to children, singing at home, family gathering and village meetings. But mostly, they use Nepali while shopping. It indicates that the Sherpa language is used in limited domains because they have to use Nepali to non-Sherpa speakers such, as shopping and other inter gatherings in the society.

4.5 The use of mother tongue by the Sherpas

The uses of mother tongue by the informants are in Table 4.4.

Table: 4.4 The use of mother tongue by the respondents

Districts	SHERPA		
	Everyday	Rarely	Never
Solukhumbu	66.66%	32.5%	8.33%
Sindupalchowk	33.33%	33.33%	33.33%
Taplejung	50%	33.33%	16.66%
Dolakha	58.33%	25%	16.66%
Okhaldungha	41.66%	50%	8.33%
Ramechhap	33.33%	41.66%	25%
Khotang	25%	33.33%	41.66%
Bhojpur	33.33%	41.66%	25%

Table 4.4 shows that the most of the respondents use their mother tongue every day. Among them the informants from Solukhumbu variety use more than half percent (66.66%) of Sherpa. It is the highest percent in comparison to other language varieties in Nepal. The respondents of Khotang use the least (25%) which is the lowest percent among the other speech varieties. In the same way, the informants from Sindhupalchowk, Taplejung, Dolakha, Okhaldunga, Ramechhap, Khotang and Bhojpur speech varieties use lower percentage of Sherpa mother tongue by the fewer informants in comparison to Solu and Khumbu speech varieties. The young generations prefer to use more the Nepali than the Sherpa languages in their everyday life.

4.6 Language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level

The Sherpa children's medium of instructions at primary level education and their responses are presented in Table 4.5.

Table: 4.5 Children's medium of instruction at primary level

Districts	SHERPA	Nepali	English
Solukhumbu	91.66%	—	8.33%
Sindhupalchowk	83.33%	16.66%	—
Taplejung	91.66%	—	8.33%
Dolakha	100%	—	—
Okhaldunga	83.33%	16.66%	—
Ramechhap	100%	—	—
Khotang	83.33%	8.33%	8.33%
Bhojpur	83.33%	8.33%	8.33%

Table 4.5 presents that all the respondents from (100%) Dolakha and Ramechhap speakers prefer to use the mother tongue education whereas the minorities of them prefer to use Nepali and English for the same purpose. Some of informants reported that English medium is good as a medium of instruction for better job opportunities in future. The majority of the informants (83%) prefer to use mother tongue as a medium of instruction at the primary level. The informants believe that mother tongue education is the best way for understanding education for the children.

4.7 Language use in marriage invitations

The use of language for marriage invitation in the Sherpa community and their responses are presented in Table 4.6

Table: 4.6 Language use in marriage invitation

District	Sherpa	Nepali
Solukhumbu	16.66%	83.33%
Sindhupalchowk	8.33%	91.66%
Taplejung	—	100% %
Dolakha	8.33%	91.66%
Okhaldungha	—	100% %
Ramechhap	8.33%	91.66%
Khotang	—	100%
Bhojpur	—	100%

Table 4.6 indicates that all the respondents (100%) from Taplejung, Okhaldunga, Khotang and Bhojpur speakers use the Nepali language for their marriage invitation cards. The informants from Solukhumbu variety use (16.66%) the Sherpa for the language of invitations which is the highest percent of using Sherpa in comparison to other language. The majority of informants use the Nepali (Devanagari script) language for marriage invitations. Only the least informants use the Sherpa script for the same purposes.

4.8 Summary

This chapter discussed the domains of language use in the Sherpa. The domains of language use are included in marriage invitations and children's medium of instruction at primary level. Language most frequently use by the Sherpas, language use by the children while talking to other language speakers. The language is also used for the purposes of joking, family gathering, singing, bargaining, and storytelling. Additionally, the language is used with family members while talking about education, social events and among family members. In contrast, the Nepali language is mainly used for the writing purposes among the Sherpa community. Mainly, the respondents used the Sherpa language while playing with their children.

Chapter 5

Mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism

5.0 Outline

This chapter is about mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in the Sherpa language. The analysis is based on the information obtained from individual sociolinguistic questionnaires. Bilingualism and multilingualism is presented in 5.1, 5.2 Mother tongue proficiency, 5.3 Degree of proficiency in other languages, 5.4 Languages the informants can speak, 5.5 Degree at which small child who first goes to school can understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says, 5.6 Mother tongue proficiency in reading and writing in the Sherpa, 5.7 The ability to understand mother tongue and the summary of this chapter is mentioned in 5.8.

5.1 Bilingualism/multilingualism

There are three linguistic diversities existing in the country. They are monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism. Among these, bilingualism is a common phenomenon in Nepal. The goal of studying is to find out the extent of bilingualism across the whole population of the Sherpa speech community. “Bilingualism refers to a situation in which members of a community knows two languages-their own mother tongue acquired from their early childhood, and an outside language that is learned through education or contact with people from outside the community (Lee et.al, 2005). Bilingualism refers to the ability of an individual or entire speech community to handle communication in a language other than the mother-tongue.

The majority of the Sherpas are bilingual and very few of them are monolinguals. They speak the Sherpa and Nepali. They use the Sherpa at home and the Nepali use as a lingua franca to non-Sherpa speakers. The Sherpa have to use the Nepali because it is the language of wider communication in Nepal. The majority of Sherpa are multilingual in Nepalese ethnic languages. They speak Jirel, Tamang, Limbu, Thami, Khaling and Kulung languages. They have to learn ethnic languages because these speech

communities are neighboring communities to the Sherpa. Some educated Sherpa could speak good English because English is a compulsory subject in schools and campuses. Similarly, some of them speak other foreign languages such as German, Japanese Korean, Tibetan and Hindi. The most of the Sherpas involve in field tourism. Therefore, they should speak some touristic languages for their jobs and for better opportunities in touristic jobs and business.

5.2 Mother tongue proficiency

Most of the Sherpa children could speak Sherpa as their first language whereas the minorities of them use the Nepali languages. All the informants reported that their most loved language is the Sherpa language.

5.3 Degree of proficiency in other languages

The table 5.1 indicates the proficiency of the respondents in other languages

Table: 5.1 The language proficiency of respondents in other languages

Districts	Sherpa	Nepali	English	Tibetan	Jirel	Thami	Hindi	Tamang
Solukhumbu	100%	100%	50%	33.33%	—	—	8.33%	—
Sindu.	91.66%	100%	8.33%	8.33%	—	—	8.33%	16.66%
Taplejung	91.66%	100%	41.66%	33.33%	—	—	—	—
Dolkha	91.66%	100%	33.33%	25%	33.33%	25%	16.66%	—
Okhaldunga	75%	100%	16.66%	—	—	—	—	—
Ramechhap	75%	100%	8.33%	—	—	—	—	—
Khotang	75%	100%	3%	—	—	—	—	—
Bhojpur	58.33%	100%	33.33%	—	—	—	—	—

The table 5.1 indicates all the Sherpa speak and understand the Nepali language. The Solukhumbu variety shows the highest with 100 percent to use the Sherpa, and Bhojpur variety use the lowest with 58.33 percent. The majority of the Sherpas are at least bilingual otherwise multilingual in Nepal. This study indicates that they speak Sherpa, Nepali, English, Tibetan, Jirel, Thami, Tamang and Hindi languages respectively. The

data also shows the Sherpa are multilingual because most of them are involved in the field tourism and they are inhabitant and often contact with non-Sherpa speech groups.

5.4 Languages the informants can speak

The Sherpa use different languages in the different situations for the different purposes and their responses are as given below in the table 5.2

Table: 5.2 Languages the respondents can speak

Districts	SHERPA	Nepali	English	Tibetan
Solukhumbu	100%	75%	58.33%	58.33%
Sindhupalchowk	100%	91.66%	16.66%	25%
Taplejung	100%	75%	41.66%	16.66%
Dolkha	100%	66.66%	33.33%	—
Okhaldunga	100%	83.33%	25%	—
Ramechhap	100%	75%	8.33%	—
Khotang	100%	91.66%	33.33%	—
Bhojpur	100%	91.66%	25%	—

Table 5.2 shows that informants' first acquired and the best is the Sherpa language, the second is the Nepali, third is English and fourth is the Tibetan languages. All the respondents (100%) from each variety have reported that their best language speaking is the Sherpa. The Solukhumbu speech variety shows better understanding of Tibetan and English languages in compare to the other varieties. In contrast, Taplejung speech variety shows (16.66%) the Tibetan language whereas Ramechhap varieties use (8.33%) the English language. It is the lowest percentage in compares to other speech varieties. In the same way, the informants from Sindhupalchowk, Khotang and Bhojpur indicate (91.66%) that their most loved language is the Nepali language.

5.5 Degree at which small child who first goes to school can understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says

The Nepali is the language of nation. It uses in wider communications such as in mass media and the medium of instruction in education of Nepal. In other words, the language functions as a lingua franca in Nepal. Therefore, the second language speakers feel much harder to understand the Nepali from his/her Nepali speaking teachers at the schools. In the same way, the Sherpa children also get the same language problem at schools. The responses of the informants are in Table 5.3

Table: 5.3 Children’s understanding of language when they first go to school

District Name	Nepali Instructions		
	Yes	A little bit	No
Solukhumbu	—	8.33%	91.66%
Sindupalchowk	—	16.66%	83.33%
Taplejung	—	8.33%	91.66%
Dolakha	—	8.33%	91.66%
Okhaldungha	—	16.66%	83.33%
Ramechhap	8.33%	16.66%	75%
Khotang	8.33%	8.33%	66.66%
Bhojpur	8.33%	0%	75%

Table 5.3 presents that majority of the Sherpa children could not understand everything when they go to school for the first time. The Nepali is second language for the Sherpa children. Therefore, most of them could not understand the lessons from their Nepali speaking teachers. A small percentage (8.33 %) from Ramechhap, Khotang and Bhojpur could understand the Nepali from their Nepali speaking teachers perfectly. The majority of respondents’ children from Solukhumbu, Dolakha and Taplejung varieties (91.66%) could not understand the Nepali language the first time from their Nepali speaking teachers. The learning Nepali differs in the different study locations for the Sherpa children. In contrast, the majority of the respondents also show that the Sherpa children

could understand Nepali but ‘a little bit’. It suggests that the bilingualism in Nepali is gaining ground strongly in Ramechhap, Khotang and Bhojpur districts in compared to other study locations. The study indicates that the medium of instruction should be in mother tongue at primary education. It helps to understand for the better education for the Sherpa children.

5.6 Mother tongue proficiency in reading and writing in the Sherpa

The reading and writing proficiency of the informants and their responses are in Table 5.4

Table: 5.4 Reading and writing skills in Sherpa language

District Name	Degree of Mother Tongue		
	Very well	Some	Only a little
Solukhumbu	33.33%	25%	41.66%
Sindhupalchowk	8.33%	16.66%	75%
Taplejung	8.33%	25%	58.33%
Dolakha	16.66%	16.66%	58.33%
Okhaldungha	8.33%	8.33%	75%
Ramechhap	—	8.33%	91.66%
Khotang	—	—	100%
Bhojpur	—	8.33%	83.33%

Table 5.4 shows that the only one third of informants from Solukhumbu variety could understand (33.33%) whereas the respondents from Sindhupalchowk, Taplejung and Okhaldunga understand (8.33%) the Sherpa script of reading and writings which is the least percent in compare to other speech varieties. The Sherpa from Khotang speech variety understand nothing from the Sherpa reading and writing script. A least numbers of Sherpa could understand the writing and reading of the Sherpa script. The majority of the respondents could understand a little bit the Sherpa reading and writing systems.

5.7 The ability to understand mother tongue

The understanding level of the Sherpa language by the Sherpas is in the Table 5.5

Table: 5.5 The ability to understand the Sherpa language

District	Competent	Just Understand	Do not Know
Solukhumbu	66.66%	33.33%	—
Sindupalchowk	58.33%	41.66%	—
Taplejung	50%	50%	—
Dolakha	58.33%	41.66%	—
Okhaldungha	41.66%	41.66%	16.66%
Ramechhap	50%	41.66%	8.33%
Khotang	33.33%	33.33%	25%
Bhojpur	41.66%	33.33%	33.33%

Table 5.5 shows that the total of the informants are competent in the Sherpa language and the minority of them just understands the language. Some of the respondents do not know the Sherpa language at all. The informants from the Solukhumbu speech variety are (66.66%) competent in Sherpa. It is the highest level of competent in compare to the other speech varieties. Respondents from Khotang variety show (33.33%) the lowest competent in the mother tongue. The data shows that the mother tongue speakers are decreasing in the Sherpa in general.

5.8 Summary

The data indicate that there are some monolingual speakers in the Sherpa community. However, all the respondents who were interviewed either monolingual in Nepali or bilingual in Nepali and the Sherpa. Thus, there is a widespread use of Nepali together with Sherpa and other languages in the Sherpa community. The highest percentages of the informants reported that they could not read and write in the Sherpa script very well. But majorities of them could speak and understand the Sherpa. Most of the parents use the Nepali. Some of the children use the Nepali exclusively whereas some uses both the Sherpa and Nepali languages. The number of the children speakers are decreasing in compared to the elders Sherpa speakers. The Sherpas migrate to major towns for the better opportunities. They also move lower land to escape chili cold in every winter from their altitude country and live down parts in mixed cultures about 2-3 months. The other is the majority of Sherpas involve in field tourism where they should learn other languages for the better jobs. Therefore, the majority of the Sherpas become bi/multilingual in nature.

Chapter 6

Language vitality, maintenance and attitude

6.0 Outline

This chapter discusses about language vitality in 6.1. The language maintenance has been discussed in 6.2 and section 6.3 language attitudes and 6.4 has presented attitudes towards Sherpa language. The summary of this chapter is presented in 6.5.

6.1 Language vitality

A study of language vitality is designed to assess the probability language use. Will the native speakers continue their language in near future or not? This kind of an assessment is an important part of the recommendations of a sociolinguistic report. The recommendations and literary developments are dependent upon the projected long-term vitality of the language.

6.1.1 The speaking of mother tongue variation of young people with the elders

The differences between the mother tongue speaking by the younger and with elder people are given in Table: 6.1

Table: 6.1 The variation of the mother tongue of young people with the elders

District Name	Yes	No
Solukhumbu	41.66%	58.33%
Sindhupalchowk	25%	75%
Taplejung	33.33%	66.66%
Dolakha	33.33%	66.66%
Okhaldungha	16.66%	83.33%
Ramechhap	33.33%	66.66%
Khotang	16.66%	83.33%
Bhojpur	16.66%	83.33%

Table 6.1 shows that the majority of the Sherpa children love the Sherpa language just like the elders do. They are also well aware to preserve this language for the future. The highest percent of the respondents from Solukhumbu variety (41.66 %) love the Sherpa language. Okhaldunga, Khotang and Bhojpur varieties show their (16.66 %) love to their language. The table also shows that the majority of the Sherpa children do not use Sherpa language like elders do. It shows that the state needs to create some language planning to preserve and develop the Sherpa language for the future documentation.

6.1.2 The feeling of the informants while speaking mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of dominant language

Table: 6.2 Respondents' feeling of mother tongue in the presence of dominant language

District	Prestigious	Embarrassed	Neutral
Solukhumbu	91.66%	8.33%	—
Sindhupalchowk	83.33%	16.66%	—
Taplejung	83.33%	16.66%	—
Dolakha	83.33%	16.66%	—
Okhaldunga	75%	16.66%	8.33%
Ramechhap	66.66%	25%	8.33%
Khotang	66.66%	16.66%	16.66%
Bhojpur	58.33%	25%	16.66%

Table 6.2 presents the majority of the Sherpa speakers in all places feel prestigious in speaking Sherpa language in the presence of the dominant language speakers. Only a minority of them feels either embarrassed or feel no any differences to use Sherpa language in the presence of dominant language speakers. The respondents of Solukhumbu variety feel (91.66%) prestigious to their mother tongue. The Sherpas of Bhojpur variety indicates the lowest (58.33%) prestigious to use Sherpa language. Similarly, the respondents from Ramechhap and Bhojpur varieties show (25%) embarrassed to use the mother tongue in the presence of dominant language speakers.

The informants from Khotang and Bhojpur varieties use the Sherpa language without hesitation in the presence of dominant language speakers.

6.1.3 The problems as the mother tongue speakers

The responses of the problem as a mother tongue speakers with non-Sherpas is in Table 6.3

Table: 6.3 The problems as a mother tongue speaker among other language speakers

	Yes	No
Solukhumbu	50%	50%
Sindhupalchowk	58.33%	41.66%
Taplejung	75%	25%
Dolakha	83.33%	16.66%
Okhaldungha	58.33%	41.66%
Ramechhap	66.66%	33.33%
Khotang	83.33%	16.66%
Bhojpur	91.66%	8.33%

Table 6.3 shows the Sherpa of Bhojpur variety shows (91.66%) the problems which is the highest percent as a mother tongue speaker whereas the Solukhumbu variety indicates the lowest with 50 percent problems as Sherpa speakers among the non-Sherpa communities. The data indicates that majority of the Sherpa got problems of language as mother tongue speakers among non-Sherpa speakers.

6.1.4 Parents language with children at village

The different languages used by the Sherpa parents with their children at villages are in Table 6.4

Table 6.4 Parents languages with their children at village

Districts	Sherpa	Nepali
Solukhumbu	91.66%	8.33%
Sindhupalchowk	66.66%	33.33%
Taplejung	75%	35%
Dolakha	66.66%	33.33%
Okhaldunga	58.33%	41.66%
Ramechhap	66.66%	33.33%
Khotang	58.33%	41.66%
Bhojpur	58.33%	33.33%

Table 6.4 shows that majority of the Sherpa parents use the Sherpa language with their children at villages. By contrast the minority of them use the Nepali language with their children. The Sherpa of Solukhumbu variety use most Sherpa occasion (91.66 %) and The Sherpa of Sindhupalchowk, Taplejung, Okhaldunga and Khotang varieties use least (66.66%, 75%, 58.33%) respectively. The entire data indicate that they are positive about their language to preserve and continue the language to use for the next generations.

6.2 Language maintenance

Language maintenance refers to the extent to which people continue to use a language once they are part of the community in which another language has dominant position (Crystal, 2003). The language maintenance and transmission of the Sherpa language is weak leading to the language. They have no any attraction and opportunities by learning their language so they could not continue the language. Most of them are bilingual or multilingual is shown in this study. Minority of them use the Sherpa language just for their identities. Because of this reality, the Sherpa language cannot be preserved.

Young generations shift to the Sherpa and use the Nepali languages. It is not easy to survive without using the Nepali. Therefore, they have to use the Nepali in daily activities. Similarly, young people prefer for inter caste marriage systems whereas the Sherpa elders are disappointed for this study. The elders Sherpa prefer to marry within community. They like to preserve their language and culture to the next generation. Most of the young people are positive towards the Sherpa language but they complain that they could not survive by using own language. They demand a school for their children with mother tongue education. It is an essential to make aware toward Sherpa language and cultural identification. This kind of change will be possible through proper education in the society.

6.2.1 Different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language

The responses of the Sherpa informants towards their child marriage relationship with non-Sherpas are in Table 6.5

Table: 6.5 Parents feeling towards their children’s marriage with non-Sherpas

District	Good	Indifferent	Bad
Solukhumbu	16.66%	25%	58.33%
Sindhupalchowk	—	16.66%	83.33%
Taplejung	—	8.33%	91.66%
Dolakha	—	—	100%
Okhaldunga	—	—	100%
Ramechhap	—	8.33%	91.66%
Khatang	—	8.33%	91.66%
Bhojpur	8.33%	8.33%	91.66%

Table 6.5 indicates that all Sherpa parents of Dolakha and Okhaldunga varieties feel bad to marry their children with non-Sherpa speakers. The Sherpa parents of Solukhumbu variety feels the lowest percent (58.33) bad to marry with other communities. The table also shows that the majority of the Sherpa parents feel badly, towards inter caste

marriage. The minority of them reported that it does not make any differences to marry someone from non-Sherpa speakers.

6.2.2 Other language groups which have common marital relationship with Sherpa

The Sherpas common marriage relationships with other language groups are in Table 6.6

Table: 6.6 The Sherpa marital relationship with non-Sherpa

Disriacts	Nepali	Rai	Tamang	Gurung	Newar	Limbu
Solukhumbu	25%	50%	—	8.33%	—	—
Sindhupalchowk	33.33%	—	41.66%	—	—	—
Taplejung	25%	8.33%	—	25%	—	16.66%
Dolakha	33.33%	—	—	—	—	—
Okhaldunga	16.66%	33.33%	—	25%	16.66%	—
Ramechhap	25%	—	8.33%	—	16.66%	—
Khotang	41.66%	50%	—	16.66%	—	—
Bhojpur	41.66%	41.66%	—	—	—	—

Table 6.6 shows the majority of Sherpa from Solukhumbu variety married with Rai. Similarly, the majority of Sherpa from Sindhupalchowk variety married with Tamang people and minorities of them marry with Nepali speakers. In the same way the majority of Sherpa from Taplejung variety married with Nepali speakers whereas minorities of them with Limbu people. The majority of the Sherpa from Dolakha speech community marry with Nepali speakers. Similarly, the majority of the Sherpa from Okhaldunga variety marriage relationship is with Rai people and minorities of them with Newar people and Nepali speakers. Moreover, the majority of Sherpa from Ramechhap variety marriage relationship is with Nepali speakers and minorities of them with Newar people. The majority of the Sherpa from Khotang variety marriage relationship is with Nepali speakers and minorities of them with Gurung people. Finally, the majority of the Sherpa from Bhojpur variety are married with Nepali speakers and Rai communities. The data indicates most of the Sherpas' marriage relationship is with non-Sherpa neighbors but mostly with indigenous people.

6.2.3 The parents' opinions to teach mother tongue to their children

The parents view to teach the Sherpa languages to their children are in the Table 6.7

Table: 6.7 Parents opinion to teach mother tongue

District Name	Yes	No
Solukhumbu	100%	—
Sindhupalchowk	100%	—
Taplejung	100%	—
Dolakha	100%	—
Okhaldungha	100%	—
Ramechhap	83.33%	16.66%
Khotang	66.66%	33.33%
Bhojpur	58.33%	41.66%

Table 6.7 shows that the all the respondents from Solukhumbu, Sindhupalchowk, Taplejung, Dolakha, and Okhaldunga speakers interested in teaching Sherpa for their children. Only minorities of Sherpas do not like to teach the Sherpa language. In conclusion the majority of Sherpa are very interested in teaching Sherpa language and most of them indicate that their children should speak first the Sherpa, Nepali, English and other languages.

6.2.4 The ways of informants support if schools are opened for teaching Sherpa language

The various ways of the Sherpas support if schools are opened for teaching Sherpa language and their responses are in Table 6.8

Table: 6.8 supporting for Sherpa language teaching at school

Supports	Solukhumbu	Sindhu.	Taple.	Dolakha	Okhal.	Rame.	Khotang	Bhojpur
Sending children	100%	91.66%	100%	100%	100%	100%	91.66%	91.66%
Encouraging-children	12%	91.66%	100%	100%	100%	91.66%	91.66%	91.66%
Finance Support	19.66%	10%	91.66%	83.33%	83.33%	75%	58.33%	58.33%

Table 6.8 shows that all the informants from Solukhumbu, Taplejung, Dolakha, Okhaldunga and Khotang varieties are willing (100%) to support by sending their children at Sherpa schools. All the respondents from Taplejung, Dolakha and Okhaldunga (100%) are willing to support by encouraging their and other children at the Sherpa language schools. Similarly, the informants from Taplejung (91.66%) varieties are also willing to support financially at the Sherpa language schools. In conclusion, the majority of the Sherpa are willing to support by sending their and other children go to school whereas the minorities they are happy to support financially for the Sherpa language schools.

6.3 Language attitudes

The researchers talk about sociolinguistics approaches to obtaining the attitude of the speakers. As mentioned in Garrett (2001), the attitudes of the speakers were obtained through direct questionnaires. "In bilingual context, attitude has been linked in various ways to the language proficiency, use of the bilingual's two languages and bilinguals' perception of other communities and of themselves." Kansakar (1996:21) maintains, it is but natural to find cases of language dominance, positive or negative attitudes towards

one language or the other, decline in language loyalty resulting in language shift, or efforts to maintain a language under the pressure of a multilingual area. These are some of the uniting and dividing forces which can operate in a multilingual setting.

6.3.1 The parent's feeling towards mother tongue continuity by their children

The parent's feeling towards mother tongue continuity by their children is given in Table 6.9

Table: 6.9 children continuity of mother tongue

District Name	Yes	No
Solukhumbu	50%	50%
Sindhupalchowk	33.33%	66.66%
Taplejung	41.66%	58.33%
Dolakha	33.33%	66.66%
Okhaldungha	33.33%	66.66%
Ramechhap	41.66%	58.33%
Khotang	33.33%	66.66%
Bhojpur	41.66%	58.33%

Tables 6.9 show that only the half of the total respondents from Solukhumbu variety indicates that they are optimistic about continuity of the mother tongue. It shows that the majority of them want to continue the mother tongue. The informants from Sindhupalchowk, Dolakha, Okhaldunga and Khotang varieties are less optimistic about the continuation of language. In conclusion the majority of the informants from every regions show that their children will not continue Sherpa language in future whereas the minorities of them hope their children will continue the Sherpa language.

6.3.2 Parents feeling towards young people who speak other languages

The parents feeling towards young people who speak other languages are in Table 6.10

Table: 6.10 Parents feeling towards young people using other languages

Districts	Good	Indifferent	Bad
Solukhumbu	8.33%	8.33%	83.33%
Sindhupalchowk	—	8.33%	91.66%
Taplejung	8.33%	8.33%	83.33%
Dolakha	—	—	100%
Okhaldunga	—	—	100%
Ramechhap	—	—	100%
Khatang	—	—	100%
Bhojpur	—	—	100%

Table 6.10 presents that all the informants from Dolakha, Okhaldunga, Ramechhap, Khotang and Bhojpur varieties feel bad if young people do not use Sherpa language. By contrast the majority of them from Solukhumbu and Taplejung varieties feel good. The minorities from Solukhumbu, Sindhupalchowk and Taplejung speakers reported that it does not make any differences if the children use other languages. In conclusion the majority of the informants feel negative when children use other languages instead of the Sherpa language.

6.4 Attitude towards Sherpa language

Language attitude refers to the feelings of their own language or the language of the other community. The speaker can have either positive or negative attitude to his/her own language or language of other community. The figure shows that the Sherpa are very optimistic and so their attitude towards the Sherpa is strongly positive. They will send their children at school if the vernacular is Sherpa at school. They are willing to buy Sherpa books and also they are interested to support economically and any related helps for the Sherpa language school.

The Sherpa speakers use the Sherpa for the most of the studied places but the younger generations are steadily moving to using other languages. They use Nepali when they shop at local markets, schools, colleges and cities. They also use the at home, with neighbors, friends and most of the gatherings in their community. The shift takes place in presence of contact language speakers. Moreover, the young generation's motivation towards the contact language like Nepali language and English has diverged them from using their mother tongue.

They have high degree of forgetting of the abstract vocabularies. All the Sherpas are positive to preserve the Sherpa language, but tend to switch the code into contact language and other many factors which influence to language. The education, political, and economic system and the growing international impact have been eroding the use of the mother tongue among the new generation. However, the core villages and regions show better future of the language. The Sherpa speakers are bilingual and multilingual in nature. They are positive towards the Sherpa and the others languages.

6.5 Summary

This chapter describes the language vitality, language maintenance and language attitude of the Sherpa speakers. Language vitality is strong in the Sherpa community though the degree of vitality differs in different district locations with different age groups. The language maintenance is good so far. It is getting weaker because of intermarriage and scattered settlements across different villages. They have strongly positive attitudes towards the Sherpa language. The majority of them feel prestigious to use Sherpa language in the presence of the dominant speakers.

Chapter 7

Language resources

7.0 Outline

This chapter deals with language resources of Sherpa language. Section 7.0 outline of this chapter, 7.1 Language Resources, 7.2 listening to radio about Sherpa programme, 7.3 Language resources texts and script of Sherpa language and the details of this chapter is summarized in 7.4.

7.1 Language Resources

The Sherpa language has some literary materials such as a dictionary and sketch grammar, oral stories, songs, radio programmes and CD/DVDs etc. There are two Sherpa language films. They are *Khangri* (The mountain) and *Kusum* (The three deities). It has used some Nepali in the film conversation but mostly in the Sherpa language. The majority of informants reported that there are folk stories, songs, religious books, CD/DVDs in the Sherpa language. The Government radio, *Radio Nepal* broadcast weekly news of Sherpa language. Radio Nepal also organizes language and cultural talk programmes in the Sherpa language. Some of local *FM radios* also broadcast Sherpa language news and cultural talks with Sherpa scholars such as in *Himali FM* at Jiri, Dolakha and *Shyerbi Nasa* (The Sherpa Terrace) in *Solu FM* in Solukhumbu. While some language informants were aware of the published language resources in Sherpa and some were not. A number of respondents reported that the Sherpa has a rich oral tradition. In addition, some respondents reported that there are some written resources available. But they are mainly found in the Sambhota/Tibetan and some in Nepali languages. But, these materials are not the accessible to the majority Sherpas.

There are some introductory books related to the Sherpa people and culture written in English or in Nepali. Recently, *Gorkhapatra* national daily newspaper publishes the materials in a number of indigenous languages of Nepal including Sherpa language. The articles and news are published monthly in the Devanagari and Sambhota scripts.

7.1.1 The available languages resources in the Sherpa

The Sherpa language is not rich in linguistic documentations though it has a few literary materials such as dictionary, grammar, oral stories and songs, radio programmes and CD/DVDs. The majority of the respondents mentioned that folk stories, songs, religious books, CD/DVDs are available in the Sherpa language. The available language resources in the Sherpa are presented in the Table 7.1

Table: 7.1 Sherpa language resources

Districts	Folktales	Songs	Religious book	Radio	CD/DVD
Solukhumbu	100%	100%	100%	100%	83.33%
Sindhupalchok	91.66%	100%	100%	100%	50%
Taplejung	100%	100%	100%	91.66%	66.66%
Dolakha	100%	100%	100%	100%	83.33%
Okhaldunga	91.66%	100%	100%	83.33%	66.66%
Ramechhap	100%	100%	100%	100%	50%
Khotang	91.66%	100%	91.66%	83.33%	41.66%
Bhojpur	83.33%	100%	91.66%	75%	33.33%

Table 7.1 presents that all the speech varieties, they have oral Sherpa songs. The respondents reported that they have highly rich of the Sherpa songs, religious books, folktales, radio programmes in the Sherpa language and CD/DVDs in the Sherpa language. The respondents also reported that they have some CD and DVDs in the Sherpa language. The Sherpas have some language resources but they are not enough for the language documentations.

7.1.2 The responses of listening to radio about Sherpa language

The responses of listening to radio about Sherpa language programme are in the Table 7.2

Table: 7.2 Responses of listening to radio for Sherpa language

District Name	SHERPA		
	Everyday	Rarely	Never
Solukhumbu	16.66%	83.33%	0
Sindhupalchowk	0	91.66%	8.16%
Taplejung	8.33%	83.33%	8.33%
Dolakha	16.66%	75%	8.33%
Okhaldungha	0	83.33%	16.66%
Ramechhap	0	83.33%	16.66%
Khotang	0	91.66%	8.33%
Bhojpur	0	83.33%	16.66%

Table 7.2 presents that only (16.66 %), respondents from Solukhumbu and Dolakha varieties listen to radio of the Sherpa language and cultural programmes everyday. It is the highest percent in compare to other speech varieties in this study. The majority of the informants rarely listen to radio of Sherpa language programme. The minorities of them never listen to radio whereas some of them listen to radio every.

7.1.3 The responses of language texts and script of Sherpa language

The responses of language resources texts and scripts of this language are presented in Table 7.3

Table: 7.3 Responses of language resources texts and script of the Sherpa

Materials	Yes/No	Script
Phonemic inventory	81.25%	Tsho/Sambhota and English scripts
Grammar	20.83%	Tsho/Sambhota
Dictionary	69.79%	Tsho/Sambhota/Nepali/English
Textbooks	12.5%	Tsho/Sambhota
Materials	3.12%	Nepali/Tsho
Newspapers	63.54%	Nepali
Magazines	1.04%	Nepali
Written literature	100%	Tsho/Sambhota

Table 7.3 shows that the respondents have a phonetic inventory, grammar, dictionary, textbooks, literacy materials, newspaper and magazines. The most of their resources are written in the Sambhota script. Therefore, these resources are not assessable to the majority and ordinary people. Some of these materials are also available in Nepali and English languages but all the Sherpa sound could not represent from the Nepali and English languages.

7.4 Summary

There are some language resources are available in the Sherpa. Most of them are in the Sambhota script and some in English and Nepali languages. The majorities of the respondents could not use and be benefited from these materials. There are two Sherpa language films. They are *Khangri* (Mountain) and *Kusum* (Three deities). The community members are optimistic to develop language resources such as grammars and collection of folklores etc. In addition, they opine that the individuals and the community can contribute towards the corpus development of the language.

Chapter 8

Summary and findings

8.0 Outline

Language is one of the vital and inevitable live forces of humans that hold his/her position above any other mortal beings on this universe. It creates an atmosphere to communicate and sustain her/him and provides a strong weapon to identify to the complex world of human beings. The world is enriched with almost 7000 languages, but many of them are being extinct.

Nepal has 123 languages which are officially recognized by the government of Nepal. Among them Nepali is national language and the Sherpa is language of the nation. Nepal is a multilingual nation with different languages among them the Sherpa is one of the minority languages in Nepal.

The research is based on the eastern-north region of Nepal. There are major Sherpa settlements in Nepal. The settlements are just below all the higher white mountains of the world in Nepal. The study regions include, Taplejung, Bhojpur, Okhaldunga, Khotang, Solukhumbu, Ramechhap, Dolakha and Sindhupalchowk districts of Nepal.

8.1 Summary

The presentation and analysis of data is significant to provide real shape to a research work. Along this chapter, the introduction to the subject matter, limitation, organization of the study and research methodology. On the basis of the methodology was applied during this study, the collected datum are presented and analyzed in this chapter.

It has used some oral discussions, interactions, and interviews. Next significant tools, it has used of 210 wordlist by transcribing equivalent Sherpa lexical varieties. Similarly, the studies have been done by filing the sociolinguistic questionnaires in written forms and are the main bases of this study. The full script of these written works is presented in appendices of this study report. The datum are analyzed a short and brief introduction of similarity and differences in the use of Sherpa varieties among the various geographical and social bases.

This chapter summarizes and concludes the general theme of the previous chapters. 8.4 Generally, summarize the themes of the findings. It includes the main findings, socio-cultural status, language vitality, maintenance and attitude, bilingualism and multilingualism.

8.2 Lexical variations

From this research, no regional and social variety of the Sherpa language has been found. The results of lexicon comparisons show a great uniformity among the nine speech varieties of Sherpas. The lexicons differ from 60%-97% of the basic vocabulary is similar among the nine different speech varieties. This difference does not seem to be a significant problem that hinders understanding. The Solu around Junbeshi village is the better understood on the average. A lexical similarity among these speech varieties below 60% is reflective of distinct languages. A lexical similarity above 90% is reflective of very closely related dialects. The people of other communities do not accept this language for the purpose of communication.

8.3 Domains of language use

The Sherpa speakers reported that their language is used in limited domains. It is the main and maximally used language at home with linguistically similar neighbors and relatives. The Nepali language is used at school, offices and with the non-native speakers by the Sherpas. Likewise they use the Nepali even to play, joke and counting. The Sherpa people use their mother tongue especially in rituals and cultural activities. The language shift is in Nepali and English languages. Migration, inter-lingual marriage, modernization have pulled its speakers to other language usages. The majorities of respondents use the Sherpa and the Nepali languages in most of the domains. They use the Sherpa at home, with village friends, and while expressing their deepest feelings with their native intimate environment.

Younger generation use the Sherpa variety in intimate domain at home and villages. It shows that the Sherpa language is likely to be endangered within a couple of generations. Gender seems to be an unlikely influencing factor in the language use of Sherpa versus Nepali among Sherpas. Religious domain is the most usage domain of the Sherpa language. But educational is the least usage domain. The informants are eager for their

children to learn the Sherpa and to marry somebody who also speaks and knows their culture. Some of the informants hope that their children will also continue to speak their mother tongue. The respondents claimed that the Sherpa language is the language they learnt first and they know it well. Many of them seem more interested in reading Sherpa books about their religion, history and culture, mainly for the purpose of identity affirmation.

8.4 Main Findings

8.4.1 Socio-cultural Status

This sample research is about the Sherpa people and their socio cultural aspects. They have their own unique habit, social belief, lifestyle, cultural rites and rituals which makes them distinct and unique from other ethnic groups. The entire socio-linguistic questionnaires, observation, study of related books to the Sherpa language, culture were used to explicit of this study. The researcher as a native speaker also presents these facts by using own intuitions which are as given below:

- a. There were no any fundamental differences found in the Sherpa language, culture and beliefs.
- b. There were no social and regional dialects found in the Sherpa language. The Ramechhap variety shares (97%) the highest percentage of similarity with the Solu whereas the Taplejung speech variety shares (60%) the least similarity with the Solu variety.
- c. The Taplejung variety is lesser similarities among the Sherpa speech varieties in Nepal.
- d. The Taplejung speech variety will be the next domains of linguistic research.
- e. There are lesser phonological and lexical differences in the Sherpa speech varieties.
- f. The Sherpa is tonal mono-syllabic language, frequently two tones, high and low.
- g. The Sherpa use Tshohig/Sambhota script for their writings.

- h. Majority of the Sherpas are at least bilingual otherwise multilingual and particularly elders are monolingual but very rare.
- i. Sherpa verbs and nouns both receive honorific forms based on the status of its subject and objects.
- j. The Sherpa society community dependant in Lama, who are holy leaders.
- k. Majority of Sherpa children could not receive education; Sherpa villages are very scattered because of mountainous regions.
- l. The language shift from Sherpa to Nepali and English is very high in young generations.
- m. Majority of the Sherpa could not read and write their script, called Tshohig/Sambhota.
- n. large number of Sherpas involve in the field tourism therefore they use multi non-Nepalese languages.
- o. Sherpa prefer arranged marriage culturally, the cross-cousin marriage, polyandry and polygamy system were not found in the Sherpa community.
- p. They follow Vajrayana in Nyingmapa sect which is the oldest and largest sect in Buddhism.
- q. Gradually, the Sherpa are leaving their ancestor land for Kathmandu, some major cities in Nepal and foreign countries.
- r. All the Sherpa are named by week name so many Sherpas names are repeated.

8.5 Language vitality, maintenance and attitude

Language attitude refers to the feelings their own language or languages of others. This may be either positive or negative but the Sherpa people are very optimistic and positive attitude towards their language, culture, identity and the language of others. They are immensely positive and enthusiastic enough to learn and use Nepali together with their mother tongue. The majorities of informants, regardless of age and education from various regions also have highly positive feelings for their children to learn the Sherpa. The respondents are also interested to marry somebody from the own clans who knows

their culture and language. Furthermore, most of them believe that their children will also continue to speak their mother tongue and their culture.

The respondents used the Nepali as a second language with linguistically dissimilar people and strangers. They want to preserve and promote their language for their identity which makes them unique among society. Likewise, some of informants also use local indigenous languages such as, Limbu, Thami, Rai languages, Jirel and Tamang languages. Moreover, some respondents learn other languages such as, English, German, Japanese, Spanish, Korean and Tibetan, Hindi with happily. This fact reveals that they are even positive towards other languages. Most of the informants' children speak Nepali at homes and at schools. It is very possible that children of next generation will become fluent in Nepali overtime. This will be a threat to the vitality of the Sherpa language.

Many of informants reported that the Sherpa is the most beloved language. All the native speakers show a highly positive attitude towards Sherpa regardless of their age, sex, regional inhabitants and educational level. They want to foster their sense of cultural identity. They are optimistic that their children will use their language and culture in future. Most of the respondents want to develop the Sherpa language through literacy classes. This is a useful plan to preserve language and enhancing its status.

8.6 Bilingualism and multilingualism

The least number of the elder informants are monolingual. The Sherpa speakers are bilingual otherwise multilingual as well. They speak the Sherpa as well as Nepali languages. The majority of informants are involved in field tourism and they learn some languages such as English, German, Japanese, Spanish, Korean, Tibetan and Hindi as well.

The Nepali language is the national language. It functions as a lingua franca among the Sherpa speakers. An important consequence of multilingualism is language endangerment. Bilingual situation is strong at villages as the speakers alter the codes when the speakers and place changes. The bilingual environment is at homes, in the community and at schools and campuses. Moreover, minority speakers learn the Nepali language due to socio-psychological pressures.

The findings are on the perception of bilingualism reveal that almost all informants should speak or know the Nepali language. The majority of respondents think that young Sherpa children who first enter to school are unable to understand their Nepali speaking teachers. It is guessed that young Sherpa native speakers understand Nepali but not very much. It takes about one to four years to understand the Nepali language. This is not only problem in the Sherpa community but common linguistic problem among the indigenous communities in Nepal. The most of the Sherpa people use Nepali these days. They frequently mix Nepali while speaking Sherpa language. The government should provide mother tongue education in primary level. Therefore, Sherpa children will be able to learn easily and they learn Nepali language gradually.

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Appendix A: Areas of Sociolinguistic Study

Districts	VDC	Villages	Districts	VDC	Villages
Solukhumbu	Garma-8	Ngimare	Khotang	Rakha-5, Phedi-8	Bane
	Beni-5	Phungmoche		Harishe -9	Baphalchowk
		Mapping		Bapluka -4, Mude-7	
		Sumjingma		Jaleswari-9	
		Junbeshi		Nirmaldanda-5	
	Gudel-5	Sanam	Bhojpur	Dobane -9	Chekshika
Tamakhani-8	Loding	Khatangma -5		Dilkharka	
		Bhokhim -7		Chitre	
	Chaurikharka-1	Jorsalle	Dolakha	Mali -5, 4, 2, 1	Selwa, Roshi Yalung, Chhermading
Sindupalchowk	Listi-8	Chhakam		Susmachhemawati-9	
	Gumba-9	Tembathang		Bigu -4, 2	Gyalbeshing, Alamphu
	Gorthali-1	Dolangsa			
	Pulpinkati-7	Narayanthan			
	Selangkatti-5	Selang			
Taplejung	Nalbu-1, 2	Sangjim, Changa	Okhaldunga	Bigutar-3, 2	Toksar
	Papung-9	Kiling			
	Hangdewa	Bungkulung			
	Thinglabu-5				
	Dhunge Sanghu-4, 6	Chitre, Munde			
Ramechhap	Gumdel-3	Techhim			
	Bamtibandar-2	Dokharpa			

Appendix-B

All the Lexical and Phonological Variation of the Sherpa Language

Lexicons	Solu	Khumbu	Rame.	Sindu.	Dolakha	Okhal.	Khotang	Bhojpur	Taple.
Body	dzu	dzu	dzu	dzubu	dzubu	dzu	o bu	dzu	dzubu
Head	o	o	go	o	o	o	o	o	o
Hair	r á	r á	r á	r á	r á	r á	r á	r á	r á
Face	oto	oto	oto	oto	oto	oto	oto	ts a a	t
Eye	mík	mík	mík	mík	mík	mík	mík	mík	mík
Ear	namd ok	amd ok	namd ok	amd o k	namd ok	namd o k	namd ok	namd ok	amd ok
Nose	nau	nau	nau	nau	nau	nau	nau	nau	nartok
Mouth	k á	k á	k á	k á	k á	k á	k á	k á	k á
Teeth	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	So
Tongue	tselak	tselak	tselak	tselak	tselak	tselak	tselak	tselak	tselak
Breast	homa	homa	homa	homa	homa	homa	homa	homa	homa
Belly	sup	sup	sup	sup	sup	sup	sup	sup	opa
Arm/ Hand	lakpa	lakpa	lakpa	lakpa	lakpa	lakpa	lakpa	lakpa	lakpa
Elbow	temu	temu	temu	temu	ts i	temu	ts i	temu	emu
Palm	t aldza	t aldza	t aldza	t aldza	t aldza	t aldza	t aldza		lakpina
Finger	t eptok	t eptok	t eptok	t eptok	t eptok	t eptok	t eptok	t eptok	t eptok
Fingernail	sermu	sermu	sermu	sermu	sermu	sermu	sermu	sermu	sendok
Leg	ka ba	ka ba	ka ba	ka ba	ka ba	ka ba	ka ba	ka ba	ka ba
Skin	kowa	kowa	kowa	kowa	kowa	kowa	kowa	kowa	kowa
Bone	rubak	rubak	rubak	rubak	rubak	rubak	rubak	rowa	rukjok
Heart	i	i	i	ni	i	i	i	i	i
Blood	ák	ák	ák	ák	ák	ák	ák	ák	ák
Urine	tsi	tsi	tsi	tsi	tsi	tsi	tsi	tsi	Tsi
Feces	kjakpa	kjakpa	kjakpa	kjakpa	kjakpa	kjakpa	kjakpa	kjakpa	kjakpa
Village	jul	jul	jul	jul	jul	jul	jul	jul	jul
House	K a ba	K a ba	K a b a	K a b a	K a ba	K a ba	K a ba	K a ba	K a ba

Roof	t ok	t ok	t ok	t ok	t ok	t ok	t ok	t ok	t ok
Door	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	ortsa
Firewood	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
Broom	komu	komu	komu	komu	komu	komu	komu	komin	tsama
Mortal		ts itsju					ts ukur		
Pestle									
Hammer	t owa	t owa	t owa	t owa	t owa	t owa	t owa	t owa	t owa
Knife	iu	iu	iu	iu	iu	iu	iu	iu	iu
Axe	teri	teri	teri	t ri	teri	teri	teri	teri	t ri
Rope	t akp a	t akpa	t akpa	t akpa	t akpa	t akpa	t akpa	t akpa	t akpa
Thread	ruta	ruta	ruta	ruta	ruta	ruta	ruta	ruta	kutok
Nedde	k áp	k áp	k áp	k áp	k ap	k áp	k áp	k áp	k áp
Cloth	mad a	mad a	mad a	mad a	mad a	mad a	mad a	mad a	k la
Ring	sertup	sertup	sertup	sertup	sartup	sertup	sertup	sertup	sartup
Sun	ima	ima	ima	ima	ima	ima	ima	ima	ima
Moon	ula	ukla	audaka r	audaka r	aula	aula	ula	ukla	audakja
Sky	nám	nám	nám	nám	nám	nám	nám	nám	nám
Star	karm a	karma	karma	karma	karma	karma	karma	karma	karma
Rain	t arw a	t arwa	t arw a	t arw a	ts arba	t arwa	ts arba	t arwa	ts arpa
Water	ts ú	ts ú	ts ú	ts ú	ts ú	ts ú	ts ú	ts ú	ts ú
River	tsa b u	tsa bu	tsa bu	tsa bu	tsa bu	tsa bu	tsa bu	tsa bu	tsa bu
Cloud	mukp a	mukpa	mukpa	mukpa	mukpa	mukpa	mukpa	mukpa	mukpa
Lightening	tsilam	tsilam	tsilam	tsilam	tsilam	tsilam	tsilam	tsilam	tsilam
Rainbow	dza	dza	dza	dza	dza	dza	dza	dza	dza
Wind	hurtu	hurtu	lu	hurtu	hurtu	hurtu	hurtu	hurtu	lu bu
Stone	dó	dó	dó	dó	dó	dó	dó	dó	dó
Path	lam	lam	lam	lam	lam	lam	lam	lam	lam
Sand	p em a	p ema	p ema	p ema	p ema	p ema	p ema	p ep ok	ts ima
Fire	me	me	me	me	me	me	me	me	me

Smoke	tuta	t uta	t uta	t uta	t uta	t uta	t uta	t utak	t utak
Ash	t aldza m	t aldza m	t aldza m	t aldza m	t aldza m	t aldza m	t aldza m	t aldza m	k asit ala
Mud	t ala	t ala	t ala	t ala	t ala	t ala	t ala	t ala	t ala
Dust	t aldu k	t alduk	t alduk	t alduk	t alduk	t alduk	t alduk	t alduk	t alduk
Gold	ser	ser	ser	ser	ser	ser	ser	ser	ser
Tree	do b u	do bu	do bu	do bu	do bu	do bu	do bu	do bu	do bu
Leaf	loma	loma	damak	loma	dama	loma	loma	loma	dama
Root	mar	chatak	mar	chatak	chatak	mar	mar	mar	dzatak
Thorn	ts er ma	ts erma	ts erm a	ts erm a	ts erma	ts erma	ts erma	ts erma	ts erma
Flower	mend o k	mendo k	mendo k	mendo k	mendok	mendok	mendok	mendok	mendok
Fruit									
Mango									
Banana									
Wheat	ta	t a	t a	t a	t a	t a	t a	t a	t a
Barly	dzau	dzau	dzau	dzau	dzau	dzau	dzau	dzau	dzau
Rice	da	da	da	da	da	or	or	or	de
Potato	ri i	ri i	ri i	ri i	ri i	ri i	ri	ri i	t oma
Eggplant									
Groundnut									
Chilli	marts i	martsi	martsi	martsi	martsi	martsi	martsi	martsi	martsi
Turmeric	u a	u a	u a	u a	u a	u a	u a	u a	u a
Garlic	okpa	okpa	okpa	okpa	okpa	okpa	okpa	okpa	okpa
Onion	ts ok	ts ok	ts o k	ts o k	ts ok	ts ok	ts ok	ts ok	ts ok
Cauliflow er									
Tomato									
Cabbage									
Oil	núm	núm	núm	núm	núm	núm	núm	núm	núm
Salt	tsá	tsá	tsá	tsá	tsá	tsá	tsá	tsá	tsá
Meat	á	á	á	á	á	á	á	á	á
Fat	ts ilu k	ts iluk	ts iluk	ts iluk	ts iluk	ts iluk	ts iluk	ts iluk	ts iluk
Fish	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Chicken	ts epr uk	ts epruk	ts epru k	ts epru k	ts epruk	ts epru k	ts epruk	ts epruk	ts apruk

Egg	ts em endok	ts emend ok	ts eme ndok	ts eme ndok	ts emend ok	ts emen dok	ts emend ok	ts emend ok	ts emendo k
Cow	ts um a	ts uma	ts uma	t uma	ts u ma	ts uma	ts u ma	ts uma	tsu ma
Buffalo	me i	me i	me i	mai	me i	me i	me i	me i	agok
Milk	homa	homa	homa	homa	homa	homa	homa	homa	homa
Horns	arkjo k	arkjok	arkjok	arkjok	arkjok	arkjok	arkjok	arkjok	arkjok
Tail	ama	ama	ama	ama	ama	ama	ama	ama	ama
Goat	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra
Dog	kí	kí	kí	kí	kí	kí	kí	kí	kí
Snake	rul	rul	rul	rul	rul	rul	rul	rul	dul
Monkey	riu	riu	riu	riu	riu	riu	riu	lakambu	te
Mosquito									
Ant	t o m a	t o ma	t o ma	t o ma	t o ma	t o ma	t o ma	t o ma	t oksi ma
Spider	bald a	bald a	bald a	bald a	bald a	tse bal	bald a	bald a	bald a
Name	min	min	min	min	min	min	min	min	min
Man	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi
Woman	p um p edz a	p ump ed za	p ump edza	p ump edza	p ump ed za	p ump edza	hamp um	p ump ed za	p ump edz a
Child	a a	a a	a a	a a	a a		a a	a a	a a
Father	pala	haba	pala	pala	pala	pala	pala	pala	appa
Mother	m m ma	hama	m m ma	hama	m mma	m mm a	m mma	m mma	hama
Old brother	tsudz u	tsudzu	tsudzu	tsudzu	tsudzu	tsudzu	tsudzu	tsudzu	atsu
Younger brother	nuk	nuk	nuk	nuk	nuk	nuk	nuk	nuk	nuk
Son	p udz u	p udzu	p udzu	p udzu	p udzu	p udzu	p udzu	p udzu	p udzu
Daughter	phum u	phumu	phumu	phumu	phumu	phumu	phumu	phumu	phumu
Husband	k jow a	k jowa	k jowa	k jowa	k jowa	k jowa	k jowa	k jowa	k jowa
Wife	permi	permi	permi	permi	p ermi	permi	permi	p rmi	kerme
Boy	k jok p edz a	dzjoda	k jokp edza	k jokp edza	k jokp ed za	k jokp edza	k jokp ed za	k jokp ed za	k jokp edz a
Girl	p um p edz	dzermu	p ump edza	p ump edza	p ump ed za	p ump edza	p ump ed za	p ump ed za	p ump edz a

	a								
Day	ima	ima	ima	ima	ima	ima	ima	ima	ima
Night	nup	nup	nup	nup	nup	nup	nup	nup	tsemu
Morning	t op	t op	t op	t op	t op	t op	t op	t op	t op
Noon	omu	omu	omu	omu	omu	omu	omu	omu	omu
Evening	omu	omu	omu	omu	omu	omu	omu	omu	omu
Yesterday	da	da	da	da	da	da	da	da	da
Today	hari	hari	hari	t ari	hari	hari	hari	hari	hari
Tomorrow	sala	sala	sala	sala	sala	sala	sala	sala	a u
Week									
Mouth	la	la	la	la	la	la	la	la	dawa
Year	lo	lo	lo	lo	lo	lo	lo	lo	lo
Old	awa	aba	aba	aba	aba	aba	aba	awa	aba
New	samb a	samba	samba	samba	samba	samba	samba	samba	samba
Good	lemu	lemu	lemu	lemu	lemu	lemu	lemu	lemu	gandi
Bad	melo kpa	melokpa	melok pa	melok pa	melokpa	melokp a	melokpa	melokpa	melokpa
Wet	lembá	lembá	lembá	lembá	lembá	lembá	lembá	lembá	lembá
Dry	kamb u	kambu	kambu	kambu	kambu	kambu	kambu	kambu	kambu
Long	ri bu	ri bu	ri bu	ri bu	ri bu	ri bu	ri bu	ri bu	ri bu
Short	t inm e	t inme	t inme	t inme	t inme	t inme	t inme	t inme	ati ma
Hot	ts end e	ts ende	ts end e	ts end e	ts endi	ts endi	ts endi	tsende	ts endi
Cold	te e	te e	te e	te e	t e e	t e e	t e e	te e	e a
Right	jawa	jawa	jawa	jawa	jawa	jawa	jawa	jawa	a
Left	janba	janba	janba	janba	janba	janba	janba	janba	p ilokpa
Near	t ak emu	t ak emu	t ak e mu	t ak e mu	t ak emu	t ak e mu	t ak emu	t ak emu	t ak emu

Far	t akri bu	t akri bu	t akri bu	t akri bu	t akri bu	t akri bu	t akri bu	t akri bu	t akri bu
Big	erpu	bombu	erpu	bombu	erpu	erpu	erpu	erpu	s endi
Small	tikpe	tikpe	tikpe	tikpe	tikpe	tikpe	tikpe	tikpe	atsi a
Heavy	tsende	tsende	tsende	tsende	tsende	tsende	tsende	tsende	dzendi
Light	he e	he e	he e	he e	he e	he e	he e	he e	he e
Above	jajo	jajo	jajo	jajo	jajo	jajo	jajo	jajo	jajo
Below	mamo	mamo	mamo	mamo	mamo	mamo	mamo	mamo	mamo
White	karmu	karmu	karmu	karmu	karmu	karmu	karmu	karmu	kapu
Black	nakpu	nakpu	nakpu	nakpu	nakpu	nakpu	nakpu	nakpu	nakpu
Red	marbu	marbu	marbu	marbu	marbu	maru	maru	marbu	mapu
One	tsik	tsik	tsik	tsik	tsik	tsik	tsik	tsik	tsik
Two	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
Three	sum	sum	sum	sum	sum	sum	sum	sum	sum
Four	dzi	i	dzi	i	dzi	i	dzi	dzi	i
Five	á	á	á	á	á	á	á	á	á
Six	tuk	t uk	t uk	t uk	t uk	t uk	t uk	t uk	t uk
Seven	din	din	din	din	din	din	din	din	din
Eight	je	je	je	je	je	je	je	je	je
Nine	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
Ten	tsu	tsu	tsu	tsu	tsu	tsu	tsu	tsu	tsu
Eleven	tsudzik	tsudzik	tsudzik	tsudzik	tsudzik	tsudzik	tsudzik	tsudzik	tsudzik
Twelve	tsi i	tsu i	tsu i	tsu i	tsi i	tsi i	tsi i	tsi i	tsu i
Twenty	k ldzik	i u	i u	i u	isu	k ldzik	k ldzik	k ldzik	i u
One hundred	k al a	k al a	k al a	k al a	k al a	k al a	k al a	k al a	k al a
Who	su	su	su	su	su	su	su	su	su
What	ka	ka	ka	k a	k a	k a	ka	k a	k a
Where	k eni	k eni	k eni	k ani	k ani	keni	kani	k eni	k ani
When	nam	nam	nam	nam	nam	nam	nam	nam	nam
How many	tso	ma li	tso	k adzo	ts o	tso	ts o	ts o	k adzo
Which	tsukati	k a gidi	tsukati	k a i di	tsukati	tsukati	tsukati	tsukati	k a idi
This	dí	dí	dí	dí	dí	dí	dí	dí	dí

That	t i	t i	t i	t i	t i	t i	t i	t i	t i
These	diwa	diwa	diwa	diwa	diba	diwa	diwa	diwa	diba
Those	t iwa	t uwa	t iwa	t iwa	t iba	t iwa	t iwa	t iwa	t iba
Same	t ira	t ira	t ira	t ira	t ira	t ira	t ira	t ira	t ira
Different	k utu k	k utuk	k utuk	k utuk	k utuk	k utuk	k utuk	k utuk	k utuk
Whole	teri	teri	teri	teri	teri	teri	ari	ari	jukkai
Broken	ts akp a	ts akpa	ts akp a	ts akp a	ts akpa	ts akpa	ts akpa	ts akpa	ts akpa
Few	tsedzi	tsedzi	tsedzi	tsedzi	tsedzi	tsedzi	tsedzi	tsedzi	atsedzi
Many	ba i	ba i	ba i	ba i	ba i	ba i	ba i	ba i	bu i
All	teri	teri	teri	teri	teri	teri	ari	ari	jukkai
To eat	sap	sap	sap	sap	sap	sap	sap	sap	sap
To bite	S tap ku	S tapku	S tapk u	S tapk u	S tapku	S tapk u	S tapku	S tapku	S tapku
To be hungry	l obal a gu	l obala g u	l obala gu	l obala gu	l obala g u	l obala gu	l obala g u	l obala g u	l obala gu
To drink	t u u	t u u	t u u	t u u	t u u	t u u	t u u	t u u	t u u
To be thirty	komb ala g u	kombala u	komba la u	komba la u	kombala u	kombal a u	kombala u	kombala u	kombala u
To sleep	il k u	il ku	il ku	il ku	il ku	il ku	il ku	il ku	il ku
To lie	juru	juru	juru	juru	juru	juru	juru	juru	juru
To sit	deku	deku	deku	deku	deku	deku	deku	deku	deku
To give	tekup	tekup	tekup	tekup	tekup	tekup	tekup	tekup	tekup
To burn	r éku	r éku	r éku	r éku	r éku	r éku	r éku	r éku	r éku
To die	jap	jap	jap	jap	jap	jap	jap	jap	jap
To kill	setu	setu	setu	setu	setu	setu	setu	setu	setu
To fly	p uru	p uru	p uru	p uru	p uru	p uru	p uru	p uru	p irku
To walk	d p	d p	d p	d p	d p	d p	d p	d p	d p
To run	ts o u	ts o u	ts o u	ts o u	ts o u	ts o u	ts o u	ts o u	ts o u
To go	d p	d p	d p	d p	d p	d p	d p	d p	d p

To come	hu u	hu u	hu u	hu u	hu u	hu u	hu u	hu u	hu u
To speak	lapku	lapku	lapku	lapku	lapku	lapku	lapku	lapku	lapku
To hear	e u	e u	e u	e u	e u	e u	e u	e u	e u
To look	l ap	l ap	l ap	l ap	l ap	l ap	l ap	l ap	l ap
I	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
You (Informal)	k joro	k joro	k joro	k joro	k joro	k joro	k joro	k joro	k joro
You (formal)									
He	t i	k o	t i	t i	t i	t i	t i	t i	t i
We (incl)	dakpu	dakpu	ora	ora	ora	dakpu	dakpu	dakpu	ora
We (exclusive)	ira	ira	ira	ira	ira	ira	ira	ira	ira
You (plural)	k ira	k ira	k ira	k ira	k ira	k ira	k ira	k ira	k ira
They	t iwa	k iwa	t iwa	t iwa	t iba	tiwa	k iwa	t iwa	t iba

Appendix-C

Name and Address of the Respondents						
S.N.	Name of Respondents	Ward	Village	VDC	District	Zone
1	Mrs. Pasang Lhamu Sherpa	1	Sangjim	Nalbu	Taplejung	Mechi
2	Mr. Lama Pasang Sherpa	2	Changa	Nalbu	Taplejung	Mechi
3	Mr. Nupu Sherpa	2	Changa	Nalbu	Taplejung	Mechi
4	Mr. Pemba Tshering Sherpa	2	Changa	Nalbu	Taplejung	Mechi
5	Ms. Lunky Sherpa	2	Changa	Nalbu	Taplejung	Mechi
6	Mr. Pasang Sherpa	2	Changa	Nalbu	Taplejung	Mechi
7	Mrs. Ngima Phuti Sherpa	9	Kiling	Papung	Taplejung	Mechi
8	Mr. Pasang Sherpa	9	Kiling	Papung	Taplejung	Mechi
9	Mrs. Daphuti Sherpa		Hangdewa		Taplejung	Mechi
10	Mr. Dorchi Khangdu Sherpa	2	Thinglabu	Thokchemba	Taplejung	Mechi
11	Mr. Tashi Sherpa	4	Chitre	Dhunge Sanghu	Taplejung	Mechi
12	Mrs. Diku Sherpa	4	Chitre	Dhunge Sanghu	Taplejung	Mechi
13	Mr. Ngima Nurbu Sherpa	5	Bane	Rakha	Khotang	Sagarmatha
14	Mr. Ang Rittar Sherpa, Chyaba	9	Bafachaur	Harishe	Khotang	Sagarmatha
15	Mrs. Diku Sherpa	4		Baplukha	Khotang	Sagarmatha
16	Ms. Pemdiki Sherpa	8		Fedi	Khotang	Sagarmatha
17	Mr. Pasang Dawa Sherpa	9		Jaleswari	Khotang	Sagarmatha
18	Mrs. Ngati Sherpa	5		Rakha	Khotang	Sagarmatha
19	Mrs. Pasi Sherpa	5		Rakha	Khotang	Sagarmatha
20	Mr. Mindu Sherpa	5		Nirmalidanda	Khotang	Sagarmatha
21	Ms. Mina Sherpa	4		Baplukha	Khotang	Sagarmatha
22	Ms. Jeni Sherpa	8		Baplukha	Khotang	Sagarmatha
23	Mr. Geljen Sherpa	5		Sungdel	Khotang	Sagarmatha
24	Mr. Sonam Sherpa	7		Mude	Khotang	Sagarmatha
25	Mr. Fara Dendi Dherpa	9	Cheksila	Dobhane	Bhojpur	Koshi
26	Mr. Nima Sherpa	9	Cheksila	Dobhane	Bhojpur	Koshi
27	Mr. Ang Babu Sherpa	5	Dilkharka	Khatangma	Bhojpur	Koshi
28	Mr. Phurba Sherpa	5	Dilkharka	Khatangma	Bhojpur	Koshi
29	Mr. Karma Sherpa	5	Dilkharka	Khatangma	Bhojpur	Koshi
30	Mrs. Ngima Chheki Sherpa	5	Dilkharka	Khatangma	Bhojpur	Koshi

31	Mrs. Kopila Sherpa	5	Dilkharka	Khatangma	Bhojpur	Koshi
32	Mrs. Ngimali Sherpa	5	Dilkharka	Khatangma	Bhojpur	Koshi
33	Mr. Sangye Sherpa	5	Dilkharka	Khatangma	Bhojpur	Koshi
34	Mrs. Dalamu Sherpa	9	Cheksila	Dobhane	Bhojpur	Koshi
35	Mr. Phurba Sherpa	7	Chitre	Bhokhim	Bhojpur	Koshi
36	Mr. Pema Sherpa	7	Chitre	Bhokhim	Bhojpur	Koshi
37	Mrs. Dolma Sherpa	5	Selwa	Mali	Dolakha	Janakpur
38	Mr. Ang Gelji Sherpa	9	Jiri	Jiri	Dolakha	Janakpur
39	Mrs. Pema Dichen Sherpa	2	Yalung	Mali	Dolakha	Janakpur
40	Mr. Sangye Sherpa	2	Yalung	Mali	Dolakha	Janakpur
41	Ms. Lhakpa Lhamu Sherpa	5	Selwa	Mali	Dolakha	Janakpur
42	Mr. Ang Gelbu Sherpa	1	Chhermading	Mali	Dolakha	Janakpur
43	Mr. Norsang Sherpa	9		Shusmachhe mawati	Dolakha	Janakpur
44	Mr. Phurba Namgyal Sherpa	4	Roshi	Mali	Dolakha	Janakpur
45	Mr. Ngima Doma Sherpa	4	Roshi	Mali	Dolakha	Janakpur
46	Mrs. Kesangmu Sherpa	1	Galakte	Bigu	Dolakha	Janakpur
47	Mr. Tashi Sherpa	4	Gyalbeshing	Bigu	Dolakha	Janakpur
48	Mrs. Pema Yangen Sherpa	2	Aalamfu	Bigu	Dolakha	Janakpur
49	Mr. Sonam Chhiring Sherpa	8	Ngimare	Garma	Solukhumbu	Sagarmatha
50	Mr. Ang Kami Sherpa	3	Khumjung	Khumjung	Solukhumbu	Sagarmatha
51	Mr. Kaji Sherpa	1	Jorsalle	Chaurikharka	Solukhumbu	Sagarmatha
52	Mr. Lama Thupten Sherpa	5	Fungmoche	Beni	Solukhumbu	Sagarmatha
53	Mr. Chhiring Nuru Sherpa	5	Sumjingma	Beni	Solukhumbu	Sagarmatha
54	Mr. Dawa Chhiri Sherpa	5	Mapung	Beni	Solukhumbu	Sagarmatha
55	Mrs. Sani Sherpa	5	Mapung	Beni	Solukhumbu	Sagarmatha
56	Mrs. Yangdu Sherpa	5	Mapung	Beni	Solukhumbu	Sagarmatha
57	Mrs. Ngim Diki Sherpa	5	Sanam	Gudel	Solukhumbu	Sagarmatha
59	Ms. Sonam Dolma Sherpa	2	Junbeshi	Beni	Solukhumbu	Sagarmatha
60	Mr. Aanchhi Sherpa	5	Mapung	Beni	Solukhumbu	Sagarmatha
61	Mr. Ang Phurba Lama Sherpa	8	Loding	Tamakhani	Solukhumbu	Sagarmatha
62	Mr. Dangima Sherpa	3	Toksar	Bigutar	Okhaldungha	Sagarmatha
63	Ms. Phuti Sherpa	2	Toksar	Bigutar	Okhaldungha	Sagarmatha
64	Mrs. Ang Kandu Sherpa	5	Chuplung	Khijifalate	Okhaldungha	Sagarmatha
65	Mrs. Jangmu Lakshindo Sherpa	8	Naspu	Rogani	Okhaldungha	Sagarmatha
66	Mr. Pemba Sherpa	2	Toksar	Bigutar	Okhaldungha	Sagarmatha
67	Mr. Sarki Sherpa	7	Chandreswar	Khijifalate	Okhaldungha	Sagarmatha
68	Mr. Ang Phurba Sherpa	7	Chandreswar	Khijifalate	Okhaldungha	Sagarmatha

69	Mrs. Ang Sani Sherpa			Riparma	Okhaldungha	Sagarmatha
70	Mr. Dendi lakshindo Sherpa			Riparma	Okhaldungha	Sagarmatha
71	Mr. Tenzi Sherpa	3	Toksar	Bigutar	Okhaldungha	Sagarmatha
72	Ms. Doma Sherpa	3	Toksar	Bigutar	Okhaldungha	Sagarmatha
73	Mr. Pasang Sherpa	8	Naspu	Rogani	Okhaldungha	Sagarmatha
74	Mr. Lhakpa Thile Sherpa	8	Chhakam	Listi	Sindupalchowk	Bagmati
75	Mrs. Lhakpa Doma Thaktok	9	Tembathang	Gumba	Sindupalchowk	Bagmati
76	Mrs. Sona Sangbu Sherpa	1	Dolangsa	Gorathali	Sindupalchowk	Bagmati
77	Mr. Pasang Sherpa	1	Dolangsa	Gorathali	Sindupalchowk	Bagmati
78	Mr. Ngim Doma Khambache	1	Dolangsa	Gorathali	Sindupalchowk	Bagmati
79	Mrs. Lachimendo Garja Finasa	7	Naranthan	Fulpingkatti	Sindupalchowk	Bagmati
80	Mr. Gyurmi Garja Phinasa	5	Selang	Selangkatti	Sindupalchowk	Bagmati
81	Ms. Kanchhi Sherpa	1	Dolangsa	Gorathali	Sindupalchowk	Bagmati
82	Mr. Kanchha Sherpa	1	Dolangsa	Gorathali	Sindupalchowk	Bagmati
83	Ms. Pemfuti Sherpa	1	Dolangsa	Gorathali	Sindupalchowk	Bagmati
84	Mr. Furwa Yangi Sherpa	9	Tembathang	Gumba	Sindupalchowk	Bagmati
85	Mr. Serki Sherpa	9	Tembathang	Gumba	Sindupalchowk	Bagmati
86	Mr. Mingma Sherpa	3	Techhim	Gumdel	Ramechhap	Janakpur
87	Mrs. Pema Sangye Lama Sherpa	2	Dokharpa	Bantibandar	Ramechhap	Janakpur
88	Mrs. Lakti Lakshindo Sherpa	3	Techhim	Gumdel	Ramechhap	Janakpur
89	Ms. Kanchhi Phuti Sherpa	3	Techhim	Gumdel	Ramechhap	Janakpur
90	Mr. Chhongba Sherpa	3	Techhim	Gumdel	Ramechhap	Janakpur
91	Mrs. Yangdu Sherpa	3	Bandar	Bandar	Ramechhap	Janakpur
92	Mr. Ang Kaji Lama Sherpa	2	Dokharpa	Bandar	Ramechhap	Janakpur
93	Mr. Chhiring Lama Sherpa	3	Bandar	Bandar	Ramechhap	Janakpur
94	Mr. Chhiring Lakky Sherpa	3	Bandar	Bandar	Ramechhap	Janakpur
95	Mr. Pem Gyalje Sherpa	3	Bandar	Bandar	Ramechhap	Janakpur
96	Mrs. Furwa Sangye Sherpa	2	Dokharpa	Bamtibandar	Ramechhap	Janakpur
97	Mr. Doma Lama Sherpa	2	Dokharpa	Bamtibandar	Ramechhap	Janakpur

Appendix-D

नेपालको भाषिक सर्वेक्षण
त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय
कीर्तिपुर, काठमाडौं, नेपाल

कोड नं.....

२१० शब्दसूची

(समाजभाषावैज्ञानिक प्रश्नावली र यो शब्दसूची एउटै व्यक्तिबाट भरिएमा तलको व्यक्तिगत विवरण भर्न नपर्ने तर कोड नं. उल्लेख गर्नुपर्ने)

अनुसन्धाताको नाम:

मिति:.....

(१).....

भाषासूचक (हरू) को नाम:

(१).....

(२).....

(३).....

स्थान :

जिल्ला..... गाविस/नगरपालिका: वडा नं:.....

गाउँ/टोल:.....

भाषाको नाम: अन्तर्वाताको माध्यमभाषा:

क्र.	इंग्रे	।
१.	body	शरीर	
२.	head	टाउको	
३.	hair	कपाल	
४.	face	अनुहार	
५.	eye	आँखा	
६.	ear	कान	
७.	nose	नाक	
८.	mouth	मुख	
९.	teeth	दाँत	

१०.	tongue	जि॒भ्रा	
११.	breast	स्त॒न	
१२.	belly	पेट	
१३.	arm/ hand	हात	
१४.	elbow	कु॒ड़नो	
१५.	palm	ह॒त्केला	
१६.	finger	औ॒ला	
१७.	fingernail	नड	
१८.	leg	खु॒ट्टा	
१९.	skin	छाला	
२०.	bone	हाड	
२१.	heart	मु॒ट्ट	
२२.	blood	रगत	
२३.	urine	पि॒साब	
२४.	feces	दि॒सा	
२५.	village	गा॒उँ	
२६.	house	घर	
२७.	roof	छानो	
२८.	door	ढोका	
२९.	firewood	दाउरा	
३०.	broom	कुचो	
३१.	mortar	सि॒लौटो	
३२.	pestle	लो	
३३.	hammer	हथौडा	
३४.	knife	च॒क्कु	
३५.	axe	ब॒चरो	
३६.	rope	डोरा	
३७.	thread	धागो	
३८.	needle	सि॒यो	
३९.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	
४०.	ring	औ॒ठा	
४१.	sun	घाम	
४२.	moon	च॒न्द्रमा	

४३.	sky	आकाश	
४४.	star	तारा	
४५.	rain	वषा	
४६.	water	पानी	
४७.	river	नदी	
४८.	cloud	बादल	
४९.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	
५०.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	
५१.	wind	बतास	
५२.	stone	ढुङ्गा	
५३.	path	बाटो	
५४.	sand	बालुवा	
५५.	fire	आगो	
५६.	smoke	धुवाँ	
५७.	ash	खरानी	
५८.	mud	माटो	
५९.	dust	धुलो	
६०.	gold	सुन	
६१.	tree	रुख	
६२.	leaf	पात	
६३.	root	जरा	
६४.	thorn	काँडो	
६५.	flower	फूल	
६६.	fruit	फलफूल	
६७.	mango	आँप	
६८.	banana	केरा	
६९.	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	
७०.	barley	जौ	
७१.	rice (husked)	चामल	
७२.	potato	आलु	
७३.	eggplant	भण्टा	
७४.	groundnut	बदाम	
७५.	chili	खुसानी	

७६.	turmeric	बेसार	
७७.	garlic	लसुन	
७८.	onion	प्याज	
७९.	cauliflower	काउला	
८०.	Tomato	गोलभडा	
८१.	cabbage	बन्दा	
८२.	oil	तेल	
८३.	salt	नुन	
८४.	meat	मासु	
८५.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	
८६.	fish	माछा	
८७.	chicken	चल्ला	
८८.	egg	अण्डा	
८९.	cow	गाई	
९०.	buffalo	भसी	
९१.	milk	दुध	
९२.	horns	सिङ	
९३.	tail	पुच्छर	
९४.	goat	बाखी	
९५.	dog	कुकुर	
९६.	snake	सप (साँप)	
९७.	monkey	बाँदर	
९८.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	
९९.	ant	कमिला	
१००.	spider	माकुरो	
१०१.	name	नाम	
१०२.	man	मान्छे	
१०३.	woman	आइमाई	
१०४.	child	बच्चा	
१०५.	father	बाबा	
१०६.	mother	आमा	
१०७.	older brother	दाजु	
१०८.	younger brother	भाइ	

१०९.	older sister	दिदा	
११०.	younger sister	बहिनी	
१११.	son	छोरो	
११२.	daughter	छोरा	
११३.	husband	लोगने (श्रीमान)	
११४.	wife	स्वास्नी (श्रीमती)	
११५.	boy	केटो	
११६.	girl	केटा	
११७.	day	दिन	
११८.	night	रात	
११९.	morning	विहान	
१२०.	noon	मध्याह्न	
१२१.	evening	साँझ	
१२२.	yesterday	हिजो	
१२३.	today	आज	
१२४.	tomorrow	भोला	
१२५.	week	हप्ता (साता)	
१२६.	month	महिना	
१२७.	year	वष	
१२८.	old	बूढो	
१२९.	new	नयाँ	
१३०.	good	राम्रो (असल)	
१३१.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	
१३२.	wet	चिसो	
१३३.	dry	सुख्खा	
१३४.	long	लामो	
१३५.	short	छोटो	
१३६.	hot	तातो	
१३७.	cold	चिसो	
१३८.	right	दाहिने	
१३९.	left	देब्रे	

१४०.	near	नजिक	
१४१.	far	टाढा	
१४२.	big	ठूलो	
१४३.	small	सानो	
१४४.	heavy	गह्रौं	
१४५.	light	हलुका	
१४६.	above	माथि	
१४७.	below	तल	
१४८.	white	सेतो	
१४९.	black	कालो	
१५०.	red	रातो	
१५१.	one	एक	
१५२.	two	दुई	
१५३.	three	तीन	
१५४.	four	चार	
१५५.	five	पाँच	
१५६.	six	छ	
१५७.	seven	सात	
१५८.	eight	आठ	
१५९.	nine	नौ	
१६०.	ten	दश	
१६१.	eleven	एघार	
१६२.	twelve	बाह्र	
१६३.	twenty	बीस	
१६४.	one hundred	एक सय	
१६५.	who	को	
१६६.	what	के	
१६७.	where	कहाँ	
१६८.	when	कहिले	
१६९.	how many	कति	
१७०.	which	कुन	
१७१.	this	यो	
१७२.	that	त्यो	

१७३.	these	यिनीहरू	
१७४.	those	उनीहरू	
१७५.	same	उहाँ	
१७६.	different	फरक (अलग)	
१७७.	whole	सबै	
१७८.	broken	फुटेको	
१७९.	few	थोरै	
१८०.	many	धेरै	
१८१.	all	सबै	
१८२.	to eat	खानु	
१८३.	to bite	टोक्नु	
१८४.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	
१८५.	to drink	पिउनु	
१८६.	to be thirsty	तिखाउनु	
१८७.	to sleep	सुत्नु	
१८८.	to lie	पल्टनु	
१८९.	to sit	बस्नु	
१९०.	to give	दिनु	
१९१.	to burn	डढाउनु	
१९२.	to die	मनु	
१९३.	to kill	मानु	
१९४.	to fly	उड्नु	
१९५.	to walk	हिँड्नु	
१९६.	to run/ run	दौडनु	
१९७.	to go /go	जानु	
१९८.	to come	आउनु	
१९९.	to speak/ speak	बोल्नु	
२००.	to hear/hear/listen	सुन्नु	
२०१.	to look/look	हेनु	
२०२.	I	म	
२०३.	you (informal)	तँ	
२०४.	you (formal)	तपाईं	

२०५.	he	ऊ	
२०६.	she	उनी	
२०७.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	
२०८.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	
२०९.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	
२१०.	they	उनीहरू	

-The End-

Appendix-E

Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (A)

Notes:

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

Introduce yourself first:

My name is I am from Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. I am a research assistant of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal. I am here to learn about your language and its situation. We will share the information given by you with others. Are you willing to help us?

INFORMED CONSENT: **Given:** **Not Given:**

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

ENTER THE ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING BEFORE THE INTERVIEW:

Question	Answer
1. Interview Number	
2. Date	Day..... Month.....Year.....
3. Place of Interview	(a) Ward No: (b) Village/Town: (c) VDC/Municipality: (d) District:(e) Zone:..... (e) GPS Coordinates:E
4. Interviewer Name	(a)
5. Language of Elicitation	
6. Language of Response	

8. Name of language consultant:
9. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a) Male (b) Female (c) Other
10. Age group: (i) 15-34 (ii) 35-60 (iii) 60+
11. Are you literate?
 (a) Yes (b) No
12. (If "Yes") How did you learn to read & write?
 (a) Formally (b) Non-formally
13. (If "Formally") What year/level did you complete?
 (a) Primary (b) Lower Secondary (c) Secondary
 (d) Higher (specify highest degree).....
14. Marital status: (a) Married (b) Unmarried
15. (If "Married") Do you have any children?
 (a) Yes (b) No
16. Caste
17. Ethnic group:
18. Religion:
 (a) Hinduism (b) Buddhism (c) Kirant (d) Christianity (e) Jain
 (f) Islam (g) Shamanism (h) Other
19. Your mother tongue's name:
 (a) (Given by respondent).....
20. Name given by the nonnative speakers for your language (tapaiko bhasha nabholne manchele tapaiko bhasalai ke bhanchan?).....
21. Different names of the language if any (yo bhashalai aru naamle pani chinincha?)
 (i)..... (ii)
22. Your mother's mother tongue.....
23. Your father's mother tongue.....

SCREENING CRITERIA #1: At least one parent from target MT.	YES
NO	

24. Mother tongue of your husband/ wife
25. What village were you born in?
 (a) Ward No..... (b) Village/Town..... (c) VDC/municipality.....
 (d) District..... (d) Zone.....
26. Where do you live now?

27. How many years have you lived here?
 28. Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year?
 29. (if so) Where? When? How long did you live there?

SCREENING CRITERIA #2: **YES**
NO
Grew up here, Live here now, and, If they have lived elsewhere, it is not a significant amount of recent time.

B. Language resources

30. What are the major kinds of Oral literature available in your language?
 (a) folk tales,
 (b) songs,
 (c) religious literature,
 (d) radio,
 (e) films,
 (f) CD/ DVD,
 (g) Other.....
31. (If they mentioned radio programs) How often do you listen to radio program broadcast in your language?
 (a) Usually (b) Sometimes (c) Never
32. (For literate language consultants) , what materials written about your language?
 33. (If “Yes”) What language(s) is it written in?

Material:	32. Yes or No	33. (If “Yes”) What language(s) is it written in?
a. Phonemic inventory		
b. Grammar		
c. Dictionary		
d. Textbooks		
e. Literacy materials		
e. Newspapers		
f. Magazines		
g. Written literature		
h. Folklore		

34. (If they mentioned written materials) Do you read any of these things written in your language?

- (a) Yes (b) No

35. (Only ask literate consultants, if their language has written materials):

What script(s) is your language written in?

36. Are there any organizations that promote the knowledge and/ or use of the language?

- (a) Yes (b) No

37. (If “Yes”) Please name those organizations. (enter below)

38. What kinds of activities do each organization perform? (enter below)

- (a) Cultural
(b) Linguistic
(c) Educational

	36. Organization	37. Kinds of activities
i.		
ii.		

C. Mother-tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism

39. What languages can you speak?

40. What language did you speak first?

So you speak... (remind of Q. 38)

Which language do you speak...

41. best?
42. second best?
43. third best?
44. fourth best?

45. Among the languages that you speak which one do you love the most?

46. (Only ask if MT was not best language) Please estimate how proficient are you in your mother tongue:

- (a) Very Well (b) Some (c) Only a Little

47. Please estimate how well you can read and write your mother tongue:

- (a) Very Well (b) Some (c) Only a Little

48. Other languages known to your father (enter below)

49. Other Languages known to your mother (enter below)

50. Other Languages known to your spouse (enter below)

Persons	Other Languages			
	A	B	C	d
48. Father				
49. Mother				
50. Spouse				

51. What languages are spoken by your sons/ daughters? (enter below)

52. Where did they learn those languages? (enter below)

	50. Other languages spoken by children:	51. Where learned:
a.		
b.		
c.		

53. When a small child first goes to school, can (s)he understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says?

(a) Yes (d) A little bit (c) No

D. Domain of Language Use

54. Which language do you use most frequently for the following purposes?

	Domain	Language
A	Counting	
B	Singing	
C	Joking	
D	Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	
E	Story telling	
F	Discussing/ Debate	
G	Praying	
H	Quarrelling	
I	Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	
J	Telling stories to children	
K	Singing at home	

L	Family gatherings	
M	Village meetings	

55. Languages most frequently used at home in the following situations:

(a) talking about education matters (like school, admission, studies, teacher, etc.)

(enter below)

(b) Discussing social events and family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc.) (enter below)

(c) While writing letters? (enter below)

	a. Education Matters	b. Social Events & Family Matters	c. Writing Letters
Grandfather:			
Grandmother:			
Father:			
Mother:			
Spouse:			
Children:			

56. What language do your children usually speak while:

(a) playing with other children?

(b) talking with neighbors?

(c) at school?

57. What language does your community use for marriage invitations?

58. What language is usually used to write minutes in community meetings?

59. How often do you use your mother tongue?

(a) Every day (b) Rarely (c) Never

60. How often do you use the language of wider communication (LWC)?

(a) Every day (b) Rarely (c) Never

61. Which language do you usually use when speakers of other languages visit you at home?

62. What language do you prefer for your children's medium of instruction at primary level?

(a) Mother tongue (b) Nepali (c) English (d) Other.....

E. Language Vitality

63. Do all your children speak your mother tongue?

- (a) Yes (b) No

64. What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?

- (a) Mother tongue (b) Nepali (c) Other.....

65. Do young people in your village/town speak your mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken?

- (a) Yes (b) No

F. Language Maintenance

66. Is there intermarriage in your community?

- (a) Yes (b) No

67. (If “Yes”) Which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?

- (i)..... (ii)..... (iii).....

68. Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?

- (a) Yes (b) No

69. (If “Yes”) If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:

- (a) By sending your children?
- (b) By encouraging other people to send their children?
- (c) By providing financial help?
- (d) By teaching?
- (e) By helping with the school?
- (f) Other.....

G. Language Attitudes

70. When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...

- (a) – Prestigious (b) – Embarrassed (c) – Neutral

71. Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?

- (a) Yes (b) No

72. (If “Yes”) What kinds of problems have you had? (These options are not to be listed in the SLQ, but left as categories in the database.)

- (a) – Social discrimination.

- (b) – Political discrimination.
- (c) – Economic discrimination.
- (d) – Hostile confrontation.
- (e) – Discrimination in education.
- (f) – Social pressure.
- (g) – Political pressure.
- (h) – Economic pressure.

73. How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?

- (a) Good (b) Indifferent (c) Bad

74. When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?

- (a) Yes (b) No

75. How do you feel about this?

- (a) Good (b) Indifferent (c) Bad

76. What language should your children speak first?

77. Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?

- (a) Yes (b) No

78. (If “Yes”) How?

- (a) Pronunciation
- (b) Vocabulary
- (c) Use of specific type of sentences
- (d) Mixing of other languages
- (e) way of speaking

79. How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?

- (a) Good (b) Indifferent (c) Bad

80. Comments (anything unusual or noteworthy about this interview)	
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Appendix-F

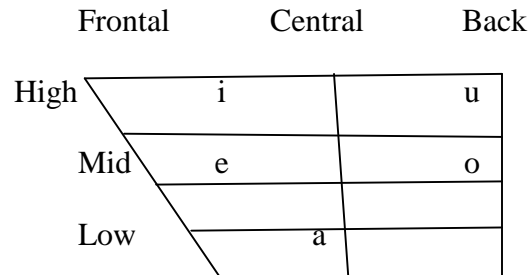
The Sherpa consonants are given in chart 2.2 as follows:

Chart 2.1 Sherpa Consonants

Manner of articulation	Place of Articulation							
	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Post Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p p b	t t d					k k g	
Affricate			ts ts dz	t t d				
Nasal	m		n					
Trill			r r					
Fricative			s			j		h
Approximate	w							
Lat. App.		l l						

The vowels of the Sherpa are in the Figure 2.1

Chart: 2.2 Sherpa Vowels



Appendix-H

Child naming system in the Sherpa

S.N.	Sherpa	Roman	English
1	<i>ima</i>	ngima	Sunday
2	<i>dawa</i>	dawa	Monday
3	<i>mi ma</i>	mingma	Tuesday
4	<i>lakpa</i>	lakpa	Wednesday
5	<i>p urba</i>	Phurba	Thursday
6	<i>pasa</i>	pasang	Friday
7	<i>pemba</i>	Pemba	Saturday

Source: Field visit, 2013