

## Chapter One

### 1. Introduction

The Sherpas who have their unique language, traditional values, cultural heritage, art, and religion are an ethnic group of Nepal. They live in the northern highlands of eastern Nepal and in nearby districts of China and India. It is a Tibeto-Burman Language which has not been standardized yet in dialect, script, and orthography. Most of them are strong Buddhists who acknowledge "Sambota" as script developed in the 7th century (Lee, 2001:1-3). Sherpa people have personal experience of reincarnation of lamas. (Haimendorf, (1964:18). The population of Sherpas, according to the census of 2058 is 1,54,622 (0.66%) of the national total. Out of them 77,511 male and 77,111 are female populations (Pasang, 2006:5-7).

This language is in danger to be extinguished with other minority languages owing to the policy of government. Language loss among a number of indigenous languages in Nepal began as a result of the vast promotion of the Nepali language in 18th century and continued through discouragement of the use of all other indigenous languages during the middle part of 20th century. This is the oldest language in Nepal like other indigenous languages. This language has six vowel and thirty consonant sounds. Sherpa has many clans like Rai, Limbu such as Chewa Pinasha, Gole, Goparma, Khambache, Lama, Salakha, Takto, Murmin, Poldorje, Pankarma, Laksindo, Synguk, Penakpa and Lamasherwa etc. The Sherpa language speakers have been scattered in different districts like Solukhumbu, Bhojpur, Ramechhap, Dolakha, Taplejung, Illam, Khotang, Udayapur, Sankhuwashava, Sindhupalchowk, Dhankuta, and recently in Kathmandu as well. But majority of immigrants also speak Nepali language as their mother tongue due to the impact of geographical and

political situation. This is why, we get variation between Sherpa language speakers, Sherpa people, are well-built, strong, and have flat-nose. These people prefer living in high accommodations. Thus, the boys also have long hair. They have their own specific cultures, feast and festivals.

In conclusion, it is said that the Sherpas, who live in the eastern part of Nepal, have their own language and cultural heritage. Their each and every activities are being different owing to various factors like geography, education and globalization.

## **2. Statement of the problem**

The Sherpas living in Solukhumbu and Bhojpur Districts of Nepal are ethnic communities with their own native language. This study has the following problems:

- a. What are the distinguishing features of the sherpas? Are there any cultural differences between the Sherpas of Solukhumbu and Bhojpur?
- b. Do they speak the same language or do regional variations exist in their speech?

## **3. Objectives of the study**

This study has two main objectives. They are:

- a. To provide a short ethnographic description of Sherpa, and
- b. To make comparative study of phonology and morphology of Solukhumbu and Bhajpure Sherpa

#### 4. Review of Literature

Lama Sherpa (1999:2) terms that Sherpa is one of the many ethnic groups living all over the Nepal, Bhutan, India, Tibet, and other countries. Some of mighty Himalayan peaks in Nepal, particularly Mount Everest is closely associated with Sherpa and they are known all over the world for their physical endurance and stamina. They are Tibetan warrior group well-known for their prowess in fighting. Contemporary tyrannical rulers changed the proper names of Sherpa places into their own version. For example, Shar-Khumbu became Solukhumbu, Tseringma became gausisankar (Hindu name), chomolongma became Sagarmatha and Everest (English name). Similarly Jung became Junbesi, Paplawawa became Phaplu and Nauche became namche Bazaar. Other rumors were fabricated about Sherpa such as Sherpa are "porter" instead of Sherpa in their books. Thus, writer should consider before writing about Sherpa.

Lee (2004:1-9) says that originally the Sherpa are called Tibetan, known as Kham people but immigrated in Nepal across the Himalaya about 7-9 hundred years ago, but it is not fact based because some critics say Sherpa are not migrated people rather they are indigenous people of Nepal. Only we find some similarity as culture and language due to the intimate geographical condition. The Sherpa society recently decided to use "Sambota" script for their language in their primary school text books. At least 90% of the whole Sherpa population can't read "Sambota" script. So, the Sherpa community decided to teach script for their children. Making a Sherpa dictionary is an opening door to develop the Sherpa language, but also the first standardization progress in Sherpa language. The Sherpa society should embrace both the practicality and Sherpa identity, and needs to decide on one standard Sherpa language for their future.

Pinasha (2062:26) mentions that language is the system of sounds and words used by human beings to express their thoughts and feelings. Mother, mother-language, and motherland are acknowledged as god for all generation.

Sherpa (2062:65) puts his argument forward that foreigners recognizes Sherpa people as harmless people due to their honesty and ideologically devoted to Budha. This language is softly spoken.

Salakha (2062:3-4) terms that Sherpa language is rich as vocabulary which makes easy for communicating thoughts and feelings, however it has not been scientifically studied yet. Linguists only can study language properly. Every communities have educational opportunities for educating children in their own mother tongue which rights have been explicitly mentioned in the constitution 2046. Utilizing these constitutional rights, Sherpa schools have been opened in Solukhumbu, Bhojpur and Terahatum for educating their children. Gumba education was provided for their children through Sherpa language previously.

Sherpa (2007:3) Says that Sherpa alphabet is slightly different from Tibetan because the latter has mixed tones. Sambota Script was developed by thomi Sambota, one of the ministers of 33rd of Tibet shorn Chon Gampo during 7th century. The script was developed in north western province of India during 569-649.

Bista (2002:116) tries to show the reality of Sherpa cultures and language. The Sherpa people live in the world's famous Himalayan region and Hilly region as well. They have their own language, cultures and characteristics. One place Sherpa people can't meet with another place Sherpa people daily owing to geographical condition. Thus, their language is going to be different. Competition, envy, anger,

greediness and fighting are not seen in this cast. Religiously, they are peaceful and non-violent as well.

Gadhula and Nima Sherpa (2064: 25-26) have endeavored to investigate about Sherpa language and expressed the collected opinion in their text that the language which is spoken by them, too some extent, based on Tibetan tones and script. Sherpa language structure is like Nepali (s+obj+v). They say that this language falls on the category of Bhot-Burma. They go further and say that we get 10% similarity between Sherpa and Tibetan language. This language is the oldest one which is typified by the religious books, manuscript and Vedas. Very few Sherpa only speak their own mother language but owing to the impact of migration, urbanization universalization more Sherpa people speak Nepali language. We don't find similarity in pronunciation in Sherpa language due to geographical and social variation.

Sherpa (2058:16-50) says that Kirat, Sherpa and other castes who speak Tibeto-burmese language are the oldest indigenous people of Nepal. Sherpa language, culture, tradition have been, too some extent, influenced by modernization, urbanization, westernization, education and political domination. Culture, language, and script are the identity of all people and race which is known as valuable property. If language and culture become strong, the cast becomes strong. Sherpa feels proud while they speak their own mother language because they are speaking it from the million years ago upto now. Language is a valuable property which transfers from one generation to another generation.

In conclusion, it is said that Sherpa people live in the eastern part of Nepal who have their own language and cultural heritage. They are the indigenous people of Nepal. Due to the geographical attachment, we find similarity between Sherpa and

Tibetan people. Many Writers have given the definition of Sherpa and origin place but all writers have same conception i.e. they are "easterners". They live in the highlands. Thus, they have long hair.

## **5. Significance of the Study**

Comparative study of Solukhumbu Sherpa and Bhojpure Sherpa has not been done so far. This is the first work of this kind and is significant on following grounds:

- a. This study gives the short ethnographic description of the Sherpas and enable the readers to identify them,
- b. It helps them learn phonology and morphology of Sherpa language.
- c. It gives input to curriculum designers while preparing curriculum for mother tongue education.

## **6. Methodology**

In order to achieve the set objectives,

- i. secondary sources like different reference books, Sherpa vocabulary collection, research papers related to the study were used,
- ii. primary sources like interviews, questionnaires, interaction, and group discussion from male and female as well as literate and illiterate people were applied,

## **7. Delimitation of the study**

The study is based on the field work carried out in Khatamba V.D.C of Bhajpur and Beni V.D.C. of Solukhumbu.

## Chapter Two

### People, Nomenclature and Language

#### 2.1 People and Language

This chapter will study about people, foods and festivals, dress, acceptance, birth and death ceremony as well as language.

#### 2.2 People

The population of Sherpa, according to population census of 2011-15, 2018, 2028, 2038, 2048, and 2058 are 70,132, 84,229, 72318, 73589, 1,22800, and 1,54,622 respectively (Ngwang 2059:32).

Among the Sherpa as in other ethnic groups, there are many clans (ru) like chewa, and pinasha etc and each clans have sub-clans like lalepchewa, gorepchewa, and chengrama chewa. These clans play significant role in marriage customs. Marriage is not permissible between Sherpa who are of the same clan (Haimendorf, 1964: 19-28). Some cultural differences can be seen within Sherpa settlements due to geographical and social variation. Some young men and women become monks and nuns in Sherpa families. Monks don't marry. The Sherpas worship certain mountain-gods as their specific protective duties, as a village protectors. Sherpa mountaineers also worship Mt. Everest and other mountain gods before their departure to climb these mountains. The Sherpas have their own specific type of dress pattern, ornaments, household utensils, house structure, agricultural tools, and musical instruments. These old things have been changing by the Impact of tourism, industrialization, and modernization. The area of the Himalayan region in which the Sherpa people live is becoming increasingly ethnically mixed. The lamas are used for their birth, festivals and death rites. During this survey, it was also observed that

many Sherpas participated in Hindu festivals with their neighbours. They don't have a specific hierarchical system among themselves. They have their own festivals, food, dress pattern, occupation, birth, marriage, and death rites which are respectively mentioned below.

### **2.2.1 Festivals**

Sherpa celebrates a number of festivals in a year. Most of the festivals are based on religion, some on social customs and tradition, and some to celebrate different seasons of the year. Lhosar, Ngungne, fangi, yarchang, and manirimdu are the festivals celebrated by the sherpa people. (Haimendorf, 1964:55-70)

Lhosar, the new year, is celebrated with much fanfare about the end of February as early of agricultural work as well as the beginning of the livestock movement to the a alpine pasture. It is their major and most important festivals. Manirimdu, a Budhist mystery play, is celebrated once a year in Larger monasteries. It is a festive event of religious dances involving use of colorful customs and masks. "Ngyungne" (fasting festivals) is celebrated four days in monasteries. "yarchang" is celebrated in the high pasture in late July. When the people are taming or grazing their cattle and corresponding 'fangi' festival is held at the same time in the lower village. With the Impact of other Hindu people, they celebrate 'Dashain' and 'Tihar' as well.

### **2.2.2 Food**

The specific types of foods are prepared in the specific festivals of Sherpa community instead of common foods i.e. daal and Bhat. The general information are given below.



### **2.2.2.1 Solchya, Marchya, Suchya**

These are the types of tea which is specially prepared and drunk by Sherpa community. "Solchya" is a mixture of milk and salt which is daily drunk by this community for keeping the health hot. "marchya" which is prepared by mixing milk, salt, and ghee that is given especially for relatives, and "suchya" is a type of tea prepared with milk, ghee and sugar which is given for the relatives. This community prepares tea according to the situation and seasons.

### **2.2.2.2 Syakpa**

This is a type of food prepared by mixing wheat flour, oat flour, vegetable, potatoes, dry meat, pea, bean, salt, and chilly. It is especially eaten in the winter season for saving from the cold. It is a mixture of all things. Thus, it is taken as a nutritious food as well.

### **2.2.2.3 Mikyok**

This is the variety of wheat flour which is cooked in milk.

### **2.2.2.4 Khapsio**

This is a specific food like bread prepared by the wheat flour, rice sugar, and fat. It is particularly used in the great feast and festivals.

### **2.2.2.5 Femar**

It is a globe-shaped food prepared with oat flour, wheat flour, sugar, coconut and fat. It is especially used in marriage and Puja. It is brought in brides' house from bridegroom side after marriage. It is prepared in Lhosar as well.

### **2.2.2.6 Serkam**

It is a variety of food made by the milk of cow, buffaloes, and yak.

### **2.2.2.7 Chhurpi**

It is a food made of from milk which is eaten by all people as chocolate.

### **2.2.2.8 Sommar**

It is a variety of milk prepared by keeping it in soil-pot. It is served with potatoes but it's scent is unbearable (Gadtaula and Nima Sherpa 2064:27-28) it is said that Sherpa people prepare and eat different types of foods like Syakpa, Mikyok, Khapsio, Femar, Chhurpi and Serkam etc. They live particularly in high accommodations. This is why, They prepare foods for saving from the cold. Most of them follow the animal husbandry. Thus, all foods have been made from milk. Every foods are related with seasons like the type of tea, and syakpa etc.

### **2.2.3 Dress**

Clothes of Sherpa can be categorized into the four groups i.e. clothes of men women, saint (Tapa), and lama. Men wear Bakkhu (made of wool), and Doja (Made af leather) and women put on Samjar, Aangi, matil, dongril, mosya, and kacha (female shoes). Gyanjen, chapchap (made of silver) gau, Hari, U, Posual, Pangyan, butil, and shie are worn by women as ornaments in this community. (Ngwang, 2002:49-50). Those who are residing in Kathmandu valley and other hot hilly, and Terai region, they don't wear these afformentioned clothes and ornaments daily but they wear it in especial feast and festivals.

It is said that Sherpa people have their own dress pattern. They live in cold places. This is why, their clothes have been made of wool, and leather etc. Their dress pattern has been changing with migration. So, those who reside in Hilly and Terai region wear Daura, suruwal pant, and shirt. But, they wear their own dress in feast and festivals.

#### **2.2.4 Occupation**

Agriculture, animal husbandry, tourism, and trade are the traditional occupations of the Sherpa people. (Pasang, 2061: 17). But nowadays, they are mostly engaged in trekking, mountaineering profession, trade, and a few of them are in the administration and politics also. Globalization and communication have affected to their ancient occupation.

#### **2.2.5 Birth ceremony**

Birth is taken as a happy movement in Sherpa community. Babies are baptized in three days and purged the house by reading Vedas by lamas. It is a traditional belief that if child is not baptized in three days, ghost will baptize the new babies. Mother, babies and house are purged by the mixed water named "thu" by lamas. (Gadtaula and Nima 2064: 14-15)

After baptizing, flag is kept in front of house which symbolizes the purity of house. The flag is termed "thorsing". Flag is kept in the right side if babies are sons and it is kept in left side if babies are daughter. All the relatives bless babies giving variety of foods, clothes, money etc. wine is prepared when mother becomes pregnant that is called "Karjeng". It makes comfortable her in problematic situation. Babies are named by lama in terms of seven days. Such: Nima-Sunday, Dawa-Monday, Mingina-Tuesday, Lakpa-Wednesday, Furba-Thursday, Pasang-Friday, and Pempa-Saturday.

Naming system is followed in terms of seven days. Thus, we find similar names in Sherpa community. Son or daughter what gave birth by mother in house can be known by the flag's (Thursing) position. Wine is prepared in the name of pregnant

mother which makes her easy to minimize the pain. This is why, we find scientific reason on this system as well.

### **2.2.6 Marriage System**

The Sherpa people marry, either by self-arrangement or through the arrangement of the parents in two ways. Traditionally, Sherpa custom doesn't allow marriage between members of the same clan. Marriage is considered as an occasion of great happiness and joy in Sherpa community like any other communities. There are different stages for the marriage to be fully concluded. Such as: Longchhyan (marriage proposal beer), Tichhayang (asking beer for confirmation), pechhayang (a meeting to prepare for Damchhang). Demchhang (Literally union beer), and Zendi (the act of wedding day). Male and female both take-part equally in marriage. They go brides house equally. Marriage rites are differing with geographical distance. (Pasang, 2062:16) Marriage rites are being different in many districts with migration and geographical distance.

### **2.2.7 Death Ceremony**

The dead body of Sherpa people is taken out from home by the command of Lamas because they select the good times for the died persons which helps them to go another world. The died persons must be kept in house for long time (6-7 days) if lamas are not present in village. Gelung, Tungchhen, damaru, Sankha is played and flags of five colours is carried firstly when the dead body is taken out from home. It is played by lamas and they should walk before dead body.

First of all, Lama is called where anybody dies. Lamas do activities in the name of dead body for showing the way to another world that is called "phowa". Before taking out died body from house, dead body is purged by the fragrant water

named "Thu", After keeping dead body in coffin, Lamas read book named "Thotol" which makes died person comfortable for going another world. As the dead body is taken out from home, main Lama walks ahead firstly who is called "Lamden" (Salakha 2058: 21). The dead body of Sherpa is burnt in higher places. Participants in funeral activity are stopped by the branches of thorn to stop the ghost. While they return are purged by giving money in the name of the died persons; which is called "Lakpa Ropche" (Dawa, 2058:21). Relatives and neighbours help them who have lost the family members by giving rice, maize, oat, ghee, money. "Ten" is made imagining the appearance of dead body for completing the work and Lama study the book named "Thotol" for dead body. Bone is brought after three days and is flowed in the river. "Sign" is looked in ash of dead body and imagined what form dead person took. "mane" (Like temple) is made after three days where the died body is burnt.

Sherpa people believe in reincarnation. This is why, Lamas chose proper time for taking out the dead body from home. Dead body is burnt in high places. Relatives help them giving different things which is related with economic support.

### **2.2.8 Nomenclature**

The word "Sharwa" (Sherpa) is derived from the two words "Shar" and "wa" which together mean people belonging to east. 'Shar' means east and 'wa' or 'pa' means one who belongs to, and thus the name Sherpa. The name Sharwa (Sherpas) is also derived from the name Shar-Khumbu (Salu-Khumbu), in the northeast of Nepal where these people live (Thupten, 1999:2).

The name Sherpa is derived from the Tibetan word "Shar-pa", which means 'easterners', but it is not clear in what manner this term came to be associated with this

particular group. From the Tibetan point of view Sherpa are Southerners rather than easterners (Haimendart, 1964:1-2).

Sherpa are real indigenous people who live in the eastern part of Nepal. 'Shar' means east and 'pa' means people. The people who live in eastern highlands (Ngwang, 2058:1).

Another group opened that the term "Sherpa" indicates "man from rising sun area" (Pasang, 2062:6).

The term 'Sherpa' is used for the eastern inhabitants of Nepal. (Lee, 2004:3)

Sherpas are warrior group of sronchong gombo in the 7th century who has been left in different parts of eastern Nepal while they returning by fighting with Harsabardon's militaries of India (Haimendorf 64:55)

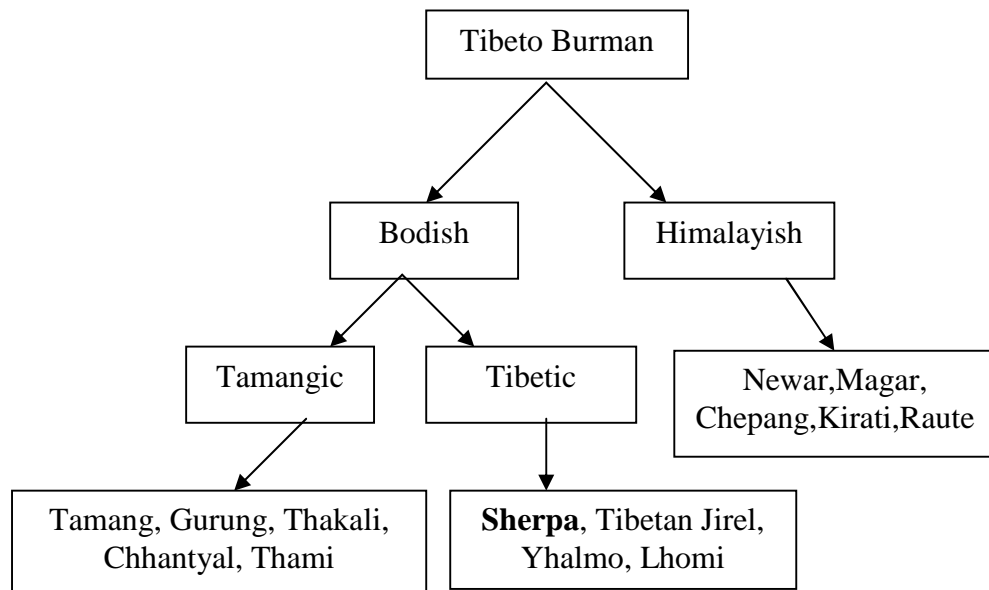
In conclusion, it is said that different writers have different opinions about the term "sherpa" but all writers have common concept i.e. they are "easterner" who live in higher accommodations.

### **2.3 Language**

Sherpa, is a Tibeto Burman language which is written in Sambota Scripts. This script has been developed in the 7th century. This Language is spoken in different districts where they are living. This language has not been yet analyzed profoundly in phonology, morphology, and semantics. Migration, geography, society and technological facilities play the greatest role in bringing language variation.

Sherpa association of Nepal, the umbrella organization of Sherpa community, has been making efforts to produce dictionaries, textbooks, and other reading materials in Sherpa language. In December of 2003, "the Sherpa society" decided to produce Sherpa primary school textbook in Tibetan script, which means that Sherpa

children in future will be taught their language in "Sambota" script. At least 90% of the whole Sherpa population can't read script. Thus they have been obliged to Devanagari script. The sound system of Sherpa language is clearer in Tibetan than Devanagari script (Lee, 2004:6). To understand more about this language, let's see the following chart.



## 2.4 Summary

Sherpas are an ethnic community of Nepal who have their own language traditional values, cultural heritage and religion. They live in the northern highlands of eastern Nepal. Sherpa has many clans such as Chewa, Pinasha, Salakha, Gole, Goparma etc. They celebrate numbers of festival in a year like Lhosar, Ngungne, fangi, Yarchang, Dasami manirimndu etc. Most of the festival are celebrated in terms of seasons. Solchya, marchya, Suchya are the types of tea which is drunk in Sherpa communities. Most of the relative are respected by giving tea and chhayang. Syakpa, Mikyok, Khapsio, Femar, Serkam, Chhurpi, Durkha, Sommar are the varieties of foods which are prepared by this community and eaten in different feast and festivals.

Bakhu, Doja, Aangi, Matil, Gyaptil, dongril, kacha are the dress pattern , and gau Hari, posul, butil are the ornament which are worn by the women. Agriculture animal husbandry, tourism and trade are the traditional occupation of sherpa and nowadays they are forwarding in administrating work as well. Babies of this community are baptized by lamas in term of seven days. Thus , we find similar names in this community different process must be completed before doing marriage .i.e Demchhang, tichhang etc. they belive in the reincarnation. That is why, dead body is taken out from home and burnt according to the order of lamas.



## **Chapter Three**

### **Phonology**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

This chapter presents vowel and consonant phones of the Bhojpure Sherpa, studies minimal pairs and establishes vowel phonemes and consonant phonemes analyzing and interpreting collected primary and secondary data.

#### **3.2 Phones**

The phones of consonants and vowels are taken from the data listed in the appendix.

##### **3.2.1 Consonants**

Sherpa language has the following consonants:

**Table 1**

Place of Articulation									
Stricture Type		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Post Alveolar	Palatal	velar	Urular	Glotta
Stop	VL	p	t			c	k	q	
	Asp	p <sup>h</sup>	t	h		c <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>		
	VD	b	d	d		j	g		
Affricative	VL			ts	t				
	Asp			ts <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>				
	VD			dz	d <sub>3</sub>				
Nasal	VL								
	VD	m		n					
Trill	VL			r <sup>h</sup> <sub>j</sub>					
	VD			r					
Flap	VL								
	VD								
Fricative	VL	f		s					h
	VD	v			ʒ				
Median Approximant	VL								
	VD	w				j			
Lateral Approximant	VL								
	vl			l <sup>h</sup> <sub>l</sub>					
	vd			l					

### 3.2.2 Vowels

Sherpa has the following vowels:

**Table 2: Sherpa vowel sounds segments**

	Front	central	Back	
High	i			u
	I			
High-Mid	e			o
Mid-low				ɔ
Low			a	

### 3.3 Suspicious sound segments

The suspicious sound segments have been selected from the data for contrastive analysis. They are presented in the following sub-headings.

#### 3.4.1 Suspicious Consonants

Following are the suspicious consonants:

**Table 3: Suspicious consonant Sounds**

Stricture Types	Suspicious Pairs			
Stp	[p]-[p <sup>h</sup> ]	[p]-[b]	[p <sup>h</sup> ]-[b]	[p <sup>h</sup> ]-[ɸ]
	[t]-[t <sup>h</sup> ]	[t]-[d]	[t <sup>h</sup> ]-[d]	
	[t]-[t <sup>h</sup> ]	[t]-[d]	[t <sup>h</sup> ]-[d]	
	[k]-[k <sup>h</sup> ]	[k]-[g]	[k <sup>h</sup> ]-[g]	[k]-[q]

affricate	[ts]-[tʰ]	[ts]-[dz]	[tʰ]-[dz]	[dz]-[z]
	[t]-[tʰ]	[t]-[dʒ]	[tʰ]-[dʒ]	[dʒ]-[ʒ]
fricative	[s]-[ʃ]	[ʃ]-[ʒ]	[s]-[ʒ]	
nasal	[m]-[n]	[n]-[ŋ]	[ŋ]-[ŋ]	[n]-[ŋ]
trill/flap/lateral approximant	[r]-[rʰ]	[r]-[ʀ]	[l]-[lʰ]	

### 3.4.2 Suspicious vowels

Following are the suspicious pairs of vowels in Sherpa :

**Table 4 suspicious vowels**

Tongue height	Suspicious Pairs	
	central Back	
High	[i]-[ɪ]	[u]-[ʊ]
.mid	[e]-[ɛ]	[o]-[ɔ]
Low	[ɐ]-[a]	[ɔ]-[ɔ]

### 3.5 Minimal Pairs of suspicious sound segments

Minimal pairs of suspicious sound segments are presented in the following subheadings.

### 3.5.1 Suspicious Consonants

#### 3.5.1.1 Stops

##### 3.5.1.1.1. Bilabial stops

In Sherpa, voiceless, unaspirated, bilabial stop [p] contrasts with voiceless, aspirated bilabial stop [p<sup>h</sup>]. Similarly, voiceless, bilabial stop [p] contrasts with voiced, bilabial stop [b]. The voiceless, aspirated, bilabial stop [p<sup>h</sup>] has, however, no voiced counterpart. Therefore, /p/, /p<sup>h</sup>/ and /b/ are different phonemes. For example, [pu] means ‘blow air’, [phu] means ‘high pasture’ and [bu] means ‘insect’.

In intervocalic position, the aspirated voiceless changes into fricative in Sherpa. For examples, [p<sup>h</sup>] changes into [ç] in the word [maçur] which means ‘did not fly’.

##### 3.5.1.1.2. Dental stop

In Sherpa, the unaspirated voiceless /t/, aspirated voiceless /t<sup>h</sup>/, unaspirated voiced /d/ contrast in identical environment in word initial position. Therefore, they are separate phonemes. The minimal pairs given in the table prove it.

**Table 5**

Alveo-Dental	Minimal Pairs	Meaning
[t]	[ták.pa]	A kind of tree
[t <sup>h</sup> ]	[t <sup>h</sup> ákpa]	Roof
[d]	[dak.pa]	Dough of mud

### 3.5.1.1.3 Alveolar stops

In Sherpa the voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop /t/, voiceless aspirated alveolar stop /t<sup>h</sup>/ and voiced unaspirated alveolar stop /d/ are separate phonemes because they contrast in identical environment as shown below.

**Table 6**

Alveor	Minimal Pairs	Meaning
[t]	[ta]	Wheat
[t <sup>h</sup> ]	[t <sup>h</sup> a]	Eagle
[d]	[da]	Jealousy

### 3.5.1.1.4 Velar stop

In Sherpa, the voiceless unaspirated /k/, voiceless aspirated /k<sup>h</sup>/ and voiced unaspirated /g/ contrast in identical environment . Therefore, they are separate phonemes. The minimal pairs given in table prove it.

**Table 7**

Velar	Minimal Pairs	Meaning
[k]	[ka]	Mountain
[k <sup>h</sup> ]	[k <sup>h</sup> a]	Snow
[g]	[ga]	Happiness

[K]~[q]	ptuk]-tuq]	poison
---------	------------	--------

[k] and [q] are in free variation in syllable final position. So, [q] can be treated as allophone of the velar voiceless stop [k].

In Sherpa there are no palatal oral stops. The palatal stops: (c, C<sup>h</sup>, J) are not separate sounds rather they are cluster of velar stops [k, k<sup>h</sup>,q] and palatal approximant [j]:

p[k+j=c, K<sup>h</sup>+j=c<sup>h</sup>, g+j=]

The unaspirated voiceless stops become voiced in syllable coda position. The following examples and phonological, process can capture this process of assimilation in Sherpa language:

**Table 8**

Phonological Process	Minimal Pairs	Meaning
[K] [g]/Voiced -#	[ts <sup>h</sup> ik]   [t <sup>h</sup> ig]	Word
[t] [d]/Voiced -#	[t utku]   [t fu ḍ gu]	Nineteen
[t] [d]/Voiced #	[ et.du]   [ e ḍ gu]	To comb
[p] [b]/Voiced #	[sup] [sub]	Stomach

### 3.5.1.2 Nasals

In Sherpa, the bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/, palatal / / and velar [ ] contrast in identical environment . Therefore, they are separate phonemes.

**Table 9**

<b>Bilabial, Alveolar, Palatal and Velar</b>	<b>Minimal Pairs</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
[m]	[má]	Wound
[n]	[ná]	Promise
[ ]	[ á]	Irritation/Anger
[ ]	[ á]	Five/Drum

### 2.5.1.3 Affricatives

In Sherpa, the alveolar voiceless unaspirated /ts/, aspirated /ts<sup>h</sup>/, voiced unaspirated /dz/; post alveolar voiceless unaspirated /t /, aspirated /t<sup>h</sup>/, and voiced unaspirated [dʒ] are separate phonemes. They have the minimal pair contrast. But, the post alveolar voiced unaspirated affricative /dʒ/ and fricative /ʒ/ are in free variation in Sherpa.

**Table 10**

<b>Alveolar, and post Alveolar</b>	<b>Minimal Pairs</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
[ts]	[tsá]	Grass
[ts <sup>h</sup> ]	[ts <sup>h</sup> á]	Salt
[dz]	[dza]	Raibow
[t ]	[t á]	Rot/Iron rot
[dʒ]/[ ʒ]	[dʒa]~[ ʒa]	Wet/Dew



### 3.5.1.4 Trills and Laterals

In Sherpa, voiced trill /r/ and voiceless trill /r<sup>h</sup>/; and voiced lateral /l/ and voiceless /l<sup>h</sup>/ are separate phonemes in Sherpa. The following minimal pairs show the phonemic status of Sherpa Trill sounds:

**Table 11**

Alveolar	Minimal Pairs	Meaning
[r]	[ra]	Goat
[r <sup>h</sup> ]	[r <sup>h</sup> a]	Hair
[l]	[la]	Hill
[l <sup>h</sup> ]	[l <sup>h</sup> á]	God

### 3.5.1.5 Fricatives

In Sherpa, the unaspirated /s/, /ʃ/ and unaspirated voiced [ʒ] are the separate phonemes.

The following examples show the phonemic status of fricatives in Sherpa:

**Table 12**

Alveolar and post Alveolar	Minimal Pairs	Meaning
[s]	[sá]	Teeth
[ʃ]	[ʃá]	Meat

[ɔ]	[ɔa]	Wet/Dew
-----	------	---------

### 3.5.2 Suspicious Vowels

According to the height of the tongue, Sherpa vowels can be classified into high, high-mid, mid-low, and low vowels. They are given in Table.

#### 3.5.2.1 Front Vowels

There are high, high-mid, mid-low and low front vowels in Sherpa. The following examples show the phonemic status of these vowels:

**Table 13**

High	Minimal Pairs	Meaning
[i]	[si]	Tell
[ɪ]	[mɪk]	Eye

[i] and [ɪ] are found in complementary distribution, with [ɪ] occurring in closed syllables and [i] occurring in open syllables in Sherpa.

[i] is considered underlying phoneme in Sherpa because it occurs in wider range of environments than the other [ɪ].

[ ] and [e] are mid vowels. They occur in the different phonetic contexts as shown in the following example:

**Table 14**

Mid	Data	Meaning
[ɨ]	[lɨ .mu]	Good
[e]	[dze.mu]	Beautiful

Similarly, the mid vowels [ɨ] and [e] do not occur in contrastive distribution, with [ɨ] occurring only after the palatal and [e] occurring elsewhere.

Here, as [e] has more frequency and occurs in different environments, it is considered the phoneme and [ɨ] is treated as the allophone of the same phoneme.

[a] and [ɨ] are low vowels in Sherpa. [ɨ] is the allophone of the phoneme [a] in Sherpa because it occurs only in limited and conditioned environment where as [a] occurs in wider array of environments

**Table 15**

Low	Data	Meaning
[ɨ]	[qɨ .mu]	Strong/robust
[a]	[k <sup>h</sup> a.mu]	Skillful

### 3.5.2.2. Central vowels

There are only mid and low central vowels in Sherpa. The following examples show the phonemic status of these vowels:

**Table 16**

Mid Low and Low	Data	Meaning
[ɨ]	[k r.ma]	Star
[ɪ]	[k r.ma]	Star

[ɨ] and [ɪ] are found in free variations in many cases. Normally, [ɨ] occurs in high tone syllables. In Sherpa, [ɨ] is higher (Mid low) and more central than [ɪ]

[ɨ] is considered underlying phoneme in Sherpa because it occurs in wider range of environments than the other [ɪ]. It is the default vowel of Sherpa language.

### 3.5.2.3 Back vowels

There are high, mid and low back vowels in Sherpa. The following examples show the phonemic status of these vowels:

**Table 17**

High	Data	Meaning
[u]	[su]	[Who] Q
[U]	[sup]	[stomach]

[u] and [U] are found in complementary distribution, with [U] occurring between consonants and [u] occurring in open syllables in Sherpa.

[u] is considered the underlying phoneme in Sherpa because it occurs in wider range of environments than the other [U].

**Table 18**

Mid and Low	Data	Meaning
[a]	[sab]	To eat
[ɔ]	[swɔb]	To tame/nurture

In Sherpa the Mid-low rounded back vowel [ɔ] occurs only after the labio-velar approximant [w]. So, [ɔ] is the allophone of the phoneme [a] in Sherpa.

**Table 19**

Low	Minimal Pairs	Meaning
[ɪ]	[sa]	Copper
[a]	[sa]	Incense

In Sherpa, the low front unrounded vowel [a] and low back unrounded vowel [ɪ] are two separate phonemes because they contrast as minimal pairs in word initial positions.

Vowel length and breathiness do not contrast in Sherpa. But, slight breathiness can be realized after voiced low tone consonants. The vowels in high tone syllable are tense and in the low tone syllable are lax.

### 3.6 Minimal Pairs of sound segments

The following table shows the minimal pairs and their contrastive distribution of all the consonant sounds in Sherpa.

**Table 20: Minimal Pairs of consonants**

Sounds Segments	Minimal Pairs		Sherpa phonemes	
	Monosyllabic	Polysyllabic		
[p]	[pu]/[pu]-blow air	[po.ku]-taken out	/p/	All these sound segments are phoneme in Sherpa language because they contrast in identical environments as a minimal pairs in word initial eme in Sherpa language be
[p <sup>h</sup> ]	[p <sup>h</sup> u]-high pasture	[p <sup>h</sup> o.ku]-got hit	/p <sup>h</sup> /	
[b]	[bu]/[bu]-insect	[bo.ku]-to take out	/b/	
[t]	[tu ]-shell cone	[te.ku]-lifted	/t/	
[t <sup>h</sup> ]	[t <sup>h</sup> u ]-drink	[t <sup>h</sup> e.ku]-able to carry	/t <sup>h</sup> /	
[d]	[du ]-nail	[de.ku]-to life	/d/	
[ ]	[t ]/[t ]-wheat	[to.lu]-to unfasten itself	//	
[t <sup>h</sup> ]	[t <sup>h</sup> a]/[t <sup>h</sup> ]-eagle	[t <sup>h</sup> o.lu]-to be loose	/t <sup>h</sup> /	
[.d..]	[.d.a]-jealousy	[do.lu]-to untie	/d/	
[k]	[ka ]-stem	[ka -ba]-foot	/k/	
[k <sup>h</sup> ]	[k <sup>h</sup> a ]-what	[k <sup>h</sup> a .ba]-house	/k <sup>h</sup> /	
[g]	[ga ]-bowl	[ga -ba]-urinary	/g/	

		bladder		
[ts]	[tsa]/[ts ]- wrestling	[tsÓ.su ]- boilded/cooked	/ts/	
[ts <sup>h</sup> ]	[tsha]-salt	[ts <sup>h</sup> o.su ]-ripped	/ts <sup>h</sup> /	
[dz]	[dza]-rainbow	[dzo.su ]-made	/dz/	
[t ]	[t a]-iron	[t ak.su ]-broke	/f /	
[t <sup>h</sup> ]	[t <sup>h</sup> a]-pari	[t <sup>h</sup> ak.su ]-broke itself	/t <sup>h</sup> /	
[dʒ]	[d ʒa]-dew	[dʒak.su ]-kept	/dʒ/	
[s]	[sap]-to eat	[sè. u]-killed	/s/	
[ /	[ ap]-foot H	[ è. u]- to comb	//	
[m]	[má]-wound	[ma.u]-to exceed	/m/	
[n]	[ná]-promise	[na.u]-fallen sick	/n/	
[ ]	[ á]-five/drum	[ á.u]-lended	/	
[ ]	[ á]-five/drum	[ a.u]-to be strong wine	//	
[r]	[r ]-goat	[ral.ma]-pair	/r/	
[ ]	[ a]-hair	[ al.ma]-pair	/ ]	

[l]	[la]-hill	[lá]-god	[la.ma]-blonde of hair	/l/
[ ]	[ a]-god	[ a.ma]-blonde of hair	/ /	
[w]	[wá ]-power	[wan.ba]-deaf	/w/	
[j]	[já ]-fate of treasure	[jan.ba]-a caste	/j/	

The following table shows the minimal pairs and their contrastive distribution of all the vowels in Sherpa:

**Table 21: Minimal pairs of vowels**

vowels				
[a]	[ d̥ a:]/[ d̥ ä]-rice	[sa.la]-to copper	/a/	
[ ]	[ d̥ ]-jealousy	[s .la]-tomorrow	/ /	
[e]	[sé]-kill	[de.ku]-to life	/e/	
[i]	[si]-by whome	[di.ku]-to press	/i/	
[u]	[sú]-who	[pu.su ]-blew air	/u/	
[o]	[só]-tame	[po.su ]-shifted	/o/	
<b>Diphthongs</b>				
[ai]	[kai]-one pillar		/ai/	
[ i]	[kai]-cup of ceramic		/ i/	
[ei]	[tsei]-little bit		/ei/	



[au]	[lau]-told/got up		/au/	
[ u]	[l u]-radish		[ u]	
[eu]	[keú]-born/depart		/eu/	
[iu]	[kiú]-lended		/iu/	
[ou]	[kou]-dug		/ou/	
[oi]	[doi]-this much		/oi/	
[ui]	[bui]-an insect.		/ui/	

In Sherpa language all the suspicious stops [p,p<sup>h</sup>,b, ,d, ,t<sup>h</sup>,.d.,,k,k<sup>h</sup>,g] and affricatives: [ts,ts<sup>h</sup>,dz,t ,t<sup>h</sup>,dʒ] are separate phonemes because they contrast as minimal pairs in word initial positions. Similarly, as all the suspicious fricatives: [s, ], nasals: [m,n, , ,] and the liquids: [l, ,r, ] contrast in identical environments as minimal paris in word initial position. So they are also separate phonemes in Sherpa language.

Regarding the vowels, /a/, / /, /e/, /i/ /u/, and /o/ are separate phonemes because they contrast as minimal paris in word initial, middle and final positions. Similarly, the features such as length, centralization and breathiness can be treated as phonetic features rather than phonological in Sherpa.

### 3.7 Classification of Phonemes

#### 3.7.1 Consonant phonemes

There are altogether 30 consonants in Sherpa. They are [p,p<sup>h</sup>,b, ,d, ,t<sup>h</sup>,.d.,, k,k<sup>h</sup>,g ts,ts<sup>h</sup>,dz,t ,t<sup>h</sup>,dʒ s, , m,n, , , l, ,r, ]. They can be classified into bilabial, dental, alveolar, post-alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal sounds. On the basis of manner of articulation, they are classified into Stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals,

trills, laterals, fricative approximants and lateral approximants. The phonemic inventory of the language is given below:

Table 22: Phonemic Chart of Sherpa Consonants

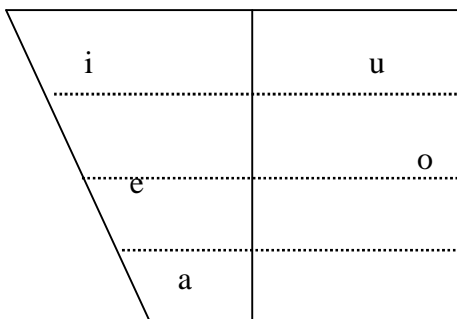
Manner of Articulation		Place of Articulation							
		Aspiration and phonation Process	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Post Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	VL		p	t				k	
	Asp		p <sup>h</sup>	t	<sup>h</sup>			k <sup>h</sup>	
	VD		b	d	d			g	
Affricative	VL				ts	t			
	Aspirated				ts <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>			
	VD				dz	dʒ			
Nasal	VD		m		n		ŋ		
Trill	VD				r				
	VL				r <sub>◦</sub>				
Fricative	VL				s			h	
Approximant	VD		w			J			
Lateral Approximant	VD				L				
	VD				l <sub>]</sub>				

### 3.7.2 Vowels and Diphthongs

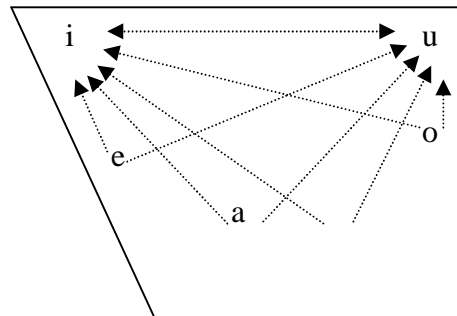
Sherpa vowels can be classified into front vowel and back vowel on the basis of the frontness of tongue. /i/, /e/ and /a/ are front vowels. /u/, /o/ and /ɔ/ are back vowels. Similarly, on the basis of tongue height, they can be classified into high, mid and low vowels. /i/, /e/ and /a/ are high, mid and low vowels respectively. The inventory of vowels is follows:

Figure 2: Chart of Vowels and Diphthongs in Shepa

#### Vowels:



#### Diphthongs:



There are six diphthongs making altogether ten. They are: /ai/, i/ /oi/, /ui/ /au/, / u/, /iu/, /eu/ and /iu/.

### 3.8 Syllable Structure

In Sherpa, a syllable is made of one vowel, vowel and consonant, consonant and vowel, consonant vowel and consonant, consonant, consonant and vowel and consonant, consonant and vowel. They are given below:

**Table 23: Syllable Structures in Sherpa Language**

Syllable Types	Examples			
V	/ u/	'uncle'	/ù/	'breath'
	/ai/	'elder sister'	/i.ni/	'untie'
CV	/su/	'who'	/k <sup>h</sup> a/	'snow'
	/mau/	'cousin'	/ a/	'god'
VC	/ /	'baby'	/am.log/	'vomiting'
	/úp/	'put in custody'	/ú.la/	'moon'
CVC	/p b/	'hit'	/ser.mu/	'red'
	/t <sup>h</sup> u /	'drink'	/t <sup>h</sup> en.bu/	'high'
	/ jér.mu/	'half witted'	/lja/	/navel'
CCV	/lja/	'luck'/ life'	/kw /	'skin'
	/t <sup>h</sup> wab/	'picking up'	/dz <sup>w</sup> ab/	'make'
CCVC	/kwab/	'to dig'	/ ɲ <sup>w</sup> ob/	'to buy'

### 3.9 Patterns of Consonant Clusters

In Sherpa there is a pattern of consonant clusters. They occur in the initial, middle and final positions. But mostly they occur in middle position. Maximum, three- consonant sequence can occur, but two- consonant clusters are more common.

The following table shows patterns of consonant clusters:

**Table: 24**

Patterns	Examples			
bt	/t <sup>h</sup> .eb.tok/	'finger'	/k <sup>h</sup> ab.ten/	'cover..'
B	/s b ul/	'toothpaste'		
Bl	/kwab.la/	'to dig'	/ job.la/	'to buy'
bt	/t ib.t a /	'fox'	/rib.t á /	'shadow'
bs	/tab.su /	'measured'	/lab.su /	'told'
br	/t eb.ra.si/	'lizard'	/khob.ra /	'themselves'
kp	/duk.pa/	'trouble'	/.d.uk.pa/	'Bhutanese'
kd	/n k.dumi/	'dark/cludy'	/pak.dur/	'mix clay' com.
kt	/muk.tum/	'ditch'	/n k.tur/	'porridge for baby'
kt	/mik.t ur/	'tear'	/p k.t u /	'Tibetan tea leaves'
K	/mik. el/	'spectacles'	/p <sup>h</sup> ak. /	'pork'
km	/mák.mi/	'army'		
kn	/.d.ik.nok/	'compromised'	/ ek.nok/	'got well'
gg	/ ug.gu/	'to shake'/ 'to tremble'	/kjug.gu/	'to vomit'
mb	/sam.ba/	'new'	/kam.bu/	'dry'
m.d.	/nám..d.ok/	'pocket'	/s m..d.u/	'thunder'
ms	/nam.s /	'dress'	/nam.sa /	'always'
mn	/ m.ni/	'by spreading'	' <sup>h</sup> am.ni/	'by turning'

ml	/nám.la/	'in sky'	/lam.lok/	'by road/ trail'
m	/tám. e/	'talk'		
mdʒ	/nam.dʒok/	'ear'	/sem.dʒen/	'animal'
mp	/pum.pedza/	'female'	/tam.bu/	'tight'
nb	/sen.bu/	'live'	/t <sup>h</sup> en.bu/	'high'
np <sup>h</sup>	/kun.p <sup>h</sup> en/	'useful for all'		
np	/s n.ba/	'new'	/sén.bu/	'alive'
nd	/men.dok/	'flower'	/póm.dok/	'knoll'
ndʒ	/m n.dʒ /	'clothes'	/tén.dʒ /	'mattress'
ndz	/k <sup>h</sup> en.dz r/	'odd'	/mon.dzo.wi/	'will not make'
nt <sup>h</sup>	/p <sup>h</sup> en.t <sup>h</sup> o.wu/	'useful'		
nm	/ in.mu/	'at day time'	/sen.mu/	'brass'
p <sup>h</sup>	/sa .p <sup>h</sup> ur/	'incense vessel'		
b	/wo .bu/	'height'	/sa .bu/	'next year'
t <sup>h</sup>	/lu .t <sup>h</sup> in/	'Radio'	/wo .t <sup>h</sup> u.bu/	'able to come'
m	/ti .me/	'small'	'mi .mar/	'name of a person'
t	/t a .t u/	'behavior'		
n	'ta .ne'	'by sending'		
g	/t <sup>h</sup> u .gu/	'drink'	/u .gu/	'to come'
l	/kr .li /	'religious tool'	/pa .li /	'plank/ wood'

d	/go .dog/	'part of body/ west'	/sa .du /	'a king of religions instrument'
s	/ta .su /	'released'	/ká .sur/	'a king of worship'
Ld	/sol.dok/	'coal'	'kìl.dum/	'sitting position'
Lk	/jul.ki.mi/	'village people'	/jal.ka/	'branch'
Ldʒ	/gol.dʒak/	'pad lock'	/tál.dʒak/	'biting rope'
ldz	/d l.dza/	'friend'		
Ll	/rul.lu/	'decay'	/kul.lu/	'to swing'
lm	/sil.mu/	'fresh/ small pieces'	/bol.mu/	'soft'
ln	/ <sup>h</sup> il.ni/	'by wrapping. 'roll'	/kìl.nok/	'by blocking'
Ls	/g l.su /	'went'	/kal.su /	'broke'
lw	/bal.wa/	'frog'	/gal.wa/	'char'
j	/ ja/	'navel'		
w	/ w /	'hunger'		
.d.w	/.d.wab/	'to go'		
t <sup>h</sup> w	/t <sup>h</sup> wab/	'pick up'	/t <sup>h</sup> wa/	'hammer'
rp	/ger.up/	'big'	/ser.pa/	'torn our'
rm	/ber.ma /	'cat'	/der.ma /	'plate/
rn	k <sup>h</sup> r.nub/	'day before yesterday'	/p <sup>h</sup> ar.nok/	'increased (Price)'
rr	/k <sup>h</sup> ur.ru/	'to carry'	/p <sup>h</sup> ur.ru/	'to fly'



Rt	/jér.t u .ba/	'wrinked'	/p r.t a/	'fate' or bad luck
r	/ts <sup>h</sup> er. ik/	'lazy'	/par. i /	'craving wood'
rkj	/ r.kjok/	'horn'	/p <sup>h</sup> r.kja /	'next side'
rs	/tor.su /	'disappeared'	/k r. sa /	'name of person'
rts	/m r.tsi/	'chilli'	/bar.tsa /	'thron'
rw	/m e.wu/	'red'	/kar.wu/	'white'
sk	/fish.kok/	'rice cooker/	/kar.wu/	'white'

### 3.10 Summary

Bhojpure Sherpa has thirty consonants. They are classified into bilabial, dental, alveolar, post-alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal consonants. On the basis of manner of articulation, they are classified into stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals, trills, laterals, fricative approximants and lateral approximants. Voicing is contrastive in stop consonants. Similarly, aspiration is also contrastive in stop consonants. The voiced stop has no breathy counterpart. There are six vowels. They are classified into front, central and back vowels on the basis of frontness of tongue and high, mid and low vowels on the basis of tongue-height. There is no contrast on the basis of lip-rounding. There are ten diphthongs. In Sherpa, a syllable is made of one vowel, vowel and consonant, consonant and vowel, consonant vowel and consonant, consonant, consonant and vowel and consonant, consonant vowel .and consonant. There is a pattern of consonant clusters. They occur in the initial, middle and final positions. But mostly they occur in middle position. Maximum, three- consonant sequences can occur, but two- consonant clusters are more common.

## Chapter Four

### Comparison between Solukhumbu Sherpa and Bhojpure Sherpa

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter compares Bhojpure Sherpa with Solukhumbu Sherpa on the basis of nominal morphology, verbal morphology and lexical items.

#### 4.2 Nominal morphology

Bhojpure Sherpa differs from Solukhumbu Sherpa in suffixation.

##### 4.2.1. Plural marker suffix

Nouns and pronouns are pluralized by adding 'tiwa' and 'tola' in sherpa language. 'tiwa' is mostly employed in Bhojpur but 'tiwa' and 'tola' both are used in Solukhumbu. Let's observe the following sentences :

1. The cows are grazing

Solukhumbu - chhuma tola sei way.

Bhojpur - Chhungma tiwa sei way.

2. People are talking.

Solukhumbu - mi tola a tam ngeki kiriway

Bhojpur - mi tiwa lamngeki way.

3. The students were studying

Solukhumbu - Laktukpa tiwa lopin nok.

Bhojpur - Loktukpa tiwa hillai no.

#### 4.2.2 Locative suffix

'*Khala,* 'La', 'no' and '*sur*' occur as locative case markers with locative nouns in Sherpa language. *Khala* and 'no' is used in solukhumbu but 'La' 'no' and '*sur*' is employed in Bhojpur for the same sentences. As

1. We do work in the field.
 

Solukhumbu	-	Khirang sinkhala laka ki
Bhojpur	-	Ngirang singla laka kito.
  
2. Pasang comes from Beni.
 

Solukhumbu	-	pasang khangba no gi.
Bhojpur	-	pasang beni sur gito.
  
3. chhiring goes to the village.
 

Solukhmubu	-	chhiring ul no di
Bhojpur	-	chhiring u la di to.
  
4. I go to the house
 

Solukhumbu	-	Ng khangba no doi.
Bhojpur	-	Ng khangba no doi.
  
5. Lucky goes towards the jungle
 

Solukhumbu	-	lucky nathung no di.
Bhojpur	-	lucky nathung la doi to

The locative case marker “Khala” of Solukhumbu has changed into 'la' when it arrived in Bhojpur .

#### 4.2.3 Possessive

‘*Tangkya*’ is employed in Bhojpur but “*Lola*” is used in Solukhumbu to mark possessive relation of nouns. It can occur only with animate nouns and pronouns.

1. I have money

Solukhumbu - Nge lola tenga way

Bhojpur - Ng tangkya tanga way

2. Ram has two houses.

Solukhumbu - Ram lola khangba ngi way

Bhojpur - Ram tangkya ngi khangba way

3. This pen belongs to me

Solukhumlu - Di nguk nge lola way

Bhojpur - Di pen ng tangkya way

4. She has two daughters

Solukhumbu - Ti lola ngi pum way

Bhojpur - Ti tangkya ngi pum way

### 4.3 Verbal Morphology

Verbs are inflected for tense, aspect and negation. Tam inflection occurs as suffix whereas negative inflection occurs as prefix. Verbs are also found to be inflected for honorificity. Honorific inflection is observed only with imperative form of verbs.

#### 4.3.1 Tense

Basically, the tense has been classified into two kinds, past and non-past on the basis of verb morphology. (Salakha, 62:47). Verbs are inflected for past tense morphologically and the non past tens is also distinguished morphologically. So, past and non-past are the two classes of grammatical tense in Sherpa. let's look it below.

1. He wrote a letter  
     ) Tiki Chithi Ti sung
2. He writes a letter  
     ) Ti ki chithi Ti
3. He will write a letter tommarow.  
     ) Tiki sala chithi Ti.
4. I eat rice  
     ) Ng sama soi.
5. I ate rice.  
     ) Ng sama sai sinsung.
6. I will eat rice tommarow.  
     ) Ng sala sama sai

'Sung' and 'sinsung' are the past tense markers which have been shown by the example no 1 and 5. The form of the verb are same in present and future but time adverbial separates between them. eg. "Sala" is used in future tense, which has been justified by the no. 6 and 3.

#### 4.3.1.1 Perfective

The grammatical realization of perfective requires the morphological marking with content verbs. Perfective includes all sorts of completed events or activities that happened in the past.

##### 1. Present perfect

###### a. He has eaten rice

Solukhumbu - Tiki sama sou hin

Bhojpur - Ti sama so sung

###### b. He has passed M.A.

Solukhumbu - Tiki M.A.tharu hin

Bhojpur - Tiki M.A. pass ki sung

###### c. Karsang has been Korea

Solukhumbu - Karsang Korea galu hin.

Bhojpur - Karsang Korea gal sin sung.

##### 2. Past perfect

###### a. I had written an essay

Solukhumbu - Nge hiki tihi way.

Bhojpur - Nge nibandha Ti howayto.

b. Rinju had learnt many things.

Solukhumbu - Rinju mangmo lam way.

Bhojpur - Rinju saru tamnge lapu howayto.

c. Nimdiki had been beautiful

Solukhumbu - Nimdiki jemu galu way.

Bhojpur - Nimdiki saru Jolemu howayto.

Different inflections have been used for the unknown past in both districts like ‘*Hin*’ and ‘*Sung*’ have been used in Salukhumbu and Bhojpur respectively. ‘Way’ and ‘Howayto’ inflections refer to the past habit. Through the comparison, it is known that ‘way’ of Solukhumbu has been altered into ‘howayto’ in Bhajpur. The verb roots in the above examples are inflected with perfective markers which refers to the completeness of action and event.

### 4.3.1.2 Non Perfect

Unlike perfect, non perfect refers to the incompleteness of action or events and such incompleteness aspect are realized grammatically. The major non perfect aspect is progressive which to the contribution of action or event.

1. Ram was going to school.

Salukhumbu - Ram Lapta doi nok.

Bhojpur - Ram school doi no.

2. I am playing.

Salukhumbu - Nga chirma chein way.

Bhojpur - Ng cher hoyato.

3. Pasang is laughing.

Salukhumbu - Pasang gota kirin way.

Bhojpur - Pasang gota ki hoyato.

4. Tomorrow, I will be eating rice.

Salukhumbu - Shala, nga sama sain hungi/ gi.

Bhojpur - Sala nga sama Sai kito.

4. He will be playing next day.

Salukhumbu - Na, Ti chirma chei gi.

Bhojpur - Sala, Ti chei kito.

All the verbs in the above example are progressive verb and marked with progressive markers 'nok', 'no', 'way', 'hoyato', 'hungi' and 'kito'. This is why, this morphological marker are the special non perfective marker in sherpa. 'Nok' 'way',



'hungi' or *gi* are the progressive morphological markers in solukhumbu and 'no', 'hoyato' and kito are employed in Bhojpur for non perfective marker.

#### 4.3.1.2 Honorific marking suffixes

Bhojpure Sherpa differs from Solukhumbu Sherpa in the use of honorific marker. Solukhumbu Sherpa use '-nang' as honorific marker while Bhojpure Sherpa use *-ni*' and *-sa* as honorific markers. Such honorific markers are used only as a form of verb while addressing to the highly respected kinsmen such as father, mother, father-in-law, brother etc.

Words	Solukhumbu	Bhojpur
Eat	Se nang	Se ni
Go	Pheu nang	Phep ni
Say	Sungu nang	Si ni
Do	Kiru nang	ki ni
Close	Chetu nang	Che sa
Open	Petu nang	Pet sa

#### 4.3.1.4 Lexical words

Bhojpure Sherpa differs from Solukhumbu Sherpa in lexical words. They are given below:

<b>Words</b>	<b>Solukhumbu</b>	<b>Bhojpur</b>
Cloth	mandza	namsa
Black	nakpu	n kpu
Student	loktukp	t w
Story	pe	kath
To sleep	ρ ilok	γ nu
To delay	Kolem kis	sena m kiru
Close	Chetu nang	Che sa
Open	Petu nang	Pet sa
Cow	Chhuma	Chhungma
Nurve	ch	cha
eagg	mendok	medok
mind	Rikpa	sem
piculiar	michukpa	anavtho
please	kripaya	Thakur
which	chukai	chugoti
heavy	chinde	chachi
not to do	maki	mikirui
Grass	cha	ch
Push	nentup	nenu

forget	jetu	Tok Jek
sel	chonggu	chongu
sent	Lapsung	cultansung
fear	Jiba	Jiuba
cover	UPup	Upu
doing	Kirinway	kinway
Tear	rollu	Rohlu
White	Karu	Karmu

#### 4.4 Summary

Bhojpure Sherpa differs from Solukhumbu Sherpa in nominal morphology, verb morphology and to some extent in lexical words. Plural marker, possessive case marker and locative case marker are different in these two Sherpa variants. Similarly, tense, aspect and honorific markers are also different. Moreover, differences in lexical words also exist in these languages.

## Chapter - 5

### Conclusion

The Sherpas are an ethnic community of Nepal who have their own language, dress pattern, cultural heritage, food and religion. They live in the northern highlights of eastern Nepal. This is why, their festivals are related with seasons and they prepared and eat seasonal foods like *syaka*, *solchya*, *Marchaya*, *mikyok*, *rildok* for saving from the cold. *Bakhu*, *doja*, *dongril*, *matil*, *katcha* are their clothes which have been made of fur. All cultural activities like birth, marriage and death ceremonies are completed by Lamas.

Bhojpure Sherpa has thirty consonants, six vowels and Ten diphthongs. Consonants are classified into bilabial, dental, alveolar, post-alveolar, they are classified into stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals, trills, laterals, fricative approximants and lateral approximants. Voicing is constrictive in stop consonant. Similarly, aspiration is also contrastive in stop consonants. There are six vowel which has no breathy counterpart. They are classified into front, central, back vowels on the basis of front-ness of tongue, and low vowels on the basis of tongue-height. In Sherpa, a syllable is made of one vowel, vowel and consonant, consonant and vowel, consonant vowel and consonant, consonant and vowel and consonant, consonant vowel consonant. There is a pattern of consonant clusters. They occur in the initials, middle and final position. But mostly they occur in middle position, maximum, three consonant sequences can occur, but two consonant cluster are more common.

Bojpure Sherpa differs from Solukhumbu Sherpa in nominal morphology, verb morphology and to some extent in lexical words. Plural marker are different in

these two Sherpa variants. Similarly, tense, honorific markers are also different. It is being differed with the impact of geographical distance, communication and globalization. These minor differences, obtained on morphology in Solukhumbu and Bhojpur, don't bring hindrances in bilateral communication between two districts Sherpa Language speakers. Pronunciation and words have been found out difference by the impact of Nepali Language . Thus, this comparative study will become milestone for bringing the language variation into similarity.

### Work Cited

- Bista, D.B. Sabai Jaat Ko phulbari. Lalitpur: *Himal Books Association*, 2005. 116-121.
- Gadtula, Naryan and Nima Sherpa. *Sherpa Sanscritiko Samanya Parichaya*. Bhojpur: Nepal Sherpa Association, 2064. 25-26.
- Lama Sherpa, Thupten. *The Sherpa and Sharkhumbu*. Kathmandu: Nepal Lithography co. (P) Ltd, 1999. 2.
- Lee, Sang Young. *Challenges of Sherpa Dictionary Project*. Chiangmai: karean Research Institute for Language and culture, 2004. 7-9.
- Pinasha Sherpa, Phuri. *Sherpa Rilithiti Ra Bhasa Sickshya*. Baudha: Dawa Sherpa, 2062. 26.
- Lama Sherpa, Ngwang Bosor. *The History and culture of the Sherpa Dharma*: Nepal Sherpa Society, 46.
- Sherpa, Nima Gyalgen. *Sherpa Pralibimba Kathmandu*: Nepal Sherpa student forum, 2062. 65.
- Salakha, Dawa Sherpa. *Sherpa vasha Ak Adhyan*. Kathmandu: World Wide Communication Center, 2062. 3-4.
- Sherpa, Gelu, *A Study of Phoneme in Sherpa language*. Kathmandu: Gelu, 2007. 3.

## APPENDIX

### Language Data

Monosyllabic words		Plysyllabic words	
/au/	'uncle'	/a.r /	'uncle'
bin	'give' Imp	/ar.kjog/	'elder sister'
bu	'insect'	/ber.mang/	'cat'
ba	'mumps'	/b r. tsa /	'thorn'
biii	'a insect'	/bu.la/	'to insect'
bau	'did.....hide ?'	/so. sun /	'got swollen'
dje	'sit' Imp	/da.sa/	'seat'
dzep	'to exchange'	/duk.pa/	'Bhutanese'
dzig	'Tiger'	/duk.pa/	'trooble'
dzwa	'wooden pole'	/den.bu/	'guest'
dzu	'body'	/dJe. sung/	'sat'
da	'rice'	der.ma /	'plate'
doi	'stone'	/dzin. dak/	'owner'
dzwap	'to make'	/do.in/	'gaing'

dzok	'keep' imp	/dal. dza/	'friend'
dzu	'have a sit, pleass'	/dze.mu/	beautiful
dzim	'catch'	/dze. tu/	'to hold'
da	'dew'	/du .ma/	'poll'
dza	'rainbow'	/dzo.gu /	'made'
da	'Jealousy'	/dzi. su /	'got drank'
du	'piercing nait'	/do .bu/	'tree'
		/dzi.tu/	to heat
		ge. ken	'sir/teacher'
gju.a	'go' Imp	/ga.su /	'set'
gu	'nine'		
		/gja.ku/	'rain'
hin	'is'	/go.ki.wi/	'need'
jo	'make'Imp	/gal.sung/	'went'
Jin		/hom.pa/	'proud'
Kur	'bread'	/ham.ba/	'stubborn/
kur	'tent'	/hu.t k/	'effort'



ki	'dog'	/i.ni/	/untie/
kwa	'leather'	/i.bi/	'grand motherinlaw'
ke	'born'	/Jom.bu/	'to shake'
kiu	'borrowed'	/Ka,.pa/	'other'
kai	a pillar	/k <sup>h</sup> u.ru/	'load'
kái	cup /bow/	/kto. /	'call'
kwap	to dig	/kál.su /	'loaded'
kup	'yoni'	/ke.gu/	'to bloc'
k <sup>h</sup> ur	carry 'Imp'		
		/k <sup>h</sup> e.gu/	'to froze'
ka	stem	/k .ba/	'house'
K <sup>h</sup> a	'what'	/kal.s /	'broke'
K <sup>h</sup> a	'snow'	/k <sup>h</sup> o.wi/	'husbans'
K <sup>h</sup> o	'she/he'	/ká.to /	'call'
		/k <sup>h</sup> o.re/	'your'
k <sup>h</sup> a	'mouth'	/kom.ba/	'thirst'
L <sup>w</sup> a	Weave	/kang.hin/	'what is'

L u	'radish	/k r.men/	'thief'
/L /	'salary'	<b>/k<sup>h</sup>ur.ok/</b>	'bring'
/Lau/	'did..take'	/ká.rung	'window'
/lob/	'tel' Imp	/La.ma.la/	'to carry'
/La /	'ox'	/lé.sung/	'to lama'
/La/	'good'	/lak.pa/	'came'
/L <sup>h</sup> op/	'study'Imp	/la.mo/	'hand'
/Lai/	'one hill'	/La.su /	'goddess'
/Lób/	'teach Imp'	/LJe. m <sup>w</sup> akJa.né./	'felt'
/La/	'hill'	/L p.t /	'properly'
/Lwa/	'lungs'	/L .tu/	'school'
/LJa/	life	/ló.wa/	'to persuade'
/Luk/	ship	/La.ka/	'lungs'
/L k/	'put in' Imp	/L lai/	work'
/Lau/	'radish/ok'	/le.Jul/	'som,ebody'
/Lau/	'taken'	/mi.ki.we/	'heaven'
/Lwa/	'huger'	/má.dzom/	'will not do'

/mik/	'eye'	/mi.ga.ma/	'didn't gather'
/mar/	'down'	/man.dza/	'old women'
/má/	'wound'	/mik.sel/	'dress'
/miu/	'hole'	/m k.p /	'spectacles'
/már/	'root'	/m k.p /	'mother'
/na/	'cat'		'bride groom'
/nok/	wos	/má.rom/	
/n m/	oil	/men.dok/	'flower'
/num/	younges sister	/man.dza/	cloth
/ná /	'give me'	/ma.bin/	'don't give'
nam	'when'	/ma .dza/	'cloth'
nJop	'to buy'	/ a.la/	'me'
i	'heart'	/ á.ku/	'to cut grass'
á	'drum'		
a	'I'	/ ji.ma/	'car of wheat'
Ja	'fish'	/n .m /	'bride'
n <sup>w</sup> op	'to count'	/n k.pu/	'black'

nJóp	'to be mad'	/na.su /	'became sick'
n k	'push'	/ o.su /	'counted'
nup	younger	/ Ji.ma/	'sun'
	brother	/ ér.mu/	'wife's sister'
ná	'promise'	/nJon.mu/	'mad girl'
a	'five'	/ J .La/	'hell'
nám	'sky'		
n	'give'	/op.su /	pierced
i	two	/pa .la/	'out'
n m	wear	/po.su /	'changed'
Já	irriatation	/p <sup>h</sup> e.sung/	'bit'
pak	a kind of mud	/po.su /	'spilled'
pak	a kind of food	/pje.ma/	'sand'
	'wol'	/p <sup>h</sup> u.la/	'in high pasturi'
pal	'ten'	/pusung/	'son'
pál	'blow air'	/pe.dza/	'child'
pu	'bloair'rat	/p .p /	'father'

pJe	rat	/p .la /	cow
piu	calf		
pum	daugher		
pe	'cloth'		
pi	pluck	/p <sup>h</sup> u.ri	'will fly'
pob	'get down' Imp	/ram.bu/	'bold'
		/ri .bu/	'long'
	cloth	/sé.tu/	'to kill'
	'monkey'	/se.tu/	'to fade out'
/ra/	'he goat'	/sir. tu/	'to melt'
/rjiu/	she goat	'sér.ru/	'yellow'
/rau/	hair	/sám.ba/	'new'
/ra/	hill	/sém.tsen/	'animals'
/ra/	bungalow	/sa.ba/	'bridge'
/ri/	'who' Q	's .mo/	'cap'
/sam/	'wrapper'	/s .Jin/	'eating'
/su/	'tell' Imp	/tin. J <sup>w</sup> a/	'follow'

/som/	'kill' Imp	/ts <sup>h</sup> ar.wa/	'rain fall'
/si/	'tame' Imp	/tor.su /	'lost'
/se/	'toot'	/ti.luk/	'bell'
/so/	'coper'	/t <sup>h</sup> o.klu/	'to seize'
/sa/	'field'	/t <sup>h</sup> o ., su /	'drank'
/sa/	'fire wood'	/tsér.mu/	'game'
/si /	'come' Imp	/tsa .bu/	'clever'
/si /	'brush'	/tsa .bu/	'made fire'
/sok/	eat	/ti .mu/	'deep'
/sJen/	Dindo (food)	/tsé .aJe/	clean
ti/	take along	'ts <sup>h</sup> a.ru/	increase
/tséu/	basket		
/ts <sup>h</sup> au/	btother in law	/the .ma. a/	'five.times'
		/tsa.gJel/	'bird eight'
/ti/	'sword'	/ts <sup>h</sup> u.su /	'resumed'
/top/	'sow'	/ts .si /	'sapling'
/Tiu/	'knife'	/t <sup>h</sup> o.su /	'heard'

/Téu/	'spatula'	/te .ga/	'cold'
/Tau/	buck wheat	/t <sup>h</sup> en. su /	'came out'
/Tso/	'cook' Imp	/tsok.tsi/	'table'
/Til/	'ring'	/ts <sup>h</sup> i.ku/	'burnt'
/tau/	'sack'	/ts <sup>h</sup> i.ku/	'to get burn'
/ts <sup>w</sup> o/	'how many'	/tsu.su /	'planted'
/tsep/	'to play'	/ts <sup>h</sup> ak.su /	'broke'
/ts <sup>h</sup> u/	'water'	/wom /	'milk'
/tsok/	'break'	/wo .bu/	'height'
/tso/	'rot'	/wo .ba/	'deaf'
/ts <sup>h</sup> a/	'hot'	/wo.tu.p .la/	'while'
/tsa/	'bird/tea'		