1. INTRODUCTION

The present study gives out the grammatical sketch of Sherpa language spoken in Sikkim state based on the data collected during the field investigation from June 1997 to September 1997.

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

According to Grierson, 1909 Sherpa belongs to the Bhotia group of Tibeto Himalayan branch of Tibeto-Burman language family.

1.2 LOCATION

According to Linguistic Survey of India, the Sherpas are inhabitant of Eastern part of Nepal. In India they are mainly inhabiting the Darjeeling Hills and Sikkim.

1.3 SPEAKERS STRENGTH

The speakers’ strength of Sherpa in respect of language / mother tongue and bilingualism/trilingualism as per 2001 Census publication is given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>URBAN</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SHERPA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIA</td>
<td>18,342</td>
<td>9,635</td>
<td>8,707</td>
<td>16,856</td>
<td>8,781</td>
<td>8,075</td>
<td>1,486</td>
<td>854</td>
<td>632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikkim</td>
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<td>7,307</td>
<td>6,615</td>
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<td>6,894</td>
<td>6,387</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>413</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Mother Tongue
### 1.4. BILINGUALISM

As returned in 2001 Census out of 13922 Sherpa speakers in Sikkim 10900 are the bilinguals and they are bi-linguals in the following languages in descending order.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Language of Bilingualism</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Language of Trilingualism among the Bilingualism</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>8667</td>
<td>4515</td>
<td>4152</td>
<td>i. Hindi</td>
<td>1416</td>
<td>839</td>
<td>577</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>ii. English</td>
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<td>246</td>
<td>179</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iii. Bhotia</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iv. Tibetan</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v. Lepcha</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vi. Limbu</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vii. Tamang</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>viii. Rai</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ix. Bengali</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x. Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
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<td>526</td>
<td>407</td>
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<td>368</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii. English</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iii. Bhotia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iv. Bengali</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v. Tibetan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>849</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>i. Nepali</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>208</td>
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<td>ii. Hindi</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>iii. Bhotia</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iv. Tibetan</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v. Limbu</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bhotia</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>i. Nepali</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>ii. Hindi</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iii. English</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Accordingly 78.29% are bilinguals among the Sherpa speakers of Sikkim.

Under the languages of Bilingualism the clubbed Total of Others comprise of Bilingual speakers strength in relevant languages below 100. But in the states of Sikkim the languages like Nepali, Bhotia, Limbu, Lepcha, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tamang and Rai are the most important languages. So, the bilingual strength in respect of these languages, even if it is below 100 speakers, have been taken separately and not clubbed under "Total of Others".

Under the head Trilingualism the clubbed Others comprise of trilingual speakers strength in relevant languages below 100. But in the states of Sikkim the languages like Nepali, Bhotia, Limbu, Lepcha, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tamang and Rai are the most important languages. So, the trilingual strength in respect of these languages, even if it is below 100 speakers, have been taken separately and not clubbed under "Others".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Bilinguals</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Nepali</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tibetan</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. Nepali</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Hindi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lepcha</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. Nepali</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Hindi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Limbu</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. Nepali</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Hindi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Tamang</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. Nepali</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. Hindi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Nepali</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Total of Others</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. Hindi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Nepali</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. Tibetan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. Bhotia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING

“Sherpa” is returned by the Sherpas in Sikkim. They are known as Solu-Khambuwan who migrated from Nepal. The term “Sherpa” has been derived from a Tibetan word “Sharva” which denotes the people of the east.

Sherpas are divided into two endogamous groups – Sherpa and Yukpa. These groups are further divided into various exogamous clans, namely Shalakha, Finasha, Chayaba, Lama Sherpa, and Goperma. Some of the divisions have a number of sub-divisions. Marriage is prohibited within the sub-division of the same clan. Land is the main source of income among Sherpas and it is controlled individually. They are primarily dependent on terrace cultivation at present. Their subsidiary sources of income are labour, service and acting as helpers or guides on mountaineering expeditions. They are both landholding and landless people. (Singh: 2001)

Linguistically Sherpa is a form of Bhotia of Eastern section (Nigam: 1971: 226). Sherpa people use the Sambosota script. Nepali and Hindi (Indo-Aryan group of languages) are used by them for intergroup communication.

Sherpas are mostly Buddhist by religion.
Sherpas are generally distributed in south and west district of Sikkim but they are found in north and east districts also.
The Sherpas are skilled in woodcraft and performing folk songs.
The sociolinguistic setting of Sherpa can be explained on the extent of its use as mother tongue and the extent of use as other tongue.

As a mother tongue Sherpa is used in different domains like home, kin and community. The use of mother tongue is necessarily related in three ways. In the order of parent ego children in the home and extra kin situation. In the domain, of locality the mother tongue is also in use. In the parent-ego-children relationship the parents invariably interact in the mother tongue with the children and also with the aged people. Since the children of these days are exposed to other languages through education most often their speech is mixed with Nepali and with English. The use of mother tongue is more between the aged people and among the middle aged whereas among the young and between the young the extent of use of mother tongue is comparatively less. Among the women the use of mother tongue is more in comparison to the men folk.

In the formal domains like Education, Administration, Judiciary and Mass media the role of Sherpa as mother tongue is evident in the oral communication level. In the domain of the Education in the rural areas the verbal interaction between the teacher and student and among the students in and outside the classroom is in Sherpa also. Sherpa is taught as a subject in the upper Primary School level that is VIIIth standard.

In the Administration although all written correspondences are through Nepali and English but Sherpa is also used as the medium of the verbal interaction staffs and the public in the rural and semi urban areas. The state Government imparts training to the officials in Sherpa language for smooth running of Administration and building up of a cordial relation with the Sherpa people.

In the level of Judiciary also Sherpa language is used in informal oral communication in the lower courts.
In the domain of Mass media, Doordarshan and a private television channels telecast folk music in Sherpa language.
The local magazines like Sikkim Herald publishing the poems and stories. The Information and Public Relations office publishers the translated materials and also about the Sherpa culture.

The Government of Sikkim encourages Sherpa people to continue their cultural programme in Sherpa in respective festive occasions. The Sikkim Government patronises preparation of dictionary and glossaries in Sherpa language and extends necessary financial aids to the welfare association of Sherpa for the purpose.

In the assembly also the legislated members are allowed to express their view through Sherpa language and their versions simultaneously be translated into Nepali and also in English to reach the non-Sherpa speakers by the Sherpa translator.

1.6 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

According to Grierson 1909. (Reprint 1967), page no. 113-118, the Tibetan word /shar/ means ‘east’ and /shar-pa/ accordingly means ‘inhabitant of an eastern country’ they are also found as immigrants outside of Nepal. During the preliminary operations of this survey their dialect was reported to be spoken in Darjeeling and Sikkim. Estimates of the number of speakers were only forwarded from Sikkim.

Further he says, Sherpa is closely connected with Kagate and Donjong –ka that is, Sikkemese Bhotia. However, it has very few characteristics of its own. Grierson also discussed about the pronunciations of the Sherpa language and its Grammatical categories like Noun, Gender, Number, Case, Present tense, Past tense, Future tense, Adjective, Numerals, Pronouns, Verbs, Imperatives. Verbal Nouns and Participle and Negative particles. The book “Topics in Nepalese Linguistics” (Edited by Y.P. Yadava and W.W. Glower, Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu, Nepal) a paper “on Tonal contrasts in Sherpa” by Stephen A. Walters, Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, Nepal discussed about the vowels and vowel quality, Consonants and Consonant quality. The Acoustic waveforms in the syllabic level also been discussed.
2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

There are 33 phonemes in Sherpa language of which 28 are consonants and 5 are vowels. The supra segmental phonemes are Tone and Nasalisation.

2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The italicised /a/ actually represents the low front unrounded vowel /a/

Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>vl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirants</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td></td>
<td>th</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td>J</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ficatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S'</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi vowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

154
2.1.2 SUPRA SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

There are two types of supra segmental phonemes identified such as Tone and Nasalization.

Tone

Three tones are identified in Sherpa language that is, rising, falling and level. The level tone is unmarked.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chòu</td>
<td>‘pool’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chou</td>
<td>‘sister’s husband’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chóu</td>
<td>‘cock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kah</td>
<td>‘order’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káh</td>
<td>‘difficult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàh</td>
<td>‘alphabetically’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma</td>
<td>‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Má</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mà</td>
<td>‘drum’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nasalization

The vowel i, e, o and u are nasalized in the final position where as the Vowel /a/ is nasalized both in the medial and final positions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maĩ</td>
<td>‘lend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gāl</td>
<td>‘arrived’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sémcē</td>
<td>‘animal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dā</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyorō</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋámū</td>
<td>‘camel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nibā</td>
<td>‘we’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contrasting Pairs (Vowels)

/i~e/

<table>
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<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gīza</td>
<td>‘property’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>géma</td>
<td>‘intestine’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/e~a/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>daughter in law’s father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nám</td>
<td>‘weather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phē</td>
<td>‘flour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound</td>
<td>Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a~u/</td>
<td>aMa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>uru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i~o/</td>
<td>i l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>óma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o~u/</td>
<td>dòkpa</td>
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<td>phùkpa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>co</td>
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<tr>
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<td>chu</td>
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</table>

Contrasting Pairs (Consonants)

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<th>Meaning</th>
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</thead>
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<td>/p ~ b/</td>
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<td>‘mouse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bú</td>
<td>‘worm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t ~ d/</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>‘hawk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dó</td>
<td>‘stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/T ~ D/</td>
<td>Tàk</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dùk</td>
<td>‘thunder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k ~ g/</td>
<td>kálak</td>
<td>‘crow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gú</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p ~ ph/</td>
<td>pá</td>
<td>‘curry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phè</td>
<td>‘flour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t ~ th/</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>‘hawk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thá</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/T ~ Th/</td>
<td>Tàk</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thàk</td>
<td>‘navel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k ~ kh/</td>
<td>kùp</td>
<td>‘testicle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khùp</td>
<td>‘palm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c ~ j/</td>
<td>cú</td>
<td>‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c ~ ch/</td>
<td>cú</td>
<td>‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chou</td>
<td>‘sister’s husband’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

All 5 vowels occur in all positions. Where as the consonant phonemes do not occur in all positions.

Vowels

\(/i/\) high front unrounded vowel

- iní ‘mother’s brothers’ wife’
- cilàm ‘lightening’
- mi ‘men’

\(/e/\) mid high front unrounded vowel

- céma ‘saliva’
- géma ‘intestine’
- pé ‘mouse’

\(/a/\) low Front unrounded vowel

\(/C ~ J/\)

- Cu sàr ‘stream’
- JòM ‘valley’

\(/s ~ z/\)

- sa ‘tooth’
- za ‘sour (taste)’

\(/s ~ S'/\)

- sa ‘tooth’
- S’a ‘flesh’

\(/k ~ h/\)

- kam dèn ‘tongs’
- ham pûm ‘female’

\(/m ~ n/\)

- mém ‘daughter in law’s father’
- nàm ‘sky’

\(/n ~ M/\)

- namá ‘daughter in law’
- Mimá ‘sunshine’

\(/l ~ r/\)

- lo ‘cough’
- ro ‘dead body’

\(/w ~ y/\)

- wònba ‘deaf mute’
- yènba ‘left handed’
aSàM  ‘mother’s brother’
nám  ‘weather’
pa  ‘curry’

/o/
ómá  ‘milk’
sothúk  ‘adopted child’
khyó  ‘man’

/u/
urũ  father’s brother’s wife’
kuwā  ‘dumb’
pú  ‘son’

Consonants

/p/
voiceless bilabial stop occurs in all three position
pómak  ‘dew’
pāpce  ‘father’s brother (elder )
balóp  ‘high tide’

/b/
voiced bilabial stop occurs in all three position
bó  ‘fog’
tiMbá  ‘heel’
mérab  ‘flame’

/t/
voiceless alveolar stop occurs in the initial and the medial position
tóm  ‘great bear’
natíní  ‘grand daughter’

/d/
voiced alveolar stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions
do  ‘stone’
thàlduk  ‘dust’

/T/
voiceless retroflex stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions
Tuk  ‘six’
câkTa  ‘match stick’
/D/ voiced retroflex stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

Duk ‘thunder’
jenDa ‘Youngman’

/c/ voiceless palatal stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

co ‘pond’
cécirma ‘cowife’

/j/ voiced palatal stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

jènDa ‘young man’
dàlja ‘friend’

/k/ voiceless velar stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

kúp ‘testicle’
màkpa ‘bride groom’

/g/ voiced velar stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

gaká ‘grand father’
singé ‘lion’

/ph/ aspirated voiceless bilabial stop occurs only in the initial positions.

phèp ‘come’

/th/ aspirated voiceless alveolar stop occurs only in the initial positions

tha ‘horse’

/Th/ aspirated voiceless retroflex stop occurs only in the initial positions

Tha ‘bird’

/ch/ aspirated voiceless palatal stop occurs in the initial position.

chou ‘sister’s husband’

/kh/ aspirated voiceless velar stop occurs only in the initial positions

kha ‘snow’
/C/ voiceless palatal affricate occurs only in the initial positions

Cóco ‘brother’

/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative occurs in the initial and the medial positions

sa ‘soil’
síM ‘wood’
mési ‘buffalo’

/z/ voiced alveolar fricative occurs in the initial and the medial positions

zìk ‘leopard’
khezér ‘fever’

/S’/ voiceless palatal fricative occurs in the initial and the medial positions

S’a ‘meat’
kàS’a ‘deer’

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative occurs only in the initial position

hàmpum ‘female’

/m/ bilabial nasal occurs in all three positions.

mérab ‘flame’
dòM ma ‘ground’
nám ‘weather’

/n/ alveolar nasal occurs in the initial and the medial positions

námkha ‘sky’
kani ‘where’

/M/ velar nasal occurs in all three positions.

Míma ‘sun’
MacùM ma ‘spinster’
síM ‘wood’

/l/ alveolar lateral occurs in all three positions.
2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTIONS

The allophonic distribution of vowels and consonants are shown below.

Vowels

\(/i/\)

- High front unrounded vowel has two allophones \([I]\) and \([i]\)
- \([I]\) lower high front unrounded vowel occurs in between the consonants
  \([\text{\texttt{ribcaM}}]\) /\text{\texttt{ribcaM}}/ ‘shade’
- \([i]\) occurs elsewhere

\(/e/\)

- Mid high front unrounded vowel has two allophones \([E]\) and \([e]\)
- \([E]\) mid low front unrounded vowel occurs between consonants.
  \([\text{\texttt{bermaM}}]\) /\text{\texttt{bermaM}}/ ‘cat’
- \([e]\) occurs elsewhere

\(/a/\)

- Low front unrounded vowel has two allophones \([a]\) and \([a]\)
[a]  low back unrounded vowel occurs in between consonants

   [dakcir] /dakchir/ ‘mud’

[a] Occurs elsewhere.

/o/  mid high back rounded vowel has two allophones [O] and [o]

[O] mid low back rounded vowel occurs between consonants

   [sOTük] /soTük/ ‘adopted child’

[o] Occurs elsewhere.

Consonants

/n/  alveolar nasal has two allophones [M’] and [n]

[M’] voiced palatal nasal consonant occurs before the palatal stop

   [piM’jDa] /pinjDa/ ‘cage’

[n] Occurs elsewhere

/l/  alveolar lateral consonant has two allophones [L] and [l]

[L] retroflex lateral consonant occurs initially in the monosyllabic words

   [LuM] /luM/ ‘air’

[l] Occurs elsewhere.

2.4 CLUSTERS

There are five vowel clusters realised in Sherpa language such as /ou/, /oi/, /ue/, /ai/ and /au/

chou  ‘sister’s husband’
soisem’en  ‘cattle’
saiyue  ‘earthquake’
chyau  ‘cock’

Consonant clusters are of two ways that is initial two consonant clusters and medial two consonant clusters. The medial two consonant clusters are more.
2.5 SYLLABLE

There are four categories of syllabic words realised in Sherpa language of which two syllabic words are more.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monosyllabic</th>
<th>(open)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vc</td>
<td>il</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cv</td>
<td>cú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syllabic Level</td>
<td>Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monosyllabic   (close)</td>
<td>cvc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cvc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cvc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disyllabic (open)</td>
<td>vcv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cvc-cv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cc vc-cv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disyllabic (close)</td>
<td>cv-cv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cv-cvc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cvc-cvc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trisyllabic (open)</td>
<td>cv-cv-cv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cv-cv-cv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cvc-cvc-cv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cvc-cv-cvc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ccvc-cv-cv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trisyllabic (close)</td>
<td>cv-cv-cvc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cvc-cvc-cvc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cv-cvc-cvc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cvc-cvc-cvc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ccvg-cvc-cvc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ccvc-cvc-cvc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetrasyllabic (open)</td>
<td>cv-cv-cv-cv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cv-cv-cvc-cv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cv-cvc-cvc-cv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cv-cv-cv-cv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetrasyllabic (close)</td>
<td>cv-cv-cv-cvc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ccvc-cvc-cvc-cv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The alternants of morphemes when they occur with various kinds of suffixes phonological variations take place within the morpheme. The morphophonemics is concerned with those phonological variations. In Lepcha, both the deletion and alternation of consonants and vowels are realized.

I. When the main verb joins with the auxiliary verb to form the past tense the first consonant /y/ of the auxiliary verb is dropped

\[ y > \emptyset \]

- \( gals \ yin \) > \( gals`in \) ‘went’
  - go aux vb.
- \( s`et \ yin \) > \( set`in \) ‘killed’
  - kill aux vb.
- \( z`it \ yin \) > \( zítin \) ‘ate’
  - eat aux vb.
- \( lep \ yin \) > \( lepin \) ‘came’
  - come aux vb.
4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1.1 WORD FORMATION

Definition of word in Sherpa language

In Sherpa, a simple word is defined as one, which is a free form and is capable of taking inflectional or derivational affixes. In Sherpa, a stem by itself can be a word. For example, form like / khi / ‘dog’ is a stem as well as a word form like / khi diwa / ‘dogs’ which is also a word in Sherpa consisted of a stem / khi / and suffix / -diwa / that is / khi diwa / ‘those are dogs’.

Word Classes In Sherpa

Word classes in Sherpa are established on the basis of morphological and / or syntactic grounds stem classes in Sherpa can be divided into different groups on the basis of the inflectional endings. Forms, which show identical inflectional behaviour, can be called as form class.

Accordingly Sherpa words are divided into the following groups 1) Nouns 2) Pronouns 3) Adjectives 4) Verbs 5) Adverbs 6) Conjunctions 7) Post positions. These word classes are also broadly grouped in to two categories on the basis whether they are declinables and are indeclinables.

4.1.2 NOUN

In Sherpa there are two types of Nouns available that is, basic nouns and derived nouns. The basic nouns are classified into two categories such as mass nouns and countable. The derived nouns are further classified into verbal noun and word compounding.

Basic Nouns

- aMa ‘child’
- pú ‘boy’
- pó pa ‘father’
- chyajum ‘bird’
- chyau ‘cock’
- s’up ‘belly’
- luM ‘air’
- me ‘fire’
- bal`op ‘flood’
- khyákrum ‘ice’
- c´arpa ‘rain’
kyówa ‘husband’
p’ermi ‘wife’
khi ‘dog’
pú ‘boy’
chajuMa ‘bird’

Derived Noun

Some nouns are derived from verbs in Sherpa language. The suffix / khen / is suffixed with the verb root.

$hlát-up$ ‘to make art’ > $hlati khen$ ‘artisan’

$loM-gup$ ‘to beg’ > $loM khen$ ‘beggar’

$thik up$ ‘to paint’ > $thik khen$ ‘painter’

Number

The number is realised in Sherpa into two categories such as singular and plural. The singular is unmarked and the plural is marked by the suffix / -tiwa/.

$ki$ ‘dog barks’

$ki tiwa$ ‘dogs bark’
dog + pl bark

$tiwa kaM ba Michok ho$ ‘These are two houses’

pl. house two are

$tíhi$ ‘His houses’

his houses + pl

Gender

Gender in Sherpa is natural. Both male and female genders for human and non-human are realised by separate forms.

$pú$ ‘son’

$p’um$ ‘daughter’

$pópa$ ‘father’

máma ‘mother’

kyówa ‘husband’

p’ermi ‘wife’

laM ‘bull’
There are eight cases identified in Sherpa language such as Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental, Locative, Ablative, Genetive, Sociative and Dative case. The Nominative case has no marker and it is realised by the context.

**Nominative case**

The nominative case is realised by the subject or context.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>Malá</td>
<td>toMi</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>‘Rama sees me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakshmi</td>
<td>Malá</td>
<td>toMi</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>‘Lakshmi sees me’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the sentences /ráma/ and /lâksmi/ are in Nominative case.

**Accusative case**

The accusative case is realised by the suffix /-la/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>aMi</td>
<td>kíola</td>
<td>toMi</td>
<td>‘The child sees you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma</td>
<td>kóMla</td>
<td>toMi</td>
<td>Me</td>
<td>‘I see him’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Instrumental case**

This case is realised by the suffix /-thóne/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tihá thóne doMbute</td>
<td>chésuM</td>
<td>knife+by</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The tree was cut by the knife’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dáb thóne</td>
<td>chajuM mate</td>
<td>sé suM</td>
<td>arrow+by</td>
<td>the bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Bird was killed by the arrow’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dative case

This case is realised by the suffix /-lá/ and in some places it is unmarked.

\[
\begin{align*}
yórë & \quad káM bálá \quad gùk \\
\text{you} & \quad \text{home}+\text{to} \quad \text{go} \\
\text{‘Go home’} \\
tí & \quad aMá \quad tiwá \quad dùnralá \quad hòMí \\
\text{the child} +\text{pl} \quad \text{garden} + \text{to} \quad \text{come} \\
\text{‘The children come to the garden’} \\
tiwá & \quad lāpTalá \quad giwí \\
\text{they} \quad \text{school} +\text{to} \quad \text{come} \\
\text{‘They come to school’}
\end{align*}
\]

Locative case

This case is realised by the suffix /-raM/ and /-la/

\[
\begin{align*}
Má & \quad Me \quad káM bà \quad râM \quad hóyë \\
\text{I} \quad \text{my} \quad \text{house} + \text{in} \quad \text{am} \quad \text{is} \\
\text{‘I am in my house’} \\
Má & \quad yúl \quad lâ \quad dëkyu \\
\text{I} \quad \text{village} + \text{in} \quad \text{live} \\
\text{‘I live in the village’} \\
Má & \quad sîMla \quad lâkâ \quad Kiwi \\
\text{I} \quad \text{field} + \text{in} \quad \text{work} \quad \text{does} \\
\text{‘I work in the field’}
\end{align*}
\]

Ablative case

This case is realised by the suffix /-nesu/ or /-ne/.

\[
\begin{align*}
dámàktàwa & \quad dòM bù \quad nè \quad lùmbu \quad yin \\
\text{leaves} \quad \text{tree} \quad \text{from} \quad \text{fall} \quad \text{is} \\
dòMbù-nesu & \quad chàzùm \quad lùm \quad hiwì \\
\text{tree} + \text{from} \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{fall} + \text{pr.t.} \\
\text{‘The bird falls from the tree’} \\
khó & \quad thòm \quad káM \quad nè \quad hòMìn \quad hòy \\
\text{he} \quad \text{city} + \text{from} \quad \text{come} \quad \text{is}
\end{align*}
\]
‘He is coming from the city’

Sociative case
This case is realised by the suffix /-tàM múla /

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{khyo} & \text{MatàM múla} & \text{hoM} & \text{thúpki} \\
\text{you} & \text{I} + \text{with} & \text{come} & \text{could} \\
\text{‘You could come with me’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Ma} & \text{DenzòMla} & \text{dawá} & \text{tàM múla} & \text{gàlyin} \\
\text{I} & \text{sikkim} + \text{to} & \text{Mr.Dawa} & \text{went} \\
\text{‘I went to sikkim with Mr. Dawa’}
\end{array}
\]

Genitive case
This case is realised by two markers /-e/ and /-ki /

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Me} & \text{téptiwa} & \text{de} & \text{hoy} \\
\text{my book + pl} & \text{here} & \text{are} \\
\text{‘My books are here’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{khoMki} & \text{kàMba} & \text{tiwá} \\
\text{he + case} & \text{house plural.} & \text{‘His houses’}
\end{array}
\]

Post position
The post position is realised by different forms which occurs after the noun a few of them are like /teMla, S’yapla, chála, gyaple and khá ne /

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{berMàM} & \text{teMla} & \text{khí} & \text{layin hoy} \\
\text{cat at dog look aux.vb.} \\
\text{‘The dog looks at the cat’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{khoM} & \text{dòMbui} & S’yápla & \text{nelok nok} \\
\text{he tree under sleep aux.vb.} \\
\text{‘He sleeps under the tree’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{khoM –ki} & \text{kàMpa} & \text{basTánD} & \text{chála woy} \\
\text{he + gen.case house bustand near} & \text{is} \\
\text{‘His house is near busstand’}
\end{array}
\]
There are four types of pronouns realised in Sherpa language such as Personal pronoun, Demonstrative pronoun, Interrogative pronoun, and Reflexive pronoun.

**Personal pronoun**

The personal pronoun system in Sherpa language distinguishes for three persons, two numbers and three persons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st.person</td>
<td>Ma ‘I'</td>
<td>Miba ‘we'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.person</td>
<td>khyó ‘you'</td>
<td>khire you(pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.person</td>
<td>khoe/khoM ‘he'</td>
<td>tíwa ‘they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moe/moraM ‘she’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>di ‘it'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ma khyóruMla tôMi
I you + acc. case see ‘I see you’

Mí ba khyóruMla tôMi
we you +acc.case see ‘we see you’

khyó tíwala tôMi
you they +acc.case see ‘you see them’

khire tíwala tôMi
you(pl) them +acc. see ‘you(pl) see them’

khoe Malá tôMi
he I + acc.case see ‘he sees me’
The demonstrative pronouns either of proximate or remote types are realised in two numbers that is singular and plural which are shown below:

- **Di** ‘this / it’
- **Ti** ‘that’
- **Díwa** ‘these’
- **tí wa** ‘those’

**Di** kho de ho'Mi
he here comes ‘he comes here’

**Moe** moe Malá to'Mi
she I +acc.case see ‘she sees me’

**Moî** moî de ho'Mi
she here come ‘she comes here’

**Di** di chik yin
this dog is ‘This is a dog’

**Di** di Me+ lakha+ min
it my- work+not ‘It is not my work’

**Tíwa** tíwa lapTála giwí/ ho'Miwi
they school+case come ‘They come to school’

**Tíwa** tíwa de ho'Mi
they here come ‘They come here’

**Demonstrative pronoun**

The demonstrative pronouns either of proximate or remote types are realised in two numbers that is singular and plural which are shown below:

- **Di** ‘this / it’
- **Ti** ‘that’
- **Díwa** ‘these’
- **tí wa** ‘those’

**Di** di kho di chik yin
this dog a is ‘This is a dog’

**Ti** ti kho ti chik yin
that dog a is ‘That is a dog’

**Díwa** di díwa kàM ba Mi yin
these houses two are ‘These are two houses’

**tíwa** tíwa cu'M ma Mi yin
‘Those are two cows’
Interrogative pronouns

The question is realised by two ways that is, by using separate morphemes and also by the intonation which always realised with either auxiliary or with the main verb

\[ kyôre\ mîM\ kâM\ yin \] ‘What is your name?’
you name what is
\[ kyô\ rôM\ kâM\ sê\ ye \] ‘What will you eat?’
you+(respect) what eat
\[ khyô\ rôM\ yul\ kane\ laka\ kiwi \] ‘In which village do you work?’
you village which work do
\[ kho\ su\ yin \] ‘who is he?’
he who is

Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are realised by a separate morphemes. Like /suyinaM/ ‘some one’ /lala/ ‘few’ and /cekzik/ ‘a little’

\[ khîwi\ nâmne\ suyînaM\ gâlne\ cunôlek\ cú \] among you some one go fetch water
‘Let some of you go and fetch water’
\[ lâla\ sâm\ ba\ lâla\ Minba\ nok \] few new few old are
‘Few are new and few are old’
\[ Ma\ inî\ Cêk\ zik\ S‘e\ kyu \] I english very little know
‘I know English very little’
\[ Ma\ nâmlaM\ samá\ che\ Ji\ kya\ S‘ewi \] I always rice little only a eat
‘I eat rice always a little only’
Me aMe óma cèkzík tûMûi
My child milk little drink
‘My child drinks very little milk’

tîMsaM mûk mûlâ cûk péjâ tiwa bâMî S’yuksûM
nowadays military+in boys lot joined
‘Lot of boys joined in the military nowadays’

te khî tiwâ sûm woy
There dog +pl. three are
‘There are three dogs’

de bermâM Mî woy
here cat two are
‘Here are two cats’

Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun is realised by the marker /-raM/ which occurs with the personal pronouns.

ti khi korôM raM lûm gûl
It dog itself fell down
‘The dog itself fell down’

Mîre raM zowu yin
we ourself made aux. vb.
‘We made ourselves’

khoré khâla khoMûkraM Cû cândi lûkûp zûin
he + the person himself hot water poured
‘He himself poured water on him’

ti pezâ tiwâ khûpráraM lûnmu lápgûlsûM
children themselves cinema gone
‘Children themselves gone to the cinema’

4.1.4 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives follow the noun in Sherpa language.

koM pu zaMpu cûk yin
he boy good one is
‘He is a good boy’

_**Ma ri’nbu hoy**_  
I tall am  
‘I am tall’

_**ti m̃ık pa ñk pu**_  
the cloud dark  
‘The dark cloud’

_**Me khâMba Tîkpe hoy**_  
my house small is  
‘My house is small’

### 4.1.5 NUMERAL

There are two types of numerals used in Sherpa language. These are cardinals and ordinals. The cardinal numerals are the primary numerals and the ordinals are the secondary numerals. The Sherpa has decimal numeral system.

**Cardinals**

- _cìk_ ‘one’
- _Mi_ ‘two’
- _sùm_ ‘three’
- _sì_ ‘four’
- _Ma’_ ‘five’
- _Tu’k_ ‘six’
- _duin_ ‘seven’
- _ghè t_ ‘eight’
- _gü_ ‘nine’
- _cù_ ‘ten’

The cardinal numerals from eleven to nineteen are formed by adding the base numeral / _cù_ / ‘ten’ with the respective numerals like.

- _cù + cìk_ = _cù cìk_ ‘eleven’
- _ten + one_  
- _cù + Mi_ = _cù Mi_ ‘twelve’
ten + two

The numbers for twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, and ninety are formed by multiplication of the numeral /cu/ ten, which is suffixed with the numeral adjective.

\[ Mi + cu = Mi\acute{cu} \quad \text{‘twenty’} \]
\[ \text{two + ten} \]
\[ su\acute{m} + cu = sumcu \quad \text{‘thirty’} \]
\[ \text{three + ten} \]

The number one hundred is adopted from the Indo-Aryan language / eksou/ ‘Hundred’.

Ordinals

To form the ordinal number / -pa/ is suffixed with the respective cardinal number but for the ordinal number ‘first’ is different. That is, the cardinal number is dropped and a new form is adopted. To denote the ordinal first a separate form / ta\acute{M}/ is available in Sherpa.

\[ ta\acute{M} pao \quad \text{‘first’} \]
\[ Mi\acute{pa} \quad \text{‘second’} \]
\[ sum\acute{pa} \quad \text{‘third’} \]

Fractions

There are two fractional numbers are realised.

\[ cha\acute{sek} \quad \text{‘quarter’} \]
\[ pheS\acute{a} \quad \text{‘half’} \]

4.2 VERB - MORPHOLOGY

The verb-morphology deals about the different functions of the verbs.

4.2.1.1 FINITE VERB

It is a complete verb and shows the complete action done which are realised through the use of tense, person, gender, and number markers.
Verbs in Sherpa are marked morphologically for tense. The Sherpa verb shows two way opposition for tense. That is past and Non past. The future tense is taken care by the Non past.

Past Tense

The past tense is realised by the suffix /-soM/ and /-yin/

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{he} & \quad \text{field+to} \quad \text{go + p.t.} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{hill} \quad \text{came} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{hill} \quad \text{came} \quad \text{from} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{hill} \\
\text{I} & \quad \text{field+to} \quad \text{go + p.t.} \\
\text{I} & \quad \text{of all} \quad \text{last} \quad \text{came}.
\end{align*}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\text{he}</td>
<td>\text{field+to}</td>
<td>\text{go + p.t.}</td>
<td>\text{past}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{I}</td>
<td>\text{field+to}</td>
<td>\text{go + p.t.}</td>
<td>\text{past}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{I}</td>
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<td>\text{past}</td>
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<td>\text{go + p.t.}</td>
<td>\text{past}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{I}</td>
<td>\text{field+to}</td>
<td>\text{go + p.t.}</td>
<td>\text{past}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tense

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\text{he} & \quad \text{field+to} \quad \text{go + p.t.} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{field+to} \quad \text{go + p.t.} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{field+to} \quad \text{go + p.t.} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{field+to} \quad \text{go + p.t.} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{field+to} \quad \text{go + p.t.} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{field+to} \quad \text{go + p.t.} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{field+to} \quad \text{go + p.t.} \\
\end{align*}
\]
Non Past  (Present , Future Tense)

The present tense is realised by the suffix / - gi / which occurs with the main verb.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{khoe} & \quad \text{cajúm} & \quad \text{sêt som} \quad & \text{he} & \quad \text{bird} & \quad \text{killed} \\
\text{Ma} & \quad \text{kur mën} & \quad \text{jimiyin} \quad & \text{I} & \quad \text{robber} & \quad \text{catch} + \text{p.t.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘He killed the bird’

‘I caught the robber’

In some cases the base verb itself represents the present tense.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{khòM} & \quad \text{de} & \quad \text{hoMi} \quad & \text{he} & \quad \text{here} & \quad \text{come} + \text{pr.t.} \\
\text{mu} & \quad \text{te} & \quad \text{Doyin} \quad & \text{she} & \quad \text{there} & \quad \text{go} + \text{pr.t.} \\
\text{cacùm ti‘wa} & \quad \text{phu‘ri} & \text{g} \quad & \text{bird} + \text{pl.} & \quad \text{fly} + \text{pr.t.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘He comes here’

‘She goes there’

‘Birds fly’

In some cases the auxiliary verbs are used to denote the present time.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ma} & \quad \text{nyèl} & \quad \text{yin} \quad & \text{I} & \quad \text{sleep} & \quad \text{pr.t.} \\
\text{di} & \quad \text{khì} & \quad \text{nyèl} & \quad \text{yin} \quad & \text{this} & \quad \text{dog} & \quad \text{sleep} & \quad \text{is} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘I sleep’

‘The dog is sleeping’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ti} & \quad \text{mu} & \text{kpa nàkpu} & \text{nok} \quad & \text{the} & \quad \text{cloud} & \quad \text{dark} & \quad \text{is} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The cloud is dark’
Future Tense

The future tense is realised by the suffixes 
/-yin/ and /-gi/ which is used for the present tense.

Ma salá mi hoMi
I tomorrow not come +shall
‘I shall not come tomorrow’

khoM Do yin
he go p.t.
‘He will go’

Aspect

Aspect is a grammatical category of verb which has nothing to do with the location of an event in time but with its temporal distribution. In Sherpa the present progressive aspect only realised. Which is exemplified below. Present continuous Tense The present continuous tense is realised by the suffix /-kin/. Which occurs with the main verb.

Ma ró kin woy
I read +ing am
‘I am reading’

ti khi sui kin woy
the dog bark +ing is
‘The dog is barking’

Ma ró kin mét
I read +ing not
‘I am not reading’
Mood

Mood expresses the speaker’s point of view about the occurrence of the event. It is the mode or manner which is used to express a statement, command, question or doubt. In Sherpa there are six moods identified such as, Indicative, Imperative, Interrogative, Conditional, Probability and Optative mood.

Indicative Mood

This mood is realised by the statement type sentences.

\[
\begin{align*}
  &di \text{ khì} \text{ chìk} \text{ yìn} \quad \text{‘This is a dog’} \\
  &\text{this dog a is}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
  &de \text{ khì} \text{ chìk} \text{ woy} \quad \text{‘Here is a dog’} \\
  &\text{here dog a is}
\end{align*}
\]

Imperative Mood

The Imperative mood is realised by rising tone of the verb.

\[
\begin{align*}
  &\text{yàrlaM} \quad \text{‘Stand up’} \\
  &\text{di cók} \quad \text{‘Break it’} \\
  &\text{phar gyûk} \quad \text{‘Go there’}
\end{align*}
\]

Interrogative Mood

The Interrogative mood is realised by questioning. It is realised by separate words.

\[
\begin{align*}
  &\text{koyròM} \text{ nam lámui} \quad \text{‘When do you get up?’} \\
  &\text{you when get up}
\end{align*}
\]

Conditional Mood

The conditional mood is realised by the suffix /-sin/

\[
\begin{align*}
  &\text{Ma depe chuM sin Ma sala hoM} \\
  &\text{I well to if I tomorrow come +will} \\
  &\text{‘If I am well I will come tomorrow’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
  &\text{Maí téMla hotúp yinsin ti lakhá JúksoM} \\
  &\text{I supervise if the work damaged} \\
  &\text{‘If I supervise the work it will be damaged’}
\end{align*}
\]
Probability Mood

The probability is expressed by a separate marker /-túp, ki/

Ma hoM túpki
I come may
‘I may come’

gyá kárki gyél túp ki
Indian win may
‘May Indian win’

Optative Mood

The optative mood expresses the desire. The modality is realised by the suffix /-Dop/.

horaM yukúp ten la doi Dop
We walk us go let
‘Let us go for a walk’

horaM di lakhá yan kie Dop
we this work also do let
‘Let us do this work also’

4.2.1.2 NON FINITE VERB

Infinitive

The verb is not conditioned by person and number of its subject. The non-finite verb is realised by the suffix /-ne/ in Sherpa language.

ti púmla thépéchik binsíne Ma thlíla lápin
the girl +case book +one give +to I him ask
‘I ask him to make her give a book’

láka chik Cal raM do goba
job a find should go to
‘One should go to find a job’
Ma Dogòîne yin yaM magàl
I go +had +to vb. but not did
‘I had to go but did not’

Verbal Noun

A verb which function as noun called verbal noun. In Sherpa the suffix /lokha/ is realised as a verbal noun marker

\[khoM \quad krí keT ki \quad chemó lokha \quad hôye\]
he cricket +acc.case play +vbl.noun. like
‘He is fond of playing cricket’

\[kri këT \quad Cehèpga \quad jyok\]
cricket playing stop
‘Stop playing cricket’

\[Ma \quad cîkce \quad rokúpla \quad kha \quad hôye\]
I poem read +ing like
‘I like reading poetry’

\[Ma \quad nepáli-ket \quad lapúla \quad kha \quad hôye\]
I Nepali language speak like
‘I like speaking Nepali language’

Participle

In Sherpa language to denote the participle the verb takes the suffix /-ne/

\[Ma \quad khoM \quad la \quad gùtokne \quad kai \quad gosum\]
I he +case waiting became tired
‘I became tired of waiting him’

\[horú \quad bombûkine \quad ti \quad pezá \quad thoksoM\]
voice hearing the boys woke up
‘Hearing the loud voice the boys woke up’

\[gó \quad chêmpor \quad dùMne \quad khoM \quad naMla \quad Cûk soM\]
gate knock doing he his admission lost
‘Knocking the gate he lost his admission’
4.2.1.3 CAUSATIVE VERB

To realise the causativeness of the verb there are two forms identified such as /cítin/ and /Cúe/

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Méki} & \text{ móla} & \text{ tép} & \text{ tercítin} & \text{ woy} \\
& \text{I her} & \text{ book} & \text{ give + make} & \text{ aux + vb} \\
& \text{‘I make her give a book’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ma khoMla} & \text{ lúciklìM} & \text{ cítin} & \text{ woy} \\
& \text{I him} & \text{ sing +one+ sing} & \text{ made aux + vb.} \\
& \text{‘I made him sing a song’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ma tí aMála} & \text{ hóma} & \text{ thuMúp} & \text{ Cúewi} \\
& \text{I +the child+ case} & \text{ water} & \text{ drink +ing made} \\
& \text{‘I make the child to drink water’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ma khoMla} & \text{ arák} & \text{ thuM úp} & \text{ Cúe yin} \\
& \text{I him} & \text{ liquor} & \text{ drink make p.t.} \\
& \text{‘I made her drink liquor’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

4.2.1.4 AUXILIARY VERB

There are three auxiliary verbs realised such as /woy/, /yin/, and /nök/ for can and should /thùp/ is used in Sherpa language

\[
\begin{align*}
tí & \text{ chik} & \text{ yim} & \text{‘This is a dog’} \\
\text{this} & \text{ dog} & \text{ is} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
tí & \text{ khoM} & \text{ ba} & \text{ yin} & \text{‘This is house’} \\
\text{this} & \text{ house} & \text{ is} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
de & \text{ bermáM} & \text{ cik} & \text{ nok} & \text{‘Here is a cat’} \\
\text{here} & \text{ cat} & \text{ one is} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ma} & \text{ di} & \text{ lakha} & \text{ kithupki} & \text{‘I can do this work’} \\
& \text{I} & \text{ the} & \text{ work can do} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ma} & \text{ di} & \text{ dép lòk} & \text{ thüpki} & \text{‘I can read this book’} \\
& \text{I} & \text{ this} & \text{ book-read can do} \\
\end{align*}
\]
4.2.1.5 NEGATIVE VERB

The negation is realised by the suffixes /ma/, /mi/ and /mo/ which occurs with the main verb.

\[ Ma \text{ sala do mo gosuM} \]
I on tomorrow go not will not
‘I will not go on tomorrow’

\[ Ma \text{ kàMsi ma kya} \]
I anything say nothing
‘I said nothing’

\[ tu’gu ma sîsa \]
this not say
‘Donot say thus’

\[ dîwa cìk lemú min \]
these words good not
‘These are not good words’

\[ te min de ti yinupja \]
these not this but these materials
‘Not this one but these’

\[ khoe tilâkha kirúp min tho \]
he the work should not do
‘He should not do this work’

4.2.1.6 COMPOUND VERB

Either two verbs or noun + verb jointly making a single sense / meaning can be called as compound verb.

\[ jíwa kiwí ‘afraid’ \]
fear doing

\[ seh nûk ‘asked’ \]
query done

\[ lom sòk ‘came’ \]
come back
4.2.1.7 PASSIVE FORMATION

The passive voice is realised by the suffix /-kih/ which occurs with the pronoun.

\[ \text{ti palep M\text{\textperiodcentered}kih sobu yin} \]
the bread me+by eaten was
‘The bread was eaten by me’

\[ \text{ti l\text{\textacute{a}ka} M\text{\textperiodcentered}kih kyabu yin} \]
the work me+by done aux vb(was)
‘The work was done by me’

\[ \text{palep ti M\text{\textperiodcentered}kih s\text{\textperiodcentered}obu min} \]
bread the me+by eaten not
‘The bread was not eaten by me’

4.2.1.8 TRANSITIVITY

The verb which is used with a direct object called transitive verb that is transitive verb which requires an object to complete its meaning and the effect of the action denoted by the verb falls on the subject.

\[ \text{khoe caj\text{\textacute{u}m} se\text{\textacute{kyu}}} \]
he bird kill
‘He kill the bird’

\[ \text{Mira\text{\textperiodcentered}M s\text{\textperiodcentered}iM t\text{\textacute{a}ne} l\text{\textacute{e}pin}} \]
we cart +in came
‘We came by cart’

Intransitive Verb

A verb which requires no object to express the feeling that is; a verb which does not take direct object.

\[ \text{M\text{\textperiodcentered}loku\text{\textperiodcentered}p} \]
‘sleep’
\[ \text{nabu} \]
‘sick’
\[ \text{S\text{\textacute{y}abu}} \]
‘swim’
\[ \text{lap\text{\textacute{u}}} \]
‘speak’
\[ \text{yigi\text{\textperiodcentered}}} \]
‘lay’
\[ \text{phirup} \]
‘jump’
hoMúp ‘come’
gṳ’tu ‘wait’
Dop ‘go’
detup ‘live’

khi sui
dog barks
‘Dog barks’

cǎ cùm dòMbu kháne phùr kyui
bird tree upon fly
‘Bird fly upon the tree’

Mả yúlla dêt kyui
I village+in live
‘I live in village’

khoM dòM bui Syá pla nyal nok
he tree under sleep aux. vb.
‘He sleeps under the tree’

4.2.2 ADVERB

Adverb is classified in three types that is Adverb of Place, Adverb of Time, and Adverb of Manner.

Adverb of Place

The Adverb of Place is realised either before or after the noun.

tì bermâM de nok
the cat here is
‘Here is the cat’

thaM la dêt
ground on sit
‘Sit on the ground’

dòMbu tì lámki chyok teM la hoye
tree the road of side that on is
‘The tree is on that side of the road’
Adverb of Time

The Adverb of Time is realised either before or after the noun or pronoun.

salá Ma yúlia Dóyin
tomorrow I village go +will
‘Tomorrow I will go to village’

harín Me yókpuch lakhá kyáwu mèt
today my servant+verb work did not
‘Today my servant did not work’

chuCo jihi tiMla phep
o clock 4 of after on come
‘Come after 4 o clock’

dáM Ma róbu met
yesterday I read not
‘Yesterday I did not read’

Meram daM lepyin
we yesterday came
‘We came yesterday’

Adverb of Manner

The Adverb of Manner is realised before the main verb

koley kyane lap
slowly speak
‘Speak slowly’

keh S’yukgyane málap
sound loudly not + speak
‘Do not speak loudly’

Cektiwa CanMmukyáne tih
words neatly write
‘Write the words neatly’
4.2.3 PARTICLE

There are four particles identified in Sherpa language. These are Connective, Compulsive and Conditional.

Connective Particle

A particle which function as a connective is called connective particle. The morphemes ‘and’, ‘but’ and ‘or’ are function as Connectives in Sherpa language.

khiraM mi ra Mi yaMa su m jonne
you number of man two or three together

mo daMraM teh hotupti yaM mo nabu nok
she yesterday there have been but she felt stick

‘She would have been there yesterday but she felt sick’

gyûk tâm loM sôk
go and come back
‘go and come back’

Conditional Particle

The particles ‘if’ and otherwise’ are realised as conditional particles.

tiw eh Mala di térup samba met sin
they me it give + do want not if
‘If they do not want give it to me’

nor ti lok misin khýórki ta duMai
money the return otherwise you beating
‘Return the money otherwise you will get beating’

Compulsive particle

The forms /goi/ ‘had’ and /phé p raM/ ‘must’ are realised as Compulsive Particles

Ma Dogoî ne yin
I go + had + to vb.
‘I had to go’
Mirâ Dogói ne yin
we go+ had + to vb
‘we had to go’

khyoraM phèpraM goki
you must go
‘You must go’

The form /gó khi/ function as a compulsive particle.

horâM MâmoraM nyêl gôkhi
we early sleep should
‘We should sleep early’

Ma yikhi chîk ThiraM gôkhi
I letter one write should
‘I should write a letter’

4.2.4 ECHO FORMATION

A compound whose second member repeats the first with an initial consonant or syllable altered with the general meaning and the like. In Sherpa the phoneme /-s/ begins as a second component and this gives out the meaning of ‘etc.’

khaMpa - saMpa ‘house’ etc
cu - su ‘water’ etc
riki - siki ‘potato’ etc
deb - sep ‘book’ etc
5. SYNTAX

5.1 WORD ORDER

The word order of Sherpa language is Subject + Object + Verb (S O V)

khoe chajyum setsuM
He +verb bird killed
Subject object verb
‘He killed the bird’

Má ti kʰaMbala díwi
I house +to go
subject object verb
‘I go to the house’

MíraM siMáne lèp yin
we cart + by come
subject object +case verb.
‘We came by cart’

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

There are five types of sentences identified in Sherpa language such as Imperative, Interrogative, Negative, Causative and Co-ordinative Sentences.

Imperative sentence

The Imperativeness is realised by the intonation of the verb.

yárlaM ‘stand up’
di chyok ‘Break it’
phar gyúk ‘Go there’

Interrogative sentence

The Interrogativeness is realised by questioning. It is realised by separate morphomes.

koyróM nam láMih ‘When do you get up?’
you when get up

moe kyóre num yin ‘Is she your sister’
she yours sister is
Negative sentence

The negation is realised by the suffixes /ma/, /mi/, /mo/ and /min/ which occurs with the main verb

\[ Ma \text{ sála modoù } \]
I tomorrow not go
‘I will not go tomorrow’

\[ Ma \text{ kàMsi ma kya } \]
I anything say nothing
‘I said nothing’

\[ tuògu ma ñisa \]
this not say
‘Donot say thus’

\[ khoe \text{ di tandåke thòpsuM } \]
He +verb it nowhere found
‘He found it nowhere’

\[ diwa ñikitìwa lemu \text{ min } \]
these words good not
‘These are not good words’

\[ di \text{ min dewåke } \text{ yin } \]
this not but these is
‘Not this one but these’

\[ khoe \text{ di laka kih thupuraM } \text{ min } \]
he this work do able +should not
‘He should not do this work’

Causative sentence

To realise the causativeness of the verb there are two forms identified such as /citìn/ and /Cùe/

\[ Ma \text{ mola thep chik ter jiyachu } \]
I she to book a give made
‘I make her give a book’

\[ Ma \text{ khoMla lúcikliM jiyachu } \]
I him sing +one+sing made aux+ vb.
‘I made him sing a song’
*Ma tī a Māla hóma thu’M jiyachu*
I +the child+case water drink +ing made
‘I make the child to drink water’

*Ma khoMla arák thuM jiychu*
I him liquor drink make +p.t.
‘I made her drink liquor’

**Coordinative Sentence**

A conjunctive particle which co-ordinates to make a complete sentence called coordinate sentence.

*khoe khachekeyabuti khorki hok thoMók*
he smiled he +verb as soon as saw
‘as soon as he saw he smiled’

*khyorkie na laM na chuMma sim*
you + verb neither bull nor cow catch
‘You catch neither bull nor cow’

### 5.2 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

There are three patterns of sentences realised in Sherpa language such as Simple, Complex and Compound.

**Simple sentence**

Simple sentence is one clause sentence and that is the principal clause. There is no subordinate clause in the simple sentence.

*di khī yin*
this dog is
‘This is a dog’

*kyóre khaM sirup hoye*
you what say+ did is
‘What did you say?’

*jinó ma júsa*
lie not tell
‘Do not tell a lie’

*teru gyûk*
there go
‘Go there’
sale det 'Sit down'
down sit

yar laM 'Stand up'
up stand

Compound sentence

Two main clause jointly produce a simple sentence called compound sentence.

Miba láMne tam lap yin
we stood and speak +p.t.
'We stood and spoke'

Ma dogó yinyaM na magal
I had to go +p.t. but I not go
'I had to go but I did not go'

CuCau yol síma kho oMoi
office over after he come+will
'He will come after the office is over'

dewa loMnaM minsi khyóre du thàkse hi
money return otherwise you-nom. will get beating
'Return the money otherwise you will get beating'

Complex sentence

The combination of one main clause and one or more subordinate clauses jointly produce a single sentence called complex sentence.

kyoròM tuiCau láraM phèpsiM Mir ā lehwi
you in time come-if we examine
'if you come in time we will examine the machine'

mor ā d ā tér ā woy yam mo naine dèt suM
yesterday she there aux.vb. but she sick felt
'she would have been there yesterday but she felt sick'

Ma kirmu JoM sin sála Ma hoMi
I well come if tomorrow I come will
'If I am well tomorrow I will come'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher/Place</th>
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<tr>
<td>Giridhar. P.P.</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td><em>Angami Grammar</em>, Mysore, CIIL Grammar Series No.1</td>
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<td>Census of India</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td><em>Population by language/mother tongue, C-7 Tables</em>, Part IV B(i), Government of India, Delhi.</td>
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<td>Census of India</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td><em>Bilingualism and Trilingualism, Table C-8 Part IV B (i) (b)</em>, Governemnt of India, Delhi.</td>
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How the crow-hen killed the black snake.

In the nest were four little eggs which guarded with great care.

In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly.

Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.

“If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer.”
We must build our nest somewhere else,” said the mother bird to her husband.

“We have lived here a long time”,

I can’t bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere,” said the crow.

While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them.

They know what the sound it meant.

They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.

The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.
Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds.

Who flew away in terror.

One by one ,the black snake swallowed the eggs.

The parents came back sadly to their nest knowing well that they would find it empty.

The crow said,”I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake.

“How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly,”said his wife in despair.

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“Don’t you worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes,” said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal.

When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said, “My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end.”

I’ve him destroy to plan a already thought have(pr)

Have no fear, I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him.

“Oh, do tell me what it is,” said the crow.

Then the jackal, fearing he might be overheard, whispered to his friend what he should to destroy the snake.
The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan.

It is rather risky,”said the crow.

“I’ll do anything to save my eggs,” said the mother bird bravely.

So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country.

The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived

They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath.
They had laid their golden chains: pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond.

The mother bird flew down, pick up a gold chain in her beak and started flying towards the tree in which she lived.

When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird.

They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree.

One of the guards climbed in the tree to get the chain.
As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up there.

With one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

The crow and the crow hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crow.