

## 1. Description

### 1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family:

Sherpa, Serwa, Sharpa, “Sharpa Bhotia”, Xiaerba

Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Western Tibeto-Burman, Bodish, Central Bodish, Central, gTsang

### 1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com):

xsr

### 1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):

Nepal, Sagarmatha Zone, Solu Khumbu district; Janakpur Zone, Dolakha and Ramechhap districts

### 1.4 Brief history:

“The Sherpa were a nomadic people that first settled in the Solukhumbu (khumbu) district, then gradually moved westward along salt trade routes. According to Sherpa oral history, four groups migrated out of Solukhumbu at different times, giving rise to the four main Sherpa clans: Minyagpa, Thimmi, Sertawa and Chawa. These four groups have since split into the more than 20 different clans that exist today. About 1840 Sherpa ancestors migrated from Kham. Mahayana Buddhism religious conflict may have contributed to the migration in the 15th and 16th centuries. Sherpa migrants traveled through Ü and Tsang, before crossing the Himalaya”(1)

### 1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:

“The Sherpas were internationally acclaimed for their mountaineering feats. Through the efforts of Sir Edmund Hillary, Western education had begun in Solu-Khumbu. Thus, the Sherpas were already redefining certain aspects of their cultural identity when Tibet was taken over militarily by the Chinese. The effects on life and culture in Solu-Khumbu were immediate and profound. The worldly wealth and prestige that formerly accrued to the Sherpas who had traded in Tibet were now out of reach. Mountain-climbing and tourism became new sources of lucrative employment, but unlike the old traders, those who were working in these fields had no regular involvement with Tibetan civilization and so were little inclined to patronize it. Moreover, the termination of the Tibet trade and the influx of refugees severely damaged the local economy. Literacy in Nepalese and English were sought after. During the sixties and seventies, an appallingly rapid cultural deterioration occurred in some communities. Villages that a generation ago could boast at least rudimentary skills in written Tibetan among the entire male population now had only one or two old men who could read the language of their religion. Monasteries, temples, and libraries fell into disrepair. Precious collections of printing-blocks began to rot. With little support for the exercise of traditional artistry, skilled craftsmen now had to earn their livelihood by producing tourist art, e.g., woodblock prints of Spiderman for the Kathmandu marketplace.” (2)

### 1.6 Ecology (natural environment):

“Sherpas are highly regarded as elite mountaineers and experts in their local terrain. They were immeasurably valuable to early explorers of the Himalayan region, serving as guides at the extreme altitudes of the peaks and passes in the region, particularly for expeditions to climb Mount Everest.” (3)

### 1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density

“The current Sherpa population is estimated to be around 45,000 people. They mainly live in the Khumbu and Solu Khumbu regions that lie to the south of Mount Everest. Sherpas also live to the east of this area in Kulung. In addition, Sherpas inhabit the valleys of the Dudh Kosi and Rolwaling Rivers west of Solu-Khumbu, and they are also found in the Lantang-Helambu region north of Kathmandu. Kathmandu itself has a sizable Sherpa population, while small numbers of Sherpas can be found throughout Nepal, even in the Terai. Sherpa communities are also present in the Indian state of Sikkim and the hill towns of Darjiling and Kalimpong....The Sherpas live on the flanks of the hill masses that jut south into Nepal from the crestline of the high Himalayas. Rivers such as the Dudh Kosi and Bhote Kosi have carved deep gorges

into the mountains, leaving a complex terrain of steep ridges and narrow valleys. Wherever Sherpas are found, their settlements lie at the highest elevations of any human habitation. In Khumbu, their villages are found between 10,000 to 14,000 feet (approximately 3,000 and 4,300 meters). Winters at this altitude are severe, with snow covering the ground between November and February. No work can be done in the open. Most able-bodied Sherpas descend to lower elevations for the winter, leaving only the elderly in the villages. February sees the onset of spring, with warming temperatures and clear skies. People return to their villages for the New Year festival in late February, and the next three months are spent preparing fields and sowing crops. Summer temperatures vary according to altitude. At Nauje village (elevation 11,287 feet or 3,440 meters) in Khumbu, the July mean temperature is 54° F (12° C). May to August is the rainy season, with most of Nauje's annual precipitation of approximately 41 inches (105 centimeters) falling during this period. August to November heralds another period of fair weather, when the harvest is gathered in.” (4)

## 2. Economy

### 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

“The Sherpa diet is dominated by starchy foods, supplemented by vegetables, spices, and occasionally meat. In addition, Sherpas drink Tibetan tea (tea served with salt and butter) at all meals and throughout the day. A typical breakfast consists of Tibetan tea and several bowls of gruel made by adding *tsampa*, a roasted flour, to water, tea, or milk. Lunch is eaten in the late morning and may include boiled potatoes which are dipped in ground spices. Sometimes a stiff dough made from a mixture of grains (*sen*) is eaten with a thin sauce made from spices and vegetables, or meat if it is available. A typical dinner is a stew (*shakpa*) consisting of balls of dough, potatoes, and vegetables. Dairy products, especially butter and curds, are important in the Sherpa diet. Sherpas eat meat, but as practicing Buddhists they will not kill animals themselves.” (4)

### 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

See 2.1

### 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:

None

### 2.4 Food storage:

### 2.5 Sexual division of production:

“Trading and wage labor are predominantly male activities. Agricultural and pastoral labor is shared by both sexes, and often women do the major share while men trek. Plowing is the only productive activity assigned exclusively to men.” (4)

### 2.6 Land tenure:

“Most land is individually owned and worked by households. Threshing is sometimes done communally by cooperating households. Sherpas will not in general do agricultural work for wages, preferring to work the tourist trade or in the cities. A few Sherpa families who made great fortunes in trade own large tracts of land worked by wage laborers and tenant farmers coming from non-Sherpa ethnic groups. In recent years a land reform program of the government of Nepal has attempted to address major inequities in landownership.” (4)

### 2.7 Ceramics:

### 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

‘The Sherpas' most important rule of hospitality is that a visitor must not leave the house unfed or without a drink. Guests are entertained with Tibetan tea or beer. Visitors of high standing will be served a snack, or even a complete meal. Unlike some communities in South Asia, guests in Sherpa homes have complete access to both the kitchen and the area set aside for worship.” (4)

### 2.9 Food taboos:

## 2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

### 3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

### 4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f):

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

“Sherpa families are small by South Asian standards. The nuclear family is the norm in Sherpa society, with households consisting of parents and their unmarried children.” (4)

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

“Divorce is quite frequent, having been estimated as occurring in 30 percent of all Sherpa marriages” (4)

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:

“Most marriages are monogamous, although fraternal polyandry (having more than one husband) is permitted and is even considered to be prestigious. According to this practice, two brothers marry the same woman.” (4)

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?:

“Marriage is a long process involving many stages of betrothal and gift and labor exchange. Women receive a dowry when the marriage is finalized, and sons receive their fair share of the parental estate.” (4)

4.9 Inheritance patterns:

“Land and herds are divided equally among all male heirs, who are also supposed to be given newly built or acquired houses on the finalization of their marriages. Monks and nuns receive their shares upon their ordination. Female heirs receive a fair division of movable property at marriage, including animals, jewelry, copperware, and cash. Families without male heirs may take in an adoptive son-in-law as heir. The youngest brother inherits the parents' house, while the oldest brother generally inherits offices or titles.” (4)

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

“Child rearing is handled mainly by mothers and by older sisters if there are any. Fathers are nurturant to children, but Sherpa life entails long and frequent paternal absence because of expeditions, trade ventures, or wage-labor shifts.”

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

“The Solu-Khumbu Sherpas are divided into a number of named exogamous patrilineal clans, descended from the original founding families; the clans are subdivided into lineages. Clans can own common land, Forests, mills, temples, or villages, though they do not necessarily do so. Agricultural fields are individual property. There are kindreds joined by mutual aid and participation in life-cycle ceremonies. These usually link several villages in a region. (4)

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?

4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape

- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)
- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?
  - “When strangers meet, they will ask the family names of each other. If they have the same family name, they cannot joke with each other and cannot intermarry.” (3)
- 4.24 Joking relationships?
  - See 4.24
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules
  - See 4.24
- 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?
  - “The marriage process is a lengthy one that may stretch over several years.” (4)
- 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?
  - See 6.3
- 4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)
  - “A person is required to marry outside his or her clan.” (4)
- 4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?
  - “Sherpas choose their own marriage partners.” (4)
- 4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

### **Warfare/homicide**

- 4.31 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:
- 4.32 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:
- 4.33 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:
- 4.34 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):
- 4.35 Cannibalism?

### **5. Socio-Political organization and interaction**

- 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:
- 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):
- 5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):
  - “Sherpa society is divided into a number of clans called *ru* ....Although there is no ranking of individual clans, they fall into two groups, the *khadeu* and *khamendeu* . The former are of higher status and anyone marrying into the lower group loses this standing.” (4)
  - “There are few formal mechanisms for the exercise of power in Sherpa society. With the flow of surplus capital into the region through the exploitation of the monopoly on the Nang pa La trade route, some traders established themselves in the position of *pembu*, usually translated as "governor." With varying degrees of autonomy from or subordination to the overarching Nepali state, depending on different historical circumstances, these figures, by virtue of Influence and wealth, became tax collectors, using some of the proceeds as investments in trade. The power of the *pembus* depended largely on personal authority and enterprise, and it was not readily transmissible from father to son. In more Recent times, the

Nepali governmental system has established more administrative control over the region, and the *panchayat* system of local democratic village councils has been introduced.” (4)

#### 5.4 Post marital residence:

“Following a betrothal, the boy has the right to live with his fiancée in her parents' house. This arrangement may continue for several years, during which the relationship may be broken off. Once the respective families feel that the marriage will be successful, a ceremony is carried out that formally confirms the marriage negotiations. Several months or even years may pass again before the wedding date is fixed. ....A newly married son is supposed to receive a house on completion of the marriage. Interestingly, a man does not return home until he has a child; he lives with his in-laws until such time as his wife gives birth.” (4)

#### 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

#### 5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):

#### 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

#### 5.8 Village and house organization:

“Sherpa villages cling to the sides of sheer mountain slopes or sit on top of steep escarpments. Sherpa settlements range from villages with a few houses to towns such as Khumjung or Namche Bazaar with more than a hundred houses. In the higher elevations, a house is usually built in the middle of its owner's fields. Where more flat land is available, however, houses are clustered together in a group at the center of the village's agricultural land. Larger villages may have a community temple, a community mill, and religious monuments called stupas and chorten . There are few proper roads, and villages are connected by tracks and trails. Goods are transported by pack animals or on the backs of the people. Sherpa houses have two stories and are built of stone. The roofs are flat and usually made of wood, weighted down by heavy stones. The lower level is used to house livestock, fodder, food, and firewood, while the upper story holds the living quarters. The floor of this room is wooden, covered with carpets and rugs. There is no furniture; platforms and benches are used for sitting and sleeping. A small area of the house is set aside for an altar. Incense and butter lamps are kept burning before the shrine.” (4)

#### 5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):

#### 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

See 5.8

#### 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:

See 5.3

#### 5.12 Trade:

“Traditional Sherpa economic activities were centered on agriculture and trade. At lower elevations, such as in Solu-Khumbu, where conditions allow cultivation, Sherpas raise maize, barley, buckwheat, and vegetables. Potatoes were introduced to the Sherpas only eighty years ago but have now become the mainstay of their diet. In Khumbu, with its higher altitudes, farming gives way to pastoralism. Khumbu Sherpas raise cattle and the yak, a cattle-like animal that does well at higher elevations. Yaks provide wool and milk by-products such as butter, which are sold or bartered for grain. Hybrids of domestic cattle and the yak are used as pack and plow animals. Trade between Nepal and Tibet is of considerable historical importance in the region. Sherpas, because of their location and ability to handle high altitudes, have traditionally played a major role in the trade that moves through Nangpa La and other passes across the mountains. Salt, sheep's wool, meat, and yak are still brought from Tibet into Nepal, in exchange for food grains, rice, butter, and manufactured goods. The Sherpas' reputation as excellent porters and guides on mountain-climbing and trekking expeditions has brought them a new source of income and, for some Sherpas, a comfortable living.” (4)

#### 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

## 6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

### 6.0 Time allocation to RCR:

#### 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

“The day-to-day religious affairs of the Sherpas are dealt with by *lamas* (Buddhist spiritual leaders) and other religious practitioners living in the villages. It is the village lama, who can be married and is often a householder, who presides over ceremonies, and rituals. In addition, shamans (*lhawa*) and soothsayers (*mindung*) deal with the supernatural and the spirit world. They identify witches (*pem*), act as the mouthpiece of gods and spirits, and diagnose illnesses.” (4)

#### 6.2 Stimulants:

#### 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

“The name-giving ceremony of a Sherpa child is an important event. The local *lama* (Buddhist spiritual leader) is informed of the birth and the time that it occurred. On the basis of this information, the lama determines the child's name and when the naming ceremony should take place. Children are often named after the day of the week on which they were born. Thus a baby born on Friday would be called "Pasang" (the Sherpa word for "Friday"). The lama, relatives, and neighbors are invited to celebrate the name-giving at a feast. Children are usually brought up by their mothers, as the men are often away from home for much of the year. Young girls are introduced to household chores at an early age, while boys tend to have greater freedom for leisure and play. Boys undergo an initiation ceremony between seven and nine years of age, which is presided over by the lama and accompanied by feasting and drinking. For the wedding ceremony (*z endi*), the boy's family dress in their best clothes and go in procession to the girl's house. There, they are entertained with food and drink and are expected to dance and sing in return. They visit houses of relatives, where the procedure is repeated. The feasting lasts for a day and a night, before the party returns home with the bride. The actual marriage is observed by putting a mark of butter on the forehead of the bride and groom. The bride is given a dowry by family and friends that usually consists of rugs, woolen carpets, yak-wool mats, and even cattle. At the time of death, the body is washed and covered with a white shroud. The lama cuts off a lock of hair from the corpse so that the life breath (*pran*) of the departed may leave the body, and reads from the sacred texts. The lama decides if the deceased is to be buried, cremated, or given a water-burial. The lama also decides when to remove the corpse, which may not occur for several days. The body is seated on a frame and taken for cremation or burial. The funeral procession is accompanied by flags and novice lamas blowing conch shells and playing drums and cymbals. After death, the family performs rites for the benefit of the departed and undertakes a ritual purification of the home. Sherpas believe that the soul remains near the house for forty-nine days, and on the last of these days a grand feast is held to complete the last of the funeral rites.” (4)

#### 6.4 Other rituals:

“The major festivals of the Sherpas are Losar, Dumje, and Mani Rimdu. Losar, which falls towards the end of February, marks the beginning of the New Year in the Tibetan calendar. It is celebrated with much feasting and drinking, dancing, and singing. Dumje is a festival celebrated for the prosperity, good health, and general welfare of the Sherpa community. It falls in the month of July, when the agricultural work is complete, the trading expeditions to Tibet have returned, and the Sherpas are preparing to take their herds into the high pastures. Over a seven-day period, Sherpas visit their local monasteries and offer prayers to their gods. There is much eating and drinking, and members of the younger generation participate in singing and dancing. The colorful Mani Rimdu celebrations are held four times a year, twice in Khumbu (at the Tami and Tengboche monasteries) and twice in Solu-Khumbu (at the Chiwong and Thaksindhu monasteries). Monks in colorful costumes and elaborate masks impersonate gods and demons and perform religious dances intended to scare the evil

spirits. Feasting and drinking accompany all Sherpa festivals and celebrations except for Nyungne. This is a penance for sins committed during the previous year. For three days, laypeople abstain from drinking and dancing and may even undergo a complete fast. They visit the gompa to recite sacred texts with the lamas, or repeat the mantra *Om Mani Padme Hum*. The principal mantra of the Buddhists, it is also found inscribed on prayer wheels. It has many interpretations, one of which is "Om, the Jewel of the Doctrine is in the Lotus of the World." Monks and nuns keep to the restrictions of Nyungne for two weeks." (4)

#### 6.5 Myths (Creation):

#### 6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

"The Tibetan tradition of religious dance-dramas known as '*cham*' can be seen in the Mani Rimdu festivals of the Sherpas. Elaborately choreographed, with monks dressed up in costumes and masks, the Mani Rimdu dances enact the triumph of Buddhism over the demons of the Bon religion. The temple orchestras that accompany these dramas are unique in the makeup of their instruments, which include drums, cymbals, handbells, conch shells, 10-foot (3-meter) telescopic horns, large oboes, and flutes made from human thighbones. The distinctive chant used by monks in their religious observances is also in the tradition of Tibetan sacred music." (4)

#### 6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

See 6.3

#### 6.8 Missionary effect:

#### 6.9 RCR revival:

#### 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

#### 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

#### 6.12 Is there teknonymy?

#### 6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)

"The Sherpas belong to the Nyingmapa sect of Buddhism. The oldest Buddhist sect in Tibet, it emphasizes mysticism and incorporates shamanistic practices and local deities borrowed from the pre-Buddhist Bon religion. Thus, in addition to Buddha and the great Buddhist divinities, the Sherpa also have believe in numerous gods and demons who are believed to inhabit every mountain, cave, and forest. These have to be worshiped or appeased through ancient practices that have been woven into the fabric of Buddhist ritual life. Indeed, it is almost impossible to distinguish between Bon practices and Buddhism. Many of the great Himalayan mountains are worshiped as gods. The Sherpas call Mount Everest *Chomolungma* and worship it as the "Mother of the World." Mount Makalu is worshiped as the deity Shankar (Shiva). Each clan recognizes mountain gods identified with certain peaks that are their protective deities."

### 7. Adornment

#### 7.1 Body paint:

#### 7.2 Piercings:

#### 7.3 Haircut:

#### 7.4 Scarification:

#### 7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

"Sherpa Jewelry is very different from the way it is here. There are much more options here, than Nepal. There is the apron buckle. They call this a Kyetig. It is a silver buckle that women use to hold the back and the front of their aprons. On these buckles are various symbols. Then there is the Chhuruk. This word means coral. Old Tibetan coral beads are strung onto a necklace. It's color ranges from white to red. Also, there is the TikTik. This a traditional Sherpa necklace worn on a womens neck for special occasions. Matil, are womens bracelets made of different materials. Such as gold, silver, and glass. Lastly, there is a Alung. This is a men's earring. These earrings are made of gold and they have turquoise or coral insets. They are usually in circular designs. These earrings are very heavy! Similarly, Maali is a kind of womens

earrings designed after the earrings worn by hindu women. These are just some kinds of jewelry worn by Sherpa women and men.” (3)

#### 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

“The Sherpa Culture has hats for highly ranked religious men. The first one is the tsezha, this is the ceremonial hat of the monks. This hat is a yellow felt hat. It resembles a cock's comb and is used during religious events. There are different versions of this hat for higher and lower ranks. Next, is the peering. The peering is worn by senior abbots during main religious events. It got its name in Ancient India. They had debates and the loser of the debate had to convert religions. One day, the Buddhist group designed a hat looking like the female reproductive system. When they got to the debate the other team was so puzzled and disturbed they lost the debate. Since then it is worn as a sign of victory. Next, is the shahag. It is a black hat worn by tantric priests. Worn during Mani Rindup and Dumchi festivals. It got its name in Ancient Tibet. There was an evil king named Lang Dharma. He was against Buddhism. Upon his head he had a horn of flesh. Whenever he had his hair done or styled he killed the man who did it. One day a tantric priest went to his palace and performed for him a dance wearing this hat. This hat was connected to a scarf, under the scarf there was a bow and arrow. In the middle of the dance the priest brought out the bow and arrow and shot the king. These hats are now worn during important religious festivals. The Sherpa culture had many different types of shoes in the past.” (3)

#### 7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

#### 7.8 Missionary effect:

“Traditionally, clothing and costumes were made locally. But now, factories are taking the place of local craftsmen. Factories are making clothing at much more affordable prices. Because of these factories, traditional costumes and clothing are disappearing quickly. Also, there is a great amount of loss of skills and craftsmanship, and is making the community more dependent on imported substitutes.” (3)

#### 7.9 Types of clothing:

“Sherpa dress is similar to that worn by Tibetans. Both men and women wear a long inner shirt over a pant-like garment, both made out of wool. Over this, they wear a thick, coarse, wraparound robe (*bakhu*) that reaches to below the knees and fastens at the side. A sash is belted around the waist. Both males and females wear high, woolen boots with hide soles. The uppers are colored maroon, red, and green (or blue), and the boots are tied on with colored garters. An unusual feature of women's dress is the multicolored striped aprons worn to cover the front and back of the bodies below the waist. Both married and unmarried women wear the rear apron, while the front apron is worn only by married women. Various ornaments and a distinctive cap called a *shyamahu* complete the dress of the Sherpa woman. Traditional Sherpa dress is rapidly disappearing among Sherpa men. Many younger men who have worked for mountaineering expeditions wear Western-made high-altitude clothing.” (4)

### 8. Kinship systems

#### 8.1 Sibling classification system:

“The terminology is a variant of the Omaha system. Relative ages of siblings are signified by distinct terms. The categories of mother's brother and of in-law are applied to a wide number of people. The standard term of address is "older brother" or "older sister.” (4)

#### 8.2 Sororate, levirate:

#### 8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

### 9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

## Numbered references

1. Sherpa, Lhakpa Norbu (2008). *Through a Sherpa Window: Illustrated Guide to Sherpa Culture*. Kathmandu, Nepal: Vajra Publications
2. Kapstein, Matthew. "Sherpas: Religion and the Printed Word." *Cultural Survival*. N.p., 11 Feb. 2010. Web.
3. *Educational Media and Technology Yearbook - Volume 36*, Michael Orey, Stephanie A. Jones, Robert Maribe Branch, page 94 (2011)
4. "Sherpas." *Countries and Their Cultures*. Every Culture, n.d. Web. 15 May 2013
5. Brower, Barbara. *Sherpa of Khumbu: People, Livestock, and Landscape*. Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 1991.
6. Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph von. *The Sherpas of Nepal: Buddhist Highlanders*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964.
7. Ortner, Sherry B. *Sherpas Through Their Rituals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
8. Sherpa, Donna M. *Living in the Middle: Sherpas of the Mid-Range Himalayas*. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1994.