

CHAPTER – ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Anthropology is the holistic study of man. Anthropology in its modern form is a product of the nineteenth century. Such organizational landmarks as the founding of the first anthropological society and first academic chair in the subject date from this period, but its historical roots are of course much deeper (Greenberg 1968:304-8). Marvin Harris (1971) defined, anthropology, as the word's Greek roots indicate, is the study of man, as animate physical being, culture animal profusely endowed with manufactures, beliefs and life styles, in all habitats and settlements, familiar as well as exotic, past, present and future (Harris 1971:1).

The science of anthropology has traditionally been a "holistic" discipline. Anthropologists have advocated a broad, comparative study of human behavior in the search for general laws and principles and little about man has been left out, it is perhaps not surprising, then to find that anthropological "explanation": has also been far ranging in its attempts to make order out of the chaos of human diversity. At one time or another anthropologists have explained human behavior with reference to current topics in biology, ecology, history, evolution, diffusion and interdependent invention, for example, to explore the ways in which "environment" is used in anthropological explanation, an area of endeavor currently referred to as ecological anthropology. The roots of ecological anthropology are to be found in several different traditions of environmental explanation, some of which are tightly woven into western thought (Hardesty, 1979:1).

The term “ecology” which has its root in the Greek Word Oikas (household or living place), came into use in the later part of the nineteenth century in the work of zoologists and botanists to describe the study of the ways in which organisms live in their environment (Hawley 1968:328).

Human ecology is the study of human interactions with the environment. The objective is to understand both how human societies adapt to a particular ecosystems and how people’s activities cause the environment to change. Ecological approach to culture sees cultural patterns as adaptive responses to the basic problems of survive and reproductions (Serena, 1984:58).

Adaptation is the way living populations relate they can survive and reproduce (Serena 1984:78). Cultural strategies of clothing and shelter are among the most common regulatory mechanisms that enhance human chances to survive and live in relation to comport in a variety of environments (Moran 1982:7). The central problem of life is adoption to those external conditions which also impede and limit expansion (Hawley 1950:16).

Adaptive systems are open system they freely exchange energy with the environment and contain internal innovations. Adaptive system because the innovative solution to problems tend to create new problems, which must be coped with at some future date. Adaptation is a behavioral process that seek satisfactions for present needs, with greater or lesser concern for the future: where there is a great concern, the system will change slowly and undesirable consequences may be avoided, where the concern is weak, the system will change relatively rapidly and easily, and the problems will accumulate. Human social systems are all adaptive. Some are more dynamic than others. Human or cultural ecology is a study of how adaptive systems influence the physical environment and the human environment as well (Bennett 1976:94).

The adaptive systems are developed by the local people to interact with immediate environmental condition. These systems are the historical products

of their experiences with local environment, so the adaptive system includes all the socio-cultural process practiced by the local people of the study area. This study would like to look at various such adaptive systems developed by different ethnic groups of Tiringe village Development Committee (VDC) in general and the Limbu in Particular. The physical condition of study area is Himalayan having limited resources. The quality of soil is not good for higher amount crop yield and the population pressure is increasing. Limbu culture is going towards changing process. Change is universal and continuous phenomenon, which is found in all societies. The study area is situated in Taplejung district, Mechi zone. Limbu have a distinct culture, tradition and religion etc.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Nepal is small country, which lies between India and china. However, Nepal is small, there live different ethnic groups. They have variation in many things. Like: religions, cultures and geographical are etc. Forest and pasture land and cultivated lands are very important resources of Nepalese people. According to geographical setting, there are different kinds of society and culture. So, Nepal is composed of different castes and ethnic groups with their own cultures traditions, customs, languages, beliefs, religions and occupations etc. There are certain areas of Nepal that are associated with a particular ethnic group.

The Nepal Himalayas extends from river Mahakali in the west to the Shingalila range in the east. The Himalayas Operate on a simple subsistence level. Unlike the plains, the Himalayas and their foot hills do not provide many areas which can sustain a permanent settlement for a sizeable population (Bista 1992:11). When resources changes, the people living in that area may have to change their adaptive system as well, changes in society do not touch all aspects of society at ounces as old values still continue along with the new changes. Continuity and change are the basic principles of all societies.

Nepal is an agricultural country. The farmers of Nepal, especially in the hill and highland regions have utilized fodder trees since time immemorial (Pandey 1982:9). The forest in one of the major parts of the nature that affects man and his culture (Kunwar 1989:54). People who live in hill village are directly or indirectly related to the quality and quantity of the natural resources available, if both continue to decrease and deteriorate, fewer animals will be kept, smaller amount of manure will be produced crop yields will decline and the people will have less to eat (Proffenberger 1980).

The change that is occurring in agricultural production may be mirrored in Nepali land holding systems, labor organization, and kinship. Land ownership has become much more central in village life than it was in times of relative land abundance. When new land was available for both slash-and-burn and for fixed field agriculture, control over labor was relatively important than control over land. As agricultural intensification has proceeded in Nepal, land ownership has become relatively more important and control over labor relatively less important. (Schroeder 1985:43)

Macfarlane (1976) studied Gurung community with the perspective of population ecology hunting, herding (specially sheep), shifting cultivation, weaving, trading and mining were the subsistence systems adopted by the Gurung in the past. These adaptive systems have changed because of the population pressure. They migrated from their homogenous village to city areas their subsistence systems are changed.

This study tries to find out the adaptive systems which are practiced by Village Development Committee (VDC) where the dominant ethnic group is the Limbu people. They practice the common sharing of economic burden for their rituals through contribution of cash and kind such as rice, meat, liquor (Raksi) etc. People still practice their traditional system in cultures but it is going to changing process with the race of time.

In this context, from Anthropological point of view, it is important to find out as to what the main causes are for the change in the Limbu community and what kind of practice adaptive activities such as family, birth, marriage, death, rituals, festivals, languages and economic activities etc.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to focus on the changing adaptive systems in Tiringe VDC adopted by the Limbu people in the changing context of natural environment. The local groups bringing change in their adaptive system and the relationships among people as well. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To explore the socio-cultural change of Limbu people such as: family, birth, marriage, death, language, festivals, rituals etc.
2. To look at different components of the adaptive systems of Limbu people; i.e. agriculture, animal husbandry, business remittance and employment etc.
3. To analyze the changing factor of Limbu community of the study area.

1.4 Importance of the Study

This present study has focused on changing adaptive system of Limbu community in the study area. This study helps to understand the processes of survival strategies practiced in different ways according to the availability of resource within the Limbu ethnic group. More specifically the study helps to understand the adaptive systems of Limbu people in various ecological conditions, their cultural process and will also be useful to know changing factor of Limbu people in the study area. It help to give knowledge for further study about Limbu people.

1.5 Organization of the Study

This dissertation has been divided into eight chapters. Chapter one introduces the concept of human ecology, adaptation, adaptive system etc. This chapter also presents the statement of the problem, objective of the study, importance of the study etc. chapter two discusses the relevant literature for this study that are reviewed from various books and articles. It also presents various conceptual model as well as ecological study of Nepalese communities. Chapter three presents the methodology and chapter four discusses the setting. Chapter five presents about people and culture, chapter six presents subsistence system. Similarly, chapter seven presents the changing factor of Limbu community and chapter eight presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER -TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Human adaptation with their immediate environmental condition has been focused in studies by many scholars in different communities of the world. Human ecologists are convinced that adaptive systems differ according to their natural conditions and availability and needs of resource. The systems of subsistence, ownership of resources and management patterns are also different as well.

There are several different theoretical approaches to understand man environment interactions. Darwin's theory on 'evolution of organism' and Ernest Haeckel's ideas on 'ecological system' are the important contributions in the development of geography and anthropology as scientific disciplines in the later part of the 19th century that human ecology became the subject of systematic study (Rambo 1983:3).

Human ecology most broadly defined as the study of human interactions with the environment, has in recent years gained greatly increased attention in all the social sciences. A number of very different conceptual approaches have been employed in human ecology. The most important analytic frameworks are: environmental determinism, possibilism, cultural ecology, the ecosystem based model etc. The contributions made by each conceptual approach to increasing understanding to human ecology are described and their strengths and weaknesses are assessed (Ibid:1)

Environmental determinism is the belief that the physical environment plays the role of "prime mover" in human affairs (Hardesty 1977:1). Environmental deterministic theories served as rationales for political dominance in many guises. The format of all the theories was essentially the same: a "temperate" or "balanced" climate, ethnocentrically defined, was responsible for the virtuous qualities of the area's inhabitants. As a result, they were destined to rule and

control the “lesser” domains where populations were more lethargic, less courageous and less “intelligent” (Moran 1982:24). In the anthropo- geographic approach, of which the climatologically theories of Ellsworth Huntington, of the degree and manner in which the human culture was shaped by environmental condition (Geertz 1963:1-2). Friedrich Ratzel and Ellen C. Semple also contributed in this approach, their view was that humans were completely the product of their environment (Rambo 1983:3).

In the possibilist approach on the other hand, the environment was seen not as causative but as merely limiting or selective. The geographical factors did not shape human culture a wholly historical, even “super organic” phenomena but they set boundaries to the forms it could take at any place and time (Geertz 1963:2). A very different view of environmental limitations was proposed Franz Boas (1858:1942). His approach has been called one of the historical possibilism that is, nature circumscribes the possibilities for humans but historical and cultural factors explain what possibility is actually chosen. Boas rejected the idea that the environment was a primary mold of culture (Boas 1896:901) and sought explanation for the cultural differences in the particular cultural history of the people (Moran 1982:34).

Environmental possibilism its proponents asserted that while the environment did not directly cause specific cultural development, the presence or absence of specific environmental factors place limits on such development by either permitting or forbidding their occurrence (Rambo 1983). Kroeber (1876-1960), like other anthropologists of his day subscribed to Boasian credo that the physical environment is there merely to be acted upon by human culture. However, unlike the other Boasians, Kroeber completely subordinated the individual to his cultural milieu... despite this inability and /or unwillingness to deal with irregularities in human/environment interaction, Kroeber’s cultural and natural areas is of major importance in that it forms the backdrop to the formulation of the cultural ecological approach (Moran 1982:36).

Julian Steward's early writing broke with both determinism and possibilism by rejecting general theory and emphasizing the use of the comparative method to test causal connections between social structure and modes of subsistence. Steward saw social institution as having a functional unity that could be diffused or limited as whose0except in so far as they provided solutions to recurrent subsistence problems or when the recipient society already had all the prerequisites for that change. Steward's approach was a functionalist one, concerned with the operation of variable in relation to a limited set of variables. Not in relation of an entire social system (Ibid: 42). Contemporary cultural of ecology grows out of the theories of Leslie white (1949) and Julian Steward (1972) and has some links with evolutionary theory (Serena 1984:58).

According to Steward, Cultural ecology is the study of processes by which a society adapts to its environment. Its principle problem is to determine whether these adaptations initiate internal social transformations or evolutionary change (Steward 1968:337). Cultural ecology plays primary attention to those features which empirical analysis shows to be most closely involved in the utilization of environment in culturally prescribed way (Steward 1955:37 in Greetz 1963:7). The cultural ecological approach proposed by steward involves both a problem and a method. The problem is to test whether the adjustments of human societies to the environments require specific type of behaviors or whether there considerable latitude in human responses (Steward 1955:36). The method consists of three procedures.

1. To analyze the relationship between subsistence system and environment;
2. To analyze the behavior pattern associated with a given subsistence system and environment;
3. To ascertain the extent to which the behavior pattern entailed in the given subsistence system effects other aspect of culture (Steward 1955:40-41 in Moran 1982:43).

He tended to give special emphasis to the relationship between technology and the environment in his mode of cultural ecology (Rambo 1983:6). In what is still one of the finest ethnography ever published, Steward (1938) made a convincing case that the low density of the Shoshone population its organization in to small family bands with highly dispersed and flexible residence patterns and lack of territoriality, and lack of permanent leaders all related the nobility of Shoshone technology to extract a large and stable supply of food from the thing scattered and sporadically available resources of the carried environment (Ibid).

In emphasizing the adaptive nature of different aspect of a socio-culture system, cultural ecologists and cultural materialist, such as Marvin Harris, have been able to show that belief and practice that seems quite irrational any still result in rational utilization of the environment given a particular level of technology (Serena 1984:58). Marvin Harris study on “The cultural ecology of Indian’s sacred cattle” (1966) concludes that the religious beliefs must have been caused techno-environment factors. The greater weakness in Harris arguments, however is that in focusing on benefit that individual Indian farmers derive from having large number of cows, he wholly ignores the destructive impact these animals have on the environment and the consequent lowering of the land ability of support the total human population at acceptable level (Rambo 1983:10-12).

The ecosystem –based model of human ecology developed by Andrew Vayda and Ray Rappaport suggested that instead of studying how culture are adapted to environment, attention should be focused on the relationship of specific human populations to specific ecosystem (Ibid:13). The term regulate or regulation imply a system, a system is any set of the specified variables in which a change in the value of one of the variables will resulted in a change in the value of at least one another variable. A regulating mechanism is one that maintains the value of one or more variables within the ranges that permit continued existence of the system (Rappaport 1968). The system model of

human ecology describes social system as they interact with the ecological systems. Vayda (1976) describes how war served as a process of equaling population balance, resource distribution, and environmental adaption or adjustment, and sacrifice of a large number of pigs as unifying object to clans and kinds among the Maring people of New Guiana. In the another place, Vayda (1968) describes that the warfare and rituals serve as a process of social cohesion among the Moris of New Zealand and Ibans of Sarawak on the one hand, and population and environment balance on the other. In sum, Vayda and Rappaport have shifted their interests from how environment stimulates or prevents the development of social and cultural forms to the question of the ways in which social and cultural forms function to maintain an existing relationship with the environment (Gurung 1992).

Adaptation is assumed to occur, not at the level of decrease cultural traits or social institutions –as the model of cultural ecology-or in terms of specific human populations -as in terms of specific individual decision makers –as in the actor-based model of human ecology-but at the level of the total ecosystem. Cultural traits, therefore, do not necessarily function to ensure the welfare of either individual or local population but instead serve primarily to ensure the survival of the social system itself (Rambo 1983). Each system of course, is also open to influence from other systems of the same kind so that a social system may be altered by inputs received from neighboring social systems (the process anthropologists call diffusion and acculturation) just as an ecosystem may be changed by inputs from outer ecosystem (e.g. migration and colonization) (Ibid).

The point of this discussion is that relationship between the social system and the ecosystem is both complex and dynamic. The virtue of the systems model human ecology is that it focuses attention on the process of change and adaptation rather than emphasizes the structural characteristics of the social and ecological system. Moreover, this approach avoids any necessity for specification of any universal “Prime mover” for change: neither

environmental nor social factors have any a *priori* primary because impulses for change may flow in either direction. The systems model therefore overcome to a large extent the limitations of the model of cultural ecology with the lack of provision for dealing with environmental change caused by human activity (Ibid).

Human ecology provides a approach which might fruitfully be applied to this task. The field of human ecology is focused on the interdependencies which emerge in people's actions and reactions Vis-à-vis each other and vis-à-vis the natural environment on the one hand; this interaction is significantly structured by culture members of particular communities bring to the interaction. On the other hand, it also effete and is effected by processes in the nature like energy conversions and circulation of nutrients (Haaland; 1993).

The important point to the ecological approach is that it can be used to conceptualize how the interplay of process in the nature and process in social life shape peoples life conditions, i.e. it helps us to understand the interdependencies which emerge in peoples interaction in relation to each other and in relation to elements in natural environment. This interaction is structured by the culture participants have acquired. It is thus meaningless to ask whether social life is determined by culture or by nature – it is of course determined by the way peoples cope with nature by activities which they have learnt, i.e. by the culture. Social life is shaped by the interplay of culture and nature. The same culture in different natural environment will lead to different from of social life, while difference cultural traditions in the same natural environment also lead to different forms of social life (Haaland 1993).

In the context of Nepal, various ethnographic studies are available. Some studies have focused on demographic, behavioral, socio economic and cultural changes in Nepalese people (Bista 1972; Caplan 1970 and Hitchcock 1966). The ecological study is also carried out in one way to another. The adaptation of many ethnic groups has been changed, it is recorded by the scholars such as of Haimendrof (1975); J. Fischer (1990); S.B. Ortener (1989); Thomas Cox

(1985) and Steven (1993). These scholars have written about the changing patterns of the Sherpa community with reference to resource degradation. The Sherpas traditionally were agro pastoralists and traders in Tibet with their product, but now the Sherpas adaptation systems are changing from agropastoralism to mountaineering. Similarly, the yak and Nak were crossed with low land cattle and Tibetan cattle to produce the half-breed known as Dzom (which gives more milk than Nak) and its male counterpart, the Zopkio (a more docile and tractable animal for ploughing than the Yak) (Fischer 1990:58). Now they are using animal for cultivation but, in past a team of men pulled the ploughs that tilled the fields.

Caplan (1970) has studied a village of eastern Nepal which he called Indreni settlement in Illam district. He examines the changing relation between members of indigenous tribes, the Limbus and high caste Hindu groups, the Brahmins, their relationship are understood in terms of their differential rights and interests in lands, a scarce commodity in that ecological area.

Bihari Krishna Shrestha (1972) studied the Thakuries of Jumla. He stated that Thakuris are subsistence farmer and have adopted traditional technologies for agriculture production. Therefore, people are forced to adopt seasonal trading activities to subsist themselves in this mountain environment.

The study about Thakalis has been done by many native as well as foreign scholars. Originally, the Thakali in then were an agro pastoral community (Menzardo and Sharma 1975: Haimendorf 1966, 1974). They were also involved in the salt, wool, and grain barter trade but this was not the primary occupation for a majority of the Thakalis now in Pokhara (Chhetri 1987:65). In the past Thakalis were in fact, acting as a link in barter trade between Nepal and Tibet bringing salt and wool from the Tibet in exchange for cereals. This trade later closed down for two reasons: 1) the availability of less expensive salt from India, and 2) political changes in Tibet resulting from its Chinese takeover in the early 1950 (Ibid:45). After losing this trade Thakalis slowly

started out migration and also started business and hotel as changing subsistence activities.

Hitchcock (1966), Molnar (1981), Kawakita 1989, Gray shepherd (1982). Studied Magras with different perspectives. Hitchcock (1996) makes an influential study on “the Magras of Banyan Hill”; he tried to show how the Magars of Banyan Hill are adapting to their immediate environment with various socio-cultural mechanisms. His study shows that the population growth rate of this community was higher than the agricultural production to feed them because of limited infertile land. To meet the livelihood demands, members of poorer families worked as field labor either for neighboring Brahmins or for wealthier Magars where in other families most of the younger males joined the army as one of the alternative strategy adopted by Magars in order to cope with the hazardous environment of the hill.

The Gurung community is another ethnic group which has been studied by scholars such as pongede (1966), Messermidt (1976), Macfarlance (1976). Macfarlance studied Gurung community with the perspective of population ecology. Hunting, herding (specially sheep), shifting cultivation, weaving, trading and mining were the subsistence systems adopted by the Gurungs in the past, these adaptive systems have changed because of the population pressure. Population pressure has forced on intensification of agriculture and limited fodder and grazing available for livestock, shifting cultivation has to work on rather shorter cycle of cutting and burning. Repeated burning within a fairly short interval with the conquest, destruction of hymens may have a series of effects on the soil. Now Gurungs are in British and Indian army as well as Nepal army. They had migrated homogeneous village to city areas and their subsistence systems are changed.

All the studies mentioned above explain the relationship between subsistence pattern of people and their alternative strategies to fulfill the subsistence, if the environment is hazardous. The review of theories is used to help on collection of data and to understand human ecological adaptation point

of view where as the review of studies on Nepal gives an account of the various subsistence mechanism adopted by local people and helps the present study focus these mechanisms or adaptive process which the peoples of study area have practiced. It helps to understand the research problem in Limbu community of the study area.

Poffenberger is one of the opinions that every culture is a result of advance interaction of every ethnic group with their environment. Due to the different ecological setting, there are different culture and performing by different ethnic groups. So, there is different kind of culture and traditions in Limbu society of the study area. Culture is an ever changing process as well as its patterns. Limbu community of the study area is undergoing changing adaptive systems with ecology.

After 1960, modernization and other responsible factors have been changed in adaptive systems of Limbus. The increased trade, business, expansion of education and communication among other caste people, their adaptive system also changed in the study area. Above these reviews, discuss about various changing adaptive system of Limbu community in the study area.

Cultural ecology gives focus on the interactive relationship between socio-cultural system and environment. The adaptation process is changed with socio-cultural and environmental change. Adaptive system develops different cultural change in different places.

Nepal is a land of different ethnic groups. Among these Limbu is one of the well known ethnic groups of Nepal. They are still having their own adaptive systems such as ritual, festival, language, family, marriage, economic activities etc. but it is changing process with environmental condition. So, present study concerns about changing adaptive system in Limbu community in the study area.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Rational of Selection of the Study Area

Nepal is a land of different ethnic groups. Among these, Limbus are one of the well known tribes of Nepal. Limbu is one of the main ethnic groups of eastern mid hill region of Nepal and known as mongoloid or Tibeto-Burman speaking people. They are still having their own language and culture. They are indigenous people of their area known as Limbuwan.

For this study, Tiringe VDC in Taplejung district is selected. Because there is easy to have rapport. There are good interactions with other people. People are poor. Available natural resources are limited. Total population is increasing. The population pressure over the limited natural resource is increasing. Competition among the peoples for the various subsistence activities is also increasing even though they are keeping continuing their cultural practice. People have to change their adaptive system in relation to the change in available resources. Limbu people are changing day by day. The cause of change is interaction with other caste people, community, education, modernization, development process etc. So, this area is selected also to explore the cause of changing adaptive system in the study area. So, from the researcher's point of view, it is interesting to understand and explore the adaptive system adopted by them.

3.2 Research Design

This study has adopted exploratory as well as descriptive research design, this study exploratory because the study makes attempts to explore the processes of changing adaptation of Limbu people of the study area. The study is also descriptive because it has attempted to describe the natural condition of the study area, the cultural process of Limbu people, their family, marriage,

agricultural as well as animal husbandry and other activities of Limbu people of the study area.

3.3 Census Method

The Tiringe VDC of Taplejung district in the eastern Himalayan region is purposively selected for the study. The VDC has been divided into nine wards but the present study has been concentrated in ward no. 5 and 8 where 75 households are Limbu. The total household of these ward is 91. All 75 Limbus households have been selected for research problem solve.

Some of the key informants also have been interviewed intensively. These informants have been selected from traditional healers (phedangma), school teachers, local leaders, elder persons, and other people living in the area who have experiences and knowledge about the changing cultural process.

3.4 Nature and Sources of Data

The data have been taken both qualitative and quantitative in nature. It has been used both primary and secondary data in this study. The primary data have been collected through observation, interview, key informant interview etc. The secondary data have been obtained from VDC, district level as well as library, published and unpublished articles, journals, documents books, internet, research agencies, and CBS reports.

3.5 Data Collection Techniques

It is evident that the successful result of any study depends upon its techniques which are used for data collection techniques are most important tools to obtain reliable information.

3.5.1 Observation

Direct participant observation and indirect observation have been used to generate data on socio-cultural activities such as dress pattern, food habit, settlement pattern etc.

3.5.2 Interview

The unstructured interview has been conducted with key informants. The instruments have been used to collect the information on rite of passage such as birth, marriage and death, socio-cultural activities, rituals etc. Their knowledge is about rituals such as tongsing, mangenna, nahangma etc. plants, myth, past experience about the social and ecological condition of the study area.

For the primary data collection, structured interview has been used to collect information about the adoptive systems and socio-cultural changes. Key informant interview has been used to gather changing adaptive system in the study area.

3.5.3 Structured Questionnaire

Structured questionnaire has been used in the census survey to collect some of the basic information about personal and demographic information, socio-cultural and economic characteristics. These questions are used to find out the answer how a household has adapted to the ecological condition in the study area.

3.6 The Method of Data Analysis

The data collected through various instruments and sources have been analyzed in the subsequent chapters by using descriptive method of analysis. Since the nature of this study is mainly qualitative, the information on natural condition of study area, natural resources, development infrastructures, the rites of passage of Limbu people, family ritual and other activities of adaptation have been descriptively analyzed. A simple statistical tool also has been based to make meaningful data of the study area.

3.7 Limitation of the Study

Every study cannot solve all problems. The limitations of the study are as follows:

1. This study concentrates only at Tiringe, who dwell in the study area findings not apply to other region.
2. This study has not been included all information because of constraints of time and money.
3. This study adopts more Anthropological research tools and methods. So, it is not sufficient to understand about whole Limbu community.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SETTING

This chapter presents the natural condition of the study area this chapter divided into the location, settlement pattern, population, natural resources and development infrastructure etc. of the Tiringe VDC in the study area.

4.1 Location

Mechi zone is situated in the eastern development region of Nepal. Taplejung one of the four districts in Mechi zone lies in the north part of this zone, it is boarded on the east by Sikkim, India, on the south by Panchthar district, on the west by Sankhuwasava and Therathum districts, on the North by Tibet, China. Taplejung, with the land area of 3646 square Kilometers in the 3rd largest district of Nepal. There is many diversity in the environment or climate. Politically, Taplejung is divided in to 17 Ilakas and 50 VDC, Tiringe is one of them (VDC profile, 2008).

The eastern Limbu settlement of “Tiringe’ VDC in Taplejung district is the focal village of this study area. Tiringe is boarded in the east by Sikaicha, in the North by Phawakhola, in the west by Hangdewa, in the south by Techambu and Nangkholang VDCs of Taplejung. There is varying climates and cool temperature. The average temperature is 21.c. the average rainfall is 2287.9 m.l. it takes three days journey by bus from the capital i.e. Kathmandu. The nearest town from the study area is Phungling Bazaar that lies on the western part of the Tiringe VDC. Though, the village is quite remote and the road is not well constructed. Transport system and communication is not that much of difficulty. Every things reaches at the foot of the village.

4.2 Natural Resources

Natural resources are the important factors for the peoples of an area, to survive in their own natural condition. Local peoples exploited their natural resources

by extracting energy for survival from those resources. In this unit important natural resources viz. Land forest, water etc. available in the study area are discussed.

4.2.1 Land

The land quality is not good in the study area. Soil quality is not good for high quantity of crop yield. The soil has lack of major elements such as nitrogen and phosphorus. Most of the agricultural land is of fourth category (chahar) of the study area. Because of the lack of irrigation facility most of the land is used Pakho Bari (level terrace). Maize, wheat, Millet, Barley, vegetable and fruits are plants in Bari (dry land). Some of the land is left as uncultivated (Prati) land. Forest, pasture and other land use patterns are also practiced.

4.2.2 Forest

The village (study area) is rich in flora and fauna. The scenic beauty of the village which charms the heart of the onlookers are the natural gifts of the village. Different varieties of plants, big and small are found luxuriantly grown indifferent parts of the forest including herbs and shrubs. So this forest had become the major natural resource of the study area which is the main source of obtaining fuel, fodder, household equipment, construction materials, religious and medicinal plants. Most of the villagers have their own private forest just near their surrounding land area. They also have a community forest known as Pokhari Sayapatri Samudayik Ban form which they can obtain their requirements under some rule and regulation.

4.2.3 Water

Water is another important natural resource for the people of Tiringe Village (study area). It is used for drinking. Personal health care, electricity and irrigation in the fields, Tiringe River (Khola) is the major river in the study area. But most of the village settlements and cultivated some land are above the

river. So, people are unable to use these resources for all purposes. Some of the lands in the study area is irrigated while most of land depends on rain water for other purposes. Most of the households of this area used Tap water supplied through pipelines for drinking and sanitary purposes. There are also some historical Dhungedharas in study area. Some people use also these Dhungedharas, river and springs as the source of drinking water. Now, there is electricity, which is bought from Tiringe Khola, in the village. Hydropower's capacity is 32 K.W. So, water is important to survive and various purposes such as drinking, electricity, irrigation, personal use etc. in the study area.

4.3 Settlement Pattern

The major settlements in the study area are Odare, Bichepa and Okharbote. In these settlements, houses are made by stone, mud, wood with tin (Jastapata) roof most of houses are Limbus. All the settlement in the study area are not situated in similar physiographic areas.

Other major settlements of this area are Ratmate, Gahirigawn and Seluthap, in these area, these are mix houses of Limbus, Chhetries and Kamis etc. These settlements in habited by people with different ethnicity hence developing as mixed settlements. Limbu people have their own culture, rituals, ceremonies, language etc. But it has effected to other's cultural practices. So, mix culture has developed in this study area.

4.4 Population

The population and the physical environment of the study are has a relationship which determines the nature and characteristics of the population as well as changing pattern of environment.

According to the latest data available at the Tiringe VDC office, the total population of the study area is 492 of which 242 are males and 250 are females. Out of this total population, the number of Limbus is 398. The total numbers of households of the study area are 91 in ward No. 5 and 8. Earlier, the literacy

rate of female was nil. At present, there has been tremendous change in the literacy rate of female. It is far greater than that of the male due to the rising awareness in education. Easy contact with the outside world and government and local bodies initiate is responsible for this rise.

4.5 Social Organization

Limbu society has its own social organization. They are divided endogamous (Jat, Caste) and exogamous (Thar, Clam). The numbers of clans are found among the Limbus. Different clans link their ancestry to different sect of caste groups.

Socially the Limbus cannot be classified with in any of the four Varnas of Manu and thus, may call ethnic group from outside the Hindu caste structure. Among these Limbus they are very conscious of their position. They respect their elder and these people are always consulted when a caste has to be stored out or decision has to be made. The elder or the old folk in the family are always fed first.

4.6 Ethnicity

Nepal is a land of different ethnic groups. Among this Limbus are one of the well known tribe of Nepal. Limbu is one of the main ethnic groups of eastern mid-hill region of Nepal and known as Mangoloid or Tibeto-Burman speaking people. They are still having their own language and culture. They are indigenous people of their area known as Limbuwan an area above 4500 mile s (Rex Lee Jones: 1973). Rex Lee mention that the historical circumstances of Gorkha Conquest and immigration have a major role in shaping Limbu cultural and social historically, it is identified as the land of the ten indigenous chiefdoms which are still well known and are used frequently in the name of villagers and settlement. They are Tamberkhola, Mewakhola, Phedap, Youngrup, Miluck and Chaubise. Each of this chiefdom is divided into many

“Thum” (sector) for administration and tax purpose. The study area lies in Yangrup.

By 1960, the ten indigenous Limbu chiefdom had been formed in to six administration district of the far eastern hill of Nepal. The district represented in whole or in part in Limbuwan, included Tehrathum, Sankhuwasava, and Dhankuta in Koshi zone and Illam, Panchthar and Taplejug in Mechi zone. So, Limbuwan included the area east of the Arun river extending to Nepal’s border with India’s west Bengal.

The inhabitants of the study area are mostly Limbus, who are regarded as among the first inhabitants of this area. They are also thought to be the descendants of the ancient Kirant people described in the Mahabharat, an ancient Hindu epic. The Limbu have an area traditionally their own called “Pallo-Kirant” “Far Kirant” or even more commonly just Limbuwan. They are also the predominant just Limbuwan. They are also the predominant people in Limbuwan, although of course there are also member of other ethnic groups. Kamis, Chhetries are included in the study area.

In the Nepal cast system, Limbu are describes as “Matwali”, with regard to physical type most of them could be classified as mongoloid. Culturally they share common ideas with Tibetan and South East Asian. Gautam and Thapa, (1994) states that the language of the limbs is the language of the Yakthumba, who are the original Limbu migrants from the North and who later changed in the Limbu of today.

4.7 Physical (Development) Infrastructure

The physical infrastructures are the foundations for the development of any society. This fact is true in the context of the study area s as well. Transportation facilities schools, drinking water, health services, communication system and other extension services are available in the study area.

Transportation is the backbone of all the infrastructures. Road is one of the most important means of transpiration. Even though the government has a particular policy to give priority in the construction of roads joining the village to village with district headquarters. By his study area has not got this good opportunity till the data. Now the main foot trait (Horse-road) is useful.

Electricity is another important infrastructure of development. It provides power for industrial development and it's also substitute the use of firewood as fuel and light and helps to reduce the pressure on forest resources. There is a Hydropower electricity which was established 2006 A.D. It has the capacity of 32 K.W. which could provide electricity for 10 hours in a day. Now it can provide only 7 hours in a day in the study area.

The school is also very important component to develop superstructures of the village people. This VDC only five schools. One of these is only secondary school. There are two lower secondary school and two primary school. There are two Bal Bikas" for children in the study area. Only a lower secondary school is study area. In this way, facility for health service, drinking water, education from primary to lower secondary are available in the study area.

Above these physical infrastructures affect in the people's day to day life i.e. adaptation and settlement pattern in the study area. The economic condition of the people of this area is also affected by the availability of this physical infrastructure. The change in existing system of interaction between the ethnic group and natural condition of the area takes place with the development of such infrastructure. The above infrastructures are basic foundation for more development activities and to change the lifestyle of people of the study area.

CHAPTER FIVE

PEOPLE AND CULTURE

This chapter discuss about the Limbu people and their cultural processes such as: family, marriage, rituals in the study area.

5.1 The people

Limbu is a branch of Kirant segregated by the Gurkha rulers with special grant of land privileges and local authorities in some particular areas (Limbuwan) from the rest of their kindred. Historical documents reveal that the term “Limbu” was used by Nepal administration after 1774 (C. Subba; 1995).

Limbu is an ethnic group of mongoloid physical structure inhabiting the area from the east of Arun River to the eastern border of present Nepal, Popularly known as Limbuwan specially after the annexation of the part of Kirant land in to Nepal in 1774. This land is also known as “Pallo-Kiranta” or far Kiranta. Imansingh Chemjong is also of the opinion that Limbus were the branch of syan Makwan tribe of North Burma and had entered into Nepal before 7th century. Pedigrees (Vansawllis) of various groups of Limbus and other pertinent data available so far indicate that most of the Limbus entered in to Limbuwan from the south and southwest and frequently misrelated with people coming from the north. Today, Limbus are found in several (clans) groupings.

According to the mythology of these related ethnic or tribal groups (Kiranta), these animals are sacred for them and are regarded as totem and taboo and similar tradition and customs among ethnic groups also indicate that Limbus comprise several groups of Kiranta people solidifying and protecting cultural homogeneity within their environmental /geographical areas.

Historical facts suggests that Kirata Limbu were close contacts with Sens of Morang, Makawanpur and Palpa politically, culturally and even through matrimonial relationship. Some of the Limbus claim themselves to be Sens

Limbuas their pedigrees suggests (Chobegu 1978; Kandangwa, 1993). The Kipat system (tribal or ethnic ownership of land), local authority with certain administrative powers (Subbangi), contract system in land tax and special local court with some autonomy to Limbu. But indirect encroachment (Atikraman) occurred from time to time in the authority and privileges of Limbus through inspection (Janch) and land survey (napi), new taxations, officering of fertile paddy fields for army and division of subborngi (encroachment in the rights of primogeniture relating of Subbangi) through the offering of certain area of land and imposing various rules and instruction (Shrestha, 1985). The power, privileges and facilities of Limbus were ended by the implementation of Land Reformation Act in 1996. The great majority of Limbus was in vicious cycle of debt and all their properties, including land were mortgaged (Vogvandak). The act compelled them to be displaced from their land and almost 80 percent of the total land went in to the hand of Non-Limbus. The wave migration of Limbus from Limbuwan to other places especially to Tarai started since then. Because of this reason, today Limbus are not confined in Limbuwan but are founded in Jhapa, Morang and Sunsary and other places as well.

Limbus are divided in to several tribes or clans (Thars). These clans are further divided in to sub-clans. Generally, several subclans are found in each clan with some exception and today. They are not called subclan in the popular parlance (way of speaking), as such through everybody known it is sub clan. But sometimes such matrimonial relationships are not allowed among sub clans who are supposed to be too close. More than 270 clans (including subscales) have been found among Limbus. But there is no distinction of hierarchy in the clan status of division. It seems that the clan is only the name of the particular ancestor (Subba: 1995).

The Limbu state their clan (Gotra) as Lasha Gotra, those who came from Lasha in the North and Kasi Gotra, those who came from the south Kasi. Regarding marriage the matrilineal lineage and the family of similar gotra must be avoided. In such marriage exogamous unions are seen, but in reality most of

the Limbu (people) tribe prefer tribal endogamy even today (Gautam and Thapa: 1994).

In the study area, the major settlement is Ejam and Kangliwa. Mostly Ejams live in ward No. 5 and Kangliwas live in ward No. 8. In the past most of the people were living in folk style, preserving their cultural heritage and values. Now, people are changing and their socio-cultural values are also changing. They have reciprocal relationships with each other, who live in the study area.

5.2 The Limbu Language

Limbu language is one of the major spoken and written languages of Nepal. Chattargi (1951) has identified it as Tibeto-Burman Himalayan dialect of Sino-Tibetan language family with the characteristic of pronominalization. Gautam and Thapa (1994) states that the language of the Limbus is the language of the Yakthumba, who are the original Limbu migrant from the north and who later changed into the Limbu of today. It has its own script called "Sirijongha Lipi" believed to be derived and evolved from Brahmi script after 6th century A.D. and introduced among the Kiranta Limbu by king Sirijongha during the end of the 9th century and early years of the 10th century (Kainla: 1994).

Limbu language has four main dialects: Panchthare, Phedape, Tamorkhole and Chhathare (Widert and Subba; 1985). It is widely spoken language in Taplejung, Panchthar, Ilam, Dhankuta, Tehrathum, Sankhuwasava and in several areas of Sunsari, Morang and Jhapa districts within Nepal. The political movement of late 70s created a relatively lax (negligent) situation which made the establishment of institutions for cultural development feasible. As a result, Kiran Dharma Tatha Shaitya Utthan Sangh was started in the early 80s and Kirant Yakthung Chumlung was organized in late 80s and some attempts were made to mobilize local resources for the development of Limbu language, literature and culture.

Now, there has been change and modified their language in the study area, the Limbu people speak Panchthare and Taplejung. Besides this they can speak Nepali very fluently and some of them can even speak English and Hindi. Within their own community, these Limbu speak their own language known as “Limbu Kura”. Kirant Yakthung Chumlung is playing a significant role towards this direction and has organized several gosthi, including training of trainers and workshop in the study area. Textbooks have been published for their education program. Now Limbu language is also reading in grade one and two as an optional subject. Two teachers are teaching Limbu language in their nearest school of the study area. It has been developed and changed day to day. Because of explanation of modern education and communication, Limbu language has been changed.

5.3 The Household: Unit of Adaptation

In the study “the household” will have the same meaning as Nepali word “Pariwar” means “family” not a house and not only nuclear family. The main characteristic of a household is that a family which has single authorized head, undivided ancestral property, where all the members of household adapt with the same socio-economic and political environment. One household could have many houses and many nuclear families as well. The nuclear families even can live in separate house and still they belong to the same household or family. So, the household have many components such as head of the household, kin relationship within household which will show the hierarchy of kin relationship, division of labor, socialization, siblings' relationships and social interaction within the household level.

A person born and grows up and gets shelter, food and emotional security in the household. He/she also entertains his kith and kin performs various rituals and ceremonies, keeps personal belongings and in this way, he passes all his life time and then he even dies within his household. But for women (daughter) the house or household do not mean all that explained above because her

household is associated with her husband. So only after her marriage, her household is determined and her relationship with her parental household as a member of household ends. Even her clan is changed after her marriage so, the “ghar” or “Pariwar” is loved and valued in consequences of sentiments associated with it and not merely for economic value.

In the past, most of the household composition in the study area were extended joint family in which the ideal family contains several generations living under one roof in such family a men and his wife ideally lived within the families of their married sons, the unmarried son and daughter and of course any grand children or great joint family was less practiced before 10 years. In this way, this practice also protected the separation of family property which is generally in the form of their houses and farmland. There were also some households which have nuclear families. Among these households some households were nuclear because they were only one offspring of their parents and after parents' death, the household became nuclear family, the partition of family property did not require but now people have been started preformed nuclear family in the study area. The family types of study area are given below.

Table No. 1 Family Types of Study Area

Now			Before 10 Years	
Family Type	No. of H.H.	Total Population	No. of H.H.	Total Population
Joint	31	236	39	282
Nuclear	44	162	21	73
Total	75	398	60	355

Source: field survey, 2066

Above table shows that 60 households were in study area before 10 years, where joint 39 and nuclear 21. There were joint family high and nuclear family low. Now, joint family is low and nuclear family is high, where are 44

households nuclear and 31 household joint families. It indicates that the family type of Limbu people are changing day by day with the race of time.

Now, in the study area, according to some key informants most of the people live in nuclear family. It is because of individualistic attitude and in the joint family they have to face many problems due to the nature of married women, quarrels among wives of several brothers; they have to do many household works. In this connection, it can be said that due to the influence of modernization and extension of education so, all these reasons are responsible in preferring nuclear family rather than others among the Limbu. Decreasing economic condition, the system of residing separately after marriages, quarrels among the wives of married brother, the tradition of living separately for happy life, having a good earning capacity among the brothers, unequal love of father-in-law and mother in law to daughter-in-law, wealthy parents of the arrived brother wives are main cause to prefer nuclear family and not to prefer joint family types of the study area.

5.4 Education Status of Limbus in the Study Area

Education is an essential factor for accelerating development of any community, of the people are educated, their living standard is also improved. Thus, education plays a vital role in developing knowledge and skills of the people.

In the past, except Brahmin, other caste people did not sent their children to school or Pathashala. In the Rana family obtained education, only after the establishment of democracy in 1950, schools were opened for all. It is because of the lack of consciousness, except Brahman, Chhetri, Rana and Newar, other caste people are still for behind in the field of education.

Hence, the Limbus are backward in educational field even today they behind in the field of higher education. Though, now all most all new generation are sent to school, in the present study area. There are only 2 females and 5 males

students go for campus level education. Most of the Limbu children leave the school before the secondary school education. Women education was low in the past. Now boys and girls go to school so, educational status is changing in the study area. Present educational status of the study area is given below.

Table No. 2: Present Educational Status

Gender	Primary	Secondary	+2 and above	Total Students	Total Population
Male	59	19	5	83	196
Female	61	13	2	76	202
Total	120	32	7	159	398

Source: Field Survey 2066

The total number of students in the study area (ward No 5 and 8) is 159. The number of male students is 83 i.e. 52.3% and female students is 76 i.e. 47.7. This study shows that female education rate is growing of higher level. +2 level education of female was nil before 10 year.

5.5 The Rites De Passage of the Limbus

In most societies, the social identity and duties of the individuals is established in rituals of rich symbolic content. Since life changes (ability to cope) of a person is significantly affected by their identity (e.g. caste, tribe and clan). It is from an ecological point of view important for us to understand how these identities on established. The analysis of ceremonies accompanying and individual's life crisis which van Gennep called rite de passage is usually considered to be his unique contribution. He pointed out that when the activities associated with such ceremonies were examined in term of their order and content, it was possible to distinguish there major phases: separation (funeral ceremonies, Transition (in pregnancy, betrothal and initiation),

incorporation (marriage) (Gennep 1990). This study shall contribute on the rite of passage of the Limbu people of the study area.

5.5.1 Birth

Birth of a child is a symbol of happiness among the Limbu people. The new born baby is automatically a component of at the total rituals and social interaction which regulate the traditional rituals systems. Different rituals are needed to be performed throughout his her living life and after death.

Ceremonies preceding the birth (Sappok Chomen) are a rite of womb worship for the protection of a child in the uterus. It is also a rite of reporting goods for the good health of the mother and baby in the womb as well as successful delivery of the baby. It is unique in the sense that no one in the vicinity solemnizes (Pabitra Sashkar) such rituals except Limbus. It is usually held within the nine months of pregnancy and if it is not done due to unavoidable reasons during that period, it can be observed even after birth, but it must not be missed (Kainla, 1991, Subba 1995). This process is to move by Phedangmas or sambas. It is the worship ceremony of the supreme goddess Yuma (grandmother of all goddess divinities). Yuma literally means “grandmother” and is revered as the goddess of all the divinities, source of power, wealth, health, pleasure, happiness and also of religion ethics and ideas. All the Limbus are followers of Yuma and her instructions in the study area

Some experienced women, mostly the close relative gather all the house of a mother who is going to give birth to baby and nurse her. Phedangmas and other traditional healers are always alert there to take necessary precautions and exorcise (to drive away evil spirit) after birth of a child, traditional way of clearing is done. Phedangmas performs a simple ritual by chanting a short Mundhum for the protection of the body. It is a kind of happy announcement in brief that a new Guest has descended on earth that includes the prayer to

supreme goddess Niwaphuma for the bestowal of safe, prosperous and happy long life to the new born baby.

The house, where a baby is born, becomes impure. Guests are not entertained, close relatives are also considered unclean and worship ceremonies are not conducted on their behalf. After three days for the female baby and four days for male baby, a ritual of naming a child (Yangdang Phongma) is performed. It's literal meaning is 'hang a cradle' and it is a ritual of purification of the mother, the baby, the house and close relatives and giving name to the baby and showing the baby the light day. Usually, Phedangmas officiates the birth ceremonies.

Limbu people have followed above the rule and regulation in the study area. But some changes have been come. The role of Phedangmas and local nurse is decreasing now, they believe a little to Phedangmas than the past. People are being conscious slowly. There is a Health post, people go to hospital regularly once time in a month to check up health and they know about pregnancy period. Some people have left above their rule and they have started to follow Hindu traditions. Limbus have started also to perform the rituals of feeding rice to the baby usually after six months and cutting hair of male child after three to five years following the Hindu traditions in the study area.

5.5.2 Marriage

Marriage as an institution is universal to human society but its types and forms are different in accordance to the rule and regulation and believe system of particular society. Marriage not merely means society approved sexual and economic union between a man and a woman. It is also a rite which provides rights and duties in the household as well as in the community. So, marriage is that ceremony which helps and individual to become a person.

The meaning of marriage among them these people is not just a sexual liaison, but a union of two individuals and the recognition of the progeny, they

procreate by the society they live in. Thus, if any male takes women home and they live together, unless the girl's father is not ritually appeased, and unless the girl is not separated from here pierce kul (Ancestral lineage) the marriage is not recognized, religiously and socially. Usually the following are the forms of marriage practiced by Limbus of the study area.

1. Magi Biwaha (Arranged marriage)
2. Chori Biwaha (Eloped or love marriage)
3. Jari Biwaha (Marriage of already married women)

1. Arranged Marriage

Magi Biwaha consists of two parties agreeing upon the union followed by the rituals of the actual marriage and finally the taking home of the bride by the groom.

In this type of marriage, initiation of preliminary negotiation for betrothal is taken by the bridegroom's family through a team of matchmakers. Bridegroom is always present in the team and the member of the matchmakers asks him indirectly whether he would like the particular girl as his bride. The leader of the matchmakers or main emissary of bridegroom's family should be experienced in the oblique use of imagery (mental picture) to conduct negotiation with bride's parents or guardians. The responsible member or the representative of the family either accepts the request after due consideration or avoids by a skillful parry several formalities of various phases allude (symbol) the chosen marriage or marriage by mutual consent of both parties preceded to arranged marriage.

In this type of marriage, there is an avoidable aspect of matrimonial negotiation. Small amount of money, especially one rupee of silver coin presented to the prospective bride as a token of country and pledge (promise) of leading conjugal life tighter and she can accept or reject if she does not reject, it is assumed that the prospective groom has been able to win the favor

of the maiden (Kangya) of his choice. Sometimes the amount is not limited to one rupee silver coin and has to be increased to certain amount. It sometimes turns in to a gift of precious ornaments. In an arranged marriage, such negotiation is initiated by some senior female members of the household or preferably by a senior kinswoman.

Marriage ceremony takes place in bridegroom's house. Bride is taken away from her parent's home by a team of the groom and she is accompanied by group of ladies, known as 'Meakesama' or 'Lokandi'. The brides tighter with locandi are accorded warm welcome on the way in groom's village before reaching a temporary shelter (Tapsanga). This custom is known as 'lamlakma'. Guns are placed on their way and the bridegroom has to pay some money to remove the guns. Than the guns are boomed in pair, traditional musical instrument such as Narasinga and Sanai are played and home-brewed liquor are served. Damais (traditional musician) playing their traditional musical instruments, lead the team to a temporary shelter near the groom's house. Drum dance (Kelang) is presented to entertain them Dhan Nach (yalakma) is performed throughout the night and both guests and hosts almost of all ages participate the dance alike.

The next day marriage ceremony takes place. There are various rituals to complete the ceremony. After the next feast, precious or aments and clothes are given to the bride and her team and the bride is taken to a certain place in to hide by lokandi. The bride is arrayed in nuptial finery by her friends there. The bridegroom's after making obeisance to his parents comes out of his house along with virgin girls (sisters). Caring consecrated water pot decorated with flowers, at his front and back circumambulates (to walk round about) the litter (palanquin) kept in the courtyard. He is carried in a litter or on the horseback and marriage procession starts to move to the location, where the bride is kept hidden. When the groom reaches the location, lokandi bring out the bride before the groom and groom puts a mark of curd and rice on her forehead. The bride then salutes him in his feet and put a garland around his neck. Then, she

is brought back home in a litter or on the horseback by the groom's team or procession. When the procession reaches close to the courtyard, people of the procession is besprinkled with curds and rice. There is a special rite for the entering of the bride in to the house. Groom's father, mother, uncles, aunts and other senior members of the family put auspicious mark of rice and curd on bride's and groom's forehead with benedictory utterances at the threshold and the bride is covered in new shawl and conducted in to the house by mother-in-law or senior sister-in-law through the path covered by white and red carpet or clothes. Every events of the marriage ceremony is followed by orchestration of traditional musical band.

All the neighbors, kins, invites and guests are requested to enjoy the repast of dainty meals and local alcohol preparations. After dinner, the most important rite of marriage ceremony beings. It is officiated by Phedangmas, which usually starts in the late evening. Leaves of banana are spread out in a winnowing tray in front of the main pillar and two water pots decorated with flowers, two small lamps lighted in small leaf of plate, two Tongbas and two leaf plates of fried meat are kept on the tray. The bridegroom has to sit down in a cross legged position on the right side and the bride on the left. The groom and bride are covered with one shawl and the right things of the bride kept is kept under the left thing of the groom and the left palm of the groom is placed on the right palm of the bride. Phejiri Phedangma solemnize the "metkamma mangena" for the bride and groom and a pair of male and female chicken is sacrificed by beating on its back by a rod and some drops of blood is left to flow on the leaves. Sometimes, the Phedangma carefully observe the blood and interpret the symptoms and for tell the future of their conjugal life and whether the first child to be born will be a male or a female. In this process, Phedangma places great emphasis on the union of two souls and respect, support and love for each other. Similarly, Limbu arranged marriage is finished.

2. Chosen Marriage or Bhagi Biwaha

Chori Biwaha consists of the girl being coaxed by the boy and taken to his home directly. After a few days, she is sent to her parents' house and after the completion of rituals at her parents', she is once more brought to the groom's house, as an officially declared wife. (Thapa and Gautam 1995).

Unlike the Hindu neighbors, Limbu boys and girls have enough opportunities for courtship and amours and thus, can influence the decisions concerning the marriage in many ways. Though courtship institution of paddy dance (Yalakma), euphonious traditional song "Hakpare Samlo and Khyali (alternative language or often strophic references for conversation), young man always tries to win over the love of the maiden (Kanya) of his choice and lead romantic life untroubled with debauchery (worse habit) and vice versa. In the past young men and women used to meet in some place of common resort or in some market, participated in witty duet songs of comparative nature and a candidate, who could excel his fair rival could seize her hand and led triumphantly to his home (Vansittart 1906). Today such practices have vanished paddy dance is the main institution that brings young men and women of varied interests together, provide opportunities of singing, dancing and understanding each other and sometimes leading to marriage union. It is said that love marriage, which is quite popular in study area.

3. Jari Biwaha

Jari Biwaha consists of a person taking a married woman into leaving her husband and narrating him instead unless and until the former spouse is not ritually appeased, the marriage is void (Thapa and Gautam). This is a type of marriage in which a man gets marriage with the wife of another man. Such type of marriage was practice in the past. Now it is not practice in the study area.

Like all social institutions, marriage has been undergoing changes and modification over the ages. It is not fixed entity given for ever. Now, love

marriage is quite popular in Limbu community. In this type of marriage the boy and the girl fall in love and run away and live together separately. After living separately from their parent's house, later the parents accept it and they live together. The reason behind is that the education has played a crucial role. It is education which helped them to make contact with other socio-cultural life. Moreover, this social and cultural contact exerted great influence of them.

Now, inter-caste marriage is being practice in the study area. Inter-caste marriage in the bond of two different castes combined together. It is product of modernization, education, urbanization etc. It's view are that all human beings are equal and it neglects all differences such as caste, culture, religion, language etc. in this modern times two forms of marriage are prevalent in Limbu community. They are arranged marriage and chosen or marriage by free choice. We have found that the Limbu generally prefer arrange marriage. However, due to their changing socio-cultural as well as economic condition. They are forced to bring changes associated with expenditure for marriage ceremony. Previously, they used to invite all the neighboring Limbu and other people. But now days, they invite only selected people and relatives. Significant change also can be seen in their wedding party. These days the size of party is relatively small and items for lunch and dinner are ordinary. Though some of the Limbu marriage system is found to exist in traditional forms. Still significant changes are occurring side by side due to the change of time. According to key informants the key reason for such change is their economic conditions and other reasons are modernization, influence of modern education and communication etc.

5.5.3 Death

Death ceremonies of Limbus are market distinctly in comparison of Hindus. Funeral ceremonies differ in its rituals the way the particular person had died. If someone dies a natural death, there are several rites of various stages. These includes funeral procession, purchasing in the burial ground, taking out the soul

of the dead person, giving away the soul of dead person to ancestors, eating self, i.e. forbidden foods, final purification rite known as Khauma-invoking the light, i.e. disconnect the deceased person with his relatives, belongings and human society and finally the rite of weeping away the tears.

The information of death in village is spread through people coming and going, by beating drum in monotonous beats and by the shot of guns in uneven firings. i.e. either one or three shots being fired. The burial of the dead body is mostly done upon the hilltop. Every village has its own burial ground. Varkhi (mourning) date is fixed by Phedangma, superior person of village, relatives and others. “Varkhi is observed for four days for men, for three days for women and salt, ginger, oil and chili are not take by close relatives of the deceased person” (Chemjong 1967a). The same practice is there, in the study area meat, liquor, etc. are taken from invites and they come in the first day of Varkhanta (Samela). The final death ceremony, all relatives and participants of the funeral processions are invited. A temporary shelter is constructed in the field close to the house for he invites. Usually, invites come with enough liquor and living animals such as male buffaloes or male goats to kill on the occasion and some amount of money is also presented. Invites and nobody dance, sings and plays musical instrument till the varkhi. At last, invites and guests is done farewell, the varki rituals is ended.

These days, it has changed day by day; now, some of the Limbus cremates the dead body at the riverside. Invitees and other people dance sing and play musical instrument in the Varkhi. It has also been found in some place that accompanied person of the invites, who are not affected by the impurity of death rituals. Living animals, meat, liquor is not compulsory from invites. Some household have started to left use meat, liquor etc. They do not use guns to fire and they have become “Satyahangma” (Shadu). They read their Mendham’s book, cook Sell Roti, provide their invites. All Satyahangma are followers of Phalgunanda’s instructions. People want to end their death ceremony is small amount. Thus, it is modifying in the study area.

5.6 Ritual

Limbu people have their own way of performing rituals. Rituals are often regarded as sacred performance, provided the clue for the correct exegesis of the Mundhum and demonstrate their symbolic values, functional importance and social sequence each action, instrument and fetish or object of ritual may have several meaning, both proximal and distant and without long-range pain staling pursuit, it is not possible to get insight in to it. They have their own priest or sacred specialist which is known as Phedangma, Samba, Yeba (male) and Yema (female). They are religious preacher, conveyors of traditional massages from generation to generation, perpetuators of age-old values and belief system, healers of illness, diseases and personality disorders in their own unique way of diagnosis and treatment and also astrologers, foretellers and performers of various ritual for the welfare of the household (C. Subba, 1995:72).

Rex Lee Jones has identified these Phedangma, Sambas, Yebas as the shamans with the roles of the traditional priests and opined that Limbus shamanistic practices resemble the characteristic of classic inner Asian shamanism by examining the costumes specifically the feathered headdresses, instruments such as two-faced frame drum with carved handles, equipments and symbolism of alter and concluded that Limbus shamanism is the diffusion of Siberian shamanistic practices. According to Subba, “The ritual performances of Phedangma, samba, Yeba and Yema are unique and are guided by their indigenous traditions, distinctive performance genres, metrological themes and religious-philosophic base. Thus, the ritual performers or healers became able to preserve the culture, tradition and religion of Limbus resisting the enculturation process of dominant state religion and culture (Subba: 1995)

According to the key informants, Phedangma, the people of the study area performed various rituals like Tongsing, Mangenna, Nahangma, Samphungma lingam, Silam Sakma, Nahen Sakma etc. The various types of ritual performed

by the people of the study area are described below. It's main informant's are Phedangma and it confirmed by flowing C. Subba's "The culture and religion of Limbus" (1995).

1. Mangenna: "Warding off evil Influences"

Mangenna is one of the important rituals of Limbu, done usually every six month at the begening of winter and summer. According to the informant, it has been suggested that it should be done at least once a year. By Mangenna, it means an act of worship to raise one's head, a ritual ceremony for a person feeling dejected (to depress) and suffering in hardship. One of its literal meanings is "sister". This denotes the celebration of sister to commemorate their invaluable supports for the success and prosperity of their brothers. In other words, Magenna is the power or energy of the earth.

To perform the ritual of Mangenna, an altar (bedi) is prepared at an appropriate place within the house. The floor is cleaned and smeared with mud and the floor is covered with white clothes and banana leaves are placed on it in cross position along with the dry leaves of *Artemisia vulgaris* (Namyaba). A garment of the upper part of the body of the person, for whom the Mangenna is going to be performed, is kept in from of the altar. Thus, these two plants play a significant role in the mangenna ritual performed by the Limbus of study area. The mundhums of mangenna are very useful tools to trace the history of migration of Limbus as well as their culture and civilization.

2. Nahangma: "Anointing the Family Head"

This is another important ritual performed by the Limbu people. Nahangma is a rite of restoring martial quality of the head of the house and these bringing good health and harvest to his family. In other words, it is a ritual of raising the head of the chief of the family and a ceremony to enable him to make successful attempts for the food fortune of his family in some places. Nahangma is performed for all those who have reached the age of twenty five

but in the study area, it is conducted only for the head of the house once in every three years: While performing this ritual none of them are allowed to enter the house. The best season to perform Nahangma is either the beginning of “dry season” (Udhauli) i.e. beginning of winter season around November or the beginning of “wet season” (Ubauli) i.e. the beginning summer season around March. According to the Limbu belief system, it takes completely three days to perform with elaborate rituals otherwise, it starts in the morning and lasts by the next afternoon with brief Mundhums and short formalities of its rituals.

An altar (bedi) of Nahangma is prepared in an appropriate place inside the house by cleaning the floor and banana leaves are spread on the ground rectangular with a plate full of uncooked husked rice and some copper coins on it and a small water pot decorated by inserting a bundle of plants leaves of kaulo (*Machilus Duthiei*) or Simali and any kind of flowers prevalent in the season are placed on the altar. Bambo sticks (Peheng) filled with water, millets and yeast are also placed in four corners of the altar. These sticks represents ‘Tangbas’ other items such as Sungkimba or Chiraito (*Swertia Chirata*), ginger, pepper are also kept on the altar, only Phedangma and samba can perform this ritual. It is believed that while performing this ritual, the Phedangma along with his team start their journey through the path of various plants and flowers which indicate, that journey moves towards higher altitudes through a winding path. Finally, the Phedangma destroys the altar of Nahangma and thus complete the ritual. It is believed that with due performance of this ritual, the head of the house will regain the power, prestige and prosperity.

3. Tongsing: “A link with the ancestors and the present”

Tongsing ritual, the most important ritual of Limbus contains the Mundhums of cosmology, eschatology and various aspects of human life with several myths, legends and analects death during the period of three nights and almost five days. Tongsing is technically the name of a small bamboo basket filled with

earth where small sticks of bamboo are stuck upright in the middle representing the spirits of deceased person and living ones and is placed at the bottom of about 12 feet bamboo pole struck in the centre of the courtyard (Bista:1967). Tongsing Takma or Tongsing Take is a ritual of social solidarity or cooperation initiated and performed by a particular family or families for their welfare, prosperity and happiness (Kainla 1993a). According to the informants, this ritual should be conducted every three years if possible, if not at least once in three years. If it is not possible even in three years, it should be conducted at least once in eight or nine years. Such ritual became very rare in the study area because of its expensiveness.

In order to perform this ritual, a big bamboo basket filled with the short branches of sapsing (*Phoeba lanceolata*), a sickle, small curved knife and a hollow log drum (*ke*) with a short button are hung to the pole where banana leaves are placed properly to contain the various items of offerings. The poles are decorated with tasseled or tufted stick or *Muktubung* (*Neyraudia madegascariensis*) at various places of the pole. The bamboo basket for man (**Tuttu Tamyang Tongsing**) is made of four tiers and for women (*Suhangma Tongsing*) of three tiers. Thus, the Tongsing ritual end in this way using various types of plants and flowers that are ritually significant.

Besides these three types of important rituals, there are still other types of ritual which are performed by the people of the study area.

Idhuk Sogha pokma: “Driving Away evil Spirits of Unnatural Deaths”

The rite of *Idhuk Sogha Pokma* and *Kedhuk Namdhuk sigma Ampha soma* (grouping and destroying the ominous tree) are the most important ones and are performed during the first night and it especially conducted by *Yeba*. A multi colored thread tied on both sides of the sticks of *Muktubung* is straightened horizontally from eaves fall and various items of foods and resting places of the leaves of sapsing (*phoebe Lanceolata*) from sogha are hung. Embers are kept to

burn incense and a banana leaves are also placed in front of it. Small bamboo sticks in a form of Tongbas. Two pieces or sticks of muktubung, khesic, Neghakpa and a broken piece of earthen pot are also kept there.

In order to drive sogha (evil spirits) away from the house, the phedangma or yeba blocked the path of sogha at the crossroads of eight paths by making an ocean of eggs, erectings mountains of broken earthen post and various types of plants such as: sapsing, neghekpa, saugi, muktubung are used.

Mang-Hup Mangde: “Curse”

Limbu believes in curse (Mangde), a special ritual is performed to avert the effect of a course. This ritual or averting curse is done in the context of the driving always ritual of sogha. The myth of the ritual is related to sawa Yakphung Kembe, a great hunter. The best opportunity to conduct the ritual of mangde (curse) is considered during Tongsing also. In order to advent from mangde, various kinds of plants, bamboo sticks are also used by Phedangma to perform this ritual. So, it is said that, Kiranta and nature are quite related in the study area.

Samhung Lingam: “Collecting and Handing over the Souls”.

Samba performs the ritual of collecting souls (sam phungma) from various places the courtyard around the ritual pole and also from the baskets, shells feathers with a left of Tuppa or perseas gamblei or sapsing or porcupine quill in to the brass plate filled with water. The collection of souls is done carefully and the souls are handed over to related person by taking out from brass plate. Drops of water from the quill or leaf and father, which is a symbol of soul, is sprinkled over the body of each of the members of ritual organizes and others. Mundhum recitation follows continuously till the ritual ends.

Silam Sakma: “Blocking the Path of Death”.

In course of performing the ritual of blocking the path of death, here the Phedangma or the samba refers the Mundhum of its origin as a prelude of the ritual. The primordial sambas performed the ritual of blocking the path of death by using a special instrument made of tasseled sticks of muktubung placed in crossed position and tied by thread and a net woven around it.

Nahen Sakma: “Blocking Envy and Jealousy”

Nahen Sakma is the final ritual to be performed on the last day after Silam Sakma ritual. Nahen is one of the most frightening evil spirits for Limbu. This ritual is mainly conducted for an easy life, free from illness and other fatal epidemics, as well as for good health and long life better crop and well as for good health and long life, better crops and prosperity, abundance of livestock, expectation of offspring and annihilation of enemies and envious person (Kainla, 1994).

In this ritual, the small bamboo are hung on the four corners of the bars of various plants and all kinds of foods including small bamboo sticks filled with water, millet, grains are offered to various divinities. They are also used to block the path even by one rupee of silver coin. At the end of the ritual, they perform the ritual of uprooting the poles and throw away in some clean place at the eastern side. These are the various rituals performed by the people of the study area.

Besides all these rituals, the Limbu people are the believes of super natural power. According to the Phedangma, there are three categories of super natural power as follows:

- 1.Mang (god, goddess or deities
- 2.Sammang (divinities) and
- 3.Sammang Chyand (retinue of divinities).

Among these three super natural powers, the people of the study area have more belief in Samang (divinities) and give more importance to her. Each Limbu has several samrnangs and they are worshipped inside the houses which are provided special altar or sacred place to stay from them. It is believed that they always accompany the human beings, protect them and bring good luck and prosperity for them. They are invoked in different ways, offering just the fruits, flowers, and incense and just praying for few minutes by burring dry leaves of sukpa (pine trees of high land or Namyoba (*Artemisia Vulgaries*) in growing embers.

Yuma Sammang

Yuma Sammang is the main tutelary deity who even controls other divinities or protect her devotees fro mill-doings of other divinities and evil spirits. She is described as “Tagera Ningwaphuma” and So, she is timeless infinite, eternal and omnipresent. It is believed that the Limbus including most of the Kirant people were the followers and devotes of Yoma sammang. The worship of Yuma is performed in a clean and quite place inside the house decorating the altar with two water pots filled with flowers and lighted two small lamps.

Limbus never eat any food crops or fruits without offering to Yuma. Among domestic cattle, pig is first offered to Yuma when it is killed. In other words, it is also known as “pig ritual”. Such ritual is mainly conducted for long life, cure of illness, annihilation of enemies and envious person. It is said that, the Limbu never kill pigs without performing rituals. So, it is a must for the community to perform ritual before killing pigs and should after it to Yuma in this ritual four small baskets. White Flower, one lamp, leaves of banana are the important item of this ritual. After killing the pig, they share the meat with their clam man and relatives. Likewise, the Tsembaga, marring of New Guinea also almost never kill domestic pigs outside of ritual context and their rituals are almost always associated with misfortunes or emergencies, notably were fare, illness, injury or death. They had ruled that not only the pigs are to be ritually slaughtered,

but also who partake of the flesh of the sacrificial animals. But such types of rules are not found in the Limbu community. Only the house of the owner of the pig performs the pig ritual.

These days, Limbu rituals are changing and they perform ritual in economically cheap. Hen Limbu people perform rituals they use a little alcohol (Jand and Raksi) and meat etc. Modernization, acculturation, education, development process and other factors have effected to Limbu rituals. Acculturation is most important role to be change and modification. People are advanced and they used own methods to perform the ritual in the study area. Due to the adverse natural environment people of the study area have learn to become conscious about their struggle for existence. So, their culture is always, guided by consciousness. The new health care system and introduction of new technology in place of old one in study area have minimized the importance and roles of Phedangma, sambas and Yebas. The system of healing and wording off misfortune by Phedangma, Shambas and Yebas are becoming obsolete every day. So called social reforms, expansion of modernization, emerging application of new means of communication and various campaigns of social and political awakening are also pushing these traditional halters, priests behind the scene. People have started to change their believe system. So, they believe a little to the god and super natural power than the past.

5.7 Festivals

The festivals are celebrated in different times of a year. Festivals derive for the most part from collective ritual that involves the participation of the social group-clan, tribe or family in the activities which are held to affect the interests of the whole group. Anthropologically speaking, festival is a traditional culture which has been done. For the purpose of getting pleasure during off seasons or trying to be free from their own main occupation, but it could not be leisure because they might have engagement to manage material as well as fulfill required process of the festival. During the festival period people become

happy and try to be free from anxieties, troubles, mental testing and strains and other general practical difficulties. During the festival period they wear beautiful clothes and eat delicious food as far as possible and people love and respect each other.

Various festivals are celebrated by Limbus in the study area. They celebrated Chasok-Thisok, Yokwa, Kokphetia Teyan, Saune Sankranti, Maghe Sankranti, Dashain and Tihar etc. best festivals of Limbu people are as following:

Chasok-Thisok

Chasok-Thisok is a festive occasion to offer the food grains and other agricultural products when it gets ripe or is ready for food. It is a harvest festival. It is celebrated individually as well as collectively. Supreme goddess Yuma is worshipped ceremoniously in her various forms and roles by offering newly ripened food grains and fruits. Various kinds of animals are also sacrificed to appease her during this worship ceremony. It is conducted in every house of Limbus. It is celebrated during the 'low season' (a season marked by the blooming of phunchhing). During the worship ceremony of chasok-Thisok, various divinities such as Mundenhang (divinity of north, Theba or Kappoba sammang and other are also worshiped by offering food crops, fermented grains and sacrificial animals. Takpheng, worship of nature divinities, is also conducted simultaneously during this ceremony. Participants of the ceremony enjoy abundance of rich foods meat and alcoholic beverages when the worship ceremonies are completed.

Yokwa

Yokwa is also a worship ceremony of ancestors as well as nature divinities before getting involved in agricultural activities. It is usually conducted during "high season" or a season marked by the blooming of peach (Phangrek). The inhabitants of the whole village gather at the top of hill or at suitable place from where fields for cultivating crops can be seen and conduct the worship

ceremony of Yokwa, praying for water or rain, favorable weather and bumper crops as well as avoidance of accidents or wounds and bruises while working and wood and other natural calamities. Yuma is the principal deity of solemn prayer at this occasion. It is a worshipping earth as well as other nature divinities before initiating work in the field.

Besides food grains, fermented millet and other several items, various types of animals, including pigs, chicken, pigeon, duck, male goat, bull-buffalo, and fishes are offered to various divinities. Every household of the village must share in the offering. Which the completion of the sacrificial ceremony Phedangma makes divination and suggests to sow a field with particular seeds for bumper crops. Feasting with meat and locally brewed liqueur is common this occasion. All these shows that Limbu people of the study area have great respect and believe on various god and goddess.

5.8 Dress

From the observation, it was found that their dress pattern is also changed. Now, they do not wear their traditional dress. The reason for not wearing their traditional dress are due to the influence of modern society and also they find it very difficult to wear it as compare to the modern dress female were kurta and suruwal, pants, T-shirts, and simple sari and male wear shirt and pant. All people feel that the modern dresses are quite easy to wear, easy to carry out and cheap to buy and easily available everywhere as compare to the traditional dress.

5.9 Food Habits

The food, they take is same as other people but here are some what changes from past to now. In the study area since they are primarily agriculturalist they grow their own food and vegetables in their field. Now people use comical fertilizer and they grow improvement production. It brought changes in their food habits. Now, they eat normally rice, dal, pickles and milk product (milk,

ghee, curd). Vegetarian are increasing before 10 years. 19 households have left meat and drinks. They do not take expensive wine and other local wine items. They cannot use these items to perform their rituals. People are being “Satyahangma’ Sadhu day by day because it is cheap and clean for the people. So, people are interested to be vegetarian and to follow simple food habits.

CHAPTER – SIX

ECONOMIC SUBSISTENCE SYSTEM

This chapter presents the analysis of how people manage their scarce resources for their survival main focus of this chapter is on agricultural systems, animal husbandry and other activities of subsistence activities of the study area.

6.1 Agriculture

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people of study area. The production of crops is two seasonal only. The soil is not good for high production yield for crops. The technology adopted in agricultural activity is also traditional. The irrigation for land has not developed. So, most of the land is depended on rain water. Almost all of the household of the study area do not have enough agricultural production for the whole year. The most problematic months are Magh, Falgun, Chaitra, Asadha and Shrawan, before harvesting the winter and summer crops.

6.1.1 Farming System

In the study area, people practice two seasonal crops farming, generally. In the winter due to snowfall dry and cold, farming cycle takes a long period. A crop farmed in Aswin-Kartik is only prepares in Baishakh, Jestha, whereas in summer crop farming prepares almost within four or five months. Crop cycle of major crops is not complete due to the unbalanced time pattern in the crop calendar. The crop calendar of the study area is shown in the following table.

Table 3: Major Crop calendar and seasons

S.N	Crops	Planting time	Harvesting time
1	Maize	Falgun-Chaitra	Bhadra-Aswin
2	Millet	Baishakh-Jestha	Kartik-Mangsir
3	Barley	Aswen-Kartik	Baishakh-Jestha
4	Paddy	Jestha-Ashadh	Kartik-Mangsir
5	Alu	Mangsir-Poush	Jestha-Ashadh
6	Tori	Mangsir-Poush	Baishakh-jesth

Source: Field study, 2066

Above table shows major crops calendar and seasons. Maize planting time is Falgun-Chaitra and harvesting time is Bhadra-Aswin. Millet, Barley, Paddy, Alu and Tori are major crops in the study area. Planting and harvesting is different for all crops. Now people plant their crops some days before and they harvest also before some days because global warming is increasing than the past. So, people have been adjusted according to the environment in the study area.

6.1.2 Agriculture Production

The major crops products in the study area are maize (Makai), barley (jau), Millet (Kodo), Alu, Tori as well as vegetables and fruits are also the products of the study area. The following table shows that the cultivated area and agricultural production in the study area.

Table 4: Agriculture Production

Major crops	Ward No. 5		Ward No- 8	
	Area (Hall)	Product (Kg)	Area (Hall)	Product (Kg)
Maize	59	5900	51	4080
Millet	62	3500	41	2100
Barley	30	1620	55	3650
Alu	15	2000	27	4450
Tori	22	880	21	1290
Vegetables	18	3000	18	3000
Paddy	11	1340	-	-
Alaichi	91	4600	82	3444

Source: Field Study, 2066

The production capacity is not same both ward no. In the study area. Tori, alu and barley, seem better in ward No. 8 and other products in ward No. 5. Vegetables production seem same in the both ward No. of the study area. Geographical condition plays important role. So, production capacity is not same in this area.

Now people use to technological knowledge such as improved seed, chemical fertilizer and compost mall for high productivity. Limbu people have been done high production than the past in the study area. People have been interested to produce higher than highest in the study area.

6.1.3 Technology

In order to convert resource to food and other goods, every society makes use of a technology, which includes tools. Constructions (such as fish traps) and required skills, such as how to set up a fish trap.” (Ember and Ember 1966).

Technology includes tool and the cultural strategies for making and using them. Technology enables a group to exploit the environment. The traditional technology is produced and repaired by the local people. Some of the technological knowledge is borrowed by special occupational caste groups such as Kami (Black smith) Damai (tailors) and Sarki (leather makers) etc. in the study area also there are some households of this occupational caste groups. Five houses of Kamis are in ward no. 5. Kamis who have the knowledge of making various tools such as Kuto, Kodalo, Phali, Khukuri, Hasiya, Bancharo, etc. which are essential in agriculture shows that the agriculture is being a major subsistence activity in the study area. Some of the technologies practiced by the people of the study area are described as follows;

1 Agricultural Implement:

These are the implements which are used to cultivate corps i.e. Plantation, field, preparation, harvesting and storing rains etc. Hallo which is made from

wood only and this is different from that used in Terai because it has not only any iron Phali (a iron rod which is used in the front tip of the plough), Kodalos, Kutos, Khukuri, Hansiya, Banchara and sickle are also used as cutting implements but the people have not simple knowledge of shining those implements by friction them over a stone (Udhin Dhunga) in other parts of Nepal.

Now, agricultural implements such as Kuto, Kodalo, Phali, Khukuri, Hasiya, Bancharo and Sickle size and shape have been changed because these implements are modern design and they can get easily everywhere in the cheap price than local implements.

2. Implement used in Animal Husbandry

These are the implements which are used for collecting grass, fooder and liter to keep animal in control and processing animal product etc. for collecting grass, fooder, and litter they use Dori (rasi). Similarly, to control cattle people use Damlo (knot tied) which is tied to throat and made from fabrics. Even though the most of the animals are kept untitled within the king of shed. In processing which are made by joining the woods. Now people have been brought Plastic Dori from market for above purposes. Local dori has been displaced in the study area.

3. Food Processing

This includes the food processing before cooking, stone Okhal and wooden Mushal is used to beat the millet, rice and other things, similarly, unite production of oil also the stone used. There are no of Ghattas (Jantos) in house for the grinding purpose. The trend of using local implements such as Okhal, Mushal, Woodn Tangba, Dhiki, is very less because these implements are replaced by modern objects such as Tongba, Pot etc. Nowadays mills are in use for the purpose of beating and grinding.

6.2 Animal Husbandry

Animal husbandry and agriculture are collectively practiced by the Limbu people of the study area. Animal husbandry has important role in the agriculture the manure. Similarly the oxen are used to pull the plough in the field. Various animal products such as milk, ghee, meats are used for self consumption as well as selling. Animals dung is used as manure for agricultural land. Meat is also the product from livestock. Goat, sheep and chicken are mainly used for meat.

Cows and buffaloes are other important cattle in the study area. Pigs and poultry are other livestock kept by the people. Pig is extremely important for the Limbus. It is not only a staple of their diet but is central to the blood sacrifice that accompanies many of their households' rituals. It also figures prominently in the marriage ceremony. It was found by observation that, the livestock kept in the study area are of local breed. There are a few livestock which are of hybrids. The types and No. of livestock in the study area is shown in the following table.

Table No. 5 No. of Livestock

Ward No.	Buffaloes	Cows/Oxen	Goats	Pigs	Poultry	Sheep
5	26	25	102	43	212	9
8	35	29	118	29	202	12
Total	61	54	320	72	414	21

Source: field Study, 2066

The table shows, the no. of buffaloes, cows, goats and sheep are high in ward no. 8 because there is pasture land and grass land; people use it to keep for animal. The population is low but animals No. is high. The population is high in ward no. 5. People can keep low no. of animals. Because, there is no pasture land, it is low land of this VDC and study area. Pigs and poultry are kept for

their rituals. This number is high in ward no. 5. Its main cause is geographical situation. This condition is not same in the study area.

Nowadays, people are multi dynamic and they have started to keep various types of animals such as cow, goat, buffalo, poultry, sheep, pig etc. They buy and bring animal from other village to keep. They fulfill their needs by selling livestock. People have started to keep hybrid livestock because they can earn high amount from these livestock by selling products such as milk, ghee, meat, chhurpi etc. in the market.

6.3 Other Activities of Subsistence

Except agriculture and animal husbandry, people of the study area also have other occupations as their subsistence activities. People of the study area are adopting other occupations among which business and small trade government employment, wage labor, private service, remittance etc. are the important occupations. The following table shows the population of the people involved in various occupations in the study area now and before 10 years.

Table No. 6: Other Activities of Subsistence

Source of Income	Now (No. of People)	Before 10 years (No. of People)
Agriculture	103	148
G. Employment	23	15
Private Service	8	-
Wage/Labor	11	17
Business/Trade	12	4
Remittance	89	5
Hotel and Tourism	12	3
Others	19	7
Total	277	199

Source: Field Study, 2066.

The above table shows that, most of the working populations are engaged in agricultural activities. Now government employment, private service, trade business and remittance is increased and agriculture and wage labors decrease.

Because of other job opportunities, people are interacted each other. Modernization, development practice etc. play the role to change hotels, tourism, are other activities are developing as an alternative subsistence for the people of study area.

Now, people have been changed in the study area. They have been get job opportunities. They engaged their job and duties. The main cause of change their occupation is expansion of modern education, modernization, urbanization in the study area.

6.4 Income and Expenditure

Except those activities which are discussed above, people of the study area also moves for the search of various other economic activities and they do those activities of assisting their subsistence economy.

The details about the various sources of income in the year 2066 is given in the table, which shows the contribution of job, pension and remittance as the major source of income followed by agriculture and animal husbandry. Similarly, wage and business have also important contribution in the income of the people. Private Service, tourism and other activities are also income of the people in the study area

Table No. 7 Source of Income in 2066

Ward No	5	8	Total
Cereals	27000	21000	48000
Vegetables	11000	13000	24000
Animal product	16000	19000	35000
Trade/business	12000	15400	27400
Job	1600000	1222000	2822000
Pension	1145000	745000	1890000
Remittance	5100000	3900000	9000000
Private service	40000	32000	72000
Hotel/tourism	21000	25500	46500
Alaichi sale	460000	344400	804400
Others	67000	32000	99000
Total	8499000	6369300	14868300

Source: Field survey, 2066

The above table shows sources of income of the study area. The highest income source of study area is remittance. Job pension and alaichi sell are other income sources. The lowest income is vegetable and trade business in the study area. Most of the young boys go to abroad to earn money; the main cause of this, is poverty.

The major sectors of expenditure for the people of the study area are food crops, meat, clothing, and medical treatments which are basic sectors of expenditure for livelihood. Similarly, expenditures on festivals, smoking, drinking are also related with socio-cultural practices of the people. Animal purchase, other's loan are involved in expenditures. Since, agriculture and animal husbandry have important contribution in the household income the women of the study area have great contribution in the economic activities of households. Since, the no. of women involved in other activities is less than that of man, women mostly engaged in traditional economic activities. Their involvement in job business, tourism, hotel and other activities is almost half of men. All these figures show that women have an important contribution in the subsistence activities of the household on the study area.

Now, Limbu people have been controlling their expenditure in smoking, drinking, festivals, marriage and other socio cultural practices. The main cause of decrease in their expenditure is their low economic status.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CHANGING FACTOR OF LIMBU COMMUNITY

Change is the universal and continuous phenomenon, which is found in all societies. It is important to observe the social and cultural change among the rural communities. "Cultural change is the process by which the existing order of society that is its social, spiritual and material civilization is transformed from one type to another cultural change thus, covers the more or less rapid process of modification in the political constitution of a society in its domestic institutions and beliefs and system of knowledge in its education and law as well as its material tools and their use and consumption of goods on which its social economy is based (Malinowski;1968)." Merrill and Eldredge are of the view that a change in geographical environment is the most obvious cause for cultural change. The different climate, soil vegetation and terrain compel people to fashion new techniques, beliefs, systems and organizational patterns appropriate to the new setting thus, bringing about cultural change.

According to Vasudeva the major processes of cultural change are imitation, assimilation, diffusion and acculturation. The people of 3rd world are quick to imitate external influences like dress and fashion of western world. Diffusion is a process whereby a trait spreads from one culture to another contact. The process of acculturation refers to the process by which cultural change occurs through contact of the people of different cultures. Vasudeva further points out that assimilation is the process whereby people of one group are totally absorbed into the culture of another group, thereby losing their original cultural tradition.

The adaptation of many ethnic groups has been changed. This study attempts to examine the changing factors of Limbus. This study analyzes their socio-cultural changes. Change in societies occurs through different processes and socio-cultural change is one of them. The present study tries to observe the

changing factors of Limbus of the study area. The changing factors are given following:

7.1 Sanskritization

Sanskritization, a process by which people of low caste or tribe or other group change their costumes, ideology and way of life in the direction of a higher or twice-born caste (Srinivas: 1996), become common phenomenon for upward mobility in the Hinduized hierarchical society and driving force in the tribe caste continuum and a mechanism for winning favor of state authorities to the majority of community leaders of Limbus of different localities and other involved in some sorts of civil and military services., Rajputization of ruling Khases and military services, Rajputization of ruling Khases and some other tribes of western Nepal also accelerated the pace of cultural mutation in Nepal (Bista;1991) which left a strong impression among rural Limbu elites to adopt a new way of life. Change costumes and gain new prestigious status in Hindu social structure gradually, Sanskritization became widespread phenomenon. Conforming to the process of Sanskritization as the only means of survival for indigenous people, as referred to by Gurung (1994) in course of assessing the strategies for the marginalization of indigenous people in Nepal, became unavoidable reality in Limbuwan as well as which culminated during Rana autocratic regime leading to the erosion of indigenous Limbu culture. These days, many customs and instead have adapted Hindu practices (Upreti; 1976). However such changes have remained surface. So, Sanskritization is the changing factor of Limbu community in the study area.

7.2 Environmental Change

Environmental change is one of the most important factors to change society. Man and environment relationship is deep and it cannot be separate each other. “Environment plays a key role in determining human affairs, it means that all aspect of human culture and behavior are determined by environmental

influences (Hardesty; 1977). Human being keep on creating new social environments and these, in their turn make certain adoptive is often a product of change. The intended or unintended consequences of it (S.C. Dube).

Anyway, environmental change brings socio-cultural change. People have been changed and they have different culture according to nature or geographical condition in the study area. According to environmental change, norms, values, customs, language, communication, kinship, marriage and other cultural practices have changed in the Limbu community. So, environment change is a major factor of socio-cultural change or adaptive system change in the study area.

7.3 Diffusion

A transmission of culture traits from one area to another and from one culture to another is called diffusion. According to dictionary of sociology “The process by which culture traits or complexes spread from one society to another or one part of society to another; or one part of society to another.” Cultural diffusion means the spread of culture from one ethnic group to another. Culture is not same all places and all time. Culture evolves one place and it diffuses to other place. People borrow other’s cultural practices. So, diffusion brings change in socio-cultural practices. It has effected to study area. Now, various cultural practices have come there.

7.4 Market

Market is important for demand and supply. Subsistence farming is the norm, but not all people in the study area are able to produce everything needed within home. Food stuff and other specialized products are traded or sold in the market. The market provides the people with a holiday and a means for social intercourse with friends or distant relatives. Even if one does not bring goods or food stuffs to the market or has no need to make purchase, the market is still looked upon as an occasion to get together with others, to drink tea in shops, to

host sit around and watch the hustle and bustle of those how come to sell, buy, trade and barter. If nothing else, one gets the weekly news, in the absence of newspaper or other forms of local communication and the current issues provides other villagers. So, market links with each other or other caste ethnic groups. Market has played important role to bring change in the study area.

7.5 Education

Education is basic factor of human society. It plays important role in human life. Education is a changing factor of socio-cultural change in the study area. According to the Aristotle, to educate meant to develop man's facilities, especially his mind, so that he may be able to enjoy the contemplation of supreme truth, beauty and goodness. Education gives knowledge to be socialization.

School educations started in study are only with the advent of democracy in 1951. Limbus where totally deprived of educational opportunities, only wealthy people were able somehow to engage in correspondence and official writings. Only a few children of Limbu servicemen of British Gurkha Army had some level of education, but most of these educated people did not return to Nepal due to the lack of employment opportunity within the country. Still Limbus is lagging far behind in education in comparison to their neighboring other people. But young generation of Limbus has been educated in the study area. Teachers are also well known for their roles as change agents. The custom, traditions, lifestyles, rites and rituals of Limbu have been greatly affected by educational factors in the study area.

7.6 Modernization

Modernization is a process of consciousness. It is multidimensional process of change which is thinking and activities of man. Modernization brings change in less developed society from most developed society which is continuous change from top down process.

Modernization is the major changing factor of the study area. Many people have been modernized because they go to other place, seeking job and labour in the factories, hotels and companies and they know other's culture and practice. Some Limbu people of that area involve in small business, tourism and other activities. They change their food patterns, dress patterns and cultural practices. It is the effect of modernization and socio-cultural transformation of the society.

7.7 Development

Development is positive change it is qualitative and quantitative increase. Development is a process of modernization. According to M. Todaro, development is a multidimensional process involving changes in structures, attitudes, institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, reduction of inequality and eradication of absolute poverty. Development as a process of change makes impacts in space and time. Development also means a succession of deep social changes which should inevitably accompany the technological transformations.

Development process has been brought change in the study area. Developmental works has brought socio-cultural change in Limbu society. All aspects of change have included in development, it has brought cultural change which including art, science, technology, philosophy, etc. it has brought changes in religious aspect, education, marriage, family rituals, food habits, dress patterns etc.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

8.1 Summary

Anthropology is the science which deals with human beings i.e. activities in present life. Human ecology or ecological anthropology is the science which looks at the interrelationship between the cultural process and natural and socio- political environment is the central focus of the ecological anthropology. Adaptive systems are those socio-cultural processes practiced by the local people to adapt with local environment. This study has tried to look at how the Limbu peoples of study area adapt with their changing environmental conditions. This study has focused on cultural processes for adaptations used by the Limbu people of Tiringe (Study area). People are facing resource degradation, population pressure, natural calamities etc. so, the people are generally changing their traditional' survival mechanisms. Now, most of the people are in search of alternative subsistence activities.

The objectives of the present study is to explore the social-cultural process: rite De Passage, family, rituals, different components of subsistence such as agriculture, animal husbandry and other activities of the Limbu people of study area (Tiringe). To analyze the changing factor of Limbu community is also other objective.

Chapter one introduces the background of the study that mainly discusses the concept of human ecology, adaptation, adaptive system etc. This chapter also presents the statements of the problems, objectives of the study, importance of the study, organization of the study and limitation of the study.

Chapter two has discussed the relevant literature for this study that is reviewed from various books and articles. The literature review focuses on theories or concept on human ecology, such as environmental determinism, the theory

mainly based on the view that culture is the product of natural condition of the people. The environment possibilism on the other hand, the environment was seen not as causative but as nearly limiting or selective. Cultural ecology suggested that environment and culture are not separate spheres but are involved in dialectic interplay. The ecosystem based model suggested that instead of studying how culture are adapted to environment, attention should be focused on the relationship of specific human population to specific ecosystem. Ethno-ecology therefore refers to that body of knowledge concerning the interaction between population and its environment, meaning, uses, practices and techniques from participant point of view. It also presents various conceptual model as well as ecological study of communities in Nepal. The changing patterns of subsistence of the ethnic groups of Nepal such as Sherpas, Thakalis, Gurungs, Magars etc. has also discussed.

Chapter three presents the methodology adopted for the study such as collection of data from the field and the mode of analysis etc. Tiringe VDC of Taplejung district was selected as study area. The rationale of selection of the study area is that the Limbus and their culture itself is considered interesting to understand and explore and for the researcher it was easy to have rapport because he is in contact with them and he lives almost their village. The research design used is exploratory as well as descriptive. Both primary and secondary data have been used in the study. Ward No.5 and 8 of Tiringe VDC has been selected as the study area because these wards are inhabited by Limbu people. The total households in the study area are 91 and 75 households are Limbus. All 75 Limbus households were studied. The techniques used for the data collection are participant observations, interview and structured questionnaire.

Chapter four discusses the setting of the study area. Mechi zone is situated in the east part of Nepal. Taplejung one of the four districts of Mechi Zone lies in the north eastern part of this zone. Politically, Taplejung is divided into 17 Ilakas and 50 Village Development Committees, Tiringe is one of them.

Tiringe is bordered in the east by Sikaicha in the south by Thechambu and Nangkholang in the west by Hangdewa, in the north by Phawakola VDC of the Taplejung climate condition of Tiringe falls under the cool temperate climatic zone with low temperature in summer.

Natural resources are land, forest and water. The quality of soil is not good for high quantity of crop yield. The forest is used as the source of timber, firewood and fodder. People in the study area also use forest as the source of equipment constructions, as well as fodder and litter for the animals. In this way forest is used by the people of the study area as an important gift of nature and hence the pressure over the limited natural resource is increasing. Water is another important natural resource for the people of study area. But most of the village settlements and cultivated lands are above the river. So people are unable to use resource for irrigation. Most of the households use tap water supplied through pipelines for drinking and sanitary purposes.

The major settlements, in the study area are Odare, Bichepa, and Okharbote. In these settlements, houses are built in a cluster, by stone, mud, wood, tin roof etc, these settlements are mostly inhabited by Limbus. The total population of the study area is 445 of which 221 are male and 224 are female. Out of this total population, the number of Limbus is 378. Socially, Limbus cannot be classified with in any of the four Varnas of Manu and thus may called a tribe from outside the Hindu caste structure among Limbus the role of elders is important, because they do all decision for own household.

Nepal is a land of different ethnic groups. Among this Limbus are one of the well-known tribe of Nepal. Limbu is one of the main ethnic groups of eastern part of Nepal. They have their own language, tradition, and culture. They are indigenous people of their area, known as Limbuwan. Limbu was included the area east of Arun River. The inhabitants of the study area are mostly Limbus, who is regarded as among the first inhabitants of this area. There are other ethnic groups such as Chhetries, Kamis etc, in the study area.

Physical infrastructure is the foundation of development transpiration is the backbone of all infrastructures. Road is one of the most important means of transportation. But this study area has not got this good opportunity till the date. Now, the main foot trills is useful electricity is another important infrastructure of development. It provides power for industrial and other purposes. There is a hydropower electricity which was established 2006. It has the capacity of 32 K.W. schools, Health service, communication systems and other extension services are available in the study area.

Limbus are a branch of Kiranta segregated by the Gurkha rules with special grant of land privileges and local authority in some particular area (Limbuwan) from the rest of their kindred. Historical documents reveal that the term “Limbu” was used by Nepal administration after 1774. Vansawalis of various groups of Limbus and other pertinent data available. So, far indicate that most of the Limbus entered in the Limbuwan from the south and southwest and frequently miscegenated with people coming from the North. Today Limbus are found in several clans (groupings). But there is no distinction of hierarchy in the clan status or division.

Limbu language is one of the major spoken and written languages of Nepal. It has its own script called “Sirijongha Lipi” believed to be derived and evolved from Brahmi script after 6th century A.D. Limbu language has four main dialects: Panchthare, Tamorkhole, Phedape and Chhathare. After late 70s; many institutions was established to develop Limbu language literature and culture. So, Limbu language is being important till now. Many books, articles and gosthi (symposia), workshop etc. have developed in own language. Because of expansion of modern education and communication Limbu language has been changed in the study area.

Most of the Limbu people are living in folk style, preserving their cultural heritage and values in this area but socio-cultural change is being in Limbu society. Most of the households were joint family and even though there were

some household with nuclear family in the past. Modernization and extension of education are main reasons to change family practice. Birth of a child is a symbol of happiness among the Limbu people. The new born baby is automatically a component of the total rituals and social interaction which regulate the traditional rituals systems. Different rituals are needed to be performed throughout his/her living life and after death.

The forms of marriage practiced by Limbu people of study area:

1. Magi Biwaha (Arrange Marriage)
2. Chori Biwaha (Eloped or Love Marriage)
3. Jari Biwaha (Marriage of Already Married Woman)

For magi Biwaha, they have to perform various religious and socio-cultural practices for this marriage. So, this type of marriage is expensive for the people. Now, love marriage and inter caste marriage is increasing day by day. It is product of modernization education, urbanization and other changing process. Death rituals are performed in Limbu community. Death ceremonies of Limbu are different than Hindus. These include funeral procession, purchasing in the burial ground, taking out of the soul of a dead person to ancestors. Eating salt, Varkhi etc, it is also change according to the time and space. Limbu people have started new system in the death rituals.

The Limbu people of the study area have their own rituals and festivals, Limbu people have their own way of performing rituals. They have their own priest or sacred specialist to perform rituals. The main function of this Priest (Phedongama, samba, Yuma, Yeba) is to perform rituals in order to cure illness, to prevent natural calamities and to address all the troubles and infection caused by spirits and evil divinities. Various types of rituals performed by the people of the study area. They are: Mangena, Nahangma, Tongsing etc. the festivals celebrated by the Limbu people are: Chasok-Thisok

and other importance Hindu festivals, education status dress pattern and food habits also have been changed in the study area.

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people of study area. The production of crops is two seasonal only. The soil is not good for high production yield for crops. The technology adopted in agricultural was also traditional, now it has been changed a little, people are being conscious. Animal husbandry and agriculture are collectively practiced by Limbu people of study area. Animal husbandry has important role in the agriculture. The manure of cattle is mostly used in the field as organic substance. Various animal products such as milk, ghee, chhurpi and meats are used for self consumption as well as selling. Except agriculture and animal husbandry, people of the study area also have other occupations as their subsistence's activities. People of the study area are adopting other occupations among which business and small trade, government employment, wage labor, hotel and tourism etc are the important occupations.

Change is a universal and continuous phenomenon, which is found in all societies. Geographical environment is the most obvious cause for cultural change such as rituals, marriage, birth, death, family, festivals etc. The different climate, soil vegetation and terrain compel people to fashion new techniques, beliefs, systems and organizational patterns appropriate to the new setting thus, bringing about cultural change. The major processes of cultural change are imitation, assimilation, diffusions, acculturation etc. The adaptation of many ethnic groups has been changed. Limbu people of the study area have also changed. The changing factors of Limbu community are sanskritization, modernization, urbanization, diffusion, market, migration, revolution, development, education, NGOs etc.

8.2 Conclusion

Organisms need food shelter, protection as basic needs for the survival. Human beings are a cultural organism and they have the capacity to adapt with mind and creativity. Human adaptation is easier in particular socio-economic and natural conditions through mechanisms called culture, generally passed one generation to another. The social and natural resources are exploited as much as possible through culturally prescribed ways.

The Limbus of the study area are of Mongolian stock and they speak their own language which known as “Limbu Kura” in the study area. It has developed as a modern language with its own script, religiously they are recognized as Kiranta and cultural process are much following Mundhums. They have distinct culture, tradition and religion of their own, though they are living together with their Hindu, Buddhist and other neighbors. They have a long tradition of narrating or reacting Mundhums and performing certain rituals and observing ceremonies in their own distinctive ways.

The Limbu community prefers the household pattern which they practice joint and nuclear families. But nuclear households are increasing nowadays. Birth practice is also unique they worship the gods for the protection of a child in the uterus. Similarly there is flexibility in marriage practices and absence of sex taboos in Limbu community. They are not orthodox Kirants. These cultural traits seem, developed by the peoples to adapt with adverse natural condition in the study area.

The cultural processes of Limbu people shows that the supernatural power makes the living world more difficult or easier. People worship the god by traditional healers, Phedangmas, Yebas, sambas etc. the rituals are incomplete to worship the god and divinities without Phedangmas. Local knowledge is viewed as the knowledge has been perfectly practiced in the study area. Local knowledge has been perfectly practiced in the study area.

The Limbu people are surviving by following traditions: agriculture, animal husbandry, trade and business, government and other jobs, and other occupations as their alternative subsistence activities. All these socio-cultural characteristics shows the Limbu community of the study area are changing and their practices also change. The changing factors of Limbu community are modernization, expansion of education, development, acculturation, market, diffusion, revolution, migration and so on. Limbu community has been changed with environment.

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APPENDIX

Changing adaptive system of Limbu community: An ecological –Anthropological study of Tiringe VDC of Taplejung District

Schedule for Household Study:

1. Household no.

2. The respondent's relation with the Head of Household:

3. The Respondents:

Name:

Age:

Sex: M./F.

Occupation:

4. Head of The household:

Name:

Sex: M/F

Occupation :

5. No. of the family members:

6. Family Type:

a) Nuclear

b) Joint

7. Educational level of your Family members:

Gender	Illiterate	Primary	Secondary	+2 and above	Total
Male					
Female					
Total					

8. Do you have your own language?

a. Yes

b. No:

9. Do all family members speak it?

a. Yes

b. No:

10. If No why?

a) Influence of modernity

b) Difficult to speak

c) Others

11. What kind of changes has come in your language within 10 years?

.....

23. What type of animals do you have?

Cow/Oxen	Buffalo	Goat	Pig	Poultry	Others

24. What are your other sources of income besides agriculture?

Source of Income	Now	Before 10 years
Agriculture		
G. Employment		
Private Service		
Wage/Labor		
Business/Trade		
Remittance		
Hotel and Tourism		
Others		

25. Which livestock gives benefit for your household income and how?

.....

26. Do you fall environmental change last 10 years and now?

a. Yes

b. No:

27. If Yes, Changes

.....

28. What problems you have faced being a Limbu?

.....

29. What do you think, about changes and what has been changed?

.....

For Key Respondents

1. In your opinion, what has been changed in the educational system from within 10 years?

.....

2. Are there any changes in doing household works within 10 years?

a. Yes

b. No:

If yes, what changes?

.....

3. Do you know changing factors of Limbu community and what are they?

.....

4. What is your opinion about cultural change?

.....

5. About ethnicity:

.....

6. About life cycle Ceremonies.

.....

7. About rituals and religious works:

.....

8. About interethnic Relation:

.....

9. What kind of socio-economic and cultural changes are taking place due to such interaction?

.....

10. What prospects do you see for the development of Limbu?

.....