

MARRIAGE PRACTICE IN THE LIMBU COMMUNITY
(Study of the Limbu Community in Oyam VDC, Panchthar District)

A Thesis

Submitted to Sociology Department
in partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the
Master's Degree in Sociology

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2016

LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

This thesis entitled **MARRIAGE PRACTICE IN LIMBU COMMUNITY (Study of the Limbu Community in Oyam VDC, Panchthar District)** has been prepared by **Bhim Maya Nugo** under my supervision and guidance. I have recommended this thesis to the evaluation committee for its final approval and acceptance.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I owe much to my father Kabir Dhoj Nugo, mother Karna Maya Nugo for their love and faith in me. I know they have sacrificed much on their part so that I could meditate to write my thesis. My family, as always, has breathed soul in to my creation.

I express my sincere gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Krishna Br. Bhattachan, whose passion in my thesis issue has been an inspiration for me. His guidance is invaluable. I have derived motivation from him to move forward in the darkest of hours, and at the most confusing cross roads during my thesis. By providing support, moral boosts and mostly his confidence in me has brought out the best in me in this thesis. I will always be affected by this encouragement to pursue my passion, go out and start working on materializing my dreams.

I am thankful to the Head of Department, Dr. Tulsi Ram Pandey and external evaluator of my thesis, Dr. Shambhu Kattel for approving my thesis and providing insights to further improve it.

My gratitude to the 'Kirant Yakthung Chumlung' for providing books and other related materials, which helps me to make thesis strong.

I am especially thankful to all the interviewees who despite their busy schedule took interest in my research and the time to provide me their insight. I thank everyone who has, directly or indirectly, helped me with my thesis.

Institution: Kirant Yakthung Chumlung (KYC) and TU library.

Bhim Maya Nugo

2016

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Marriage is a social union or legal contract between people of two opposite sexes. It establishes rights and obligations between the spouses, between the spouse and their children and between the spouses and their in-laws. According to Nepali society marriage is a union of two societies not only two people, which translate two families into one. Marriage is a stable relationship and social permission to them in which men and women are socially permitted to the children implying the right to sexual relations. It is a Universal and social institution of society.

According to Horton and Hunt “Marriage is the approval social pattern where by two or more persons established of family.”(Horton, 1968). There is defined by Mishra (2062) Marriage determines the mode of production. Capitalist mode of production social system and arrange marriage are contrary each other, and it initiates love marriage.

Marriage is one of the important social activities in the Limbu community. There are two forms of marriage (Metkhim / Mekkhim) are prevalent in Limbu community, (Subba, 2008). In both practice role of girls are important and they have freedom to choose partner. Limbu boys and girls have enough opportunities for courtship and thus can influence the decision concerning their marriage in many ways. Dhannach is one of occasion when girls and boys gather in one place and participate in dancing. In hakpare samlo young men always try to win his love.

A negotiated or formal Limbu marriage essentially includes four stages which are called ‘char kalam’, T.B Subba(1995) non-negotiated or

elopement marriages have to pass through the latter two stages of marriage. The only marriage which don't have to pass through any of the four ritual stages are Jari biha (or marrying somebody else's wife) and kujat biha (or marriage with untouchable). Two forms of marriage are prevalent among the Limbus; D. Shaman (1996). The first necessitates a prior engagement, i.e an engagement between the two families concerned. The authority of the parents weighs heavily in this form. They are being the ones who make the decision. The second form of marriage which the Limbus call kuciba marriage appears to be completely different. In this case, the parents are unaware of the scheme that is being hatched.

Whatever there may be the forms of marriage there is an avoidable aspect of matrimonial negotiation, the provision of Yupparung. It is often known as 'Baina' in Nepali. It is a small amount of money specially one rupee of silver coin, presented to the prospective bride as a token of courting and pledge of learning conjugal life together and she can accept and reject it. If she doesn't reject it is assumed that the prospective groom has been able to win the favor of the maiden 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 into a gift of precious ornaments. In an arranged marriage, such negotiation is initiated by some senior female members of the household or preferably by senior kins women.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Socio-economic and cultural factors particularly religion and ethnicity are important varies in determining age at marriage in Nepal. Marriage practice in Limbu community is guided by inter caste and out caste marriage. Issue of marriage becomes debatable in Nepalese society including Limbu community. The issues that bring fluctuation in the dynamic balance of the society is worthy of a sociological study.

Marriage is one of the most fundamental processes of any society. It carries a great significance in social sciences. Due to migration socio economic changes and modern education concept of marriage have been rapidly changed in Limbu community. Limbu people give high priority to mundhum in marriage even changing some process of marriage. In this study it will analyze marriage practice among Limbu community of Panchthar district Oyam V.D.C ward no. 6. The study will mainly concern the following research question:

- 1) What is the socio-economic situation of Limbu people in the study area?
- 2) What is the marriage practice following Limbu people living in the study area?
- 3) What are the determining factors play vital role on marriage practice of Limbu community?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The overall objective was to explain the uniqueness of the Limbu marriage. Which is changing now, by understanding their perspective on the relevance of marriage, the study aimed to find the changes in Limbu marriage practice and factors which play important role in changing. The specific objectives of the study are:-

- 1) To analyze the socio cultural economic situation of Limbu people in Panchthar district Oyam V.D.C
- 2) To study the marriage practice of the Limbu in Panchthar District Oyam V.D.C

- 3) To find out the determining factors of marriage in the Limbu community

1.4 Significance of the Study

Marriage is one of the important ritual practices which human being has practiced since primitive age. There are various types of marriage practices in the world. Limbu community has also distinct marriage practice which plays significant role to preserve Limbu identity. This study is about marriage practice of Limbu community living in Panchthar District. The study is significant for those who want to study marriage practice of Limbu people. More than that, the study helps to generalize the overall marriage system of Nepal which helps to analyze the ongoing changing nature of marriage system.

1.5 Rationale of Selection of the Study Area

I chose one field work site, namely – Panchthar. In Panchthar I chose a ward of Oyam village. The actual reasons behind selection of this study area are mentioned as given below:-

1. As being daughter of Limbu I want to know my culture in detail.
2. Oyam village is densely inhabited by Limbu. They have their own culture, but they don't know about their cultural role for national integration and economic development. Thus it is necessary to expose the problems in national level and awake them to select the good or bad aspect of their own cultural or cultural patterns.
3. The Limbu community of the study area is also under –going some socio – cultural changes. And changes in marriage patterns need to be studied to understand their cultural situations.

These reasons as mentioned above were taken into consideration to study “The marriage practice in Limbu community” in which attempts have been made to find some of the new trends on marriage system of the area on the ground of economic burden, season for marriage, method of appealing young girls and some changes that the Limbus of this area has noticed so far. Moreover this study also examines the attitudes of villagers for potential changes to eliminate some practices that have been considered not worthy in the development process of the society.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Marriage Definition and History

Marriage, also called matrimony or wedlock, is a socially or ritually recognized union or legal contract between spouses that establishes rights and obligations between them, between them and their children, and between them and their in-laws. The definition of marriage varies according to different cultures, but it is principally an institution in which interpersonal relationship, usually sexual are acknowledged. In some cultures, marriage is recommended or considered to be compulsory before pursuing any sexual activity. When defined broadly, marriage is considered a cultural universal.

The history of marriage dates back as far as the ancient times. Studies revealed that marriage didn't exist before. The usual practice was that the men in certain tribe or horde had access to the women they like. When children are born, they belonged to the whole community.

The earliest marriage was believed to be 'group marriage'. The union was basically between groups of men and women and there exists shared sexual relations. The group marriage allowed polyandry, and this existed in India and Tibet many years ago.

The origin of marriage is a great debate subject. Many people are wondering how marriage began. There have been studies that claim the existence of marriage 4,350 years ago. Before this time families were made up of less organized groups consisting of more or less than thirty people. The group consisted of men that shared women. With the introduction of civilization, the society demanded for stable arrangement.

2.2 Marriage Practice in Nepal

Today marriage isn't just reasons. The couple usually has a deep feeling for mutual devotion and love. Love was able to change the way people view marriage. The belief that wives were owned by their husband remained for centuries.

Marriage is one of the important cultural and social practices in human beings. In Nepali society marriage is one of the important social activities. So individuals may marry for several reasons, including legal, social. Libidinal, emotional, financial, spiritual and religious purposes. Whom they marry may be influenced by socially determined rules of incest perspective marriage rules, parental choice and individual desire. In some areas of the world , arranged marriage, child marriage. Polygamy, and sometimes forced marriage, may be practiced as a cultural tradition. Conversely, such practices may be outlawed and penalized in parts of the world out of concerns for women's rights and because of international law. In developed parts of the world, there has been a general trend towards ensuring equal rights within marriage for women and legally recognizing the marriage of inter faith or interracial, and same sex couples.

Today in Nepali society, we can see same sex marriage also but here, I am talking about opposite sex.

According to Horton and Hunt "Marriage is the approval social pattern where by two or more persons established of family'. (Horton, 1968). Marriage in Nepal is a family affair and society too, unlike most of the western countries. The parents are responsible for selecting suitable spouse for their children. So marriage is defined the bond of two societies not only person. Marriage plays crucial role to continue generation,

because there is no social permission to give birth a child without marriage, in Nepali society.

2.3 Marriage practice in Limbu

Every community has their own specific culture and style, however there are similar philosophy and perspective of marriage in Nepal. Limbu is one of the indigenous people of Nepal. Who have own culture, custom. Language, script and observe marriage ceremony in own way. Here, I have submitted some Limbu marriage related laws, policies and definition of some authoes, which are given below.

Chemjong, (2003) only three of them had married outside their caste, they had married women from Rai community (they were quick to comment that Rai community was as same as the Limbu marriages between them were hardly considered as inter caste) such claims are often heard and the reasons could be because of the fact that both of the communities share similarities in cultural practices, rituals, beliefs and the fact that both follow the kirant religion. Marriages within the same clans (paternal/maternal side) are strictly prohibited. Such restriction can be found to seventh line of paternal and fourth line form maternal sides. Before the marriages are fixed. Parties from both sides (the groom and the bride) discuss in depth the clan relationship from the paternal maternal sides and if it is found that they (the boy and the girl families) are related in some way. Then the boy's party seeks forgiveness saying that it was mistake and wasn't intentional and offer wine to the girl's family. Most of them have arranged marriages but they were given the liberty to make their choice.

Subba, (2008), in Limbu culture there are two kinds of marriages: (1) arranged marriage (Naksingma Mekkhim) and (2) love marriage or marriage by one's free choice (Nanuma Khema Mekkhim). In an

arranged, initiation of preliminary negotiation for the betrothal is taken by the bridegroom's family through a team of matchmakers. The leader of the matchmaker team should be experienced in the oblique use of imagery to conduct with bride's parents or guardians. During the ritual the Phedangma emphasis on the union of two souls, love, respects and support for conjugal fidelity, love, respect and understanding for each other. After this ritual the Phedangma ask the guests to remain as witness and ask the father and mother of the groom if they will behave properly with their daughter- in-law after their assurance for proper behavior and affectionate relations with their new daughter- in -law, the Phedangma declare them to be husband and wife.

Limbu (2012) describes the changing marriage practice of Limbu. Limbu are highly influenced by foreign culture so they are migrating in urban area like Dharan and Kathmandu. Young girls of Limbu community like to marriage with other equal social status community people like Newar, Tamang, Magar. Most of the neighboring Chhetri and Brahmin boys also highly prefer Limbu girls. So traditional marriage practice is fall on crisis in Limbu community.

Caplan (1976) states that one of the reason for 'Jari' marriage is to avoid the high cost of marriage. A man may seek 'Jari' wife to avoid wedding expenses. The opinion of Caplan is that Limbu spend more and more money and materials in their marriage and they don't get any properties except bride. So, most of the Limbu who are poor and in compulsion to have 'Jari' marriage to avoid extravagance trend of Limbu marriage. Such types of marriage are continuing within the Limbu community for long ago.

This theory sees the rule of exogamy not as a negative outcome of incest extensionsbut as a positive outcome of the need for survival enter

into marital alliances with other groups in order to love at peace with them...there may be other factors such as the premium on the girl's virginity at marriage that operates in many tribes if she loses her virginity she may be unmarried, or a poor marriage bargain, and consequently the band may lose the chance of a good alliance Robin fox (1967) limbu descent group is determined by strong patrilineal descent and they follow exogamy there good and peaceful relations have been established of Limbu with other groups. Likewise, those who are Limbus should pay bride – price on the basis of bargain and the situations of the girls.

A widow who doesn't want to cohabit with her dead husband's brother is often not forced to, but if she chooses to live with another man the children she has by him are still counted as her husband's. (Lucy Mair (1972) Lucy Mair emphasis on levirate marriage which is done between opposite sexes. In this marriage a man can marry with the childless widow of his deceased brother. Similarly, due to the awareness of extravagance attitude of Limbu they used to practice levirate marriage after the death of their brother. But today they don't practice such types of marriage as a whole. And there is absolute right of widow to remain in the home or to get marry with next man., after the death of her husband. The levirate marriage is a main cause of proxy father. Lucy states that in many matrilineal marriages a man can marry with a widow of deceased brother. Then she got child and if she gets marry with another man the child she has by him are still counted as her husband's. Similarly within the Limbu society they practice levirate marriage but they do not regard their children another lineage after marriage with another man.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

This study is an attempt to analyze the marriage practice in Limbu community. The study is based basically on primary data collected through structured and non-structured questionnaires. This chapter elaborates on the universe and sampling sources of data and limitation of the study.

3.1 Rationale for the Selection of the Study Area

This study is conducted in Oyam V.D.C in Panchthar district. The rationale for the selection of Oyam village is;

- 1) Oyam village is densely inhabited by Limbu. There are sub- caste and cultural groups. The marriage practice of each group varied in some extent.
- 2) The Limbu community of the study area is also under- going some socio- cultural changes. And changes in marriage pattern need to be studied to understand their cultural situation.
- 3) This kind of research hasn't been done yet in this area.
- 4) As being daughter of Limbu I want to know my culture, custom in details.

3.2 Sources of Data

This study based on both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data were collected from the respondents by using formal as well as informal interviews with the help of interviewers. The secondary sources of data were collected from various ethnographic studies made by native and foreign scholars.

3.3 The Universe and Sampling

The Universe must be defined in the light of the objectives of the survey. It can be expressed in geographical terms (locality, municipality, district, province country or some intermediate category) or in sectoral terms, (Urban population, pottery, manufactures fuel wood producers). It is also necessary to place time limits on the definition of the Universe, because its composition and characteristics can change over time. It is recommended that the Universe be given spatial limits that coincide with standard or official groupings (political, administrative, natural etc.) in common use in countries, so that its dimensions can be estimated from information already available.

Once the Universe has been defined, information that is as precise as possible has to be sought on its dimensions and spatial and temporal distribution in order to construct the sampling frame, this being the basis on which to develop the sampling design.

Sampling procedure is the backbone to give the desired information of the study. To acquire authentic data from the field the entire households were numbered serially by the researcher. All together, there were 60 households, out of these households every alternative household were taken a sample household. Thus, out of 60 households 30 households were selected for detail study.

3.4 Tools and Techniques of Data Collection

The required primary data for the study were selected.

(a) Household Survey

In the study area 60 household had been done from census method. Almost data had been taken from one married women of each family. Most of people are out of the house on the day time for different purpose.

So I used Saturday and morning time to collect information about marriage practice before and now to know the changes in the attitude, custom, culture of people of study area.

(b) Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a research instrument consisting of a series of questions and other prompts for the purpose of gathering information from respondents.

I used a set of questionnaire to collect data from Oyam village, where I spoke to the local general public, and interaction with the common Limbu leading a village life helped me to fulfill the objectives of talking the local perspective on changes on marriage practice, as well as their implication in their cultural and social life.

First I prepared a list of questionnaire based on the suggestion from people (who are intellectual and cultural leaders).

I pretested few respondents by using questionnaires in nearby the study area and I made few modification in the question before conducting real interviews in the study area.

I went to the village by using semi- structure question and casual meeting too.

(c) Key informants Interview

I used key informant interviews as well to fulfill the main objective of the research which is to understand the observing practices during marriage and its overall social, economic and cultural implications on the Limbu society as seen by the Limbu themselves.

I used key informant interviews besides semi- structured interviews because there are certain people who know more about the issue than

general people. I took key informant interview of those people who knew more about the issue of marriage. I interviewed elderly people (who are called sources of history), intellectual and cultural leader. (Whose contribution is crucial in Limbu society).

(d) Observation

Field observation is an inductive process and I used this technique to fulfill my objectives of exploring the social, cultural and economic consequences of local level. I used this technique in study area to understand about current marriage when I was at my field site. I was open to learn and collect information from the field setting and situation and also through my participation in this village life. I used this technique to also compliment semi- structured interviews as certain questions for the interview arose from my observation from the field.

I participated and observed certain activities of the advocates for Limbu culture. I visited elderly people who have more knowledge about Limbu culture. Also the accessibility to the internet helped me to get information about the marriage and I received information from different books.

(e) Focus Group Meeting

Through this technique I gathered data that would help me to get information about current marriage practice I focused group meeting. I divided two groups the first meeting was with married people and second was elderly people and cultural leader. I gathered many information like time and economic aspects of arrange marriage.

(f) Data Analysis

The collected information has been analyzed by using simple mathematical and statically tools such as percentage table etc. It has been categorized and tabulated according to the objectives of the study.

3.5 Limitation of the Study

The study has been limited in following limitation which is as follows:-

- 1) The study has been limited in descriptive research design and use simple description of Limbu marriage practice.
- 2) The study area will be confined in Oyam VDC of Panchthar district.
- 3) Only limited number of respondents (60) has participated in this study.
- 4) Specially, this study has been prepared in fulfillment of the requirement for the Master in Arts (Sociology Anthropology)

Chapter IV

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

This chapter analyzes and discusses the data and presents the findings of the study on the basis of the collected data and the direction indicated by the study. The researches have tried his best to analyze the data and interpret the findings in meaningful way to bring the study at its utmost significance.

4. The Limbu

The Limbus are the indigenous people whose main land is pallo kirant (I.S Chemjong, 2003) that lies in the eastern part of modern Nepal, pallo kirant is also called Limbuwan. I.S Chemjong (2003) says that in the beginning the Limbus had a republican system of governance. He says that the limbus elected ten chiefs and divided their country into ten districts. Each elected chief would be the leader of his district and of the specific Limbu clan- groups who occupied the land.

I.S Chemjong (2003) says that Limbu is a derivative of ‘Limbuwan’. He says the latter is made up Limbu words Li+Abu+ban which means “country won by bow and arrows’ (Kaila et al 2010). Shan Mokwan people after a successful revolution had decided to call their kirant land “Limbuwan” and their race “Yakthumba’ (meaning stronger than Yakha people) (I.S Chemjong 2003) later, the “Yakthumbas” started calling themselves “Limbus” after their country “Limbuwan” (I.S Chemjong 2003).

Kirat Yakthum Chumlung (2002), Campbell (1840) say may not

Have been of Limbu origin. They say the Limbus called themselves “Yakthumbas” while the non- Yakthumbas used the term “Limbu” to denote Yakthumba on the other hand, is comprised of Limbu words.

“Yak” and “Thumba”, meaning “fort” and security respectively. Campbell (1840) states Ekthoomba (Yakthumba) could have been the correct name and “limnoo” could have been the corrupted version used by the Gorkhas to denote them. C. Subba (1998) also suggests that the term “Limbu” came to be used by the Gorkha administration after 1774.

Regardless of the debate on the origin of the term one thing is agreed; Limbus/ Yakthumbas have been in east Nepal for a very long time. Subba (1998) says that Limbus inhabited the area from the east of Arun River to the eastern border of present Nepal, popularly known as Limbuwan especially after the annexation of the part of kirant land into Nepal in 1774. Similarly, Chemjong says that Limbuwan stretched from “the northern boundary in Tibet”, the southern boundary in the Indian plain at Jalal Garh near punea; the eastern boundary at river Testa and the western boundary at river Dudkoshi”. There is consistency in the data provided by scholars in asserting that Limbus have been staying in what is called pallo kirant or Limbuwan for centuries which is also marked by the following observation made by Campbell in 1840. He says, Limbus inhabited in the

.....country lying between the Dood – koshi and the Kankai Rivers, in Nepal, and are found in smaller numbers east wards to the Mechi River, which forms the boundary of Nepal and Sikkim. In fewer numbers they exist within skimp territory as far east as the Teesta River, beyond which they very rarely settle”. Campbell (1840)

Similarly, Kirant Yakthung Chumlung (2002) says that the area of Limbus ranged “from the east of Arun. Sabha River to west Bengal until the border of Sikkim and from Himalaya in the North to Bijayapur state in the west (some portion of Jhapa and Morang also included).

Currently the Limbu comprises 1.58% of the Nepali population (CBS 2008). The group has been categorized as the disadvantaged group by the working group on the classification of indigenous nationalities NEFIN (M. Acharya & C. Subba). However the Limbus are considered to be at the forefront among the groups who have been able to preserve their custom traditions and religion from the increasing influence of Hindu and Buddhist religions in Nepal (Kainla 2010). They practice animism and perform their religious and other tradition accordance to the Holy Scripture, Mundhum.

4.1 Origin of Limbu and their Clan of the Study Area

(1) Origin of Limbu in Oyam:-

There are several theories concerning Kirant ethnic origin. Some speak of coming from Tibet while others insist that kiranties have always in these hills of Nepal. Dor B. Bista (1980) cited that, “one of the old kiranti religious texts” the “kirantiko Veda” indicates that at least some of their ancestors and ancient “Rajas” came from Tibet.” Whatever may have been their places of origin, kiranties have been associated with the history of Nepal for thousands years (Bista 1980).

In addition to the dissertator wants to present the general account of origin of the people of the study area. According to the key informants Mr. Bir B. Nugo of the study area their ancestor came from kali khola Taplejung as a nomadic people and they were the first settler of these areas. Then he showed a written document was written by Tatuwa Seling who was a ruler of the area. The majority of the people of the study area are Nugo.

Here, that dissertate precisely cites the general account of origin on the basis of written document which is provided to the dissertate during the

field work. The younger brother of the king Shyam Seling of “Singmonggod” was fled after the palace agitation to eastern part of Nepal. He had three sons named Hangdo, Hang, Thekema and Kalu Seling respectively. . They were remained in sadam tar Taplejung District at the side of kali khola. After the death of their father they decided to be dispersing from that place to their place of choice. Before disperse, they erected three stone poles as symbol of which are still erected in the kali khola in sadam tar. They remained in different places for a long time and after the 12 generations of Hangdo Hang Mr. Sun Hang Seling was permantly remained in “PHONGSING” (a wood of flower in Limbu term). He had three songs named Yangbamikpa, Muhang keppa and Pladen respectively. Among them Muhang keppa was died before marriage. Then Yangbamikpa went to reside in namjang (a close village of Phungsing) and Iladen remained in Phungsing and all his generations are still residing around these areas. During the 21 generations “Subba” Tatuwa was a powerful authority or king of this area. Then after 1831 A.D the invasion of the Shah ruler into Limbuwan Mr. Tatuwa was the first to receive a royal decree of those area or he got a “Shubhangi killa” (certain territory) by except five households are the generation of Tatuwa. Long ago some were migrated from Phungsing to Oyam for battle with Nugos. After that they started agricultural production and they kept goats, sheeps, buffalos, pigs for milk and meat. They had their own culture, language, scripts and some books are written in this script.

4.2 Origin of Clan

The Limbus are divided into a number of named unit which may be related to as sub- tribes although they normally allude to those units as “Thar” which is same word they use for the clan (Caplan (1970). According to the Nepalese context the term “clan” refers to various

“Thar” of the Nepalese society. Hence “clan” indicates to the geonological order of one ancestor of the family. Within the Limbu there are more than 134 clans, but in the study area there are only two clans descent Nugo and Seling are the associated clans of the “Oyam” village in ward no. 6.

There are two clans of Limbu in “Oyam” village ward no. 6 . Which are mentioned as bellow:-

(a) Nugo: - Nugo are the major population of the Oyam specially, they maintain “clan” exogamy and race endogamy. They never marry within their own clan they prefer to marry with other clan. Clan exogamy is strictly followed within the Limbu ethnic groups. Nugo is a clan out of 134 clans of Limbu Hence , if one breaks the rule of exogamy he will be socially boycotted from the Limbu society not only from the certain clans. All rights of inheritance properties are handed to the son thus they are patriarchal family types.

(b) Seling: - Seling is also a clan among the Limbu. They strongly follow the clan exogamy and race endogamy as Nugo do. There are 35 households of this clan. They can marry between Nugo and Seling clan.

4.3 The Households

As in other ethnic groups, the household is a basic unit in the Limbu society. It is called “Him” in Limbu term and “Ghar” in Nepali term. This term doesn’t refer only the materal structure of the building but also refers to the family that occupies the material house. Most of the Limbu family consisting of a man, his wife and his unmarried children , in this regard the sociologist and anthropologist are convinced that the family is the basic unit of social organization, similarly, on the basis of common view, a family is a group of presons united by ties of marriage, blood or

adoption consisting a single household, Rau(1982) states that “this small kin group is a single economic unit, all members share a common culture, authority may be vested in one or several persons”.

Thus sociologists have distinguished various types of families. Three types of families are found in the study area. These are as below:-

- (a) Nuclear family
- (b) Polygamous family
- (c) Extended family

The number of the extended families is low in the study area; most of the Limbu of this area are of the simple and nuclear family. The houses of the study area are of two or three storeys, built of stone and with that roof. All houses are colored with white and red soil. Some houses are larger than the average houses of the village. Nevertheless the dissertant regards that family and households are synonymous term and it performs the major social and cultural activities as marriage, reproduction and property inheritance etc. the dissertator found three types of households in the study area, which are as below:

Household composition of Oyam village wards no. 6

- (a) Nuclear family 45
- (b) Polygamous family 5
- (c) Extended family 10

(a) Nuclear family

The nuclear family is composed of husband, wife and their unmarried children when this unit comprises a residential kin group its own right, it is called a nuclear family household. Most of the household are consisting

of nuclear family in the study area. On the basis of the empirical observation of the dissertator

(b) Polygamous family

It could be polygamous, when a man has two or more co- wives and the children. All family members either live in the single house or each co- wife occupies a separate house of her own and the houses are clustered together within a family compound that is called polygamous family within the study area. The dissertator has got 8.33 percent of polygamous family in the study area.

(c) Extended family

The extended family is a corporate family of several nuclear families. A small extended family might include an old man, his wife, their sons, the son's wife and the son's children. There are 16.67percentages of such types of families in the study area.

These three types of families, in the study area are patriarchal. All rights of inheritance properties are handed to the son, not to the daughter. In this family type, daughters are sent to their husband's house after their marriage forever. Beside of the property right, they are given a small amount of wealth after getting birth of her children. Such types of amount are given them during the final marriage, in the Limbu ethnic group. Hence, all children inherit the father's line not mother's line in the Limbu communities.

4.4 Lineage

When segmentation occurs within the local clan segment the unilinear descent groups which emerge can be called 'lineages'(Caplan 1970). Similarly there are various clans familiar within the Limbu communities and every lineage has their own unilinear descent groups within a clan.

There is minimal and maximal lineage and the members of the lineage trace their descent patrilineally to a common ancestor and practice their common ritual, rites and language in a single clan of the study area. The lineage group known as a polluting group headed by a “subba”. When a lineage member dies the entire members of lineage must observe form of ritual pollution (Jutho) that last for four days after death for a man and three days for a woman, during the polluted period, every members of the lineage must refrain from eating salt, oil and meat . All the members of the deceased are strictly prohibited to talk with the people of other castes during polluted period, but they can talk with the same “clan” and the members of the lineages. The closest members of the deceased should sit on the corner of the house during polluted period. Meanwhile, the members of the same lineage of deceased do not arrange marriage and ritual performance in their family. All kinship and the members of the lineage are called to participate at the feast is given by mourners. On that day all of the lineage members and the kinship bring some liquor, rice and money as a donation. It is a rotator system among the Limbu ethnic group. If a woman die without paying “saimundri” by her husband is not considered ritually polluting to her husband’s patrilineal kinship. Because the final marriage payment “saimundri” which only transfers the woman’s natal clan home to that of her husband. Thus death should occur after the payment is made. If a woman dies before the payment of saimundri the brother of the deceased woman can transfer the natal clan name to the clan of her husband to perform the polluted ritual. In the study area there are “maximal and minimal” lineages and all members will share the grief. During the period of grief the main roles are played by a headman called “subba” in Limbu term. All members of the lineage respect him as a chieftain hence most of the decisions are depend on the hand of the head

man of the lineage. During the marriage a rite should be paid to the chieftain from the side of groom. This payment is called “SUBBAJA”, a nominal sum of Rs. 10.00 and a bottle of wine for him. This is general outline of the feature of the Limbu clan’s lineages.

4.5 Marriage (Mekhim)

Marriage is a union between man and woman and the children are recognized legitimate as the offspring of both the partners. In all societies people are bound together in groups by various kinds of bounds. Most universal and most basic of these bonds are based on reproduction on. Marriage is not considered just as an arrangement entered into by two individuals but rather as a relationship which involves two groups. The groups continuously interact with each other. Marriage creates new social relationships and reciprocal rights between spouses, between each kin of the other and establishes what will be the rights and status of the children when they are born. Every society has recognized procedures for creating such relationship and rights, and for making it known that they have been created (Lucy Mair 1984). The various types of marriage are practiced in different groups or societies. All types of marriage create new social relationships and their rights and status. Similarly in the Nepalese society there are various types of marriage and culture. Therefore the Limbu of the eastern mid- hill region of Nepal cannot be discriminated from the marriage variations. The dissertator found basically the arranged marriage but prior to this formalized betrothal all boy and girls who have puberty stage will love each other through an institution known as the “Dhan Nach” in Limbu term, but arranged marriage without courtship each other through “Dhan Nach” and marriage by capture and love are also prevalent in the study area. People mostly practice the monogamous marriage in the study area where as polygamous is also found. The Limbu

practice clan exogamy and race endogamy marriage. Limbu do not follow the agnates during the marriage process, and they can marry within the different clans where not blood and affinal relations are. However the Limbus of the study area are strictly prohibited to marry the persons on the father's side clan and mother side up to 7 and 5 generations respectively there is not any social taboos to have marriage with widow in the Limbu community of "Oyam village". Similarly, they can do divorce in each other for re- marriage for a long time. But the divorce rate is low.

"Dhan Nach" is a main courtship institution of Limbu communities. Those who practice "Dhan Nach" sing songs and dance in circle, every songs and dancing style express Limbu attitudes toward courtship between "Taruni" and "Tandheri" or "Menchaya" and "Thangben" in Limbu term. No two members of the same clan of opposite sex are allowed to dance together and no two members of the same clan are allowed to have sexual relation. During the "Dhan Nach" they sing their songs of love affairs among the dancers, but they do not touch the even toes of another dancer.

Hence "Dhan Nach" is a romantic courtship institution through which two opposite sex can arrange marriage between them. "Dhan Nach" is regarded as "Rodhi" courtship institution of Gurung ethnic group. "Dhan Nach" provides opportunities to choose the girl and boys for marriage. Most of the youths, those who have reached to marriageable age, choose the girl through the "Dhan nach" institution. Limbus practice both love and capture marriage through "Dhan Nach" and they also choose the girl for arranged marriage during the dancing periods. Because "Dhan Nach" provides opportunities for potential marriage partners to get to know each other prior the marriage and they got chances to have some knowledge about their behaviors between them before marriage.

4.6 Mundhum

Mundhum (also known as peylan) is the ancient religious scripture and folk literature of the Kirat people of Nepal. It is the ancient, indigenous religion of Nepal. Mundhum means “the power of great strength” in the Kirati language. The Mundhum covers many aspects of the the kirant culture, customes and traditions that have been taken from the Vedic civilization in south Asia.

Mundhum is organized into two parts- Thungsap and Peysap. The Mundhum extand beyond religion, serving as a guide for culture, ritual and social values. Mundhum is written in ancient kiranti languages and versions vary among the various kirat tribes, serving each tribe’s distinctive culture and farming their social identity and unity in relation to other tribes and people.

The Yehang Mundhum contains the story of the first leader of mankind who made laws for the sake of improvement of human beings from the stage anima life to the enlightened life and ways to control them by giving philosophy on spiritualism. In this book the leader has made rules for marriage, arbitration purification of human beings by a deluge and the cause of existence of many languages the kirat people, the social customs of seasonal worship to the worship of God, the rules of purification on child birth and death are mentioned in the Mundhum.

Yehang, the first religious leader of mankind made the following rules for marriage.

1. (a) The matrimonial connection between father- daughter, mother- son, brother- sister should be prohibited.
- (b) There should not be any marriage between a step- brother and step- sister.

- (c) The system of marrying cousins should also be stopped.
 - (d) None should break the blood relation from the father's side.
 - (e) The blood relation from mother's side should be opened after the fourth generation only. He who violatesthe above rules will be killed by thunder bolt.
2. (a) Young girls of a different blood should be bought for wives and their marriage should be solemnized, through their priest and his witness would legalize the girl's status as a legal wife of a legal husband.
- (b) The children born of an illegal wife or illegal husband will be illegal and they can't have any rights to parental property. They will be under the disposal of their maternal uncle.

Limbus has been following these rules strictly up to now. In Limbu community boy and girl have freedom for their choice. So at first when a boy of a family attains the age of puberty then the father of the boy used to send two or three people to look for a marriageable girl for marriage. The whole members are called "Ingmiba" or "Menchya Inglappa", in Limbu term. Firstly, they used to go to their relative house and talk them about any marriageable girls. After studying the feasibility of the potential bride. they used to go to the girl's house to make agreement with the girl's parents, during this time "Ingmiba" group offer a wood container liquor.if bride's parents accept the liquor it symbolizes that they agree, after that they ask for Sunauli and Rupauli.but in Love and capture marriage it is not necessary to practice it. After doing agreement both groom and bride side prepare for marriage. Before two or three days of marriage date a group under "Ingmiba"used to go bring bride to the house of groom accompanied by 8-60 relatives girls of the bride, among

them two or three may be the brothers of her are called “Lokandi” in Limbu term.

4.7 Historical Accounts of Limbu Marriage before Practicing Arranged Marriage

According to the respondents, before intervention of new immigrants into Limbuwan Limbu did not practice arranged marriage but they practice only capture and love marriage. There were no any “match makes to attract girl for marriage. These who were marriageable they could agree each other for marriage through the “Dhan Nach”. Long ago “Dhan Nach” was only a courtship institution within the Limbu community. When girl would be agreed to flee – away with her potential husband and before leaving her natal house she used to put four pieces of sticks into the hanging PEKO on the corner of the kitchen. And, if a girl did not appear in the house for a couple of days then her parents used to look at “peko”, and if they got four pieces of sticks they thought she has already gone to the house of potential son – in-law. The boy brought the potential bride to his house and when they reached in the house the potential bride used to stand holding them main pole of the new daughter in law in their house. Peko and the main pole holding position of the new girl were the symbolic items for marriage between two youth. On the basis four pieces of sticks the brothers of the girl or bride used to go to look for their sister. This practice is called “Yokthowa” in Limbu term and when they found their sister, they are offered the goat which is used to slaughter without separating the body and head. The half of the killed goat toward backward portion is fried and served to that team in the groom house in a grand honor. On the following day of the team the residual portion (upper part) of the killed goat is packed into the “DHAKAR” (a big bamboo basket) and took back to the girl’s natal house by that team themselves.

This practice is called 'Yokthowa' rite. The first person who involved in persuading the girl to marry is called "INGELAPPA". After 'Yokthowa' practice two persons (first one should be intellectual person of village) and his friend are sent to girl's natal house with a thigh of pig and wood container liquor. When they (parents of bride) accept these things then another process is practiced.

After the completion of marriage the groom used to go the bride's natal house to make a payment called "Char Kalam".the groom used to go in group and the leader of that group was called "Ingamiba" or "Sardar". They used to pay Rs. 4.00 for the four pieces of sticks which was left by the girl in "Peko" before fleeing away from her natal house. Long ago Limbu could have brought a thigh of a buffalo and a bottle of liquor for "Char Kalam". There was a tradition to obtain written evidence from the natal guardian of the girl insuring the payment had duly made.

In addition to these, "Saimundri" Was A Final Payment For Bride Which Can Not Is Made Before 'Sunauli'. Long Ago The Limbus could have to pay only Rs.40 for 'Saimundri'. According to key respondents the bride was regarded as a virgin until the payment of a 'saimundri". All children of a woman did not formally belong to the husband sib. After paying all series payment upto "Saimundri" the girl could have the right to change her sib- name into the sib name of her husband. Limbu used to pay "sunauli"payment to the bride's parents. Before 1943 A.D sunauli could be utilized by the bride's parents. During that time they used to pay both some commodities and money for 'sunauli" rite. Latter it was completely converted into gold and money. Meanwhile there was a tradition of paying no more than Rs. 5000-1000 for "sunauli"and one tola-gold.long ago Limbu did not practice arrange marriage so that they did not pay

more rites as the arrange marriage. At that time the only indispensable payment were the rites after betrothal.

The indispensable payment has been presented below:-

- (a) Char kalam: -Char Calam is second process of marriage. In Char Calam side of groom have to offer two killed pig or one killed pig(without separating any parts of body) and one buffalo, two wood containers of liquor,some pickles and Sunauli, Rupauli,(which is based on demand of parents). It shows economic status of groom which villagers predict that by seeing those pigs, buffalo and Sunauli and Rupauli.second day bride's parents organize marriage ceremony.
- (b) Vesalang: - Vesalang is first process of marriage. This is given information from groom that their daughter is with them. In Vesalang a respected old man (Sardar) and his friend go to the bride's parents' house, by taking a thigh of killed buffalo or pig and a wood container liquor and some pickle. When bride's parents accept the Vesalang they demand Rupauli and Sunauli and confirm date for Char Calam. Then Sardar conveys message to groom's parents. According to it they make preparation for Char Calam.
- (c) Yokthowa: - it is observed only in Love marriage and capture marriage. When a daughter doesn't return home from weekly market or other places, at that time her brother and two or three villager boys are sent in the name of searching their daughter. After getting her with potential groom, they remain there one day. Side of groom offer them delicious food, meat and liquor. After that they depart from there by taking Yokthowa (upper part of body of killed goat or pig without trunk). It is observed before Vesalang.

Nowadays Limbu people don't go to Yokthowa because they get married with their choice and as their mutual agreement and bride herself inform her parents that she is going to get married. Thus Yokthowa is a process of getting information about bride.

- (d) Sunauli: - Sunauli regards as bride price. It depends on the economic status of the groom and on the bargaining capacity of the bride's parents. They demand Sunauli (money and gold) at Vesalang. If groom doesn't able to pay Sunauli (according to demand) villager portray him as poor, in this way Sunauli shows economic status of groom so he becomes ready to pay Sunauli even mortgaging his land. But nowadays Sunauli has become rare in Limbu community. They demand only "Kuhiyeko Makeko" (two killed pigs or one killed pig and one buffalo and two wood container liquor) these some changes are found because of education.
- (e) Saimundri: - Saimundri is a last process of marriage. It is paid at old age, in some cases after death. It is final payment of bride which isn't paid before Sunauli. Bride is regarded as a virgin until the payment of a 'Saimundri'. All children of a woman didn't formally belong to the husband sib. After paying all series of payment upto Saimundri the girl could have the right to change her sib name into the sib name of her husband. Without paying saimundri to bride's parents or natal side, they don't have any right to observe death rite. So they have to pay Saimundri even after death of bride. Saimundri is paid as 'Char Kalam' two killed pigs or one killed pig one buffalo and two wood container liquor and money. In the case of Saimundri parents or natal side don't demand as 'Char Calam'. After paying Saimundri bride almost doesn't

remain in touch with her natal side. That's why Saimundri is paid only in old age or after death.

- (f) Dera Nakpa: - Dera Nakpa is paid after paying Sunauli. It is request from groom side to stay one day. They request by paying one bottle liquor and some money.
- (g) Subaja: - Rs. 'Subba' is a chieftain of Limbu community for permission of marriage ceremony or death rite, Limbu people have to pay to Subba. As 'subbaja' they have to pay one bottle liquor and some money.
- (h) Panthwa: - Panthwa is a request from groom side to start to talk about Sunauli rite with bride's parents. After accepting Panthwa they start to talk about rites. As Panthwa they have to pay one bottle liquor and some money.
- (i) Pansungwa: - After agreement between groom's side and bride's parents about Sunauli rite, groom side have to pay Pansungwa a bottle of liquor and Rs. 10. This is request for conclusion.
- (j) Singkhokpa: - It is paid as a fine for the bride's sister if the bride gets married prior her elder sister. It is called 'Sir Uthauni' of bride's sister. As Singkhopa they have to pay Rs. 10- 100, and some cases it is depend upon sister's demand.
- (k) Young Singmabung: - This is last payment of 'Char Calam'. It is request for departing from bride's natal house. As young Singmabung they have to pay RS. 10 and a bottle of liquor. During departure time bride's sister or her friends throw water to the groom's friends. they tease each other by pouring water over each other and some Menchya Tangben start 'Dhan Nach'.

All of the above mentioned rites are listed according to the respondents of the study area. Through the ages the under going changes on rites are still continue , but the volume of the various rites and “sunauli” was increased between the period of 1943 A.D and 1965 A.D. today the volume of rites and “sunauli” undergoing change in a small volume than that period. Thus the fluctuations have been appeared within the marriage system of Limbu then and now.

4.8 Types of Prevailing Marriage

4.8.1 Arrange Marriage (Nakma Mekhim)

Since Limbus started the custom of arrange marriage, it was considered to be a holy marriage. The Limbu of Oyam village practices such type of arrange marriage. There are various formalities in arrange-marriage. At first when a boy of family attains the age of puberty then the father of the boy used to send two or three people to look for a marriageable girl for marriage. The whole members are called ‘Ingmiba’ or ‘Menchya’ “Inglappa” in Limbu term. They used to take porter. Most of the Limbu used to go to next districts as well as next places for bride than their own village. Firstly, they used to go to their relatives’ house and talk them about any marriageable girls. After studying the feasibility of the potential bride. They used to go to the girl’s house to make agreement with the girl’s parents. If bride’s parents agree, they ask for “Sunauli” or “Rupauli” to the girl’s parents at the moment of entering into agreement and the groom party should provide some liquor to the girl’s parents and other relatives.

According to an old respondent of the study area, approximately, the arranged- marriage has been started from 70 years before and during that time the amount of 'Sunauli' was 8-40 Rs. It was increased up to 1500-2000 Rs. By the end of 2020 B.S

When the both side of groups come to the agreement they ascertain the marriage date before returning to their house. If there isn't groom at that moment 'Ingmiba should perform all duties for the groom. Before two or three days of the marriage date a group under 'Ingmiba' used to go to bring bride to the house of groom accompanied by 8-60 relatives girls of the bride, among them two or three may be the brothers of bride, are called 'Lokandi' in limbu term. When they arrive at approximately to the groom's house, they used to give signal by firing gun and from the groom's house too. Some person used to go to welcome "Lokandi", with guns and liquor. When they met the "Lokandi", a couple of guns are fired as a symbol of grand welcome and they feed all liquor to the lokandi. This, the welcome is called "Lamlokma" in Limbu term. As they arrive near the groom's house they should stay for a night at the temporary hut. When they arrive to the hut, on that exact time, they don't sit at that temporary hut until the "Langbewa Gima" rite is made. In this rite, groom's parents should pay a half of killed goat and some money then they request them to sit on that hut then finally they do and they are served by Tongba with spicy pickle. This is the third rite after agreement between two families.

On the wedding day the bride is taken a bit distance away from temporary hut to a particular place. Where the 'Lokandi' adorn bride with bride attire, ornaments and make- up, called "BEULI LUKAUNE THAUN". But before taking the bride away to that place there should be a payment of Rs. 50.00 to 'Lokandi' requesting them to get up from that place and to

take the bride to “Beuli Lukaune Thaun”. This rite is called “Uthanni” in Limbu term. In addition to that the groom’s group should give bride attire for bride and some money for own sister of the bride called “Didibaini Pherauni” rite. When ‘Lokandi’ reach to the “Beuli Lukaune Thaun”, then a bit latter the groom’s group fire gun twice time and on that exact time the parents should feed yoghurt to the groom in the house. Before this, the groom wears white dress and puts garland of flowers around his neck and especially his cap is decorated with a feather of peacock and flowers. His entire forehead is decorated with white “Tika. After that, the groom, his junior brother (is called Lokande) and Janti are ready to go to the “Beuli Lukaune Thaun”, including two virgin girls with two a couple of “Kalas”, Two Bottle of Liquor and Some Fried Meat. When the groom goes to bring bride with Janti, he should stay on “Doli” or horse and his brother should drape the groom with umbrella. On this occasion, Limbu dancers play the large drums called “Chabrung” and Damai (who sews our clothes) play “Naumati Baja” and follow Janti and bride groom. When Janti reach to the “Beuli Lukaune Thaun” two bottle liquor and some fried meat are put in front of the bride and her group “Lokandi”, on that time, “Naumati Baja” and “Chabrung” should be played around the Lokandi and fired gun on the side of groom group with great enthusiasm. Then groom put white Tika on the bride’s forehead and she should touch the feet of groom with her forehead. After finishing this rite the liquor of the bottle and fried meat are ritually thrown elsewhere. It is not eaten but it is offered to the God of forest (Sangbang) in Limbu term, demanding required help to break obstacles during wedding party. The bride and her all friends (Lokandi) take participation in the party but they don’t have any eatable food until the groom does first. The bride and groom should sit together- bride on left side and groom on right side. After having delicious feast they come into the groom’s house, there which is covered

by white cloth from yard to the door on which the bride and groom should walk. Before eating in the house every related elder person of groom should bless them by putting tika on the forehead of bride- groom, after that bride enters in the house who is guided by groom’s mother or sister and groom follows her.

When they enter into the house the betrothal starts, in the evening, under the guidelines of Limbu priest called “Phedangma” on that time they are served homemade beer in bamboo or wooden container called “Tongba” and spicy dishes. All guest and Lokandi sit around the main pole. A “Nanglo” banana’s leaf (Tella Lasm), two folded leaf of banana (Llaik) coin (Uparung Chemma), sindur (vermillion), a vase of flowers and uncook rice and baked-rice are placed in front of them. A couple of lamp are lit and placed next to the rice. The the bride and groom are instructed to sit closer one another and the right knee of groom should be on the left knee of bride and similarly groom’s palm should be on the palm of bride, on the summit of knees. Phedangma puts a couple of chicks on the palm of groom. The pyramidal placement of knees, palms and chicks are illustrated below:-

Chicks	
Palm	groom
Palm	bride
Knee	groom
Knee	bride
Ground	

Thus the “Phedangma” starts betrothal ritual calling the name of bride and groom with the stanza of “Mundhum”. The Phedangma holds the chicks one in each hand and begins to address the bride and groom. He instructs them to remain faithful to one another and to obey rules and

customs of a Limbu marriage. Thereafter the groom puts sindur (vermillion) on the bride's forehead repeatedly for three times. Phedangma kills the chicks by hitting with a stick then phedangma drop the blood from the beak of chicks on the folded leaf (Takhohg Manghong in Limbu term) in front of the bride and groom. Meanwhile the "Phedangma" divines the blood and sees into the future of the marriage or spouse. After performing the betrothal duties all of the 'Lokandi' and presented people should pronounce the term "Kerero" after phedangma. The kerero term is the meaning of the completion of betrothal activities. The Limbu wedding ceremony is characterized by the "Chabrung" dancer who entertains. Who involves numerous complicated steps and movements in circle are a purely Limbu art form (Chemjong, 2003). The Chabrung dancers imitate various animals such as the cock, Turkey, Pigeon, buffalo. And monkey dance etc. thus, on the exact time of the betrothal all Chabrungs and trumpets are played and guns are fired with great enthusiasm.

Just after finishing Sindur ritual groom should give co into bride under the guideline of 'Phedangma'. On that time, the groom should vow giving the metal coin to the bride. the groom says "If I do any unwanted activities you should control me with the help of this coin". At the last, the Phedangma instructs to new couple to eat nine pieces of meat, the groom starts to eat some pieces then remaining pieces by bride. Then finally, the bride should bow down on the feet of her husband to honor him as husband. On that morning, the bride begins to clean the house sweep the courtyard as a hard worker. Then after showing her abilities the bride prepares for the final ritual in the courtyard. Hence the bride and groom sit side by side as they did during the previous night. Then first the Phedangma and then Damai bless them putting "Phulpati" (mixed of rice

and flower). After that bride pulls the groom who is standing beside her, requesting him to sit beside her. Then they both stand up and enter into the house, the groom leads the bride along the ladder to take her to up stories of the house where the store room is. When they get store room the bride should put all of these collected “Phulpati” into the store room of the house. During that time, Damai play their instruments and Chabrung dancers start dance in circle and enter the house shouting beating their drums. They dance around the main pole, repeatedly three times, of the house blessing to bride and groom as well as family members. After that the family member should offer one or two bottle liquor and 15-20 rupees for dancers. Finally the groom and bride should honor the all senior relatives of the groom respectively.

After completion of the above activities, all of the invited guests and “Lokandi” participate in the feast. After the grand feast of the morning all invited guests depart for their home with loaded gifts of liquor, a thigh of pig or buffalo. They go to the bride’s parent’s house with intermediary called “Sardar”. They should pay “Mesolang” or “Vesalang” rite to the bride’s parents. In this rite they should pay a thigh of pig or buffalo, liquor on a wood container with some other pickles, Deranakpa, Pantama, Subaja, Pangsingma, Sewama, and rs. 40/- or 15 meters cloth to the bride’s parents. Vesalang rite is taken to the bride’s natal house. These all things are packed in the “DHAKAR” (A bamboo basket), the “Menchema” rite is also included in the “Samache pherauni”, paid to “Lokandi”, which consist of money amounting rs. 100-200. this money is paid for the trouble of the lokandi and is distributed among them by “Sardar”. Samache Phudung or Menchena rite is consist of a thigh of a killed buffalo, Rs. 5/- and two container of liquor for Lokandi. All “Lokandi” leave the groom’s house asking permission to go.

All the processes mentioned above are the items of arranged marriage of Oyam village.

4.8.2 Love Marriage (Nanuma Mekhim)

Those boys and girls who are marriageable age, they love through the “Dhan nach” and flee away the boy’s house directly.”Dhan Nach” is a courtship institution of Limbu group. Most of marriageable boys and girls go to market, weekly market or carnivals they make their love through “Dhan Nach” and sometime they flee away from the market. Love marriage is general as arranged marriage in Limbbu community. If a girl doesn’t return to the house from weekly market or carnivals the girl’s brother go to look for her elsewhere. And if they find out their sister in the groom’s house then they make agreement two new affinal families. Latter the groom party should pay “Sunauli” and rites to the girl’s parents. If she doesn’t want to stay with her husband, and she wants to remain in her natal house she can stay without any social taboos. The girl is socially supposed as pure and virgin. But the love marriage within the Limbu community is more stable than other types of marriage. Because, they start love through the “Dhan Nach”and it provides potential marriage partner, an opportunity to exercise freedom of choice in the selection of the girl and boy from the both sides. After having marriage the groom should pay series payment of rites up to “Saimundri”. Saimundri is the indicator of the completion of marriage of Limbu community.

4.8.3 Capture Marriage (Khuma Mekhim)

Capture marriage is still vogue within the Limbu community but is in low rate among the Limbu “Oyam” village. In this marriage, the boy forcely captures the girl from the weekly markets and carnivals or on the way when she is returning from the markets. Long ago it was in high rate than today within Limbus. The boy forces to the girl to flee away with the boy

to the unknown place and hides her till she agrees to marry with him. Then as the love marriage the brothers of the girl use to go to search their sister. According to the key informants the groom should pay series of payment as the rite of love marriage. “Dhan Nach” also practices in the capture marriage as love and arranged marriage. Hence, if a boy needs a girl he goes to the market to choose girls and he makes some jokes with her. And he requests her to go aside of the market for “Dhan Nach”. Then latter the boy takes away to his house or village. All of these mentioned matters are taken from the key informants of the study are

4.8.4 Jari Marriage (Elopement of other’s Wife)

Comparatively long ago it was more popular within the Limbu community than the present days. In this regard, the informants of the study area said that Jari marriage is not a sinful marriage in the Limbu ethnic group. Hence, the absconder can flee away someone’s wife for marriage. Especially Jari marriage may be possible in two conditions

- (a) Because of the unsatisfied husband and wife
- (b) Similarly, a need of a woman to a man for marriage.

If someone’s wife is beautiful a boy takes away from her husband’s house by luring her. These are the general nature of “Jari” marriage. If a married girl escapes with another potential husband, then the potential husband or new husband of the girl should pay “Jari” to her previous husband. The actual volume of the “Jari” is depend upon the claimed amount of the previous husband. “Jari” is the compensation for absconding the wife of another person. All the given ornaments and “Sunauli” rites to her or her parents by previous husband takes all “Jari” amounts from her previous husband takes all the “Jari” amounts from the natal house of the girl and if she flees away from her previous husband,

the present husband should pay all “Jari” amount to the previous husband. According to the respondents the “Jari” rate of this village is Rs. 1000/- 5000/- except ornaments. At present time “Jari” amount is limited by government’s law but Limbus doesn’t follow the law. The village councilor, the chieftain and other renowned Limbus make negotiation on the payment volume of “Jari” amount. Because of the social “ego” the “Jari” negotiation is made in the village except the governmental sector. They thought socially negligible therefore, if they go to the court for justice from both sides. Due to extravagance attitudes on the wedding ceremony Limbu use to practice “Jari” marriage said respondent of the study area. Generally, in all marriage system, there is prohibition to marriage relationship 7 generations of the father side and 5 generations of the mother side of the Limbu populant in village Oyam.

4.9 Factor Responsible in the Undergoing Changes of Marriage Patterns

4.9.1 Education

Education is a ladder of modern society to reach at the summit of the civilization, and it provides an integrated way of life. Through the educational ladder people can distinguish the good and bad aspect of social milieus all over the world. In this context the people of “Oyam” village have been facilitated with the education from the very beginning. Hence, though the majority people of the study area the illiterate (and however some of them) those who are young, are literate. The schools were established six decades ago and the educational impact in the society is gradually associated. Meanwhile, some changes can be observed within the social milieus. Hence, due to the educational faction. There are some changes on marriage patterns of Limbu community. To

this regard we can regard educational factor as a main factor for the social and cultural change

4.9.2 Economic Factor

When Limbus lost their autonomous kingdom then after they were granted “Kipat”. Meanwhile, the main sources’ of income among Limbu was “Kipat” land which was granted to them by P.N Shah. When the land reform act was formed then after the kipat land was abolished without any royal notification. Due to the abolition of the “Kipat” land Limbus became gradually poor. Then it has naturally imposed compulsion to be economized in the social ceremonies. Similarly, due to the adequate wealth to pay bride price or “Sunauli” and expenses on marriage ceremonies they became more conscious from being extravagance. Thus economic factor is another main factor which brought some changes on marriage rites and rituals.

4.9.3 Interaction with new Immigrants

Long ago as an isolated group the Limbu in the eastern hill of Nepal practiced their own custom and rituals. Meanwhile, according to respondent, due to the shortage of labor, Limbu encouraged other people to settle in their territories. Similarly after the Gorkhaconquest, Hindu specially “Brahamin” and “Ksehtries” were encouraged to settle in Limbuwan. Hence, the conquest of Gorkha and the new immigrants have played main role in the undergoing changes in culture and customs of Limbu. Not only that, due to these two factors, the interaction between other groups of people became main factor to bring changes in Limbu marriage as well as patterns.

4.8.4 Transportation and Communication

Transportation and communication are two other factors on the changing process of marriage patterns of Limbu. Through the transportation and communication one society or person knows the situation of another society. Similarly, the developments of means of communication and transportation have brought directly or indirectly cultural changes in the village Oyam. According to the informants, through the transportation and communication they have gathered information about the process of social reform. Likewise, through these means they got chances to interact with other ethnic groups and obtain some knowledge comparing with their actual situation which brought some changes on marriage patterns.

4.8.5 Legal Factors

During the time of Maoist insurgency 2052/ 53 B.S number of “Janti”, age of bride groom had been confined and dowry, volume of expenses on marriage ceremony, payment of “Sunauli”, “Rupauli”, consumption of liquor and meat had been totally banned. It compelled to the people to control their extravagance attitude. Hence, who do not follow the act would be punished according to the underlined provisions of the same acts. Through that acts there have been gradual changes on marriage patterns of Limbu in village Oyam.

All of the above mentioned factors are the main causes of changes on marriage system of Limbus but also on all the culture and customs.

4.10 Changing Patterns on Marriage

4.10.1 Marriage System before two Decades and at Present Days

The popular marriage system before two decades and present days according to the Limbu respondents of “Oyam” are given below as per the informants

Table no. 1

Marriage system	before%	now%
Arrange marriage	30.77%	15.38%
Love marriage	15.38%	64.62%
Capture marriage	16.92%	3.02%
Polygamy marriage	12.31%	4.62%
Jari marriage	10.77%	12.31%
Levirate marriage	16.77%	-
Sororate marriage	6%	-
Total	100%	100%

According to respondents two decades before all of the above mentioned marriage were prevalent within the study area. Long ago the arranged marriage, love marriage and capture marriage are more popular than other. Nowadays the arranged marriage isn't popular than love marriage. There were no respondents in the village who mentioned the trend of levirate type of marriage adopted by native Limbus. The respondents of village state that the levirate system of marriage is not existence at present time among Limbu community. Hence, the weight of love marriage is gaining popularity than other type of marriage. Because at present they should not pay more "sunauli" and rite or ritual in love marriage than the past. Due to economic factor "jari" and "Love" marriage were popular. Because the parents of bride could not get any chances to bargain about "Sunauli" in "jari" and "Love" marriage. At present Limbus neither pays nor offers the economically burden rite and ritual. It is undergoing changes gradually within the marriage system on the basis of study area.

4.11 Changing on Seasons for Marriage Ceremonies

Long ago or two decades ago the “Limbu” marriage could organize throughout the year regardless of any prohibition on some specific months. But the Limbu respondents of the village “Oyam” are found moderate agreement regarding the prohibition of marriage ceremonies in the month poush, chaitra, and kartik. The prohibition in this month is due to the interaction with other racial groups those who are following of Hindu religion. In the Hindu religion, these months are regarded as omen and inauspicious for marriage. Hence, through the ages there have been changes in marriage month even among Limbu. As noted during the course of field study, some Limbus has still been practicing the marriage throughout the year. There are 4 households who mentioned that there is no prohibitions, in any months of a year an organizing a marriage.

The majority of Limbu respondents disagree on this point. They were 15 households who mentioned a Limbu marriage is arranged except some months of a year. Many people of study area are on the agreements that Limbu in village “Oyam” arrange marriage other than some specific months. Hence the seasons of marriage is also changed within majority of the Limbus of the study area. Due to the impact of Hindu culture, Limbu regards some month as auspicious months for marriage. Hence the marriage seasons are changed.

4.12 Age Pattern of the Bride and Groom

The age of bride and groom is an important component of studying the marriage practice of any ethnic groups. The Limbu respondent in village “Oyam” in aggregate are found consistent views regarding the age of the groom. On average the age of groom for getting marriage is 21-47 years. On the contrary the average age of bride as it is practiced nowadays, in Limbu marriage is also satisfactory, which is 17 years? There were

52.63% who mentioned the age of a Limbu girl to become marriageable when she is at the age of 15 years. There were only 47.37% of the respondents who mentioned that the age of a girl in village practice who get marriage when she is at the age of 20 years.

According to the respondents due to the prime influential variable the marriageable age is delaying at present days than it is compare to age in the past. The influential variable is known basically due to the level of education and the economic constraints or the combination of both.

4.13 Changes on Methods of Getting Bride

The majority of respondents (65) state there have been changes in the selection of methods for potential bride and rest 5 respondents express that there is no changes before two decades and nowadays.

According to the Limbu respondents of village “Oyam” the most popular method of getting- bride in the past used to be Dhan Nach and chori system and therefore, the arranged marriage with the prior consent of respective parents of a boy and girl had gained a confined popularity in this village. Due to the time of the “Chori” method has gained confined popularity in this village and as a result of that the marriage by agreement between the parents is increased. However, the method of getting potential bride through “Dhan Nach” is remained the most populant of limbu marriage then and now. Only it is different that during two decades before most of the potential bride and groom used to make agreement through “Dhan Nach” themselves for their marriage and they could take her from that agreement place to his house. But today the marriageable boy only use3d to choose the girl through “Dhan Nach” and used to tell his parents about the girl and, the agreement between two parties is made by the initiative of the groom parties. Hence, due to agreement between

two potential affinal parties, the “jari” and polygamy marriage is gradually decreased.

The table given below exhibits the most popular methods of getting potential bride at present in village “Oyam” and their respective respondents.

Table 1 the most popular methods of getting potential bride in village “Oyam”.

Method of getting bride	respondents	percentage
Dhan Nach	31	47.69%
Arranged by parents	21	32.37%
(chori) from	14	21.53%
Weekly market		
Total	65	100%

The table shows the best method of getting bride is still popular though Dhan Nach institution, arranged by parents and “Chori” respectively.

4.14 Dhan Nach (Yialakma)

Yialakma (Dhan Nach – khas version) is the most popular dance among Limbu community. It is a harvest dance in which teenagers to late adults of both sexes participate enthusiastically in this dance. The dance is usually organized at night during the paddy harvest season. Nowadays it is organized in day time in any festive occasion such as marriage, Maghey mela, weekly market, Kaphewa Tangnam (New Year magh 1st) or as item of entertainment. The dance is followed in rhythm of songs known as Pallam and steps (Subba, J.R). Musical instruments are not used, as it is not possible in the real life situation. The dance also provides forum of courtship for the young boys and girls as they sing love songs

and express their feelings through love songs one after the other. Numbers of dancers depend on the availability of space for dancing which varies from male and female to even hundred in row. Usually, 10 to 20 persons of both sexes form a good Yialang dance.

The Myth says that Yialang or Dhan Nach has a Mundhum(oral tradition) origin, when the Phedangma (priest) collect the newly harvested paddy, dehusk around their altar of Yagrangsing inviting the young boys and girls to accompany. When the operation of paddy dehusking is complete, the birds known as Muphik Phirikwa(*Lonchura striata*) are attracted on the rice, the Phedangmas drive away the bird as well as the boys and girls saying haa.....haa... Thereafter, the Phedangma offer the newly harvested rice, fermented finger millet from the newly harvested crop and other newly harvested items to the Gods and Goddess, and Sam Sire (deity) etc. at the time of Phungsok Timma ritual conducted during Kok Phekla Tongnam (Mangsir Purnima). These young boys and girls being unsatisfied continue their dance at the nearby paddy threshing areas known Takten or Khala and thus the tradition was continued. Now, Yialang has become a source of entertainments. (Subba, 1999).

Prior to arrangement of the marriage, most of the girls and boys will love each other through an institution known as 'Dhan Nach'. The Dhan Nach provides potential marriage partners and an opportunity to exercise freedom of choice in the selection of spouses. Such types of freedom are not enjoyed by most other castes and ethnic groups in Limbuwan or Nepal (Rex Lee Jones 1973).

Dhan Nach is a romantic dance which is practiced among those individuals who are not same clan and affinal related to each other. It is arranged between two opposite sex called "Menchya" and "Thangba" in Limbu term. It requires only two people and sometimes may be more

than two. During this period, most of the boys who are unmarried try to lure girl for marriage. Especially “Dhan Nach” is conducted during the Dashain, Tihar, weekly market in eastern mid- hill region of Nepal. The Dhan Nach is arranged between married or unmarried youth who are not related each other and sometimes between man and woman too in the purpose of entertainment.

There is more interesting legend behind the “Dhan Nach”. The agricultural dance of Limbuwan is called the Ya-rekma or paddy dance or Dhan Nach, in Nepali language. Y=paddy, Rakma=to trample i.e to trample paddy with a view to separate the grain or paddy. (Chemjong 1966). Hence, long ago the Dhan Nach was practiced only to separate the grains. Dhabn Nach is a result of crucial interaction of the environment of the Limbu community. And, during the course of cultural evolution it is modified from occupational and seasonal dance to courtship institution among the Limbus.

According to key informants Mr. Sukpal Limbu, an old man of the study area, the “Dhan Nach” was practiced with a view to separate paddy from its stalks. Because, there was no any technical machine to separate paddy and most of the young girls and boys used to gather for trample the paddy stalks to separate paddy. There were no any social taboos to dance even in between brother and sister during that time. Tatter, it become socially, possible only to dance between unrelated boys and girls, he said, due to the immoral activities and technical development, the “Dhan Nach” had strictly prohibited between sister and brother.

Dhan Nach is very popular in Limbu community. Dhan Nach is a initial phase of marriage, from this institution unmarried boy and girl get chance to understand each other and they can choose potential wife and husband from Dhan Nach. Nowadays Dhan Nach is organized not only

for the purpose of courtship, every Limbus are aware about their culture, custom and language so they are preserving their culture for their identity. So Dhan Nach is more popular so far.

4.15 Changes on Villager’s Attitudes towards Stopping Extravagance and Unnecessary Rites

According to the findings, the majority of Limbu villagers interviewed(98.28%) are an favor of stopping unwanted and unnecessary monetary expenses for organizing and observing a marriage. Only 1.72% was found their abstract attitude regarding stopping extravagance during a marriage in their house. But long ago or two decades ago most of the Limbus wanted more and more expenses in the marriage ceremonies because of social ego. But the cause of new immigrants, educational development and urbanization the attitude of Limbu has been changing in a proper sense. And other hand in this regard the majority of Limbu respondents are of the opinion that such extravagance could be stopped through mutual understanding among different clan’s chieftains of different places of Limbuwan followed by mandatory provisions. The various measures are tabulated below according to the number of respondents in village “Oyam”.

Table 2 Measures which help to stop Extravagances on Limbu Marriage

Chosen measures	percentage%
Mutual understanding	53.85%
Education	36.92%
Inter- caste marriage	9.23%

The table presented above indicates that the mutual understanding among Limbus is one of the effective remedy to stop the extravagance. Because

it could be stopped through mutual understanding between marriage parties.

Similarly the other preferred measures after mutual understanding are education and inter- caste marriage respectively.

4.16 Changes on Consumption Patterns

The consumption patterns of Limbu during marriage in the study area have been changing to some extent. The expenses that are discussed in this paper are some of the major heading which ought to be supplied in the Limbu marriage. According to the response of interviewed respondents, the basic heading of marriage expenditure are alcoholic beverage, meat, rice and other eatable things and “Sunauli” and rites etc.

A short description of which are discussed below indicating the extent of changes two decades ago and now based on the sample of 30 households of the village “Oyam”. All of the changing patterns of consumption are presented in the table below:

Table 3 Changes on Consumption Patterns of Limbu Marriage before two Decades and Nowadays

Nowadays	(in pathi/dharni)	two decades ago (in pathi)
Rice	50	55
Lentil	4	3
Raksi	10-12	42.5
Jand	86.84	40-120
Meat	75.50 (dharni)	65-100(dharni)

(a) Alcoholic Beverage

The jand and raksi are commonly used alcoholic beverage in Limbu marriage. Two decades ago the amount of jand and raksi consumption was ranging from 40 to 120 pathi. An average raksi used to consume at the rate of 42.5 pathi for marriage. At present the average consumption of jand and raksi in a marriage is gradually decreasing and this is a clear evident that the consumption of alcoholic beverage is little reduced at present than it was two decades ago in “Oyam” village. Because of their awareness about extravagance in the marriage ceremonies all items are gradually decreasing through ages. All of the changing factors have played a main role to control in the consumption patterns of Limbu marriage of the study area.

4.17 Changes on Rite and Ritual

Changes can easily be observed on rites and ritual of Limbus in Oyam village nowadays and two decades ago. At present day, changes have been rapidly occurring than it was two decades ago. The undergoing changes since two decade have gradually been increasing than the preceding year. Meanwhile, the changes on rites and ritual of the Limbu in village”Oyam” has been changed positively than other parts of the Limbuwan.

The respondent’s opinion of Oyam village that changes in rites and rituals followed during entering into an agreement with the parents of girl is occurred in all aspects. Whereas other respondents do not agree with the opinion that changes in all aspects of rites and rituals. The table, presents below would explore the detail:

Table No. 4 Presents below would Explore the Detail

Opinion	Respondent	Percentage
There is change in all aspects within marriage rituals and rites	60	92.31%
There is no change in any aspects	5	7.69%
Total	65	100%

The practice of demanding and offering “Sunauli” and “Rupauli” rites in this village is adopted by very few people and the volume of commodity given or taken as those “Sunauli and Rupauli” is of very negligible amount. This statement is supported by most of the villagers interviewed. In fact, all Limbus used to demand and offer the Sunauli and Rupauli before two decades. Meanwhile, it is only that, the volume of Sunauli and Rupauli which is offered and demand in this village, seems gradual changes throughout the period of two decades. This system is still existent within a few people of the village. The commodities of “Sunauli and Rupauli” are basically either gold or money or the combination of both. Generally seem to have adopted while demanding and offering “Sunauli and Rupauli” are given below:-

Table No. 5

Amount when money is taken	no. of respondents	(%)
Above Rs. 5000/-	30	46.15
Above Rs. 8000/-	20	30.77
Above Rs. 1000/-	15	23.08
Total	65	100

Table No. 6 When gold is accepted for Sunauli and Rupauli.

Gold (in tola)	no. of respondent	Percentage
1	42	64.62%
2	18	27.69%
5	5	7.69%
	65	100%

The table presented above indicates that the amount of Sunauli and Rupauli is more than Rs. 5000 when money is accepted. Whereas the amount of “Rupauli and Sunauli” generally exceeds and is equivalent to 5,500 or more when gold is the commodity adopted in this village.

According to key informants there were various rites and rituals for payment two decades before. All of the rites and rituals are listed table below on the basis of respondents of the village Oyam.

List (I) Rite and rituals in Limbu marriage

List(ii) Rites and rituals in the house of groom during marriage

- (a) Sunauli: - As a bride price, it depends upon economic status.
- (b) Lamlokma: - Liquor for “Lokandi” for welcome.
- (c) Samache phudung :- Rs.50/-two pathi liquor and a thigh of killed pig or buffalo for Lokandi
- (d) Sajakapa: - Rs. 50/-for “Beuli”.
- (e) Samache phewrauni:- Rs. 100-200 for Lokandi
- (f) Uthauni: - Rs. 10-50 for Lokandi.
- (g) Langbewa Gimma: - Rs. 10/- and a killed goat for Lokandi.

- (iii) After completion of marriage the rites and ritual payments in the natal house of bride.
- (a) Dera nakpa: - Rs. 10/- and one bottle liquor for Dera.
 - (b) Subaja: - Rs. 10/- and one bottle wine for Subba.
 - (c) Pantama:- Rs. 10/-and one bottle for talking with bride's party.
 - (d) Pansungma:- Rs. 10/- and one bottle for the conclusion of matter.
 - (e) Singkhowa:-Rs. 10/- - 100/-for the bride's senior sisters, if the bride is getting marriage prior her old sisters.
 - (f) Vesalang:- A thigh of killed buffalo, pig and a wood container liquor for bride's parents and all rites.
 - (g) Char Kalam:- killed pigs=two, buffalo=1, liquor=two vessels and all of the items.
 - (h) During 1st Dashain:- killed pigs=2, liquor=2 vessels, and pickle.
 - (i) 2nd Dashain:- killed pig= 1, liquor= two vessels and different types of pickle.
 - (j) 3rd Dashain:- pig= 1, liquor=two vessels and pickle.
 - (k) Saimundri:- pig= 1, liquor= 2 vessels and varieties of pickle including some rites.

All of the above mentioned rite and ritual were prevalent after acceptance of arrange marriage. And it was continued up to two decades, before very rapidly. Since two decades it has been gradually changing within the Limbu of the village "Oyam", but most of the Limbus want to reduce the volume of the rites and ritual while few people want to stop Sunauli rite completely at present, it has been rapidly undergoing change since two decades and the present prevailing rite and the volume of the rites are mentioned below:

- (a) Sunauli: - few people offer and demand.
- (b) Lamlokma: - liquor for Lokandi.
- (c) Vesalang: - A thigh of killed pig and a wood container liquor.
- (d) Samache pherauni: - Rs. 100/- for Lokandi.
- (e) Samache phuding: - Rs. 50/- two pathi liquor and a thigh of a killed buffalo or goat.
- (f) Langbewa Gimma: - Rs. 100 and a goat for “Lokandi”.
- (g) Char Kalam: - killed pigs= two, liquor = two vessels with pickle.
- (h) Dashain: - killed pig= 2, liquor= two vessels with pickle.

Most of the Limbus of the study area only wants to follow above mentioned rites and rituals. Except the rites and rituals which are just mentioned above, the other rites and rituals given in the list (I) are neither offered nor demand in this village by Limbus during marriage ceremonies nowadays. In such a trend the unnecessary rites and ritual are changing through ages. At present those who want to demand “Sunauli” he does not use it, but the parents for the bride give the Sunauli to their daughters. But in the past it was used by the parents of the bride.

Chapter V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

There are total of seven chapters in my thesis. The first chapter is the introduction where I have given the readers background information on the different understandings about marriage practice. I have also clarified that the research problem is that marriage practice is still important to Limbu society today. And that the main objective of the research is to understand current marriage practice and determining factor. I have explained that the rationale behind this study is that other research on the issue of marriage had taken crucial position in Limbu society and this research brings in fresh reflection of the Limbu society on the issue.

Chapter 2 is the literature review. Here I have introduced the marriage , marriage practice in Nepal, marriage practice in Limbu, marriage related laws, policies in Limbu society

Chapter 3 is about the methodology of my research.here I have given detailed information on how I conducted my research, reason fo choosing Oyam V.D.C as my field sites. How I collected my data via techniques as key informants interviews, questionnaire, household survey, observation and I have described analysis interpretation. In this chapter I have informed about the primary and secondary sources of data I used. Also, I have shown the limitation of the research.

I give the findings from my research on my last chapter. I have given in detail that every functions of marriage are going to be changed. For example marriage month, season, age, and most important change is concept, attitude and perspective of people.

5.2 Conclusion

This study has focused in the marriage practice in Limbu community in the village “Oyam”. This study has been confined by the various factors in which the interaction with the new immigrants and awareness and Maoist insurgency also help in some extend to change culture within the study area. Some small number of people is found in the study area who followed the traditional cultural values and belief on supernatural power. They are still following the traditional rite and rituall payments in marriage. They do not still want to break the traditional types of rituals and customs.

Long ago, to some a large extent, Limbu practiced the capture and Jari marriage than arrange marriage. It was due to the economic burden and they courtshipped through “Dhan Nach” institution. But today the Love marriage is prevalent than other types of marriage system. During the Maoist insurgency of (2052/53) Limbus were compelled to stop their extravagance attitude and unnecessary payments of rites and rituals which was the main cause to be poor of the Limbus of the study area. Hence, according to the respondents, nowadays neither they take “Sunauli” nor offer. But a few people are still taking and offering the “Sunauli” and other rites. In this regard some changes have been occurred in the marriage patterns.

Because of the interaction with another ethnic groups and the awareness we can see amended marriage pattern than before and on the other hand the modern educational era have played a main role in the cultural change. There are modern concept on the marriage system of the study area while the Limbus have not followed the marriage system of another caste but they are only modernizing their cultural traits or pattern with their own culture.

Most of the Limbu, cause of poverty they used to borrow loan from their rich neighbours or relatives for marriage. If they could not pay the loan they could have to give their land or other properties. This situation brought to them extreme poverty so that they extremely opposed the extravagance.

The overall findings of this study suggest that the Limbu culture of the village "Oyam" are properly changing from primitive and traditional types of culture to the modern culture. The conservative cultural values are being converted into civilized culture. The exploitation and conservative cultural values are social and cultural evils respectively. Therefore the extreme exploitation of new immigrants and the conservative cultural values are the cause to pull them back and these are to be eradicated to create incentive them for social and cultural development. But there is no need to destroy the native culture in the name of cultural purification. In this regard, the culture and language are the way of life of every ethnic group. There should be observed civilized cultural values to uplift socio- cultural condition of the Limbu in the village "Oyam".

Questionnaire

Questionnaire used during study

1. Name of the respondent

(a) Sex (b) age

2. What were the existing forms of marriage before 20 years?

(a) (b) (c)

(a) (e) (f)

3. What are the existing forms of marriage at present?

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(f)

4. How many people are usually constituted in INGMIBA going to girl's house for a marriage proposal?

.....

5. How many clans of Limbus are living in this ward no. 6 of Oyam village?

(a)

(b)

6. Could you explain the origin of the Limbu of this village?
7. Could you explain about “Dhan Nach”?
8. What are the different rite payment in a marriage before practicing an arrange marriage system in this village?
9. What are the responsible factors in the undergoing changes of marriage patterns?
 - (a)
 - (b)
 - (c)
10. What types of different rites are paid during a marriage ceremony?
11. Which months are favorable for marriage?
12. What do you think toward stopping extravagance and unnecessary rites?
13. What are the best remedies to stop extravagance on Limbu marriage?
14. What type of musical instruments are played during a Limbu marriage in this village?
15. What is the accepted generation gap limits required to enter into a marriage relationship between one’s close relatives?
 - (a) From mother’s side:-
 - (b) From father’s side:-

Glossary

Beuli Lukaune Thaun: - A place for hiding bride during marriage ceremony.

Chabrong: - The large drum.

Chori: - To get married by capturing (usually by force)

Dhan Nach: - Agricultural dance or paddy dance. (a kind of dance)

Dhakar: - A big bamboo- made basket.

Didibaini pherauni:-The money paid to the sisters of the bride during marriage ceremony.

Ingmiba: - A team which goes in search of potential bride.

Jari:- To get marriage with someone's wife.

Lota:- A vessel in which drinking water is served.

Lamlokma:- A rite paid to the group of the bride (for welcoming offering liquor).

Lokandi: - A fellow team of bride during marriage ceremony.

Menchya: - A female youth.

Mundhum: A powerful scripture of Limbu.

Nanglo: - A bamboo- made circular utensil especially winnowing rice and other things.

Phedangma: - A Limbu priest.

Peko: - A small bamboo- made basket hanging above the kitchen of Limbu.

Singkhokwa: - A penalty paid by groom to the bride's elder sister for getting married before her marriage.

Saimundri: - The final payment of marriage.

Tonga: - A wooden container serving alcoholic beverage in Limbu families (usually drunk through pipe)

Thangben: - A male youth.

Yokthowa: - A rite to the brother of the bride.

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