

I. *Limbuwan, Limbus and the Limbu culture*

The territory extended from the Arun river in the west to Mechi river in the east, and Tibet in the north to Jhapa, Sunsari, and Morang in the south is called *Limbuwan*. It is even called Pallo-kirat or Far-Kirat. This area covers nine districts of two zones of the eastern Nepal which are Jhapa, Ilam, Panthar, Taplejung in Mechi zone and Morang, Sunsari, Dhankuta, Terhthum and Sankhuwashava in Koshi zone. As per the myth of *Limbuwan*, the country was won by the help of the bows. So it was named *Limbuwan* as *Li* refers to bow, *Aabu* means hit, and the meaning of *wan* is to name in *Limbu* language; thus the land conquered with the bows is *Limbuwan*.

Different views are found about the areas of *Limbuwan*. There is no debate about its history but some claim only hilly areas of east and other argue that the plain areas also extended to Indian Territory. *Brihat Nepali Shabdakosh* defines that “the hilly-areas of Mechi and Koshi zones had been the permanent residence of *Limbu* tribes since very beginning” (1113). We know from another historicist that not only the hilly-areas of Mechi and Koshi zones, the *Limbuwan* might have extended to further southern part of Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari. Shiva Kumar Shrestha states in his *Limbuwanko Aitihāsik Adhyayan*, “the southern border of *Limbuwan* was *Bhunde Simal of Haraincha*, in the beginning, which was later extended up to Pharvesgunj” (34).

Chaitanya Subba states in his *The Culture and Religion of Limbus*:

Historically known as “Limbuwan”, this area lies between the Arun river in the west; the border with Sikkim and west bengel of India in the east, the northern part of the plains of Morang, Sunsari and Jhapa in the south and the border with Tibat, China in the north, almost covering area of 11,655 sq. Kms. (1)

The *Limbuwan* state has its own separate history that how *Limbuwan* existed as an independent state. The historicists and the Limbus believed that *Limbuwan* emerged in 6th century from *Kirat* dynasty. *Shan Mokwan* people of *Sittang* valley of north Burma came to Assam with ten leaders of them. When they came to Assam, they found that the land was already occupied by people of their own stock. So they came further west to the terai lands of North Benge and from there they came to the hilly parts of east Nepal which were under eight *Kirat* chiefs. There is likelihood, the *Limbus* and the *Nangas* tribes of India might have historical close relation. To some extent, there is unity in their language. *Shan Mokwan* people began to settle down in the *Kirat* state. When their families multiplied, they became so crowded that their chiefs began to feel some evils against them. The *Kirat* chiefs oppressed them so much so that the children of these *Shan Mokwan* people could not tolerate them any longer. So they began to conspire against their rulers. Imansing Chemjong writes in his book *The History and Culture of The Kirat People*, “they held meetings in places called *Ambe Pojoma*, *Kamket Lungma* and *Sumhet Lungma*, discussed and finally decided to revolt against their rulers [...]” (50-51). Then, the soldiers of ten leaders won and began to rule dividing into ten states in *Limbuwan*. The same writer I. S. Chemjong writes in his next book *Kirat Itihas*:

The eight kings were killed one by one in the battlefield. [...] the winners assembled in the holy place of *Ambe pojoma*, *Kamket Lungma* and *Sumhet Lungma*, and thanked their god. [...] They discussed that who would be now the king in the state? What would be the name of the state? First, they concluded that the country would be *Limbuwan* because it was won by the help of the bows. (19)

Likewise, they concluded after long discussion that *Limbuwan* would be ten states to be ruled for ease and bordered the *Limbuwan*. *Limbuwan* has its diversity in terms of culture, language, geography etc. but unity in regard of nationality.

Limbuwan is the homeland of *Limbus*. *Limbuwan* is itself multi-ethnic society.

Many tribes have settled here, but we find the majority of *Limbus* in their own typical cultural norms. The history analysts say that the *Limbus* are not in number how much they would be because when they did treaty with Prithivi Narayan Shah, thirty two thousands *Limbus* left the land. And also many *Limbus* were killed in world war 1st and 2nd. In the support of it, Shiva Kumar Shrestha writes, “thirty-two thousands *Limbus* migrated to Sikkim leaving their motherland” (*Limbuwanko Aitihāsik Adhyayan* 92). That is why, *Limbus* are found living different districts of India and Burma as well.

In the ancient time, *Limbus* were said to have been hunters and lived by it and later they became agriculturists. In the course of time they became successful rulers too. They were brave, fierce, warlike warriors too. Some people define the *Limbu* in this way-the component *li* means ‘bow’ and *pu* means ‘bird’. The *Limbus* were well known archer and they might have called themselves as *Li? Pu* and later it might have become *Limbu*.

They also call themselves *Yakthumba*. People interpret this term variously. For example, *Yak* means fort and *Kedhumba* means brave or the brave man of the fort and on the other way, *E?K?* means back and *Kedhumba* means hard working. The first example shows that the *Limbus* were brave to guard their fort or it indicates that they were brave, fierce, and brave soldiers and the second meaning indicates that they were known as good agriculturists, hard working in the past. This *E?K?Kedhumba* later might have become *Yakthumba*. Chaitanya Subba writes in his *The Culture and*

Religion of Limbus that “some believe that Yakthumba is a derivative of Yaksa and some interpret its literal meaning as the Yaksa winner. In Limbu language, it denotes ‘heroes of the hills’ which bears the connotation of Kirat” (20).

Limbus have a distinct culture, tradition, and religion of their own, though they are living together with their Hindu and Buddhist neighbours. They have a long tradition of narrating or reciting *Mundhums* and performing certain rituals and observing ceremonies in their own distinctive ways. *Mundhum* is a legend, a folklore, prehistoric accounts, sermons and moral or philosophical exhortation in poetic language. The *Mundhum* guides them in different ways. Imansing Chemjong defines the *Mundhum* in his *History and Culture of The Kirat People*, “the word *Mundhum* means the power of great strength and the Kirat people of east Nepal take it to be a true, holy and a powerful scripture” (18). And writer Madhusudhan Pandey claims in his book *Nepalka Janjatihar* that “as the Hindus have the Vedas as a holy text, they have the *Mundhum* which is used in both religion and spell” (109).

The typical culture and culture based literary tradition among the common *Limbus* are the noteworthy aspects of *Limbuwan*. In the first place, the land of *Limbuwan* itself is the source of culture and culture-oriented literary tradition. In fact, *Limbuwan* itself is a culturally rich land. The Himalayas, mountains, rivers and historical places of *Limbuwan* are the sources of poetic discourses. Primarily, such discourses are related to such geographical structures which have been handed down historically and culturally. Thus, the *Limbuwan* itself, its culture, and the certain group of common people having indigenous and poetic knowledge are some of the typical and striking features which help identify *Limbuwan* as the *Limbuwan* of the *Limbus*. One of the discrete features in culture of *Limbuwan* is to perform *Kelang* in wedding ceremonies and happy occasions. Other some of the cultural forms, *Palam*,

Yalang, Hakpare, Khyali etc. are held in the fairs around *Limbuwan*. These are the cultural ornaments in *Limbu* communities. Similarly, the ritual performances of *Mangenna, Nahangma, Shapok Chomen, Tongshing* etc. identify *Limbus* as a distinct cultural group in Nepal. Thus, *Limbuwan* is a unique land in culture, custom, language and literature.

Nepal is a small country with 1, 47,181 sq. kms in area but more than 101 tribes live here. In this regard, Nepal is rich in culture, language, and so on. Among the tribes, *Limbus* form one of the principal tribes of Nepal. The *Limbus*, themselves are rich in culture, literature, customs, religion, and language. The *Limbu* tribe is second in size to the *Rai*, among *Kiratis*. Like their *Rai* cousins the *Limbu* have an area traditionally their own called *Limbuwan* or *Pallo-Kirat*. They are the predominant people in *Limbuwan*, although of course there are also people of almost every other ethnic group in Nepal including Brahmins, Chhetris, Newar etc. and representatives of neighbouring ethnic groups such as Rai, Sherpa, Tamang and even Lepcha of Sikkim. The *Limbu* people are about four lakhs in population in Nepal. Not only in Nepal, they have been living out of Nepal such as in different states of India, Darjeeling, Sikkim, West-Bengal, Assam, and also in Hong Kong, Burma, UK etc.

The history of *Limbu* states that after the third revolution of *Kirat* people in 6th century. The *Limbuwan* state existed and the inhabitants of *Limbuwan* called themselves as the *Limbus*. *Brihat Nepali Shabdakosh* defines the *Limbus* that “a kirat people (tribe) who live in Limbuwan area” (1113). According to Iman Singh Chemjong, the representatives of the ten leaders of *Shan Mokwan* people again assembled in a meeting at their holy place *Ambe pojoma*, discussed and decided to name their nationality. Accordingly, they resolved and changed the name of *Shan Mokwan* into *Yakha-thumba* or *Limbu*. The ten leaders or chiefs became *ten Limbus*

and the word *Yakhathumba* was retained as the new name for the race. Thus, the *ten Limbus* became the administrators of the entire *Yakhathumba* race. They further resolved to convert all the old Kirat people into this new race of *Yakhathumbas*.

Later on, when the *ten Limbus* lost their power of administration, all the *Yakhathumbas* began to call themselves *Limbus*. Kumar Lingden writes in his *work-letter* submitted on 22 Shrawan, 2063 at Damak, “Limbuwan, first, existed and then Limbu, so to keep the existence of Limbus, anyway Limbuwan is a must. The Limbus without Limbuwan is as a separated kite from its thread and they and their identity could come to sad end at any time” (*Bi. Sam. 1831 ko Lal Mohar ra Limbuwan* 8).

The *Limbus* are believed to be the descendents of three stocks of earlier *Kirats*—a branch coming through the north, known as *Lhasha gotra*, a branch of coming from south and south east, known as *Kashi gotra*, and the other one known as *Lungbongba*. The *Limbus* remained rulers of this land until the Gurkha struck an agreement through the *Lal Mohar*. *Limbus* fought with Gurkhas for twelve years and finally the Gurkha ruler granted a commission, with certain ruling power to the chief of each districts or *thums* and lands and tax privileges for his community members, which lead to the agreement for ceasing war. Vijaya Narayan (1584-1609) was the last king who ruled his kingdom with the close cooperation of *Murehang*, one of the *Limbu* leaders of *Phedap thum*. Locally we find the designation *Limbuwan* prefixed by *das*, as *Das-Limbuwan*, meaning the *ten Limbu Lands*, referring to the common belief that at one time in the early days there were ten *Limbu rajas*.

The proper term of address for *Limbus* is *subba*. To be addressed as *subba* is not only acceptable, it is in fact flattering. Dor bahadur Bista says in his *the People of Nepal*, “the title *subba* was given to *Limbu* headman at the time the territory of the Kirat was annexed to the kingdom of Nepal some two hundred and thirty years ago”

(47). The *subba* is natural leader of his fellow villagers. There are usually eight or ten *kipatiya* families under one *subba*. A few *Rais* live and farm on *Limbu kpat* lands, but they are not considered *kipatiya*. Instead, they hold the title of *raiti* and must pay land taxes to the *subba*. Sometimes a *subba* may have assistants to help him in carrying out his work. The office of a *Subba* is inherited by his eldest son in addition to a share of the parental property, which is divided equally among all the sons.

Limbu settlements are found between the altitudes of 2,500 and 4,000 feet above sea level. The houses are of one storey, built of wood, stone and mud with thatch roofs. They are washed with a red and white earth colouring; windows and doors are black. Houses of the few rich people are generally larger than the average, often roofed with slate and with a wooden balcony around the house at the first floor level.

Tongba is a favourite social drink. Every man has a large wooden mug, which is filled on occasion with thick millet beer and drunk through a bamboo tube. At present, a majority of the *Limbus* are in debt, either to a rich ex-Gurkha officer or to a rich Brahman, Chhetri or Newar, who has lent the money against the security of land. Marriage rules in general are similar to those of the *Rai* community. There can be marriage by arrangement, capture or elopement, the procedures for each of which have been described in the preceding section on the *Rais*, and indeed are found among many other Nepali groups. Ideal marriageable age is eighteen to twenty years except in the case of some arranged marriages of younger partners.

Their basic profession is farming, but a good many men go out to join the British or Indian Ghurkha regiments, or to work in other government departments. They were encouraged to seek work in Kathmandu only after the Rana regime was

deposed in 1951. Many *Limbu* men go to Dharan, Biratnagar, Jhapa, Darjeeling, Sikkim and Assam in search of seasonal manual works.

The *Limbu* are divided into a number of clans (*thars*). Some of the *Limbu thars* are further sub-divided, each sub-division having a separate name of its own. Most of the *thar* members live together in more or less well defined locales. Some names are identical with the place name of residence of the group. Each of this sub-division is again divided into family groups which are strictly exogamous and intolerant of incest. Outside of these latter family categories a *Limbu* is free to choose his marriage partner from within the *Limbu* tribe. Chaitanya Subba in his *The Culture and Religion of Limbus*, argues:

Limbus are found in several (clans) groupings. According to Khagendra Singh Angbuhang, there are several (218) sub-groupings among sixteen major groups of Limbus. These are Mabohang (26subgroups), Thegim (11subgroups), Shreng (10), Phago (20), Sanwa (19), Bokhim (5), Khokyahang (17), Thebe (5), Papohang (13), Ijam (6), Yakpangden (16), Phedap (12), Nembang (14), Hukpahang (17), and Khewa (22). (25)

Thus, *Limbus* are divided into several types or clans (*thars*). These clans are further divided into sub clans, such as *Chikcho*, *Chongbang*, *Imusong*, *Kadi*, *Serma*, *Payango*, *Lawati*, *Lohorung*, *Lekuwa*, *Lewahang*, *Pargharri*, *Sanwa* and so on. More than 270 clans (including sub-clans) have been found among *Limbus*. But there is no distinction or hierarchy in the clan status or division. It seems that the clan is only the name of the particular ancestor.

The *Limbus* have their own customs and traditions evolved through centuries and also various forms of culture which are typical in practice. The cultural

performance is the unique feature of *Limbu* oral-text. The *Limbus* have a dynamic culture, religion and tradition of their own. They have the holy text, *Mundhum* that guides them and gives the livelihood of their culture, religion and other traditions. The *Mundhum* contains the social, religious, philosophical, cultural and moral aspects of the *Limbus*. And also it describes the mythical aspects of *Mundhum* on the base of *Tagera Ningwaphooma*, called as their god. Imansing Chemjog states about Limbus cultural aspects and *Mundhumian* roles on it in book, *History and Culture of Kirat 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 of animal life to the enlightened life and ways to control them by giving philosophy on spiritualism. [...] the leader has made rules for marriage, arbitration, purification and religion. (19)

According to *Mundhum*, *Yehang* is the first person who teaches and commences the rites and civilization to the people. The *Limbus* observe and perform rituals and ceremonies in their own typical and distinctive ways. They observe traditionally handed down divergent forms of cultures from birth-rite to death and other numerous forms of culture as *Chokphung*, *Samyok lung*, *Sobu*, *Phudong*, *Dungdunge*, *Sappok chomen*, *Tongsing takma*, *Mangenna*, *Nahangma*, *Kelang*, *Palam* as well as minor feast and festivals. They culturally worship *Hangsam Thebamang*, and *Suvending Sugu Yumamang* and also worship the earth, the sky, the hills, the rivers, the moon, the air, the fire etc. *Akwamasammang* is the god of inside pillar of the house. Accordingly, they worship of the name of *Nahen*, *Tamphungma*, *Mangenna* etc. They need the priests to perform the whole culture, rituals and traditions in the *Limbu* communities. *Phedangba* is the main priest who recites

Mundhum. *Samba*, *Yeba* and *Mangdemba* are also the priests who can recite the *Mundhum*. The *Limbus* believe that the *Budha subba* of Sunsari district is the cultural pillar of them. Shiva Kumar Shrestha, focusing on *Budha subba* states that "if the Budha Subba is worshipped, the intention of the worshiper is fulfilled soon" (102). It supports that the *Budha Subba* of Dharan is, in a one sense cultural property of *Limbu* community.

The performance of culture involves a set of ideas, understanding, references of oral-art in own typical tradition, method, diction, versification and melody of singing and reciting. In this sense, *Limbu* socio-cultural observance and its performance have been embedded in a correlative system with the oral texts. Hence, the *Limbus* observe their distinct culture with the observance of literature. So *Limbu* culture involves the oral-art. With the cultural performance, the performance of oral-art takes place. In the *Limbu* community, the priests play a pivotal role to give alive and continuity of *Limbu* culture. Almost all cultural performances and the concerned oral poetic narratives are normally centered on them. To accomplish the rituals and to overcome the obstacles and disturbances, religious rituals is the versified narratives and diction which is one of the mentionable aspects of the *Limbu* culture. The performance of such cultural traditions is equally possible by *Tumyahangs* (adults) as well, but the effectiveness lies at the heart of *shamanic* performance. *Tumyahang* might not be as specific as the priests. The *Limbu* priests as well as *Tumyahang* and *Tumyahangma* (female adults) do not merely hold the cultural performances in the *Mundhumic* accounts, they also can perform various forms of oral-poetic narratives in different rites and rituals as well as in several indirect references. Such is the culture of *Limbus*. Thus, the cultural performance becomes the performance of *Limbu* literature.

But most probably they came in touch with Brahman Hindus during the rule of *Sen* Kings in Morang and Makwanpur and partly accepted Brahmans as their priests, evidences of which are Sanskrit words given to them in Nepali. Brahmans, since then, started to influence some aspects of the rites of *Limbus* and the rites, which lacked elaboration in *Mundhum* and rituals such as rites of birth, feeding rice and cutting hair for the first time etc. must have been replaced or modified by Hindu way of ritual performances. However, *Limbus* resisted the overall attempts of *Hinduisation* because of their culturally well-entrenched and customarily firmly established way of life. The *Mundhum* expert Chandra Kumar Serma claims in an interview that “the Hindus imposed Hinduism for long time upon the *Limbus*” (interview).

But, the process of *Hinduisation* even under state patronage could not impress much to the great majority of the *Limbus*. Some impressions of Buddhism can also be observed in some aspects of rituals and interpretation of *Mundhums* but it could affect very little to the basic traits and complexes of the mainstream culture in comparison to other Kirat groups in Nepal. Chaitanya Subba, focusing on “the customs of ten *Limbus*” writes in his *The Culture and Religion of Limbus* that “the basic customs and tradition of *Limbus* are even well known today as the customs of *ten Limbus*” (40).

Mundhum and other sources reveal that *Sawa Yethang* (great eight leaders), the progenitors of *Susuwa Lilim* Yakthunghang or *Limbus*, were the enforcers of certain rules, rites and rituals and a moral life begins with them. It is believed that *Yetchham thim*, the rites were evolved and practiced by *Sawa Yethang* with the help of erudite *Phedangmas*, *Sambas* and these practices were unceasingly followed by their successive generations. Indeed, the rites and rituals that governed the life of *Limbus*.

Nepal has more special features like ethnic diversities with multilingual, multi-cultural assets. We find here more than 93 languages. Some languages are going to be extinct because of the lack of the preservation and forceful dominance of Nepali language. Now, we can hope, to some extent that Federal Republican Nepal based on different nationalities will preserve the languages, cultures, rituals, scripts etc. Most of the Nepal's languages belong to Indo-European language family and some of them are related with Tibeto-Burman family. *Limbu* language is spoken in the *Limbuwan* mostly in the state of Sikkim, hill areas of West Bengal, Assam and other North-Eastern states of India. About six lakh *Limbu* people speak this language in the world scattered throughout India, Nepal, Bhutan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Myanmar, Brunei, Canada, UK and other parts of the world. B.K. Wanem Phago writes of *Limbu* language in *Ningwasom*, "Limboo language is placed in the category of Tibeto-Himalaya, sub group on Tibeto-Burmese language family. People who speak this language are found in the eastern Nepal, Bhutan and North eastern Part of India including districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri" (10).

Though *Limbu* language is not prioritized in Nepal by government, it is one of the official languages out of the eleven languages recognized by the government of Sikkim, on 13th March 1981. It is widely spoken by about two lakhs people of India, mostly in the state of Sikkim. It is very ancient language probably older than Nepali language. Our history also shows that there was long *Kirat* period in Nepal that hundred times earlier than the Nepali Kingdom in Kathmandu. Now under the domination of Nepali language culture and religion, *Limbu* language is in a shadow. It is going to be collapsed soon, if not preserved and prioritised. The extinction of any language is very bad for its speakers and country as well. So it needs more exercises to preserve *Limbu* language.

The *Limbus* form one of the principal tribes of Nepal. The *Limbus* call themselves *Yakthungba* and they call their language *Yakthung- paan* and in Nepali it is referred as *Limbu* Bhasa. The *Limbu* language has mainly four dialects. They are known as *Panthare* Dialect, *Chhathare* Dialect, *Tamarkhole* Dialect and *Feddape* Dialect. Although there are different dialects in *Limbu* language, they can communicate each other. We cannot find out particular and considerable discrepancy in mentioned dialects. Most of the *Limbus* speak the *panthare* dialects that is lingua franca among *Limbu* people. Perhaps, it is the leading dialects among them. Most of the eastern places in *Limbuwan* are named by *Limbu* languages such as *Angbung*, *Sapla*, *Khamlung*, *Kobek* etc of Terhthum district. *Tellabung*, *Hangpang*, *Numlik*, *Lekwa*, *Pakhumba* etc from Taplejung district are also named from the *Limbu* language. There are several places in Panthar district as well that are named in *Limbu* language.

Till the date, the domination of Nepali language exist among *Limbu* inhabitants and *Limbu* language is progressively being influenced and replaced by Nepali language. Such as headquarter of panther district is *Pheden* which means 'arsenal' but, nowadays, thanks to Nepali infection; it is called *Phidim* and thus, things are changing day by day. Next example is that of Terhthum's headquarter that is *Myanglung* which means *cat stone* in *Limbu* language. Thus Nepali infection seems in such *Limbu* language entity.

Unless it is preserved it can be estimated that very soon this language is may be not in existence. In order to preserve it, an umbrella organization for all *Limbus* has been established for the development of the *Limbu* language and literature. It is called "Kirant Yakthung Chumlung"; the head office of it is in the capital city of

Nepal, Kathmandu. It means the 'Kirat Limbu Association'. This central office has also been contributing to research and preservation of *Limbu* language and culture.

And also *Limbu people* have their own script called *Kirat Sirijunga Scripts*.

The *Limbu* community believes that the historical king *Sirijunga hang* (king) of *Yangwork Garh* (882-925 A.D.) of *Limbuwan* country first codified the *Limbu* language in scripts to educate his illiterate subjects through the teaching of *Yuma* religion. In honor of the codifier's name, the script has been named as *Sirijunga* script. It was invented as early as in 9th century A.D. In the support of this *Sirijunga* scripts, J. R. Subba writes that “ after about 800 years of king Sirijonga, his incarnate Teyongsi Sirijonga Sing Thebe (1704-1741) along with his eight disciples came to Hee-Martam, west Sikkim [...] in 1740 and started Limboo language and Yuma Mundhum teaching in Sikkim” (4). Thus we know that *Limbu* language and its script has its own historical background so that its existence is possible till today.

Nowadays, the creation of *Limbu* literature such as poetry, stories, essays, plays and so on, the history in *Limbu* language and scripts, grammar are being developed. An illustration of the prayer song sung in Sikkim school is as follow:

Nissam Mang Ye Sewaro

Ae ningwa nuba choge O

Hara mang itchhinge- O

Nissammang ye sewaro

Nuba saksak nagumbero

Saksak menne mengigero

Nissam mang ye sewaro

It is written in *Limbuwanko Aitihasya Adhyayan* that “it is managed to study

up to class twelve in Sikkim and in Nepal about ninety primary schools have been conducted in *Limbu* language” (Shresth, 110).

The primary schools running in *Limbuwan* (Nepal) are not by the donation of Nepal government. The *Limbus*, therefore, are in problems to develop their language and scripts. These days they are very energetic and motivated in their linguistic and cultural phenomenon realizing the neighbouring country's state Sikkim where *Limbu* language and culture are totally prioritized. They want the rights of language in Nepal making Sikkim as its source; it is the source of *Limbuwan* in regard of *Limbu* language and cultural development. In general understanding, it shocks the *Limbus* if they couldn't have practised their language and cultures at direct care of their own land.

Limbuwan is as diverse in geography and terrains as its cultural traditions. It is the homeland of *Limbus*. Many tribes have settled here, but we find the majority of *Limbus* in their own typical and affluent cultural system. *Limbuwan* associates particularly the culture, customs, language and literature of *Limbus*. In fact, *Limbuwan* itself is a fabulous land. The Himalayas, mountains, rivers and historically and culturally rich land. Thus, the *Limbuwan* itself, because of its culture and the certain group of common people having indigenous and poetic knowledge are some of the typical and striking features which help identify *Limbuwan* as the real *Limbuwan* of the *Limbus*. Thus, *Limbuwan* is the land of unique culture, custom, language and literature of *Limbus*.

Mangenna ritual speech is under threat of extinction owing to different influence of modern cultures growing with the advent of science and technology. However, its value remains intact among *Limbu* community. Being an oral nature of this ritual, it is vulnerable than other scriptural traditions, susceptible to lose its

importance among the young *Limbu* generation. It is rather problematic to look into what sustains and safeguards the vitality of this ritual tradition. The problem which this study is directed is to identify the socio-cultural reflection and aesthetic side of ritual speech in *Mangenna*.

There has been number of researches in the field of *Limbu* language, culture, etc. which proves *Limbu* ritual culture has attracted many scholars to study focusing on its different aspects. Some people have focused the linguistic aspect and others have given priority to traditional and socio-cultural issues. Some authors and *Mundhumian* experts have begun to record and transcribe the ritual text intending that the traditional archive should be preserved. It is a very significant job for saving tradition from extinction.

Some researcher and writer keep their interest to find out the typical *Limbu* ritual ceremony festival. Bista, the pioneer anthropologist in Nepal, deserves the credit for exploring the great and rich ethnographic heritage. He records typical culture of ethnic communities including *Limbu* across Nepal. He writes about the ethnic group composition household their ritual practices and lifestyle. He writes "*Mangenna* is an important cultural ritual of *Limbu* observed to wish good health and prosperity " (47-48).

Chaitanya Subba writes in *The Culture and Religion of Limbus* (1995) "*Mangenna* is done to protect oneself from accidents, obnoxious acts, disputes, fighting, wars, envy and jealousy and to succeed in the desired attempts " (107).

Weidert and Subba write "*Mangenna* is, one of the important rituals of *Limbu*, performed usually in every six months at the beginning of winter and summer. It is observed in order to hoist one's head, a ritual ceremony to encourage the person who is feeling dejected and suffering in hardship" (278). It is the ritual of boosting the

morale up by purifying the soul of the dejected person. There are several reasons why they suffer in their life.

Talking about the causes of suffering Ashman Subba writes "... the ill-company, misbehaviour, mourning, insult, embarrassment and many mental and physical anxieties which may lead to the illness or dullness of a person which is called 'muthok' which might lead to the death as well" (48-49). To be safe from all these sufferings 'Mangenna' is performed. It is believed that after having observed *Mangenna*, one feels healthy, safe and 'sansot' (pure and sacred).

Philip Sagant relates the significance of *Mangenna* with power and maintains "According to *Mundhum*, *Mangenna* is a ritual observed to gain power. This worshipping guards ones from evil spirits and provides peace, prosperity/pleasure and happiness" (108-109).

Interpreting *Mangenna* Kumar Lingdden writes:

Why does the *Mundhum* give such importance to *Mangenna* or Human Dignity? *Mangenna* is a part of *Mundhum*. It is important. In this ritual, if anyone has gone crazy or got insulted, his morale is raised by saying that he has his own history, his own glory of struggle, thus he should not feel defeated and dejected. Although human is a creation of God, once he is born he has got his own existence and strength – in this way in *Mundhum/Mangenna* existence of human beings is valorised. Lingden further writes – it has given a lesson that every human has their own existence. One should not look down to others. (15)

Similarly, another expert in *Limbu* history and culture Shivkumar Shrestha writes,

In *Limbu* community, the brothers (maeeti) observe a ritual for the well-being of their sisters and vice-versa. It is called "*Mangenna*". A pair of cock and hen and 'saptok' (a little container with local bear made of grains – millet/wheat) are offered during this ritual. The clothe worn up the waist of the person whose ritual is being observed is placed as 'yebo', a symbol of life. (101)

Gaenzle studies the ritual speech of Mewahang Rai by using ethnolinguistic technique. He analyses the ritual speech in order to show the social, cultural context. He elaborates the *Munddum* can be seen as tradition of speaking consists of different kind of speech events- ceremonial dialogue, lay invocation, invocation of elders, and the recitation of initiated ritual expert - which is called speech genre. The oral text, which related with ethnic community, is interpreted under analysis of theoretical perspective. For Gaenzle, oral tradition on is "one of the most important means of cultural continuity in a non-literate society" (223).

"Oral traditions" as Vansian says, "The expression 'oral tradition' applies both to a process and its products. The products are oral messages, base on previous oral messges at least a generation old. The process is the transmission of such messages by words of mouth [...]" (93). In regard of *Limbus*, the guideline is the *Mundhum*, a holy text to transmit such oral tradition from one generation to another. *Tumyahangs* (the elders) have been contributing to breathe the coming generations in such performative phenomena and *Mundhum* performers are found who have directly and indirectly contributed to in oral literatures. The *Limbu* community, therefore, is still rich in cultural and ritual phenomena.

The above mentioned reviews venture to unveil the typical, ritual, tradition and cultural feature of *Mangenna* as ritual text among *Limbu* community. Most of

them focus on defining the ritual and its major purpose for the *Limbu* people. The critics delve into the ritual genre taking under the consideration of oral textuality. The present thesis has taken ritual speech considering that oral text are no longer viewed exclusively as symbolical expression of culture but are seen as embedded in social and ritual praxis.

There have been plenty of researches on *Limbu* language, cultural and religious symbols in general. These days the oral ritual text has become an interesting area of research. Many researcher and writers are tempted to explore the local ritual practices and archive them, using interdisciplinary approaches in the academic field and some institutions. There are several researches on Kiranti culture that especially focus on language, myth, and aspect of culture, which may be seen as genuine indigenous ethnography. These researches not testify merely to the great interest and pride of contemporary *Limbu* in their cultural traditions but to the concern that something has to be done to preserve them. Therefore, the present study also has tried to attempt the elucidation of oral tradition and its socio-cultural values of *Limbus'* *Mangenna* ritual. It concentrates on social and academic relevance. Thus, this study opens a room for new research areas in English department for M.A. thesis. It will be helpful not only for those who will take further research on *Kirant Limbu* rituals but also for those who are seeking for the information about ritual traditions of *Limbu* community.

II. Performance, Ritual Performance and Performativity

The term performance has become a popular tool in recent years to observe a wide range of activities such as arts, literature and social sciences. As its popularity and usage has grown, writing about performance has become complex and demanding discipline, attempting to analyze and understand just what sort of human activity it is. In "Research in Interpretation and Performance Studies: Trends, Issues, Priorities" Mary Strine, Beverly Long and Mary Hopkins begin with the extremely useful observation that performance is "an essentially contested concept" (191). Agreeing with their concept, it can be argued that performance studies have opened hitherto unnoticed spaces. It problematizes its own categorization. Thus performance is always performance for someone, some audience that they recognize and validate it as performance. It is difficult to say about the domains of the performance but it is confirmed to be observed.

Generally, performance means presentation or act which is performed with artistic ideas in certain occasions or festivals. Performance closely relates to human phenomenon that makes one different to another and extra too. In other understanding, it is a practical form of performing a ceremony, a play, a piece of music and such feats. The *Oxford Dictionary* defines performance as "the carrying out of a command, duty, purpose, promise etc, it is something performed or done, an action, act, deed or operation". Performance looks different from performance in another. It may depend on its own type of identity and its cultural panorama. Performance theory attempts to make clear what, how and why performance is both a key term and a key to understand the intricate way we participate in social and political life and creates its many expressive forms. Victor Turner, an American critic,

is of the opinion that performance is a social drama and is a combination of various genres of cultural performances. He writes:

I regard the social drama as the empirical unit of social process from which has been derived and is constantly derived, the various genres of cultural performance. [...] the major genres of cultural performance, from ritual to theatre and film, and narration, from myth to the novel not only originate in the social drama but also continue to draw meaning and force from the social drama. (93)

In particular, performance is closely associated with art; in fact they are complement to each other. On the same way, it comes to express with social cultures too. Generally we should understand a performance as soon as it comes in our mind that performance is defined in common ideas, through two perspective- art and ritual.

It may help in understanding that Elizabeth Bell defines as, "performance is both process and product and performance is traditional and transformative" (16-17). Theorists try to account for performance as something that happens, emerges, and grows in and through a process, a set of activities or specific behaviours. This process is described mostly on the base of emergent; so we can say that in performance something happens and emerges about the feelings of process and product. Performance causes, creates, and produces both itself and things outside of itself. This productivity has many purposes that often language as functions, uses or intentions. This purposeful productivity is utilized to do a number of things for individuals, groups and culture. Performance always makes reference to former ways of doing, acting, seeing, and believing. Those references can uphold the status quo, critique that status quo, or certain the political for changing the status-quo by performing anew.

Elin Diamond writes:

Performance is always a doing, and a thing done. On the one hand, performance describes certain embodied acts, in specific sites, witnessed by others. On the other hand, it is thing done, the completed event framed in time and space and remembered, misremembered, interpreted, and passionately revisited across a pre-existing discursive field. (qtd. in Bell, 16)

By here, it is clear that performance is a doing something or certain embodied acts. But there are specific sites. There are the aspects of bystanders/audiences. It is completed in certain time and space too. Even it can be concluded that a performance is a specific action or set of actions- dramatic , music, athletic, and so on- which occurs on a given occasion , in a particular place. Thus a performance can be defined, Pollock says as "a site of transformation and even a paradigm for cultural resistance". (qtd. in Bell, 17)

The above definitions attempt to answer what questions to explain and describe performance. While a text book ought to arrive at one definition for testing purposes, performance has too rich a heritage and too exciting future to pin it down. Process/product, productive/purposeful, and traditional/transformational are ways to describe and explain the many manifestations and politics of performance.

Ritual Performance

Ritual performances exhibit all the same formal characteristics as play. A special place is staked out, a sacred ground, creating a rule bound world of its own. And play, as pretend, infects poles of belief in ritual acts. All ritual involves participants who question the reality of what is happening. They willingly participate and experience the moods and feelings the rite seeks to create. Huizinga writes that

"whether one is sorcerer or sorcerized one is always knower and dupe at once. But one chooses to be the dupe" (23).

Ritual performance has its own characteristics which helps to develop its Mechanisms. Ritual theorists have agreed on three characteristics of ritual activities, according to Catherine Bell . It can be proved down the characteristics of ritual activities form the quotation of Elizabeth Bell. She writes in her *Theories of performance* that "first, ritual action is communal, involving groups of people who gain social solidarity through their participation. Second, the action is traditional and understood as carrying on ways of acting established in the past. Third, ritual is rooted in beliefs in divine beings" (128). Now we come to know that ritual is communal, traditional and a rooted beliefs.

Ritual performance is on the base of ritual characteristics. Ritual is acted so it is performed traditionally. Ritual is belief since the beginning. In literary understanding, ritual is ceremonial or symbolic act given importance by repetition; rituals often accompany rites of passage and religious observances. The observance or action in a set ordered and ceremonial way is ritual. It is practiced in a set of established norms and values. It is a pattern of actions and words followed regularly and precisely by a group of persons. Ritual is followed in different forms, in almost all the societies of world, in one or other forms. These combined act of ritual is origin of performance.

All of the above characteristics are manifested in and through performance. In short, ritual or ritual-like events do not exist outside of the performances that create them. So, Victor Turner likes" to think of ritual essentially as performance as enactment, and not primarily as rules or rubrics. The rules frame the ritual process, and the ritual process transcends in frame. A river needs banks or it will be a

dangerous flood, but banks without a river epitomize aridity" (155-56). Rituals and ritual-like actions abound in our daily lives as a way to give meaning and significance to experience. Two interrelated concepts; society and culture are crucial to understanding of ritual as performance. In its general sense, a society consists of any group of interacting animals, such as humans. But human societies often include millions or billions of people who share a common culture. Culture refers to the way of life learned and shared by people in social groups. Culture differs from the simpler, inborn types of thinking and behaviour that govern the lives of many animals. The people in a human society generally share common culture patterns. So anthropologists may refer to particular societies as cultures and rituals.

Ritual events are also marked by joy, fun and anticipation. For Turner, this is the 'room for play' that ritual performance enables the play with symbols, play with meanings, and play with words" (162). Laine Bergeson writes:

Ritual celebrations knit us into history and even into prehistory, connecting humans to each other over geography and time. [...] many still find connection in the rites and ceremonies passed down to them from the lives and faiths of their parents and grandparents. For others, contemporary life has grown so secular, colored by irony, or just plain different that the old ways of marking major traditions no longer resonate. [...] the need for ritual is so deep, though, that people have begun creating their own. (66)

Thus rituals include celebrating the arrival of *menopause*, *births* and *deaths* marked without *religious ceremonies*, *divorce ceremonies*, even *marry yourself* ceremonies.

Performativity of Ritual Performance

The term was first used by the Belgian anthropologist Arnold van Gennep to refer to the basic factors involved in performance such as birth, puberty, marriage and death. Rites of passage, ceremonies that mark a person's progress from one role, phase of life, or social status to another are performativity. Rites of passage occur in all societies and often involve symbolism and reaffirm the values of a society. Secret rites were part of the worship of several Greek deities, such as Hera, queen of the gods, Aphrodite, goddess of love, and Hecate, goddess of the underworld. Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick argue that performativity has enabled to a powerful appreciation of the ways that identities are constructed iteratively through complex citation processes. If one consequence of this appreciation has been a heightened willingness credit a performative dimension in all ritual, ceremonial, scripted behaviours, another would be the acknowledgement that philosophical essays themselves surely count as one such performative instance. They write that "performative seems to span the polarities of, at either extreme, the extroversion of the actor, the introversion of the signifier [...]" (175).

The most innovative and influential contribution to performance art in the 1960s came from women initially trained in dance, including German Pina Bausch, who incorporated sound and setting in grandiose spectacles, and American Elizabeth Streb, whose theatrical pieces mixed dance with gymnastics and circus acrobatics. Other successful performance artists include Americans Anna Halprin, Meredith Monk, and Yvonne Rainer, all of whom trained initially in dance; American Laurie Anderson, who combined music, video speech and electronics in her work; American Robert Wilson, who contributed text and spectacular décor to his performances; and American David Moss, who experimented with percussive vocal sounds in his solo

works. Elizabeth Bell brings out about performativity that "Judith Butler first introduced the idea of performativity by utilizing metaphors from the theatre to ask the theoretical question, 'how is gender produced?' Butler answers this question by making claims about embodiment, history, and boundaries as performed on stage" (179).

Performance is more near to linguistics. Linguists take it as an opposition for the word competence. Linguistically, it refers to the every utterance of internalized knowledge of sound system. The dictionary of stylistics defines performance as:

Usually discussed in opposition to competence [...], both terms are made famous in the generative grammar of Chomsky (1965).

Chomsky's main stress was on competence and performance was seen as secondary what we do when we actually speak, is the process of speaking and writing. (250)

From the above concept it is clear that the scope of performance is no longer easy to define. It is a composition of behaviour, an approach to experience; it is a play, sports, aesthetics, popular entertainment, experimental theatre and others.

Performativity is action related art which is conducted in mass, performing some rituals and celebrations. It is speech associated with some types of action. Richard Schechner terms performativity with magnitudes of performance argues, "Performance magnitude means not only size and duration but extension across cultural boundaries and penetration to the deepest state of historical, personal and neurological experience" (45).

It is hard to incur universally accepted meaning of performativity. However, it demonstrates and covers the whole human action from proscenium arch to social drama and performance which generally is supposed to have granted for the theatrical

events. It is everywhere in theatre, courts, streets, hospital, farming house, in rituals, celebrations and feasts and in many such places. It is an art, associated with our culture, politics, and day to day actions.

Performativity is a highly stylized form of late twentieth century event, which constantly demands that its audience redefines and understands, it as an act of theatre itself. Lee A Jakobus analyses such experimentation of Richard Schechner and his performativity group in the following manner:

Most of the interesting late twentieth century experimental theatre was done in groups such as Richard Schechner's performance group, which created what Schechner called Environmental theatre in New York city in late 1960s and Jerzy Grotowski's policy laboratory theatre Wroclaw Poland, during the same period. (857)

The concept of performativity has captured broad meaning after 1960s with the concept of environmental theatre. It crossed the alley of theatre and entered into the broad continent of human actions. Regarding such of dynamism of performance Elin Daimond writes:

[...] since 1960s performativity has floated free of theatre precincts to describe an enormous range of cultural activity. It came after popular entertainments like speech folklore, political demonstration, conference behaviour ritual, medical and religious healing and aspects of human life. (66)

As performativity is idealized about embodiment, history and boundaries as performed onstage. On stage, performers materialize characters in and through their bodies. Elizabeth Bell writes that "Butler is careful not to use the construction, for that would imply social construction of identity" (179). Materialization-the body's

appearance, acting, and doing – is her important term. In a way, characters in a play do not exist until they enter the playing space or are spoken of by others.

Materialization, then, is about presence and language. So, gender identity or any other kind of identity is not something that we have but something that we do something that we have only by doing it again and again and again. Bodies onstage are always produced by and change through history. So actors always perform bodies within a set of historical convention and director's cues for how the body ought to move, gesture, and particulate itself onstage. In the support of it, Butler draws parallels to performance of gender that "the act that one does, the act that one performs is, in a sense, an act that has been going on before one arrived on the scene. Hence, gender is an act which has been rehearsed [...] but which requires individual actors in order to be actualized and reproduced as reality once again"(qtd. in Bell 179). She argues that gender identity has been conceptualized as per the chronological series in history. She means that gender is a practice of improvisation within a scene of constraints.

Moreover one does not do one's gender alone. One is always doing with or for another, even if the other is only imaginary. Hence here, Bell mentioning to Butler writes that" this tension as acting in concert with others, and acting in accord with the conventions of gender" (180).

Next choreographing identity is a crucial subject matter to talk in performativity. Susan Leigh Foster argues that approaching the performance of gender as choreography is a fruitful way to concentrate on bodies, the codes and conventions for bodily movement and interaction, and the changing histories of those conventions through time. For Susan Leigh Foster, choreography is "the tradition of codes and conventions through which meaning is constructed in dance" (5). Those traditions and their meanings have changed through time. These changing codes and

conventions for gendered embodiments always resonate with cultural values that are structured, deeply embedded, and practiced by individuals.

Dance is vivid example of bodies materializing genders within historical codes and conventions, while all of us perform identity with reference to past ways of performing, some of us feel the weight of this history of conventions more heavily. Elin Diamond explains gender as "both a doing –a performance that puts conventional gender attributes into possibly disruptive play- and a thing done – a pre-existing oppressive category" (4-5). History is a way to describe these past and present get of power relations and categories that weigh on people to compel certain kinds of performances.

In a sense, performativity as a theory of genders constitutes that rejects foundational approaches to gender's material and historical constitution in performance. Because identity is a performance accomplished within a scene of constraint, this performance can be utilized to critique the boundaries, institutions, and language that produce it. Performance work that shows as identity is not fixed and finished; is important to counter foundational approaches to identity, especially racial and ethnic identities.

Elizabeth Bell says that "to show identity in process through language, other performance seek to exaggerate, parody, and satirize the products of performance by exposing the ways the performances are accomplished" (185). Performances that feature the processes of the identities are ways to question, play, and applaud the gap between appearances and reality. These processes are important for post modern approaches to identity as performed, not solely founded in biology, culture, roles, psyche, or difference.

At last, performance based on *Mangenna* is an identity that is related to *Limbu* rituals. *Limbus* are proud of their genealogical history with performativity of it. In that, *Limbus* have ritual, social, culture, gender identity in *Mangenna* performativity. At the time of gender question, *Limbus* claim that *Mangenna* performance is an answer of gender-equality because male and female, both, are commemorated for their good health and prosperity. So, gender identity in *Limbu* communities is embodied through the ritual performance of *Mangenna*. *Mangenna* is performed in every *Limbus*' house in order to safeguard from the evil influence and to forecast before deciding to go for any good work. Tek Bahadur Phago, *Phedangba* or *Samba*, maintains that "*Mangenna* used to be observed before the head of the house was about to leave for Muglan (Aasham), after the seasonal harvest is over" (interview). That is why; it is the ritual performance which has borne traditional social values, too.

It is done narrating the entire myth of creation of universe, human beings and permanent settlement of *Limbu* clan, based on *Mundhumian* myth. It helps learn about particular lineage of certain clan and help them to socialize themselves. Hence, we can say that it has a social target by its performativity. It has the important significance of social construction of *Limbus*. *Mangenna*, therefore, is the embodiment of social and cultural identity of *Limbus*' social living as well.

The researcher has interviewed *Sambas*, *Phedangbas* and *Tumayahang* and taken the raw but very authentic resources from the original habitat of the concerned ethnic group, from Taplejung and Sangkhuwa Sabha, as primary data with the help of tape recording. The *Samba*, *Yeba*, *Phedangba*, and *Tumyahangs* (knowledgeable elders) are the main resource persons who can deliberately convey the information about the particular subject. The researcher recorded the ritual speech of *Mangenna* observing the authentic performance during the worship. The researcher was

successful in collecting the text from *Mundhum* experts (*Tumyahang*) and *Sambas* after heartily requesting them for recording. First, the researcher recorded the raw texts transcribed them into script and then translated the quoted text into English roughly. It was done through regular consultation with Mr. Tek Bahadur Phago, Mr. Rana Dhoj Shereng, Mr. Bairangi Kainla, Dr. Chaitanya Subba and other experts as interpreter or interlocutor. The researcher asked directly to the text producer as well when there was difficulty to transcribe them. The researcher transcribed the text in to Roman letters. The researcher has given English translation of the quoted lines at interlinear pattern. Translation is itself very difficult and dangerous task due to the language which associates with culture, geography, social structure etc. So the researcher has just done rough translation into English to give sense of first language as a whole for the convenience of study. The whole version has been categorized into lines.

The secondary materials, which concern with ethnographic information, theory, criticism, and analysis, are also used. They have provided the concept and general guideline for the formulation of idea.

The researcher involved the local elders (*Tumyahangs*) resource person, *Sambas* and other *Munddum* experts, who played the crucial role, in discussion in order to bring out the socio-cultural values embedded in *Mangenna* ritual speech. In addition, a regular direction and advice of supervisor, has made the better way to get the thesis into complete form.

III. *Mangenna* Ritual Text and Its Social-Cultural Values

Mangenna is a ritual text based on oral tradition of *Mundhum*. It is one of the important parts of *Mundhum* 'often performed along with *Nahangma*, *Lumaepa* and *Tongshing*' (108), Sagant writes in *Dozing Shaman*. Ritual performance of *Mangenna* brings all the living and the non living members of the clan together in the very time and space. Sagant states, "Mangenna's ritual unites the entire family, under the father's leadership, in a single act of worship" (108).

***Mundhum* and *Mangenna* Ritual Text**

The word *Mundhum* refers to a central and highly complex notion which means "oral tradition" of ancestral knowledge or generally traditional way of life among *Kirants* (*Limbu, Rai, Yakkha, Sunuwar*) community. The *Mundhum* has many nomenclatures such as "*Muddum*" in Mewahang Rai, "*Muntum*" in Yamphu Rai "*Riddum*" in Kulunge, "*Dum*" in Chamling and "*Mundhum*" in Limbu,. It is simultaneously known as "ritual", "ritual tradition", "manner and custom ", "course" too. It signifies that *Mundhum* is the guiding principles for Limbu community. Since *Mundhum* is a base of cultural life, history, tradition even law and order in the community. It is seen as something brought up from the place of origin by the ancestors (Gaenszle 31). *Mundhum* is a course of culture, history, religion, and lifecycle rites practiced since the time immemorial to the present generation handed down by *Samba* or *Phedangba, Yeba* (Limbu priests), and *Tumyahangs* (knowledgeable experts and elders) through dictation, recitation, and narration. The *Mundhum* is an oral tradition which provides the means for proper ritual action during life cycle rites, *Tongshik, Nahengma, Mangenna, Sapokchommen* etc. for the maintenance and continuation of the ancestral order. The recitation of the *Mundhum* is

used as an instrument to restore an original order and harmony through an enactment of a contact with the ancestral world.

Limbu community practices and observes many rituals, rites, ceremony, and festivals according to their own tradition that is determined by philosophical theocracy, *Mundhum*. Among them *Mangenna* is the rites or rituals which is ceremoniously performed to wish peace, progress and prosperity in general and to raise head of a person who is dejected or suffered in particular. It is observed twice or at least once in a year usually in the month of Kartik (October/November) and Chaitra (March/April). The worship takes place on the altar, prepared inside house, where the required materials are put together. *Samba* or *Phedangba* (priest) performs the ritual narrating *Mingsara (gotra)*, the genealogy or lineage of the clan. They believe that the worship will raise the head of the person who had suffered or insulted or had hardships and failed in life revitalizing them psychologically and physically so that they be more energetic and prosperous in the days ahead. In addition, it also helps prophesy the future life and prosperity of the person whose *Mangenna* is being observed.

Mangenna ritual speech is the primordial language seems something brought up by ancestors from the place of origin, which is essentially speaking, reciting, invoking in the verse. Its rhythmic pattern, alliteration, tuning, tonal quality make everyone to spellbound over it. It consists of different performative events, visual symbolism, gesture along with chanting the *Mangenna-Mundhum* version and enactment of ritual combines with aesthetic form such as song and rhythm. It is distinct in the respect of typically that the matter of politeness, of etiquette which is in the dialogue form.

This ritual's dominant aspect is oral tradition which is directly associated with *Kirant Limbus'* oral text, "*Mundhum*" also known as storehouse of ancestral knowledge. It is entirely a living oral tradition which forms the basis of *Limbu* cultural identity. This oral and ritual tradition is maintained, guarded, and transmitted to the coming generation mainly by the aged group, elders and *Yeba, Samba, Yuma, Phedangba* (Limbu priests). It is so vulnerable because it is only stored in the memory of these people. It is endangered with the loss of these people. In addition, the coming generation becomes the alien to recognize and assimilate this kind of ritual thanks to trans-cultural fashion; this may distort the originality and typicality of the rituals. Although some conscious elders, *Tumyaahangs* take the initiation to uplift and regain the archaic tradition but they are not sufficient.

Lastly the rituals, customs, rites, ceremonies of *Limbu* have very rich though they are diverse, in the cultural heritage. Now various ethnic organizations have run several programmes and campaign in order to strengthen and preserve the *Limbu* culture, language, and ethnic identity. These things should be made the subject of studies and research that may help to find the ancient civilization, which later comes at the present position.

Mythical Background of *Mangenna*

The source of *Mangenna* ritual performance is embedded in the myth prevalent among Limbus. There has been considerable modification and improvisation in such myths as they were transmitted orally from one generation to another over the hundred years. According to *Mundhum* of cosmology, the god *Porokmi Yamhpami* thought of creating human being who would be immortal. He followed the instructions of *Tagera Ningwaphuma* and created immortal human body from precious metals, then from soil and finally from ashes and dew drops. Human

form of precious metals could not speak and come alive. He threw it in different directions and they turned into different divinities. Human beings made from the earthen clay were not well developed, they grew up so small that had to throw sticks with force to bring down red peppers from its plants or had to cut down a fern with axes and a single goat-drop would be enough load for them. He threw it under the earth and they became “Khambongba, Lungbongba”, known as sons and daughters of the earth. According to *Mundhum*, it is believed that they sometimes appear on earth; they are the real masters of the earth. Ultimately *Porokmi Yamphami* developed human beings from ashes and dew-drops, who spoke and became lively. But he became unhappy and dissatisfied with his final accomplishment as the human form made of precious metals could not come into being, he immediately spat on the face of the newly created human forms in extreme compunction. Following this utter humiliation, those human beings died and became mortal. Since then, thus, humans became mortal. The god, *Porokmi Yamphami* became anxious once again, and went to the supreme god, *Tagera Ningwaphoo* and confessed his mistakes. He asked for instructions to revive that human creation. *Tagera Ningwaphoo* instructed him to perform “Semirima Mangenna” rite to give the newly created human beings a life again.

Since then *Mangenna* became a ritual of giving life, vigor, strength, prosperity, a ritual of defending oneself from the evils, recollecting the gods with reverence and innovating them for their support in time to crucial events of life and death of ancestors.

Mangenna is the ritual performance in which brother performs for prosperity and longevity of their brothers and vice-versa. And there is another myth about how *Mangenna* began as cultural property. The *Limbus* believe in the myth as the part of

their oral traditions. According to the *Mundhum*, *Sechchhere Senehang*, youngest among *Sawa Yethang*, went to his father *Sudhung Lepmuhang* to ask for invincible power. *Sobhung Lepmuhang* gave him swords representing invincible power. *Sobhung Lepmuhang* gave him swords representing invincible power (Amukum Mukkum Sam) – *Ngerere Nahangma*, a boon bestowing God (Hangwa Mang). He waved two swords clashed. The spark that flew towards the sky became *Ngerere Nahangma Sam* and the spark that fell to the earth became *Khambuling Picchamma*. Thus *Khambuling Picchamma* is *Mangenna* (sister) of *Nahangma Sam*. In short, she is *Mangenna* and symbol of the power of the earth.

Thus, the tradition of performing *Mangenna* ritual started since the time immemorial and continued from one generation to other generations as an integral part of *Limbu* social and cultural dynamics.

Transmission of Ritual Text

The *Mangenna* ritual speech is characterized as a myth of migration. It is understood in the sense of culture as a whole; it is seen as something that evolved in primordial times and was then transmitted in a basically unchanged form through a long line of ancestors of a clan. It belongs to the clan in *Limbu* community, marking out the group's identity as *Phedape* or *Miwa Khole* or *Tambar Khole* etc. The crucial point is that the ritual performance of *Mangenna* safeguards and integrates the sub-branches in a clan, and also gives authenticity and continuity to the oral tradition. Then it is worth looking into the modes of transmission from one generation to next, in which the persons handle this process.

There are different categories of ritual specialists, the experts and guardians of *Mangenna*, who are in charge of performing the rituals, preserving the ancestral saga and knowledge. They are characterized as knowledgeable elders, *Samba or*

Phedangba, Yeba, Yuma. This category is based on their competence and performing qualification.

Tumyahangs (knowledgeable elders): This category can be regarded as an aged group i.e. the person roughly reached above fifty years age. It is said that one, somebody has seen his grandson or granddaughter. He/she also becomes knowledgeable in matters of the *Mangenna Mundhum*. Thus, the category is not defined by the criterion of age alone but also by criterion of knowledge which is commonly associated with seniority. It is socially expected that with a certain age one has acquired a standard knowledge in traditional affair. Generally some knowledge in ritual and mythological matters is acquired long before by member of this aged group just by attending on the various ritual occasions and “picking it up” from elders through the means of hearing.

Samba or Phedangba and Yeba/Yema: The category refers to the 'tribal priest' or simply priest in *Limbu* community who have knowledge and skills to perform the ritual guided by *Mundhum*. There are two distinct categories of ritual specialists. One is in charge of performing good rituals (eg. *Mangenna, Nahengma, Tongshing* etc.) who interact with auspicious ancestors and deities. On the other hand, *Yeba* or *Yuma* is in charge of dealing with the inauspicious spirits and other afflictions such as *Soga, Sugut*, etc. However, both specialists would be as shaman or *bijuwa* in a wider sense but in order to reflect the shamanic distinction they perform as per their speciality.

In conclusion, the transmission of *Mangenna* seems to be very unique and genuine type. *Tumyahangs, Samba or Phedangba* and *Yeba/Yuma* have brought down until today with the help of their mental memory transmission. Sagant claims that it is not easy for them to perform *Mangenna* as:

It is difficult to perform *Mangenna* ritual for any *Phedangams* or *Sambas*. Those who perform the ritual should know the history or mythical accounts of the particular clan for whom the *Mangenna* is going to be performed. He should recite the myth of migrations of the ten Limbus, the ten Limbus in a certain area (7).

But this trend is threatened in the coming generation. The youngsters have neglected and forsaken it. At the same time, the *Tumyahangs* and *Phedangba* opine that the mechanical world has challenged its existence.

Performance of *Mangenna* Ritual

Mangenna is a sacred ritual act performed inside house. No strangers or a person from non-Limbu community is allowed to join the worship during its performance. Dr. Chaitanya Subba argues, "*Mangenna* is performed closing the door not to let anyone hear or know about the secret history of the clan whose *Mangenna* is being observed" (interview).

To perform the ritual of *Mangenna*, an altar is prepared at and mud and the floor is covered with white clothes. The banana leaves (Tetlase) are placed on it in cross position. If the *Managenna* has to be performed for only one person, a plaited strap covered with white cloth will be enough to put the articles and tools of the worship. Two Langmus along with other articles such as unboiled husked rice in a plate for worship, a pair of lighted wicks in ghee or oil in a small earthen of mental post, dry leaves of *Artemisia vulgaris* (Namyoba) and some embers to lights the leaves in a clay censer or flat stone, clean water in bowl (Wabum Pakwa) etc. are kept on the Siwa flat stone. Clean water in bowl (Wadum Pakwa) etc. are kept on the Siwa Mikkhek for one person and if the *Mangenna* is performed for many people, the number of Langmus and Siwa Mikkhek will be increased along with other materials.

A garment of the upper part of the body of the person, for whom the *Mangenna* is going to be performed, is kept in front of the altar.

The strategies in every ritual speech are basically the same in the dealing with superhuman being. In ritual performance of *Mangenna*, a mutual relationship between the *Yebodangba* and the ancestors or gods is reconstructed and redefined by *Samba* or *Phedangba* through ritual speech, which leads to the situation to create and manipulate the relationship on behalf of worship and worshiper. The words in the ritual speech create the facts and have a binding impression. The entire *Mangenna* performance can be divided into three sections: situating, presenting and request.

During the performance, *Samba* or *Phedangba* first 'situates' invoking all the evil spirits not to perturb the sacred ritual performance of *Mangenna*. "*Sodhung Lepmuhang*, patron deity of Limbu, is invoked at the initial stage of the ritual" (109) Chaitanya Subba writes. The *Samba* or *Phedangba* sits in front of altar prepared inside house without leg crossed and recites *Mundhum* to avoid the presence of *taphemba*, evil spirits in the ritual place. He declares the place as safe and holy for the *Mangenna* cult.

...osanglung phyanglung kusasi

...the offspring of bad spirit of dead people

pharere phanisha, hellere henisha

... flying with waving shawl

...sumjiri sumlamdo

...away in the junction of roads

...yechiri ye:lumdo yebinyo

...stay away in the main road (*see Appendix III*)

In these lines, the *Samba* or *Phedangba* invokes the evil spirits – *osanglung*

phyanglung and separates the space for good and bad things distinctly. This first step of ritual performance generally serves to link it with the context of performance, by referring to the speech act, participants and the time and space of the ritual. This relates the ritual to the 'here' and 'now' of the client whose *Mangenna* is being performed; by situating the speech event the performance is authenticated as an interaction between concrete persons. It sounds the priest is communicating with the supernatural beings pleading them not to interfere or create any trouble during the performance.

The *Mangenna* ritual starts off with the altar construction. This creates a situation that the actual event is happening in the actual place and with actual clients. The superhuman beings are first 'greeted' offering holy rice grains onto the altar and around it. After having convinced the evil spirits through *Mundhum*, *Samba* or *Phedangba* announces to start *Mangenna* ritual. Then he narrates the creation of earth and first humans on earth invoking all *Mangs-* gods of earth, ocean, hills, sky.

...iksamang khmbek mang,

...the god of earth

...tarangmang tangsasngmang

...god of ocean and sky

...thabudi kusingmang,

...god of hills and valley

.....

Iksani hoktewa khambek hoktewa

there was no soil and earth

Tarang aang hopte, tang sang aang hopte

No rivers, no sky at all

Masunni mangha khasunna mang ha melande

suddenly gods called Mashunni and Khasunna appeared (*see Appendix III*)

In these lines, *Samba* or *Phedangba* invokes the gods and narrates that in the beginning there was nothing: no soil, no sky, no rivers and bridges and all of a sudden two gods: Masunne and Khasunne appeared.

According to the myth, the land of human creation started with Munaphen Tembe. Some of the *Mundhum* narrators mentions that God first created human settlement at *Mangjiri Mangowet*. Eventually they grew in great numbers and dispersed in different directions in search of a better land to live in. Most of the *Mundhums* indicate that one of the branches of that community moved towards Lhasa from their place of origin and settled down there for generations. Whereas another branch of that community migrated towards south and entered into some (Kathmandu?) valley, then to the plain regions of India, particularly to Kashi or to a location close to the confluence of eight (all) rivers (*Yetwado*).

They settled down in Kashi (Yetchiri Yetchwakhu Tembe?) for about twelve generations. There is no clear description about their settlements there. They grew in great numbers and finally eighteen brothers, some counts up to twenty-nine brothers, moved to different direction from Kashi. Now one has to trace or relate their clan to one of these brothers and should know the events of migrations of their ancestors from place to place till they got fortified in some suitable location, which is known as *Yak* in *Limbu* language.

According to the *Mengenna Mundhum* recited in *Miwa Khola* and *Tambar Khola* – the watershed areas of Miwa and Tambar river, by most of the *Phedangmas* and *Sambas* claim that there were twelve brothers. They are *Shandhuge*, *Mundhunge*,

Chongbanglingba, Hamyunba, Hamsengba, Kajungba, Kaneba, Phatlemiba, Yanchamiba, Pomenhang, Sapmenhang, and Nerbahang. Among them *Sandhunge, Mungdhunge, Chongbanglingba, Thapmiya, Muregan, Kajungba Kaneba, Phatlemiba* and *Yanchamiba* moved towards the eastern side and the rest to the western side. Those who migrated in the western side, moved towards the north and entered into Nepal and spread out up to the west of Arun river. The other branch migrating to the eastern side, eventually moved towards north-western side and scattered in different place of eastern side of Arun river. In search of ancestral land, these people even reached Digarcha (Tibet). They stayed there for a few decades (some say for few generations) and experienced a bitter struggle between the followers of *Yuma Sammang* and Buddhism. They ran away and some of them arrived at the river Kanwa (Kaveli) and some reached the belt of phawari (river Phawa), Yangthangwa (river Tamar), Ketekum Miwa (river Miwa) and Sindolung Maiwa. It is difficult to relate this event with that of the struggle between followers of Yuma and Buddhism described in detail in the story of Lhasahang in *Yuma Sammang Mundhum* of Kirat *Mundhum* (Chemjong 61), but inconsistent presentation of the scene of strife between these two communities of followers in the *Mundhum* recitation by well-versed *Phedangmas, Sambas, Yeba* or *Yemas* and *Tumyahangs* reveals some common elements in the myth; these mystical sketches reveal the religious strife that had caused further migration.

For various clans (Mingsara) of Limbu of Miwa Khola, the myth of migration follows this way: Sandhunge, Mundhunge and Chongbanglingba first appeared at Nila Chyambuk, the source area of the river Miwa, then moved towards Sodhowarak (the lake Sodho). They slowly came down to the Abhan river basin, then to the place called Singrathk. As the time went on, they slowly moved down to Nyayok, Tangen,

Tardung, Tinjong, Ammijakpa, Kengjuwa, Sarekma, Yumikma, Papung, and finally to Homulungjangma. The three brothers Sandhunge, Mundhunge and Chongbanglimba then separated from Homulungjangma and moved to different directions. Mundhunge went to Libang, built his *Yak* at Sarakamgma and settled there. Hngam (two types), Norbo (two types) were the descendants of Sandhunge. Shreng Chongbang crossed the river Miwa and reached Mashreng, where he built his fort or *Yak*. The other brother, *Chongbang Lingba* went to Maiwa Khola following a bird Samdangwa (*Lophoporous impejanus*) and built a fort at *Chikwa* and his descendants settled down in Maiwa Khola areas.

The descendants of Thapmiya and Muregon came down along the basin of Tamar river and some of them made a *Yak* at *Khambochang* and some of them at Lunjiri Lumbang of Hangdewa. For subgroups of Phenduwa, Nugo, Muringla, Palungwa, Hellok, Lingkhim, Chemjong, Labung, Anchhangbo, Sabehang, Phambu etc. are the descendants of Thapmiya and Muregan, Kajunba and Kaneba came to the source of Kangwa (Kaveli) river and followed the river basin down to the low hills around the river. Phatlemi and Yanchhami followed the source of river Phawari (Phawa Khola). Their descendants developed their forts at various places. First of all, they got fortified there for their protection and made new habitat to settle down permanently. Their descendants grew in great numbers and developed villages. Their forts are known as *Mangenna Yaks*. They again moved to different places of their choice to occupy more land and these places are known as *Pangwama Den*. Various Yaks are described before coming to the final Yak which is known as *Mangenna Yak*.

Thangden clan of *Limbu* came from *Madhu Tembe* and reached to their fort, *Yak*, called *Chikwa Yak*, which is located in Thinglabu, Taplejung.

Madhu lam tamma

...came from Madhu

Ani yak ra 'chikwa yak' ke:male

our fort is 'Chikwa Yak'

Thanchhingma den 'chikwa yak' pokes

'Chikwa Yak' is where you came from

Sa:ma wamik makktelle

when you got thirsty

Mainwa khole chwat thungwa

water from Maiwa brook quenched your thirst (*see Appendix III*)

These lines describe the story of migration relating to particular clan, *Thangden* clan of *Limbu*. How they arrived in *Chikwa Yak* and quenched their thirst drinking water from Maiwa Khola.

Usually the story ends at *Mangenna Yak* (*see Appendix III*) with brief description of movements towards *Pangwana Den* or just naming the place or village where *Mangenna* performer (client) is living. Then it leads to the wonderful description of events relating to migration and eventually coming to a suitable place to get fortified and settle down called *Yak*. In this sense, it is a genealogical account (*Samyakwa*). Most probably, the *Mundhum* of *Mangenna* is related to the nomadic life, based on hunting and food gathering economy, of early *Limbus* and it provides the glimpse of how they got a settle life through centuries. *Limbus* with various clans or appellations but with same *Mangenna Yak* are believed to have common ancestor and represent as the posterity of the same horde that migrated from place to place and eventually settled down in Limbuwan.

Probably *Limbus* became able to preserve their legend or recollect their proto historic accounts, though in mythical form, through this ritual by performing even six

months or at least once a year. Inconsistency, obscurity and minute variations from place to place and person to person are connatural to the oral tradition, but still some major events and common elements in its delineation and interpretation help a lot to draw some conclusions. The myths and chronicles referred to in the *Mangenna Mundhum* here interestingly correspond with most of the details of the pedigrees of the people of Maiwa Khola collected by Mani Shanker Limbu. According to Kajiman Kandangwa, the ancestors of Kandangwa built their first *Yak* (fort) in Langdakhing Wabhorung, probably on the bank of river Ganga, then migrated to northern side and built *Yak* in Sangjiri Sangitra (Vijayapur, Dharan?) and finally entered the mountainous region and developed a *Yak* in Bakhim Solung Kumba in Athrai and this account of *Mangenna Mundhum* of Kandangwa corresponds with the description of Kandangwa pedigree (?). Probably, some of the members of this clan may have remained in the old *Yak* and some moved to a new place in search of fertile and more secure land – it is a subject of rigorous research. So, the *Mundhum of Mangenna* is very useful tool to trace the history of migration of *Limbus* as well as their culture and civilization.

The presentation of offering is next rhetorical step of *Mangenna ritual*, the offerings are spelled out in the ritual speech emphasizing that everything is there. It has been pointed out that by announcing the ritual name of the offered item; one shows the item itself to the superhuman being. Thus the word is not only signifier for the object, but it is seen as co-substantial with object.

...sewa yebodang hare

the clients whose *Mangenna* is being performed

te:la lasojori metondu

placed leaves of banana

semiring te:la miring te:la

Mangenna leaves

sangdang metondu

holy water in bottle

saptok-jori metondu

two Tongba made of bamboo (*see Appendix III*)

These lines present the offerings made by the clients on altar of *Mangenna* ritual performance. The ancestors or gods are offered with sacred leaves of banana, saptok, yebo etc.

Forecasting is another important event in *Mangenna* ritual performance. After the ritual narration gets to *Yak*, then a pair of chicken is sacrificed and future of the client is observed by the *Samba* or *Phedangba*. If the blood that comes from cock/hen's mouth is thick and clotted, and has big gull bladder the client has prosperous future. He or she can make journey to foreign land to earn. But if the blood is thin and has small gull bladder it suggests misfortune to the client. Likewise, the cut on left hand side of liver of the sacrificed hen/cock's suggests possible death of female member in the family or relatives and such cut on the right hand side suggests the death of male member of the family or near relatives.

Therefore *Mangenna* is performed in several occasions including two times in a year. Chaitnaya Subba writes, "there are various forms of *Mangenna* done in various occasions, specially on occasion of Sapok Chomen, Yangdangphongma, Mekkam, and Chotlung Phongma etc." (109).

After the offerings have been accepted and the invitees partake of it, the performer voices for requests. The requests are spoken out toward the end of every offering to the ancestors, when the positive condition has been successfully created. In

the *Mangenna* ritual speech, the request can be found many times when individual ancestor and all ancestors have been offered. In the beginning, *Samba* or *Phedangba* requests the evil spirits not to disturb the sacred ritual.

Similarly, finally when cocks or hens are sacrificed, it is presented with rice cooked in a pot without its lid and the *Sodung Lepmuhang*, *Tagera Mingwaphoo* and other goods are requested to safeguard the client accepting the offerings. There is an interesting myth about the sacrifice of a rooster in *Mangenna*. Generally, a pair of cock and hen is sacrificed. According to *Mundhum*, *Phedangba* or *Samba* recites the words, “*Karangwama Chamlangwama*” or “*Karangwa kaplangwa*” while performing *Mangenna* ritual. These words clearly indicate that a pair of *karangwama* (long-distance flying migrating birds-demoiselle crane/*Anthrapoides virgo*) is offered to the main divinity, and today, chicken are sacrificed in place of *Karangwama*. In some places of *Limbuwan*, the sacrifice is not limited to chickens only. In *Srijung* of *Phedap*, it was also found that a pig was sacrificed while performing the *Mangenna* ritual for a girl among *Kurumbang* clan of *Limbu*. In most cases, *Phedangams* confess that they perform the rituals today according to the conventions of particular clans of particular places. The meat is eaten up by the family members and is not taken out of the house. However, these days some *Limbus* from urban areas they use fruits in place of rooster or hen and they want the *Samba* or *Phedangba* to perform the ritual quick and in brief. It is a kind of improvisation or modification in the performance of *Mangenna* ritual.

To sum up this section, the ritual rhetoric basically aims at creating favourable conditions for voicing a request. The text use a number of speech strategies to establish a friendly almost intimate link with the addressees or ancestors. They all start off by situating the speech event in terms of time and participants. When the

interpersonal link has been established, the offering is presented. Lastly this leads to the polite request in this stage, the priest is not only pleading but is himself actively involved in bringing out the desired effects. In all cases ritual rhetoric contributes to the essential politeness of ritual speech.

IV. Conclusion

Mangenna is about worshipping ancestors, nature and reciting the saga of ancestors. *Limbus* believe themselves as progeny of gods and regard their ancestors parallel to gods and have strong faith that prosperity and well-being are ensured with the blessing of ancestors living with gods. They observe this ritual performance as their one of the unique oral ritual traditions in *Mundhum*, in *Limbuwan* and other parts of the world.

Analyzing *Mangenna Mundhum* from the perspective of ritual performance and performativity, the researcher has found that *Mangenna* ritual is the foundation of Limbu life, as it has preserved the genealogical accounts of *Limbus* through the oral tradition and its enactment. The rituals of *Mangenna* have solidly formed an identity of *Limbus* as one of the unique tribes in Nepal and have been endeavouring to preserve it thinking as an inevitable cultural property.

Mangenna is fully performative ritual performed among *Limbu* communities of eastern Nepal which has been transmitted from generation to generation; so *Mangenna* becomes a way of preserving the myth of migration for uneducated people in particular. Not only in *Limbuwan* areas, *Mangenna* is also performed as a ritual practice out of Nepal such as in some states of India (Sikkim Meghalaya), UK, Hong Kong, Singapore, Brunei etc for the prosperity of *Limbus* avoding the evil influences upon them.

Mundhum of *Mangenna* is related to the nomadic life, based on hunting and food gathering economy, of early *Limbus* and it provides the glimpse of how they got a settled life through centuries. It is performed reciting the entire history of creation of universe, human beings and migration of *Limbus* until they fortified in a secured place, called *Yak*, also known as *Mangenna Yak* (see *Annex*). Different clans of *Limbu*

settled in their own *Yak*, which is eulogized during the performance and a pair of chicken: a hen and a cock are sacrificed to the *mang* or God. Phedangba or Samba beseeches the divinities for the client to avoid hardships and unhappy incidents while going away, save from Sogha, Sugut, Lechcham, Phungsam (evil spirits) and various types of Sires (powerful spirits in animal or bird forms mostly having a wicked or harmful character) and Nahen (spirit of jealousy and envy) and so that he/she will not suffer or die untimely. Thus, socially and culturally the message of this performance is that they (*Limbus*) believe to have blessings for their prosperity and longevity.

Though the *Limbus* celebrate different rituals and festivals at different time throughout a year, *Mangenna* is performed only on certain occasions. According to *Mundhum*, it is performed, in general, twice in a year at the 'declining' season which falls around November – December and in March – April, in the beginning of 'rising' season. It is also performed during marriage ceremony for the newly wedded couple. However, these days it is performed once in a year or once in a three year, as per their easiness. The offerings vary from one *Limbu* clan to other. For instance, *Phedape* offers pork while others *Miwa Khole*, *Tambar Khole* etc. offer a pair of hen and cock during the worship. Although these days especially in the urban areas some *Limbus* improvised and has started offering fruits in place of pork or chicken, the spirit and the objective of the performance remains intact. In this way, it transports distinct and diverse performative aspects of *Limbu* life with distinct cultural identity.

In nutshell, the ritual performance of *Mangenna* is the only way to preserve the saga of *Limbus* amidst the growing influence of alien cultures as it is based on oral tradition, and to sustain socio-cultural identity of *Limbus* in the globalized world.

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Appendix II

The Mangenna Yaks(forts) of some of different Limbu clans (Thars):

Clan (Thar)	Mangenna Yak/Lungdhung
1. Sawaden, Phenduwa (Tumbangphe, Sarpangdung, Yengden, Maden), Nugo, Muringal, Palungwa, Yakso, Anchhangbo, Lechharbo, Mangyung, Hellok, Patangwa, Tapmaden, lingkhim, Tabebung, Kohi, Le. Wahang, Sanglewa, Phurumbo, Kambang, Ta. Wa.	Lumnang Yak. Ajibung. Hangdewa, Taplejung.
2. Menyangbo, Yonghang, Lingden, Mangmu Khumding, Usuk, Kho.yahang, Angbohang, Kangwa. Bengha, Ijam, Yarampa, Kongliba, Bakhim, Laksam, Idhingo, Sigu Thebe, Sing Thebe, Ungwa Thebe, Thumppoku Thebe, Lingthoyu, Ningleku (Angbohang), Pandak, Mangleyu, Ningleku (angbohang), Pandak, Mangleyu, Imbung, Samsohang, Labung, Sangsabo, Phaklechha, Senehang.	Sangang Yak, Changthapu Panchthar
3. Okhrabu, Yakyukpa. Phago-Chongbang, yanem (Angla, Makkhungba, Phago), Tembe, Phabunba, Singyem, mangdem, Thropa (3subgraups).	Piringe, Tembe, Maiwa Khola, Taplejung
4. Maswa	Mudhikpuma, Dhungesanghu, Taplejung.
5. Thangden, Yabhenyek (4 subgroups).	Chikwa Yak, Thinglabu Taplejung.
6. Mudenchhang	Yamanemba, Santhakra, Taplejung.
7. Sanba (13 subgroups: Chongbang, Mikendang, Phayang, Kol, Lunghimba, Pechangwa, Mudenchong, Tangdappa, Maden, Sambahang, Le.wa, Tapmaden, Hinahang)	Lingthang Yakma, Libang Taplejung.
8. Nembang (Phejong, yangdemba, sardappa, Namlakpa, Yangdengba, Loringden, Picchakpa)	Idhing Yak, Namphun Yak, Panchthar
9. Hinohang, Khambadhakpa	Tapekhok, Tamar Khola, Taplejung.
10. Tehim, Pangenna, Khapung, Pandhak, Sanyok, Panguma, Singyem.	Poklabang, Phedap, Terathum.
11. Kingthep (Dewan), Aplokpa (Dewan), Khambongaba (Dewan), Timlok (Dewan), Sanglain, Lingjyabg, (Dewan), Yakkha (Dewan), Jimi (Dewan)	Phesingtembe (Phimphrikpungba), Dhungesanghu, maiwa Khola: Taplejung.
12. Shereng Chongbang, Thu.ima Shreng, Samyangam, Langwa, Mademba, Maden, Nalbo, Chongbang, Nalbo,	Masreng, Miwakhola, Taplejung.

- Lungtu.ba, Nalbo, Yahakpa Hangam, chongbang
Hangam, Samsuyang Kedem, Phunglla kedem,
Tumbangphe.
13. Thinglago, Pomu, Hemabo. Phaktangyakna, Nigurden,
Teplejung.
 14. Thopra (Yeveng, Tengbung, wagdem, Nu),
Mudengyak, chongbangyak, Evengyak, Yakkhagyak Phayangba, samglumba,
Phakumba, Taplejung.
 15. Hangam. Arija Karbatakten, Khokling,
Taplejung.
 16. Sendang, Sodung, Payangu Phungdapma Yak, chhentang,
Athrai, Taplejung.
 17. Hampang Chungwa, Hampang, Taplejung.
 18. Phompho, Awajong Anem, Santhakra, Taplejung.
 19. Singtha Laksamva, Santhakra, taplejung.
 20. Thaklung , pangma Hina, Santhakra, Taplejung.
 21. Sanyok Tumbegu.up, Sanghu, Taplejung.
 22. Ingnam Pomojong/Yakkumba, Athrai,
Terathum.
 23. Kandangwa Bakhim, Sonu Kumba yak, Adhrai,
Terathum.
 24. Tamsuhang Parangbung, Panchthar.
 25. Angdembe, Chemjong, laoti, Tumbapo,
Sambahangphe, Tumrok, jabegu Thegim. Sumhalung, Phidim (phiyaden)
Panchthar
 26. Lowa Lowaphu, Panchthar.
 27. Hupuchongbang, Mademba, Kurumbang, Abungyak,
Pehim. Kiling, Sudap, Terathum.
 28. Sangbangphe (Sangariba, Sutnaba, Arakpa) Hangsrung, Jaljali Terathum.
 29. Kerung Thegim, Chobgu thegim, Srumba, theklemg,
Yekten Sendanglung, Machchhebung,
panchthar.
 30. Sangsangbo, Neyong Lungdung, Tamarkhola, Taplejung.
 31. Mabohang (Chemjong) Kurleyak, Chaubis, Dhankutta.
 32. Yangyahang Hastapur, Yangrup, Panchthar.
 33. Pheyak, Serma, khajum, Tumbang, Makkhim,
Maksingbubg. Maklumba, Tamakhe, Ranitar,
Panchthar.
 34. Khapung, Kurumbang, Tehim, Senihang, Khojum,
Pangyangu Phedamp, Hukpa, Chongbang, Phedap
ningleku, Phedap Pandhak, Lumgphangwa, Pahim,
hangsrung, Ispo, Abungyak, angbunge, Su.waba,
Pangen, Le. Wa, Sigak, Kurumbhang, Sodem, chi-
liphung, Misosing. Therathum.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>35. Iwa, Lado Chemjong, Ingsang, Yungsiba, Papo,
Thapsu, Tumba Sangyak, Tumsa Sangyak, Nugu,
Phatra, Phatra Neyong, Phasep, Thukkumiya, Mikhak,
Mibhak, Suwahang.</p> | <p>Chyangthung Thurpa, Choubis,
Dhankutta.</p> |
| <p>36. Loringden, Pichakwa</p> | <p>Angdangyak, Charkhola, Ilam.</p> |
| <p>37. Yakpangden</p> | <p>Chenchenlung Yak,
sangkhawasabha.</p> |
| <p>38. Chongbang Khajum, Paradhiri Khajum, Lekwa
Khajum, Wayang Khajum</p> | <p>Panchknya Pokhari, Batase
Chhathar, dhankutta.</p> |
| <p>39. Chongbang Iwa khewa, Numbden (maya) Khewa,
Maden Khewa, Anglabang Khewa, Tumba Khewa,
Tiglla Khewa</p> | <p>Taklungden Yak, Chhathar,
Dhankutta.</p> |
| <p>40. Ningleku, Chongbang</p> | <p>Kaya Yak, Koyakhola, Terathum.</p> |
| <p>41. Sawa</p> | <p>Changsing Yak, Chhathar,
Dhankutta.</p> |
| <p>42. Phaklechwa, Sahang, Angla.</p> | <p>Sanguri (Bhanjyang) Yak,
Dhankutta.</p> |
| <p>43. Tumkhang, Khangwahang, Killing, Paksangwaq,
Tumsangwa.</p> | <p>Menchhyayem, Terathum.</p> |

Appendix III

Mangenna Mundhum Transcribed in Roman Script

Commencement (Tapheba Saknaba)

*Osanglung phyanglung kasasi
pharere phanisha,
hellere henisha
maklere maklisa
tunggum orong kewebi
pyang juthi payang sere
samu sere netdhung sere
ka:phati maiya sere
sumjiri sumlamdo
yechiri ye:lamdo yebinyo
aashiksa si:yasa
na: sumjiri yebinyeo
ye chiri ye:lado yebinyeo
te: lare laso ha mellakinyeo
miyare lasoang mellakinyeo
waksisyang laso mellakinyeo
ting ding nahenleang mellakamyeo
haradi miksoryang laso mellakinne
taidi namgen saknethaning
ta-i namdhan sakne thanneng
yo...siyok madem sakne dhaning
timen orong sakne thaning
kang-ga char-sur
char killa siya maya saknening
kang-ga samjik mundhum bachare
aalla mangenna mundhum hekma poksero...*

Invocation-Creation of universe

*iksamang khmbek mang, tarangmang
tangsasngmang
thabudi kusingmang,
poklare kulungmang
iksa yambe khmbe yambe
taranng tangsang yambe
mudhung khemse imsing pe
tanchhoni tare-ang soingba kase*

*lahiwa chirip lose
namyi:wa halle:lose
sendangba kula yimsing
miyare kunam sere
iksani sere khambek sere
tarang-ang sere tangsang-ang sere
kayi changvang sig-ang
chabhat sere, chuwa sere
padung le:na sere
ka-i sere changvang sere
mangwa thegu sere,
thabu singlaang sere
pokla lungla-ang sere
thabu khi:ma sere,
polka lunglang sere
thu pudi nalingwa khewa sere
thilli yakcha sere,
thupudi nalingwa sere -
lakhendi khewa sere,
pakgebdi ti:waha serero -
phaye: sere nuge: sere
sumdong hatti-ang sere
yang-gang gainda sere
yasa khere, khereang sere
thu:mendisar sere,
iphe:ndi pe:waha sere
tungkha manyu ha sere
kobu-di pangve nemeyo
semingdi waha sere
kha:mu phakang sere
mejum meda sere
phejumen bhedaang sere
kaeedi pitlang sere
todo sanwa sere
aalla yo- si:yukma dempiba
lasadi phongpitang sere
pakichha chu:wa lungdhung sere*

lingpicha pegek lungdung sere

Presenting

sewa yebo tang hare

te:la lasojori metondu

semiring te:la miring te:la

mangenna te:la thi:jori,

nejori, sumjori, nijori, ngajori, tu:jori

nujori yejori phangjori laso metondu -

sangdang metondu

saptok-jori metondu

Invoking Priests/Welcoming Priests

sangvo ingvo mundhum kudikpen

sodhung phedang le:mu phedang

iksa phedang khmbe phedang

tarang tangsang phedang

Khamjiri khambong phedang

Lungjiri lungbong phedang

Phungjiri phangapo phedang

Nujiri nugapo phedang

Khalbale phedang jaljite phedang

thosu phedang su:ling phedang

Yusu phedang yepling phedang

Saju tumbu ingmi tumbu

Starting of Mangenna: Creation of universe

Saju ingmi pogang

Lungjiri hokop lose

Singjiri chirip lose

Iksa pakte khambek pakte

Iksani hoktewa

khambek hoktewa

Tarang aang hopte,

tang sang aang hopte

Masunni mangha khasunna mang ha melande

Thimdang sadham meka:tusi

Pajumasa padhesa mega:tusi

Pajum horik meni padhehorik meni

Pajum padhesa:le yangsa kudhen

Chogung changyang

Aahorik mene aaseduk mene -

Chumji yechchhasa mekttang

Sarap cho:nu karim:nu nese

Masunne mangle khasunne mangle

Pajum horikha pathehorik phechchheyesi

Pajum padhe sedukang yuksepiresi

Chama singes thien pachchhe

Pajum sa:le padhe sa:le

Chama singes haksu chayang wayetle

Iksathaba sambek thaben

Haksu choaang waeyetle

Iksathik taru ne:su

Porokmi Yamphamile

Chajum chabe kammimang kamso kalesi

Chajum sunde chabe sunde

Porokmi Yamphami chajum chabe

meaamennang

Sinyuk madem pesi khabong pitla:

Aabong phinha: kamudheni pitha:

Korongpitha ma

Maksiyeng phagiyeng pitha:

Aajum aamo mesangsing

Maksiyeng phagiyeng

Pi:muriha pora:mi yamphani re

Iksa dubo, khambe duboha chogechhi

Chajum chabe thundes

Chajum chabe megamen

Chajum chabe sundelle

Taei namdha bibanu

Sechiri phemmare sinamlang phemmare

Pethere thenamlang phemmare

Chamchuwa hopte

Maksiyeng pitaha: phagiy pitaha:

Kamudhenu pitha: karang pitha:

Sa:ma wamik yuktelle

Sinjiri singkong pokwale

Lungjiri lungdong pokwa

Chamat thungse chwa thungse

Bajilanyo mepe

Lungjiri lungbong po:wayo

Cham: chuwa methunge

Sa:ma mejiwon ba:mi mejiwon sare

Thunu thuwa sare nunu nawa sare
Khanhani tungum aarang
thamba poksyangthane
Makurole jala khingsu teru
Pora:mi yamphami sare
Yangsa kunthin poksemang
Lamsigang yolam kabesi
Lamthungdo yolam kabesi
Yangsa go theni pokes ja
Kaire pumende aarak pokes
Kithire yakmendhe aarak pokse
Medare pi: mende aarak pokse
Medare ka: mende aarak pokes
Kai kupitleaang todo sanwaleaang
Me:mende aarak pokes
Kaware cha:mende aarak pokes
Mayan re ka:mende aarak pokes
Lamiring nammiring aarak pokes
Hato tha:ledi samang meyewe
Aabu bedi lechhang melle
Tunggum aarak hasimyang
Poro:mi yamphami re kelesi
Langsore chagusang lapsore chagusang
Lunggum aarak medren
Timen aarang yesi poro:mi yamphami
Tododi sa:betha aarna sa:betha
Bajik langthong thaktesi
Tongmom aambedo aarak yamnewo
Bajik melase langthong melase
Thaksore megemdu langsore mewagu
Tangsore methoksu tongum aarak mehsu
Lasek seku pu:le namsek seku pu:le
Lapsore pewe misore ta:takwe
Pereaang bayegatne
Thabu sinsi thik katboaang baye
Sapjiri kulummu kerelle
Tunggum aarek kahbewo
Sikum ningwa muchhuaang
Thabu sinse leyethasu
Me:nama thangnam pe:yele

Thabu sinsi lingse
Thabu hangha sendebe
Thabu phe:wa thokte be
Tho thabuhang kosembeyo
Sumdong hali yapa
Yanggang gaida yapa
Thabu sinse thokte
Pokla lungseaang thokte
Poro:mi yamphami sa:re
Ladeka chogechhi
Namdeka chogesi
Creation of Earth
Lagurung namgorung chogesi
Lamindhani namendhani chogesi
Laneni hopne namely hopte
Kha nagen andha nagen
Laneti chogesi namnesi chogesi
Lagurung kharak yungnesi
Namguru sara: yungnesi
Chuhe dahi taktu chu;wa dahi taktu
Iksa pokes khambek pokes
Byetung byecha pinde pe
Tarang pokes tangsang phansing
Poro:mi thamphami sa:ha
Tho tagera niwabhume yo
Sikun ningwa nakse pesi
Sichiri mangle thenere mangle
Khimdang kantu sadam kattu
Khalleni sichiri themsing
Yethere thamsing thange
Thakpe phunsang pokes thange
Mangwa thegu pokes
Poro:mi yamkamiha
Mikhuema nesesi
Thabu silang tadi se:mang maktesi
Baji langthung pesi tagera ningwabhumume
yo
Sikum ningwa naktesi
Amlari chuwa ku:nesi
Peyari su:wa ku:nesi

Sumbong thapa hali thapa gaida thapa
Thabu sinse tubesi
Amlari pesari su:bayo kune:si
Kobu panphe nemetho mangwa thegu nemeyo
Thakpe phangsang poro:ni yamphanire
Thabu sinse heresi
Sichiri sinfmlang phemmare
Tei namtha piwanu namlangma phere
Thabu silang melingsen
Paro:mi yamphani sa:ha
Tagera ningwabhume yo ni
Sikum ningwa naktesi
Sappolung aamolung
Aoya paklung changnu thebesi
Poro:mi yamphamida:
Iksha khambe mi:melam
Creation of Humans
Mediya kokanbassa melande – come from hell
Waya menaktu pa:lung menaktu
poro:mi mamphamihale piresi
Way pa:lung melepnu
Mediya kaknamba sare
Thiktuk melepnu kya pa:lung megentun
Niduk meluptu sang aya pa:lung megeven
Sunduk melepthle sichiri siyakpe yambeyo
Thethere theyakpe yabmeyo
Waya tokle pa:lung tokte
La:jilik la:re, nam jilik la:ve
Pungendi surite samming kejongde
Ponggen huitena thasn
Iksha orakte khambe: orakte
Thagu lingse singling lingse
Menchham ya:mi mene
Parphe mekhembun
Poro:mi yamphamire
Tagera ningwa phume tho
Sikum nigwa naktesi
Sikum pirusi ningwa pirusi
Samyang yuppare menchhamdi mana angoye
Nara chai: amdenen

Sango sakma amlisesang aligen
Hoohoo ammetesang haha ammetesang
Hoo hoo ha ha allaren
Phenpereang menchha ya:mi amyoge
Menchham ya:mi ambokksen
Tambh jarke hare
menachham ya:mi amjoge
Manchham ya:mi ambokhen
Singyok madem pesi
Poro:mi yomphami ha
Pa:mikla semikla ha
Nuksore supsesi
Langsore karesi
Mukum semik landesi
Pokmikla thappaha
semikla thappu ha chogesi
Seeming de wa:hi nu phoned seamg
Mechham ya:mi amonge
Nara chai ade
Samgo Ja:ma amlikse
Samgo ja:ma alige
Beliyo ha pan amsate
Bel:yo ba aabare
Hoo hoo ammatte-hoo hoo alare
Haha ammette-haha alare
Langso mene hukso mene angkhemden
Sakphari thokha langgo mephachchha
Lising thokna huksp mephachchha
Pagum padhe horik seduk meyakso
Hebuk mene angkhemden
Minu-lung saitlung ha hebuk meyakso
Nebo mene amkhemden senrikla hakha:
Nebo mephachha
Mikso mene angkhemden
Minuse phimrik se ha mikso mephachahhu
Naphek mene angkhemden
Minuchepana chumjun chepha
Naphak maphachahha
Menchhum pongmaden
Ya:mi pongmaden

Myth of Migration

Mana Khamna Tembe

Mingsara mewaye

Sedumge, mundunge,

Sedionge, sanglanginghen,

Hamyungha, hamsyamha,

Phalelung, yamnchhamiba,

Chhanchhami, setu rai,

Walang mi:ma, phoklang mi:ma,

12 bhai kewe-i

Madhu kebegi 12 bhai

Kha:yo ni mukum sava keyungi

Samsi yami ke kheti

Laso ke khetum

Mangenna saptok kehetum

Sangdang kekhetum

Seeming wajoriha: kekhetum

Makum save kedangiang

Semiring te:la ha, yemiring te:laha

Sediong sanglanging kederesi

Khang go phedaf ho:ma kepegi

Sadungge mudungge sa:ha

Panther ho:ma kepesi

Khemi 4 bhai go

Seyok madem kegero

Ham yonga hamsyangba

Phalelung yonchhami

Chhamchhami arun kedimdum

Walam mi:ma pla: ;ang mi:ma

Mechia- kochiga keyakti

Seturai jallara hekkara keyakti

Pillna phedi hamyongba

Pha:lelung yonchhami

Chhamchhami sa ha hombong keyaakte

Te:la kehpaksi saptkamg kephaksum

Te:la kak hanu langung kak ha nu

Saptok kaknu samgdemg kaknu

Pla:le lung yanchha:mi pillwa ho:wa kenatum

Hamyongba hamgyangha arun retimdum

Sanaya kenatum barbise kelandi

Koswa swachip kelandi

The sabaya theguren menthange

Thegure manchhake ka-I changbhang

Mangwa thegu kegaktung

Ituhang thangdenang

Nali sammu yangsing cheli

Semiring balnu yemiringe mangenna batnu

Te:la balu lagung bulenn ka-i

chongbhang ka:na e

te:la nirum, lagum nirum

Ala-nali sammaren pahile nirum

Thikjori, nejori, sumjori, nijori, nagajen

Tungjori, nujori, yetjuni, khanggeri

Te:la laso membote wa: ra chha

Kunga sebirin te:la

yemirin te:la

miringge mangenu te:la

Yangsingwa cheli le:mang

Te:la pote-i bhyang

Laso pote-i phyang

Ala te:la nitum, laso nirum

mangenna cheli renro,

Thikjori, nejori, sumjori, nijori, nagajen

Tungjori, nujori, yetjuni, khanggeri

Mediya Kokanbassa melande

Waya menaktu pa:lung menaktu

Paromi mamphamihale piresi

Way pa:lung melepnu

Mediya kaknamba sare

Thiktuk melepnu kya pa:lung megentun

Niduk meluptu sang aya pa:lung megeven

Sumduk melepthle sichiri siyakpe yambeyo

Thethere theyakpe yabmeyo

Waya tokle pa:lung tokte

La:jilik la:re, nam jilik la:ve

Pungendi surite samming kejongde

Ponggen huitena thasn

Iksha orakte khambe: orakte

Thagu lingse singling lingse

Menchham ya:mi mene

Parphe mekhembun
Poro:mi yamphamire
Tagera ningwa phume tho
Sikum nigwa naktesi
Sikum pirusi ningwa pirusi
Samyang yuppare menchhamdi mana amjoge
Nara chai: amdenen
Sango sakma amlisesang aligen
Hoo-hoo ammetesang haha ammetesang
Hoo hoo ha ha allaren
Phenpereang menchha ya:mi amjoge
Menchham ya:mi ambokksen
Tambh jarke hare menachham
ya:mi amloge
Manchham ya:mi amboksen
Singyok madem pesi
Poro:mi yomphami ha
Pa:mikla semikla ha
Nuksore supsesi
Langsore karesi
Mukum semik landesi
Pokmikla thappaha
semikla thappu ha chogesi
Seeming de wa:hi nu phoned seamg
Mechham ya:mi amjoge
Nara chai ade
Samgo Ja:ma amlikse
Samgo ja:ma alige
Beliyo ha pan amsate
Bel:yo ba aabare
Hoo hoo ammatte-hoo hoo alare
Haha ammette-hah alare
Langso mene, hukso mene angkhemden
Sakphari thokha langgo maphachchha
Lising thokna huksp mephachchha
Pagum padhe horik seduk meyaksu
Hebuk mene angkhemden
Minulung saitlung ha hebuk meyaksu
Nebo mene amkhemden senrikla hakha:
Nebo mephachha

Mikso mene angkhemden
Minuse phimrik se ha mikso mephachahhu
Naphek mene angkhemden
Minuchepana chumjun chepha
Naphak maphachahha
Menchhum pongmaden
Ya:mi pongmaden
Mana khamna tembe
Mingsara mewaye
Sedumge mundunge
Sediong sanglang inghen
Hamyungha hamsyamha
Phalelung yamchhamiba
Chhanchhami setu rai
Walang mi:ma phoklang mi:ma
12 bhai keww ii
Madhu kebegi 12 bhai
Kha:yo ni mukum sava kryungi
Samsi yami ke kheti
Laso ke khetum
Mangenna saptok kehetum
Sangdang kekhetum
Seeming wajoriha: kekhetum
Makum save kedangiang
Semiring te:la ha, yemiring te:laha
Sediong sanglanging kederesi
Khang go phedaf ho:ma kepegi
Sadungge mudungge sa:ha
Panther ho:ma kepesi
Khemi 4 bhai go
Seyok madem kegero
Ham yonga hamsyangba
Phalelung yonchhami
Chhamchhami arun kedimdum
Walam mi:ma pla: ;ang mi:ma
Mechia- kochiga keyakti
Seturai jallara hekkara keyakti
Pillna phedi hamyongba
Pha:lelung yonchhami
Chhamchhami sa ha hombang keyaakte

Te:la kehpaksi saptkamg kephaksum
Te:la kak hanu langung kak ha nu
Saptok kaknu samgdemg kaknu
Pla:le lung yanchha:mi
pillwa ho:wa kenatum
Hamyomgba hamgyangha arun retimdum
Sanaya kenatum barbise kelandi
Koswa swachip kelandi
The sabaya theguren menthange
Thegure manchhake ka-I changbhang
Mangwa thegu kegaktung
Ituhang thangdenang
Nali sammu yangsing cheli
Semiring balnu yemiringe mangenna batnu
Te:la balu lagung bulenn ka-I
chongbhang ka:na e
te:la nirum, lagung nirum
Ala-nali sammaren pahile nirum
Thikgori, negori, sumgori, nigori, nagajen
Tungori, nugori, uetjung, khanggeri
Te:la las0 membote wa:ra chha
Kunga sebirin te:la yemirin
te:la miringge mangenu te:la
Yangsingwa cheli le:mang
Te:la pote-I bhyang
Laso pote-I phyang
Ala te:la nitum, laso nirum
mansenna cheli renro,
Thikgori, negori samgori magon ngari
Thegori, nogori get-gori te:la warachha
Laiungang war a chha
Nail samma nu mangenns chelina
Thang diring diring wa-I ro
Thang sunet sunet wa-I ro
Thang pore pore wa-I ro
Anil ituhang thangle m hangle
Ani seniri yakma ha
Yemiri yakma hu
Ani tamu lamga
Madhu lam tamma

Ani yak ra 'chikwa yak' ke:male
Than chhingma devi 'chikwa yak' pokes
Sa:ma wamik maktelle
Mainwa khole chwat thungwa
Laso ne:nag a
Ta:I di nangen lungjoing
Laso ne:na
Natumbelle sirumbe ra
Hiptumhelle khaksumbe ra
Cheptumhella phy:rumber
Lango haktak hemhoe
Chra-chawa wamende
Yakperam yakmengenne
Thabu singling pu:menthe ye
Lango mandoke mellenge
Huksore temmela membirge
Ala te:la he kere
Ha:gong kerelle
Seminggori wagori nail sammare taktamyo
Asum nakpa ayu nakpa
Sango sakma nakpa
Tadi se:mang nekpa
Nikhung ima ane ella
Tadi se:mang tondura
Seeming kewa lingam menkhake
Mikhok menphon chhinge
Seeming kewa makhi menchhake
Sendang lahi those
Te:la lagoung manhonge
Tatthik nechhi sumsi keh
Hukle ta:myangg wajioriha
Tikhep me:me sukhef khef
Thellik me:me pong
Mangenna chelire
Nail samma kusinge pa:ma pong
Wa:ta:mella hukke wo
Thiklak, miduk sumthoh ta takma pong
Nail samma sare
Thiklak, miduk sumthoh ta takma pong

Sacrificing Rooster change in tone and tune

Ba:yau: *asum ayoo nakpe*

mikhung ima meneyelle

Tadi memphenne

Ba:yau: *tadi se:mang tonde*

yakthok purna tonde

Ba:yau: *yangla nakpa, thokle nakpa*

chagum nakpa, thigum nakpa

Ba:yau: *keduk-mingkho lumbak nakte*

kasha mikkho tuin temse

Ba:yau: *sendang lahi takte*

miya namhi takte

Ba:yau: *te:la laso temse*

miya namso temse

sibbak yebo thang ha

Ba:yau: *khajum kettese, khade kettese*

sawa tapding kettese

Ba:yau: *thelli langsung kettese*

yokpe phungsung mengengge

lungso hunkso mengengge

maksisiju mellonne

Ba:yau: *ding ding thekte, nehen thekte*

kanga bisai ayoo nakpa

hajar ayoo nakpa

Ba:yau: *mandangnge seri mendhaye*

khamlung larang mempoke

Ba:yau: *te:la ha lajum yongu e*

miya nanjum yonggeni

Ba:yau: *chumji hupne mundhum hupne*

langa lawa ketthelli

sanjik mundhum membange ro

la alla chure ro....

*Performer: Tek Bahadur Phago Limbu, Samba/Phedangba
Sano Hatti Ban, Lalitpur*