

**CHANGE IN MARRIAGE SYSTEM OF
MARPHA THAKALI COMMUNITY
IN POKHARA VALLEY**

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

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Department of Sociology, Prithvi Narayan Campus, Pokhara

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Masters of Arts in

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

This is to certify that Ms. Manu Hirachan has completed this thesis entitled “**CHANGE IN MARRIAGE SYSTEM OF MARPHA THAKALI COMMUNITY IN POKHARA VALLEY**” under my supervision. I, therefore, recommend this thesis for final approval and acceptance by the Thesis Evaluation Committee.

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LETTER OF APPROVAL

We certify that the thesis entitled“**CHANGE IN MARRIAGE SYSTEM OF MARPHA THAKALI COMMUNITY OF POKHARA VALLEY**”submitted by **Ms. Manu Hirachanto** to the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Science, Tribhuvan University, Prithvi Narayan Campus, Pokhara, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **MASTER DEGREE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCE**, has been found satisfactory in scope and quality. Therefore, we accept this thesis as a part of the mentioned degree.

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ABSTRACT

This research is focused on the changes in the marriage system of Marpha Thakali living in Pokhara. The problem of the research is why there is the change in marriage system of Marpha Thakali living in Pokhara? What are the factors that influenced the marriage system in Marpha Thakali living in Pokhara? And how is marriage system changed in Marpha Thakali of Pokhara?

The main objective of the study is to know the changes occurred in marriage system of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara and the specific objective is to find out the factors that influenced the marriage system of Marpha Thakali and to find out the cause and consequences in marriage system of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara.

The research was based in Pokhara. The Marpha Thakali living in Pokhara are of 108 household and for the field study, the data were collected from the married members of Marpha Thakali from each household. The interview schedule and the group discussion was performed to collect data and other indirect data were collected through the related literatures.

The conclusion was made that the marriage system of Marpha Thakali has been changed from the time they lived in Pokhara. The important factor that influence the marriage system of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara seemed to be the migration which made them come in contact with other new and different cultures and traditions. The marriage system has been completely in the system itself. It has changed in from the mate selection, aim of the marriage to the rituals of marriage.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology (p.354) states that “marriage is a social institution defined by laws, culture, and religion.” Marriage is a legally recognized union of two people in a personal relationship. A legally registered marriage comes with financial and governmental benefits and rights. Marriage is one of the universal social institutions established to control and regulate the life of mankind. It is closely associated with the institution of family. In fact both the institutions are complementary to each other. It is an institution with different implications in different cultures. Its purposes, functions and forms may differ from society to society but it is present everywhere as an institution. Marriage is regarded as a fundamental social institution in every society.

Sociologists have defined marriage in their own way. Every society has its own system, culture and tradition as according to the country, religion and environment. Due to which Marriage cannot be define in same way. So, the opinion or definition on what marriage is, are different according to the various sociologists. Some of the definitions of marriage that are defined by some scholars are as follows;

George A. Lundberg, on his book, “Sociology”, have defined marriage as accordingly, “ Marriage consists of rules and regulations that define the rights, duties and privileges of husband and wife with respect to each other”(Lundberg,1958:133).

Horton and Hunt on their book, “Sociology”, define marriage as the approved social pattern whereby two or more persons establish a family (Horton and Hunt, 1964:216).Malinowski defines marriage as a contract for the production and maintenance of children.

Functionalist believed that marriage is an important institution in society, as it fulfills the function of socialization of the young and reproduce of the next generation. Therefore, marriage is essential for the cohesion and social solidarity of society.

In this Study the focus will be given to the Monogamy marriage or a marriage between single pairs with an exclusive cohabitation of Marpha Thakali, however the research will not deny the other matrimonial plan if any case of findings.

The Thakali are an agro-pastoral and trading people of the upper Kali Gandaki River Valley of Mustang District in Nepal, a region known as Thak or ThakKhola. ThakKhola is divided into three sociologically distinct sub region, known as Thak Sat-Sae, PanchGaun and Bara Gaun. Thak Sat-Sae is bounded at the south by Ghasa village and on the north by trading town of Tukche. The sub region of PanchGaun lies between Tukche and the contemporary distinct headquarter town of Jomsom. The residents in this sub region, although Thakali, they call themselves in two terms, Mhaawaten (principally from the town of Marpha) and Yhulgasumma (from the village of Thini, Shyang and Chimang). The sub region of Bara Gaun is mostly notherly of the three, between Jomsom and the region of Lo. Baragaun is almost sometimes called “Lower Lo”.

MarphaThakali use to call themselves asPuntenThakali or PunelThakali. Their clan name are Hroten phope, Puta phope, GhumliThowaphope and GhumliChangbaphope which was later in about 1950 A.D. they call themselves as Lalchan, Hirachan, Jwarchan and Pannachan respectively (Vinding 2008:18). However, it is said that Pannachan was derived from Jwarchan. The arrange marriage between these four “chan”are normally in practice whereas marriage between Jwarchan and Pannachan are not acceptable because they are meant to be brothers and sisters (Rai&Hirachan 2067:73).

In this thesis, the focus is on the panchgaule, “Mhaawaten” who are commonly called “MarphaThakali”. The MarphaThakali are said to have migrated from their village in different parts of Nepal like in Pokhara, Kathmandu, Tanahun, Bhairahawa and also abroad. Migration to Thakali is not a new chapter. They use to migrate to lowlands seasonally for the trade, for the escape of cold weather long time ago while the reason is various in current years. But eventhough there is no concrete data available, as according to MarphaThakali community in Chapapani, Pokhara, they migrated and settled in Pokhara as early as 2018 B.S. The migration to the lower land have make them come in contact with various other caste and ethnic groups like Brahman, Chettri, Gurung, Magar and others. They are said to be friendly with other caste and

ethnic groups which come in contact with them and have adapted many of their cultures. This Marpha Thakali have their own language which is more similar to Tamang language, however, the young generation of the Marpha Thakali speak more Nepali language and do not understand Marpha Thakali language. So, the migrated Marpha Thakali now speak Nepali for the general communication.

According to Oxford Learners' Dictionary, Culture is the customs and beliefs, art, way of life, and social organization of a particular country or group. According to sociologists, culture consists of the values, beliefs, systems of language, communication, and practices that people share in common and that can be used to define them as collective. Culture also includes the material objects that are common to that group or society. Culture is distinct from social structure and economic aspects of society, but it is connected to them, both continuously informing them and being informed by them.

The culture of marriage however vary from one society to the other, this culture also changes within some period of time. Cultural change is a concept that denotes some internal and external factors leading to change in the cultural pattern of societies. It can be material as well as non-material in nature. Cultural Change may come from many sources but most of them come through contact with other culture, inventions and internal adjustment of culture. Marpha Thakali, a minor group of community living in Pokhara are migrated from their original village of Marpha. The second largest population of Marpha Thakali lives in Pokhara valley. Although some but very few of Marpha Thakali gentlemen have started writing books on themselves to preserve their culture and traditions, this Marpha Thakali themselves have not been studied by any scholars and so as their cultural change due to several variables. Even though there are many social issues to study in this community, the marriage is one of the important social cultures that influence and create new culture and tradition. This is why this thesis is focused on the marriage cultural change of Marpha Thakali who are migrated to Pokhara Valley.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Marpha is a village situated in Mustang district of Nepal at the altitude of 2545 meters from the sea level. Among the 16 V.D.C. in Mustang District, Marpha lies in the mid Southern West of the mid Mustang District. Marpha V.D.C. is surrounded by Jomsom V.D.C. in the north, Tukche V.D.C. in the south, Kali Gandaki V.D.C. in the east and Yumpakyawa hill in the west. This Village is spread in 83sq km. Marpha is 145km. far from Pokhara. Along with Marpha Thakali, there are various people from different caste in the village, mostly Bishwokarma, Darji, Chhetri, Brahman, Thakuri and other ethnic groups like Magar, Thakali, Gurung, Sherpa and Tamang. Marpha Thakali is centered in ward no.1 to 4 in the village. (Rai&Hirachan: 2067:13) The Thakali originally from Marpha is called Mhaawatun or Marpha Thakali.

Marpha Thakali use to call themselves as Punten Thakali or Punel Thakali. Their clan name are Hroten phope, Puta phope, Ghumli Thowa phope and Ghumli Changba phope which was later in about 1950 A.D. they call themselves as Lalchan, Hirachan, Jwarchan and Pannachan respectively (Vinding 2008:18). However, it is said that Pannachan was derived from Jwarchan. The arrange marriage between these four “chan” are normally in practice whereas marriage between Jwarchan and Pannachan are not acceptable because they are meant to be brothers and sisters (Rai&Hirachan 2067:73).

Marpha Thakali are said to have migrated from their village in different parts of Nepal like in Pokhara, Kathmandu, Tanahun, Bhairahawa and also abroad. Migration to Thakali is not a new chapter. There are three kind of migration in case of Marpha Thakali, Seasonal, Temporary and Permanent Migration. They use to migrate to lowlands seasonally for the trade, for the escape of cold weather long time ago while the reason is various in current years. But eventhough there is no concrete data available, as according to Marpha Thakali community in Chapapani, Pokhara, they migrated and settled permanently in Pokhara as early as 2018 B.S. This minor community of Marpha Thakali, currently have only 212 household in Marpha Village itself. In Pokhara it is 108 household. Likewise, Marpha Thakali have migrated to Kathmandu, Bhairahawa, Butwal, Baglung, Beni, Damauli, Khairanitar, Dulaigauda, Bhimad of Nepal and also in abroad. The total population of the community is

estimated to 2500 only according to the data given by Marpha Thakali Community, Chapapani, Pokhara.

Marriage is one of the important social cultures that are universal in every society which connects many important part of society. Marriage creates family and the structure of family is also affected as the system of marriage is changed. Marriage system of Marpha Thakali was certainly in other shape from now when they were not yet migrated or in contact with other various cultures. This Minor community is less studied although few of the scholars have studied Thakali as a whole.

In this thesis the marriage system of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara is given the focus. It is assumed that the marriage system of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara have changed from the original traditions, value and cultures.

The problems of the study are:

1. Is there a change in marriage system of MarphaThakali living in Pokhara ?
2. Why is there the change in marriage system of MarphaThakaliliving in Pokhara Valley?
3. What are the factors that influenced the marriage system in MarphaThakaliliving in Pokhara Valley?
4. How is marriage system changed in MarphaThakaliof Pokhara Valley?

1.3Objective of the Study

The main objective of this study is to know the changes occurred in marriage system of MarphaThakali in Pokhara.

The specific objectives are as follows:

1. To find out the factors that influenced the change in marriage system of MarphaThakali.
2. To find out causes and consequences of changes in marriage practice of MarphaThakali.

1.4 Importance of the Study

Marpha Thakali is one of the 59 indigenous groups in Nepal as confirmed by the government of Nepal. This minor group is only estimated to have 2500 population in whole of Nepal and abroad. This group is based in Marpha village in Mustang district of Nepal. But currently the household remain of this group is only limited to 212 in the village itself (source: Marpha Thakali Community, Chapapani, Pokhara). The migration of this group to various parts of the country and world has started to diminish its original traditions, values and cultures. Migration of Marpha Thakali from their village to Pokhara and other various parts of Nepal have brought them in contact with other different cultures and traditions which will gradually lead to culture adaptation and assimilation. The diffusion of the origin culture with other culture will bring new cultures and eventually lead to the extinct of the original culture and tradition. Marriage system is one of the important cultures that have been seen changing in forms of rituals, values and process in every society. These will consequence the extinct of the original marriage culture in future. This Marpha Thakali has its own language which does not have its script. Thus, the language they speak has to be transfer to the younger generation in case of preserving the language. But most of the next generations do not speak or understand the language, which makes the younger generation of the group not to understand what the rituals songs are saying. Like so, in the marriage system of Marpha Thakali, there are few rituals which are mostly sung or said in the Thakali language, and so, this will definitely see to have disappearing due to the language barrier. And along with this, adapting the new or the cultures of others due to the new environment, weather, and many other things will lead to the extinct. One of the important cultures and traditions in any society is a marriage system. Through Marriage, a family pattern, responsibilities of the members of family and other surroundings will change the use of the properties and many other things are directly or indirectly affected and influenced by the system of marriage. Thus marriage is one of the important social systems to be studied for the preservation of the original marriage culture. And with the minor communities like Marpha Thakali it is more important to be studied because most of the time, the minor are less studied and their existence will be later realized after the extinct and till then it is already late. So, it is important to give focus on marriage system to save the original culture for the future generations of Marpha Thakali. It is important to focus

on marriage system of the group to also have studies literature for future students as there are no such studies made for the marriage system of this group.

1.5 Limitation of the Study

Marpha Thakali originally from the village of Marpha in Mustang district of Nepal. The village is situated in the altitude of 2545mtrs above from the sea level. Therefore, the village has mostly the cooler weather and also is covered with snow in winter season for about 2 or 3 months. As the village has cold weather in comparison to the most of the lowlands in Nepal, their traditions and cultures are as accordingly. But to escape from the cold weather, this Marpha Thakali use to migrate to the lowlands of Nepal. While migrating, this Marpha Thakali use to trade some of the things like wheat, salt, buckwheat and horses, the women use to engage in the restaurant business in their temporary settlement in the lowlands . Apart from Marpha Village, this Marpha Thakali is living in Pokhara and other various parts of Nepal like Kathmandu, Tanahun, Baglung, Beni, Butwal, and Bhairahawa. And in recent years the small population of Marpha Thakali is also living abroad in countries like America, U.K., and Japan and in other various countries.

This study is based on MarphaThakali who is migrated to Pokhara. The Marriage system of MarphaThakali will be studied only in Pokhara Valley. The result will be according to the data and research made in Marpha Thakali living in Pokhara. The conclusion that comes out of the study might not be valid with whole population of MarphaThakaliliving in the village of Marpha itself and in other parts of the country. The changes might only occur in marriage system of Marpha Thakali living in Pokhara.The conclusion that is seen here should not be necessarily matches the conclusion of the data taken with the whole population of Marpha Thakali or in any other places where Marpha Thakali is migrated to. The conclusion of the study only refers to the Marpha Thakali living in Pokhara of Nepal. Thus to find out the changes in Marriage system of whole of the Marpha Thakali population, the further studies of Marpha Thakali and their marriage system should be performed in future.

1.6 Organization of the Study

The study is made to find out the change in marriage system of Marpha Thakali who is living in Pokhara. In this study, the thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter consists of the background of the study, the problem of the study, the objectives of the study and limitations of the study. In the second chapter, the literature reviews that are related with the study are included. In the third chapter, the research methodology is written which includes the selection of site, the research design, the sampling design, the nature of data, the tools of data collection and data. In the fourth chapter, the changing marriage pattern of thakali community are included. In the fifth chapter, the summary and conclusion are included.

1.7 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Baja: Music

Daura Suruwal: Nepali attire for men.

Dhoghhet: Meeting between family members.

Feda: A turban of white cloth.

Khata: A holy scarf used in Tibetan Buddhism for the goodwill.

Nhonge Cholon: Thakalli attire for women.

Papur: Engagement

Sindoor: Vermalin powder that is put on the parting of the hair in Hindu married women.

Swoyamber: Hindu marriage rituals.

Teki: One of the black cloths that is wrapped around the waist in Thakali and Gurung women attire.

Tilahari and Mangalsutra: Beads necklace that symbolize the Hindu married women.

Muluki Ain; A National code. It is a single comprehensive code that includes criminal and civil code along with the code of procedures of Nepal.

Phope: Phope are the term to describe the clans of Marpha Thakali.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical Review on Marriage

The different parts of society are primarily composed of social institutes, each of which designed to fill different needs, each of which has particular consequences for the form and shape of society. The parts all depend on each other. It no longer serves a role and institution will die away. When new needs evolve or emerge, new institutions will be created to meet them

The functionalist perspective is based largely on the works of Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton. According to functionalism of social change, society is like a human body. Each part is like an organ. Individual part cannot survive on its own. Society is a system of interconnected parts that work together in harmony to maintain a state of balance and social equilibrium for the whole. Functionalism interprets each part of society in terms of how it contributes to stability of the whole society. Society is more than the sum of its part, rather each part of society is functional for the stability of the whole. Emile Durkheim actually envisioned society as an organism, and just like within an organism, each component plays a necessary part, but none can function alone, and one experiences a crisis or fails, other parts must adopt to fill the void in some way. When one part of the society suffers, all the other parts must adjust. This is because, functionalist theory believe that society always works towards stabilization. (Crossman: 2019)

Talcott Parsons believed that structure of society is shaped by its function and that social roles that individuals adopt are shaped by how these roles support the society as a whole. Parsons explored why societies are stable and functioning. His model is AGIL, which represents the four basic functions that all social system must perform if they are to persist. A stands for Adaptation, the problem of acquiring sufficient resources. G stands for Goal Attainment, the problem of settling and implementing goals. I stands for Integration, the problem of maintain solidarity or coordination among the subunits of the system. And L stands for Latency, pattern- maintenance

organization- museums, educational organizations, religious organizations, (Parson, 1937).

Marriage is an important and universal social institution of society. According to the Oxford Dictionary, "Marriage", is the legally or formally recognized union of two people as partners in a personal relationship. However this was definition was changed after the passing of same sex act in England and Wales in 2013. Until this the dictionary defined the word "Marriage", as the formal union of man and women typically as recognized by law, by which they become husband and wife.

According to Sumner(1906), "Family is antecedent to marriage". It means that the marriage is not only the social institution but it is a social institution to create an important social institution called family.

According to Horton and Hunt (1964),"Marriage is the approved social pattern by two or more person establish family".

According to Westermarck (1921), "Marriage is a recognized union between a man and a woman, that the spouse lives together and that the couple has clearly recognized mutual sexual rights".

Marriage is a sanction for two people to spend their lives together and it has many implications and functions related to it. The biological function of the marriage is to reproduce. Societies give license to the married couple to have sexual relationship and are obliged to have children. Thus the society has newer generation to have role in the new society. The social function of the marriage is to form a family. It is an important function of marriage; family is formed only after the couple gets married. And the family is also one of the important social institutions in any society. In many societies, there are norms where only a married person can take part in the rituals. Marriage helps in forming new kinsmen and widening his network.

As according to the functionalist Talcott Parsons, the four basic functions that all social system must perform if they are to persist are AGIL, where A stands for Adaptation, G stands for Goal attainment, I stands for Integration an L stands for Latency(Parsons,1937:129-130).

Marriage is also a universal social institution where it is adapted according to the society it is in, according to the religion, according to the rituals and traditions. The system of marriage is formed with the adaptation of the environment and situation. For example, the marriage system is in one way in Hindu religion, while the system of marriage is different in other religions than in Hindu. Likewise, the way of the marriage system in Nepal is different in other countries around the world or it is even different from the regions of Nepal of higher altitudes to the lower altitudes. Thus one of the functions that marriage performs is an adaptation. The other function that marriage performs is a goal attainment. The marriage however is only seen to have to have a relation of a two person legally bond with each other to perform sexual activities accepted to the society; there are many goals to it. One of the important goals is to form a family which is another important social institution. Likewise there are other goals of marriage. For example, one of the goals is to give birth to the children who will be the next generation in the society. Likewise the other function perform through marriage is the integration.

Marriage is a bond of two people who are separated gender wise, economy wise, status wise and in many ways. Marriage plays a role of integration in between two of the people with different views and values. This is a vital function which maintains equality and harmony in society. It not only binds up two people legally but it binds up families and relatives of the two people who are married. Sometime, it even binds up the people of two different cultures and values. This thus brings harmony and peace among the people of two different societies. Latency or pattern maintenance can be seen in marriage. Marriage is a social institution which have the function of reproduction and forming family, but it also has some hidden functions such as the bringing another generation which will maintain the newer society. It provides legitimization to the children; this legitimacy is of great importance in the matters of inheritance and succession. It has a hidden function of protecting or maintaining the cultures and values. It has the hidden function of maintaining the equilibrium of the society. Like when a married couple gives birth to the children, a new generation is born and the family will teach the children their cultures and traditions. The children born will be the successor of the family. So, as Talcott Parsons explain that every social institution or any social function must have this AGIL function to persist the society and maintain equilibrium, marriage also has all these functions.

2.2 Empirical Review on Marriage

According to the Oxford Dictionary, “Marriage”, is the legally or formally recognized union of two people as partners in a personal relationship. However this definition was changed after the passing of same sex act in England and Wales in 2013. Until this the dictionary defined the word “Marriage”, as the formal union of man and women typically as recognized by law, by which they become husband and wife. The universality of marriage within different societies and cultures is attributed to many basic social and personal functions for which it provides structure, such as sexual gratification and regulation, division of labor between sexes, economic production and consumption, and stratification of personal needs affection, status and companionship. Marriages have taken a great number of forms. By 21st Century the nature of marriage in western countries particularly with regard to the significance of procreation and the ease of divorce has begun to change (Encyclopedia Britannica: 2019). According to the Oxford Learners’ Dictionary, Marriage is legal relationship between two people who are married to each other. Marriage is a socially sanctioned union that reproduces the family. Marriage is one of the universal social institutions established and nourished by human society. It is closely connected to the institution of family. As a social institution, marriage provides a recognized form for entering into a relatively enduring heterosexual relationship for giving birth to the children. It is thus a primarily way of regulating human reproduction. However, this reproduction also has sociological dimensions. The right of sexual relationship, that universally accompanies marriage, it provides legitimization to the children born in wedlock; this legitimacy is of great importance in the matters of inheritance and succession. Besides child bearing, it forms family, a relatively stable social group that is responsible for the care and training of children.

Sociologists have defined marriage in different way. This is because the system of marriage varies as according to the society, culture, value, religion and environment. So the marriage cannot be defined in same way.

Westermarck says that marriage is rooted in the family rather than the family in the marriage. Marriage is an institution of society with different purpose, functions and forms in different societies but is present everywhere as an institution.

According to Malinowski, “marriage is a contract for production and maintenance of children.”

According to Robert H Lowie, “Marriage is a relatively permanent bond between permissible mates.”

"Marriage is a socially approved way of establishing a family of procreation" Quoted by, (Rao, 2004).

According to Nepal’s Muluki Ain, 1963, last amended in 2007, marriage is such a bond which is entered upon one’s free will and consent. However, in Nepal many child marriages and force marriages are found here and there even now although child marriage is illegal since 1963. Nepal has one of the highest legal ages of marriage in the world of 20 years old and above for both men and women. Arranging a child marriage or marrying a child is also punishable by law. But despite this, many children in Nepal are being married off before 18 years old. In Nepal where marriage and bond between individual is taken as a family affair and given great importance, divorce is not approved of and discouraged. This can be considered as the main reason for divorce rate being low in Nepal, (Kc, 2020).

2.3 Social History and Marriage Practice in Thakali Community

The Thakali are an agro-pastoral and trading people of the upper Kali Gandaki River Valley of Nepal, the region known as Thak, Thag or ThakKhola. Its most popular referent is ThakKhola, simply means ‘river of Thak’. ThakKhola is divided into three sociologically distinct sub regions, known as Thak-Sat-Sae, PanchGaun and Baragaun. The most southerly is Thak-Sat-Sae. It is home to a people whom outsiders call Thakali but who call themselves Tamhaang. Thak-Sat-Sae is bounded at south by Ghasa village and on the north by the trading town of Tukche.

The sub region of PachGaun literally means five villages, lies between Tukche and the contemporary distinct headquarters town of Jomsom. Its residents are also called Thakali or sometimes PanchGaule (people of Pachgaun), but they call themselves by

two other term: Mhawatan(principally from the town of Marpha) and Yhulgasummi or Yhulgasuma(from the viallges of Thini, Shyang and Chimang).

The sub region of baragaun literally means twelve villages, is the most northerly of the three, between Jomsom and the region of Lo. Baragaun is also sometimes called 'Lower Lo'. And it shares many geographical and cultural affinities with Lo proper, at its north. The people of Baragaun are known to outsiders as Bhotia(Tibetans) or more correctly as Baragaunle (people of Baragaun), but sometimes for purposes of status emulation, they call themselves as Gurung or Thakuri (an ethnic and caste group respectively of the midlands of Nepal). Each of the three groups is endogamous, they do not intermarry but they do share many cultural affinities.

Thakali society is rapidly changing its structure. There is a great deal of talk about reforms in Thak-Sat-Sae, such as have already been initiated in the changing marriage rules, the banning of gambling and many more.(Bista:1967).

The existence and habitants: There are no such official historic documents or facts available to know the existence or the habitants of Marpha Thakali, but according to the oral history transferred by the elders of Marpha Thakali and the elder monks of Marpha Thakali, their existence were first recognized in the places, called Punt Ghyung, Ghumlithang, Hropenhyung and Lampyukpawhich are currently the cooperative forest of Marpha. These places are even in higher altitude from the Dhamang, which is the old Marpha or where these now Marpha Thakali were living in. With time and grow in society, after about 600 years of living in the places, the clans of Marpha Thakali started to migrated and live in Old Marpha, Dhamang.After that around the time between 1504 to 1538B.S. due to the growing number of families and people, in search of food, due to the scarce of water, and for the water mill(pani ghatta), to grind the grains these people had to go down to Pompkyu "Raja River" and again had to go back walking for about two hours. Due to this, at first only few settled down in Marpha and as time passed, all of them migrated and settled in Marpha slowly. (Rai&Hirachan: 2067:6)

The Name of Marpha: As the people of Dhamang had to come down to Pompkyu, for various work, most for the grinding of the grains, when ask where they are going, they would say, "Mhari"("down" in the Marpha Thakali language). Because they had to go

up and down so often, they started calling Pompkyu(Raja river), as “Mhari”. This later became the name of the place, from Mhari and then to Marpha. In their language, Marpha is still called Mhari. And so, Thakali, basically who are originally from the village of Marpha who before Marpha lived in Dhamang is Marpha Thakali. Marpha is a village situated in Mustang district of Nepal. The village is situated in the altitude of 2560mtrs above sea level. Marpha Thakali has their unique kind of traditions and cultures. They have their own thakali language which is again different with other thakalies in words and intonation. They have their own kind of cultures, rites, rituals, values and traditions. This Marpha Thakali is recognized by the government of Nepal as one the indigenous groups in Nepal. This Minor community has only population estimated to be not more than 2500.

Culture and Profession: Traditionally, the base of their living was farming. They basically grow, wheat, malt, barley, buckwheat, potato and apple, and in pastoral farming, they use to keep sheep, goat, himalayan sheep (chyangra) and yak. And with the time, this farming changed into the trade of rice and Himalayan salt as an exchange of goods, later this changed into transport of goods through donkey and again later this changed in operating small restaurant and hotel business. And now in current years, Marpha Thakali are popular in operating restaurants and hotel with their good hospitality and good food with cleanliness. However, Marpha Thakali who own land and property in Marpha still have farms of apples and other grains. And they still keep sheeps and Yaks and Horses.

Clothing: Marpha Thakali as are the people from the higher altitude, their clothing is warmer to prevent them from the cold weather. The men wear Daura Suruwal, Jacket coat and a dhaka topi, while the women wear Nhonge cholo a divided long shirt with cholo and they warp teki around their waist with patuki and along with it, they have shawl to carry. However, these clothing was warmer clothing in the village, this has now slightly transformed with the light and cooler clothing material eventhough the looks are alike.

Language: The language of Marpha Thakali are the Tibetan bhot burmeli and this language is similar to the Tamang and Gurung language (Rai& Hirachan:2067:119) However, the youths of Marpha Thakali do not speak the language.

Religion: The religion Marpha Thakali follows is Tibetan Buddhist. But as they migrate to lowlands and are in contact with much other religion, they are influenced by Hindu religion too.

Migration of Marpha Thakali: The Mustang district was conquered by the shah dynasty in 1786A.D. from then, the tax for their cooperative land was high and so, for the high tax, the Thakali are seen to have left their place and migrated somewhere else. The migration due to the high tax is seen until the end of 19th century. From 1860 to 1870A.D. due to the economic crisis in Nepal and due to the crisis in trade between the salt and wool in Mustang and Tibet, many Thakali along with Marpha Thakali, migrated to various parts of Nepal like, Kathmandu, Pokhara, Butwal and Bhairahawa. (Vinding:2008:364) In the decade of 1980A.D. many young Marpha Thakali, went to America, Japan, Korea and other European countries in search of the job. Some of them even got married and settled there. The nature of Migration of these Marpha Thakali is of three types. They are Seasonal, Temporary and Permanent. Marpha Thakali are more migrated and settled in Pokhara. In Kathmandu at first only two people who were financially and politically strong, bought the land and settled there (Vinding: 2008:354,365). Because Marpha lies in the Himalayan Region, with the change in the season, the tradition of seasonal trade and business was there as according to their seasonal migration. Due to the cold weather in Marpha during the winter season from Asoj , Kartik , to escape the weather, they use to migrate to the warm lowlands like Pokhara, Baglung, Damauli, Bhairahawa, Shyanja, Butwal, Kathmandu and use to live there by doing small trade and business. With this seasonal trade and business, they use to earn some money and again come back to their home in Marpha in around the month of Falgun and Chaitra. Marpha Thakali now popular with their good hospitality and good food, many of them have now restaurants and so have their own houses in the cities of Pokhara, Kathmandu and in other places of Nepal.

Marpha Thakali are one of the 59 indigenous groups recognized by the government of Nepal. From ancient time, Marpha Thakali are said to have lived in Marpha the village that lies in the mid Mustang of Mustang District in Nepal. Marpha Village lies in 2454mtrs above sea level, so, the region has the cooler weather all the year through and especially during winter from October to February, the region is very cold and is

covered with snow. Because of the cooler region, they have the culture and traditions as accordingly. They have their own language, culture, religious rituals, rites, rules, values and traditions. Marriage is one of the events in Marpha Thakali which has a social function directly or indirectly.

MarphaThakali Community has three types of marriage . They are:

-) Force Marriage
-) Arrange Marriage
-) Elopement Marriage (Viding2008:25)

Force Marriage:The tradition of force marriage is where a girl who was liked by a boy would kidnap the girl with the help of his friends and relatives while she was doing her household work away from home like when she is going to fetch water or when she is in jungle to get some woods for household. But the girl would not know why she is kidnapped and with whom she is going to get married. Due to the force marriage, the official marriage ceremony would take place only after the acceptance of the bride.

After bringing the girl to the boy's house, some gentlemen from the boy's party would go to the girl's house to inform to her parents that their daughter is with them and she is in their responsibility. After this, there go two women who are sisters or cousins of the girl to the boy's house to ask the girl if she is satisfied or agrees with the marriage, without even seeing her directly. They ask her from outside the room she is in, and in within 24 hours, if she agrees, she comes to bow the women who are there to ask her. But if she does not agree and keeps crying until 24 hours, then she is released and sent back to her home. The boy's party should leave her with respect. But they can even induce her by saying they will give her gold, silver and other properties.

After this the groom's party with some gentlemen goes to bride's house with some tobacco, match sticks and a teki with alcohol in it which is decorated with silver and ghee and kada. After she accepts, the process of formal marriage is continued. The groom would put oil in the hair of the bride. The groom would wear Daura Suruwal and the Bride would wear Nhonge Cholon(Thakali dress) with a white lining on the teki. The bride's parents will make a white cloth turban to the Groom. And the Ghee

is put on the head of both bride and groom with the blessings from their parents and relatives. The relatives are given message by going door to door. On the day of ceremony, a gun fire would take place and then the ceremony would start. The groom side would give the expenses like meat, oil, rice or any other wheat flour for the ceremony in the bride's place. For Marpha Thakali, until then marriage meant to kidnap the girl who a boy liked and later get official, but later this changed a little, by kidnapping a girl who already is in love with the boy. And she was although informed that she is being planned to be kidnapped, she would pretend. This was because that was the only way to get married in this community. But this force marriage is no more in practice among Marpha Thakali in current period.

Arrange Marriage: Arrange Marriage is more popular and more in practice in Marpha Thakali in the current years. Marpha Thakali has four different clans, Hirachan, Lalchan, Jwarchan and Pannachan. Arrange marriage is performed when the marriage is performed within the four clans. However, some of the couple whose parents do not agree with the relation may have to perform different way of marriage, although within the clan. But here also, Jwarchan and Pannachan are not considered to get married, because it is said that Pannachan was once derived from Jwarchan and so, they are considered to be brothers and sisters. (Rai/Hirachan2067:66) Arrange marriage definitely is a new marriage culture to the Marpha Thakali. The arrange marriage is in practice only after Marpha Thakali migrated from their village to different parts of the country.

The Process of the arrange marriage in Marpha Thakali: The family of the boy of seeks the girl within their clan to get their son married with. Once the girl is decided, the family of the boy informs a girl's near relatives who can reveal the proposal to the girl's parents or family. If the girl's parents or family do not like the proposal, then they will reject the proposal and will not move any further. For the groom side, it is confidential, so, they ask the girl's side to keep it confidential. In Marpha Thakali , it is not a good sign when the boy's proposal is rejected. Once rejected and known to others, the boy might get rejected many times. So, it is always kept confidential. If the girl's side accept the proposal, then the process of bringing teki with alcohol decorated with khata and ghee, some fruits (which is replaced instead of tobacco and match sticks during force marriage) and a gold is brought to the girl's house by some

relatives of the boy's family and if the parents of the girl accept the gift, it is said to be confirmed although they can even get rejected by both side after this, until engagement which is rare. This confirms that the girl is now almost fixed to get married with the boy from where the proposal is been made. Later in few months or days, nowadays not more than three months before the marriage, an engagement kind of process is taken place which is called "papur" in Marpha Thakali language. In "Papur", the boy's side informs all their close relatives and close relatives of the girl to be bride and in their expense take them to the girl's house to sit for papur. While doing papur, the son in law of the boy's side have to bring all the close relatives of the girl to the place where papur is taking place, which is normally in the house of the girl. The boy side has to bear all the expenses while bringing the relatives to the girl's house. This tradition is now little molded after the decision made in Posang Jhomi(convention in Marpha) in 2065B.S. that the son in law of the boy's side have to bring the close relatives of the girl in the boy's side expenses to the place where papur is taking place but for relatives who are far away, the boy's side may only invite them through telephone or by a letter(Hirachan 2065:26).

Here, the engagement is not made between the girl and the boy, but the engagement is for them but by the family. Here the boy and girl may or may not be present, normally they do not take part and so, they do not exchange rings and garland like expected in the engagement of other cultures in Nepal. The boy's side again brings teki with silver plated decorated with ghee and khata with alcohol in it. After this the boy's party and the girl's party sit together on how and when the marriage is going to be held. The date of the wedding day is confirmed on this day. However, this date is pre consult with monk for the appropriate date. Even though it can be changed later according to the appreciate date with the girl's side. In Marpha Village, the date is normally selected from the month of Falgun to the month of Asar. This is because, during these months, most of the relatives are in the village and those who went to various parts of Nepal to escape the cold weather are also back in the village (Hirachan: 2065:26). And this is normally vice versa in Pokhara or in other places of Nepal. They select date during winter time, when most of the relatives are not yet back in the village. But this has now became liberal to the time, because many youths now are in abroad, and they plan according to the time they can come home. The boy's party according to their ability proposes to give some tolas of gold to the girl and in

some case of rich people even some property are proposed. The girl's phupu(aunties) are called on the meeting and let them know the proposal, if they are satisfied, it will be accepted, but if not, they can even ask for more. Because it was a tradition to bear the expenses by groom in force marriage, nowadays it is just a formality to ask whether they need to bear anything or have any demands of how the wedding is expected. Nowadays only invitation cards are given to bear the expenses but it is also been slowly bear by the bride side themselves.

The ritual: On the day of wedding, two of the boy's sisters in law, go to the girls place with the suitcase of the clothes and jewelries in the morning to prepare the girl for the wedding. Until few years back, these sisters in law had to wash the bride but these days, they ask her to take shower before the preparation. After shower, they do her make up and put her saari and gold jewelries. Then, the phupus(aunties) and sisters of the bride are shown the clothes and jewelries brought. The phupus and the sisters can demand if they are not satisfied. But these days they normally do not demand and are satisfied, however they joke and make fun of the clothes and jewelries, if they do not like the designs or colors. And when the time of the jantis is close, the bride's clothing is changed to wedding attire from saari to the Thakali attire. Even the jewelries are changed accordingly.

Before the janti with bajas(music) enters the bride's place, two gentlemen from the boy's side will bring silver plated teki decorted with ghee and khata with alcohol in it along with some fruit to the bride's place and ask for the permission to bring janti inside. And after the permission is granted, the janti with the groom in front enters the bride's house. The groom wears the daura suruwal and dhaka topi and he is protected with an umbrella because while entering, the bride's side phupus and sisters will shower him by the flowers.

The swoyamber will take place with the chanting of buddhist mantra by the monk. The swoyamber is simple with the putting of sindoor in the parting of the hair of the bride by the groom and putting on tilahari or mangal sutra. The bride only put on dhubo garland to the groom and the bride bows to the groom. Few years before, the ring was given only one side from groom to bride but in current years the ring is exchanged with bride and groom. After the swoyamber, the bride and the groom bows the parents and all the relatives present in the house. And after this the blessings from

the parents of the bride and all the relatives take place. The father of the bride puts on feda, the white cloth turban on the groom's head and with red tika both the parents gives blessings to the newlywed. And along with the parents all the relatives gives blessings to the newly wed putting red tika on the forehead of the bride and the groom. The close relatives gift the newlywed, some gold, turban and shawls and others gift them money. Soon after the blessing is over, the preparation to take the bride starts. The bride is helped by the two tashi, the sisters in law who comes from the groom's side and the groom is also helped by the groom's cousin. When taking the bride, the groom side will sing a song which is traditionally sung in their language with some branches of tree at bride's place with blessing to bride's side and say goodbye. All the groom's close male relatives like father, uncles, and brothers along with groom himself is stopped by the sisters and cousins and phupus of the bride, with the milk in a cup decorated with the ghee and ask for money. They are all stopped until the sisters of the bride are satisfied with the money they receive. However, the rule has been made that the money is limited to rupees ten thousand. The money given to them will be collected in their (cheli's) fund.

While entering the groom's place, the bride is ask to have a milk with ghee and a monk will chant a mantra so that the bride will bring all luck and happiness in the house and that she will not bring evilness to the house. The bride is asked to light the butter lamp in front of the Buddha statue which is kept in the basket with rice in it. And she needs to carry it to the door, and there the monk chants some Buddhist mantra. And there again welcoming the newlywed, the parents of the groom and all the relatives will put on khata and red tika in the forehead of the newlywed and give blessings. The close relatives will gift the newlywed some gold, turban and shawls, while other relatives will gift them some money according to their will.

Another day of the wedding, the new son in law will go and fetch the father and other close relative's men of the bride and bring them to the groom's place. There both the side's gentlemen will sit together and tell about the money and gold collected in bride side and how much she is bringing with her. And they write it in a paper about it and the son in law has to sign and finger print on it and gives the paper back to the father in law. This tradition is done just in case of the divorce or inconvenience between the couple in future and it is done for the good future of the newlywed (Hirachan:

2065:26). This will formally end the arrange marriage system of Marpha Thakali. The newlywed couple will later go to visit the relatives who could not make it on their wedding with the silver coated teki decorated with ghee and khata with alcohol inside it. And again a tashi, or a sister in law is accompanied with them.

Elopement Marriage: The arrange marriage is accepted within the four clans of the Marpha Thakali. While the marriage that are performed with outside the four clans are more likely to be not accepted by the parents. In such case, the elopement marriages take place. But even within the clan if the parents are not accepting the relation, and the girl and the boy is in love and want to marry with each other, this kind of elopement marriage is performed. The girl and the boy elope from their house to get married and perform marriage with their friends or some relatives who support them. In this marriage, there will be no formal wedding rituals and customs made. There is no papur or any other kind of formality. Although this kind of elopement marriage takes place between the couple who are from outside the clan, it is also sometime take place even between the clan where parents does accept but the marriage ceremony could not be performed due to various reasons, like someone close relatives died within the timeframe of the scheduled marriage, or that the boy or the girl have to leave the country to go abroad soon for any reason and etc. In such cases, even though parents accept the relation, the girl and the boy are made to perform elopement marriage, so that they can later have formal ceremony with all the rituals and traditions. This is also called elopement marriage because, only the boy and the girl are set to go somewhere else other than their own house although close relatives will know where they are staying. These close relatives of them will help them perform swoyambar secretly in a temple or in monastery. Later after the time and situation is settled down the newlywed bride is welcomed in the groom's house. And after this only, in favorable times the rituals like in arrange marriage is performed, but in this case both the bride and groom go together with janti in bride's house to get blessings from the bride's family and relatives.

Even though Marpha Thakali accept the elopement marriage with the non Marpha Thakali, the non Marpha Thakali son in law is not allowed to take the ashes of the deceased in the family,(there is a tradition in Marpha Thakali that the ashes of the deceased is taken by the son in law to the Marpha Village where the cemetery is

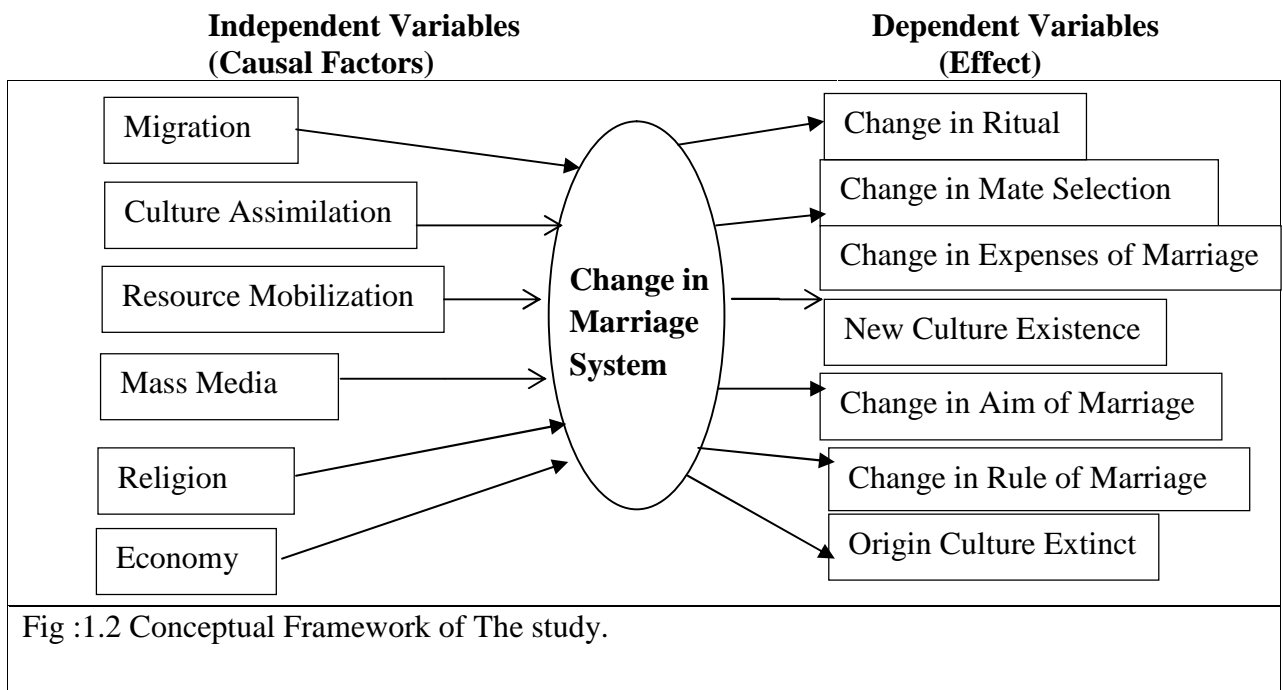
placed),and after the deceased of the non Marpha Thakali daughter in law, her ash do not go in the same cemetery where Marpha Thakali clans ashes are put.

Now the force marriage is no more in practice. Arrange marriage or a love and arrange marriage is more popular and is in practice in current years. So, the papurtakes place before the marriage after both the groom and bride party agrees. Until few years before 2065B.S. the papur use to take place any time before the marriage which could be a week before to a year and more. But the rules have been made that the papur should not be taken place before three months of the marriage. This was because, there occurred some cancellations even after the papur which made the relations of the both family in a negative way. And as the papur is an agreement or a contract, one who promised to give golds or money, are obliged to pay the penalty as accordingly.

In this community, a widow or widower is allowed to remarry as according to the situation. More often, the widow marries the younger brother of her deceased husband and the widower marries the sister of his deceased wife or any other women from his in laws. Even though this is the tradition, they are free to marry any other man or woman. In case of the divorce, even though some wants to re marry the same ex-wife, it again has to go through the tradition of papur.

In the wedding, the relatives of bride and groom give gold or money to the newlywed couple. But in 2036B.S. it was prohibited to give money or gift in the groom side, however, this rule did not last in the following year because, Marpha Thakali people did not think it was appropriate (group discussion:Marpha Thakali Community, Chapapani, Pokhara).The wedding attire in the decade of 2030B.S. it was liberal to any costume. Brides would wear saari and the groom would wear suit pant. But again to preserve the tradition, the rule was made that the bride and groom should wear Marpha Thakali attire.The rules of the marriage in Marpha Thakali are more often decided in Posang Jhomi which is a General meeting in three years that takes place in a place called Posang near Marpha. The gentlemen of Marpha Thakali get together for three days, in every three years to decide various rules of Marpha Thakali Community along with the rules in Marriage system. So, the rule in this year might change or updated in another Posang Jhomji.

2.4 Conceptual Framework of The study



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this chapter methods applied for the data collection during the field work study is described. The sites, research design, nature of data, sampling design, tools of data collection are explained

3.1 The Selection of Study Area

The selection of site is based on what and where your study is. This study is focused on MarphaThakali living in Pokhara Valley. It studies the change in marriage system that occurred in MarphaThakali living in Pokhara. Pokhara is a metropolitan city of central Nepal and is the capital of the Gandaki Province. It is 200 km to the west from the capital city Kathmandu of Nepal. The city has 518452 inhabitants (source: 2021nepal census), making it the second densely populated city after Kathmandu in the country. The Gurung people are the dominant ethnic group to be living in Pokhara and the others are the Brahmans from Syangja, Newars and Magars and other making up the population of Pokhara.

To find out the change in their marriage system of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara, the married couple from as early years as possible living in Pokhara to the recently married couple until the year of 2078B.S. are been interviewed. The respondents are directly approached for the interview. The household of Marpha Thakalies in Pokhara is currently 108 as according to the information given by Marpha Thakali Community, Chappapani, Pokhara. Married members of the Marpha Thakali from all the household were been interviewed for the data collection as well as a group discussion were made with some of the members of Marpha Thakali. Because the study is focused only with the Marpha Thakali living in Pokhara, the site of the field study is Pokhara of Gandaki Province, Nepal. Marpha Thakali are scattered around the places of Nepal after they migrated from their village Marpha situated in Mustang District of Nepal. They are migrated to Pokhara, Kathmandu, Beni, Tanahun, Damauli, Butwal, Bhairahawa and abroad. With compare to other places, Pokhara has the most migrated Marpha Thakali with the household number of 108. They have their own community hall in Chapapani, Pokhara. To collect the data the 108

respondents were interviewed and the discussion with the members of Marpha Thakali was placed.

3.2 The Research Design

A research design is a plan of the proposed research work. It is a planned sequence of the process involved in carrying out a research study. This research is based on both qualitative and quantitative research design. The data is collected directly from Marpha Thakali living in Pokhara using the interview schedule. The data was both collected by the interview schedule and the group discussion with members of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara. And some of the documents provided by Marpha Thakali Community, Chapapani, Pokhara.

3.3 Nature and Source of Data

The research is organized by interviewing the direct respondents and also by secondary sources like literature and various other documents. Although the main data is collected through the interview schedule with direct respondents, there are various literatures; documents that provide information and facts. And also by group discussion with the members of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara. So, the sources of data collected are both primary and secondary.

3.4 Universe of the Study

The Population of this study is 108 household living in Pokhara. Although there are many in population wise, the sample is taken the whole population of the households of Marpha Thakali living in Pokhara. Married couple who are already in their late 80s would not understand why I would collect the data and would not provide actual data so, in this case I have taken sample purposively though random for my convenience and others are random.

3.5 Data Collection Tools and Technique

The tools for the data collection were: Interview Schedule ,Observation and Group discussion .

The Interview was taken to 108 married members of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara. Two of the marriage ceremonies of Marpha Thakali in Pokharawere attended to observe it closely. And the group discussion was made with the members of Marpha Thakali Community, Chapapani, Pokhara.

3.6 Data Analysis Methods

The population for the data collection is 108 household of MarphaThakali living in Pokhara Valley as for the information given by MarphaThakali Community, in Chapapani Pokhara 12. So, the whole of the households of Marpha Thakali is counted as the whole population and the 108 married people are interviewed for the study. The data was collected through interview schedule, observation and through group discussion with the members of Marpha Thakali, Chapapani, Pokhara. And some information and facts were also collected through literatures and documents available.

CHAPTER FOUR

MARRIAGE PATTERN OF MARPHALI COMMUNITY

4.1 Introduction of study Area

Pokhara is a metropolitan city in kaski district in Nepal, which serves as the capital of Gandaki Province. It is the second most populous city of Nepal after Kathmandu, with 518,452 inhabitants living in 101,669 households in 2021. It is the country's largest metropolitan city in terms of area. The city is also serves as the headquarters of Kaski District. Pokhara is located 200 kilometres west of the capital, Kathmandu.



Pokhara was envisioned as a commercial center by the king of kaski in the mid-18th century A.D. when Newars of Bhaktapur migrated to Pokhara, upon being invited by the king, and settled near main business locations such as Bindhyabasinitemple, Nalacomukh and BhairabTole. Most of Pokhara, at that time was largely inhabited by khas(Brahman, Chettri, Thakuri and Dalits), Gurungs and Magars. At present, the Khas, Gurung(Tamu) and Magar form the dominant community of Pokhara. There is also a sizeable Newari population in the city. Batulechaur in the far north of Pokhara is home to the Gandharvas or Gaainey(the tribe of the musicians). As according to the census of 2011,the top five castes of people in Pokhara Metropolitan city are Brahmin-Hill, Gurung,Chhetri, Magar and Kami.

The nearby hills around Pokhara are covered by Gurung villages with few places belonging to Khas community. Small Magar communities are also present mostly in the southern outlying hills.

4.2 Marriage Pattern of Marphali Thakali

The respondents to the data for this study are all Marpha Thakali living in Pokhara. The respondents are 50% Female and 50% Male to the whole population of 108. Although the interview was taken only to the married members of Marpha Thakali, the statuses of the respondents were married, divorcee, multiple marriage, and widow or widower. The statuses of married respondents were 66, divorcees were 8, multiple marriages were 8 and widows or widowers were 26. All the respondents are living in Pokhara although respondents from the age of 60s to 80s have revealed that they migrated from Marpha village before 50 to 60 years from now. However, all the respondents are the permanent residents of Pokhara now. The interview has been made to the respondents who are married currently or married at least once before. The respondents to the interview schedule were basically arranged according to the year they got married in. From the married couples who got married as early year as possible to the most recent married couples were interviewed to find out the change in the system. Below is the table to show the respondents as according to the year of the marriage.

Table No. 4.1
Respondents According to the Marriage Year(2010-2078B.S.)

Year of marriage(B.S.)	Frequency	Percentage%
2010-2019	10	9.25
2020-2029	10	9.25
2030-2039	20	18.51
2040-2049	20	18.51
2050-2059	20	18.51
2060-2069	18	16.6
2070-2078	10	9.25
Total	108	100%

Source: Field Survey 2022

From the above table no.4.1., the respondents from the marriage year 2010 to 2019 B.S. were 10 people who are the most elderly citizens. The respondents from the marriage year 2020 to 2029B.S were 10, the respondents from the marriage year 2030 to 2039 B.S. were 20, the respondents from the marriage year 2040 to 2049B.S. were 20, the respondents from the marriage year 2050 to 2059B.S. were 20, the respondents from marriage year 2060 to 2069B.S. were 18 and the respondents from

2070 to 2078B.S. were 10. The total respondents from the year of 2010 to 2078B.S. , were 108 people.

Table No. 4.2
Respondents According to the Age

Age of the respondents	No. of frequency	Percentage%
20-29	3	2.71
30-39	10	9.25
40-49	28	25.92
50-59	20	18.51
60-69	20	18.51
70-79	21	19.44
80-89	6	5.55
Total	108	100%

Source: Field Survey 2022

The respondents to the interview schedule for the study according to the age were as above. The respondents from the age of 20 to 29 were only 3 people. The respondents from the age of 30 to 39 were 10, the respondents from the age of 40 to 49 were 28, the respondents from the age 50 to 59 were 20, the respondents from the age 60 to 69 were 20, the respondents from the age 70 to 79 were 21, and the respondents from the age 80 to 89 were 6 people. The total respondents from the age 20 to 89 were 108 people.

Table No. 4.3
Education Status of the Respondents

Education of the respondents	No. of Frequency	Percentage%
No Literate	10	9.25
Primary Level	28	25.92
Secondary Level	24	22.22
S.L.C./S.E.E.	26	24.07
Intermediate/+2	6	5.55
Bachelor degree	5	4.62
Masters	9	8.33
Total	108	100%

Source: Field Survey 2078

The respondents according to the education status are as follows: The respondents who were not at all literate were 10 people. The respondents who had only attended the primary education were 28, the respondents who had attended only until

secondary school level education were 25, the respondents who had education level until S.L.C.(School Leaving Certificate) were 26, the respondents who attended Intermediate level were 6, the respondents who attended Bachelor degree were 5, the respondents who attended Master's degree was only 1 and the respondents who had their education level Doctor (medicine) were 8. The total numbers of the respondents according to the education level were 108 people. In around the decade of 1980A.D. the youth of Marpha Thakali were attracted to go abroad in search of job. Many went to Japan. The youth at that time were more in earning money and less in continuing their studies, which is why most of them stopped their studies in S.L.C.(Group discussion:Marpha Thakali Community, Chapapani,Pokhara,2022).

The respondents from 2010 to 2029 B.S. have 99% of the population married in Force Marriage System. Although in my findings the system of this Force Marriage has two different definitions. Even though the couple then liked and were in love with each other, there were no other methods than the Force Marriage method, whereas this Force Marriage system does not match the meaning of Force marriage literally and does not also match with the meaning of elopement in nowadays where couple love each other and elope themselves despite of disagreement of parents.

Instead they use to kidnap the bride and bride use to accept or reject. But in my findings the couples were already in love with each other, so, the force elopement seemed to be only a formality to get officially announced as married. Though the finding says the force elopement was there until before 50 years from now, there is no concrete data found to prove from how long before it existed. After 2030B.S. the system of force marriage is not in practice except for some exceptional of inter caste marriage. Otherwise all the marriages are organized in arrange or love and arrange marriage.

Even though there is no concrete data available saying that from when did Marpha Thakali started settling in Pokhara whereas they use to migrate seasonally from very early years even before 60 years from now, but according to the information given by MarphaThakali Community in ChapapaniPokhara 12, MarphaThakali started permanently settled in Pokhara from as early as 2018 B.S. The data provided me to know that MarphaThakalifirst ever arrange marriage was conducted in 2010B.S. which happened to be in Pokhara even though after this the tradition of Forcemarriage

elongated until 2029 B.S. My data collection started from the married couple who got married from 2010B.S. because I could not find any earlier than this living in Pokhara.

Table No. 4.4
Changing Patten of Marital Age of Bride and Groom

Year of Marriage(B.S.)	Average age of Groom	Average Age of Bride
2010-2019	18	20
2020-2029	19	20
2030-2039	22	22
2040-2049	22	21
2050-2059	25	20
2060-2069	25	25
2070-2078	35	31

Source: Field Survey 2022

The above table shows the average age of the groom and bride according to the year they got married in. The average age of the groom is 18 and the average age for the bride is 20 in the year of marriage between 2010 to 2019B.S. The average age of the groom is 19 and the average age for the bride is 20 in the year of marriage between 2020 to 2029B.S., the average age for the groom is 22 and the average age for the bride is 22 too, in the year of marriage between 2030 to 2039B.S., the average age for the groom is 22 and the average age for the bride is 21 in the year of marriage between 2040 to 2049B.S., the average age for the groom is 25 and the average age for the bride is 20 in the year of marriage between 2050 to 2059B.S., the average age of the groom is 25 and the average age for the bride is 25 as well in the marriage year between 2060 to 2069 B.S. Likewise, the average age for the groom is 35 and the average age for the bride is 31 in the marriage year between 2070 to 2078B.S. From the table we know that the marriage age of the groom and the bride varies as according to the year of the marriage. In the period of the force marriage or the marriage that took before 2029B.S. the age of the bride is older than the age of the groom. Later, between the 2030 to 2039B.S. the age of the groom and bride is almost the same. And in the later years the age of the bride is younger than the groom. However, the age of the both groom and the bride in their marriage is higher than in the past years.

4.3 Changing Pattern of Marphali Thakali Marriage

The immediate cousins in MarphaThakali are considered to be the right to get married with. Both son and daughter of maternal uncle and son and daughter of aunty can get marry. It is given the first priority to ask for the marriage, in case of the acceptance of the son and daughter. However, in current years, this is rarely in practice, due to the close blood relation and the children these days consider as close cousin brothers and sisters. In my findings, only 13.5% of the whole population was found to be married with the immediate cousins, who are the son and daughter of mama and phupu.

The location of the marriage ceremony of the respondents to the interview as per the data collected, 26% of them had marriage ceremony in Marpha Village, 59% of them had their ceremony in Pokhara and the rest of the 15% had their wedding ceremony in other places like Kathmandu, Butwal and in Tanahun. After 2030B.S. most of the marriages of the respondents are performed in Pokhara. And it is now mostly performed in the community hall in Chapapani, Pokhara whereas before the community hall was built, the wedding ceremony was held in their house. In current years, the ceremony is even performed in other party places other than their community hall due to the convenience of the catering, decoration and other services. With the ceremony at their house or in the community hall, the services are mostly done by their close relatives, which makes the close relatives more of the working than enjoying the ceremony. So, with holding the ceremony in other party places this is almost cut off and all the relatives however have to show little hospitality to the guests coming, are more in comfort and could enjoy the ceremony.

To my question on if they had papur done before or after the wedding 91% answered it Yes. Only 9% of the respondents who answered it No was the couple who married inter caste, the marriage that took place with the bride from outside the Marpha Thakali's clan. Until 2029B.S. the papur took place after the formal marriage because of the force marriage system then, while after 2030B.S, the arrange marriage came in practice, due to which the papur is taken place before the wedding. However, the rule for the papur has been changed, as time passes. The papur use to be taken place as early as a year before the marriage or soon after the bride is confirmed, but in later years or in current years, the rule has been made that the papur should not take place before three months of the marriage. This is because there were cases where

the cancellation of the marriage took place even after papur was held, which made both side of the bride and groom very difficult to cut off the relation and move forward, because once the papur is done, the gold spoken or given is sometime are not returned or have to give as a penalty. And as this community marries between their clan, it is even difficult to get cancelled. (Group discussion: Marpha Thakali Community, Chapapani, Pokhara) Papur is thus an important event and is like a contract between two families.

To my question on using sindoor, tilahari or mangalsutra and red tika on their wedding, until 2029 B.S. they did not use any of the above, instead used ghee on bride's head and ghee on their forehead for blessing from relatives. But after 2030 B.S. the sindoor, pote were in use and red tika started to be the alternative to the ghee on their forehead for the blessings from the relatives.

To my question on using khata on their wedding, until 2030 B.S. khata was not in use instead some flowers available at the time were used. However, khata is used excessively in recent years. From the wedding couple to the couple's parents and siblings, this khata is present to congratulate from the invitees in the wedding ceremony.

To my question on using feda on their wedding, this seems to have used from very early. All the respondents have answered it yes they had used it as a turban to the groom. Normally, this feda or turban is given to the groom from the parents of the bride, and later after bringing the bride to the house; another turban is given to the groom from his parents too. And other close relatives also give turban to the groom as a gift. Although this turban is not ready made turban, it is a white cloth of some 3 to 5 meters long, made like turban in the head of the groom.

To my question if they exchanged rings of their wedding, only after 2050 B.S. the ring was in practice on their wedding but this was also from groom to bride only. However, the gift of the gold ring to the groom from the parents of the bride is seen to be in practice in some. It is only after 2070 B.S. the exchange of rings on both groom and bride is on practice.

To my question to who bear the expenses of the wedding, until 2039 B.S. groom side bears all the expenses in wedding even for the expenses in bride's side. After

2040B.S. the groom bears the expenses in some parts like the expenses that would be needed for meat, alcohol, bride's jewelries and clothing and so on. And after 2060 B.S. this is limited to the invitation cards and bride's jewelries and clothing. And after 2070B.S. the bearing is limited to bride's jewelries and clothing only.

To my question if the invitation card was printed at their wedding, until 2029B.S. 95% of them have answered no. They used to call the people verbally mentioning the time and venue. While after 2030 B.S. hundred percent of them have answered yes on printing the invitation card on their wedding.

To my question on what was the dress that they wear on their wedding, from 2010 B.S. to 2029 B.S. all of them have answered having woreThakali attire, Daura Suruwal for Groom and NhongeCholon for Bride with the teki of white border. From 2030 to until 2040 B.S. the Groom wore Daura Suruwal or Suit while the bride wore Sari in their wedding. But again from 2041 to until date the groom wore Daura suruwal and bride wore NhongeCholon with the teki of white border.

To my question on did monk chanted some mantra on your wedding, respondents from 2010 to 2029 B.S. have answered no. There were no monks or priest to chant any mantra on wedding After 2030 B.S. all the respondents have answered yes. A monk has chanted some mantra during their swoyamber.

To my question on if you had baja on your wedding, from 2010 to 2029 B.S. the respondents have answered no. Instead they had firegun before the wedding. From 2030 to till date all the respondents have answered yes, while the types of bajas seemed to be various. For example, some have Band baja, some have panchebaja, and some have *magarbaja*.

To my question on where was the location for your wedding ceremony, from 2010 to 2019 B.S. all of them have answered in Marpha Village at their home. After 2020 B.S. to 2060 B.S. all the respondents have answered in Pokhara at home. From 2060 B.S. to 2069 the respondents have answered it in MarphaThakali Community hall and home and From 2070 B.S. to till date inMarphaThakali Community hall and other party places.

To my question on did you have dhogbet with bride's family on the following day of the wedding; all the respondents have answered it yes. Hundred percent of the respondents whether elopement or arrange marriage.

To my question on who introduced your spouse to you, all the respondents have answered it to relatives.

On Opinion about why might there the change in marriage system of MarphaThakali in Pokhara happened, all the respondents have given due to the level up in economic status and also due to the development of technology like internet through which the social media and all affected the culture. 90% of the respondents have answered it is due to modernization, migration and the imitation of other culture. 10% of the respondents answered that it is due to the development of infrastructure, due to the development of the transportation which made them people get attach with the other people from different culture and so, it affected the marriage culture in MarphaThakali too.

The respondents to the interview schedule was selected according to the ascending order of the year they were married in because the purpose of the study was to see the changes in the marriage system of MarphaThakali living in Pokhara. So, while selecting the respondents who got married as early as possible and living in Pokhara, I could not find earlier before 2010 B.S. So, the year selected is from 2010 B.S to 2078 B.S. To see the changes occurred in the marriage system the year as early as possible to the recent year were selected.

To the response of respondents for their type of marriage, 99% of the population of the respondents from 2010 to 2029 B.S. has responded as Force marriage. Even though in my finding the first arrange marriage took place in MarphaThakali was in 2010B.S. Even after then, the Force marriage was still in practice until 2029 B.S. This was because there were no other methods in Marpha Thakali marriage but Force method. Even though it is Force marriage method, it was not much of force as seen from outside. It is because, most of the time, they girl and the boy are already in love and knew each other well. And it was not the elopement method that is known in modern days, where a boy and a girl elope together with their consent but without their parents' consent. It was a force elopement marriage method. A boy who like a

girl in a village and wish to marry her would kidnap the girl while she is working in woods or doing any other household work away from home. The boy would kidnap her with the help of his friends and relatives. The girl would not know that she is going to be kidnapped and the girl's parents are not at all informed, until they bring her to the boy's house or in his relatives' house. After the girl is brought to the boy's place, the parents of the girl were informed through their relatives. Then after the girl's relatives in most cases, sisters, cousins or aunties would come to the boy's place where the girl is kept. The girl's relatives would come to see the girl from the outside of the room without meeting her directly, if she agrees, and if she cries then it was considered to be yes. But if she says no then it was understood that she is not interested. And if the girl is not interested and she does not agree, the groom side will try to induce her by giving her gold and sometime other property. And if she doesn't agree still, she should be release back to her house respectfully within 24 hours of her kidnapping. But after the girl agrees, the formal or official marriage ceremony would then start. The parents are informed and they fix the date to have wedding ceremony, which are normally the blessings from the relatives and putting ghee on the forehead of the bride.

After 2030 B.S. with the time and adjusting with the environment and surrounding, there came the method of arrange marriage in Marpha Thakali which is in practice till date except for very few exceptional like in inter caste marriage. Arrange marriage is now preferred and is respected in the form of well-organized marriage. After the arrange marriage in practice, the system of Papur which use to take place after the wedding ceremony takes place before the formal marriage ceremony. After the migration to Pokhara, the culture of arrange marriage is adopted. Even though the arrange marriage was imitated by this community, the middlemen like priest and other are not consulted instead, they ask their relatives to know and then the proposal is related to the parents of the girl selected. So, although the arrange marriage is now popularly in practice, it is just an imitation of the others' culture. But this has become normal and has become the new marriage culture of Marpha Thakali. The Diffusion of the culture has occurred which adapted the new culture and the culture of the origin diminished and the new culture came in existence.

The average age of groom in 2010B.S. to 2019B.S is 18 while the average age for the bride is 20. Even though the average age of the bride during this time is 20 sometime, the bride is six to seven years older than the groom. The brides were chosen to be older because they were expected to handle the hard household work in the village. The girl who could carry gallons of water, girl who could carry as much as firewood needed at home from the forests were chosen. So, any girls who were physically fit to handle the hardship of the household were easily targeted. The older girls were targeted because they were expected to be strong than the young ones. The younger groom could get older bride. This shows that for Marpha Thakali, the marriage was not only a social event, but the aim of the marriage is to get a member who can handle the household properly and who can lead and organize the house and their property properly. The groom who could get married at their young age are the one who were financially rich or capable. The one who would marry later or the groom who are little older than the usual age to get married at that time are consider to be financially not capable. (Narendra Man Lalchan:Ex-president of Marpha Thakali Community, Chaparani, Pokhara). So, this groom would get bride not much elder than him. Because he himself would be little more in age than the usual age for the groom to be. According to this, for Marpha Thakali, marriage was not only the social event, but it was also an event to show how financially rich one was at that time. But with time and in Pokhara after the arrange marriage came in practice, getting the older brides are not common. Instead, the younger ones are targeted and are asked for the proposal. This is because, after migrating from the village, where one had to go to the jungle to collect woods, where one had to go far away from home to fetch gallons of water, where farming was the main profession for the living, compared to it, living in Pokhara was way too easy for them and it was not necessary to get the older brides who are strong and physically fit. In Pokhara the main profession adapted by this community was restaurant and a hotel business, which was easy and not necessarily needed strong women in compared with farming and life in Marpha. And this was also the case in other caste seen in Pokhara that the brides were younger to the groom. So, after migrating to Pokhara, the aim of the marriage has changed. The brides are not selected for the hardship of the household work. The brides are selected who can handle the business and who can eventually help her husband financially.

The immediate cousins are expected to get married with each other or they have right to get married in Marpha Thakali community, but in my finding there were only few. Eventhough the immediate cousins are expected to get married, it is seen that they are most of the time avoided in later years. It is because biologically the very close blood relation marriage is not safe to bear children and it might affect the health of the children born by the close cross cousins marriage parents.(Group discussion: Marpha Thakali Community, Chapapani, Pokhara) The selection in marriage partner has changed. The selection in early years were more with the immediate cousins and others within the clan only, but in later years, it is seen that the selection of the partners are not necessarily with the immediate cousins and the one within the clan. There are also members who are married with others of different caste. The selections to the partners have wider range. This became possible due to the contact with many other people from different caste and cultures.

The question on if you had papur on your wedding, all of them answered it yes. The difference was until 2029 B.S. they have answered the papur was done after the official marriage ceremony, while after 2030 B.S. all the respondents have answered that the papur was done before the marriage ceremony. This was because until 2029 B.S. the method of the marriage was force elopement, so only after the kidnapping of the girl targeted, the marriage would be official only after the acceptance of the bride. So, the papur was performed only after the marriage but after 2030 B.S., the papur is been performed before the marriage. This is because the method of the marriage has changed from the elopement to the arrange marriage. So, the marriage is more organized than in the elopement method. Therefore the papur is performed before the marriage. This papur is like an agreement or a contract between the two families, where the gold and sometime the properties are confirmed to give to the bride, and in case of the cancellation made by the groom side, the proposed gold are often demanded and have to give to the girl as a penalty. This papur was held any time before the marriage until 2065B.S. The papur was held sometime even before a year of the marriage, but this caused difficulty in breaking up, so after 2065B.S. the rule of papur to be made was changed not to be held before 3 months of the marriage. While in Papur, the groom side have to fetch the close relatives of the bride side and bring them to the bride's house for the papur. But this has now changed that they do not have to fetch him directly in case of far distance. After 2060 B.S. the rule was made

that they do not necessarily have to fetch them but have to inform and bear the expenses of the transport. So, in current years, the groom side informs the close relatives of the bride by phone and in case of nearby, the vehicles are provided to them to go to the bride's house for the papur. The groom father and his close relatives also go to the bride's house at a given time and there hold the papur. This has changed as according to the convenience. The culture is therefore also change as per the convenience of the people. It was a tradition before and all were bind to follow the rule but with the time, the members of the Marpha Thakali also settled in various places not only in same places, which made them update in rule making as well.

To the question on using khata, until 2030B.S. it was not in practice. Instead of Khata, flowers were used. Khata was not available then in the village even though they wanted to use. (Group Discussion: Marpha Thakali Community, Chapapani, Pokhara). However, after 2030B.S. it is excessively in practice from the newlywed, parents and siblings and close relatives all are given khata by the relatives and friends who attend the wedding ceremony. Khata is a ceremonial Tibetan Buddhist scarf, which has a hidden mantra, for the goodwill. It is used in ceremonial events, and sometime in farewell too. Most of the time it is use for the good luck, good will and blessings. Because Marpha Thakali is originally from Marpha in Mustang and Tibetan Buddhism is the dominant religion in Mustang region, Marpha Thakali is no exceptional to follow some cultures of the Tibetan Buddhism.

To the question on using Feda a white cloth of about 3 to 5 mtrs long as a turban to the groom, almost all the respondents expect for the one who got married intercaste and who organized elopement marriage without the agreement of their parents answered it to have use it. So, it is seen that the feda (turban) culture is an original culture of Marpha Thakali during the time of wedding. It is also used in a ceremonial event for the one who win or one who is selected as a Mukhiya(headman) of the village or a president of any organization. It is also a way to congratulate the person in who is winning or who are elected or selected in any organization or group. This feda is like congratulating someone with blessings.

To the question on using sindoor, tilahari or mangalsutra and red tika on their wedding, until 2029B.S. the respondents have answered no, but instead they have used ghee on their forehead for swoyamber and blessings from the relatives. But after

2030 B.S. the respondents have answered yes on using sindoor, tilahari or pote or mangalsutra and red tika on their wedding. The using of ghee is a tradition that had been using from long time in the village in any special occasion. But using sindoor, tilahari, pote or mangalsutra and red tika instead of ghee on the forehead is the imitation of the culture they are exposed to after settling in Pokhara. While in Marpha village, using ghee on bride and groom's forehead was natural to them but after settling down in Pokhara, this seemed to be odd or unnatural way. And so, to be a part of the society, they seemed to have adopted the new culture of using sindoor, pote and red tika. The rituals are also changed from putting on ghee on forehead to the sindoor, pote, tilahari and red tika. While the putting on ghee on forehead is completely diminished.

To the question on whether they exchanged rings with each other, the respondents who got married until 2049 B.S. answered no, but after 2050 B.S. the respondents have answered yes, but it is seen the ring was given only by groom to bride. And it was only after 2070 B.S. the ring exchange between the bride and groom is in practice. This is also because in MarphaThakali Community, there was no culture of exchanging rings within bride and groom. So, this was also an imitation of other's culture. In later years from 2070 B.S. this ring is even exchanged between both bride and groom. When the groom only gave the ring to the bride, there was a trend that the groom was given a gold ring from the parents of the bride as a gift. But this has also now changed to the exchanged of ring with bride and groom.

To the question on who bear the expenses for the wedding, until 2039 B.S. the respondents answered that groom side bear all the expenses for the wedding of both groom and bride. After 2040 B.S. the respondents answered that the groom bear the expenses for the wedding but for the expenses in bride's side the groom bear for meat, alcohol, bride's jewelries and clothing. And after 2050 B.S. the expenses bear by the groom for bride's side is limited to the invitation cards, bride's jewelries and clothing. And after 2060 B.S. this is limited to bride's jewelries and clothing only although there seem to be formality in asking to print the invitation cards by groom side. The arrange marriage have definitely affect this culture because in force marriage method, the bride side would not even be prepared or would not be able to spend money on wedding instantly. But after the arrange marriage method, there would be time for the

bride's side to get prepared and also, after settling down in Pokhara, the social status would be more a less same of groom and bride's side, which would make bride's side also to handle their own expenses. In the current years only the invitation cards are printed by groom side for the bride side as well, but this also sometime is not given to bear the expenses as for the status of the bride's family. The groom side would although as for any demands to bear only for formality.

To my question on printing invitation cards on their wedding, the respondents who got married before 2029B.S. answered it no. They had no invitation cards printed, they used to call the people in the village verbally giving them time and venue. But after 2030B.S. the respondents have answered that they had invitation cards printed. This invitation cards are distributed to the relatives and friends by the son in law of both the family. The invitation cards are printed in the suggestion and discussion with both the family and relatives of them. These cards expenses are normally bear by the groom side. Before 2029B.S. this was not in practice because, the force marriage system was in practice, and so, the bride was normally from the same village. It was possible for the invitation verbally to reach every household in the village. And it was not in trend to print the invitation cards then. And after the migration to Pokhara, it was difficult to verbally invite the people to the wedding, and so the printed invitation cards came in practice and also because the marriage system changed to the arrange marriage system it was organized beforehand. Also, it was also adapted from other cultures in Pokhara.

To my question on what was the attire on their wedding, the respondents who got married before 2029B.S. all of them have answered that they wore thakali attire. The groom wear daurasuruwal and topi and the bride wear nonghecholo. But the respondents who got married between 2030 B.S. to 2040B.S. they have answered that the bride wore sari instead of nonghecholo and the groom, some wore suit some wore daurasurwal and dhaka topi. And again after 2041 B.S. to until date, the respondents have answered that they wore thakali attire which is daurasuruwal and topi for groom and nonghecholo bride. This was because, MarphaThakali Community made a rule to wear Thakali attire on the wedding to preserve the culture and tradition. And anyone who would not follow this rule and wear whatever the bride and groom like, they even have to give the penalty. After the migration and when the arrange marriage system

was adapted in Marpha Thakali, they seemed to adapt the attire as well, however, it was not only the red saari as in other hindu religious marriage, the saari probably was a new and attractive attire to them and same for the suit to wear for the groom. But realizing that they at least have to preserve their attire, this thakali later made a rule to wear their own Thakali attire in the wedding at least. The groom wears daura suruwal and dhaka topi and the bride wears nonghecholon with the teki which is wrapped around in the waist with the cloth of white border in it. Although the the attire for the bride is thakali attire, the bride now wears red ghumto as well.

To my question if a monk chanted mantra on their wedding, until 2029 B.S. the respondents have answered no. They had no monk or priest to chant mantra. This was not at all in tradition because it was more of force elopement marriage. And the marriage is not a religious event for the Marpha Thakali now and then. But the respondents who got married after 2030B.S. they have answered yes. They had a monk chanting mantra at their wedding. It seems that after arrange marriage was in practice in this community, they started to keep a monk to chant mantra at their marriage. This again is seen to have imitated others' marriage culture. Although not religious event, Marpha Thakali believes in good and evil vibes. Eventhough there was no monk chanting in the marriage, the relatives themselves use to chant some songs in their own language while they leave the bride's house which meant that the bride would not take the good vibes from the maiti's house and when entering the groom's house as well, the relatives would chant the song in their own language with the meaning that the bride would leave all the evil vibes outside and bring in the good vibes in the house. While chanting these songs, the relatives would bring branches of some trees with them. Nowadays, the monk chanting the mantras is also meant to be the same meaning as the songs they use to chant before (Group discussion: Marpha Thakali Community, Chapapani, Pokhara 2022).

To my question if they had baja on their wedding, the respondents who got married until 2029 B.S. have answered it no. They did not have any type of baja on their wedding. Instead they had gunfire before the wedding ceremony begun. A kind of small drum was played by damai in the village. This same drum is played by damai in the wedding and the funeral, but the only difference is the sound of forward and backward. During the wedding, this drum is played forward and the same drum is

played backward in the funeral. But after 2030B.S. the respondents have answered it to yes. They had baja on their wedding, some had band baja, some had panchebaja and some had magarbaja. In later years the magarbaja seem to be popular. However, along with other instrumental baja, the drum played by damai is also necessarily be in the group of janti.

To my question on where was the marriage ceremony took place, the respondents who got married from 2010B.S. to 2019B.S. have answered in Marpha village at their home. The respondents who got married from 2020B.S. to 2060B.S. have answered that they got married in Pokhara at their home. And the respondents who got married from 2061B.S. to 2069 B.S. have answered that they had ceremony in MarphaThakali Community hall and home. And the respondents who got married after 2070B.S. have answered that they had ceremony in MarphaThakali Community hall and other party palaces. Here in Marpha Village, the marriage would take place at their home and later this have changed to Community hall and other party palaces because, in Pokhara they not only invite their close relatives they also started inviting their friends and neighbors, which made them quite impossible to maintain the ceremony properly, due to which in later years MarphaThakali have preferred to hire MarphaThakali Community hall and other party palaces for better management and enough space to handle mass of their invitees.

To the question on whether you had *maitidhobhet* the other day of your wedding, all the respondents who got married from 2010B.S. to 2078B.S. answered it yes. All of them had the *dhobhet* with bride's family the following day of their wedding. On this day of *maitidhobhet*, the bride's party share the financial expenses and how much gifts, gold, silver and money or sometime land and other property are given to bride and from groom side also how much gold, silver, money and other property are given to bride is shared and in written paper the groom finger print and signature is taken and given to the bride's father. The newlywed son in law goes to *maiti* to fetch all the members of *maiti* along with bride's father and bring them to his house or where this program is set. From then on, son in law becomes an important person and is meant to do any occasional work related to *maiti*. It tradition of *maiti dhobhet* has been continued from the origin culture until now.

To the question who introduced you to your spouse, then all the respondents from 2010 B.S. to 2078 B.S. answered it to relatives. Relatives play vital role in MarphaThakalies. Like in other caste, in Marpha Thakali, the priest or monks are not consulted for the bride or groom, but the relatives do the work of middlemen. They ask the proposal lightly and it is later becomes official. When it comes to marriage, most of them consult with their close relatives who can introduce them to their daughter in law or son in law. If they think that might work, then again, the relatives of their send to talk about the marriage with future bride's parents. And if the bride's family agrees then they accept the proposal which will later lead to the official marriage. But if the family rejects, the groom side asked and please the family not to publish the proposal because, in MarphaThakali Community, the news spread so quickly that the groom to be will be rejected constantly. So, if rejected the groom to be, ask the other party to keep it secret. And it is kept confidential.

4.4 Compare to Neighboring Ethnic Community's Marriage Culture

The Gurungs of Nepal are eastern people who migrated to the lower Himalayas many centuries ago. The first Gurung village in the south of the Himalayas is called khol, the ruins of which are high in the forest of northern Larjung. They are the main Gurkha tribe. The main settlements of the Gurungs are Kaski, Lamjung, Mustang, Manang, Gorkha, Parbat and Syangja districts. The Gurung are a people made up primarily of hardworking diversified farmers living in village clustered on the slopes and hills around the Annapurna Himalaya range.

Gurung ideas on marriage are based in one of the major general tradition in west central Nepal. Main features of their marriage system, and some of the kin terminology, are shared by their near neighbors the Thakalis. (Victor: 1974; 281)A Gurung marriage is clan exogamy and caste endogamy, one must marry outside his clan but within his caste. Marriages among the Gurungs are of two types: arranged marriage and marriage by elopement. Arranged marriage is done through a formal agreement between the prospective two families and in the second case, the couple elopes against their parents' will. The traditional match for marriage is cross-cousin marriage, where a boy marries his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or the son marries his father's sister's daughter (partilateral). The traditional cross cousin arranged marriage practice among ethnic group is recognized by the law of Nepal but,

it is generally regarded as abhorrent by other cultures, (Chitarure, 2011). A mediator plays the role of contacting either the prospective bride's father and his lineage brothers or their own representatives. After receiving initial approval for the match from the bride's side and having ascertained the horoscopic compatibility of the couple, the groom's representative again approaches the bride's side bringing a gift of liquor 'pung' and if this is accepted by the bride's side, the match is formally assured and the betrothal is complete.

The marriage of a Gurung is taken as a contract between a man and women and not as 'donation' or 'kanyadan' prevalent among the Hindus, where a daughter from her birth is considered as a 'parayadhan', somebody else's property or a burden to the family. This is not in the case of Gurungs where a daughter occupies an equally an important position in her maternal home and later in her husband's house after marriage.

The marriage in Gurung wedding has no religious significance. The ceremony is extremely simple. It marks the beginning of the legitimate conjugal life of a man and a woman. At the bride's house, the entails putting on the white tika (rice mixed with curd) on the foreheads of the future couple and the parents and relatives wish them a happy life. They then wash their daughter's feet and take a drop of water so used to their lips. Usually money is given to both the newly wedded couple by the parents and relatives. Similar ceremony takes place at the house of the groom. A wedding feast is a must during a wedding.

In an elopement marriage, the above formalities are not done and instead of parental arrangement, the boy makes known to the girl of his intention directly and if the girl agrees, both of them go into hiding. Message is relayed to the parents of the girl. In a few days' time, he sends his representative (sometime he himself may go) to the girl's father to request him to accept the new relationship putting aside the offence to his dignity and to cancel other arrangements that he may have made. If the bride's father agrees, the new son-in-law comes with gifts of compensation and a ceremony takes place to accept the wedded couple.

Wedding ceremonies takes place usually between mid-October and the beginning of April. However no rule forbids them taking place outside this period.

Similarities in marriage system of Gurung and Marpha Thakali:

1. Both Gurung and Marpha Thakali marriage is clan exogamy and caste endogamy. They both marry or select partners within their clan and it is not permitted or not agreed by the parents in case of marriage outside their caste.
2. Both Gurung and Marpha Thakali accept or give first priority to the cross cousins marriage. The father's sister's daughter and the mother's brother's son can marry and is respectfully accepted.
3. Both in Gurung and Marpha Thakali, alcohol is used and consider as a gift or a good omen to bride side.
4. Both Gurung and Marpha Thakali's wedding is simple with no religious significance. The rituals are more of the influenced of other's culture. There is not much of religious formality.
5. Both in Gurung and Marpha Thakali, marriage is more of the contract between the bride and the groom along with their family. Both the community gives equal priority and importance to daughters like to the sons.

4.5 Compare to Neighboring Caste Community's Marriage Culture

Hindu Marriage is symbolically very significant. It is a religious day not a social contract. On the day of the ceremony, groom is dressed in a nepali traditional dress that is Daura Suruwal with red tika on his forehead, and dubo grass garland in the neck and Khukuri in his waist. The bride is dressed in red coloured saari cholo, chura-tika and is decorated with golden ornaments and precious gems. The groom accompanied by jantis (groom's relative, friends and well-wishers) go to the marriage venue dancing in the soothing music from Panche Baja (typical Nepali musical instrument). The bride and groom sit nearby the sacred fire and follow enchants of Pundit (Holy Priest). The whole ritual goes according to Holy Vedas. The priest ties two white clothes making a knot (lagan gathu). The knot resembles a lifelong relationship, and the couple goes around the sacred fire for seven times promising to support each other's in every steps of their life. The groom and bride puts garland to one another. The purifying quality

of the grass offers everlasting love and relationship. Finally, the groom puts sindoor(vermalin powder) in the bride's hair and both accept each other as the husband and wife for eternity.

Marpha Thakali after the migration and in contact with many other cultures and traditions, they are more influenced by the hindu marriage culture. Adaptation of Hindu marriage culture in Marpha Thakali:

1. The tradition of janti to fetch the bride was not in the culture of Marpha Thakali until they were in the village of Marpha. The janti was adapted to the culture and now it has become their culture.
2. The ritual of using vermalin powder in the bride's parting of the hair, was adapted by hindu culture. Before this Marpha Thakali use to use ghee in the forehead of the bride.
3. The red tika used now for the blessings by the parents and relatives are also an adapted culture from Hindu culture. Marpha Thakali use to use ghee on the forehead of both the bride and the groom as a blessing.
4. The swoyamber is also another Hindu culture adapted by Marpha Thakali. The use to dhubo garland, mangal sutra or tilahari are adapted culture after they migrated to Pokhara.
5. There were no any religious significance in marriage rituals, but this is also adapted from the Hindu culture and now, Marpha Thakali however use monk to chant some mantra during the swoyamber and bride's entrance to groom's house. Although there is no any rituals followed to any holy book.

In this study, the marriage system of Marpha Thakali is compared with Gurung marriage culture and Hindu Marriage culture. Gurung is one of the ethnic groups that are densely living in Pokhara and as a religion wise, Hindu Religion is one of the most followed religion in Nepal.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of the Study

This study was focused on the change in marriage system of MarphaThakali who are living in Pokhara Valley. My research was to see the change in the marriage culture. So, the respondents to the interview schedule are the one who got married as early as possible of 2010B.S. to the most recent one who got married in 2078B.S. The respondents' marital statuses were 66 of them were married, 26 of them were widow or widower, 8 of them were married twice or more and 8 of them were divorcee.

With my findings, there are changes and continuity in the marriage system of MarphaThakali community living in Pokhara. The changes are occurred in many ways from the marriage tradition that was practiced in Marpha Village in origin.

The changes that are seen in the marriage system of Marpha Thakali are, the change in the system itself, the change in selecting mate, change in the aim of the marriage , change in the rituals, change in expenses in marriage. And above all the most important one is the change in the system itself. The following are the changes that are occurred in the marriage of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara:

1. Change in the system: The marriage system of Marpha Thakali was the Force marriage system and after settling down in Pokhara, this Force Marriage has been changed to the Arrange marriage system. In Pokhara, the force marriage system or to kidnap a girl to marry was a taboo.
2. Change in the aim of the marriage: As according to the result of the data collected, Marpha Thakali living in Pokhara have the change in the aim of marriage with the origin aim. Before the arrange marriage system in Marpha Thakali came in Practice and before their migration to Pokhara, the aim of the marriage was to bring a new member to the family who can actually help in the hardship of the household then. The aim was to divide the household work. But after the arrange marriage came in practice, the aim is to create a family. The aim is to finding a life partner.

3. Change in the age of the marriage: The age of the marriage with both the groom and bride have changed as according to the result of the data collected. The groom was also younger to the bride during the force marriage system in Marpha Village. The bride use to be older than the groom. But as they migrated to Pokhara, the brides are younger or of the same age to the groom. And in recent years due to the studies and carrier, the age of marriage for both the bride and the groom is late. The average age for marriage now is in the early 30s for both the bride and the groom.
4. Change in selecting mate: Before 2010B.S. the force marriage system was in practice in Marpha Thakali , due to which the selecting the bride was kind of secret. However, the immediate cousins, the maternal uncle's son had a right to get married with his auntie's daughter, the force marriage by kidnapping the bride was in practice and normally, and the brides were selected older to the groom. But after the arrange marriage system came in practice, the brides selected are younger than the groom. Now the mate selections are in the hands of the bride and groom themselves, they meet or get to know each other through social media and they later meet in person. In later years the couple who got married was in love first before marriage and they all met via social media..
5. Change in the process: In most of the marriages, it is always beforehand that they get engaged first and married later, but in the force marriage tradition of Marpha Thakali, this occurred after the wedding. The "papur" which they call is like engagement between the two families of the bride and the groom was taken place after the wedding, because of the force marriage system. But later after the arrange marriage came in practice, this "papur" always take place before the marriage, however, it can be before 3 months to a week before.
6. Change in Expenses: The marriage ceremony now is more of the luxury and show off than the formality. And marriage ceremony of Marpha Thakali is no exceptional. The mass media, the movies influence and other cultures' imitation have made the ceremony to be large. This has lead to the large amount of expenses in the marriage ceremony. This is also due to the change in financial status of Marpha Thakali.
7. Change in the rituals: During the time when there was the force marriage system or until when they were still living in Marpha village, the groom use to put ghee or oil in

the head of the bride and the parents and the relatives of the bride and groom would put ghee on their forehead as a blessings. There used to be no monks to chant any Buddhist mantra or any mantra by any other priests. However, they use to have their relatives sing a song which were full of blessings in their own language with the branches of tree on their hand. Now in Pokhara, monk chant some Buddhist mantra during the time of wedding, and the time when bride are entering the house of the groom. Now, the groom do not put ghee or oil in the head of the bride but he puts vermilion powder (sindoor) and put on tilahari or mangal sutra as a symbol of marriage. And all the relatives including parents also put red tika on the forehead of the bride and groom as a blessings and khata are heavily use to greet them good wishes.

The factors that are directly affecting the changes in marriage system of MarphaThakali in Pokhara are the migration,economy, environment, mass media, social media, and religion and resource mobilization. The factors that affect the marriage system of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara are as the following:

1. Migration: Migration is one of the important factors that helped in changing the system of marriage culture in Marpha Thakali.Migration to Marpha Thakali is never a new Chapter. They use to migrate to various parts of Nepal as according to their need. The migration was seasonal, temporary and permanent. This made them adopt some of the cultures and thus there become culture assimilation which has brought changes in the existing culture.
2. Environment: The environment is another factor that affect in the system of marriage culture in Marpha Thakali. In Marpha Village, the weather is cold and favorable for thakali to wear their own thakali attire which is more warm compared to the attire that are worn in Pokhara by other communities like saari. This also have brought changes in MarphaThakli culture which they have molded themselves according to the environment. The saari for the bridehowever was adopted at first but this community realized the preservation of the culture and so, they then decided to keep the culture of the Thakali attire in the wedding at least. The rule was then made that the bride would wear the Nonge cholo with teki which has white border and the groom would wear the daura suruwal and dhaka topi. And anyone who rejects or have their choice of wearing other attire in the wedding ceremony, they have to give penalty.

3. Economy (Financial Status): The economy is another factor which helps in changing the marriage culture of Marpha Thakali. When Marpha Thakali was in their village, most of them were farmers; they were hardly exposed to the development and convenience of the life. The life they had was hard then in Pokhara. They had to go far from their house to fetch water, they had to go to the jungle to get fire woods for the cooking, and their everyday life was hard. But after settling down in Pokhara, they started their own business, most of them as a restaurateur. This made them earn more money and their financial status started to change. They started to have money to spend in luxury things and therefore their marriage system also started to change. The example of it can be the invitees they invite in their wedding in current years and that the expenses for bride's side are now bear by bride side while this was bear by groom side until 2029 B.S.
4. Resource Mobilization: It is another important factor that has caused changes in Marriage system of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara. The ghee that was used in swoyamber and for blessing is replaced by sindoor and pote and red tika. The dubo garland for the groom for instance is also one of the important resource mobilizations which would not be found in Marpha Village. The khata was rarely found in the village, but now the khata are excessively used because, it is now available easily.
5. Mass Media: Mass Media also plays a vital role in changing the culture and tradition. The mass media like T.V., radio, and nowadays social media has big impact on people to imagine and think of doing or acting same as what they offer. Watching others' marriages on how they have performed, people tend to imitate and so, the changes occurs in the culture and tradition. And so, Marpha Thakali, living in Pokhara is no exceptional. They are also highly affected with the media and so, have adopted new traditions like mehendi ceremony before marriage, cake cutting event, and bride and groom dance event, the wedding attire for the bride groom, the decorations in the wedding ceremony place, the reception party and so on in recent years. With internet now in hands of all, the more events and ceremonies will be explored, the more new changes will be there in the future. Now even the couple gets to know each other through the social media before meeting in person. Social media now plays a role of middlemen for the marriage. Marpha Thakali couple who got married in recent

years, many met their partners through social media, and however, the access are given to them by their relatives.

6. Education: Another important factor that causes the change in the system of marriage in Marpha Thakali is also an education. The education brought the new generation to focus on their career more than settling down on marriage before the age of 30. This has made the age of getting married to the early 30s to the mid-30s.
7. Religion: Another factor for the changes in the marriage system of MarphaThakali in Pokhara is Religion. MarphaThakaliare basically Buddhist in religion even though they seem to follow Bon religion in some of their tradition of worshipping nature in the village of Marpha. But Migration to Pokhara has brought them in contact with other communities who also follow other religion like Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity and so on. In Hindu culture, the marriage system is different likewise it is different in Islam and Christianity. Having seen others' marriage of different religion, MarphaThakali have also adopted few cultures that are seem to be reasonable for them like they started keeping a monk to chant some mantra during their wedding. Putting Sindoor in bride's forehead is an example of the religion that has changed the origin traditional of MarphaThakali.MarphaThakali though follow the Buddhist religion by born but the tradition of using khata with the Buddhists mantra on it in their wedding is new. This is again an imitation of other cultures of Tibetan Buddhist or other mustang communities who follow the Tibetan Buddhism.

5.2 Conclusion

The objective of the research was to find out the changes in marriage system of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara and the factors that influenced the change in marriage system of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara.

To my findings, there occur various changes in marriage system of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara from the time they migrated from their village from as early as 2010B.S. The changes that occurred are the system of the marriage itself, change in the aim of the marriage, the rule of the marriage, in the selection of the mate, the age of the marriage, in the expenses of the marriage, in the rituals of the marriage and in the process of the marriage.

And the factors that influenced the change in the marriage system of Marpha Thakali in Pokhara are mainly, the migration, the brought the Marpha Thakali in contact with many other people with different culture and tradition. The another factors are the resource mobilization, the mass media, the religion and the economy.

This study was occurred in between the time of Covid phase, hence it was difficult to meet people in direct with which caused the delay in the data collection. Later I was given a telephone diary of Marpha Thakali Community in Pokhara from the MarphaThakali Community in Chapapani in Pokhara¹², which made my data collection easy. I could call my purposive respondents directly on their cell phone and could take the interview as per my interview schedule questions. For someone who could not understand me on phone, I had to relay questions to their relatives who could relay me the answer the respondents gave.

Marpha Thakali are less researched and studied in comparison to other thakalies in general. Thus to know the culture in proper and to know MarphaThakali in depth, future study inMarphaThakali itself can be performed. This Community is rarely studied. Not much research or papers are found in the topic on them. The birth, festivals, death and other culture of this community is still to be studied. This community is been migrated from their origin village of Marpha, the change of the marriage system can be studied withthe whole of the population too for the better result. The books on this MarphaThakali Community are MarphaEkParichaya, 2065, Ishwor Lal Hirachan, MarphaThakaliJatikoChinari, 2067,Tikaram Rai and Makhan Lal Hirachan.

Although the above books gives and introduction to Marpha Thakali and their traditions and cultures, the study I have made have found out some facts of Marpha Thakali relating to their migration to Pokhara and also some facts about their marriage system. For example, the fact that Marpha Thakali first started settling in Pokhara from about 2018B.S. and the fact that first arrange marriage occurred in MarphaThakali was held on 2010B.S. First one to use Sindoor ,Pote and Red Tika in their wedding was on 2027B.S. The findings will help the future studies to know about migration of MarphaThakali and why and how their marriage system has changed.

Even though there are changes occurred in the marriage system of Marpha Thakali, they are now in the stage of aware of their tradition. They make rules of different culture and tradition to follow every three years (Posang Jhomji) in the village of Marpha, and as accordingly they follow the rule. For example, the money asked by cheli(sisters and aunties) during the wedding to the groom is limited to rupees ten thousand. This should not exceed to ten thousand, otherwise the penalty is charged. The wedding attire has to be the Thakali attire, the money given to the groom side by the guests in the wedding was once banned, by imitating others' culture but that did not work and again the money is given to both groom and bride side.

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THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

**CHANGE IN MARRIAGE SYSTEM OF MARPHA THAKALI
COMMUNITY IN POKHARA**

A STUDY OF MARPHA THAKALI IN POKHARA VALLEY

Namaste, My name is Manu Hirachan. The purpose of this research is to find out “Change in marriage system of MarphaThakli based on Pokhara valley”. And this research is been performed for mandatory thesis to be submitted for my master’s degree in sociology. I would like to request you to please answer the following questions as truly as possible for the accurate result.

Name: Manu Hirachan

Roll no.: 55/072

Prithvi Narayan Campus, Pokhara

A: Socio demographic profile

1. Age:_____
2. Gender:_____
3. Current Address_____
4. Permanent Address_____
5. Education:_____

B: About your Marriage

6. Marital Status: Married____ Divorcee____ Widow/Widower____
7. At what age did you get married?_____
8. Year of your marriage _____
9. Please select kind of marriage you had:
 - a) Force Marriage_____

- b) Elopement Marriage_____
 - c) Arrange Marriage _____
 - d) Other_____
10. What was your spouse age at the time of your marriage? ____
11. Is your spouse an immediate cousin?(son or daughter of mama or phupu)_____
12. Did you have engagement (papur) on your marriage? _____
13. If you have answered “Yes” to the above question no.11, how long before or after the marriage did it took place?_____
14. Where your marriage ceremony did took place? Please select an appropriate answer.
- a) Pokhara___ b) Marpha _____ c) other place _____

C: Change in tradition on your marriage

14. Did you use Sindoor ,Tilahari or mangalsutra in your wedding?_____
15. Did you use red tika in your wedding for blessings from relatives? _____
16. Did you use khata in your wedding?_____
17. Did you use feda (turban) on your wedding? _____
18. If you have answered “No” to the above question no.15, then please explain what did you use instead?_____
19. Did you exchange rings on your wedding? _____
20. Did you print invitation card for your wedding? _____
21. If you have answered “No” to the above question no.20, then please explain how you invited the people on your wedding? _____

22. What did you and your spouse wear in your wedding?

23. Did monk chanted mantra on your wedding? _____

24. Did you have panchebaja or any other baja on your wedding?

25. Where your wedding ceremony did took place? Please select appropriate answers from below.

a) At bride's house_____ b) At groom's house_____ c) At community house(samajghar)_____ d) At party palace_____ e) At monastery or temple_____

f) Other_____

26. Who bear the expenses of your wedding? _____

D: Opinion

Please explain if you think there is a change in marriage system of MarphaThakali living in Pokhara Valley in comparision to MarphaThakali before their Migration to Pokhara Valley.

Thank you for your support.