



Socio system of Kirat of Nepal - an empirical mini-study with special reference to Kirat-Limbu

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Abstract: This study is focused on socio-system of Kirat people of Nepal. To study the socio-system of whole Kirat people of Nepal is very much vague content area by nature. So, introduction, history and demography of Kirat people of Nepal is comprised wholly, then, the study is narrowed down to only Kirat-Limbu. Focusing to Kirat-Limbu, this study deals the family structure, family system along with social concept and practice including birth to death rite and rituals, food habits, provisions of social system in Mundhum. This study also tries to indicate contrastive areas between social system of Mundhum and family laws of Nepal, drawing the conclusion.

Keywords: Kirat; Nepal; Limbu; Mundhum.

Sistema social de Kirat do Nepal – mini estudo empírico com referência especial à Kirat-Limbu

Resumo: Este estudo concentra-se no sistema social do povo Kirat do Nepal. Ocorre que estudar todo o sistema social dos Kirat é algo deveras amplo. Por isso, a introdução, a história e a demografia Kirat são tratadas, de forma sintética, no início do texto para, depois, focar a análise dos Kirat-Limbu analisando sua estrutura e sistema familiar ao lado do conceito social e de algumas de suas práticas, incluindo o nascimento e os rituais atados à morte, hábitos alimentares e outras disposições que constam no Mundhum. O artigo busca, ainda, indicar áreas contrastantes entre o sistema social com lastro no Mundhum e leis de família de Nepal.

Keywords: Kirat; Nepal; Limbu; Mundhum.

1. WHO ARE KIRATS/KIRATAS?

The Kiratas, who constitute the Mongoloid physiognomy, are one of the ethnic races scattered all over the Himalayan region (KHAMDHAK, 2010, p.48). Chemjang wrote mentioning the Mundhum source, "The origin of Kirat people of Nepal can be traced

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back in combination of three races are known by the names of Khambongbas or the khambos, the Tangsangthas or Mongols and the Munaphens or the Chinese" (2003, p.3). Vansitart (1906) stated, "Khambus, Yakkas, and Yakthumbas form the Kiranti group" (1906, p.7). Such way, many scholars defined to Kirats from various ways and angles. Who were and who are Kirats or Kiratas? About it, long debate been done and it is still continue. But, in present context of Nepal, Dhimal, Hayu, Jirel, Limbu (Yakthung), Rai, Sumuwar (Koinch), Thami, and Yakkha ethnicities themselves claim that they are Kirat and descendants of ancient Kirats of Nepal who ruled 1964 years of duration in Nepal as Kirat dynasty.

2. HISTORY OF KIRAT

According to 'THE GOPALARAJA VAMSAVALI', it was compiled by Jayasthithi-rajamalla or Jayasthiti Malla in his reign period of 1382-1395 A. D. (VAJRACARYA, D.; MALLA K. P., 1985: ii), mentioned 32 Kirat Kings Elam to King Khigu (ibid. pp.121-122). The same king Elam is also known as King Yalambar. This Kirat Kings chronicle's chronology shows King Khiju was the last Kirat King. After his reign, King Sri Jayavarma ruled in Nepal. Following the research conclusion of Lain Singh Bangdel, Jayavarma's reign was started in 185 A. D. Why because, there is itched samvat 107 on the statue pedestal of Jayavarma. This is Shaka Samvat and it is matched with 185 A. D. This statue is the earliest inscription found in Nepal following the inscriptions installed by Manadeva.

It means Kirat dynastic reign was started in 1779 B. C. and ended it in 185 A. D. It was the period of 1963 years and 8 months or 1964 years in total. The first Kirat King Elam or Yalambar ruled the period of 90 years. So, his reign stated in 1779 B. C. and ended in 1689 B.C. It traces that Kirat history go back to the date of 1779 B.C.

3. PRESENT DEMOGRAPHY OF KIRAT PEOPLE OF NEPAL

The settlement of Kirat people is spread Eastern part of Nepal to North East India and even in Bhutan as native habitats. Moreover, at the latest time being, a large population of Kirat peoples are migrated to foreign countries like Hong Kong, The United Kingdom, America, Canada etc. But, here, it is plausible to mention the population of Kirat people in

accordance the National Census 2011 of Nepal. According to census of 2011, the population of the Kirat peoples, are as following:

Ethnicities	Dhimal	Hayu	Jirel	Limbu	Rai Group	Sumuwar	Thami	Yakkha
Population	26,298	2,925	5,774	387,300	690,989	55,712	28,671	24,336
Grand Total	1,222,005							

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), 2011: 144-147

4. FAMILY STRUCTURE

The family structure of Limbus is joint family type in nature. Traditionally, Limbu society was maternal society and the family structure also was same as that. But, now-a-days, it is paternal one because of the immense influence of the state rules and regulations. However, Limbu women are practically leading home because the males are far away from the home for jobs.

5. FAMILY SYSTEMS

Limbu people have their own social concept and they are maintaining various practices to run their daily life. It means they have own family systems. It comprises birth to death rites and rituals, clothing, foods, worshiping Gods and Goddess, various customs etc. Among them major concepts and practices are as below.

5.1 BIRTH

Before taking birth of baby, in Limbu community, the family observes Sapok Chomen, it is the worship of the womb carried out for the maintenance of good health of pregnant woman and for her safe delivery (KAINLA, et al. p. 472). After the birth of the baby, yangdang phongma or the naming ceremony is performed. Such yangdang phongma is performs in three days if baby is girl and, in four days if it is boy. Before the age of 14/15 of the sibling, Changwan lekma - changing attire ceremony is observed in the family in the guidance of Phedangma. In this ceremony, the daughter is offered attire of adult woman like mekhly (long outer garment), patthang (head dress), watti (ornaments of gold and silver), handloom (symbol of life and skill), pakphema (teeth-less sickle) or sickle

along with chanting Mundhum and spraying wadumpakwa (holy water) by phedangma. In the case of boy, he let to wear taga (long male outer garment), phai (waist bend), paga (turban), and pheja (khukuri). Phedagma also informs the girl or boy what is her or his cultural right and duty onward her or his life in the family and society.

5.2 MARRIAGE

There are two types of marriage systems are in practice in Yakthung Limbu community: arrange marriage and love marriage. In arrange marriage, ingmiba (match-man) leads proposed bride-groom and they go to expected bride's home and put the one bottle sijangwa (home made liquor) with sallakke perenggo (pickle in purse shaped flat netted basket of split bamboo) by then the ingmiba culturally request to parents and tutu-tummyang (senior gentlemen of the society) to allow their daughter for marriage. This is called menchin na:kma (propose for marriage to the lass) system. If they accept the sijangwa bottle, it symbolizes that they agree for marriage with their daughter to the proposed bride-groom. Then, the marriage date will be fixed with the help of phedangma (priest) in the approval of tutu-tummyang.

And, they back to bride's home and they manage the all things for marriage. Two days before the marriage, the bride-groom go to receive the bride in her home in the leadership of previous match-man ingmiba with sung (cultural gifts). In that time, one another boy especially little brother of bride-groom also escort the bride-groom. They take one night shelter in the bride's home. Early in the morning, bride's family worship Yuma Mang and Theba mang (Laoti, 2005: 19) (power goddess and god), then they offer phung (tika) to bride and bride-groom. Up to this time, all are assembled especially relative lasses and ladies, there will be one senior woman who knows all customs and rituals of marriage, all assembled persons are called lakandi (girls and women who accompany to bride) who escort the bride throughout the marriage process. Four sangwaba, paternal brothers, also escort the bride firing pair-nasal guns.

The lakandies and bride warmly and culturally welcomed by chyabrung band and gun firing brigade from bride-groom's home. After offering so:tta:k, good augury or luck present of thee (millet grain bear) and sijangwa with pickle, bride and lakandies will be taken to sa:ngga heem (a shelter built using chestnut leaves or tent) and requested them to take shelter there.

Next day is the main marriage day. In the mid-day, the bride is taken to one place of eastern direction and decorated her by lakandies. The bride-groom who is decorated with cultural attire, arrives with chyabrung band, gun firing brigade and along with all escorts. Then bride-groom offers phung (tika made up of cord and rice mixture) and bride bows down to the feet of the bride-groom and all backed to the arranged place for the marriage feast. In the evening, with especial ritual, bride is welcomed by bride-groom's mother into the home. Then mekkam thim, the main marriage ritual, is performed by the side of Murum Sitlang (the main pillar of the house) and Hallung (fire place) by phedangma. In that time, phedangma matches the manggenna lungdhung (place of origin) of bride and bride-groom. Finally, the phedangma administers yuppalung (silver coin and mijak--tiny knife like iron used for striking flint) offering rituals. In this ritual, phedangma chants incantation Mundhum and let bride-groom and bride to take oath for life long union between them. In the ordinance of phedangma, the bride-groom tosses the silver coin and mijak three times taking oath weather I will misbehave you, you can strike on my forehead back it then our relation will be ended. Then all make a hurray saying "Mekkam pokhe-ro" or marriage is completed and chyabrung band plays chyabrungs, gun firing brigade fires guns. Following morning, after pangli-hukwa (feast serve by bride) all back to bride's home where again follows the marriage feast at bride family side.

Except arrange marriage, love marriage is also massively in practice. In the past time, after the death of husband, a widow formally allowed to marry to her brother-in-law or husband's little brother in Limbu society. Such old some couples are found till to this date in Limbu society. Sagant mentioned that abduction marriage is in practice among Limbus (1996: 59-88) but it is not found in the society now a days.

5.3 DIVORCE

In the case of divorce, in the Limbu society, culturally women are absolutely free in the comparison of men. Indeed, Limbu male can't give divorce to his wife, but if female wants to give divorce to her husband then she can do easily returning back the yuppalung to her husband. However, it is rarely found in practice. If female doesn't like her husband, she remarriage with other male following chari (elopement) marriage system.

5.4 DEATH RITES

The Limbu people have their own concept and practice about death of someone. The concept of death in Limbu society is conceptualized according to the age and death incidents of dead person. If a child died just after his or her birth then it is called Sasik. An individual got the natural death that is called as Kudopma-lam, the death due to suicide or falling from tree or cliff or precipice and a death caused by child-birth is called sugut (SUBBA, 2005, p.62).

Sasik is taken to jungle carrying on the open arm of his or her father and buried in the jungle or cae/den there. The dead person from sogha and the sugut way, are taken as evil spirits, are killed by shamanistic rituals by shamans especially Yeba (male) or Yema (female). In such deaths, the purification rituals doesn't observe.

Someone who got the natural death, then, full death rites will be observed by family and clan society. To carry such dead body, Limbus make a bier tying three step on two parallel green bamboo logs for female and four steps for male. The chesabas (male mourners) chesamas (female mourners) take the dead body to the che-yan or i:ppung place where it will be buried. The phedangma performs buying kham (soil) ritual from khambongba lungbongba (believed that there are some owners of soil inside the earth) and taking out the soul from dead body, and it is buried into the grave.

After this, Limbus observe following rites:

Giving away the soul of the dead person to ancestor's lap which is called *sam sama*.

Eating salt, oil etc. which were given up in mourning ritual (*yum ningghe na:kma*).

Final purification rite is known as *khauma*.

Invoking the height that is disconnect the deceased person with his or her relatives, belongings and human society which is called *si-tangsing khema*.

The final rite of wiping away the tears which is called *mikwa sangma* (SUBBA, 1999, p.453-54).

In the Limbu society, the purification rite is observed in three days for woman and four days for man because the Limbus believed when Porokmi Yambhami Mang made

female and male idols and put into the soul, then, female idol alive in three days and male idol alive in four days.

5.5 PARTITION OF PROPERTY

The Limbu people, traditionally enjoyed Kipat lands that are held and owned by communities. Such Kipat land cannot be sold by individuals or individual families, but can be used by individuals or individual families. Why because the lands are communal land belonging to the whole Limbu community not to an individual. The Kipat land shared by people according to their needs of farming in their respective region following the system of a farm-land in exchange of a farm-land which might be conformed clan-wise. And, they worked in a farm-laborer in exchange of a farm-laborer - "thak yallek or parma" system. After the enactment of Muluki Ain, a farm-land in exchange of farm-land system was extinct but working system that a farm-laborer in exchange of a farm-laborer is still in existence. Mundhum looks the Kipat land as pure and holy land. So, Yakthung Limbu people should be observed certain rules for working in the field, which are as follows:

- After the clearing of a forest, one day should be observed as the day of worship to God. No one should work in the new field. Any person violating this rule will suffer a heavy loss when he/she goes to work.
- When the first storm blows, no cultivators should work in the field for four days. They should fast and pray to God for good protection of their loves and crops from the bad storm.
- The first rainfall in the year should also be observed for four days. No cultivator should work in the field.
- A special day of worship should be observed for the hailstorm, because the accumulation of the hailstorm makes the field very damp and if a cultivator works in such a condition his/her crops will not be fruitful. All the cultivators pray to God for the protection of their crops from the damages of hailstorm.
- The first frog which covers the ground should also be observed for one day. No cultivator should work on that day.

- The first thunderbolt should also be observed; a failure to do so will result in great damage. God should be prayed for protection from thunderbolt.
- The day of marriage should be observed. No one should work in the field on that day. They should join the marriage party and bless the new couple for their lives and good prosperity in their new house.
- When domestic animal bears a calf or kid or pig, one day should be observed and no work should be done in the fields. (CHEMJONG 2003, p. 60-69)

Kipat land, being an ancestral land or land of fore-father and fore-mother, it could not be sold. But, after the enactment of Muluki Ain, such Limbu Kipat lands allowed to buy and sell. By then, Limbus also started to follow mainstream state practice of property ownership which was set in accordance the Hindu religious philosophy and daughters could not share ancestral property.

Mundhum doesn't directly talk about ancestral property partition to daughter or son. It talks that daughter should have the skill of weaving cloths - "thak thakma", and son should have skill of weaving baskets, phayet - winnowing tray, sappo - pannier, making plough set etc. It means, Mundhum focuses the skills not property. If someone doesn't bear child-"luksing", and that will be become of descendent extinct person; then his aputali-"luksing land and asset" remain under close relative of the same clan.

Yakthung Limbu daughters has been culturally practiced pewa system, in which, they are allowed to own personal property and business in their paternal home.

5.6 MOTHER TONGUE (LANGUAGE)

The Limbus themselves call as 'Yakthung' in their own mother tongue. Here, the term 'Yakthung' represents their caste name in their community. But, in their written document, provided by government offices like citizenship, 'Yakthung' is not mentioned, Limbu is found been mentioned there. They use '-pa/ba' suffix to indicate male and '-ma' to represent female. So, Limbu people very much commonly use 'yakthungba' and 'yakthungma' when they call to each other to recognize male and female respectively. And, following such 'Yakthung' term, they name Limbu language as 'Yakthung Pan'; they never say 'Limbu Pan' when they response to "What's your language?" 'Yakthung Pan'

pronounces as 'Yakthung-ban' too, it means, 'p' sound is glided into 'b' and such pronunciation will be occurred.

5.7 HABITATION

As cited by Subba (1999, p.1) to Oldfield, geographical habitation of the Limbus is, "The landmass lying on the Eastern or left of the Arun river and extending it to Tista River is the Limbuwan or the country of the Limboos (1858)". Considering the present boundary of Nepal, the Mechi and Koshi zones' all nine districts are known as Limbuwan which called Pallo Kirat in Rana reign and up to early in the Panchayat system regime.

Concerning to home habitation of the Limbus, the most of the scholars mentioned home structure of hilly region. Limbu houses are found in scattering positions in the hilly terrain fields. It means, the Limbu houses are not built in terrace group like Gurung or Magars or Newars. The unique feature of the front part of the Limbu houses is it usually faced to the following direction of the river. In Mundhum, the house is mention as "Lokpha Sing-khim." Here, "Lokpha" means "a kind of large bamboo" and "Sing-khim" means "wood-house". It simply suggests "Lokpha Sing-khim" means "a house made up of bamboo and wood". It hints us that primitive Limbu house was built by bamboos and woods. Observing the old houses of Limbu villages, it can be concluded those houses built using bamboo, wood, stones, mud and thatch. Such houses are found one, two or three stories with earthen floor in front of the door following yard and verandah.

5.8 ATTIRE (DRESS AND ORNAMENTS)

In accordance Mundhum, the attire of Limbu women are mekhli including phai and pathang, and the attire of men are taga including phai and paga. These attires are no longer used in day to day life of Limbus, however, they wear these dresses in formal programs. The Limbu women prefer to wear varieties of ornaments made up of gold and silvers. They wear ornaments on forehead (sammyang phung) and head (lagheng), nose (nebo phung, mundri), ears (nesse), neck (ka?u, yang itchhi [coin garland], phangsese? [kantha]), kandhi (necklace made up of red coral beads), wrist (hukpanggi) and hand fingers (swagep [ring]) and legs (langbanggi) etc.

6. FOOD HABIT

The Limbus generally take two principal meals a day, and two light meals as breakfast and Tiffin. They take break-fast in the morning around 7-8 A.M., launch round 10 o'clock, snacks or tiffin around one o'clock and dinner in the evening before they go to bed. Curry and bhat (rice) is their main meal which they take with curry and pickles. Categorically, Limbu foods can be mentioned as below.

(a) Stale Starchy Food Items: Papanda (made up of millet flour), lungghakcha (a variety of grinded green-corn), sigolya (a variety of wheat or barley flour) and penagolya (a variety of millet flour), kharen (a bread variety made up of millet or corn or wheat or buckwheat flour) and manda (a cooked soup) are the food varieties which categorically listed under stale starchy food items. Ha:kwa of rice-grain, another variety, is sued to serve the patients in Limbu society. All these food items are used as snacks.

(b) Curry Items: The curry items which are commonly consumed by Limbus are *Chembigi:k* (kinima; a curry dish prepared from fermented soybean), *yangben* (a particular type of moss which is grown in branches of *khechingse* [chestnut] or *wasama* [alder] trees as parasite plant) and *sargyangma* (a casing stuffed with spicy meat inside pork intestine tube). Same way, *wamyuk* (made up of using local fowl or chicken's burned feathers when it is used as chicken meat), *kasaksakpa* (a dried fried variety of pork fat) and *na:manaba phaksa* (a dried fried variety of pork meat) of pork, and *sagi sumbak* or *sasungge sumbak*, (sauce curry of nettle), *pha:ndo sumbak* (sauce curry of dry soybean flour), *phaksa-nudhi sumbak* (mixture curry of pork and spinach leaves) are also some other curry varieties are commonly consumed by Limbus.

(c) Pickle Items: The Limbus consume pickle items too, with their foods. The commonly consume pickles are as *philingge* (niger) pickle, *pha:ndo* (dry soybean flour) pickle, *yakkhose* (pumpkin seed) pickle, *kinima* (fermented soybean) pickle, *mesu* or *phe:ppa* (bamboo shoot) pickle, *singkee* (fermented radish) pickle, *kandyaruk* (fermented spinach) pickle, *yangben* pickle etc.

(d) Beverage Items: The Limbu people enjoy fermented and distilled type of beverages like *si:pmanaba THI* (filtered millet-grain beer), *tangba* and *sijangwa*. Among these three, the tangba is Limbu iconic beverage. The main source of Limbu beverage is *THI* or *jaand* (beer) which is prepared by cooking and fermenting whole grain millet. It can

be prepared from any grain like rice, barley, wheat, corn etc., too. However, the *tangba* is preferred the millet *THI*.

Hena Muma is hosting etiquette which is most essential in Limbus society especially hosting the guests.

7. PROVISIONS REGARDING SOCIAL SYSTEM IN MUNDHUM

Mundhum is basically an oral tradition which is a part and parcel of the culture of Kirat folks who claim as Kirat still to this date. So, it is said that the Mundhum is a concept that gives cultural identity to the whole of the Kirat People. If so, "each and every Kirat community pronounce same way the term Mudhum?" it may be the general question of concerning people. In the folks level, it is found various naming of Mundhum. Reconstructing the Mundhum term, Angdembe writes:

Although there are slight variations in the form, the term *mundhum* is widely used in the Kirat society: Limbu *mun-dhum*, Bantawa *mun-dum*, Chamling *mun-dum* (cf. Gaenzle 2002: 41), Mewahang *mud-dum* (also *muk-dum* or *mu-dum*), (Gaenzle 2002: 3), Yakha *mun-thum* (Limbukhim/Lingkha n.d.), Yamphu *min-dum*, Kuloung *ri-dum*, Thulung *dium-la*, Sunuwar *muk-dum salaku* (Werber Egli 1999: 37) <Kirat *mun-tum. (2011, p. 2)

From this reconstruction of the Mundhum terms, Kirat folks pronounce the mudhum term different ways by respective groups. The contents of Mundhum also found a bit differently in different language group of Kirat people.

According to Kirat Sampang Rai, an ethnic group from Rai community which comes under the Kirat umbrella, the Muddum [mundhum] recites that Rumahang creates the earth, water and air and insects. The Muddum describes that there in the sea shore, the foam assembled where white ant made its nest. Later, a deulingge, a type of mushroom was grown up there, which ate Sakslema insect and it became pregnant and gave birth human daughter Nayuma. When Nayuma became lass, with the help of sperm of Paruhang, which she drank along with water from a tree hole, she became pregnant. By then she gave four child such as Chapcha (tiger), Hangchha (human), Berpa (bear) and Hoga (dog). (pp. 2-5). Later, Hangchha's new generations set human cultures and civilization.

Sunuwar (2013) writes that what is mentioned in oral mundhum, it is said as mukdum in Sunuwar Koincha language, is as below:

In the philosophy of creation, great whirl emerged in beginning and endless black-hole vacuum milky-way and bright masses were created and, by then the supreme God Ingi was come out in existence. Ingi created nature, paternal soul, maternal soul and created earth named Dumaa Raagi and Mamaa Raagi. While the body was created to set the paternal soul and maternal soul, then fore-fathers and fore-mothers Suyu Kiki and Suyu Pipi were created there. And, in the body of fore-father and mother, Anilasiri, the power of Universe, and Paarmosiri, the power of earth was set and human genealogy was began in the earth. (p. 59)

Yakkha, another group of Kirat people, has the concept of that all the Yakkha rituals from birth to death are performed by the "Manghangwa" by reciting the "Munthum.", i.e. the "Thuture Beda" of Yakkha. According to the Yakkha the shaman "Manghangwa" was created from the invisible forces of god (KONGREN, 2007, p.143).

Then in Yakthung Limbu, one other group of Kirat people, has a bit different concept about the Mundhum. Etymologically, Mundhum term comprises "mun" (movement or motion) and 'thum' (power). In Limbu language, when combines two morphemes, initial sound of second morpheme will be influenced by final sound of former morpheme, by then, the initial sound of latter morpheme changes its form one into another. Because of such nature of Limbu language, when become compounding "mun" and 'thum" then 'th' glides into 'dh' because of preceding 'n' sound of 'mun' morpheme in "Mundhum" term.

The Mundhum is Holy Scripture mainly based on oral tradition. Indeed, it is scriptural knowledge and mythology, too. The Yakthung or Limbu Mundhum comprises creation of universe, creation of seas and rivers, creations of all herbs and plants, insects-animals (land and water) and birds, human being. Mundhum guides Limbu society providing ethical and moral education. The Mundhum itself inducts the all rites and rituals, do's and don'ts which have been guided the Limbu society for unknown ages.

Aforesaid descriptions generally indicate that Mundhum is different in some extent, but not completely. The difference areas are name of characters of myths found in Mundhum, languages through which Mundhum is recited, part of rituals or some rituals, and difference even in process of rituals. From the study of Mundhum term and other aspects, gradual spectrum is found from Wallo Kirat, the area of Kirat Sunuwar Koinch, Manjh Kirat the ancestral habitation of Kirat Rais and Pallo Kirat of Kirat Yakkha and Kirat Yakthung or Limbu people. For instance, Mundhum is called in Wallo Kirat as "Mug-dum", in Manjh Kirat it is called as "Mun-dum" by Bantawa, and in Pallo Kirat

"Mun-thum" by Yakkha and "Mun-dhum" by Yakthung Limbu. Same way all others myths of Kirat people found differently in spectrum exactly like rainbow colors spectrum.

In the Limbu Mundhum, tummyang (wise-persons) chumlung (council) system is great institution which runs the society. It is believed that first tummyang chumlung of human society was held in the ordinance of the Supreme God Tagera Ningwaphu Mang to give the justice to Bitch (a she-dog) of maid-servant of Suhampheba and Lahadongna who were brother and sister but they had illegal sexual intercourse and gave birth many children. The Tummyangs of first chumlung of human beings were "Nawara Samba, Sumona Samba, Samsingbung Samba, Muktubung Samba, Tappeso Samba, Yengaso Samba, Chonuso Samba and Khesewa Samba" (CHEMJONG, 2003, p.36).

Following decisions has been done Tummyangs of the Limbu society in the past and even present in some extent:

(a) Tummyangs are taken as eye-witness. All the shamans of the Limbu societies like Phedangma, Samba, Yeba and Yema perform their jobs under the guidance and eye witness of tummyangs.

(b) Chokphung: It is custom practiced by Yakthung Limbu to adopt outsiders or people of other tribes into their clan. It is also called Samyok-lung thim.

(c) Sasing La:pma: It is a custom to adopt others' children as own son or daughter in the presence of tummyangs.

(d) Mellung Phusingma: It is a custom to perform the final marriage ritual to transfer a woman to her husband's clan from her paternal clan. Without completing such custom, if she dies her husband or daughter and sisters can't do the death rites and rituals, all such authorities remain in paternal side. It will be generally done when married daughter cross 40 to 50 years.

(e) To control Kai Sodhok: Kai Sodhok means to maintain blood relation. If someone breaks it then it will be decided what should do or how such person will be punished.

(f) To determine Khosa: Here, khosa means a child whose father is not ascertained. Tummyangs play a role how to certain such child's father and settle the problem.

(g) La?ba Yang Phongma: If someone's wife remarriages with other person, in that time Tummyangs coordinate to refund a sort of compensation in cash or kind (which amount to the prices of ornaments, expenses of marriage, etc.) to be made or paid to the former husband of woman from her new husband.

(h) Lung Le:pma Thim: When siblings departed from their parents and share their ancestral land, the Tummyangs determine boundary and install the stone pillars to separate their respective areas reciting incantation to those stone pillars. It means Tummyangs conduct the partition of ancestral land to their siblings.

(i) Nangjan and Khemjang: The nangjang (divorce given by wife) and khemjang (divorce given by husband - it is terminologically exist but practically rare) process conducted under the guidance of tummyang (THEBE, 2012, p.52-55).

8. WHOSE GODS ARE WORSHIPED IN LIMBU HOME? AND, WHO IS THE ALMIGHTY GOD?

Most of the gods are worshiped in Limbu family are hosted from daughter-in-law or newly married woman. Those gods are transformed from grandmother to mother, mother to daughter and grand-daughter in sequential lineage.

Yakthung Limbu people perceive Tagera-Ningwaphu-Mang as universal, all-pervasive, omnipresent and almighty God. By gender, it is believed as female God. Subba (2013) explains about the Tagera-Ningwaphu-Mang that is the main route of all other god and goddess which are worshiped by the people who are Kirat Religion or Yuma Religion [Kirat religion is known as Yuma Religion in India] followers:

The members of Trinitarian Monotheistic Yumaism adherents believe in the existence of a Supreme Great Feminine Goddess - "Tagera-Ningwaphuma", Her matriarchal component *Yuma-Sam*, Her patriarchal component Hang-Sam or Thoba Pa-Sam, a host of spiritual external forces or energies - Sammangs (divinities) and Sammang-Chyangs (progenies and retinue of divinities); take part in all the ritualized practices (action on the beliefs) of Mangenna, Nahangma, Tongsing, Yagrangsing, Sappok Chomen, Yangdang Phongma, Metkam, Sam-sa:ma, Sam-chomma, Sitongsing Khema, etc. identifying them as the members of Yumaism adherents. (p. 3)

9. PITCHAMMA SAMMANG, SING SAMMANG AND KAPPO SAMMANG

Limbu people worship Mang (God), Sammang (good spirit) and Chyang (bas spirit). Mang especially Tagera Ningwphu Mang, believed as almighty all-pervasive and omnipresent, is just prayed with Holy Spirit. When they worship to Pitchamma Sammang and Sing Sammang they need to sacrifice the Karang-pit (heifer) and to worship Kappoba Sammang, they need to offer head of ox. But, after the unification of Limbuwan into Gorkhali State, by then it was interrupted and Pitchamma Sammang and Sing Sammang are offered pig or goat or he-buffalo by chanting it is heifer by the phedangma. Same way, phedangma offers buffalo head to worship to Kappoba Sammang chanting that it is head of ox. Why because, the state guided by Hindu philosophy, banned all these things declaring that cow is National animal.

10. CONTRASTIVE AREAS BETWEEN SOCIAL SYSTEM OF MUNDHUM AND FAMILY LAWS OF NEPAL

The Mundhum guided Limbu society's social systems are general but absolutely contradict with family laws of Nepal. Such confrontation found not only with family laws, which contradicts with the constitution, too. The Constitution of Nepal maintains that cow is national animal, but Mundhum is stimulating Limbus to sacrifice the young female cow to their many deities.

11. CONCLUSION

The Kirat-Limbus have their own philosophy, religion, culture, customs, rite and rituals, political system, economic system, lifestyle etc. fundamentally based in the Mundhum. World view of the Mundhum and Hindu philosophy guided laws and even constitution of Nepal contradict to each other. However, Nepal has ratified the Universal declaration of Human Rights Article 18 i.e. freedom of religion. If the Yakthung Limbu follows their religion that violate the State Law of Nepal. And, if Yakthung Limbu practices the State Law of Nepal that hamper the religion, culture and tradition of Limbu society. Constitutionally Nepal is declared as secular state but laws are against the freedom of religion, culture and tradition. So, family laws of Nepal should be amended to protect the religions, belief, culture, tradition of Kirat Yakthung Limbu.

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