



## **Delinking, Relinking, and Linking Methodologies: A Glimpse of Kirat-Yakthung (Limbu) Language, Writing, and Literacy**

Marohang Limbu<sup>1</sup>

Writing, Rhetoric, and American Cultures  
Michigan State University, USA

**Abstract:** Limbus (Limboos), who are also known as “Yakthungs” or “Kirat-Yakthung” or “Kirats,” have/had their own unique culture, language, writing, and Mundhum rhetorics. After “Nun-Paani Sandhi” (Salt-Water Treaty) in 1774 with Khas-Aryas, they (Khas-Aryans) ideologically and politically banned Limbus from teaching of their language, writing, and Mundhum rhetorics in Yakthung laje (Limbuwan). Because of the Khas-Aryan oppression, Limbu culture had/has become oral-dominant; Yakthungs used/use oral-performance-based Mundhum rhetorics to preserve their culture, language, histories, and Mundhum rhetorics. The main purpose of this article is to discuss the development of Kirat-Yakthung’s writing and rhetoric and/or rise-fall-rise of Yakthung script, writing, and literacy. The essay demonstrates how Kirat-Yakthung indigenous peoples are delinking (denaturalizing or unlearning) Khas-Aryan-, Indian-, and Western linguistic and/or cultural colonization, how they are relinking (revisiting or re-landscaping) their Susuwa Lilim and/or Sawa Yet Hang epistemologies, and how they are linking their cultural and linguistic identities from local to global level. In this essay, I briefly discuss delinking, relinking, and linking methodology, and how Kirat-Yakthungs are translating it into practice. This essay demonstrates Khas-Aryan intervention and/or Khas-Aryan paracolonial intervention in the development of Kirat-Yakthung writing and literacy, and Kirat-Yakthungs’ resistance for their existence.

**Keywords:** delinking, relinking, linking, paracolonialism, Mundhum, Kirat-Yakthung, Sawa Yet Hang, Susuwa Lilim

---

<sup>1</sup> Marohang Limbu is an assistant professor in the Department of Writing, Rhetoric, and American Cultures, Michigan State University, USA. Email: [Marohang@gmail.com](mailto:Marohang@gmail.com)

## Introduction

Limbus, who are also known as “Yakthungs” or “Kirat-Yakthungs” or “Kirats,” are one of the indigenous peoples of Nepal and India. Currently, Kirat-Yakthungs reside in Nepal, India (Sikkim, Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Manipur, and Assam, etc.), Bhutan, Thailand, and Burma to mention a few. Kirat-Yakthungs are historically known as Kirats who (Kirats) had ruled over Nepal for centuries before the Lichchhavi invasion from Baisali of ancient northern India. After the Lichchhavi invasion, they (Kirats) migrated to the eastern part of Kathmandu popularly known as “Kirat Pradesh” (Kirat region) that (Kirat region) had already been the abode of Kirat-Yakthungs (also known as descendants of Susuwa Lilims or Sawa Yet Hangs). After the “Nun-Paani Sandhi” (Salt-Water Treaty), Khas-Aryans divided the Kirat-Pradesh into three regions “Wallo Kirat,” “Majh Kirat,” and “Pallo Kirat” (Kandangwa, 1999, p. 47; Mabuhang, 2014, p. 172) for their colonial purpose. “Pallo Kirat” has been well known as Yakthung laje or Limbuwan as Yakthungs or Limbus are the native residents of the region (Sukkhim/Sikkim was also one of the “thums” of Limbuwan). Limbus have their own script “Sirijanga” redesigned by King Sirijanga in the 9th century upon the foundation of the ancient Kirat script. In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, Tye-Angsi Sirijanga II revived and/or redocumented this script with some reformations. From the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Khas-Aryans banned Yakthungs from teaching of Limbu language, writing, and Mundhum rhetorics. As the background information implies, the purpose of this essay is to demonstrate the politics of writing and rhetoric in Nepal; how Khas-Aryans labelled, distorted, and destroyed Limbu culture, script, writing, and Mundhum literacies; how Limbus have been delinking Khas-Hindu-, Indian-, and Western linguistic and cultural colonization; how they are relinking their Susuwa Lilim and/or Sawa Yet Hang knowledge; and how they are linking their Susuwa Lilim epistemologies from local to global level.

We (Yakthungs) were not called “Limbu” until the “Nun-Paani Sandhi” (Salt-Water Treaty) in 1774; Yakthungs also never use the term “Limbu” when we (fluent Limbu language speakers) communicate in Yakthung pan (Limbu language). Before, the “Nun-Paani Sandhi” in 1774, Sen Kings called Yakthungs “Raya” (/raza/) or “Rai.” Historically, neither were we “Raya” nor “Rai” nor “Limbu,” we were just popularly known and are still known as “Yakthung”; or we are the descendants of “Susuwa Lilim Yakthung” and “Sawa Yet Hang.” So, it is clear that “Limbu” or “Limboo” (Limbu is written as “Limboo” in Sikkim; Jobhansing Limbu, Chyangresing Phedangba, Randhoj Limbu, and Jit Mohan also wrote “Limboo” in the manuscripts from 1845-1857), “Subba” and “Raya” are political identities given by the local para-colonizers in order to distort and destroy our “Susuwa Lilim Yakthung,” “Sawa Yet Hang,” and/or “Kirat-Yakthung” identities. In this article, I will use “Yakthung” or “Kirat-Yakthung” to refer to “Limbu” and “Limboo” and/or I will use both “Yakthung” and “Limbu” alternatively. Similarly, I will use “Khas-Aryan” or “Penehang” or “Peni” to refer to “Bahun-Chhetri” because Yakthungs use/d the terms “Penehang” or “Peni” to refer to “Bahun-Chhetri” or “Khas-Aryan” (see Limbu, Phedangba, Limbu, & Mohan, 1846). We (Nepali indigenous peoples) tend to use “Kirat” to collectively address our identities such as Kirat-Yakthung, Kirat-Rai Yayokha, Kirat-Sunuwar, Kirat-Dhimal, Kirat-Aathpahariya, and so on. The term “Kirat” also refers to many other ethnic groups (or indigenous peoples) of Nepal such as Magar, Gurung, and Tamang, etc. (see Chemjong, 2003; Subba, 2015, p. 8), or the “term” Kirat refers to many other indigenous communities/peoples of South Asian- and East Asian regions such as Yakthung, Rai,

Yakkha, Aathpahariya, Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Sunuwar, Lapcha, Tharu, Chepang, Hayu, Danuwar, Payu, Koche, and Meche (“Kirat Leagueko Bibaran Patra” quoted in Baral & Tigela-Limbu, 2008, pp. 224-226; see also Kandangwa, 1999, p. 48; Subba, 2015); so, it remains as a fascinating area for further research. Concerning the Kirat demography, some Kirats such as Yakthungs, Rais, Sunuwars, and Dhimals moved to the eastern part of Nepal where other Yakthungs and/or Susuwa Lilims had originally lived for thousands of years; whereas, Magars and Gurungs, etc. moved to the western part of Nepal or lived in the same area/s. Since Kirat brothers and sisters did not meet for centuries, the Kirats living to the western part of Nepal stopped calling themselves as Kirat because Lichchhavis and other new settlers (Bahuns-Chhetris) culturally, linguistically, and religiously colonized them. The new settlers labeled them differently; they displaced their identities; they destroyed their identities; or their true identities got disconnected for centuries. Currently, they are seeking to delink colonization, relink their true epistemologies, and link their identities and agencies.

In this article, I will primarily focus on the politics of writing and rhetoric in the non-Western world (in this context, Nepal including India and beyond) to demonstrate how cultural identities, spatial identities, and subjectivities are ideologically and politically labelled, distorted, destroyed, and/or constructed or reconstructed. I will broadly discuss the development of Kirat-Yakthung literacy (script and writing; its rise, fall, and rise) in the history of Kirat or Kirat-Yakthung civilization; I will widely discuss how the Nepali Khas-Aryans systematically destroyed Yakthung language and literacy (script and writing) to distort, displace, and destroy Kirat-Yakthung epistemologies. My primary audiences of this essay are Kirat-Yakthungs who live across the world and are seeking for their cultural, linguistic, and geo-political identities including land-based identities. My secondary audiences are global indigenous peoples including linguistic minority peoples who have lost or are at the verge of losing their language/s and writing/s. Similarly, my audiences also include researchers, scholars, writers, and activists who study and/or advocate for minority languages and cultures. Through this essay, my audiences will theoretically and practically capture how they can delink colonization, how they can relink indigenous wisdom/epistemologies, and how they can link their identities locally and globally in the context of the 21<sup>st</sup> century networked global village.

## **Background information**

In the background information, I would like to talk about a telephone conference call that Kirat Yakthung Chumlung (KYC), USA (a globally popular Limbu organization) hosted in 2016. We had four major agenda to discuss over the conference call (will not discuss them here). The invitees were only Kirat-Yakthungs and all of them were males except the General Secretary. I was the fourth or fifth invitee to join the conference call, and there were almost 30-40 invitees altogether. As we were waiting for other progressive Kirat-Yakthung intellectuals, I and one of the invitees (who I recognized for a long time) started conversing in *Yakthung pan* (Limbu language). In the meantime, another Yakthung from the group strongly forbade us to communicate in *Yakthung pan* (that I never expected in my life). Kirat-Yakthungs have been always monolingual *Yakthung pan* speakers. However, the landscape of Limbu language speakers (have) changed due to Khas-

Aryan's or Penehang's mono-cultural, monolingual pedagogical ideologies and/or Khas-Aryan's one country, one language, one religion, and one culture ideology in Limbuwan (Limbu, 2016). Despite the fact that Khas-Aryans or Penehangs have forced Yakthungs to speak only Nepali; there are still thousands of Yakthungs who are monolinguals only, or they speak only Yakthung pan (but this landscape tends to be only in some remote villages in Limbuwan).

The particular incident that I mentioned above sparked a series of questions such as why do we forbid other Yakthungs from speaking our own language in our own progressive organization/s and social institution/s? Why do we hate our own language? Why do we hate our culture, body, and geo-political location? Who is ideologically and politically silencing us (Kirat-Yakthungs) in our own space, in our own home? Why are Yakthung folks mimicking Khas-Aryans, Indians, and Westerners to silence other Yakthung folks in their own home? And whose ideology, philosophy, and politics are Yakthung folks perpetuating to support the Peni's (Khas-Aryan) ideology. This setting ignited a series of questions such as why and how should we delink such Khas-Aryan paracolonial logic (will explain later)? How should we unlearn, delearn, or denaturalize such colonial school of thoughts? How are other Kirat-Yakthungs unlearning or denaturalizing such Peni norms that come in invisible forms in our communities? How can we relink our Sawa Yet Hang culture and make it more prestigious culture and language? How can we delink the Khas-Aryan cultural and linguistic colonization so that Yakthungs do not hate their own language, body, and culture? And how can we link and/or disseminate this knowledge from local to global level? Finally, what are the sites of delinking, relinking, and linking approaches in the Kirat-Yakthung communities in the context of the 21<sup>st</sup> century networked global village?

### **Historical Development of Kirat-Yakthung (Limbu/oo) Script, Writing, and Literacies**

Although I use the term "Kirat" quite often in this essay, I will not talk about "Kirat" and "Kirat civilization" (it will be another area of research); I will just imply general concept of "Kirat" and/or "Kirats" (Kirat people) in context/s; or I very briefly discuss the landscape of "Kirats" after the Lichchhavi invasion here. The Kirats had ruled over Nepal for centuries; Kirat Empire expanded from Northern Indian regions to East Asian regions (see Subba, 2015). Mughals invaded the Lichchhavis, and Lichchhavis escaped to Nepal; later, they invaded the Kirat Empire. After the invasion of Lichchhavis from Baisali, ancient northern India, some Kirats joined their other Kirat neighbors in Yakthung laje (including Darjeeling, Kalimpong, and Sikkim); whereas, some Kirats remained at the same place who are currently known as Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Chepang, Hayu, Koche, and Meche, etc. (see also Baral & Tigela-Limbu, 2008; Chemjong, 2003; Subba, 2015). After the Kirats migrated to the east, King Sirijanga (880-915 AD) became one of the prominent Kirat-Yakthung Kings in the Yakthung laje.

King Sirijanga (880-915 AD) was not only a popular Yakthung king, but also was a great philosopher, linguist, and rhetor. As king Sirijanga believed in the power of rhetorics both in oral and written communication, he (re)designed script now popularly known as "Sirijanga script" upon the foundation of ancient Kirat syllabary and/or ancient

Kirat writing system. Kirats, Tibetans, and Lepchas had very close socio-cultural, linguistic, and geo-political networks during Kirat reigns (before Wallo Kirat, Majh Kirat, and Pallo Kirat civilization started), and their writing systems or phonological systems were/are also quite similar. Though different linguists or scholars have different opinions on Kirat script (now Sirijanga script), Tibetan script, and Lepcha script (Rong script), Kirat writing had been popular for centuries before Tibetan systematized their script. For instance, Tibetan's narrative and/or literature suggests that great Tibetan scholar Thonmi Sambhota (a minister of Songtsen Gampo) went to the South in 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century (it could be "Kirat region") to learn about the script and writing (see "Tibetan Alphabet"). Later, King Sirijanga wrote the "Kirat Khahun Sapla" book of Mundhum and songs in this script (see Chemjong, 2003, p. 22-23; Limbu, 2016; Tambahang, 2007). In terms of continuation of Kirat writing, literacy, and rhetoric, there is an immense gap between the period of King Sirijanga and Tye-Angsi Sirijanga. For many researchers, scholars, historians, and writers, this gap has become an intellectually fascinating and challenging research area to question, contest, explore, and discover Kirat and/or Kirat-Yakthung histories, literacies, and rhetorics.

Tye-Angsi Singthebe (1704-1741 AD), also known as Sirijanga II, was a great Yakthung scholar, educator, orator, historian, philosopher, linguist, and activist. Tye-Angsi Sirijanga revived the Kirat or Kirat-Yakthung script (now Sirijanga script) based on the script and writing King Sirijanga re-introduced. Based on my research, there is not any literature that demonstrates the developmental sites of Kirat-Yakthung language, writing, and script from the 10<sup>th</sup> century to 17<sup>th</sup> century. Tye-Angsi Sirijanga II revived and redesigned Yakthung writing activities that King Sirijanga and Kirats founded by intersecting Sawa Yet Hang and Susuwa Lilim language and literacies (see also Kaila, 2016; Limbu, Phedangba, Limbu, & Mohan, 1846; Tambahang, 2007). Since the Khas-Aryans systematically destroyed this script after their invasion in Yakthung laje in 1774, Yakthungs again lost their script and writing. Brian Hudgson collected several Yakthung books from Darjeeling, Kalimpong, and Sukkhim from 1845-1857 for colonial purpose and transported them to Britain. RK Sprigg (a British linguist who spent most of his time researching and writing on Tibeto-Burman language families) brought some copies of the manuscript from the British Library, London to Yakthung laje in 1955 (will discuss in detail later). By critically studying and analyzing the written manuscripts of Tye-Angsi Sirijanga, RK Sprigg (1959, 1998) called him one of the greatest linguists of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Sprigg studied syllabary that Tye-Angsi Sirijanga re-designed and/or simplified from the old Sirijanga script, and Sprigg found them to have been the most scientific and well-structured syllabaries (1958, 1998).

Tye-Angsi Sirijanga believed that Yakthung indigenous peoples inherited Kirat and/or Sawa Yet Hang wisdom, knowledge, writing, literacy, and Mundhum rhetorics from their ancestors; they maintained it for centuries; therefore, they had to pass them down to their future descendants; they had to share them with the local and global communities. So, Tye-Angsi Sirijanga redesigned, popularized, and disseminated the script in Yakthung laje, Sikkim, and beyond. Tye-Angsi Sirijanga knew that writing is epistemic and/or communication in any form is knowledge making process. He not only preached Yakthungs, but also non-Yakthungs (Lepchas, Bhutias, and others) on the importance of language, writing, communication, Mundhum, and cultural rhetorics. He wrote on Kirat philosophies, Mundhums, Limbu grammar, histories, and literature (Limbu, 2016). Among

many other great works, “Mundhum Sapla” is one of his well-known Mundhum books. His teaching and writing encompass a huge range of Sawa Yet Hang pedagogies such as what constitutes learning and learned, good citizens and good culture, and good politics and pedagogies, etc. Tye-Angsi Sirijanga’s philosophical, conceptual, and Yakthung rhetorics have become the foundations upon which the 21<sup>st</sup> century Yakthung knowledge, literacy, and culture have been established.

In Sukkhim (Sikkim was called “Sukkhim”), the early 18<sup>th</sup> century was a period of Buddhist expansion (see Sprigg, 1959, p. 591; Tumbahang, 2007). So, while Tye-Angsi Sirijanga was disseminating Yakthung script (known as “Sirijanga” now) and writing in Yakthung laje (Limbuwan), Thasang Lamas (Buddhists) in Sukhimthum (Yakthung laje), created such cultural and religious knowledge that Yakthungs were also Buddhists or Lamas, and they prompted Yakthungs to follow Buddhism; they forced Yakthungs to read and write their scripts. Having known this misleading information, Tye-Angsi Sirijanga went to Sikkim (“Sukhimthum,” Yakthung laje) to persuade the Yakthungs that they had their own Yakthung culture, language, script, writing, and Mundhum rhetorics. Tye-Angsi Sirijanga was a very strategic rhetor; he knew the power of rhetorics. As soon as he gave some lectures to Sikkimi audiences, Yakthungs as well as non-Yakthungs pursued what he preached; they appreciated his philosophies; they valued his teachings. Having been persuaded by Tye-Angsi Sirijanga, Yakthungs including non-Yakthungs practiced what he preached. On the other hand, Thasang Lamas of Sikkim did not appreciate his teaching of script, writing, and religion; they (Thasang Lamas) feared that Yakthung (Sirijanga) script, writing, and Mundhums would replace their culture and writing. While Tye-Angsi Sirijanga was preaching and spreading Yakthung language, literacy, and Mundhum rhetorics in Sikkim, Thasang Lamas accused him of plotting against the Thasang Lamas, their culture, language, and religion. They eventually captured, tortured, and executed him in 1741 AD (Limbu, 2016: Limbu, Phedangba, Limbu, and Mohan, 1846; Mabuhang & Tunghang, 2013; Tumbahang, 2007).

### **Emergence of Paracolonialism in Yakthung Laje: Politics in Writing and Literacy after Khas-Aryan Invasion in Yakthung Laje**

Yakthungs always attributed supreme importance to the preservation of their culture, language, oral texts, and oral- and performance-based rhetorics. Kirat-Yakthungs were always shuttling between diverse issues, problems, and successes, to achieve their goals such as to document their histories, narratives, subjectivities, and Mundhum rhetorics to maintain their political, cultural, and literary identities, and to better portray their culture, Yakthung laje, and peoples for their descendants. Despite the fact that Yakthungs valued *phu?nesahood* (Kirat-Yakthung brother-sisterhood), Kirat-Yakthung collective power, and communal bond, there were leaders who were selfish and betrayed their own Kirat-Yakthung brothers and sisters (see Limbu, Phedangba, Limbu, & Mohan, 1846). As Yakthung laje was a prosperous and successful country then, and there were abundant political, economic, and cultural opportunities to achieve from Yakthung laje, Limbuwan; therefore, Prithvi Narayan Shah’s (Gorkha) soldiers attacked Yakthung laje (Limbuwan) for 17 times, but lost all of them to Yakthung soldiers.

As Prithvi Narayan Shah did not see any possibility to conquer Yakthungs by war, he requested for treaty between Gorkhas and Yakthung laje several times; he promised that Yakthung laje and Yakthungs would always remain independent state forever. All Yakthung Hangs (Limbu chiefs) did not accept the request/proposal; however, Yakthungs never feared to negotiate; they never negotiated out of fear; at the same time, they never feared to negotiate for the peace, progress, and prosperity of the Greater Nepal. By valuing the meaning of the Greater Nepal and their eternal independence, some Yakthung chiefs (many Yakthung call/ed them “traitors” as well) and Gorkha King agreed upon the “Nun-Paani Sandhi” in 1831 BS (1774 AD). In the treaty, they (King Prithvi Narayan and Yakthung Chiefs) swore upon their own God/s and promised that they would not betray each other, and Limbuwan would eternally remain “Independent state.” In case, if one group (either Yakthungs or Khas-Aryans) attacked another one, the God would destroy him and his descendants and would perish from this earth. Later, Khas-Hindus betrayed Yakthungs; they overlooked the “Nun-Paani Sandhi”; they disregarded the promise. Khas-Aryan gradually captured Yakthung land; they forced them (Yakthungs) to convert into Hinduism. Khas-Aryans also banned Yakthungs from teaching and learning of their language, writing, and rhetorics, and Yakthung laje became a “paracolonial” state (see also Powell, 2002; Vizenor, 1976 for theoretical, philosophical, and practical concepts); meaning, the colonizers have nowhere to go and live; they have become parasites or paracolonizers in the Yakthung laje forever.

Despite the Khas-Aryan oppression, Yakthungs sought a path to the search of communal existence or self-existence. In the course of seeking the Kirat-Yakthung political, cultural, economic, and religious paths, Yakthung indigenous people attempted to resist the Khas-Hindu oppression imposed upon them. Kirat-Yakthungs struggled to preserve their Susuwa Lilim cultural heritage and/or Susuwa Lilim historical epistemologies; they wanted to create their own communal norms and values upon the foundation of Kirat-, Sawa Yet Hang-, and Susuwa Lilim epistemologies. Despite Khas-Aryan oppression, Yakthungs wanted to teach Sirijanga script and writing; they wanted to preserve their histories, narratives, and Mundhum rhetorics. As the result, Yakthungs were captured, tortured, executed and/or banished from the Yakthung laje (Limbuwan). According to Jobhansing Limbu, Chyangresing Phedangba, Randhoj Limbu, and Jit Mohan (1846), the Khas-Aryans not only banished more than 32,000 Yakthungs from Yakthung laje, Limbuwan immediately after the Khas-Aryan invasion, but Khas-Aryans also assembled thousands of Yakthungs (mostly old people and children who did not want to leave their homeland or unble to walk with other Yakthungs to escape the execution) and executed them (shot and killed) in two different places in Phedap, Limbuwan (see also Limbu, 2016; Mabuhang & Tunghang, 2013; Nembang, 1987, p. 8). The execution of Yakthungs and banishment consistently and systematically continued from 1774 to 1990. As the Khas-Aryans had control over political, economic, and military power, they categorized Yakthungs in two groups—“Niti” and “Smriti”; they forced Yakthungs to kill each other. In so doing, Khas-Aryans for the first time created hatred, conflict, and jealousy among Yakthungs in Limbuwan.





Figure 1. “Nun-Paani Sandhi” (Salt-Water Treaty) Between Prithvi Narayan and Limbus

After the “Nun-Paani Sandhi,” Yakthungs and Gurkhas fought against the Sikkimi king; with the help of brave, fierce, and strategic Yakthung warriors, they defeated the Sikkimi soldiers; then Sikkim became a part of Gorkha Kingdom. After the “Nun-Paani Sandhi” (Salt-Water Treaty) Yakthung and Gorkha soldiers fought together, bled together, and died together to conquer small countries or states to build the Greater Nepal (also the war in the central and western Nepal implied). However, after Gorkha-Sikkim war was over, Yakthung and Gorkha soldiers cleaned their weapons (swords, guns, and shields) by the Tista River; there, Khas-Aryans executed many Yakthung soldiers accusing them that they were the supporters of Sikkimi king. According to Jobhansing Limbu,



Chyangresing Phedangba, Randhoj Limbu, and Jit Mohan (1846), Khas-Aryans put the water from Tista river in the ears of Yakthung soldiers, and those who shook their heads when the water entered in their ears were executed. So, the question is why was the suppression, oppression, and execution was so easy for Khas-Aryan? The clear answer is that Khas-Aryans as mentioned above divided Yakthungs into two groups; then they could do whatever they wanted to do on them. For instance, Khas-Aryans labelled the brave Kirat-Yakthung soldiers as terrorists, separatists, traitors, and executed them (see Limbu, Phedangba, Limbu, & Mohan, 1846; Mabuhang & Tunghang, 2013; Nembang, 1987). There are innumerable Khas-Aryan brutalities over Yakthungs; such Khas-Aryan brutality over the Yakthung was possible as they were able to divide Yakthungs. As the divided Yakthungs were weak, Khas-Aryans could easily rank them, label them, classify them, and control them for their purpose. As Yakthung community was divided, Khas-Aryans easily distorted Kirat-Yakthung culture, language, and knowledge; they easily disfigured Kirat-Yakthung social and cultural structures; they easily displaced our Kirat-Yakthung epistemologies, language, and literacies. Khas-Aryans destroyed almost all “moveable” Kirat cultural heritages; Khas-Hindus destroyed all Kirat and Kirat-Yakthung books, archival (Kirat) materials, and artifacts for centuries. There is not any exact record how many moveable Kirat heritages including books, archival materials they destroyed after they had entered the Kirat region (Wallo Kirat, Majh Kirat, and Pallo Kirat). Concerning the “immovable Kirat heritages,” Khas-Aryans distorted and/or displaced Kirati heritages; they replaced names of ethnic groups (from Yakthung to Limbu, Kirat to Athphari and so on), places, mountains, rivers, and hills with that of “Khas-Hindu” names. Khas-Hindus made the Kirat cultural heritages unrecognizable to Yakthungs. Sometimes, it feels like there are not any words that better describe how our motherland has been impaired, how our home has been annihilated, and how our civilization had been displaced and destroyed.

The Khas-Aryan brutality of past, their ecological contamination of present, and their stealing of Kirat-Yakthung’s future paralyze our subjectivities. To hide such Khas-Aryan atrocities, they destroyed Yakthung books, histories, official documents, cultural artifacts, and archival materials. The Khas-Aryan-centric government had systemically concealed and/or destroyed all Kirat-Yakthung (other indigenous peoples) histories, perseverances, sufferings, banishments, and executions. For example, I earned BA, BEd, MA (English), MA (Rhetoric), and PhD degrees and mastered the Khas-Hindu Nepali- and Western histories, cultures, languages (I speak six different languages); I also became expert in Western discourse, writing, and rhetorics. I, until recently, did not know anything about my own Susuwa Lilim history, Sawa Yet Hang traditions, Mundhum rhetorics, and Kirat-Yakthung culture. I am a Yakthung (Limbu), but I was not literate in my own culture, history, language, and literacy. My Yakthung knowledge was caged; my Kirat wisdom was imprisoned; my Sawa Yakthung knowledge was trapped in Khas-Aryan-, Indian- and/Western cultural ideals. I was programmed to see histories, cultures, and literacies only from Khas-Aryan- and Western lenses (like the person I mentioned earlier). Therefore, indigenous peoples’ critical thinking or writing becomes both historical and analytical one. It is because memorizing Sawa Yet Hang epistemologies is against forgetting; it is a knowledge making process; it is an identity seeking process; it is identity writing process; it is a space/place making process; it is a history making process; and it is also an inclusive and representational knowledge making process. And I call it

“Delinking, Relinking, and Linking Methodologies,” and it unveils realities. I will widely discuss this theory and practices in the following sections.

I started conducting Kirat-Yakthung research and writing as Dr. Nanda Joshi suggested me to write a book on endangered Kirat-Yakthung language and writing. Fortunately, my department—Writing, Rhetoric, and American Cultures, my college—College of Arts and Letters, and Asian Studies Center supported my research and travel. I conducted workshops and interviewed several historians, Mundhum samas/bas; I collected many narratives, histories, very old Kirat-Yakthung manuscripts, official documents, archival materials, and Mundhum documents. I went to the British Library, London to read and analyze Yakthung written documents (documented from 1845-1857 by Jobhansing Limbu, Chyangresing Phedangba, Randhoj Limbu, and Jit Mohan); I went to the Gurkha Museum, Winchester (UK) to study precious historical documents and/or historical multimodal documents. Finally, I knew what Kirat-Yakthung history is; why and how my cultural, linguistic histories, identities, and epistemologies were buried under ashes for centuries; I have realized why there is an urgency of Kirat and Kirat-Yakthung indigenous studies, Susuwa Lilim studies, and/or Sawa Yet Hang studies. I practically learned that there is not only one Truth or the Truth, but truths are multiple and are politically and ideologically constructed ones. I recognized other histories, but did not recognize my own culture and history. I also clearly understand that Yakthung (indigenous peoples) need to create their Kirat-Yakthung indigenous research methodologies for their self-discovery. In the process of self-discovery, delinking, relinking, and linking methodologies can facilitate to explore Yakthung epistemologies, Sawa Yet Hang subjectivities, and/or Susuwa Lilim agencies.

After the “Nun-Paani Sandhi,” thousands of Khas-Aryans migrated to the Limbuwan; the Khas-Aryans gradually confiscated our lands; they stole our properties; they shattered our dreams; they distorted and destroyed our Yakthung epistemologies (see also Kaila, 2049 BS, pp. 32-33; Mabuhang, 2017; Nembang, 1987). In other words, they not only settled in our homeland, but also humiliated, embarrassed, physically and psychologically tortured us, executed us, and banished us (see also Chemjong, 2003; Mabuhang & Tungkhang, 2013; Limbu, Phedangba, Limbu, and Mohan, 1846; Nembang, 1987;). As I mentioned earlier, the Khas-Aryan purpose was to distort Kirat-Yakthung culture, to disfigure Kirat-Yakthung socio, economic, and political structures, and to destroy Kirat-Yakthung subjectivities, identities, and agencies. Khas-Aryan central administration politically, economically, and militarily empowered the new settlers (Bahuns/Chhetris) in Limbuwan; they watched us with specific purpose, first to distort our culture, language, and Yakthung social institutions, then to completely displace and destroy them. The new settlers (Khas-Aryans) constantly accused Yakthungs of plotting against the Gorkha king/s; they tortured Yakthungs for nothing; they banished or executed Yakthung for nothing; they by force or coercion confiscated Kirat Yakthung lands and converted into “Birta,” “Kipat,” and “raikar” (see also Baral & Tigela-Limbu, 2008, pp. 46-47; Ingnam & Ingnam, pp. 44-67; Khajum-Limbu, 2069 BS, pp. 313-316; Mabuhang, 2017); they raised land taxes in Limbuwan so that Yakthungs would not be able to pay the property taxes; Khas-Aryans authorities like Janga Bahadur Rana forced Yakthungs to wear *janai* (thread that Hindus wear around their neck and shoulder) and to convert into Hinduism (see Nembang, 1987, pp. 10-11). As Yakthungs could not endure such Khas-Aryan brutalities, and as they could not pay the land taxes, a huge number of

Yakthungs left the Limbuwan forever to settle in alien spaces such as Bhutan, Assam, Manipur, Burma, and Thailand (see also Chemjong, 2003). Similarly, Khas-Aryans banished Yakthungs who advocated for Sirijanga script, Yakthung pan, and Yakthung Mundhum literacies.

Yakthungs or Yakthung communities have always been the prey of preys in relation to cultural, linguistic, and epistemic colonization. They were not only corrupted by the Khas-Aryans, but also by the Western colonizers (based on my experience, Yakthungs need to unlearn or denaturize the way they were oriented in Khas-Hindu social institutions and/or Western colonial and invisible politics). For instance, as Yakthungs were not allowed to teach and/or learn Yakthung pan in Yakthung laje, many Yakthungs left the Limbuwan (by force or coercion); these banished Yakthung scholars or Sikkimi Yakthungs (Sikkim has always been abode of Yakthungs) wrote several Yakthung books, Mundhums, Yakthung histories, narratives, and genealogies (in Sirijanga script) in Sikkim. Later, Francis Hamilton (Buchanan) by 1819 collected books from Yakthungs; A. Campbell collected Limbu books from Ilamsing Limbu by 1840; and B. Hudgson collected Limbu books from 1846 to late 1850s. These European colonial agents went to Sikkim, Kalimpong, and Darjeeling to collect information on Yakthung culture, language, and Mundhum rhetorics during colonial era in India. Their purpose, to study Limbu culture, was to be familiar with Yakthung culture including Lepcha culture and to finally invade Yakthung laje, Sikkim, and Tibet and they did; they attacked Tibet in 1904 (from multimodal archival material from Gurkha Museum, UK). We do not exactly know how many Yakthung books, Francis Hamilton took from Yakthungs before 1820. Many Yakthungs claimed that Arthur Campbell collected (procured) many Yakthung books from the Sikkimi Minister Ilamsing Limbu and his family members (see Kaila, 2017; Sprigg, 1959, 1998). Brian Hudgson collected dozens of books from Sikkim after 1845; he also had Limboo (Yakthung) writers such as Jobhansing Limbu, Chyangresing Phedangba, Randhoj Limbu, and Jit Mohan write books on Yakthung Mundhums, Sirijanga scripts, Yakthung culture, Kirat or Kirat-Yakthung histories, stories, and Mundhum philosophies from 1845-1957. The Tye-Angsian writing and literacies Jobhansing Limbu, Chyangresing Phedangba, Randhoj Limbu, and Jit Mohan reframed was the early sites of delinking, relinking, and linking approaches in the context of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Yakthung rhetoric and writing studies.

As the books written by Jobhansing Limbu, Chyangresing Phedangba, Randhoj Limbu, and Jit Mohan including Tye-Angsi Sirijanga's books were transported to Europe (Britain and Germany as Yakthungs mentioned), Yakthungs of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century believed that Yakthung books had/have been safely preserved in the European libraries. Later, R. K. Sprigg also met many Yakthungs who told him that Francis Hamilton, A. Campbell, and B. Hudgson took their books from them, and they promised that they would safely preserve the books in Britain and Germany (see Sprigg, 1959, 1998). R. K. Sprigg (1959, 1998) mentions that there were not as many books as Yakthungs mentioned in the British Library, London; Sprigg found some Yakthung books in the British Library. We still do not know the whereabouts of the books collected by Campbell from Ilamsing Limbu from Sikkim in the early 1840s. When I, Ganga Rai-Subba, Harkajang Kurumbang Limbu, and Bhima Khapung visited the British Library in 2016, we found only 10+ volumes: 58, 73, 74, 78, 79, 80, 84, 85, 86, 88 and 89 (see figure 2); the books were transported to the British Library, London by Brian Hudgson. Concerning the condition of the books, the

books were/are also quite improperly arranged and bound; the page numbers of many books were/are not properly arranged; the pages were/are also not properly arranged such as many pages were/are also placed improperly or were placed in wrong volumes.

Despite Khas-Aryans' destruction of the Yakthung books, Mundhum books, and official documents in Limbuwan, some Yakthungs hid their books and secretly learned to read and write at their homes, and Yakthungs like Lalshor Sendang (1840-1926) learned to read and write; Lalshor Sendang and his cronies advocated for the Yakthung language and literacy; they encouraged Yakthungs to read and write; they encouraged their Yakthung folks to study histories and Mundhums. To weaken the Lalshorian language and literacy campaign, the Khas-Hindu-centric Nepali Government forced the Yakthungs (from age 18-50) to compulsorily join the army during World War I (WWI) (see Nembang, 1987, p. 12) to disperse the Yakthung collective power. Among many young Yakthungs, Phalgunanda (Phalamsing) Lingden was the one who joined the army during WWI. When young Yakthungs were away from their homes and/or from Limbuwan, Penehangs (Khas-Aryans) waged the campaign to torture and execute old and young Yakthungs. Similarly, to humiliate and disgrace Yakthung communities, Khas-Aryans raped their daughters and wives; then they forced Yakthungs to give all Mundhum books, genealogical books, and other important documents. During the WWI, Khas-Aryans burned more than 30,000 Limbu books, documents, and official documents in Chainpur, Limbuwan (see Baral & Tigela, 2008; Mabuhang & Tunghang, 2069 BS; Nembang, 1987, p. 12). Many other Yakthungs who advocated for their language and literacy were either executed or banished from the Limbuwan, and Lalshor Sendang was one of them; he was banished in 1914 when he was 74 years old (Kandangwa, 1999, p. 49). Sendang's last wish was to die in Limbuwan, but Khas-Aryans did not allow him to reenter the Limbuwan (Nembang, 1987, p. 12). By dispersing the Young Limbu power during WWI, the Khas-Aryans destroyed all Yakthung cultural artifacts, historical archival documents, Limbu genealogical books, and Shah and Yakthung official signed contract documents; they systematically destroyed Yakthung history; they attempted to make Yakthungs, the people without culture, texts, and language. Penehangs tortured Yakthungs; they humiliated and disgraced Yakthungs; they banished or executed Yakthungs; and they confiscated our lands and distributed to Khas-Aryans as "Birta."

The Khas-Hindus continuously classified, described, and ranked Kirat-Yakthungs as inferior ones. Khas-Hindu's geo-graphic and body-graphic politics of knowledge construction worked effectively as they had/have control over the political power, military power, and economic power. They portrayed Limbuwan and Limbus as a motionless, static, savage, and predictable, or the Khas-Aryans did whatever they wanted for their purposes. They describe/d and label/ed Yakthungs as traitors and separatists so that they can/could humiliate, dominate, and torture, and jail or banish Yakthungs any time from Yakthung laje, Limbuwan. In short, from the "Nun-Paani Sandhi" or Prithvi Narayan Shah's administration to current Khas-Aryan centric administration (as of now), they (Khas-Aryans) did nothing for the development of the nation and indigenous peoples; they abused political power and military power to suppress Yakthungs including other indigenous peoples and minorities (also dalits, Muslims, and poor Khas-Aryans implied) in Nepal. At the same time, Khas-Aryans also regularly taught their children that Yakthungs including indigenous peoples (Limbu, Rai, Magar, Gurung, Dhimal, etc.) are inferior to Khas-Hindus; they constantly taught indigenous peoples via Khas-Hindu

social/academic institutions that Yakthungs and other indigenous peoples are inferior in caste, language/writing, culture, and religion (personal communication with Manju Mishra, professor Mahendra Multiple Campus, Dharan; see the detailed information in my upcoming book). The Khas-Hindu ideology has always been geo-graphic, body-graphic, and caste-graphic, and I have never met any Khas-Aryans (specially educated folks) who respected Nepali indigenous peoples, their cultures, and their social institutions. When I hear (meet) Khas-Aryans (specially educated folks), they always denigrate Limbus, Rais, Magars, Gurungs, and Tamangs in their group conversations. In 2016, I met and talked to one of the Nepali ambassadors to the USA who was openly declaring that Nepali indigenous peoples are separatists, racists, and anti-nationalists (and I, one of the indigenous activists/scholars, was sitting by the ambassador). This suggests that Khas-Aryans can say and/or are oriented to say anything or they can do anything as they have political and military supports (in Nepal).



Figure 2. A few Yakthung (Limbu) Books (in The British Library, London), collected by B. H. Hudson from Sikkim from the mid 1846 to late 1857

Gradually, Khas-Aryans created binaries that have been caste-graphic, body-graphic, and geographic, etc. Like Bairagi Kaila (2017) states the Khas-Aryan created Nepali social institutions in such a way that all minorities, indigenous peoples, and women were inferior. Through the social institutions, they programmed all minorities and indigenous peoples that they were lesser, and though Khas-Aryan lived in the stolen Yakthung lands, they did not give any space to Yakthung indigenous people; Limbu cultural identities, agencies, and spaces were ignored (see also Kaila on Mundhum,

2017). The Khas-Aryan Nepali government invariably portrayed Limbu culture as uncivilized culture; Limbus as savage people; though Khas-Aryans lived in the Limbuwan, they still have a blind spot of Khas-Aryan ideological thinking. They oriented all Khas-Aryans including non-Khas-Aryans to see from their Khas-Hindu perspective/s. As the result, Yakthungs view Yakthung cultures from the Khas-Aryan ideological lenses; and we hate/d to speak our language; we despise/d to write in our script; finally, we have become the peoples (Khas-Aryan puppets) that I mentioned in the background information—it did not serve “our purpose/s”; it served Peni “purpose/s” only.

### **Delinking, Relinking, and Linking Methodologies: Kirat-Yakthung Indigenous Epistemologies, Writing, and Literacies**

As mentioned in the essay, Khas-Aryans by force or coercion colonized Yakthung knowledge in the Khas-Hindu social institutions for centuries. Khas-Aryan banned Yakthungs from teaching of Sirijanga script (Kirat-Sirijanga script), their language, writing, and Mundhum rhetorics. Like the person I mentioned in the background information, Yakthungs were persistently taught to hate their own language through Khas-Aryan social institutions. Khas-Aryans culturally and linguistically colonized Sawa Yet Hang and/or Susuwa Lilim knowledge for centuries. As Khas-Aryan colonized Yakthungs for centuries, Sawa Yet Hang epistemology has been paralyzed; Susuwa Lilim knowledge has been petrified; Yakthung knowledge has been impaired for centuries. As the result, Yakthungs started viewing themselves from Khas-Aryan-, Indian-, and Western lenses; they started viewing their language and writing from Khas-Aryan terministic screens. In the context of the 21<sup>st</sup> century networked global village, Yakthung knowledge and/or Yakthung epistemology needs to be de-naturalized; they need to be de-colonized in multiple fields and in multiple ways. As Walter Mignolo (2007) an indigenous scholar contends, “...one strategy of de-linking is to de-naturalize concepts and conceptual fields that totalizes A reality” (p. 459). In Mignolo’s own language the process of delinking needs a different epistemic grounding such as the geo- and body- politics of knowledge and understanding (p. 462). In the process of epistemic delinking in the history of Yakthung rhetoric and writing, Yakthungs or the descendants of Sawa Yet Hang and/or Susuwa Lilims have to culturally, linguistically, ideologically, and pedagogically deconstruct the Khas-Hindu body- and caste-based politics of knowledge construction.

Similarly, relinking process is a form of Sawa Yet Hang and/or Susuwa Lilim epistemic project that occurs simultaneously with delinking process; in this process, the descendants of Sawa Yet Hang or Susuwa Lilim Yakthung will delink Khas-Hindu-, Indian-, and Western cultural, linguistic, economic, and political colonization and relink to Susuwa Lilim Yakthung culture and/or Kirat epistemology or Kirat civilization. Kirat-Yakthungs relink Sawa Yet Hang indigenous knowledge; they relink Susuwa Lilim culture and civilization. The descendants of Sawa Yet Hang, via delinking and relinking research methodologies, critically study Sawa Yet Hang architecture of culture, education, and life style; they study how Sawa Yet Hang and/or Susuwa Lilim created, circulated, and maintained inclusive and representational subjectivities and spaces in Sawa Yet Hang and Kirat or Kirat-Yakthung cultures. The relinking process explores historical and philosophical dimension of indigenous knowledge, i.e. Sawa Yet Hang and Susuwa Lilim

rhetoric, writing, and Mundhum rhetorics. The delinking and relinking process seeks to re-articulate Sawa Yet Hang indigenous knowledge; it seeks the processes and practices of de-naturalizing Khas-Hindu, Indian, and/or Western cultural and linguistic colonization. Then, it seeks to perpetuate and practice the process of naturalizing, adapting, and solacing Sawa Yet Hang and Susuwa Lilim epistemologies.

Our Kirat-Yakthung including global indigenous peoples' struggle is the process of being, becoming, and belonging, for we know that traditions do not exist by themselves; they have to be communicated, contested, challenged, processed, constructed, and re/invented for our purposes. Yakthungs understand that indigenous people's way of style is not who they actually are; their body, knowledge, and way of life, as I mentioned in background information, is constructed in Khas-Aryan social institutions. Therefore, Yakthungs theoretically, conceptually, and methodologically believe that we need to de-naturalize and unlearn Khas-Hindu-, Indian-, and Western colonization and/or logic of colonization; we need to re-articulate Sawa Yet Hang knowledge and indigenous people's spatial and temporal epistemology from the 21<sup>st</sup> century global village perspective. The delinking and relinking process is like sowing the seed of Sawa Yet Hang-, Susuwa Lilim-, and Yakthung indigenous epistemologies. This approach will relink to Yakthung indigenous historical and epistemic foundation such as Sawa Yet Hang epistemologies, Susuwa Lilim civilization, and Kirat culture. In so doing, Yakthungs will learn Kirat-Yakthung rhetorics, writing, and Mundhum rhetorics upon the foundation of Sawa Yet Hang and Susuwa Lilim histories, narratives, and philosophies.

Similarly, linking methodology refers to exploring, discovering, and constructing Sawa Yet Hang and Susuwa Lilim knowledge and aligning them to local and global level in the context of the 21<sup>st</sup> century digitally networked global village. For linking project, we—indigenous progressive intellectuals—have to question, contest, and negotiate our multiple identities from the local to global level. In linking process, we (indigenous scholars/peoples) bring traditional indigenous wisdom, knowledge, histories, narratives, and Mundhum rhetorics and update them from the 21<sup>st</sup> century's networked context. The questioning, contesting, and negotiating spaces will offer us both psychological and physical spaces for our being, becoming, and belonging as the owners of Limbuwan. In this process (linking process), indigenous peoples will network with global indigenous activists, indigenous orators, and/or oral performance-based rhetors (story tellers), scholars, activists, and writers, and they collectively and evidently will demonstrate how indigenous rhetorics should be an alternative pedagogy both academic institutions and social institutions all across the world. One of the pertinent objectives of delinking, relinking, and linking methodology is to collectively research, explore, digitally document, systematize global indigenous rhetorical traditions, and institutionalize global indigenous rhetorics. Delinking, relinking, and linking approach will create a newer global indigenous academic and social foundation upon which our future indigenous peoples, activists, and scholars will be able to create global indigenous-centric pedagogies (i.e. democratic, inclusive, and representational pedagogies or more respectful, relational, and welcoming pedagogies). From this perspective, delinking, relinking, and linking methodology is not only the way of repairing physical and psychological wounds inflicted by the colonizers, but it is also an intellectual and/or philosophical way of challenging ideological mindsets or colonial institutions that impaired our learning abilities and/or petrified Sawa Yet Hang, Kirat, Kirat-Yakthung epistemologies. Furthermore, delinking, relinking, and linking



approach is memorizing Sawa Yet Hang epistemologies against forgetting; it is a knowledge making process; it is an identity seeking process; it is a physical and psychological wounds healing process; it is a space/place seeking process; it is a history remapping process; and it is our ancestors and our descendants' relationship bridging process.

The discussion of local colonialism should not be misunderstood like the traditional European- and/or Western colonialism. In traditional contexts, the colonizers had to leave the colonies such as British colonies (India, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Nigeria, etc.) and so on. Now, local colonialism is known as "paracolonial" context (see Powell, 2002; Vizenor, 1976) in which colonizers and colonized co-exist, have to co-exist, and will co-exist forever. Meaning, the colonizers or new settlers are not supposed to leave the places where they are ideologically and politically colonizing the indigenous peoples (Limbuwan in the context of Nepal). What I am arguing in delinking, relinking, and linking methodology is that in paracolonial context, colonizer and colonized people's political spaces, cultural spaces, linguistic identities, and bureaucratic spaces must be mutually contested, negotiated, and constructed. What we (indigenous people) expect from the new settlers in paracolonial context is that global and local knowledge should be inclusively and representationally constructed; we all have to value, validate, and respect each other's culture, language, history, and social practices. Delinking, relinking, and linking philosophies and practices should not create another cancerous hierarchical binaries based on race, caste, creed, gender, gender orientation, and color. We should create cultures, academia, and pedagogies that invariably value, respect, and maintain democratic, inclusive, and representational practices in which all language, body, sexuality, belief, and creed have equal playing field.

### **Process of Reclaiming Kirat-Yakthung Space and Identities: Resisting Khas-Aryan-, Indian-, and Western Colonization**

After the foundation of "Shree Yakthung Hang Chumlung" in Kalimpong in 1925, Yakthungs constantly and consistently have been challenging the Khas-Aryan's well-structured social inequalities and have been endeavoring to denaturize cultural and linguistic colonization. Yakthungs have been relinking their Susuwa Lilim identities; they have been advocating for their social, physical, and academic identities in Limbuwan from the foreign soil (as it was impossible from home). Yakthungs have been seeking for Yakthung identities, Kirat identities, and Sawa Yet Hang indigenous identities; and their collective struggle (from Limbuwan, Sikkim, Darjeeling, and Kalimpong, etc.) was/is for their current survival and survival for their future generations. Yakthungs officially or unofficially wanted to gradually establish Yakthung organizations to promote as well as to maintain the teaching and learning of their language and writing. Although linguistic, cultural, and religious activist Tye-Angsi Sirijanga was killed for his teaching Yakthung language and Mundhum philosophies, Yakthungs' love of writing and literacy did not vanish; their hope of being, coming, and belong did not fade away. Although Khas-Aryans tortured, executed, and banished Kirat-Yakthungs for their love of language, culture, and writing, their passion of learning, researching, and documenting culture, language, and rhetorics did not decline. Khas-Aryans had destroyed all Yakthung books, cultural

artifacts, historical archival materials, and social structures, or Khas-Aryans tortured, executed, and/or banished Yakthungs, but they never gave up pursuing what their ancestors preached. To intensify their campaign, Yakthungs founded their social institutions in several different places; they founded “Shree Yakthung Hang Chumlung” in Kalebung or Kalimpong (1925); “Akhil Bharatiya Kirat Chumlung Association” in Darjeeling (1967); “Akhil Burma Kirat Sangh” in San State in Burma (1963); “Akhil Sikkim Chong Samaj” in Sikkim; “Kirat Samaj” in Nepal and in many other places (“Kirat Sahitya Pracharak Samitiharu”; see also Kandangwa, 1999, p. 50). Yakthungs collectively engaged in teaching, learning, and/or promotion of Kirat-Yakthung script, writing, literature, and Mundhum rhetorics. Despite countless trials and tribulations, Yakthungs attributed utmost importance to the preservation of their culture, language, oral texts, and oral- and performance-based rhetorics. Yakthung continued to struggle to seek their own-networked path/s for their- and/or for their future generation’s existence. In the networked path/s, colonized indigenous Yakthungs learned to de-naturalize the Khas-Hindu and/or Western structured colonization imposed upon them.

In the process of resistance for Yakthung existence, Kirat-Yakthung collectively networked with their fellow Yakthungs and other Kirats (Rai, Gurung, Tamang, and Newar, etc.) whether they continued to live in Limbuwan or elsewhere as banished Yakthungs and/or as natives (in Sukhimthum). They collectively started delinking Khas-Aryan cultural, linguistic, and political colonization. Those Yakthung living in the Limbuwan continued to resist Khas-Aryan oppression, domination, and subjugation as they knew that their resistance was for their existence—their existence as Susuwa Lilim Yakthungs. By unlearning and/or denaturalizing Khas-Aryan including Indian and Western colonial subjugations, they continued to relink the Susuwa Lilim culture; they continued to relink Sawa Yet Hang epistemology and/or Kirat knowledge, culture, and civilization. Although Penehangs dismantled social, religious, linguistic, political, and economic structure of Yakthungs or Kirat-Yakthungs, they gradually relandscaped them; they, via different networks, linked their cultural, linguistic, and political identities at the local to global levels. Yakthungs inherited Kirat and/or Sawa Yet Hang knowledge from their ancestors; they grappled to maintain it; they struggled to circulate it to other global (indigenous) communities; they also struggled to pass it down to their future generations. Therefore, for Kirat-Yakthungs (including for indigenous peoples of the world), delinking, relinking, and linking methodology is the process of recovery and/or process of re-articulation of Kirat knowledges, Sawa Yet Hang spaces, and Susuwa Lilim subjectivities. Yakthungs struggle to self-discovery directly or indirectly challenged Khas-Hindu or Western body-, caste-, and race-graphic hegemony that creates binaries and/or hierarchies based on color, caste, gender, and sexual orientations. Yakthungs resistance for their creative existence was/is not the process of creating another hierarchical space/s based on body, gender, language, caste, geo-political location, and sexual orientation, but it is a creative, constructive, and inclusive process” of mutually building democratic spaces and subjectivities in the context of the 21<sup>st</sup> century globalized world.

As soon as Yakthungs founded “Shree Yakthung Hang Chumlung,” they invited Lalshor Sendang (a great Limbu scholar and linguist who was banished by Khas-Aryan from Limbuwan, Nepal) to teach Sirijanga script, writing, and Mundhum rhetorics. The notable Yakthungs then were: Subedar Harkadal Makkhim, Mandal Jitbahadur Thebe, Daronga Dhanraj Phenduwa, Mandal Hangsaraj Thegim, Buddhiman Chemjong,

Kulahang Chemjong, Nirmal Ongling, Jasbahadur Songbangphe, and Imansing Chemjong, etc. to mention a few (see Kaila, 2049 BS). The “Shree Yakthung Hang Chumlung” became a Yakthung intellectual *chumlung* (contact zone or network space) for Yakthungs that empowered them to speak for themselves for their identity, subjectivity, and agency. It not only rejected Khas-Aryan systemic binaries of knowledge construction, but it also challenged well-structured Khas-Aryan social inequalities based on geopolitical locations (Limbuwan implied). It advocated against Penehang’s weaponizing Khas-Hindu ideology to destroy Kirat and/or Sawa Yet Hang knowledge (indigenous knowledge). Yakthungs or Kirat-Yakthungs created Yakthung indigenous discourse that prevailed indigenous knowledge from local to regional hemisphere (Nepal, Sikkim, Kalimpong, Darjeeling, Bhutan, Assam, Burma, and Thailand, etc.). Yakthungs’ delinking and relinking approach was to “live like Yakthung”; their approach was to “practice and feel Yakthung culture”; their search was for “being Yakthung,” “becoming Yakthung”, and their pursuit was belonging in Kirat-Yakthung cultures as our forefathers did.

“Shree Yakthung Hang Chumlung” (1925) created safer spaces or braver spaces for Yakthungs from where they could relink and/or revisit Sawa Yet Hang culture and Susuwa Lilim civilization. Via the regular interactions, Yakthungs learned that Tye-Angsi Sirijanga re-designed the Kirat-Yakthung script, taught it, and made it popular within Limbuwan and beyond. They learned that Thasang Lamas executed Tye-Angsi Sirijanga for his teaching and/or promoting Yakthung script, writing, and Mundhum rhetorics; so, they (Yakthungs) unanimously decided to name of the script “Sirijanga script” (Bairagi Kaila, 2016; Laoti, 2016; A. J. Limbu, 2016; Nugo-Limbu, 2015). Yakthungs, then, wrote more than dozen of Yakthung books. Some of the published books were:

1. Tum Yakthung Ningwaphu Sapla (1928) by Subedar Bajbir Subba (see figure 3)
2. Nisigek Yakthung Sapla (1931) by Imansing Chemjong and Bajbir Thalang (Subba)
3. Yakthung Sewa Samlo (1930) by Kaalusing Papo
4. Kirat Yakthung Mundhum (1931) by Buddhiraj Phago and Jasman Sangwa
5. Mad-pan Nisedh (1930) by Harkajang Makhim
6. Sabda Sangrah (1930) by Harkajang Makhim
7. Kirat Barnamala (1931) by Ser Bahadur Neyonghang and Mohan Lal Hangum = the medium of print of litho and was published from Mewakhola, Taplejung, Limbuwan.
8. Yakthung Hisab Hapla (1925-1935 ish)
9. Sirijanga Mundhum Sapla (1925-1935 ish)
10. Sumsigek Mundhum Sapla (1925-1935 ish)
11. Tummyakthung Sapla (1931) by E. K. Bahadur Sereng
12. Tummyakthung Sapla (n/y) by Nirmal Limbu
13. Kirat Barnamala (n/y) by Sherbahadur Meyohang and Mohanlal Hangam
14. Kirat Mundhum (n/y) by Tilaksing Nugo

(see Birahi Kaila, 2049 BS, pp. 43-44)

Bajbir Subba (Tholang) published “Tum Yakthung Ningwaphu Sapla” in 1928; Bajbir Subba and Imansing Chemjong also published “Nisigek Yakthung Sapla” in 1931. Yakthungs also founded “Zambuk Junior Basic School” in 1938 in Kalimpong, and Limbu script and language was first taught there (see figure 4).



Figure 3. Bajbir Subba's "Tum Yakthung Ningwaphu Sapla" (Source: Ambar Jang Limbu)

Concerning the development of Sirijanga script and writing, Bajbir Subba (Tholang) and Imansing Chemjong played a great role. Bajbir Subba's book "Tum Yakthung Ningwaphu Sapla" (1928) became very popular in Yakthung communities in Nepal and beyond. Subba and Chemjong started collaborating, networking, and writing; they together published a book "Nisigek Yakthung Sapla" in 1931. Despite the fact that they were the Yakthung frontiers of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Imansing Chemjong did not know Yakthung pan (Limbu language) and Bajbir Subba did not know "Sirijanga" script well (Bairagi Kaila, 2016; A. J. Limbu, 2016; Laoti, 2016; see also Kaila, 2049 BS). In one of my meetings with Yehang Laoti, Laoti showed me a letter written by Chemjong to demonstrate his (Chemjong's) proficiency in Yakthung pan. Similarly, Birahi Kaila (2049 BS) also mentions that he (Kainla) was so embarrassed when Chemjong spoke Yakthung pan (2049 BS). It is obvious that Bajbir Subba and Imansing Chemjong contributed to the development of Sirijanga script, writing, and literacy; sadly, they, including other Yakthungs, were not well informed of Tye-Angsi Sirijanga syllabary until R. K. Sprigg (Tibeto-Burman linguist) brought some copies of Yakthung manuscripts in 1955, written

by Jobhansing Limbu, Chyangresing Phedangba, Randhoj Limbu, and Jit Mohan (see also “Bhumika” by Chemjong; Kaila, 2049, p. 200). Yakthungs (Imansing Chemjong, Randhoj Nembang, and Kajiman Kandangwa, etc.) knew how much they distorted the Tye-Angsi Sirijanga script as they did not know anything about the books that had been written in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century by Jobhansing Limbu, Chyangresing Phedangba, Randhoj Limbu, and Jit Mohan.



Figure 4. Zambuk Junior Basic School, estd.1938 (Credit: Roman Phembo Limbu)

As Bajbir Subba (Tholang), Imansing Chemjong, and Randhoj Nembang including other Yakthung scholars did not know about the Tye-Angsian Sirijanga script, unfortunately, the writing pattern of Yakthung syllabary changed. The new Sirijanga script was influenced by Devanagari script (see figure 5), meaning Hindi and Nepali script; the misrepresentation of Sirijanga script was due to the unfamiliarity of the old Sirijanga script (see figure 6). For instance, there was a Yakthung knowledge gap or there was a disconnected Yakthung epistemic language and literacy, for Khas-Aryan-centric Nepali government (Khas-Aryans) destroyed all Limbu books and archival materials in Limbuwan, Nepal since the “Nun-Paani Sandhi” (Salt-Water Treaty) in 1774. Similarly, among many other Europeans, Hamilton, Campbell, and Hudgson acquired dozens of Kirat-Yakthung books from Yakthungs (Limboos) from Sikkim, Darjeeling, and Kalimpong and transported them to Europe for the colonial purposes (see Sprigg, 1958, 1998). If we compare the old Sirijanga script and the 20<sup>th</sup> century Sirijanga (new Sirijanga) script used after the establishment of Shree Yakthung Hang Chumlung, we find much difference between them (see figure 5 and figure 6; new digitized Sirijanga script in figure 8).

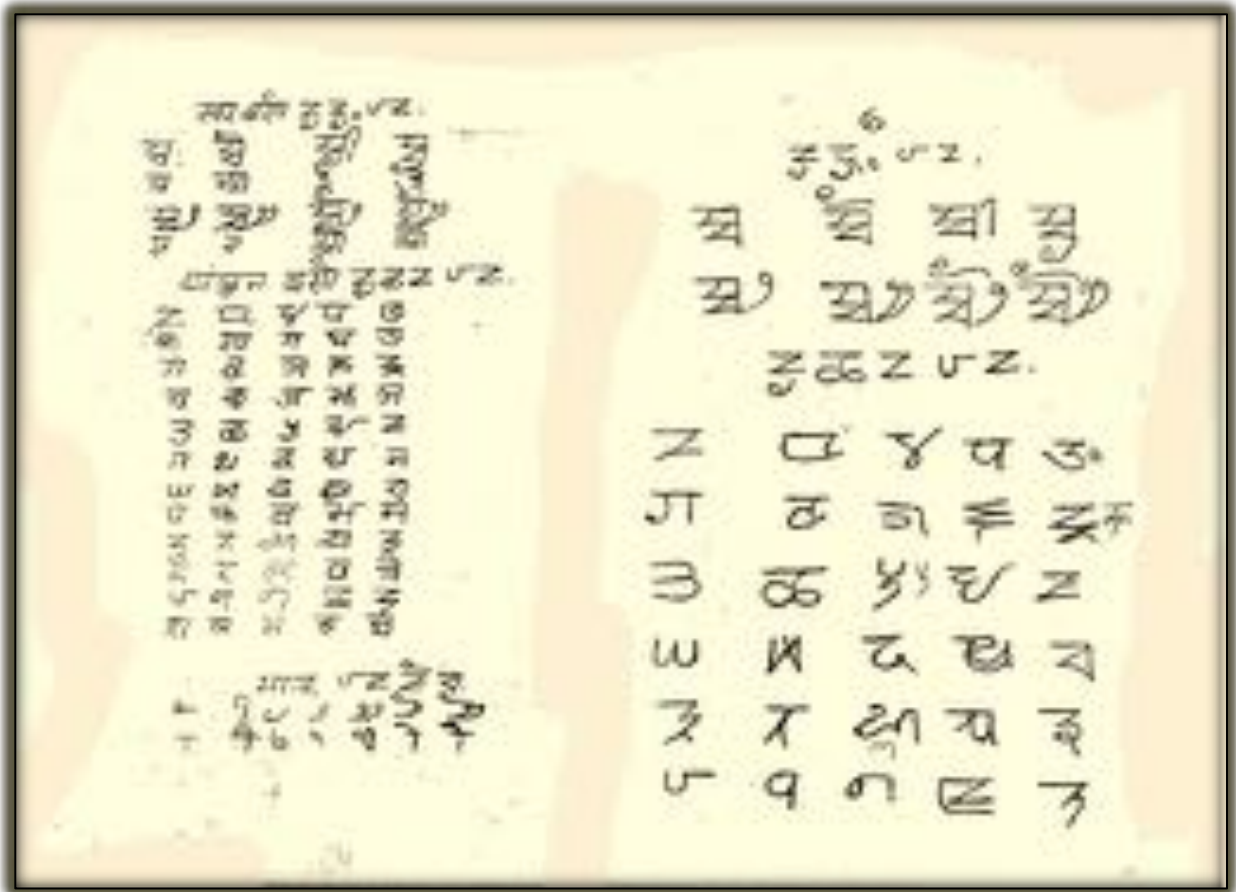


Figure 5. Heavy Influence of Devanagari Script on Bajbirian Syllabary (1928)

Bajbir Subba followed the Devanagari script with the 30 *vyanjana-varna* from /ka/ to /gya/ order (see figure 5), whereas original Sirijanga script was /ka, ba, a, ma – nja/ order; and old Sirijanga script was /a/ sound-based with 20 syllabaries (see figure 6). The changes of Sirijanga script after 1928 brought dramatic changes in Sirijanga script and writing that would not even represent Yakthung (Limbu) phonologies because Yakthung phonology and/or syllabary used to be /a/ based, and when we (fluent Yakthungs) communicate in Yakthung pan, we strongly observe /a/ based utterances/sounds. Bajbir Subba introduced “Devanagari-based” Sirijnaga script (see figure 5) and Imansing Chemjong also followed the same path (Devanagari-based script). Although Yakthung scholars may have realized the changes in Sirijanga script, Bajbirian and Imansingian form of Sirijanga script already reached Yakthung communities (Nepal, India, Bhutan, Burma, Thailand, and beyond). Furthermore, this script (Sirijanga script) had been already taught at “Zambuk Junior Basic School” in Kalimpong since 1938. In terms of the development of Sirijanga script, its shift in writing, and Yakthung writing, Yathung scholars who were engaged in “Patra-mitrata” communicators, Yakthung journal writers and publishers, and Yakthung text developers are equally responsible. Therefore, I asked them (mainly Yehang Laoti and BB Muringla) the reason behind the changes in Sirijanga script or why they changed the old Sirijanga script to Devanagari-based script. In their



response, they sadly mentioned that Imansing Chemjong did not mention about the Old script that RK Sprigg brought and gave it to him (Imansing Chemjong) from the British Library, London, UK. More importantly, Imansing Chemjong was neither a fluent Limbu language speaker, nor he was a linguistic; he was just a cultural historian (see Kaila, 2014; Kaila, 2049 BS; Limbu, 2017; Muringla, 2017).

𑄠 /m/	𑄡 /w/	𑄢 /ɲ/	𑄣 /n/	𑄤 /t/
𑄥 /d/	𑄦 /ɟ/	𑄧 /ɳ/	𑄨 /ɕ/	𑄩 /tʃ/
𑄪 /s/	𑄫 /x/	𑄬 /h/	𑄭 /l/	𑄮 /z/
𑄯 /f/	𑄰 /ɸ/	𑄱 /r/	𑄲 /ʃ/	𑄳 /y/

Figure 6. Tye-Angsian (Yakthung) Script, re-designed by Tye-Angsi Sirijanga

As shown in figure 6, old Sirijanga script was/is similar to Tibetan script (see figure 7, /a/ based phonology) and Lepcha script (Rong script). These scripts (Sirijanga script and Tibetan script) were designed during the Kirat reign. Some Tibetan syllabary literature demonstrate that a great Tibetan scholar, Thonmi Sambhota (a minister of Songtsen Gampo) went to Kirat kingdom and/or to the south to learn syllabary (see “Tibetan Alphabet”) in order to document and preserve their histories, narratives, and identities. According to Kirat-Yakthung Mundhums Kirats had well developed both oral and written



Mundhums during Kirat reign such as “Thungsap Mundhums” (oral Mundhums) and “Pesap Mundhums” (written Mundhums). There were/are mainly four types of written Kirat Mundhums: Part I. Sak-sak Mundhum: It is about the description of creation; Part II. Samjik Mundhum: it is about Kirat philosophy in which we find teaching and preaching of great Kirat philosophers and thinkers; Part III. Sapji Mundhum: Spiritual philosophy; and Part IV. Sap Mundhum: It is about the Kirat Kings’ teaching and moral preaching (see Chemjong, 2003, p. 89).

ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ
ཁ	ཁ	ཁ	ཁ	ཁ	ཁ	ཁ	ཁ
ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ
ཁ	ཁ	ཁ	ཁ	ཁ	ཁ	ཁ	ཁ
ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ
ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ
ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ
ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ	ཀ	ཁ

Figure 7. Tibetan Script, /a/ based phonology like that of old Sirijanga script or Yakthung Phonology

“Shree Yakthung Hang Chumlung” (1925) also offered Yakthungs opportunities for inquiry, communication, deconstruction, reconstruction, resistance, re/existence, and self-discovery. Yakthungs’ inquiry was the inquiry of Yakthung laje or Yakthung identities (in Nepal, Burma, Bhutan, India, Thailand, and beyond); their resistance was for their re/existence as Susuwa Lilims and Yakthung hangs. Despite the fact that Yakthungs and/or Kirats gathered, worked collectively, researched, and wrote books on Yakthung history, story, narratives, Mundhum rhetorics after the establishment of “Shree Yakthung Hang Chumlung,” they still felt the urgency of collective power to prepare other Yakthungs to reclaim their physical space for their re/existence in Yakthung laje. That was one of the reasons why Yakthungs changed the name of “Yakthung Hang Chumlung” to different

names such as “Shree Yakthung Hang Chumlung” (1955) and “Sarba Kirati Chumlung” (1976) to make the institution more powerful, inclusive, and representational one (see Birahi Kaila, p. 41).

In terms of development of Sirijanga script, “Satyadharma Pantha” also played a great role; Phalgunanda (Phalamsing) Lingden (1942-2005 BS) initiated “Satyadharma Muchulka” in 1988 BS. The “Satyadharma Pantha” people documented, preserved, and disseminated Sirijanga script, writing, and Yathungpan. “Satyadharma Pantha” quickly became popular after “Chukinamba Temple” was built in 1988 BS. As “Chukinamba temple” had positive impact on Yakthungs and Yakthung communities, they built several temples such as Charkhola, Chukinamba (1988 BS), Panchathar, Lalikharka (1988 BS), Yangrup, Kabeli (1992 BS), Panchathar, Silouti (1985 BS), Aathrai, Nigraden, Chilingse (1997 BS), Charkhola, Jitpur (1999 BS), and West Sikkim, Khamdong. “Satyadharma Muchulka” priests started writing Yakthung Mundhums, hymns, and chants such as “Hangsam Sak Sap,” Thakthuk Sewa Sak Sap,” “Sikkum Ningwabhu Manglak Sap,” “Hang Sam Samyo Sak Sak,” and “Siwa Khahun,” etc. The buiding of Satyahangpath temples and writing in Limbu language and Sirijanga script intersected together, which profoundly promoted the teaching/learning of Limbu language, writing, and Mundhum rhetorics. The writers were mainly Badrinath Tumbapo, Surathdil Nembang, Gambhir Yangdemba, Makarjang Yangdemba, Ramnaath Yonghang, Maninanda Rai, Sukhdil Rai, etc. (Interview—Bairagi Kaila, 2014; Birahi Kaila, p. 90; Kandangwa, 1999, p. 49).

Phalgunanda Lingden’s theoretical, philosophical, and conceptual notion of “Satyadharma” was political and ideological, or Satyadharma Pantha was one of the critical sites that delinked Khas-Aryan colonization and/or denaturalized suppression of teaching of language, script, and writing; “Satyadharma Pantha” required the Satyahangma followers to be literate in Yakthung pan, Sirijanga script, and writing (Bairagi Kaila, 2015; Nugo-Limbu, 2015; see also Angbunghang, 2069 VS; Yakthungba, 2060 BS). According to Bairagi Kaila (2014) since number of “sewa-sabas” increased, the number of priests also increased; meaning the number of Limbu and/or Sirijanga literacy and literate people in Limbu writing and language also increased dramatically. As the priests and as well as the Satyadharma followers had to read the Mundhums texts, they had to compulsorily be literate in Sirijanga script and Yakthung pan because they were required to read and/or chant Mundhums in Yakthung pan (in Sirijanga script). Satyadharma pantha followers also became literate in Yakthung pan and writing (in Sirijanga script) to perform basic hymns and/or mantras at their homes and in their communities. Satyadharma followers worked hard to keep the written records of their Satyadharma hymns, mantras, and Mundhums (see also Yakthungba, 2060 BS). Despite the fact that Sirijanga script or Yakthung pan was documented and disseminated in Yakthung communities, Khas-Aryan centric-government did not allow Yakthung to formally teach their script and language at schools; the Khas-Aryans allowed Satyadharma Pantha followers to read and write as they (Yakthungs) evidently justified that they were promoting “Hinduism” in Limbuwan or Yakthung communities.

During the 1960s, although the Khas-Aryan-centric government did not promote and/or facilitate the teaching of Yakthung language in Nepal, the Sikkim government approved the teaching of Limboo (in Sikkim Limbu is written as “Limboo”) language in 1967. As Yakthungs got opportunity to teach Yakthung (Limboo) language, script, and literature, they prepared all curricula, syllabi, and teaching materials. Yakthungs started

teaching Yakthung (Limboo) language, script, and literature since 1968 (BB Muringla, Personal Communication, February 20, 2017). Although Yakthungs established Limboo schools in Sikkim, they did not have any books until 1975 (from 1968-1975). They wrote Yakthung curricula and syllabi, but they did not have textbooks and other materials to meet their needs and expectations. Therefore, Sikkimi Yakthungs used the books written by Imansing Chemjong, Padamsing Muringla, Man Bahadur Khamdak, and Santabir Khamdak at schools (see Laoti, 2017; Muringla, 2017). In other words, teaching of Limboo language was not well organized; they had to use hand written texts from 1968 to 1975. In 1975, the Sikkimi government invited B. B. Muringla to prepare Limboo textbooks; he wrote Limboo textbooks by hand. The government officially appointed Muringla since April 1976, and his handwritten textbooks were also published in early 1976 (Muringla, Personal communication, February 20, 2017) (see the digitized Sirijanga script in figure 8). As I mentioned elsewhere in this essay, now Limboo language, Limboo culture, and Limboo rhetorics is taught up to MA level in Sikkim.

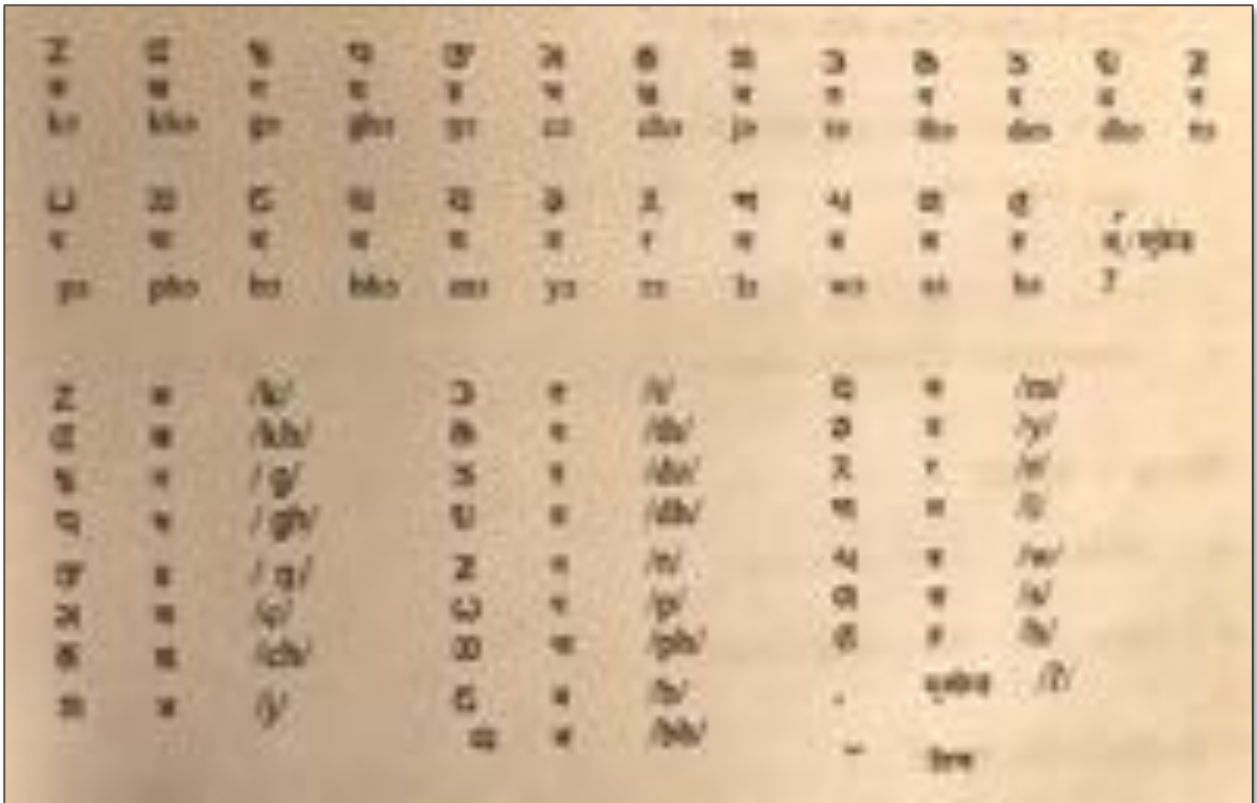


Figure 8. Digitized (new) Sirijanga Script (Credit: Gambhirdhwaj Tumbahamphe and Harkajang Kurumbang)

**Present Sites of Kirat-Yakthung Writing, Rhetoric, Literacy, and Pedagogy**

Nepali people got the democracy for the first time in 1990; after the advent of democracy, Yakthungs including other indigenous peoples were/are allowed to read and write in their

language up to elementary level. However, the Khas-Hindu/Aryan centric government did/does not support logistically to Yakthungs (other indigenous peoples) in the teaching of Yakthung pan at schools. Despite the advent of democracy, Yakthungs, other indigenous peoples, minorities, and poor Khas-Aryans still faced discriminations; so, they waged the civil war for 10+ years. Nepali people (Nepali people's war) overthrew the kingship in Nepal in 2007. Nepali people fought together, bled together, and died together during the Nepali people's war (civil war) to overthrow the kingship and to change the political, economic, and social conditions in Nepal; however, indigenous peoples did not benefit from this revolution at all. After the restoration of democracy or after the dethronement of the Kingship, the differences Nepali people see is that Chhetris (Shahs) were the kings in the past, and Bahuns are the kings now. The Khas-Aryan centric Nepali Government never represent/ed the Yakthungs and other indigenous peoples in the nation's political, administrative, and economic spaces (see also Mabuhang, 2017). Sarcastically, when the Khas-Aryan political leaders meet Yakthungs and indigenous peoples, they self-interestedly assure us that Nepal is a multi-cultural, multi-lingual, and multi-jati country (truly it is), but they, at the same time, force us to accept—*eutai bhasa, eutai desh, euta dharma, and eutai bhesh* ideology or one language, one country, one religion, and one costume ideology (see also Kandangwa, 1999, p. 49). And, when Yakthungs advocate for their spatial, cultural, and political identities, the Khas-Aryans always label us as racists, rebellions, and separatists. This is how the Khas-Hindu politics paralyzes Susuwa Lilim knowledge; this is how it petrifies Sawa Yet Hang epistemology. The Khas-Aryan-centric government has been impairing the democratic, inclusive, and representational development of the nation. Nowadays, despite the fact that we still observe physical domination—police atrocities, the colonial wounds are not physical as they used to be in the past; the colonial wounds after 1990 are much more verbal, psychological, and/or abstract ones (while I was writing this article, Khas-Aryans authorized the military force/police force to control the minority movement; they already shot and killed 4 Madhesi people). Currently, Khas-Aryan ideology and/or new settlers' words, implications, actions, and resistance (to our demands) constantly inflict colonial wounds.

The discriminatory Khas-Aryan government does not provide a single penny to support the Limbu education system (see also Laoti, 2016; Bairagi Kaila, personal communication, 2014; Singak, personal communication, 2015). On the other hand, the Khas-Hindu centric government spends millions of dollars on the promotion of Sanskrit (language) and Sanskrit literacies (that are beneficial only to Bahuns). The discriminatory Khas-Hindu government has not yet approved teaching of Limbu language, writing, and rhetoric up to high school in Nepal. Khas-Aryan scholars, political leaders, and bureaucrats shamefully state that they do/did not know anything about Yakthung culture and Mundhum though they live/d in Yakthung communities all their life. This suggests that we welcomed Khas-Aryans in our homeland; we shared our land with them, but they have always disregarded us. Khas-Aryans have lived in your house or place/space, but they have overlooked our culture, our language, our social institutions, and us; it is the blind spot of Khas-Aryan ideological thinking. Similarly, I also always remember how Bahun friends and Bahun teachers ridiculed me at schools when I spoke Nepali with Yakthung accent (I still do). So, Khas-Aryan colonization process was systematic; it made us hate our own body, culture, and language; it made Yakthungs observe social entities

from the Khas-Aryan lenses. Yehang Laoti (2016) mentioned that if Yakthung folks received just an S.L.C. degree (10<sup>th</sup> grade), they did not speak Limbu language (Yakthung pan); if Yakthung folks had a government job, they did not speak Yakthung pan at all. Yakthungs were programmed in the Khas-Aryan social institutions. Although the discriminatory Nepali government does not support teaching of Yakthung pan and Limbu mother-tongue education in Nepal, Limbus have been teaching and/or learning Limbu language up to MA level in Sikkim. To make this idea clearer, Sikkim also used to be Limbuwan known as “Sikkimthum” (Sukkhimthum); majority of Limboos (Yakthungs) did not cross the border, but border crossed us. Khas-Aryans politically, ideologically, and systematically weakened Yakthung movements by dividing us (Yakthungs) in three (now two) different countries—Nepal, India, and Sikkim (see also Birahi Kaila, 2049, p. 33; Mabuhang, 2014, p. 172). Despite Khas-Aryan political interventions, Yakthungs are determined to teach Yakthung cultural rhetorics or Limbu indigenous rhetorics up to PhD level in the near future. Nepali Limbus and Sikkimi Limboos discuss, contest, and mutually negotiate what kind of course should be created and what kind of reading materials/contents should be included in high school, undergraduate, and graduate levels.

Yakthung scholars, researchers, and activists have been undertaking researches on Yakthung pan (Limbu language), writing, script, literature, and Mundhum rhetorics. They have been conducting research and writing books in multiple areas to meet the needs and expectations of Yakthungs, Yakthung communities, and global indigenous peoples. Similarly, Yakthungs are rigorously documenting their oral-performance-based rhetorics, oral-performance texts, and Mundhum rhetorics to mention a few. Most of the documentation tasks done as of now are mostly Yakthung narratives, histories, translations, facts, and figures. There is a lack of critical Kirat thinking or critical Yakthung cultural studies, critical Sawa Yet Hang/Susuwa Lilim studies, and critical Limbuwan studies. There is an urgency of critical research and writing on Kirat-Yakthung studies or Susuwa Lilim studies, for Yakthung critical studies introduce Yakthungs who they are from geo-political point of view, and where they belong from cultural, linguistic, political, and ideological standpoints. There is also urgency of critical research and writing because our oral texts and/or oral-performance-based Mundhum rhetorics are dying every day, or they are distorted and destroyed every single day; so, through critical Yakthung studies, we have to preserve them; we have to document them; we have to disseminate them in multiple ways. In so doing, we have to formally institutionalize them; then Yakthungs will not hate their language, culture, and Susuwa Lilim identities.

Currently, innumerable Yakthung scholars, historians, Limbu progressive intellectuals, and activists collectively started delinking Khas-Aryan (including Indian and Western) cultural and linguistic colonization and started relinking Susuwa Lilim culture and/or Sawa Yet Hang culture not only in Nepal, but all across the world (India, Bhutan, Burma, Thailand, Hong Kong, USA, UK, Singapore, Canada, Portugal, and Israel, etc.). Yakthungs are locally and globally networking with other Yakthungs from all around the world to discover or construct Kirat-Yakthung or Yakthung cultural, linguistic, and political, identities. Yakthungs living in different parts of the world are also networking with other local and global indigenous peoples from all around the world. By visiting different indigenous museums, cultural programs, interviewing Mundhumsas, sharing thoughts and ideas and exchanging documents, Yakthungs are exploring who they were/are, how

their ancestors struggled, how they are struggling now, what differences and commonalities different communities share, and how they need to link their identities with other global community members so that Yakthung (indigenous identities) identities, voices, and knowledges become globally visible. Recently, Yakthungs also started linking their Yakthung indigenous identities from local level to the global level as contributing global community members. In relinking or linking processes, Yakthungs are not only inquiring, communicating, exploring, discovering, constructing, and sharing Susuwa Lilim, Sawa Yet Hang, and/or Limbu identities as isolated/fragmented Yakthung indigenous peoples, but also as constructive, creative, and powerful contributing global citizens in the context of the 21<sup>st</sup> century networked world.

Yakthungs are conscious about their right to self-determination; they on regular basis interact on the cultural, academic, linguistic, political, and health (drug) issues on cloud spaces and physical spaces. There are dozens of Yakthung social institutions that have been advocating for their indigenous land rights, right to mother-tongue education, equality, and gender issues, etc. These Yakthung organizations continually network with other local and global Yakthung organizations; they also network with other indigenous institutions from all around the world. As the Khas-Aryan centric government does not support the Yakthung academic/social institutions at all, they raise funds for their campaigns; they raise funds from Yakthungs and non-Yakthungs from all around the world not only to support Yakthung social institutions and programs, but also to help needy peoples such as earthquake victims, fire hazard victims, landslide victims, and economically challenged people, etc. Moreover, Yakthung social institutions like Kirat-Yakthung Chumlung, Limbuwan Study Center, Limbu Bhasa Sahitya Pratisthan, and Kirat-Yakthung Chumlung-Punarjeevan Kendra to mention a few, organize workshops to train Yakthungs in multiple aspects such as training Yakthung language teachers, introducing Limbu cultures, script, and language, and making Yakthungs aware of their right-to-self determination, etc. These social institutions also celebrate Limbu festivals such as *Chasok Tangnam*, *Sisekpa Tangnam*, and *Kakphekwa Tangnam*, etc. to mention a few. These organizations also send Yakthung volunteers village-to-village and door-to-door in Limbuwan to make them aware of their culture, language, and Yakthung literacies (Singak, personal communication, 2015). In so doing, Yakthungs and Yakthung social institutions are in the process of healing Yakthungs and Yakthung communities from the wounds inflicted by Khas-Hindu and Western cultures. To heal the colonial wounds, to revive indigenous language and literacy, every indigenous woman or man needs to re/discover himself or herself (see also Lambert, 2014, p. 10; Lavalee & Poole, 2010). Yakthungs social institutions are helping Yakthungs gain confidence or believe in herself/himself that s/he is not inferior by culture, language, and literacy, but one of the most powerful contributing elements that not only shape her/his community, but also shape global communities (as a global citizen).

Due to the globalization and/or migration pattern in the late 20th and the early 21st centuries, Yakthungs moved to different parts of the world to pursue their higher education and/or to live/work and to achieve academic and economic prosperity. Though they moved to different parts of the world and also achieved economic and academic prosperity, they have been contributing to the development their Yakthung language, writing, and rhetoric in their new homes as well as in Limbuwan. Yakthungs who live in the foreign countries (their home countries now) have opened the KYC branch offices all



across the world, for instance, in USA, Canada, UK, Hong Kong, Israel, Qatar, Malaysia, Thailand, Burma, Portugal, and Brunei, etc. They network not only to preserve, document, and disseminate their language, culture, writing, and history, but also to make their identities globally visible (see figure 9. Yakthung “Ke lang” in the UK).



Figure 9. A glimpse of “Ke lang” in the UK (Credit: Dambar Limbu)

After the advent of Web 2.0 and social media, network communication became easier than in the past; communication, network, collaboration, knowledge sharing process, knowledge construction process, and content circulation process became much easier than ever. For example, Marohang Limbu (2013) states:

[Limbus] profoundly use social media (Facebook, blogs, Wikis, YouTube, Google Sites, Google Hangout, Twitter, podcasting, and Skype) across the [world], cloud-based communication considerably changed [Limbus’] personal and professional life styles. The cloud-based communication has not only change the way [Limbus] network—communicate, collaborate, share, and co/create contents—in this digital village, but it has also changed the way [they] circulate information across global cultures. (p. 67)

Because of the engaged networked communities and cloud technologies, Yakthung activists (cultural, linguistic, and political activists) are connected with other activists (including non-Limbus) in the cloud such as social media, interactive cloud tools, and webinars, etc. The 21<sup>st</sup> century interactive technologies and smart devices offer Yakthungs and non-Yakthungs network, campaign, and revolt together to delink Khas-Hindu including Indian and Western cultural and linguistic colonization, to relink Sawa Yet Hang culture and/or to establish democratic and inclusive communities for themselves,



for their communities, and for community members (Limbu, 2016; see also Limbu, 2013, p. 67). Yakthungs are using digital affordances that intersect oral-based Mundhum rhetorics with digital story-telling approaches and oral-performance-based (3D digital) story sharing practices; these settings will facilitate our delinking and relinking approach, which (will) heal and/or solace the wounds inflicted by (Khas-Hindu and Western) colonizers. The constant networks between Yakthungs (all across world) and non-Yakthungs have promoted the conceptual, theoretical, and practical aspects of Yakthung culture, language, writing, Mundhum rhetorics, and political identities. The KYCs located in different continents or countries also regularly invite Yakthung political leaders, scholars, writers, singers, dancers, and movie stars (including directors, script writers, actors, and actresses) from the Yakthung communities to promote their culture, music (mundhum-based music), language, writing, and Mundhum rhetorics, etc.

Kirat-Yakthung Chumlung's active network initiation from local to global level has changed the landmarks of Kirat-Yakthung spaces in relation to their linguistic identities, individual subjectivities and communal agencies, concept of Mundhum and Yakthung philosophy, and Yakthung mother tongue education. Kirat-Yakthung Chumlung including Yakthungs have utilized the power of cloud technologies and/or Web 2.0/3.0 proficiently. Yakthung cloud-based network in local and global context such as Nepal, India (Sikkim, India, Kalimpong, Assam, Manipur, etc.), Bhutan, Burma, Thailand, Hong Kong, UK, USA, and Canada, etc. has materialized the Limbuwan movement. KYC and/or Yakthung's emerging social institutions are now recalibrating, re-incubating, and reconnecting or relinking the Kirat epistemologies, Sawa Yet Hang wisdom, and Susuwa Lilim histories. Through the recalibrating and re-incubating processes, Yakthungs' roles will be like channels that links and/or bonds both ancient Susuwa Lilim knowledge and current Yakthung epistemologies. Our re-calibrating and/or relinking process will also bridge traditional Yakthung indigenous knowledge, wisdom, and subjectivity with that of distant future Yakthung indigenous people's knowledge, space, and subjectivity. Yakthung indigenous peoples, like other global brother and sister indigenous peoples, have tremendous knowledge of maintaining and/or balancing the ecosystem (as our ancestors have done for thousands of years); we balance ecosystem; we heal our Yakthungs (including other indigenous brothers and sisters) from the Khas-Aryan, Indian, and Western colonial wounds; then, we create peace, progress, and prosperity not only for the Yakthungs, but also for non-Yakthungs; historically, we have also been welcoming non-Yakthungs and have been creating spaces for them; we have been treating non-Yakthungs as our supreme guests (that is Kirat-Yakthung philosophy and their way of life); we will always cherish it; that is indeed philosophy of Susuwa Lilim culture and Sawa Yet Hang culture (see Kirat-Yakthung Mundhums). Yakthung indigenous peoples always behave rationally; teach and learn relationally; we always create a sense of family whether you are Yakthung or non-Yakthung; we always engage in communal relationship; we always act relationally. If we (both Yakthung and non-Yakthung) practice and perpetuate Kirat-Yakthung philosophy in social and academic institutions as (alternative) pedagogy, we will be able to create inclusive, representational, and democratic global institutions and cultures. In a nutshell, our delinking, relinking, and linking approach heals the descendants of Susuwa Lilim Yakthungs as we like our ancestors will be keepers and balancers of Yakthung past, present, and future wisdom; we will also balance the harmony between mother-earth, water, fire, air and other ecologies, pedagogies, and

epistemologies.

### **Conclusion and Future Direction**

Yakthungs all around the world are actively engaging in the development of their culture, history, language, writing, and literature. Via social networks (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and V/blogging, etc.), they are questioning, contesting, exploring, and documenting their culture, histories, and Mundhum rhetorics. Yakthung cloud and/or digital network challenges the well-structured Khas-Aryan political and ideological architectures and creates their own-networked paths where they can mutually share, collaborate, and create representational social spaces. Yakthungs are denaturalizing Khas-Hindu colonial ego-politics of knowledge construction; they are unlearning the Khas-Hindu as well as Western geo-politics of knowledge construction. Currently, delinking, relinking, and linking approach seems to be an emerging decolonial site through which Yakthungs are learning to explore what Khas-Hindu and Western body graphic, caste-graphic, and geo-graphic politics of knowledge construction are and how they have to constantly engage in inquiry, communication, discovery, and social and cultural recalibrating activities in order to delink colonization, relink Sububa Lilim epistemologies, and link their subjectivities from local to global level in the context of the 21<sup>st</sup> century networked global village.

We (Yakthungs) are researching, writing, and/or documenting our histories, narratives, and Mundhum rhetorics; however, we still need academic and/or intellectual collaboration. As we come from collective indigenous culture, we may have to follow indigenous relational pedagogy because we learn relationally, we behave relationally, and we practice collectively. Learning in relationship liberates us from the well-structured Khas-Aryan castic cage and/or Western racial cage. Yakthungs including other indigenous peoples stress on decasting the Khas-Hindu caste and deconstructing the Khas-Aryan and/or Western structured inequalities. Our indigenous methodology and pedagogy heal us; so, delinking, relinking, and linking approach is a process of hearing physical and psychological wounds inflicted by Khas-Aryans and the Western world; delinking, relinking, and linking methodology is processing of both liberating suppressed indigenous peoples, their wisdom, and linking them with other global brothers and sisters (paracolonial context implied here). Therefore, we need to collaborate or need mentor brothers and sisters in para/colonial contexts on the value of delinking, relinking, and linking methodologies that finally lead us to democratic, inclusive, and representational social and academic spaces in the context of the 21<sup>st</sup> century global village. We have to collaborate, question, contest, and mutually create/negotiate on inclusive pedagogy that value, validate, and respect all culture, language, religion, gender, and sexuality. In a nutshell, there is an urgency of exploring indigenous pedagogy that creates safer contact zones from where we, in paracolonial context, grow without hurting each other. This safer contact zone should allow us to mutually negotiate our spaces and identities; it should allow us to mutually construct our cultural, academic, and political spaces, identities, and subjectivities. As indigenous pedagogy does not impair our subjectivities (as seen in both theory and practice), it is time to embrace it as an alternative global pedagogy. This

pedagogy will persuade oppressive culture to become like indigenous people and practice their wisdom to create a safer world to live in.

### Acknowledgment

This research and writing would not have been possible without the financial support of “Dr. Deila Koo Endowment (Research) award”; Writing, Rhetoric, and American Cultures; Asian Studies Center; College of Arts and Letters, and International Studies Programs. I thank Kirat-Yakthung scholars—Arjun Limbu, Ambar Jang Limbu (Amar Tumyahang), and Dilli B. Edingo (also anonymous reviewers) for their compelling, creative, and constructive comments. I thank Ambar Jang Limbu (Amar Tumyahang) for providing me extremely valuable Kirat-Yakthung archival (digital) documents. I also thank Harkjang Kurumbang Limbu “nambari” for helping me visit the British Library, London, Gurkha Museum, Winchester (UK) and for lending me his treasured Kirat-Yakthung documents.

### References

- Angbuhang, A. A. (2069 BS). Phalgunanda, Satyadharma Muchulka and Women’s Right. *Chumlungim Abhilekh* (pp. 183-188). Lalitpur, Nepal: Kirat-Yakthung Chumlung.
- Baral, B. & Tigela, K. (2008). *Limbuwanko Rajniti: Itihas, Bartaman, ra Dastabej*. Dharan, Nepal: Gorkha Book Dipo.
- Chemjong, I. S. (2003). *History and Culture of Kirat People (4<sup>th</sup> ed.)*. Kathmandu, Nepal: Kirat-Yakthung Chumlung.
- Chemjong, I. S. (2003). *Kirat Mundhum Khahun: Sikchha (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.)*. Kathmandu, Nepal: Kirat-Yakthung Chumlung.
- Chemjong, I. S. (2003). *Yakthung Chukmuk Samjik Mundhum: Kirat Darsanko Saramsa (Summary of Kirat Philosophy) (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)*. Kathmandu, Nepal: Kirat-Yakthung Chumlung.
- Ingnam, B. & Ingnam, S. (2070 BS). *Tehrathum Jillama Subbangi Pratha*. Kathmandu, Nepal: Nepal Rajkiya Pragma Pratisthan.
- Kaila, B. (2017). Historical Development of Limbu Language and Writing. Online Video Clip. YouTube. 2 January 2017. Web. 10 February 2017.
- Kaila, B. (2017). Mundhum Gosti by Arjun Mabuhang. Online Video Clip. YouTube. 3 February 2017. Web. 15 February 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EXQ-m8eqsio>
- Kaila, B. (2015 January 04). Personal Communication on Limbu Script and Writing.
- Kaila, B. (2069 BS). Mundhum: Charcha-Paricharcha. *Chumlung Abhilekh* (pp. 200-207). Lalitpur, Nepal: Kirat-Yakthung Chumlung.
- Kaila, B. (2049 BS). *Limbu Bhasa Ra Sahityako Samchhipta Parichaya*. Kathmandu, Nepal: Nepal Rajkiya Pragma Pratisthan.

- Kandangwa, K. (1999). Limbu Bhasa Tatha Sahityako Samchhipta Parichaya: Pustak Samikchha. *Journal of Limbu Literature and Culture*, 6(6), 44-55.
- Khajum-Limbu, P. (2069 BS). Kipat: Utpani, Unmulan ra Prabhabh. *Chumlungim Abhilekh* (pp. 313-316). Lalitpur, Nepal: Kirat-Yakthung Chumlung.
- Kirat League ko Bibaran Patra (2008 BS). In Baral, B. & Tigela, K. (2008). *Limbuwanko Rajniti: Itihas, Bartaman, ra Dastabej*. Dharan, Nepal: Gorkha Book Dipo
- Lambert, L. (2014). *Research for Indigenous Survival: Indigenous Research Methodologies in the Behavioral Sciences*. Pablo, Montana: Salish Kootenai College Press
- Laoti, Y. (2016). Imansing Chemjong. Online Video Clip. YouTube. 16 December 2016. Web. 15 January 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0yy4DZ1Tuuw>
- Laoti, Y. (2016). Limbu Language and Literacy. Online Video Clip. YouTube. 28 December 2016. Web. 18 January 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tgIsCpOR73E&t=231s>
- Limbu, A. (2017). Limbuwan Studies Center. Online Video Clip. YouTube. 29 January 2017. Web. 5 February 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XZCNqFTeaSY&t=305s>
- Limbu, A. J. (2016). Historical Development of Limbu Language, Script, and Literacy. Online Video Clip. YouTube. 30 December 2016. Web. 15 January 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jqzVlxXPjFE&t=1122s>
- Limbu, J., Phedangba, C., Limbu, R., & Mohan. J. Collection of Brian H. Hudgson, (1846). The British Library, London.
- Limbu, M. (2016). Politics of Rhetoric and Writing in the Non-Western World: Delinking, Relinking, and Linking Yakthung Epistemologies. *Mikphulla Laje Inghang*, 10(10) 36-41, 2016.
- Limbu, M. (2013). Emerging pedagogies in the networked knowledge communities: Interweaving and intersecting global communities in the 21<sup>st</sup> century global village. In M. Limbu & B. Gurung (Eds.), *Emerging pedagogies in the networked knowledge society: Practices integrating social media and globalization* (pp. 61-86) Hershey, PA: IGI Global.
- Mabuhang, B. (2017). Indigenous People's Space and Identity in Nepal. Online Video Clip. YouTube. 5 January 2017. Web. 25 January 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kHQrc1lzc6g&t=297s>
- Mabuhang, B. (2014). Demographic Rhetorics (Ethnic and religious diversity) in Nepal: Ninety Percent Hindus' or Eighty Percent Indigenous Peoples' Population! *Journal of Global Literacies Emerging Pedagogies and Technologies*, 2(4), 170-188.
- Mabuhang, A. (2069 BS). Itihasma Bijayapur ra Buddhikarna Raya. *Chumlungim Abhilekh* (pp. 180-182). Lalitpur, Nepal: Kirat-Yakthung Chumlung.
- Mabuhang, A., & Tunghang, B. (2013). *Hudgson Pandulipima Gorkha-Khambuwan-Limbuwan Yuddha*. Dharan, Nepal: Bishwa Yakthung Mundhum Samaj.
- Mignolo, W. (2007): Delinking, *Cultural Studies*, 21:2-3, 449-514.
- Muringla, B. B. (2017, February 20). Personal Communication on Limbu Mother-tongue Education in Sikkim.
- Muringla, B. B. (2017). *History of Yakthung Language and Writing*. Online Video Clip.

- YouTube. 5 March 2017. Web. 10 March 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9zct1cVLldk&t=2540s>
- Nembang, B. (1987). *Limbuwanko Ramkahani*. Siligudi, India: Chhitij Prakashan.
- Powell, M. (2002, February). Rhetorics of Survivance: How American Indians Use Writing [Abstract]. *College Composition and Communication*, 53(3), 396-434.
- Powell, M. (2012). Stories Take Place: A Performance in One Act (2012 CCC Chair's Address). *CCC*, 64(2), 383-406.
- Singak, B. (2069 BS). Sambhawana ra Chunouti Bich Ani?pan. *Chumlunghim Abhilekh* (pp. 313-316). Lalitpur, Nepal: Kirat-Yakthung Chumlung.
- Singak-Limbu, L. (2069 BS). Kirat-Yakthung Chumlung: Bigat, Bartaman, ra Bhabishya. *Chumlunghim Abhilekh* (pp. 285-288). Lalitpur, Nepal: Kirat-Yakthung Chumlung.
- Singak-Limbu, L. (2015, December 26). Historical Development of Kirat-Yakthung Chumlung, Nepal [Personal Interview]
- Sprigg, R. K. (1998). Original and Sophisticated Features of the Lepcha and Limbu Scripts. *Nepalese Linguistics*, 15(1-18), Tribhuvan University: Kathmandu, Nepal.
- Sprigg, R. K. (1959). *Limbu Books in the Kiranti Script, Aktendes Vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten Kongresses* (Wiebaden) Munchen: Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft. Retrieved from <http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/16711/1/Sprigg%201959%20Limbu%20script.pdf>
- Subba, J. R. (2015). History of the Kirata Empire: The Third Most Empire of the World Recovery and Reconstruction. Gantok, Sikkim: Sukhim Yakthung Sapsok Songjumbho.
- Tibetan Alphabet. *Wikipedia*. Wikipedia The Free Encyclopedia, 31 Dec. 2016. Web. 25 Feb. 2017. Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tibetan\\_alphabet](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tibetan_alphabet)
- Tumbahang, G. B. (2007). *A Descriptive Grammar of Chhathare Limbu*. Dissertation (unpublished).
- Vizenor, G. (1976). *Crossbloods: Bone Courts, Bingo, and Other Reports*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press.
- Yakthungba, S. (2060 BS). *Muhigum Angsimang Phalgunanda: Jiban Prasanga, Satyadharma Muchulka ra Dharmopadesh*. Kathmandu, Nepal: Nonim Publication.