

MARRIAGE ALLIANCE AND SOCIAL OBLIGATION IN DANUWAR SOCIETY OF NEPAL

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Abstract: This article examines the rules of marriage alliance, and exchange practices between bride and groom families and the cultural boundaries among Danuwar community of Nepal. Marriage practice produces and reproduces new social relationships. This ritual plays an important role in the transition of commodities and money and sharing of emotions and sentiments between families of newly married couples. The article examines different forms of marriage practices ie reciprocity negotiation, kinship alliance, and post-marital responsibilities. The article dwells on the social obligations and responsibilities in resulting in the process of marriage and their positions in post-marital life. Marriage in the Danuwar community logically produces and reproduces social functions through festivity, congregation, and negotiation for seeking bride and groom.

Keywords – Marriage alliance, reciprocity, and social obligation

Introduction

Marriage is an important part of social life in terms of economy, social and religious duties. In fact, marriage is an obligation that contributes to a continuation of generation and material significance in one way and constructing kinship in the next. Marriage confirms social position both within and outside society. Different caste and ethnic groups perform marriage rituals uniquely even if they share the same religious faith and ideology. I have ventured into one of the classical interests of marriage, which organizes society through customary law, maintaining a unique culture and ethnic identity. The exchange of men and women from one group to another creates a kinship alliance between the wife-givers and receivers, forming culturally designated positions that assign new roles for social support and labor organizations in pre-industrial societies. The new kinship alliance through marriage is a social issue rather than biological, which is principally guided by the universal rules of the incest taboo. Importantly, marriage exchange integrates two families through the wife-giving and wife-receiving processes. The rule of prohibition does not allow marriage with sisters, daughters and close relatives that maintain purity and genetic hurdles. In the research, I have delved into rules of descent, residence and exchange in their marriage, which able to make new alliance of social group and creates new positions and roles that reinforce spouses to bear social responsibilities in their post-marital life, which is valued in traditional caste and ethnicity-based societies in South Asia. The customary marriage laws keep the society orderly and protect them from impurity and ‘hostilities. They have certain obligations and rights to exchange and reciprocity whereas modern judicial laws and governing

mechanisms are still not functioning in traditional societies.

Anthropological researchers have undertaken researches on marriage rituals in Nepal from different perspectives, e.g. through symbolic perspectives researchers have looked into symbols, explicit and tacit meanings and messages of Hindu people (See Campbell, 1976; Bennett, 1983; Gray, 2009); marriage, kinship structure and reciprocity (Fricke, 1990; Sakya 2000); literacy practice, the desire of love letters, power and human agency as factor of social change (Ahearn 2001, 2003, 2004). Other research on marriage rituals have reflected on trends and practices that maintain their caste-based social status i.e. isogamy marriage (see Quigley, 1986) where marriage occurs within the same class. The low-caste Dalit and ethnic groups desire social mobility to upgrade their status and follow hypergamy marriage practice, known as Sanskritization (Jones, 1976). Fraternal polyandry in the northwestern part of Nepal is a practice for resource management and social organization where a wife shares two or more brothers as co-husbands to maintain the population in harsh ecological geographical conditions and opted this practice of survival strategies (Goldstein, 1976; Levine, 1988; Levine and Silk, 1997 & Luintel, 2004). Similarly, some low-caste people conceal their ethnic identity by changing their surname or intermarrying one another for better opportunities that result in new identities through marriage and play a fundamental role in cultural fluidity and create new ethnic boundaries (Levine, 1987). An interconnection exists between kinship, marriage, identity and social organizations (Sakya, 2000). However, these works are inadequate to analyze marriage alliances and social obligations in Danuwar society. This ethnographic note explicitly deals with marriage alliance, reciprocity and social obligation in Danuwar society. The clan exogamy marriage practices in Danuwar society follow the egalitarian value system. Their marriage rituals are limited within their own village except for a few cases of inter-caste marriages. Marriage practices concern with ethnic identity and maturity. Danuwar's perception regarding marriage is reflected through different beliefs, adages and sayings; for instance,

Kānsi gailo jal prasād khāilu, poila gailo tilhari dhal kāilo

“Go to Kānsi for holy water, get married for flaunting a *Tilahari*”.

This proverb is used to persuade unmarried girls to get married in Danuwar society. *Kānsi* is a sacred Hindu religious and educational site and Hindus wish to visit the site once in their lifetime. In *Kānsi* Hindus perform different types of purification rites and rituals and take holy dip in the sacred Ganga river. This act is considered to pave pathway to heaven and cleanse of all the sins. In general Nepali parlance *poilā* refers “to elope” by a female for marriage without the consent of the parents or to leave a husband and get married with another male. In Danuwar understanding, *poilā* refers to getting married to complete social and ritual obligations. In other Nepali societies, *poilā* refers to the practice of eloping and is considered as a marriage where ritual duties and parental consents are incomplete. This is considered to be degrade social prestige of the parents. However, eloping is a

frequently occurring event these days and is taken as a normal practice for marriage.

In this article, I present what marriage means to Danuwar and explain the role marriage plays in construction of social organization and creation of alliances within their ethnic boundary. Like in other ethnic groups, in a Danuwar society, marriage is associated with religious commitment, the transformation of social position, desire, and maturity to bear social duties. This article elucidates different forms of Danuwar marriage practice based on religious commitments and beliefs. With modernization and intensification of inter-ethnic relationships, the customary marriage phenomena are undergoing phenomenal changes. Danuwar marriage practice occurs within own village and is performed in traditional manner by following customary rules. Marriage is regarded as 'sacrifice' and one who does not get married is considered to be a person "without sacrifice". This view is comparable to Vedic Hindu tradition. The Taittiriya Brahmana says, "He indeed, is without sacrifice who has got no wife (Pandey: 2002: 153). In Hindu philosophy, a man who has no wife is not allowed for religious acts and they do not have the legitimacy to perform different social and religious acts i.e. only married sons have permission to perform *barkhi*- a ritual of mourning of deceased parents. In Danuwar community there is a saying, *Sāika ghar najāne mānus sorga nā puge*, - "without marriage, there is no way to go to heaven". This refers to social obligation, ritual duties, and beliefs concerned with marriage ritual. For them, marriage leads the way to heaven. Marriage contributes to the continuation of the generation, forming social alliances and bonds with family members and being a part of member of the kin groups. For women, marriage is considered to bring happiness in their lives. Marital status would determine their social position and eligibility to perform biological and social duties. Unmarried women are discriminated and considered inferior both in family and society. Marriage practice develops reciprocal relationships within clan groups and maintains the equilibrium relation between the wife-giver and wife-receiver in terms of economy, materials, and labour sharing that create balance in material transition, kinship alliance, and social organization. This study was carried out in Danuwar society at Dukkuchhap, which lies in Godawari Municipality, Lalitpur District, approximately 12.5 Km away from center of Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal.

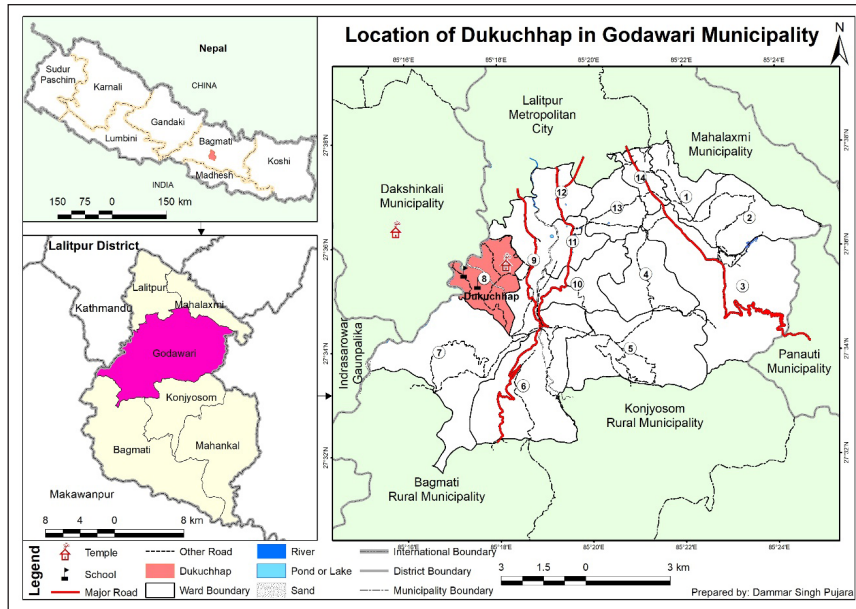


Figure: Map showing Dukuchhap the study-area.

Danuwar is an ethnic group classified enslavable alcohol drinkers. The term Danuwar is derived from the Sanskrit word *droni* which refers to *dun* (foothill) between two mountains, so, the inhabitants of *dun* are called Danuwar. The word Danuwar is a corrupt form of *dalwar* (Shrestha et. al., 2009:29) which refers to brave fighters. The total population of Danuwar is 82,784 (CBS, 2021). Their Kaini (language) belongs to the Indo-European family group (Shrestha et. al., 2009) which is similar to Tharu, Bhojpuri and Hindi languages. Danuwar settlements are found mostly in the river valleys of Bagmati, Trisuli, Kamala and Indrabati rivers in different parts of Kathmandu Valley, inner Terai and the eastern part of Terai. They are primarily agrarian and fishing community. However, river pollution, encroachment of rivers by others and decreasing fish have forced most of them to quit fishing. There are three clan groups of Danuwar i.e. Kahhare who live on the river banks, Rajhan in *dun* and Adikari and Rai Danuwar in Terai region of Nepal (Bista, 1972).

The ethnic history of Danuwar of Dukuchhap, Lalitpur is connected with myths that deal with their origin, migratory history, agricultural productivity, and rituals. Such myths are linked with supernatural forces like gods, goddesses, demons, spirits and ghosts (Shahu 2008 and Shrestha et. al., 2009). There are several myths about Danuwar origin and nomenclature of Dukuchhap Danuwar. They are linked with space, nature, relationships with other caste and ethnic groups and local deities including the Machendranath. Eg. When locals of Lalitpur brought

god Machendranath from *Kamaru Kamache* they spent their night at Dukuchhap of Lalitpur. On this auspicious occasion, local people hosted a party. They offer curd on *duna* (leaf plate) to Machendranath. The next morning, they found that a girl had born out of leftover *dahi* (curd) in the *duna*. Machendranath kept her name *duna* later, and her offspring's names were kept Danuwar (Shrestha et. al., 2009). Danuwars worship Machendranath, the god of rain-making and abundant agricultural production as their *maitee* god. They also worship local deities like Kumari, Mahadev, Tika Bhairab and Bhimsen by sacrificing animals on special occasions.

The information for this article is based on three months of fieldwork in 2006 (July-October) while conducting fieldwork for the Nepali Folklore Society and updated information in the different periods of time. I employed semi-participant observation, interviews, and case study methods collect information. I have included the lived experiences of Danuwar marriage and concerned faiths, beliefs, and practices to validate the collected information. Data thus collected are explained in line with theories on marriage, kinship alliance, reciprocity, social organization, and material transitions to deal their marriage stories and narratives.

Theoretical Debate: Marriage Alliance and Rules of Exchange

Marriage alliance binds clans, making affinal relationship, legitimacy, and economic exchange between bride-giver and the bride-taker. It runs under the principle of prohibition and complements the process of intermarrying (Dumont, 1968). Marriage contributes to forming social organization within particular groups under certain rules for negotiation, taboo, and exchange of brides and gifts from one family to another. Spouses who marry within their own ethnic boundaries have more social responsibilities and have strong relations with natal families. The rules of marriage alliance are influenced by the rules of secular and religious; sacred and profane; and pure and impure. Marriage approves the sexual union between couples that recognize them legally to their offspring (Beattie, 2004; Mair, 2004). Socially legitimized marriage relationships develop consanguinity and affinities within the family and kin groups helping to bond together. Marriage as a union between a man and a woman such that children born to the women are recognized legitimize offspring of both parents (Evans-Pritchard: 1951:110). Marriage is a universal institution that builds social relationship between two families under specific rules related to property inheritance, reciprocity, incest taboo, and beliefs.

Lévi-Strauss asserted that kinship structure is created through a marriage alliance, where men and women exchange from one group to another depending on the universal concept of incest taboo. Marriages between sisters and brothers, cousins and other consanguine relatives is forbidden. They lead to exogamy - marriage of women beyond the boundary of their own clan groups. The mutual exchange of women and wealth in Danuwar marriage practice can be observed between two

families from different clan groups within their own societal boundaries.

This process of wife exchange balances the transition of gifts, commodities and other ceremonial goods between two families. Lévi-Strauss argues that exchange plays an important role for social bonds, integrity, and social organization similar to Durkheim idea of division of labor (Prechel, 1980). In fact, the rule of exogamous exchange in marriage builds the reciprocal relationships between wife-givers and wife-takers. Exogamous marriage systems function as a “means of securing or displaying the interlocking of social groups with one another” (Lévi-Strauss: 1966: 109). In Danuwar society, it is not mandatory for the wife-givers’ family members to be wife-receivers. They may or may not give and receive the bride as a form of exchange. However; breaching the rules of incest taboo in marriage is considered to be a great crime, and are punished. The incest prohibition is taken to be a protective measure, shielding the species from the disastrous results of consanguineous marriages (Lévi-Strauss: 1969:13).

In Lévi-Strauss’s terms, the rule of prohibition in marriage formed an elementary structure of kinship through prescriptive marriage practice. In such practice, an individual is not allowed to marry and have sexual relations at one’s will but should strictly adhere to the rules of prohibition. The incest prohibition is a prescription for exogamy marriage and provides guidelines for the exchange of women which is a form of reciprocity that is an elementary means and bounding social groups to one another (Dousset, 2018). The marriage rules do not define kinship alliances but rather create social groups, whether they give or receive wives from one another (Lévi-Strauss, 1966). The universal systems of kinship classification determine the prescription of marriage as to who should be married and who is not within the groups. The endogamy and exogamy in both marriage practices run in accordance with the customary jural system. Therefore, these systems are prescriptive marriage. However, the trend of preferential marriage is gradually increasing, and some members of the Danuwar community marry out of their community. Some have a desire for Sanskritization. In preferential marriages, an individual can tie his nuptial knots with specific kin groups. This strengthen the inter-familial cordial relations. Cross-cousin marriage, levirate and sororate contribute to lasting inter-family bonding. If an individual is free to choose their marriage partner beyond their caste and ethnic boundaries, this will lead to a complex structure of kinship. In prescriptive or preferential marriage new social groups are formed through reciprocity, compensation and punishment in their post-marital life. This creates dyadic relationships through give-and-receive between two families in different forms such exchange might be wives, goods, fests and ceremonial gifts, bounded by moral obligations, social pressures, loyalty and responsibilities which have both symbolic and material significance.

The rules of the incest taboo defend intra-familial sexual relationships in Danuwar society, where marriage between brother and sisters or parents and children

are prohibited. The prohibition of marriage means prohibition of sexual relations between certain kin members of their community. The rules of conducting marriage only within their village leads to strong kinship network relationship within the different households. This helps in solving their identified problems without the support of outsiders. Danuwar community search for a bride for their sons outside of their clan groups but within their own community. This protects the community from sexual relations within clan groups, and hostility. This is a form of inbreeding management of reproduction through marriage rules. The offender of incest taboo is ruthlessly punished. Such punishments include out casting from village and boycotting in social gatherings and rituals.

There is reciprocity in marriage alliance but cross-cousin marriages are considered sin and pollution, unlike the practice that is readily accepted in other ethnic groups like Magars and Tamangs. This protects from felonious sexual relationships and turbulence within family members and kin groups. Danuwar parents and spouses are aware that marriage will create a new form of kinship structure different from that before they engage in marriage. The alliance theory concentrates not on the formation of groups, but on the relations established between them through the marriage (Ingold: 1997: 802).

The rules of incest taboo are enforced through avoidance of physical contact. In Danuwar community a younger brother's wife is forbidden from touching her spouse's elder brother. Similarly, a brother is banned from touching his younger brother's wife. A husband is forbidden from touching his wife's elder sister. A father of a man is forbidden from touching his daughter-in-law's mother. Similarly, a mother of a man is banned from touching the father of his daughter-in-law.

The rule of avoidance in Hindu society is considered to protect from wrongful relationships and respect one another throughout their life in many ways. The rule breakers are punished and required to pay fine in the form of gifting eggs, liquor, and *sellroti* – a ring-shaped deep-fried bread. This is shared among the members of the kinship groups and relatives. The relationship between men and women produces the disturbance or crisis in the equilibrium relationship between individual and group which they call interaction theory (Chapple and Coon, 1942). Arnold van Gennep (1960) says, marriage re-establishes a new equilibrium relationship in the changing situation and brings a new dimension in the marriage alliance. Srinivas (1996[2001]) has argued that alliance between two different caste groups is also possible through caste mobility; when a low caste or tribe woman marries with a high caste male, her social status is elevated to higher caste which he called Sanskritization.

Negotiation for marriage in Danuwar society is carried out through the initiation of parents, relatives, and friends. The rule of incest taboo demarcates the boundary of negotiation. Thus, they negotiate with clan groups for marriage. Any breach of this rule will lead to excommunication from their community and be punished. Such

punishment, for instance, may include rejecting to eat or drink anything offered by the person. They are prohibited to engage in *levirate* marriage practices and is considered as sin. In a marriage arranged by the parents, the decision of senior-most member of the family and relatives prevail. Such a person will play the role of a matchmaker.

Different channels are used to convince the members of the bride and groom families. This strategy facilitates understanding of attitudes, feelings, and perceptions of the bride and groom. They also bargain for dowry including gifting of commodities like dress, ornaments and land. The following conversation between prospective bride and groom shows the persuasion:

Prospective groom: I will love you. I will not marry another woman and manage everything that you need. I think I am suitable for you.

Prospective bride: I can't believe any male. They have double tongues. In the beginning, everyone gives lip service but after marriage, they forget everything and do whatever they like. They pierce thorns in the heart of women and these thorns are difficult to pull out. We women are forced to survive with a heavy heart. Most of the males are deceitful in their commitments what they promise to do before their marriage.

A member of Danuwar community is free to joke, tease or wink at each other or even exhibit gestures during negotiation for marriage. These activities are considered helpful in fostering love in their marriage. However, erotic behavior and pre-marital sex are prohibited. I had observed newer generation of Danuwars practicing love affairs and trying to understand the way of love marriage and conjugal life. They keep their love relationship secret from relatives and family members. Only a close group of friends would know about such relations. They would make their relationship status public once they consider it to be mature enough to be converted to a marriage.

Boys start to begin a relationship with girls as early as at the age of twelve years. There are several reasons to negotiate from an early age including the uneven population between different clans, an uneven male and female population and the tradition of *budhi kanya* – spinsters. Nowadays, Danuwar girls have been eloping with men outside of Danuwar community. This has created pressure among Danuwar boys to find eligible girls from within their communities for marriage. Such negotiations for beginning a relationship between a boy and a girl may occur at their farmland, local marketplace, workplace and special occasions like *jatra*-“procession or carnival”.

If the boy and girl strike a chord, they agree to elope for a few days. This will then lead to their parents engage in a negotiation for marriage and if there is an agreement between the parents, the marriage would be socially accepted. These days Danuwar girls are found eloping with members from other ethnic groups.

This has resulted in social mobility. Outcaste marriage is looked at seriously. Such marriage hardly gets social legitimacy. The clan leader *Thakali* would decide on punishment for violations.

Negotiation for marriage focus on ownership of property, including land, ornaments, business, and social position. A would-be bride's family would look for factors like the vocation of the would-be groom, possession of land, business, knowledge, physical capacity among others. The would-be groom's family would look for beauty, faithfulness, loyalty, generosity and industriousness in the would-be bride.

The marriage mainly occurs in the month of Nepali calendar Baisakh-Asad (mid-April to mid-July) in the summer and Mansir (mid-November to mid-December), Magh-Falgun (early October-mid-November, mid-January to mid-March) in the winter. These months are appropriate for the marriage because they have adequate grain to make *jand* – “liquor” at home. Marriage is concerned with social prestige and it is the duty of the families to provide warm hospitality to the guests and other invitees during the marriage. There is a long discussion with the family and relatives particularly about the feast, party, bride price, and dowry. In Danuwar society, marriage is taken as a process of a bet, it has been associated with physical strength and social prestige of the people. Indra Bhadur Danuwar shared his bygone days' memories of marriage bet as:

A group of girls bet with me at the rice harvesting field. They challenged me to lifting a sack of rice without my knee touching the ground and if I win one of them would marry me and if I failed, I would have to serve as their *hali* – “plowman” for one year. I accepted their proposal and was able to succeed in the bet, then I got married to one of the four girls. Rumors spread in the village that I married four girls. It was not true. On the same day, my *sasura* – “father-in-law” and *sasu* – “mother-in-law” were angry with me and beat me up. They broke the windows of the house where I kept the girls. When I got the punishment, I thought I became the perfect son-in-law.

Typology of Marriage Practice

Marriage by Capture: Marriage by capture is widely popular in South Asia, South-East Asia, the Caribbean and Australia (McLennan, 1865; Barnes, 1999 & Ahearn, 2001). In the capture marriage groom and his friends identify a possible bride' and kidnap her for marriage (McLennan, 1865; Stross, 1974). Danuwar call this capture marriage *Tāne bībāh*- “capture marriage” and Magar called *jabarjasti chhopeko*- “forcibly/violently grabbed” (Ahearn: 2001: 99). In Nepal, marriage by capture is popular in Danuwar community like in the Magar (See Ahearn, 1994, 2001) and Tamang community (Holmberg, 1996). Marriage by capture is an alternative

strategy of marriage by elopement, love marriage, and arrangement among Magar, Tamang, and Danuwar communities in Nepal. Such an act is illegal. In Danuwar society, if anyone performs marriage by capture, it has to be endorsed by social and ritual practices. This is done under the pressure of the society or the existing laws of the state. Additionally, they follow the rules of the incest taboo to protect them from hostility, genetic horror, and recession.

These days, boys engage in marriage by capture as the last resort when their parents fail to negotiate an arranged marriage or the love proposal is rejected by the bride or groom's family. Capture marriage in Danuwar society is not a capture marriage in its true sense because such marriages are carried out only after consents from both the bride and groom. Several rounds of negotiations occur between both parties at locations like workplaces, farmlands, schools and different occasions. Many times, peers, friends, families and villagers would already know about the planned marriage by capture. Sometimes this practice has also led to soured relations among the families and this action had been carried without their consent.

While the parents of the bride could be in oblivion about the plan for a marriage by capture, the groom would have confided this to his close friends and relatives in return for some support in this endeavor. Danuwars do not readily accept marriage by capture unlike the parents of the Magar community. Marriage by capture saves the expenditure of the families. But the groom is liable to throw a ritual party to his friends and relatives for their support. In addition, capture marriage is pseudo marriage because bride and groom will already have set up a plan for marriage by capture and it is not instantaneous. The girl would say, "You can capture me when I will wait on the way".

Marriage by capture may also be instantaneous. In this, a group of boys would forcibly capture a girl and take her to their village. She will then be compelled to marry one of the boys through pressure from the people. Krishna Bahadur said, "If the parents of the girls get any information of possible capturing of their daughters, they keep a close eye on their daughters and prevent them from being captured". In the case where a group of boys capture a girl, she is taken to the home of one of the boys and a message is sent to the girl's parents about the capture. The parents and relatives come to the house and beat the boy for the capturing.

The boy's relatives try to convince the girl's parents not to stop violence. If the girl refuses to marry the boy who captured her. The boy's parents, friends and relatives try to convince the girl for marry and help to maintain the social prestige of her family. The girl's resistance would be settled through negation between parents, relatives and kin members. The girl's rejection could be linked to a bargain for a better life in the boy's family. Kānchi Danuwar recalls her memory of captured marriage as;

I was captured by a group of boys when I was at the age of fifteen. It was evening time. I shouted but no one came to rescue me. They

captured me against my interest. I refused to go to the house of my husband. The boys' group convinced me in many ways and persuaded me to accept him [my husband]. He put *sindoor* vermilion powder in my head. On the same day, they celebrated the party with meat and *janad* because they were successful in their mission. Since then, I did not have any alternative way. I was bound by societal rules. The next day, my parents received the message of capture. They came with a stick to beat my husband. He accepted the pain. Getting beaten by a stick is a good remark to judge the qualification of a groom in our society. A few days later, my parents accepted our marriage and invited us to the natal house. We took meat, eggs, and *sagun* against the bride price for them and fixed the date of *negh bujhaune*-“bride price”. Since then, I bow my head on the feet of my husband by saying *la Krishna Kamal*... These days' capture marriages occur only after a love affair. The capture marriage minimizes the financial burden on the family.

Magi bibah-“arrange marriage”: Arranged marriage is popular in South Asia where the kin members, relatives, and friends play an important role in arrangement of marriage based on societal rules and regulations. A *lami* (matchmaker) negotiates between two families and if their birth charts match a date for marriage is agreed upon. Arranged marriage in Danuwar society is similar to other societies around their vicinity. Parents and relatives are responsible to manage marriages. For example, they promise a bride exchange from one family to the next mainly between different clan groups. Sometimes, such an arrangement or negotiation begin at an early age of their children. Danuwars fix the date of marriage without matching their birth-charts in or consulting with priests. High-caste Hindus have been following such practices over the generations.

When two families agree on the marriage, then the groom's families has to gift *raksi*- “liquor”, *phul* “chicken eggs” and throw a small party. On the first day of marriage, the parents of the groom give a *dalo roti* “a basket with full bread”, *ek gagri chang* (one-gallon liquor), a hen, and buffalo meat for a feast. The parents of the groom have to bear more expenses than the parents of the bride. Social prestige is an important aspect of the marriage ritual. The groom's family pays due attention on meeting all basic traditional requirements during marriage parties to relatives, and villagers. Sometimes, they borrow money to organize marriage parties or purchase ornaments, clothes and other necessary items. The parents of the groom should gift clothes ie *sari* and *choli* to the friends and female relatives of the bride as a ritual. Failure to arrange for such gifts are considered an embarrassment.

Danuwar of the Siraha districts cry when a son is born in the family as they will have to bear a huge cost for the son's marriage. This is manifestation of poverty in the community as well as the fear of burden to splurge on large amount of money in purchasing food items, ornaments and clothes.

The cultural practices of ethnic groups depend on kinship based on marriage and fictive kinship. Danuwar extend their kinship relationships within the same social boundary through marriage within their own village among the different clan groups. Danuwar marriage procession starts from the groom's house by playing traditional *maadal* (drum), singing and dancing while they move towards the bride's home. Members of the Danuwar community, relatives and some members of the non-Danuwar community like Brahmin, Chettri and Newar who are living around the vicinities of their village are also invited to the marriage procession. Family members consider a new bride as a symbol of prosperity and wealth, equivalent to the Hindu goddess Laxmi. A bride is adorned with jewelries, new clothes and extensive makeup kits.

On the day of marriage, the groom pays NPR 50 and a *phariya* sari to his mother-in-law and the bride's elder sister get NPR 150 as ritual gift for taking care of the bride since childhood. The groom puts *sindur* (vermillion powder) to the bride's head and she is accepted as a wife. Following this ritual, the bride is expected to be faithful and loyal to the husband throughout the life. Hindu women use *sindur* while they attend public places and it symbolizes the marital status of the woman and may protect them from sexual abuse. Putting *sindoor* is not allowed after the woman is widowed. Bhalla (2005) explains the medical significance of putting *sindoor* on the forehead as "the application of vermillion helps to avoid wrinkle and skin problems and protects one from the evil influences. It also deters the spread of life".

Danuwar women believe that the *sindoor* on the forehead should not be displayed in public and should be covered in veil. The elder brother gives the vermillion powder to the groom to put it on the bride's forehead. The *jethaju* (husband's elder brother) and *buhari* (brother's wife) are forbidden from touching each other's beds for at least a year into the marriage.

In an arranged marriage, the sister-in-law of the bride (groom's sister) puts a cloth to block the entry of the newly married couple into the groom's house. In this practice of *dailo chhekne* (block the door), the groom has to gift the sister in clothes and cast to get entry into the home. This is in return to the care and raising of the groom through his childhood by his sisters.

Marriage builds the relationship between two families that make a new web of kinship. Marriage contributes to economic advancement, social integrity, and mutual affection between the wife giver and the wife. In their understanding, marriage means reciprocity rather than a sexual relationship. The wife-giver expects help in difficult situations, particularly in the peak season of agriculture, special occasions and funeral ceremony. The son-in-law has a social obligation to help his wife's family in difficult circumstances. The son-in-law role is important to set fire to the corpse, distribute the *sunpani* (water with gold dipped in it) and change the cloth of the *kiriya putri* (mourner) on the occasion of *umkane din* (purification

day). In response, he receives some gifts such as utensils and clothes. The married couple needs to visit the *sasural* (wife's parental home) on special occasions such as Dashami and Dipawali with special foods i.e. *chiura*- "beaten rice" and "meat" known as *sasuralmane*- "respect to bride's family with special food".

The groom receives *tika* from *sasu*- "mother-in-law", *sasura*- "father-in-law" and other respected kin members of bride family. There is a proverb *sukha pare sasurali dukha pare mit ghar janu*- "go to the home of your father-in-law when you are pleased and visit to *mit*- "fictive friend" when you are in trouble". This proverb presents the affinal interrelationship and reciprocity between two families and friends which formed through marriage and fictive ties.

Bhagi bibaha - "marriage by eloping": This type of marriage is popular across the world, but its process is different from one society to another. *Bhagi bibaha* is based on the consent between parents of boys and girls. They usually elope on different occasions like *mela* (workplace) and *jatra* (festivals). They have freedom to choose their partners within their society. Some family members reject such marriage if it occurs with a Dalit. Boy and girl of marriageable age would elope but if it occurs outside the community, it is often considered as breaking of the social norms and have repercussions. These days' marriage outside of their ethnic group is increasing and this has resulted in caste mobility. For example, one *Danuwar* lady eloped with a Newar boy while working on a farm field. Villagers narrated their views about the event as;

Sarmila (pseudonym) breached the social rules and bring shame to her father. She crossed the boundaries of our culture. She lacks *lāj* (shame) and *saram* (shyness). We will never accept her in our society. Let's see how she adjusts to him. We do not like to see her face. *Āimāi jāt bhemān thikthām basmān* (Women should stay in the right place). She destroys our ethnic identity and social dignity".

Social acceptance of love marriage in *Danuwar* community comes with conditions, including such relations to remain within their ethnic identity and oblige social rules. To breach the rules leads to disharmony within their society, thus, they accomplish all kinds of ritual processions whether they get married by eloping or marriage by capture. Ram Hari *Danuwar* narrates his love story as:

We struck relationship two years ago. We love each other. I followed her every day during all her activities. It was my daily schedule. I don't know how it happened. Her parents came to know about our relationship and tried to separate us. My parents were not interested to see her as a daughter-in-law. However, my grandmother facilitated my love. Last April we planned to elope but it was stopped due to the death of her mother.

Ram Hari got married the following year. They are conscious of their duties towards their parents despite their marriage by eloping. They are faithful and loyal to religious values and show their due respect to their ancestors. Marriage by eloping is increasing in Danuwar community. This is replacing the practice of marriage by capture. The concept of love marriage is fueled by global-local relationships. Increased access to education, communication and transportation has brought fundamental transformation in marriage practices in the community.

Polygamy: Social Obligation or Seed of Tussle

Polygamy in Danuwar society is widely seen based on prestige, power, and economic resources. In Danuwar society, first marriage is considered prestigious, and obligatory. For example, the first marriage is much more prestigious for both males and females because they should strictly follow societal rules. Such rules are not necessarily followed in the second or third marriage. Society has no restrictions on polygamous marriage. Danuwar males engage in polygamy to present themselves as superior and powerful in their society. A second wife is considered as additional labour resource for males. In Danuwar society, marriage is taken as an indissoluble union between male and female. The relation of husband and wife is considered to last even after death. The practice of remarriage, separation, and adultery is considered a sin that degrades their social position.

Mahabharata the greatest Hindu epic has depicted Lord Krishna with over 16,000 wives who were seduced by the tune of his flute and his intelligence. On the contrary, *pandava* (five brothers) shared one – *Draupadi* - wife among the five brothers – an example of fraternal polyandry. The influence of myth could be observed in the different caste and ethnic groups in South Asia. Polygamy is observed in Danuwar community that may or may not be sororate.

Polyandry develops internal tussle and jealousy between co-wives when a husband shows biases or continuously keeps the relationship with one wife than the other. The other wife becomes sulky and uncongenial to the husband. Polygamy makes the first wife inferior and disappointed. In the field, I asked some males why they have two wives. They replied as, *mardha kā duitā ke chār ota* (Men have not only two but four wives). This shows male sexuality and supremacy over females. The notion of misogamy prevails in Danuwar society, where male domination and hegemony are seen in both public and private spheres. The male domination prevails in their sexuality mainly in sexual attraction, feeling and emotion.

Polygamy marriage creates complexities i.e. a male who has two wives, a younger wife is usually closer to the husband, *sasu*—“mother-in-law”, and *nanda*—“sister-in-law”, which develops suspension, jealousy and scuffling among one another. I heard that *sasu* abused her *buhāri* as, “If my son brings a second wife, he will throw you like a glass of tea”. The one-way inclination of the husband to the

second wife for sex and property and disappoints the first wife. They may curse as, “Your lovely wife gives the food, love, and everything but I cannot provide you these things to fulfill your desire”. The co-wives of the Danuwar community seek equal rights over the sex, properties, and material assets in the family. Kamala Danuwar (pseudonym) was dissatisfied with her husband because he got married to another woman after the birth of her fourth child. He got married without giving me any clue and forgot the promise he had made when we got married. This is my worst day because *sautā* (co-wife) came into my life. I am hurt forever. She further said, *mero chāti mā kilā thokna āyako* (Her arrival has pierced a thorn in my heart). She made a plan to file a polygamy lawsuit against him. She, however, abandoned the idea as she did not want to inflict any pain on him. She was faithful and loyal to her husband. In Nepali society, *sautā* considered a source of pain and hurt. In the field, I asked one question regarding pain *sautā*-with Samjhana replied as *bandadelā sabmān dekhela man dadelā nadekhilā* (everyone can see the fire in the forests but no one sees the heart burn). Plural marriage brings dissatisfaction, pain, hurt, and conspiracies between co-wives. In the study area, there were twenty-eight cases of polygamy and three were sororate marriage.

Inter-caste marriages have flourished due two reasons: first the desire to “hypergamy” which helps to upgrade their social status. The second, to achieve materials including land, properties and money for social security. The increase in literacy, influence of social media, access to mobile phones and regular contact with people outside of the community has led to increase in inter-caste marriage in Danuwar community. This has played an important role in caste mobility and changes their ethnic boundaries. Ethnic boundaries are being fluid through assimilation, migration, interrelationships and inter-caste marriage practices.

Ethnic affiliation changes due to their caste mobility, the trend of hypergamy, and assimilation with other groups (Levine, 1987). Danuwar imitates several socio-cultural practices of high-caste people such as Brahmin, Chhetri, and Thakuri. The adaptation of marriage processions and imitation of ritual practices from high-caste Hindus contributed to social mobility and cultural transformation known as Sanskritization. Such adaptation is influenced by Hindutva. Literacy skills play a catalyst role for changes in love, courtship and marriage practices. For instance, marriage by captured and arrange marriage are being replaced by marriage by eloping (Ahearn, 2004). The unification and nation-state policies of the countries have forced non-Hindu ethnic groups and Dalits to adopt dominant cultural values and ritual practices through the centralized laws, and legislations. The unification project of King Prithivi Narayan Shahu and declaration of Hindu state, Jung Bahadur Rana’s creation of caste-hierarchy through *Muluki Ain* - Civil Code in 1854, and one nation, one language and one religious policy adopted during Panchayat era (1960-90) have all contributed to domination of one group and devalued minorities culture and their ritual practices.

Members of Danuwar community follows their cultural rules in marriage practice to maintain their ethnic identity. In the Kamalkhoj, Danuwars had their own judicial administration named the *Manjani* System like another jati assembly at local level. The Manjan was the chief judicial-administrative head, equal to that of today's judge and Chief District Officer (CDO), but the Danuwar court followed unwritten, customary laws handed down by tradition (Khatry, 1995). In the Rana period (1846-1951) Danuwar of Kamala *Khoch* solved their marriage problems like cross-cousin marriage (marriage with MBD and FSD), inter-caste marriage, and *jāri bibāha* - "adultery marriage" were settled through indigenous judiciary system called *manjani*. The *Manjan* and the *Sabhapati* (the president) also had responsibilities to maintain ritual purity. For instance, they punished to those who engaged in an illegal marriage and fix the amount of *Jari* (adultery). There are some provisions of punishment related to marriage, if anyone breaches rules concerning marriage failure, cross-cousin marriage and marriage outside their caste (Khatry, 1995).

In Dukuchhap *talukdār*, *mukhiyā* and *thakāli* have the authority to decide over such cases. Rule breakers get a punishment like standing with a log of wood and paying compensation in case of adultery. *Talukdār* provides services for free but during special occasions like Dashai and others he gets the head of a slaughtered buffalo as a gift for his special contributions to the community. When a woman leaves her husband for another man, the new husband has to pay *jāri* - "compensation". *Jār* must pay marriage compensation in cash and kind based on customary laws in the presence of *talukdār*, *mukhiyā*, and *thakāli* of their village. In the past the new husband, seducer's, nose was cut off and had his head shaved and sent out of the village.

Marriage and Suspicion

In *maitee* (natal home) the daughter is considered scared but when she grows older she is looked at suspiciously by members of the family. I observed that parents and relatives would abuse the daughter if her activities are considered to be beyond the family's interest. They would scold the daughter by saying *kholeti khan purdimla* - "I will bury you", *tora bibāha kardimlā* (I will get you married) and *gor bhāncha dimlā*- "I will break your legs".

Some women prefer not to get married their entire life and remain *budhi kanya* - spinster. There are several reasons behind this. While some don't like getting married within their same caste others would not have found suitable partner in their community. *Budhi kanya* do not have equal rights as son in the natal home. They don't have ownership of any property but receive a small portion of property as *jiune bhāg* - "portion of property for survival". Sometimes, villagers are suspicious of the motives of the unmarried women. They chide her and pass satirical remarks like : *saikā ghar najāne mānush sorganāpuge* - "There is no way to heaven without marriage". They spend their entire life in the parental home. Cohabitation is

considered impure and restricted within Danuwar society. If the girl spent one night out of home with any male she is blamed for losing her virginity and society forces her to marry that male. Danuwar people are aware of purity that they would also like to preserve through marriage practices. Sexual impurity is considered as sin therefore, Danuwar women and girls should be away from cohabitation and adultery.

Dowry, Bride Price, and Bride Exchange

Dowries were common in the Near East, Europe, East Asia, South Asia, and some parts of the Americas (Maitra: 2008: 440). The exchange is reciprocal between the families of bride and the groom. This process is not simply a contract or negotiation for material exchange between two families of bride and groom. There are issues including social obligation, prestige, identity and cultural values linked with this. “The marriage payment which is described as “a social obligation”, must be made by the family of the bridegroom, and inability to pay means that the family will be held in low social esteem (Herskovits: 1952:165). Two types of marriage payment are conventional. The first contrasted bride-price or bride-wealth’, a transfer of resources from the groom’s family to the bride’s in acknowledgment of the transfer of rights over her productive and reproductive capabilities (Uberoi: 1994: 232).

Dowry is considered a mode of exchange of wealth among the Danuwars. “The mode of gift exchange, like the mode of the exchange of women, is believed to express something of the ‘meaning’ of marriage and the nature of social solidarity in the societies concerned (Uberoi: 1994: 232). The ceremonial and gift exchange is popular in marriage like in other non-literate societies. This is a process of economic transition, which is based on the customary rules of the society. The circulation of goods is widely observed in Danuwar society through the exchange of daughter.

Marriage is not simply a matter of union between boys and girls. It is a larger social concern where kin and the familial relationships would be observed in the rituals, festivities, and labor relations. Dowry and bride price is a form of payment at the time of marriage (see Maitra, 2008). Dowry is transferred from the family and relatives of the bride to the groom’s family which would be mainly movable properties such as marriage gifts. Bride price is given by the groom’s family to the bride’s family in cash and cattle (Kuper, 1982). The bride price is paid to the bride’s family before the marriage to get the bride. There might be a negotiation to pay ceremonial expenses of rituals, feasts and other required materials. Hindus believe the bride is given the movable property for her dowry as her share of her parent’s estate. It is regarded as a form of pre-mortem inheritance; which women receive when they leave their parental home at marriage (Sharma: 1994: 351).

There is no formal contract and agreement between the two families regarding the bride price. The negotiators are faithful in their commitments. There is a larger social significance of bride price in the post-marital life of the couple. For instance, the groom has to pay back to the natal home of the bride against the *kanyadan* –

“giving away the bride”. He contributes his labor and time in difficult situations. This kind of social mechanism contributes to ties and binds people together. There are transitions of goods between the families of bride and groom. Such transition could be voluntary or compensatory. The gift-giving and reciprocity mechanism in marriage practice integrates and bind the newly established social relationships and contributes for expansion of kin groups of both the bride and groom. There are transitions of the commodities from one family to another where there would be symbolic meaning of their actions. In most of the society, the bride price offered by the parents or relatives could change over time based on the negotiations from the groom’s family members and kin groups. However, dowry has to be given on the day of the marriage.

Dowry and bride price are very common practice obligatory marriage payments for tying the knots between a groom and bride in Danuwar society. Families of bride and groom participate in negotiation of bride price, engagements for the celebration of feast and determining other expenditures and wishing success of the new couple’s conjugal life. This practice contributes to the substantive economy through transitions of goods and payment of certain amounts as determined by society. In Danuwar community, A groom must provide certain ritual services on different occasions to the bride’s parents. A groom contributes labour for the bride’s parent’s farm and supports in organizing of feasts and celebration of festivals throughout his life. A groom is considered an important person during death ritual of the bride’s parents. If the deceased person does not have own son-in-law, a son-in-law of nearest relative is required to perform rituals. This is an essential service by son-in-law to the father-in-law and mother-in-law in return to the *kanyadan*.

Dowry practices have both social and economic significance. First, parents give the dowry to their daughter because daughters cannot inherit parental properties and dowry is a form of compensation. Second, gifting of dowry is linked with social dignity. Some anthropologists have suggested that bride wealth is usually the mode of marriage payment in societies where women play a major role in the production and that it, therefore, signifies a measure of ‘compensation’ to the girl’s family for the loss of her labor (Uberoi, 1994: 233).

Danuwar pay *negh* NPR 43 as bride price. The bride’s parents send *raksi* and eggs and invite the bride and groom to their home where they pay *negh*. The bride and groom have to pay back the gift. Before entering to home, the newlywed couple keep the *sagun* in the door and bow their heads which symbolizes respect to the parents. In second marriage, giving *negh*-“bride price” and they dowry is as per wishes and no longer a social obligation. In the time of giving the bride price, they do not pay the separate charge to the mother and father like it is done in the *Thakuri* and *Gurung* communities of the Baragoan (Schuler: 1978:146-47). The process of giving bride price and dowry is considered as the larger process of commodities transitioning from one family to another. The process of giving dowry and bride

price creates social solidarity. Giving a dowry to a daughter has both economic and social significance. For instance, a dowry could be taken as compensation for the parental property. However, parents do not have any rights and ownership over the dowry in the post-marital period.

There has been an incredible change in dowry practice in all caste and ethnic groups in South Asia. The changes are the results mainly of the influence of the market, state laws and outsiders influence. The state has formed anti-dowry laws, but has failed to implement them strictly. There are evil practices in the name of dowry. Failure to provide dowry as demanded by groom's side have resulted in domestic violence against the bride or even divorce. These customary practices have been changing due to the influence of education, state laws, and globalization.

In Danuwar community, on the second day after the marriage ceremony, there is a *negh bujhāune* ceremony. Additionally, there is a program for bride and groom's parents formally greet each other called *samdā* and *samdani dhog*. This ceremony is manifestation of generosity. On this day *samdā* and *samdini* offer *tika* to one another. They can directly offer *tika* if they belong to the same sex. However, they throw *tika* to opposite sex with a curtain in between. On the same occasion, the bride's parents return to *negh* along with one *mānā* rice and *dakchinā*. The observers of the ceremony celebrate with *raksi*, *chiura* - "beaten rice" and meat. At last bride's parents call the groom's parents into their home. They sacrifice a chicken at *Tikā Bhairab* - "name of local deities" wishing longevity of the newlywed. This process tends to build strong bonds between newly establish affinal relationships. Danuwars believe that *Tikā Bahirab* saved life of a Danuwar bride from evil spirit and since then Danuwar of Duku sacrificed goat to the deity and wish a prosperous life of the newly married couple. This shows the close association between local deities and marriage rituals. There is a strong bond between a mother and a daughter before the daughter's marriage. Mother shares information about possible problems after marriage. For example, the mother shares the conflict and co-relation between the sister-in-law and mother-in-law. Parents advise their daughters to maintain reputation of their natal home. They learn about the social rules and practices through assimilation with other caste groups.

Marriage practices in Danuwar community is different from the practice of cross-cousin marriages of Sherpa of Helambu (Goldstein, 1975). When Clan A gives their daughter to Clan B's son, clan B gives their daughter to Clan A. In both clans' the wife-taker family is responsible to return the daughter to the wife-giver. If they do not have a daughter, they may give their close niece. This practice is undertaken on the basis of consent between the two families. The practices of daughter exchange are often taken as reciprocity. It creates a balance relation between two families. The parents of both families keep such proposals when they negotiate for the marriage of their children. For instance, the elder son of Dhan Kumari brought the daughter of Khil Bahadur later Khil Bahadur negotiate for the

daughter of Dhan Kumari for his son.

The daughter exchange practice formed a double kinship between two families and makes a strong alliance. The bride exchange agreement might occur between close kin groups. There is a taboo where the negotiation related to exchange practice is not discussed with anyone outside to protect them from the further destruction of their culture and values. This form reciprocity within two different clan groups play a significant role to solve the problem of economic and labor forces in their everyday life.

There have been informal agreements between two clans and this kind of alliance unlike the cross-cousin marriage such as “mother’s brother” and “elder sister daughter” are prohibited. The bride exchange processes are associated with social obligation, morality, and contract within the parent. This alliance makes the long-term balance in terms of material transitions through bride price and dowry. The significance of the bride price and dowry build a strong social bond between the two families. The wife-giver gets more respect than the “wife-taker” because *kanydān* is more important than another gift. The position of wife-giver is more honored and respectful than the wife-taker in many ways.

In the Danuwar community, grooms are required to perform some rituals in the event of death of in-laws. In the case of death of father-in-law, husband of an elder daughter must perform the ritual duties. Likewise, in the death of the mother-in-law, the husband of a younger daughter is important. The son-in-law will have to observe rituals and restrictions for at least one year of death of in-laws. While the son-in-law is restricted from drinking milk and using mustard oil after the death of his father-in-law and mother-in-law respectively.

The role of the son-in-law is important on the day of purification mainly to share bread and meat with the invitees and participants of the cremation service. On the same day, daughter of the deceased, offer tika to the female participants. Likewise, the son-in-law offer tika to the male and also give clothes to *kiriyaputri* - mourners. The married spouse must carry the special gifts on the special occasion at the natal home. This is a moral obligation that each spouse has to contribute to the natal home of his wife. A married daughter gets regular financial and moral support and this might continue after death of the parents.

Dowry, bride price, or bride wealth depends on the bargaining and negotiation power of the gift-giver and gift-receiver through marriage—which has social and economic significance in their marriage alliance. This small-scale ethnic community gives gifting and feasting his/her social prestige and obligation among friends, peers and societal members. The gift-giving and feasting understand in the sense of economizing versus squandering, one has spent a huge amount of resources for generosity and gives charities for welfare, prestige and fame. The economizing activities concerned with saving, calculating, intensifying, producing and pooling

resources, squandering wasting resources on the unproductive end where rich people give a considerable amount of their wealth to charities for noble causes, giving something and disbursement of amass wealth produce symbolic capital and reproduce the social relationships (Stewart and Strathern, 2000).

The gift and feasting program are conducted under social pressure from family members, relatives and friends which is important for paying *negh*. Dowry has voluntary features that have to be given for the welfare of their daughters. The bride exchange system maintains the equilibrium relationship within the different kin groups. All these practices are not necessary to be followed if they engage in a second or third marriage.

The custom of dowry is prevalent in the Nuer community of Sudan where marriage is linked to number of cattle received as gift. In the Terai region of Nepal *tilak* custom is well flourished as a form of dowry, where a family of groom expects dowry including lands, cash amount, clothes, vehicles, ornaments, and utensils. Danuwar people adopted dowry practices from the non-Danuwar society. They considered dowry as a form of give-and-take system of social organization. The parents of the bride and groom are expected to acquaint themselves with their families. The groom's family has to pay *raksi*-“local liquor”, *jnād*, and egg as the bride price. In the process of negotiation, the would-be groom's parents gift three *marchā* - “yeast seed to make liquor”, *three pathis* (One *pathi* kg is approximately 4kg) rice, and four *mana jnād* to the girl's father by the boy's father (Gautam and Thapamagar, 1995).

Although bride price system is outlawed, a few years ago, I observed such a system prevailing in far western Nepal. Such bride price is accepted only if the bride family cannot afford expenses for marriage by themselves. Earlier, Danuwar of Panchkhal has to paid Rs 80 as a bride price against the price of mother's milk including two *muri* of paddy and one *muri* maize (Lamichhane, 2062 v. s.).

If there is a capture marriage *lami* - “the matchmaker” plays a key role to convince the parents of the bride to come to the meeting point. They agree on a date of marriage and bride's parents invite the newly married couple by sending eggs and *raksi*. The married couple goes to the bride's home with 8-10 *manā* Jand and egg, one basket *selroti*, 3 *pathi raksi*, *chiura*, and a chicken. They throw a party for the relatives and this becomes a social congregation among them. On the same day, parents give the *arti updesh*—“advice” to their daughter for the longevity of their conjugal life.

Conclusion

Marriage practice in Danuwar society runs under the principle of taboo, purity and pollution, sacred and profane. The marriage practice reproduces the social relationships that occur in most marriage practices. The clan exogamy marriage in

Danuwar builds strong ties and interfamilial relationships. Different processes of reciprocity in marriage construct their unique identity. The rule of bride exchange strengthens kinship bonds, brotherhoods, and fraternity. Danuwar marriage creates new types of kinship alliances and social relationships under social obligation. They marry outside the conjugal family and abide by the rules of the incest taboo. This protects them from genetic hurdles, insecurity and hostility. Yet, Danuwar intermarrying practices with non-Danuwar groups have destroyed their ethnic values and practices. The ethnic boundaries of Danuwar ruptured due to government policies, and caste mobility that enforced to change the traditional marriage practices such as marriage by capture into elopement and love marriage. The clan exogamy has changed into inter-caste marriage. In addition, there has been a tremendous change in bride price, dowry systems and gift-giving practice, purity and pollution, mate selection, negotiation, wedding reception, and feasts that bring cultural fluidity and create a broader social network.

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