



The Social Science Review

A Multidisciplinary Journal

ISSN: 2584-0789

(Open-Access, Peer-Reviewed, Refereed, Bi-Monthly, International e-Journal)

www.tssreview.in

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PRINCIPLE OF GENDER FLEXIBILITY VIA SELECTED NARRATIVES FROM NORTH BENGAL

Anindita Saha

Ph.D. Research Scholar, Department of English, Sister Nivedita University, Kolkata, WB, India

Abstract

Tribal individuals are frequently shown as martial figures with physical abilities because they are viewed through the traditional contrast of savage and civilised perspectives. Consequently, indigenous people lack any other subtle gifts. This study examines folktales from three indigenous groups in North Bengal (Lepchas, Limbus, and Rabhas) to show that tribal men can exhibit gender fluidity beyond their physical appearance and male-centric behaviour. The Lepchas, Limbus, and Rabhas are the communities from whom the folktales will be chosen. This page aims to highlight the folktales of the Lepcha, Rabha, and Limbu communities through translation. The study will also include a critical investigation of the tension between folk traditions and classical traditions. This study aims to explore how folktales contradict the common idea of tribalism as primarily focused on warfare by examining oral tradition, cultural background, and the role of tribal males. This is achieved by utilising the term "mainstream." This paper aims to show how tribal categories, considered the "other" compared to the mainstream, and folk categories, seen as the "other" compared to the classic, are more gender-fluid and thus more inclusive of queer individuals constrained by the mainstream. This will be achieved through the utilisation of oral tradition, cultural context, and the tribal male. The ultimate aim of this project is to challenge stereotypes by embracing a gender-inclusive worldview that acknowledges the feminine and emasculated aspects of men in tribal societies.

Keywords: *folktales, gender fluidity, mainstream concerns*

Introduction

Tribal individuals are commonly depicted as warriors with physical abilities because they are viewed through the traditional contrast between primitive and cultured perspectives. Consequently, indigenous people lack any other subtle gifts. This study, focusing on folktales from three indigenous tribes in North Bengal (Lepchas, Limbus, and Rabhas), aims to show that tribal men can exhibit gender fluidity beyond their physical traits and male-centered perspectives. The folktales will be chosen from the communities of Lepchas, Limbus, and Rabhas. This page aims to highlight the folktales of the Lepcha, Rabha, and Limbu communities through translation. The study will also analyse the tension between folk traditions and classical traditions. This study aims to explore how folktales contradict the stereotypical view of tribalism as primarily focused on warfare by examining oral tradition, cultural background, and the role of tribal males. This is achieved by utilising the term "mainstream". This paper aims to show how tribal categories, considered the "other" of the mainstream, and folk categories, considered the "other" of the classic, are more gender-fluid and inclusive of queer individuals who are restricted by mainstream norms. This will be achieved through the utilisation of oral tradition, cultural context, and the tribal male. The

Published by:

Pather Dabi Educational Trust, (Regn No: IV-1402-00064/2023), Under Govt. of West Bengal, India.

ultimate aim of this project is to challenge stereotypes by embracing a gender-inclusive perspective that acknowledges the feminine and masculine aspects of men in tribal societies. Folktales are crucial for spreading concepts of ethnicity and identity globally (Barmahalia, 177). Folktales serve to highlight the history and culture of different communities in contemporary society (Barmahalia, 177). This study will allow us to explore the lives of the indigenous people of Darjeeling and Sikkim. The conventional belief is that tribal people are seen as animalistic and uncivilised. Folktales can be applied to several aspects of our lives. It is deeply ingrained in our everyday lives. Folklorists aim to gather, preserve, and document the history of their specific locations. Folktales have always been linked with individuals who are seen to be of lower status, without knowledge, and uncultured. Unlike the esteemed classical arts, which are considered privileged. Academics have long believed that folktales are passed down orally through many informal means. They also argue that because most folktales are transmitted orally, they are prone to major changes in substance between each instance of transmission. Folktales strive to celebrate the diverse range of human experiences. Tribal nations' folklore consistently reflects an integrated view of the universe, emphasising the relationship between humans and the natural world. It includes information passed down through oral tradition from one generation to the next, as well as arts and practices passed down from one era to the next. This work will explore the tribes of North Bengal, specifically the Lepchas, the Limbus, and the Rabhas, by analysing them through various indigenous queer narratives. The text will demonstrate how folktales and myths help reveal a culture's past and enrich its cultural background through the use of numerous stories. The study's findings suggest a noticeable transition from traditional "mainstream masculinity" to a more effeminate category. The paper will show how folktales and myths help uncover a culture's past and enrich its cultural background through various examples. The report suggests that the shift from traditional masculinity to a more feminine category will be evident.

Discovering Lepcha Culture: Delving into the Folktales of the People

The Lepchas' origin myth and cultural features are vividly described by Lyangsong Tamsang in his book *Lepcha Folklore and Folk Songs*. He also gives his readers a handful of folktales. Tamsang further mentions:

“An attempt has been made for the first time to compile, translate the ancient, colourful, distinctive, interesting and lively oral literature of the Lepchas by a native Lepcha into English... clear, pure and original Lepcha folklores have been dug out, compiled and presented to the readers... It is said that folklore is a window through which a person can look into the culture, custom, tradition, way of life and civilization of a race” (Tamsang x).

Kerry Little, in her article *Stories of the Lepcha Narratives from a Contested Land* mentions about the “Lepcha elder Lyangsong Tamsang” to “tell the truth” about the Lepchas (Little 16) and therefore she is seen to dive into the Lepcha culture and bring out the unknown through various narratives.

In *History of the Last Born/Lesser One through the 'Trickster' in the Select Indigenous Oral Historical narratives of India*, Dr. Kaustav Chakraborty aims at pointing “out the alternative histories of the tribal communities manifested through the tribal tales...which violate the dominant ethos of the ‘mainstream’...” (Chakraborty 1252).

Lyangsong Tamsang has extensively discussed the several myths that have evolved into folktales in *Lepcha Folklore and Folk Songs*. There are a few of these documents about the Lepcha people's culture and way of life in the region, but none of them provide an interpretation or analysis of folktales. Now let's dive into these folktales to learn more about the native tribe and their historical culture. In *Lepcha Folklore & Folk Songs* Tamsang has written a great deal about the many myths that have evolved into folktales. The term "Beloved Children of Mother Nature and God" (Mutanchi Rong Kup Rum Kup) is how the Lepchas refer to themselves (Tamsang i). Folktales serve as both a source of education and

¹ For understanding the meaning of ‘mainstream’ See Akeel Bilgrami 1998, "Secularism, Nationalism and Modernity" in R Bhargava ed. *Secularism and its Critics*.

amusement for Lepcha people (Tamsang, xi). In his book *Lepcha Folklore and Folksongs*, Tamsang attempts to capture the vibrant, energetic, and age-old oral folk literature of the Lepcha people. He describes how the Lepchas believe that God created Nuzaongnyoo, the first Lepcha female, which means "ever fortunate," and Fadongthing, the first Lepcha male, which means "most powerful," from the pure and virgin snows of Mt Kanchanjunga's pinnacle in the chapter "Lepchas, the Children of Mount Kanchanjunga" (Tamsang, 3). "The Original Big Stone" alludes to the legendary beginnings of Khangchendzonga and its connection to the Lepchas, the indigenous people of Sikkim (Steinmann, 99). The mountain is known to the Lepchas as Kongchen Konglo, the "big stone," and their eldest brother, Itbu-mu, their mother creator (Wangchuk, Zulca). Given that God Himself created Fadongthing and Nuzaongnyoo, they were regarded as brother and sister. God gave them instructions and commanded them not to go beyond their bounds. The brother and sister were divided from one another by God. Nuzaongnyoo developed into a stunning woman who was eager to meet Fadongthing. Then, she broke her own rule by meeting Fadongthing, which was a sin. Later, after committing the sin, Fadongthing and Nuzaongnyoo were banished as husband and wife to the foothills of the mountain. There, they gave birth to multiple children, and as a result, the Lepchas refer to both of them as Poomthing, or the first progenitors of the Lepcha race (Tamsang, 4). The Lepchas offer prayers and ask for blessings annually because they believe that the first Lepcha man and woman lived in the snow-capped peaks (Doma, 6). They consider "Mayel Lyang," or the land of the hidden eternal country, to be the name of the foothill of the mountain where the Lepcha people reside. The Lepchas consider Mount Kanchanjunga to be their "Guardian deity." The smell of the native Lepchas, who have lived at the slopes of Mount Kanchanjunga for aeons, permeates the soils. For this reason, the Lepchas are often referred to as the Children of Mount Kanchanjunga (Tamsang, 4). One of the oldest traditional narratives of Lepcha history is the tale of the Earthen Tower, erected by skilled and knowledgeable Lepchas to reach heaven. Another Lepcha folktale, "The Story of Two Brothers," by Tamsang, provides proof that the smallest child can take the stage in a Lepcha folktale, defying the "mainstream" convention that favours the eldest or first born as the protagonist. We may examine those features because the book provides proof of many Lepcha myths and legends.

Alternatives can be found in the tribal folktales, where the underdog—the impoverished and the disadvantaged—becomes the main character in stark contrast to the "mainstream" tales of kings and princes. Most notably, the younger or lesser one transitions from depravity to wealth mostly by the act of playing tricks, a role that is typically viewed by the "mainstream" as malicious (Chakraborty, "History of the Last born," 1253). On the one hand, the younger brother's use of cunning to defeat the tiger in the folktale highlights how cunning can empower the less heroic; on the other hand, it exposes the element of "wonder" that folktales frequently evoke as mere deception. In comparison to his elder brother, who is portrayed as heroic due to his boldness and sturdiness, the younger brother stands in stark contrast (1261).

In her piece, Kerry Little discusses the documentary director Dawa Lepcha, who has captured Lepcha culture and eloquently conveyed their intimacy with the natural world. She goes on to discuss the hunting rituals that the Lepchas practise, which they no longer go through but still conduct on a regular basis to express to God that they still think of God even when they are not hunting. The tradition of their ancestors who once wandered the jungle barefoot, using stones, rocks, and guns, working under the guidance of their hunting deity, has ended for the majority of Lepchas, those who have given up hunting; however, even in the absence of the hunt, they continue to honour Pong Rum (Little 96). Their inclination towards myth, tradition and culture is very much evident. It is here, they take a leap from their masculinity to something that can be considered effeminate. Their inclination towards myth, tradition and culture is very much evident. It is here, they take a leap from their masculinity to something that can be considered effeminate.

The tale of the Limbus and their stories

Indian tribal people are often perceived as the military representatives of the ancient forest inhabitants who engaged in hunting. Levi-Strauss attempted to remove the stereotypical division between nature and

the mind, but there is a prevalent belief in the mainstream that tribal individuals are inherently "animalistic" or "savages" due to their perceived lack of civilization. This belief is exemplified by the notion that individuals who primarily hunt animals for food or move between berry patches are living akin to animals themselves. Anecdotes shared in indigenous cultures suggest that musical aptitude, rather than physical attributes, plays a crucial role in empowering tribal men. The Limbu folktales from the Darjeeling and Kalimpong areas seem to challenge the conventional perception of music as a weakly masculine or emasculated art form. It is achieved by linking ethnomusic with the tribal male. The human main character in *The Herdsman and the Last Ape-man* captivates the non-human listener with his flute performance.

The final ape-man, referred to as the Yeti or Sokpa, would sit alone on a hill, unaware that the rest had disappeared. One nightfall, the herdsman brought his cattle to graze on the hill. He constructed a small shack for his residence. In the evening, he meticulously counted all his livestock and was reassured to see no additional animals nearby, as otherwise, one of his sheep or cows would have been taken. He ignited a fire in front of his hut by utilising dry leaves and branches he had gathered. Subsequently, he pulled his bamboo flute from his bag and commenced playing it. The melody intrigued the ape, prompting him to approach the herdsman in order to listen more closely. Despite his intense terror, the herder persisted in playing his flute even after he noticed the yeti seated beside him. He ceased playing the flute owing to tiredness and placed it on the floor. The man retrieved his flute off the ground and gestured for him to play it again. Consequently, the herdsman had to keep playing until sunrise, when the yeti finally left. The next day, Sokpa visited the shepherd again and persistently urged him to play the flute. After the shepherd finished playing his flute, he placed it on the ground and stored it. The man-ape attempted to play the flute but was eventually unsuccessful due to his inadequate skills. The herdsman had a sudden bolt of inspiration. He entered the cabin and returned with a jar brimming with butter. He concluded the massage by spreading butter on his entire body, including his face, from head to toe. The yeti started to mimic him during their interactions. The butter quickly dyed the fur a brownish hue. Afterwards, the herdsman feigned roasting his body by extracting a heated twig from the fireplace and hovering it over himself. The yeti repeated the action, but its dense fur quickly caught fire. The Sokpa headed directly towards the highest tip of the ice mountain to escape the heat. From then on, it will be impossible to find a yeti in the vicinity as the last one has relocated far away to the peak of the ice mountain. The herdsman's vocation demonstrates his deep connection to nature, as does the spontaneous way in which the Yeti becomes charmed by his singing. The Yeti did not intend that at all. The ape-man's appreciation of the herdsman's music, coupled with the herdsman's intense fatigue and urgent desire to escape the Yeti, exposes an ethnocentric perspective that views the nonhuman entity not as a mere victim of violence, but rather as part of a relationship characterised by voluntary companionship, freedom to end the association, and the protection of personal autonomy for both individuals (Gibson, 392). The ape-man's flute playing, which initially captivated the herdsman, is later used as a tool to deceive the Sokpa by mimicking his every move, causing the last ape-man to escape to a distant area near the snowy mountains.

Examining Rabhas from a gender fluidity perspective

The perception of Native American communities in India is comparable to that of their more militaristic counterparts, the ancient forest inhabitants who engaged in hunting. Despite Levi-Strauss's endeavours to dispel the conventional dichotomy between the mind and nature, the polemical "mainstream" maintains an unequivocal conviction that tribal people are inherently "animalistic" or "savage" due to their lack of "civilisation"; as stated in the braidwood article: "An individual who dedicates his entire life to tracking animals for the sole purpose of slaughtering them for sustenance, or merely navigating from one berry patch to another, is in fact behaving animalistic behaviour" (Braidwood, 22). Conversely, the accounts passed down within indigenous communities demonstrate that musical prowess paves the way for means of empowerment for tribal males, surpassing physical prowess. Evidently, these Rabha folktales, which originate from the ethnic communities residing in the West Bengal districts of Coochbehar and Jalpaiguri, represent a form of defiance against the "mainstream" conventional perception of music as an inadequately masculine or emasculating art form. This is achieved by means of the customary association

of ethnomusic with the masculine members of the tribal community. Indigenous feminist imagination demonstrates that when examining tribal folktales from the perspective of gender fluidity, the sociocultural system as a whole is considered, as opposed to being restricted. Diverse authors have expanded the notions of gender and feminism, introducing fresh perspectives and introducing new dimensions of thought. They have also contemplated whether the so-called "animalistic" tribe has transgressed the established ethos of mainstream society and whether they can be examined through the lens of gender fluidity. The narrative of *The Lazy-gallant*, a Rabha tale, illustrates how the youngest brother is stigmatised with the word "laziness" due to his refusal to participate in labor-intensive, 'manly' activities such as woodcutting and animal husbandry. Instead, he engages in dotara, sleeping, capturing small birds, and other non-masculine pursuits. His older brothers were diligent labourers. Due to his inability to consume rice without meat, he slept every day and would play his dotara (a two-stringed instrument) or capture a few birds in the evenings. Individuals referred to him as the "lazy gallant" due to the fact that he exclusively pursued small birds. The lazy-gallant provoked the four wives and five siblings to wrath. Aside from feeding him daily meat and rice, only the eldest sister-in-law displayed compassion towards him; she fashioned his clothing from thread. Although older siblings attempted to remedy his lethargy, they were unsuccessful. They ultimately determined that eliminating him was preferable to continuing to sustain him despite his lack of productivity. Following supper, they intended to stab him. Upon discovering the strategy, the eldest wife advised the slothful gallant to refrain from using his bed. Subsequent to recommending that he slumber in the animal shed, his sister-in-law stacked bricks and stones on his bed before covering them with a sheet. The brothers returned home after supper and proceeded to their sibling's chamber. The five siblings pierced the covered sheet of the youngest brother, believing him to be concealed beneath it. They retired to slumber under the impression that the slothful gallant had passed away. They located their younger brother alive the following day. The slacker-gallant was advised by the eldest brother's wife the following morning to abstain from returning home for a number of days. He entered the forest with his dotara, some clothing, and a sufficient quantity of sustenance supplied by his sister-in-law. He spent the entire day playing his dotara. In the evening, he detected the presence of another individual and ruffled his shoulder. Upon turning around, he observed an attractive woman seated in the seat behind him. The young lady self-identified as a princess who was compelled to depart from her family as a result of her stepmother's malevolent plan. During her journey, she became enticed by the mesmerising melodies of his dotara. She proposed matrimony to the slothful gallant. They were in matrimony together in good faith. They laboured for several days on provisions that the sister-in-law had packed. Eventually, there was nothing left to consume. The slothful humorist advised his wife to seek assistance from his eldest sister-in-law. The eldest brother's spouse was ecstatic to meet the spouse of the lethargic gallant. She issued an order for the youngest brother's wife to advance Jhum cultivation, after which they led a contented existence. The manner in which the five elder siblings in this tribal tale imitate the colonial desire to eliminate the "effeminate-unmanly-man" and perform categorical masculinity appears to indicate that they are all for an externally standardised "status position." The elder brothers' repeated attempts to assassinate the helpless younger brother demonstrate that the colonisers instilled the capitalist belief that an individual's value is determined by their market value. In the traditional Rabha society, the archaic tribal concept of a fluid gender role has been intentionally substituted with patrilineal models, which are associated with non-indigenous cultures and the (Chakraborty, "Martial to Musical" 78). "Introducingd as a result of colonialism, the Christian faith propagated inflexible gender ideologies that supported and facilitated the exclusion of women from positions of authority...As a result of the inflexible gender system, roles are masculinized or feminised to an extreme degree; therefore, transgressing gender norms is stigmatised (Amadiume, 185).

Conclusion

In every instance, the interpretation of folklore and folktales ought to be carried out from the perspective of a certain culture or group. According to the traditions of the world of the tribal peoples, there is a consistent and enduring connection between the integrated world view of man and environment, animals and inanimate objects, the past and the present, and the dead and living beings. This obsession with the mainstream has been partially dissuaded, but the shift from what is known as mainstream masculinity to a

Published by:

Pather Dabi Educational Trust, (Regn No: IV-1402-00064/2023), Under Govt. of West Bengal, India.

category that may be classified as effeminate appears to be an obvious one. This is despite the fact that this fascination exists. This research was conducted with the intention of shedding light on the ways in which tribal communities, as depicted in tribal stories, offer alternatives that are in opposition to the prevalent mainstream worldview. The folktales that have been selected by the various tribes make it plainly evident that the fascination with the mainstream has been repressed in some way. Furthermore, they appear to shift from the so-called mainstream masculinity to a category that may be characterised as effeminate, which lends support to the concept of gender flexibility. Their beliefs in culture, myth, and numerous rituals frequently cause individuals to move away from the concept of "tribal sturdiness" (Chakraborty, "Martial to Musical" 80). As a result, these beliefs serve as a means of being resourceful as well as a mode of empowerment. These tribal folktales, on the other hand, provide a means of "...assist in refuting the 'mainstream' bias" (quoted in Chakraborty 80) by honouring the culture, myth, and rituals of the indigenous people.

Works Cited

1. Amadiume, Ifi. *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society*. London and New Jersey: Zed Books. 1987.
2. Barmahalia, Dr. Faguna. "Folklore and Ethnicity: A Study among the Rabhas of Assam". *International Journal of Creative Research Thoughts (IJCRT)*. Volume 6, Issue 2 April 2018. www.ijpub.org. Accessed 31 May 2021.
3. Barman, Kartick Chandra. "Folk Literature among the Rajbanshis of West Dinajpur: A Brief Study". *International Journal of Research & Analytical Reviews*. Vol.5 No. 4. Oct. – Dec. 2018 <http://ijrar.com/>. Accessed 02 June, 2021
4. Barua, B. K. *A Cultural Study of Assam*. Bina Library, Guwahati, 2003.
5. Bascom, William R. "Four Functions of Folklore" in Alan Dundes (ed.), *The Study of Folklore*. Berkeley: University of California. 1965. pp. 279–298.
6. Bentley, Jenny. *Láso Múng Sung: Lepcha Oral Tradition As A Reflexion Of Culture*. *Bulletin of Tibetology Volume 44 No. 1 and 2*. Namgyal Institute of Tibetology. Gangtok, Sikkim. 2008. www.himalaya.socanth.cam.ac.uk/collections/journals/bot/pdf/bot_2008_01-02_05.pdf. Accessed 16 August 2021.
--- "Vanishing Lepcha: Change and Cultural Revival in A Mountain Community of Sikkim". *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol. 43 (2007), pp. 59–79.
7. Bhawal, Paulami. "Evolution of Rajbanshi Society: A Historical Assessment". *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*. Vol. 20, No. 10: 1, Oct. 2015. www.iosrjournals.org. Accessed May, 2021
8. Blackburn, Stuart. *Himalayan Tribal Tales. Oral Tradition and Culture in the Apatani Valley*. Leiden, Boston: Brill. 2008
9. Braidwood, R.J. *Prehistoric Men*. Chicago Natural History Museum Popular Series, Anthropology, 37. 1957.
10. Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2000.
11. Chakraborty, Kaustav. *Queering Tribal Folktales from East and Northeast India*. Routledge India, 2020.
---"History of the Last Born/ Lesser One through the 'Trickster' in the Select Indigenous Oral Historical Narratives of India". *History Research Journal Vol-5-Issue-4*. September-October 2019. www.thematicsjournals.org/index.php/hrj/article/view/9441. Accessed 12 August 2021.
---"Martial to the Musical: De-stereotyping the Skills of Tribal Men in India through Select Folktales". *Drishti: the Sight Vol. IX, Issue: I*. May, 2020 - October, 2020. Accessed 11 August 2021.

- *De-stereotyping Indian Body and Desire*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing; Unabridged edition (29 January 2014)
- *Indigeneity, Tales and Alternatives: Revisiting Select Tribal Folktales*. Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study. 2017.
12. Chatterji, Roma. "Scripting the Folk: History, Folklore, and the Imagination of Place in Bengal. The Annual Review of Anthropology, 2016. Accessed 6 June 2021.
13. Chattopadhyay. Tapan. *Lepchas and Their Heritage*. Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corporation, 1990.
14. Devy, N. Ganesh. *A Nomad called Thief: Reflections on Adivasi Silence*. 1st Ed. Orient Longman Pvt. Ltd, 2011.
- *The G.N.Devy Reader with a Foreward By Rajeswari sunder Rajan*. 1st Ed. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Pvt. Ltd, 2009.
15. Diwas, Tulasi. *Nepali Lokkatha: Kehi Adhyayan*. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2033 B.S. Print.
16. Doma, Yishey. *Legends of the Lepchas, Folktales from Sikkim*. Tranquebar, New Delhi, 2010.
17. Dorson, Richard M. *Folklore and Fakelore: Essays Toward a Discipline of Folk Studies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1976.
18. Doty, Alexander. *Making Things Perfectly Queer: Interpreting Mass Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1993.
19. Dutta, Parasmoni. "Brief History of Folklore Studies with Special Reference To India." IGNOU, 2017. Accessed 29 May 2021.
20. Edmonson, Munro S. *Lore: An Introduction to the Science of Folklore and Literature*. New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Atlanta etc.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.1971.
21. Fine, G.A. "The Manson Family: The Folklore Traditions of a Small Group". Journal of the Folklore Institute, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1982), pp. 47–60.
22. Foning, A.R. *Lepcha: My Vanishing Tribe*. New Delhi: Sterling. 1987.
23. "Folk Literature and Language: Research and Pedagogy", IGNOU, 2018.
24. Freud, S., and D.E. Oppenheim. *Dreams in Folklore*. New York: International Universities Press Inc. 1958.
25. Lepcha, Charisma K. "When Nurkit Returns". *Bulletin of Tibetology Volume 43 No. 1 And 2*
26. Namgyal Institute of Tibetology. Gangtok, Sikkim. 2007
27. Little, Kerry. "Stories of the Lepcha: Narratives from a Contested Land". OPUS, 2013. www.opus.lib.uts.edu.au/handle/10453/24114. Accessed 16 August 2021.
- "Lepcha Hunters' Narratives of Their Hidden Landscapes". *Bulletin of Tibetology Volume 43 No. 1 and 2*. Namgyal Institute of Tibetology. Gangtok, Sikkim. 2007. www.himalaya.socanth.cam.ac.uk/collections/journals/bot/pdf/bot_2007_01-02_05.pdf. Accessed 16 August 2021.
28. Limbu, Damber Kumari. "The Folk Tales of Limbu Community: Celebration of Nature and its Symbolic Representation". Central Department of English Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal April 2016. <https://elibrary.tucl.edu.np/bitstream/123456789/3246/3/13043.pdf> Accessed 2 July 2021.
29. Lodrick, D.O. "Lepchas". Encyclopedia.com Worldmark Encyclopedia of Cultures and Daily Life <https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/lepchas>
30. Mishra, Mahendra Kumar. "Tribal Folklore and Oral Tradition". Folklore Foundation, India. Lokaratna Vol. IX, 2016. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/299537938_Lokaratna_is_the_E-journal_of_Folklore_Foundation_India_This_is_the_IXth_Volume_containing_articles_and_well_researched_papers_on_culture_folklore_language_pedagogy_art_oral_epic_and_myths_riddles_dr. Accessed 28 June 2021.
31. Nenola, Aili. *Gender, Culture and Folklore*. Centro de Estudos Ataíde Oliveira, 1999. <https://sapiencia.ualg.pt/handle/10400.1/1365?locale=en> Accessed 1 February 2022
- Miessydäminen nainen. Naisnäkökulmia kulttuuriin. (Manly-Hearted Woman. Culture from a Woman's Perspective) Helsinki. 1986

32. Nongbri, Tiplut. "Book Review: Lepcha, My vanishing Tribe". Sociological Bulletin, Vol 36. No.2, September 1987, pp. 133-136, Sage Publications. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23619200> Accessed 16 August 2021
33. Roy, D. C. *Dynamics of Social Formation among the Lepchas*. New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House, 2005.
34. Steinmann, Brigitte. Book Review: *Khangchendzonga: Sacred Summit* by Pema Wangchuk and Mita Zulca. *Bulletin of Tibetology Volume 43 No. 1 and 2*. Namgyal Institute of Tibetology. Gangtok, Sikkim. 2007. Accessed 16 August 2021.
35. Subba, Chaitanya. *The Culture and Religion of Limbus*. Kathmandu: K.B. Subba, 1995.
36. Subba, J.R. *Yumanism, The Limboo Way of Life*. Gangtok: Yakthung Mundhum Saplappa. 2012
---*Ethno-Religious Views of the Limbo Mundhums[myths]*. Siliguri: Shivakoti Printing Press, 2012.
37. Tamsang, Lyangsong. *Lepcha Folklore and Folk Songs*. Sahitya Akademi, 2000
38. Wangchuk, P and Zulca, M. *Khangchendzonga: Sacred Summit*. Little Kingdom, Gangtok, Sikkim, 2007, pp. 372.