



FOOD CULTURE AS A NARRATIVE TECHNIQUE AND CULTURAL IDENTITY IN UPENDRA SUBBA-DIRECTED *JAARI*

*Prakash Rai*¹ , *Dipankar Senehang*^{2*} 

¹Bhojpur Multiple Campus, TU, Bhojpur

²Kathmandu Bernhardt College, TU, Kathmandu

*Corresponding author: senehanglims51@gmail.com

Received date: 26 Aug. 2025 –Accepted date: 15 Dec. 2025

ABSTRACT

The food culture, or gastronomy covers various meanings across different cultures and contexts. As food reflects culture internally, it becomes more challenging to communicate precise meanings and cultural insights through food discussions when the audience share a distinct cultural background. However, Upendra Subba's movie *Jaari* portrays Limbu cultural practices and rituals, using food as a narrative tool to exhibit the Limbu culture and identity. In this regard, the paper explores gastronomy as a narrative technique and cultural commentary in Limbu socio-cultural praxis to address three specific research questions: What aspects of Limbu food culture are woven into the socio-cultural fabric of the Limbu community? How does the practice of food consumption serve as a narrative device to depict Limbu culture and identity? Why does food culture, as a narrative approach, play a crucial role in shaping and expressing Limbu socio-cultural identity? In order to answer the questions, the paper has employed Mary Douglas's concept of food as communication system and categorization and Roland Barthes's ideas of food as social semiotics. The answers and the analysis based on the interrogation reveal that food functions as a metaphor in socio-cultural spaces, carrying multiple meanings, with its metaphoric significance potentially revealing the most authentic way of life. It argues that food not only serves as semiotic system but as a storytelling device to communicate the Indigenous aesthetics of the Limbu community and connect deep cultural meanings with people's everyday life and actions.

Keywords: Food, memory, metaphor, social semiotics, and system of communication

INTRODUCTION

Jaari, a Limbu cultural film, directed by Upendra Subba released on 14 April 2023, uses gastronomy as a narrative technique and cultural commentary to reveal the complex connection between culinary practices and social harmony that shape the way of life in the cultural landscape in Nepal. The movie exposes that food serves not merely as a symbol but as a meaningful landmark to communicate and negotiate communal rhythms, cultural values and identities. This cultural and academic significance of gastronomy is reinforced by Bouvier (2005), who contends that “Brillat’s *Physiologie du goût* (1982) is not only one of the crucial founding works of modern gastronomy, but also, from a literary perspective, no doubt one of the richest of all gastronomic texts” (p. 101), highlighting gastronomy’s depth beyond the surficial level. Likewise, Hegarty & O’mahony (2001) assert that “gastronomy, the selection, preparation, presentation and participation with culinary...stylised methods of presentation and participation which, in many instances, are not designed for consumption merely, but also for status, ritualistic and aesthetic purposes” (p. 3) This shows gastronomy represents not only act of eating well but also the signifying of the intellectual, philosophical and scientific pursuit of understanding the complex relationship between food, culture and human experience.

Maberly & Reid (2014) describe gastronomy is an interdisciplinary approach to studying food culture and food system although it recognized as an underrepresented area in academia in which it is labeled as a ‘reductionist approach’ embedded within politics, business and culture (p. 272). The perspectives show that gastronomy crosses beyond the system of food preparation, presentation and consumption, functioning instead as a cultural language by which communities demonstrate values, negotiate identities and reinforces social structures. Drawing upon the scholarly insights, the film *Jaari* shows how food creates a sense of ‘obligation’ within Limbu and indigenous cultural values just beyond practical purposes. It instills individual, family, and social ideas of gastronomy as a way to connecting social status with culture and social life. Integrating physicality through kinship ties in ritual performances of the Limbu community, the film presents gastronomy as a symbol to strengthen and sustain the idea of a community as a whole as Leuthold (1998) argues that Indigenous aesthetics serves ‘as a means of expressing identities, the aesthetic emerges as an important aspect of self-representation to the larger non-native public’ (p. 1)., “As Visser (1999) states, “Meals have always been . . . an essential

medium for social sharing and relationship” (p. 123), the movie highlights how food can be a driving force for explaining social closeness and a means to spark rivalry, while also provoking a deep sense of responsibility. In this connection, *Jaari* criticizes the tension between Namsang and Hangma, as acted by Daya Hang Rai and Miruna Magar, due to their sterility and social pressure. When Namsang accuses Hangma of being infertile, the dispute causes Hangma to leave Namsang and stay at her own maternal home. The dispute reaches to the climax when Hangma elopes with Serang, acted by Roydeep Shrestha. The conflictual situation worsens as Hangma’s family fails to pay back the Jaari—ornaments, money, and livelihood given to Hangma’s family during their marriage to Namsang’s family. As a result, Hang is compelled to come back Namang, ex-husband’s house to serve as a housemaid. However, love grows between Namsang and Hangma out of nowhere recollecting the past they elapsed as lovers.

Having reviewed the cultural movie, Dhakal (2023) contends, “One of the strongest aspects of this film is its smooth and straightforward storytelling. The audience need not apply extra effort to comprehend the plot. The spontaneous flow of the storyline holds the audience spellbound throughout the entire film” (p. 2). She remarks that *Jaari* narrates the story in simple but fascinating ways to help the audience understand the series of events. Similarly, Acharya (2023) says, “It is also imperative to acknowledge that Jaari is an important film. It moves away from the normative Brahminical narrative to tell a story of a different culture and tradition within Nepal” (p. 2). For Acharya, *Jaari* breaks the normalcy of Brahmanic narrative style and offers an alternative way of depicting Nepali cultural dimensions. More than a cutting-edge explanation, Timsina (2023) states Jaari’s ability to connect the audience with the story: “One of the main reasons why audiences feel empathy for the characters in *Jaari* is that it’s not an ‘issue’ film. Instead of portraying for a documentary style exploration of the larger social impact of the Jaari tradition, the movie remains focused on the personal stories of the characters, particularly women, who are impacted by it” (p. 2). Whether it is Dhakal, Acharya, or Timsina, their reviews focus on the narrative style of the movie to convey the cultural practices of the Limbu people.

Although the reviewers have considered the narrative technique, there is a significant gap in analyzing the movie from a gastronomical perspective. The role of food in shaping relationships among characters and serving as a means to convey plot structure through cultural performances

remains unexplored. Therefore, the paper examines the movie from a gastronomical point of view to analyze the narrative techniques and cultural commentary raising three specific research questions: What aspects of Limbu food culture are woven into the socio-cultural fabric of the Limbu community? How does food culture of consumption serve as a narrative device to depict Limbu culture and identity? Why does food consumption practice, as a narrative approach, play a crucial role in framing and exposing Limbu socio-cultural identity?

METHODS AND MATERIALS

The paper has utilized the multimodal approach under qualitative methods to interpret the textual, visual texts, characters' actions, and interactional contents of the movie, *Jaari* as Gu (2006) contends, "Multimodal text analysis that starts from the analytic unit of social situation, to that of activity type, task/episode, and the participants' behavior of talking and doing" (p. 127). The interactions between the characters in English have been derived from the subtitles of the movie uploaded on the YouTube video. The textual analysis based on the thematic categorizations has employed Douglas's (1984) concept of food, as she states, "Food categories... encode social events" (p. 61). In *Food in the Social Order: Studies of Food and Festivities in Three American Communities*, she, in the introduction, argues, "At any given time, the pervading cultural environment provides moral standards affecting every kind of resource. Food is inevitably brought within the moral perspective" (p. 11). Viewing food as a cultural system that communicates social structures, this research adopts her idea by analyzing how food portrays Limbu cultural practices in the movie and how food remains central to narrating the conveying moral and social obligations. Additionally, for theoretical support, this article references, Barthes' view of food as a 'social semiotic' to interpret the metaphorical meaning of the food depicted in the movie. In "Towards a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption," Barthes (2008) describes food as "a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of usage, situations and behaviors" (p. 21). For Barthes, food contains layers of meaning, representing complex social behaviors and the consumer's self-image. His concept has been applied to analyze the social interactions of the characters through food in the movie.

In close connection with the insights of Barthes and Douglas, the paper embraces the perspectives from indigenous aesthetics articulated

by Cajete (1994) and Leuthold (2010), grounding the movie's culinary representation within indigenous worldviews. Cajete underscores that indigenous culture operates "through story, humor, and ritual, people "remember to remember" who they are, where they come from, and the spirit they share with all of creation" (p. 45). It signifies that food culture and practice in indigenous communities depend on the oral culture and the identities they stick to. Leuthold, similarly, asserts that "in native communities the aesthetic is acknowledged as central to the expression of worldviews based in religion, myths, and relations to nature" (p. 1). The indigenous aesthetics based on the mythic, religious and oral tradition in relation with nature conveys narratives, practices and values in consistent with indigenous understanding of food and its usage. The paper interprets the movie using the gastronomy in indigenous frame as a narrative technique to examine the culinary elements as representations of the worldview and cultural praxis in Limbu community

The paper incorporates two different sections based on the concept of gastronomy as a narrative technique and social commentary to interpret the film. In doing so, the first section deals with the culinary metaphor and the Limbu social fabric. It examines the symbolic meanings of food and its consumption and shows the metaphorical exegesis to recount social commentary. In this regard, food is interpreted within Limbu cultural premises, considering the definition of food that varies across cultural differences. The second section investigate the contestation between ritual obligation and cultural rights, remarking food as a medium to reconcile the disputes and a source of harmony. Moreover, it also reveals the film's emphasis on food to alleviate tension among the characters while narrating the story.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Jaari uses the culinary metaphor to depict Limbu cultural identity and their way of life, showing its importance in telling the story as Christian (2017) claims that indigenous values is closely interlinked with "land, story and cultural protocols are central to this work and the seamless relational quality is illustrated by emphasizing how integral they are to Indigenous self-representation and identity" (p. ii). While the movie contains multiple metaphors in different issues to convey complex meanings, this section focuses on two main aspects: food as a place of secret discussion and food as a place of memory. The former discusses the historical continuation and the

traditional act of the Limbu people and the latter interacts the collection of memories that conserves the vanishing culture. The food culture depicted in the film crucially advances the plot of the story. In this sense, food encodes Limbu cultural values and obligations that mold their way of life. In the film, Namsang and Hangma's denial to continue cultural codes resemble resisting to cultural dogmas; their acts underscore the fundamental of the film that rewrite Limbu custom. In this connection, food retains the location of memory that reinforces and consolidate the cultural reminiscence, helping Namsang surpass Sereng and retrieve Hangma at last.

Articulating individual's underlying meaning, food reframes the fabric of collective Limbu identity as food consumption embodies the inception of cultural habits and the continuation of images underneath. According to Korthals (2008), "Consumers' food choices are not determined by pure facts, because these are framed by metaphors that are often deep-seated in patterns of activity, habits, rituals, and daily practices" (p. 79). In this way, food reflects consumers' lifestyle patterns and the structures that guide their principles. In other words, what someone eats resonates with the food principle embodied as an underlying postulate. More than an inscription of abstract human morals, Myhrvold (2011) argues, "Food can engage our senses, our minds, and our emotions just as profoundly as carefully chosen words or brush strokes. Arguably, our relationship with food is even more intimate because we consume it directly. So, there is no fundamental reason that food cannot be art—it has all the right prerequisites" (p.13). For Myhrvold, food is similar to art, evoking human sensations. Whether as art or as principles of human philosophy, it creates a strong link between social norms and cultural practices. As Visser (1999) states, "Food is closely interwoven with culture—change the diet and you will change the culture, and Vice Versa" (p. 119). From Visser's perspective, food is inseparable with cultural behavior, way of life and tradition that people embrace.

In showcasing familial and ritual performances, the movie presents 'food as a space or site of secret discussion' that influences their social and cultural actions. The film emphasizes this aspect to shift the linear progression of the plot, as Namsang and Hangma both reject their parents' suggestions. This is especially evident when Namsang and Hangma must confront their parents in their own home after their dispute over sterility. How *Jaari* depicts food as a site of family counseling is clear in the following scenes.

Figure 1

Namsang's Home



Figure 2

Hangma's Home



In Figure 1, Namsang's mother is cooking food on the left; his father, Subba Sher Bahadur, is on the right, and Namsang is in the middle of the frame. To his father's right, there is Tongba, rice beer, which the Limbu people drink like tea. In this scene, the mother and father are scolding Namsang for misbehaving or mistreating Hangma. The setting is the kitchen, and the most active part of the scene is the mother cooking. Interestingly, as they discuss family matters, the whole scene is filled with the sound of food simmering in the pot. Similarly, in Figure 2, Hangma's father, Goldteeth Subba, is on the left, followed by her mother, Hangma, and her sister, Eksa, in that order. Since the scene takes place in the kitchen, it suggests that the meal has been cooked and placed before them. The scene highlights the mother serving food while also giving advice to Hangma. In both scenes, the parents are counseling their son or daughter, but the act of being counseled takes place within a culinary setting.

Food does not merely create the space for the discussion in both figures, but also brings cultural values and dogmas into exposition. Since food can interlace with other cultural entities, as Lin (2021) *et al.* contend, "Food complements other elements of the cultural environment. Food itself and the manufacturing process are both important parts of the food heritage because they not only reflect cultural norms and values, geography, and the physical reality of the place but also involve generations" (p. 6). In this sense, food reveals the lineage of a cultural group and the meaning, essence, memories, rituals, and behaviors they embody. This is more evident in Figure 1, as the scene portrays women's nature and men's responsibilities in handling the circumstances during the debate between Namsang and his father.

As an illustration, asking Namsang to give water to his father, when his mother says, “You chase away your wife” (00:07:021-00:07:023), Namsang replies, “There is no place for such a person” (00:07:29-00:07:31). Taking advantage as a father, Subba Sher Bahadur chastises Namsang: “You think kicking her out [will] give you some fame? You have made [our] relatives laugh at us. Women require special attention. You should have spoken politely. They cannot be controlled by beating. Go to her and bring her back” (00:07:34-00:07:50). As Namsang refutes his father’s command, saying, “Why should I do so? As if that bitch is the only woman in the world” (00:07:50-00:07:54), his father revokes, “This world may contain hundreds, thousands, or millions of women. To make one for your home, you must be courteous. Think about what you did to her. No one’s daughter will come to your house without a reason and seize possession of it. ‘Understand’ that completely” (00:07:54-00:08:07). The continuation of dialogue elevates the debate that foreshadows the cultural behaviors of Limbu men. To illustrate, Namsang says, “I have already [thought] a lot about it. It is fine if she comes back by herself. Or else I will bring another one” (00:08:07-00:08:11), his father replies, “You lame-brain, bring another one? Who will give their daughter to such a stupid guy who kicks and makes her leave?” (00:08:11-00:08:19). The discussion between father, mother, and son manifests women’s position in the social sphere and their behavior, men’s obligations, and social expectations.

As Figure 1 foreshadows familial disputes from men’s perspectives, Figure 2 illustrates the same issue from women’s viewpoints. At home, Hangma is advised by her mother about the marital relationship and women’s obligations. She suggests, “A fight breaks out between husband and wife. You shouldn’t have left the house for such a silly reason. What are Namsang’s parents supposed to be thinking? You must smile and speak to the man. Fighting is never the solution... I will ask Eksa to go with you. Just return back” (00:08:25-00:08:56). In response to her mother’s request, Hangma says, “I won’t. If he wants to bring another one, that’s fine. I can’t bear the agony of hearing sterile, infertile” (00:08:57-00:09:02). As Hangma’s father finds this suggestion disgusting while eating, he remarks, “This mother is insane. She speaks irresponsibly after serving food. Can’t you talk another time?” (00:09:03-00:09:09). Hangma’s father’s comment silences the discussion and allows Hangma to stick to her decision. In both figures, food is central, creating an intimate space for secret conversations, debates, and counseling. In Figure 1, Namsang’s family is preparing food,

while in Figure 2, Hangma's family is eating the meal. Metaphorically, this represents gastronomical attraction in disciplining, cultivating, nurturing, and educating the family while balancing different perceptions. This space is key to changing the movie's pattern and the characters' lives because neither Namsang nor Hangma obeys their parents' instructions, which leads to suffering from detachment. Hangma must marry Sereng after losing in the Palam, and Namsang must lose his mother, wife, and prestige.

Moreover, *Jaari* metaphorically uses 'food as a site of memory' to shift Namsang's perception of Paalam, Limbu song, and the essence that defines home. The movie depicts food as a trigger for recalling memories and reevaluating the cultural idea of what has been said to make human life easier. As Barthes states, "food brings the memory of the soil into our very contemporary life" (p. 24), *Jaari* presents food as a repository of memory. In doing so, to show food as a site of memory, it combines the past and the present, as is clear in the following figures:

Figure 3

Namsang's Family consuming Food



Figure 4

Namsang remembering mother's advice



In Figure 3, Hangman, on the left, is serving food to Namsang and his father. To the right and in the center, the father and Namsang are eating their food. As he gets hiccups while eating, Figure 4 shows Namsang's memory of his mother and her life-learned advice. When his father says, "Eat slowly. Don't try to act as if you never get food to eat" (01:20:56-01:21:03), Namsang is lost in his mother's memories, recalling her saying, "He lacks the norms required to eat properly. Consume this water. It will be a shame if you go as a guest [and] choke while eating or are unable to sing Palam due to [spitting] on the throat" (01:21:14-01:21). As he refuses to go as a guest and denies singing Palam [Limbu song], his mother teaches, "Palam has everything there is to know about life, love, and the world"

(01:21:44-01:21:54). To make Namsang more aware, when his mother asks him, “Tell me, what makes a home?” (01:21:55-01:21:56), Namsang answers, “Stone, mud, woods, and leaves” (01:21:57-01:21:00). As a response to Namsang’s answer, the mother says, “You are wrong. A home is made with love” (01:21:00-01:21:07) and her answer Palam follows her answer.

When Namsang visits Hangma’s home with a marriage proposal, the conflict with Hangma’s family prompts her to challenge him: “I didn’t have many major complaints. I never thought of leaving you and marrying someone else. Sereng defeated me in Palam. I lost the promise. If you truly value me, defeat me in front of these people and take me with you” (01:48:31-01:48:56). Namsang admits to singing Palam as a challenge though he never sang to prove his love to Hangma. Finally, he win over and takes Hangma. Namsang’s ability to sing Palam is a recollection of memories connected to the food culture that evoke his childhood. In fact, the food ignites lost memories of Namsang’s strength in invigorating his passion and life. Although food encompasses the most fundamental elements of human life, it occupies a significant place within cultural contexts. According to Pietrykowski (2004), “When we speak of food as the material embodiment of cultural meaning, it is important to identify the ways meaning is manifested through space, race and ethnicity, class, and gender” (p. 310). The articulation of food’s meaning is rooted in several factors that cannot be understood from a single, uniform perspective. Furthermore, Douglas (1972) explains, “The meaning of a meal is found in a system of repeated analogies. Each meal carries something of the meaning of the other meals; each meal is a structured social event which structures others in its own image” (p. 66). The explanation discloses that food retains a layers of meanings to codify and regulate specific social orders and hierarchy.

Dusselier (2009) argues, “Even with an emphasis on structure, we begin to see room for unpredictabilities, flexibilities, and differences in how foodways are created to both reflect and shape human experiences” (p. 332). For him, food enables to enrich human behaviors and mimics their historical legacies in perpetual pace. Similarly, the film regards food as a contested entity to explore the cultural and ritual practices of the Limbu people. In this respect, *Jaari* vocalizes food as an agency to locate Hangma’s position in Namsang’s household after her return as a maid, due to her father’s failure to compensate her. In doing so, the desire for nourishment is contrasted with social responsibility. In other words,

the film aims to portray the Limbu community's customs in managing the ritual shortcomings of individuals who cross cultural boundaries. The way Hangma perceives her role in Namsang's home is evident in the following images:

Figure 5

Hangma as a Housemaid in Namsang's Home.



Figure 6

Food given to Hangma



In Figure 5, Hangma is working at a stone grinding mill. In front of her, she has food. Figure 6 is a close-up of the food given to her, which seems to fall short of a healthy diet. Additionally, some rice is spilled on the floor as the food is served on a plate. The scene shows Namsang's mother mistreating Hangma by throwing the food in front of her and saying, "It will be a sin if I don't give you this food. Eat it. Eat it or you will die, and people will accuse my son of murder. Please have mercy on my son." (00:49:43-00:49:54). The way Hangma receives the food and the words of the mother echo in Hangma's ear, placing her in a degraded position in Namsang's home. As Ferguson (2011) states, "You are indeed what you eat" (p. 373), Hangma is an outcast within the family. Her fragmented and subordinate identity aligns with the food given to her because, as Barthes claims, "All food serves as a sign among the members of a given society" (p. 21). In this way, Hangma's status is one of meekness and vulnerability, symbolized through the food served to her. Additionally, this scene is shown in the film to depict the traditional form of punishment in Limbu culture when someone violates cultural rules. In other words, the scene represents a conflict arising from the inability of Hangma's family to reciprocate the ritual codes provided by Namsang's family.

Although Hangma endures maltreatment from Namsang and his family as a form of debt, she continues her nurturing efforts to fulfill her responsibilities. As Gumerman IV (1997) points out, "Food is intrinsically social. Indeed, social relations are defined and maintained through food" (p.

106). Hangma not only serves as a housemaid but also as a daughter-in-law when circumstances require her to assume that role. Her responsibility as a daughter-in-law is vividly portrayed in the following shorts.

Figure 7

Hangma cooking food



Figure 8

Hangma serving her mother-in-law



In Figure 7, Hangma is preparing food for her mother-in-law. As her mother's health continues to decline after Hangma leaves, her presence in the home makes a significant difference. She cooks and serves food to her mother-in-law, as shown in Figure 8. The scene highlights the connection between the act of cooking and the sense of responsibility. Hangma finds fulfillment in nourishing her mother-in-law despite the internal conflict she faces. In this way, food acts as a bridge to reconnect social bonds, despite any hardships. The renewal of the relationship is depicted in the film when Hangma serves food to her mother, who says: "Whatever the circumstances, please do not leave this house until Namsang marries. Namsang and his father will be alone. And a home without a woman is a bier" (01:11:34-01:11:55). Namsang's mother embodies the Limbu cultural communities' comprehensive of women's position in social spectrum as Jones, S. and Jones, R. (1976) describe: "For a woman, her patrilineal kinsmen and her affine are of more equal importance, as she is, at various points in her life, an active productive member of both her natal household and of her husband's household" (p. 173). Food as a way to strengthen relationships, the movie ventures to project the cultural values and social structure of the Limbu people.

Since the entire film concentrates on the Jaari cultural practice of the Limbu community, it showcases the interactions on food behavior in the Limbus. For example, when Hangma's father says, "We will surely compensate Jaari. We're just asking for six months to do it" (00:34:34-

00:34:40), Namsang replies, “Don’t ask for six months. I won’t even wait for six minutes” (00:34:40-00:34:43). Hearing Namsang’s disrespectful and stubborn statement, one of Hangma’s relatives says, “Leave jaari, we can’t even give our poop within six minutes” (00:34:44-00:34:47). In response, Namsang says, “Calculate and return all of my gold coins and the prices of the buff and pork you ate over three years” (00:34:52-00:34:58). The debate grows more intense as someone replies, “Nobody discusses the costs of gifts brought to enjoy at the wife’s family home. If you really want to bargain, you ate half of it as well. You cannot claim everything. This isn’t going to work. Nonsense” (00:34:59-00:35:09). The conflict between Namsang and Hangma’s family centers on Jaari. At the same time, food is brought into the discussion as a way to address digestive conflicts, even though it was originally intended for nourishment. What Namsang is asking for is the return of *Sunauli Rupauli*, a material possession, and livestock given to the bride’s family in a Limbu marriage.

CONCLUSION

The paper exposes that the film, *Jaari*, incorporates gastronomy as a way of narrative story, passing social and cultural commentary. As food encapsulates layers of meanings within cultural locations to create an uninterrupted conjunction between social, familial and individual boundaries, the film explains food as a cultural entity that metaphorically touches the indispensable way of life. The paper underscores food’s potential to interact, reframe, and transform the trajectories of the Limbu people. In doing so, it reveals the symbolic signification of food and demonstrates ‘food as a site of secret discussion’ and ‘food as a site of memory.’ It also illustrates that food triggers memories and cements the present, ensuring the safety of the future. The article further illuminates food’s impacts on an individual’s recognition in social and cultural realm. *Jaari*, therefore, exposes cultural landscape through symbolic representation of the Limbu people’s food behavior. It mingles the interaction between culture and consumption of food serving as a language that narrates the nook and corner of the Limbus.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I (PI) express my sincere gratitude to the Research Directorate, Office of the Rector, Tribhuvan University for the financial support to conduct the research for this publication. This research article is based on related issue of the mini-research.

REFERENCES

- Acharya, U. (2023, April 26). Jaari could've been so much more. It's unfortunate that it wasn't. *The Kathmandu Post*. <https://kathmandupost.com/movie-review/2023/04/26>.
- Baasuri Films. (2024, October 7). *Jaari* (Full Movie) directed by Upendra Subba – Dayahang Rai, Miruna Magar, Ram Babu Gurung. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kqzq8krtqj0>
- Barthes, R. (2008). *Towards a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption*. In: C. Counihan & P. Van Esterik (Eds.), *Food and culture: A reader* (pp. 21-27). Routledge.
- Bouvier, L. (2005). A Taste for Words: Gastronomy and the Writing of Loss in Brillat-Savarin's "Physiologie du goût." *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, 38(3), 95–111. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44029672>
- Cajete, G. (1994). *Look to the mountain: An ecology of indigenous education*. Kivaki Press, 585 E. 31st St., Durango, CO 81301.
- Christian, D. (2017). *Gathering knowledge: Indigenous methodologies of land/place-based visual storytelling/filmmaking and visual sovereignty* (Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia).
- Dhakal, R. (2023, April 20). Jaari review: Mirror of Limbu culture. *The Rising Nepal*. <https://risingnepaldaily.com/news/25649>
- Douglas, M. (1972). Deciphering a meal. *Daedalus*, 101(1), 61-81. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20024058>.
- . *Standard social use of food: An introduction*, M. Douglas (Ed.), *Food in the social order: Studies of food and festivities in three American communities*. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Dusselier, J. (2009). Understandings of food as culture. *Environmental History*, 14(2), 331–338. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40608476>.
- Ferguson, P. P. (2011). The senses of taste. *The American Historical Review*, 116(2), 371–384. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23307701>.
- Gu, Y. (2006). Multimodal text analysis: A corpus linguistic approach to situated discourse. *An Interdisciplinary Journal of Language, Discourse Communication Studies*, 26(2), 127–167. <https://doi.org/10.1515/TEXT.2006.007>

- Gumerman, G. (1997). Food and complex societies. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 4(2), 105–139. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20177360>.
- Hegarty, J. A., & O'mahony, G. B. (2001). Gastronomy: A phenomenon of cultural expressionism and an aesthetic for living. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 20(1), 3-13.
- Jones, S. K., & Jones, R. (1976). Limbu women, divorce, and the domestic cycle. *Kailash*, 4(2), 169–184.
- Korthals, M. (2008). Food as a source and target of metaphors: Inclusion and exclusion of foodstuffs and persons through metaphors. *Configurations*, 16(1), pp. 77-92. <https://doi.org/10.1353/con.0.0044>
- Leuthold, S. (2010). *Indigenous aesthetics: Native art, media, and identity*. University of Texas Press.
- Lin, M.-P., et al. (2021). *Bibliometric Analysis*. repositori.udl.cat/bitstream/handle/10459.1/72439/031790.pdf?sequence=1, <https://doi.org/10.3390/su132212531>.
- Maberly, C., & Reid, D. (2014). Gastronomy: an approach to studying food. *Nutrition & Food Science*, 44(4), 272-278.
- Myhrvold, N. (2011). The art in gastronomy: A modernist perspective. *Gastronomica*, 11(1), 13–23. <https://doi.org/10.1525/gfc.2011.11.1.13>.
- Pietrykowski, B. (2004). You are what you eat: The social economy of the Slow Food Movement. *Review of Social Economy*, 62(3), 307-321. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29770263>
- Timsina, B. (2023, April 29). ‘Jaari’ movie review: A promising debut for Subba. *The Annapurna Express*. <https://theannapurnaexpress.com/story/41673>
- Visser, M. (1999). Food and culture: Interconnections. *Social Research*, 66(1), 117–130. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40971305>.