

Dolokumma in the Kirat Rai Philosophy: Ritual Continuity or Cosmic Creation

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ABSTRACT

This paper discovers the position of Dolokumma as the ancient creator and cosmic custodian in Mundum philosophy, central to Kirat Rai identity and ritual continuity. Through the Mundumic Risiya (mantra), Mundumic story, sacred dance, sacred song, genealogies and ritual performance Dolokumma accumulate human origin and nature nurturing wisdom. Existence of Ribhyama, Naima, Sunnima represents continuity of generation to generation. In Mundum philosophy, Suptulung shrine assist as a sacred place for communication between visible and invisible soul. This holy place is their educational agency. Nonetheless, colonial practice disrupted intergenerational learning, risk native land, ritual, identity, language, and legacy. This study argues that, urgently need to document aural Mundumic knowledge, and traditional practices. The Risiya of Dolokumma, emphases to sustaining harmony earth and sky. From primeval period affirms women's central act in ritual continuity and cosmic creation.

Keywords: Mundum, Kirat Rai, Dolokumma, Cosmology.

INTRODUCTION

Dolokumma is important character in mundum philosophy. In the perspective of the Mundum philosophy, Dolokumma is the creator of universe. Remaining only few people fortunate to get opportunity to understand the character of Dolokumma. Kirat Rai's primitive, story, retold Risiya (mantra), genealogies, sacred song, dance, Music, Musical instrument, and ritual practices interpret. Practices are used as a knowledge transform process.

Mahuika (2019) argue that for indigenous people, tribal dance, sacred song, story and genealogies are crucial for native identity and transmission of history. Nevertheless, importance and value of Dolokumma, gradually far from the Kirat Rai community. Most of the song, ritual, Risiya are not in practices. Origin history of Kirat Rai missing day by day along with the death of elders, Mundumic expertise. This is the great issue of great concern. Because of having divers linguistic³ in this community also difficult to put in practice. New generation will not be fortunate, cannot hear verbal story with grandparents, parents. Step by step new generation of Kirat Rai mind will be blind, connection will be loose with their native identity as well ancestors.

Dolokumma is not only character, she is a source of the Mundum philosophy that

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3 Kirat Rai Yayokkha Central Committee Kotesshwor states that there are 26 linguistic groups (see Rai, 2024; Rai 2025).

is the unique philosophy among the other philosophy. Ermine et al. (1995) defines that ancestor's knowledge is the sources of completeness of knowledge. Mundum philosophy claim that Dolokumma is the creator of universe. Whole knowledge is blessing of her. That knowledge guided to Kirat Rai community through the Suptulung⁴ (three hearth). Suptulung reflect the holistic spiritual power and knowledge. Spiritual beliefs guided the indigenous social values holistically (Simmins, 2008). Fundamentally, Indigenous knowledge and belief guided by the spiritual power (Dederen & jour,2000). Suptulung made by composite of three stones where suppose by Mundum holiness and guardian for all. These three stone represented paternal group, maternal group and kinship group, relatives' group as well. Similarly, paternal divine, maternal divine and kinship divine represent. Grieves (2009) argue, spiritual power generates from the ancestors' activities. Suptulung is the center point of Mundum philosophy. Indigenous knowledge is skill for survive with nature and earn the livelihood process (Le Bourdon,2018). Kirat Rai belief that from womb to tomb, and also behind the tomb soul remain into the Suptulung, or process of life cycle is complete within the Suptulung. Traditionally, known as Pitri chulo, sacred place, visible and invisible soul conversation place, blessing place, spiritual place, symbol of Kirat Rai civilization, used for knowledge transfer and place of knowledge.

In Mundum, Dolokumma revealed sufficient female character for represent each character such as Ribhyama, Naima, Sumnima more other. Ribhyama does not exist more in the earth as like Naima and others character. Because in that time, sky and earth was very nearest. Then the Dolokumma, changed the distance of earth and sky. After balance of earth and sky, Naima exist as a creator of the nature, natural sources creature and planets. For continuity after Naima comes Sumnima. Mundum philosophy claim that Sumnima is the third generation. Grieves (2009) figure out previous ancestors connected with land sky, sea, astronomy as well natural resources. In Mundum Dolokumma sealed the universe. Others multiple represented names, such Liblima, Dodoma, Haikhama, Ranabhyamma, Rangdoloma, Dangkonglima, Namdololima, Ladipma, Isama, Niyama, Wabuma, Chhyalungma, Malungma, Supchima, Kuhuma, Sujuma, Nakima, Beralima, Ruwanima, Sanggenima, Ladipma, Tangkiyuma, Wailungma, Niniyakma, Miyapma, Akarima, Supchima, Thalama, Chinima, Pichadangma, Ninwamridam, Issama, Niyama, Tayama, Khiyama. These all-name connection with earth and spiritual power. Kesis (2012) express that holistic knowledge link with earth base knowledge. Mundumic culture has been linked with nature and natural resources. Even today, in society worship of land and their family name begin from the land where the inhabited which is call Same/Samet,boby/sohonwa. Some other known as a Mangung/Mechinung/Depchinug/Dabsinung/Dasnung. The folktale narrate Sumnima had given birth of Tiger, Bear, bamboo tree, Kukurdino, Asparagus, Human. These are all culturally representative character continuity of generation to generation. These things reflect the social value and norms of Mundumic society. As Kehie (2024, pp.2-5) said, these character present epistemological outlines of moral values, ecological consciousness, and collective beliefs. For success the ritual performance Mundumic people venerate in her name, memories her name. Subba (2023, p.17) clarifies, Dolokumma is central to the Kirat Rai cosmological narrative and signifies the divine feminine belief that governs creation and existence.

"Barabung bata Dolokumma do,"⁵

Baklama bata Hiklama fungsas Dolokum ma do,"⁶

4 Suptulung; it is holy place of Kirat Rai, suppose that, embody universe knowledge.

5 Italic: this is Rai language Dolokumma song

6 Italic: this is Rai language Dolokumma song

Which poetically describes the blooming of jackfruit and peach flowers, and going to get warm the Earth soil. Epistemologically, educated to people for their work. Warren, (1991) express that, Indigenous knowledge is generated from the certain land, ritual and community. Mundum Risiya reflects the relation between land, flower and ecological environment education. Reflection of this relation make ensure that wisely survive in the nature. Nature is a part of human life, and teacher as well (Rai, 2016). Rai people worship of nature and ancestor. They are recognized as nature worshiper, ancestor worshiper, which is unique rather than mainstream tradition. Locally call them shelf nature worshiper and ancestors' worshiper. The Wonder Nepal (2024) noted, Kirat rituals often involve offerings and mantras that honor inherited spirits and natural goddesses, strengthening the belief that harmony with nature ensures prosperity and protection. From different perspective of Mundum first ancient ancestor also known as Shyamuna⁷. They might survive only in the air and were incapable to live on the land or into the water. They could fly only air so recognized as Shyamuna. They were provisional beings, not yet fully adapted to the physical world. Their presence marks an initial stage in the development of life and consciousness in Kirat Rai belief. In Rai Mundum philosophy, Dolokumma is not only the ritual continuity generation to generation, she is a cosmic creator, who act that sustain of cosmos. Indigenous cosmology belief that spiritually, nurturing with ritual practices for sustain and harmony (Cajete,2016). Each ritual performance of Dolokumma review the ancestry activities where, humanity, ancestral spirits, and nature spirits converge. The ritual performance not only repetition of past, it is tool for continue existence in the future. In Mundum, Dolokumma bring the appearance of Naima for evolution of human life cycle and reflects the bottomless spiritual and cosmological thoughts inside Kirat Rai tradition (Rai,2021). Her entrance marked the beginning of lifecycle, and the sacred relationship between human voice and nature power. Concluded her creative power, she established the foundation for natural balance and spiritual connection.

By chant the Risiya(mantra) and offering ritual ceremony, practitioners promise for the next continuity. The promise ensure that metaphysically interconnected with human voice and nature power. Indigenous knowledge provides the link between physical and spiritual realms, earthly existence and cosmic connection (Laplante,2020). The cosmic is continue, in Rai view, because renewal through the ritual ceremony in land base. Dolokumma, serving the role of bridge between human community, and cosmic order. The essence is to Keep in balance between sky and earth under the spiritual value. In this way, Dolokumma remain as ritual continuity and cosmic creation.

"Haikhama Thyaptiko, Ninamma Baptiko"⁸

(Held by earth, cover by sky)⁹

Da Minanapchha muniko....¹⁰

(Where human originate)¹¹

Metaphysically, essence of this folktale teaches us that, earth and sky personified as a human by the Dolokumma. This folktale helps to gather, responsible to sustain in the natural world with embody the rhythm of Mundum, and keep the cosmic order continue. Assumed that, her as like a supernatural power. Therefore, Dolokumma is both cultural continuity and cosmic creation. In spiritual performance quite female characters are

7 Jaya Bahadur Rai, known as an astrologer, shaman and Mundum expertise.

8 Risiya mantra or folktale in Rai language.

9 Possible meaning of Risiya in English language

10 Risiya mantra or folktale in Rai language.

11 Possible meaning of Risiya in English language

honored and admire. Such as Sumnima is appreciated as a source of spiritual power. She represents wisdom, inner strength, and the sacred connection between humans, nature and divine. Her presence reflects the importance of spiritual guidance in livelihood. Wailingma is recognized as inventor of home. She symbolizes protection, warmth, and family unity as well. Her character highlights domesticated and nurturing environment that sustains the household. Tayama, and Khiya are respected for continuity of cotton farming, and native loom process. Nakima, is honored for the power to communicate with YamRaj or YamDut deity of death. She represents the power of spiritual link between lifecycle and life end. Mangchhama, known as Machhama too, is respected for bringing prosperity, pity and peace at home. She symbolizes both wealth and knowledge. Her character reflects the values of home and peaceful environment. Malamdima, is recognized for ensuring plenty of food, derive away the crisis of food. If she gets angry could bring crisis of food. She represents the soul of food. Sakela is known as major festival that honors sacred nature, natural resources, farming land, healthy crops, spring water, pray for healthy nature, plants, people, animal, creature, and air. It expresses grateful for sacred lifespan, land, food, and water. Rituals performed during Sakela festival its aim to remove illness, and sweep away misfortune and epidemiologic disease. These practices show that deep respect Kirat Rai people have for womanhood as creators and nurturers.

Woman place is existed as central to the balance of life, health, and prosperity in both spiritual and practical realms (Dahal et al.,2025, pp.63-82). In Mundum tradition, women hold central position ritually, socially, and spiritually. Their position is, creator, inventor, foundation of cultural values, spiritual practices, and community life. Due to hegemony mainstream cultures, ignoring origin cultural, inheritance, practices, knowledge, education and belief by Rai community. Colonial cultures, leading to a decline in the use of native language, traditional morality, and respect for ancestral wisdom (Rai,2025, pp.45-77). Mundum tradition are in endanger, folktale, sacred dance, sacred song, sacred land, mother tongue are missing, loosing evidence of origin identity. Such research can help document, preserve, and revitalize the values, native practices, and knowledge and education systems that define Kirat Rai civilization.

METHODOLOGY

This study adopted an ethnographic approach (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011) to collect data from Risimi and Mangpa, those who know the Risiya of Dolokumma. This study participation approach (Punch, 2013; Patton, 2002) engages Kirat Rai indigenous Risimi and Mangpa in becoming aware of the situation of Mundumic performance and Risiya in their community. Building on Punch (2013), conversations with unstructured question use more critical reflective process. That make more grounded and meaningful study of facts. The more important theme of Risiya or Mantra in this study is used for critical analysis in multiple perspectives, and the knowledge and power relation embedded in Mundumic tradition and practice. As a space for the knowledge and consciousness apply (Patton, 2002), which the researcher and participant bring close for alternative discourse into decision, who collaboratively build the sense of meaning. However, conversation in this study is ethnographically grounded, so we refer to it as an ethnographic research design.

Participants were selected from indigenous Kirat Rai communities in eastern Nepal, including Khotang, Bhojpur, Solukhumbu, Okhaldhunga, Panchthar, and Dhankuta. Observation we used to document rituals, festivals, and The Mundumic practices, Sakela celebration with consciousness. Sakela, is a periodic festival, link Kirat people with spiritual

relationships, nature and ancestral spirits. Connect the link with Risiya of Dolokumma that recognized women or female character as custodians of ancestral knowledge. This conversation explored themes such as feminine divinity, cosmic creation, spiritual beliefs, ritual value, human origin, and cultural transmission. Women's roles in preserving and performing cultural memory were emphasized, particularly through folktale, stories, sacred songs, and ritual ceremonies (The Wonder Nepal, 2024).

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Dolokumma, In Mundum philosophy represent the supernatural power and primordial creator of a universe as well. Embody the metaphysical foundation of Mundum cosmology. Mundum philosophy of Kirat Rai start from the Dolokumma. Symbol of human origin, identity, ritual, and cultural continuity. Oral tradition, Risiya (Mundumic mantra), genealogies, sacred song, sacred dance (Sakela Sili)¹², Musical instrument, Music, sound of all natural sources, sound of all animal, creature, and ritual ceremony are the epistemology outline. The ritual practice put into knowledge transmission process, ensuring further generation identity, values, and cosmological across generations to generation.

Passing away of Purkha (Rai elder, or senior citizen) and Mundum expertise, origin knowledge, language and ritual are disappearing, origin tradition, custom, belief system are mismanaged. Due to linguistic diversity challenging for community bonding. Younger generation are increasing detachment with grandparents and parents. They are missing ancestry experience, and skillful knowledge. As Mahuika (2019) emphasizes, indigenous people's identity depends on sacred dance, story, song, ritual practices, and kinship. Even though, younger generation are disconnected with theses all segment. Because of colonize education their innocent mind is in conflict, and confusion.

The study reveals that Dolokumma is a central figure in Mundumic cosmology as a creator. But the lack of ritual practice its significance is weak for knowledge transmission generation to generation. Embodies both principle of theological, and pedagogical determine how the community interpret existence and continuity. Ritual, songs, and genealogies address the livelihood history and philosophy. Decline their participation collapse outline of epistemology. Unwritten philosophy or oral tradition are highly risk for generation gaps. Increasing weakening participation in Mundum practice threatens on the collective identity of kirat Rai. By losing ancestral connection, and cultural grounding, younger generation are in identity crisis. For revitalization, preservation legacy of ancestor urgently needs to systematically document of sacred song, story with institutional support.

Rai sacred song, Risiya portrayed Dolokumma as the cosmological creator, and sources of Mundum philosophy, whatever in the world exist that all her wishes. The Suptulung is the place for emerges all spiritual power by symbolizing paternal, maternal, and kinship groups. And serve the holistic knowledge for good livelihood. Suptulung is consider as an ancestral communication place, spiritual guardianship, educational agency.

12 Sakela sili: this is a sacred dance, imitate seasonable act of birds, animals, insect, Sili *reflect the* knowledge of time period and moral education for survive.

Figure 1. Suptulung (Tin Chula); Sources Shanti Devi Rai's dissertation



Dolokumma, revealing the multiple female character for continuity of universe such as Ribhyama, Naima, Sumnima, and other, each stand for creation, continuity and connection with nature. Story of Ribhyama is very short but she is symbolized for air. Because, her present interpret the air, and breathing. Existence of Naima is for create, and management of nature. Mundum Risiya interpret as the nurture of nature, the solar system, climate change because of Naima. While Sumnima linking with human development, visible-invisible, death and birth, Suptulung, integrate total human life, universe, spiritual power, moral value of community, legacy, knowledge transfer place, and civilization. Indigenous knowledge is rooted from the land, ritual practices, and nurturing of the nature (Grieves, 2009; Kesis 2012; Kehie 2024; Subba 2023). Mundum knowledge, holistically rooted form land, nature, and ancestral experience. In Mundumic worldview embody divine feminine creation. The main character are Naima and Sumnima, where symbolized of multiple character for continue of universe, and balance of nature. Mundumic symbolic name is connection with earth sprite, and cultural identity's indigenous Kirat Rai community. The sky, land, rock, fire, sea, forest, trees, animal, birds binding the power of ancestors. Social norms and value determine by the reflection of spiritual power.

The declination of Dolokumma in Mundum tradition, the intellectual property, intangible, tangible heritage, culture, language could fade, and philosophical rupture. In divers, community of kirat Rai, found that the Dolokumma Risiya, in Khaling, Bahing/Bayung, Bantawa, Dumi and Chamling community. Principally, they chant or sing the Risiya of Dolokumma in Ubhaulti time of Toshi/ Limo/Sakenwa/Sakel/Sakela celebration. The finding highlights an urgently need documentation of that sacred song, story, Risiya, dance ensure that Dolokumma could alive generation to generation with good memories. In the way of indigenous prospective ritual practices, song, story educated about the livelihood of ancestor (Subba, 2023; Rai, 2016).

The imaginary of Jackfruit, and peach blossom rhythmically represent the changeable season or welcome of new season. Such as Risiya "*Dungawanga na Dungda pa*"¹³ (Time come and time gone)¹⁴, "*Chhirinam khatana Dhirinam banapa*" (winter gone spring come) (Rai & Rai, 2022). Moreover, "*Dungwangana Dungdapa, Sangowango Bukhuwango mibutteko lahai Shyamuna Shyamunani lahai*" (Time come and gone, Nyahuli bird and Kuthurke bird singing song)¹⁵. In Rai culture flower pensive as a ritual blessing. Jackfruit flower interprets

13 Italic: Risiya in Rai language.

14 Gist in English language.

15 Bayan Sing Rai; known as writer in base of Mundum, Munum ritual performer, social leader.

started new season, time for irrigation. This tree is important for Rai community.

Figure 2. jack fruit tree: sources google



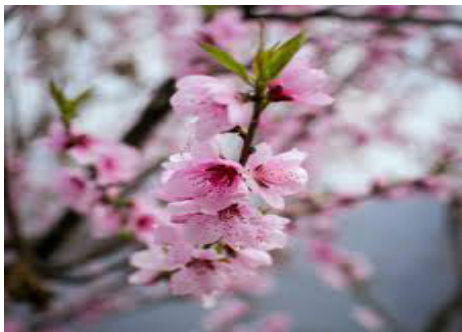
Figure 3. sources google



Basically, use this jackfruit tree for build ritual drum (in rai language said that Rasi Dhela, Baradhyola, Paruken/Baraken) to play in Sakela celebration. It is their spiritual instrument.

The peach blossom brings charming for every individually to start new life cycle. They venerate their ancestor, nature with playing the Rasidhela/Baradhyola and perform the Sili (sacred dance). Rai cosmology, describe this is a transition period for integrate of ancestor spirits, and nature spirits which enter for every new life cycle as a spiritual power and knowledge.

Figure 4. Peach Blooms: sources google



The blooming of these trees known as become the earth soil warming. Literally, reflect the knowledge of ecology, and bonding with the land. Warren (1991) mentation that indigenous knowledge derives from the land, and ritual practice. Mundum Risiya, expose the connection of flower, season, climate, native knowledge and native land. Rai (2016) said that ritual practice, ecological system, and land are teacher for Rai people. It gives the shape of how to sustain wisely. Wonder Nepal (2024) emphases that through the chanting mantra, and worship of ancestors ensuring the prosperity, and good guidance story of Shyamuna, Wamuna and Bakhamuna claim that air, water, and land deeply connect with the Rai people. Their clan's name started from the land and water. After the death soul take through the Mundum their native land and offered water then only abandon the physically present in the Suptulung.

Mundum worldview holistically gather the knowledge of ecological cycle, ceremonies, ancestry mythology. Nature exists as a living thing as a pedagogue alongside Shyamuna embedded the knowledge of evolution of life and conscious. Mundum philosophy's the things which on the earth those all survive with harmony and they have right to survive generation to generation.

Dolokumma is a center point of Mundum philosophy, along with ritual continuity and cosmic creator sustainable of cosmos. By embody ancestral knowledge, and wisdom Dolokumma blessing the Rai worldview with dynamic for cosmic creativity to survival generation to generation with harmony. In Rai world view, through the Risiya mantra and ritual ceremony embody the spiritual power that connected with the Dolokumma.

Dolokumma Risiya:

*"Henkhamalam kummalungwai Dolokumma do
Kummalam kummawawai Dolokumma do
Kummawalam kummathipsung Dolokumma do
Kummathipsung kummadhipung Dolokumma do"¹⁶
...XXX...*

*"Henkhamalam Kummahukwai Dolokumma do
Kummahuklam kummahuklung Dolokumma do
Kummahuklunglam kummawawai Dolokumma do
Kummawalam Kummathipsung Dolokumma do"¹⁷
(Sources, Jaya Prasad Rai_*

Risiya, describe that underearth black stone remain, under the black stone, black water remains, under black stone, black Nag(snack) remain, that black Nag remain. Above the earth, remain black cloud. Above the black cloud, remain black solid cloud. Above the black solid could, remain black Nag. The essence of this mantra there are layer of layer made by the stone and water where Dolokumma act as a creator, guardian of cosmic balance. She is the only one who protect and keep balance of earth, and sky in harmony, for continue of life and ritual.

The Dolokumma, often overlooked in its depth, holds profound significance across history of Kirat Rai, embodying universal theme of identity, spiritual and cosmic connection. The literature exploration of the rich symbolic and indigenous cultural practices is regeneration survive in the nature with harmony and ancient belief. Indigenous cosmology stands as ancient repository of wisdom (Cajete, 2005). Nonetheless, they are not

16 Dolokumma Risiya in Rai language describes the lower part of the universe.

17 Dolokumma Risiya in Rai language describe upper part of universe.

escape from the colonial philosophy, education, culture, being indigenous leading to lose native language, ritual, and legacy. Ceremony, teaching origin indigenous education which interconnected with native land and spiritual power. But the colonial education system, it is going to remove from the mind of community. The sacred dance, song, folktale, and identity are in threatens in missing.

DISCUSSION

This study provides a comprehensive understanding of Dolokumma central role in Mundumic mythology and her significance to the Kirat Rai people. It was clear that female leadership is most important, for protect native land, native character, native knowledge.

The character of Dolokumma show that how ritual practice is interconnected with the cosmic creation. Claim that, for the continuity of universe culture is inevitable, without culture the cosmos difficult to sustain. Through the Mundum Risiya, kinship, genealogy, sacred song, dance, inheritance, instrument, education, knowledge is transmitted across generation. These all celebration are the sources of knowledge, and transfer knowledge for survive in the nature.

Hegemony of mainstream culture on Mundumic tradition, that shift has had serious consequences for the Kirat Rai community. The loss of Mundumic identity has affected, native lifecycle, possession of native land, water sources, biodiversity, humanitarian values, ethical value, native knowledge, legacy of Kirat Rai, and the overall sense of nature belonging. Children are experiencing identity crises, frustration, trauma separate from the native knowledge. Mainstream education system misinterpretation about their ancestor's knowledge and social status. So, most of the elite people and their children irritated with native knowledge system. Which, makes them culturally poor, irresponsible on nature and community.

The education policy of Nepal degrades the indigenous knowledge, in spite being multicultural national, education policy is not strengthening, described as poor knowledge, informal knowledge. Either, academically or, non-academically indigenous culture, knowledge and education are used as an example for worst sense, to proof uncivilized, worthless. Indigenous mythology, sacred song, dance, ritual indexed second-class or uncivilization, unbelievable indicated. In spite, indigenous knowledge comes from collective sense, collective wellbeing, collective experience, and awareness. Indigenous ancient mythology story, ritual are the main sources of the knowledge transfer polices of indigenous people. Even though, indigenous people incapable to preserve their value.

As a result, most of Kirat Rai families are unable to passing down culture, customs or guiding to their children in native ways. Obviously, new generation detached from the native cultural. The weakening of cultural transmission has placed the Mundumic family structure, spiritual power, and native inheritance is in crisis. The decline of traditional wisdom, and native education system threatens the survival of Kirat Rai identity or Mundumic legacy. Which is challenge for community, balancing of nature, and Government custodian. Now, without any delay, somehow community, institution, expertise should unite for the documentation of Dolokumma sacred story, song, dance and ritual.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study explores that the character of the Dolokumma is creator of universe and ritual continuity. Existence of Dolokumma is for the guardian of nature, keeping balance of nature and natural sources through the Rishya mantra. The finding accumulates that, female character always in front of protecting native land, guardianship, culture, identity, and knowledge for future generation in Mundum. Through the Risiya,

shaman or senior citizen link, genealogies, oral history, origin of human, origin of universe, and behave, for all natural resources as like siblings.

Nevertheless, the hegemony of leading cultures has destroyed the breakdown of Mundumic tradition, native language, ritual, inheritance and wisdom are in endanger position. Knowledge of native land, ownership of nature, knowledge of biodiversity, humanitarian, worthiness of social structure are in risk and identity in crisis. Therefore, the story of Dolokumma emergency need to document oral practice, and strengthening for the younger generation. Significance of Mundum Risiya, sacred story, sacred dance, and ritual value need to transmission, intergeneration. Dolokumma, is not only a representer of cultural, she is cosmic creation, enveloped from earth to sky. Mundum tradition claim that she is the person who can keep balance both spiritual universe and physical universe with nurturing.

Existence of the Ribhyama, Naima, Sumnima and other names are stand for continuity of earth and nature. Theses all name reflect the continuity of culture and cosmic creation. This study indicates, how the younger generation educated with the knowledge of Dolokumma? If Rai peoples far away from the knowledge of Dolokumma, totally they are in identity crisis. Distinguish position from other indigenous and nonindigenous people will be lose. This sense, emerge that Rai people loose identity, become as like migrant people in own land.

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