

Exploring Trishanku Psyche in Nepali British Diaspora Poetry

Dhundi Raj Niroula*

Abstract

This present paper is an analysis of trishanku psyche in the poetry from the Nepalese British diaspora. It scrutinizes how Nepalese poetry composed at British diaspora celebrates the theme of repulsion and fascination of diaspora people towards their land of origin and land of relocation. Seven different poems written by seven different Nepalese poets living at British diaspora are examined in this paper. For the theoretical underpinnings, insights are borrowed from diaspora theorists, researchers and scholars such as W. Andy Knight, Israel Milton, Makrand Paranjape, William Saffron, Uma Parameshwaran, Nina Glick Schiller, Jani Hiral and Pabitra Bharali. Nepalese diasporic poets from around the world including British diaspora express cultural dilemma, divided loyalty, exploration of identity as well as failure of their dream. In general, their poetry articulates bifurcated subjectivity, belonging to neither-here-nor-there, analogically bearing trishanku psyche in the context of the globalized world.

Key Words: *trishanku* psyche, diaspora, deterritorialization, immigrant, hybridity, nostalgia.

Introduction

The objective of this research article is to examine and analyse the diasporic content of *trishanku* psyche in the poems written by seven different Nepalese poets dispersed at British diaspora. Several research works have been conducted in Nepalese poetry emerged from diaspora, however their approach is more explanatory and less critical. Instead of applying the wholesale parameter of diasporic consciousness, this present study aims to explore and analyse how the *trishanku* psyche of diasporic poets sustains both love and hatred towards homeland and host land. Day by day, the volume of Nepalese poetry composed by migrant writers is growing in number and gradually gaining excellence in its quality. None the less, critical study of those poems from the diasporic lens is at the nascent form.

This researcher tends to seek answer of three significant questions while analysing those poems from diasporic perspective. Firstly, what basic characteristics diaspora and diasporic poets retain. Secondly, why diaspora develop *trishanku* psyche within them. Thirdly, how the selected poems from diaspora manifest *trishanku* psyche of the British poets and their fictional characters.

* Assistant Professor of English,
Patan Multiple Campus, TU, Lalitpur, Nepal, Email : hachekali@gmail.com

In the meantime, it is contextual to define, what *trishanku* psyche is. The term *trishanku* originates from Hindu mythology. As per the myth, the mortal king *Trishanku* garnered a desire to ascend the heaven alive and earnestly requested *Vishwamitra*, a great sage. Upon *Trishanku*'s persistence, *Vishwamitra* sent him heaven but his entry was prohibited. While falling down to the earth, *Trishanku* was stopped in the midway by *Vishwamitra* (Bharali 263). The sage did create some heavenly bodies and let *Trishanku* rule over there as a king with his posture upside down.

Trishanku's position is analogous to diaspora's fate entangled between homeland and host land. *Trishanku* psyche is the in-betweenness psyche. It is a sense of oscillation between cultures and nationalities. *Trishanku* serves as a rich metaphor for diasporic situation. Settlement on the foreign land but desire for rerooting in the cultural homeland creates diasporic position. In general, diasporic position knowingly or unknowingly maintains love and hate relation to culture, polity and nationality of both of the land of origin and the land of relocation. Psychological duality resides at the core of diaspora population. Pabitra Bharali establishes correlation between the fate of *Trishanku* and diaspora, "... the immigrant experience of rootlessness and search for identity draws an analogy between *Trishanku*'s heaven and the diasporic position" (263)**. Diaspora's Janus-faced entanglement keeps them at the threshold of origin culture and reception culture. The entanglement makes them vibrant and unable to locate the subjectivity at a fix point.

Diaspora, in the classical sense, were attached to painful dispersion from their cultural homeland. However, modern day diaspora are not necessarily so. Michele Reis asserts, "While trauma, exile and collective identity are features of the Jewish diaspora, they are not necessarily features of all diasporic groups, particularly in reference to contemporary diaspora" (45). In the age of globalization, diaspora emerge seeking better opportunities for their academic or economic or both advancement. Homi K. Bhabha defines hybridity as the in-between situation. For him, it "[...] is the 'inter'– the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the in-between space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture" (38). Hybrid identity negotiates between two different cultures embodying things from both sides. Diasporic identity survives in hybridity.

Especially, from the early 1990s, many Nepalese writers migrated to the West. However, the history of Nepalese foreign army diaspora (British *Gurkha*) "dates back to the *sugauli* treaty that was signed in 1816 by the British Commander General Octorlony and the Nepalese Commander-in-Chief Amar Singh Thapa" (KC 60). These days Nepalese diaspora have expanded from Europe to the United States to Canada to Australia to Japan to the Gulf countries to South Korea to African Countries to the Middle East to many more countries. Their experiences of loneliness, nostalgia, sense of dislocation, frustration, active participation in social sphere, cultural duality, glorification of host land or homeland,

** See Bharali 263.

fierce criticism of homeland culture and host land culture and the like have been explored and analysed in this paper, to show *trishanku* psyche of Nepalese diaspora. Voluminous research works have been conducted in Nepalese diasporic poetry, however theoretical analysis to explore equivocal subjectivity is in dire need. This paper has tried to address the need.

The term 'diaspora' drawn from Greek language literally means the dispersed Jews after the Babylonian captivity. Etymologically, 'dia' means over and 'speiro' means to sow (Shuval 28). In course of time, the term diaspora has undergone massive changes in the long run of its usage. In today's context, the term is applied in generalized sense to indicate the migrated population with a sense of longing for homeland and its culture. Jani Hiral opines, "The term diasporic communities are increasingly being used as metaphoric definition for expatriated, refugees, alien residents, immigrants, displaced communities and ethnic minorities living in exile" (7). The liberal definition of diaspora provided by Hiral is appropriate to Nepalese diaspora. This diaspora is not a victim diaspora as the Jews, the Greek and the Armenian are victim diaspora.

In search of academic opportunity and economic advancement, many Nepalese people have been crossing the national boundaries and migrating to various diaspora around the globe. The process of globalization is a key factor to promote the trend of transnational and international migration. In the global flow, Nepalese writers from multiple diaspora articulate a sense of dual affiliation of their own and that of the fictional characters they create through different literary genres. Such a sense of dual affiliation remains at the borderline between homeland culture and host land culture. Critical observation on the writing of those writers reflects *trishanku* psyche all pervasive.

Research Methodology

The researcher explores and analyses how Nepalese poetry written at British diaspora articulate the in-between diasporic situation emanated from *trishanku* psyche. For theoretical reinforcement in this research, the insights envisioned by diaspora theorists, researchers and scholars such as W. Andy Knight, Israel Milton, Makrand Paranjape, William Saffron, Uma Parameshwaran,, Nina Glick Schiller, Jani Hiral and Pabitra Bharali have been used.

The paper exposes how the selected poems carry on diaspora's cultural duality. For justifying the claim of *trishanku* psyche in this research, some seven different poems have been selected as the primary texts penned by seven different poets from Nepalese British diaspora. They are: "Chhoralai Chithi (A Letter to Son)" by Raksha Rai, "Badaliyeko London Ra Jacky Smithharu (Transmuted London and Jacky Smiths)" by Ganesh Rai, "Sudur Samjhanama Bilya Bhaisakeki Soltinilai Facebookma Bhetda (To Encounter the Almost-Lost- from-Memory Soltini at Facebook)" by Daya Krishna Rai, "Prakash Ra Bansuri (Prakash and Flute)" by Neresh Kangbang, "Ardhata (Hafness)" by Mijas Tembe,

"Dover Beach" by Devendra Kheres and "Thamesko Kinarama Eak Chhin (Just a Moment on the Bank of Thames River)" by Durga Prasad Pokharel.

Most of these poets are from British *Gurkha* army background. Each of their single poem echoes the suspended diasporic fate between here and there the way the mythological character *Trishanku* entangles between the heaven and the earth.

Textual Analysis

The selected poems originally written in Nepali Language from British diaspora, articulate various dimensions of diaspora life especially the psychological dilemma of being in two different cultures. Diasporic writers' fascination from homeland is stimulated, according to William Safran, "being dispersed from a certain, original centre [they] retain a collective memory, vision or myth about their homeland, its physical location, history and achievements. They, for one reason or other continue to relate personally or vicariously to that homeland" (83). Raksha Rai, an ex-British *Gurkha* army wearing a persona of an ageing Nepalese father from the motherland, in the poem "A Letter to Son" expresses fury, discontentment and disheartenment to the son who has been serving the foreign land. The anxiety of the father oozes out in such a way that reflects minute conflict underlying between the diaspora population and the homeland nationals. He writes:

Your nation not present on the borderline
 marked by your blood
 The war you fought and sacrifice you made
 not mentioned in the history your brother wrote
 he declares himself a nationalist, and you
 a person of resigned attitude
 good for nothing and a traitor. (*Belayati* 95)

Raksha's poetic persona, the father, presents the image of a migrant son as a remittance contributor for the homeland but his homeland puts him in the category of denizen. According to Stuart Hall, the modern day identity, that is the diasporic identity, in the context of the globalized world, is "never unified and in the late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured, never singular but multiply constructed across, different, other intersections and antagonistic discourse, practices and positions" (4). Having possessed fragmented subjectivity, a diaspora fully belongs to neither-her- nor-there. Raksha further writes:

Here the soil prepared tomb in your name
 Your nation calls you foreigner
 Your citizenship made you denizen
 There you fighting war for citizenship. (*Belayati* 94)

Living a diasporic life in England, Raksha Rai does borrow dozens of cultural images from Kirat community to demonstrate contradictions residing between homeland and host land of diaspora. He chides both the homeland nationals and Nepalese diaspora community, the first one, having constantly been failure to hoist the glory of nation and nationality. Similarly, the second one not worrying about the motherland's advancement and sovereignty.

At present, creative writers at diaspora perpetually draw cultural and aesthetic sustenance from their cultural homeland and they exist at the interface of dual culture. In the past, their predecessors harnessing a deep sense of alienation would reminisce the geographical territory left behind. Writers, either the past generation or that of the present generation, through their imagination or dream, perpetually visited or visit their motherland.

Ganesh Rai, a fighter in the Falklands War in the early 1980s celebrates the theme of repulsion towards his land of reception in the poem "Translated London and the Jacky Smiths". Rai, a Nepali poet, living in London after his retirement from the service, appraises the British polity and sketches a panorama of changing power relations between the native British citizens and the growing number of diaspora. He posits his subjectivity somewhere between the British nationals and the diaspora population. The following lines exhibit a changing scenario:

London heavily metamorphosed
 plurality of colours added
 altered conventional code of sociology
 to demolish Victorian conservative brain. (*Belayati* 80)

The code of sociological composition and demographic structure have been changing. Host countries gradually go on losing their grip in politics, business, economy and other sectors.

Since the mid-1960s, European countries fascinated a large number of "immigrant workers From Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and the Middle East [due to] the globalization of production. Canada and the United States also experience a major influx of new immigrants from those areas" (Knight 269). In the past, European imperialists reached over many different countries and continents over hundreds of years to the developing nations and cultures in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean islands. At present, after the colonial period is over, in our postcolonial globalized world, identity of diaspora is not naturally constructed phenomenon but instead constituted by historical, political and social forces of globalization.

However, the greater flow of population is from the developing nations of the East to the developed nations of the West. The influx of diaspora in the long run poses a threat to the host land. Ganesh Rai's following lines are vocal about it:

On the illuminated night time London Street
 Jacky Smith afraid of walking alone
 I guess I am in an African nation
 I guess I am in Indian sub-continent. (*Belayati* 80-81)

Jacky Smith, a typical Londoner feels as if he is a minority class. Subsequent generations of diaspora participate in the decision making process of the land which gave them hospitality in the past. Israel Milton, using the term expatriates in the similar sense of diaspora, views that diaspora people, on one hand, distance themselves from traditional homeland culture. On the other hand, they pose a challenge to the culture of host land. He exactly says, "By Migrating the expatriate constrains his ability to live a tradition based life but not his need. At the same time, he becomes part of the challenge to the traditions of his new home by merely being there" (9). Projecting London as an 'epicentre' and the flux of diaspora as an 'alarming swarm' Ganesh Rai views,

Migrants from all around the world
 Targeting the epicentre of London
 all of them are alarming swarm
 to terrify the innumerable Jacky Smiths
 on the glossy road of London. (*Belayati* 80-81)

The glossy roads of the London Metropolitan are filled with the non-white migrants from the entire globe. Such scenario as an indication of the future London where, eventually, white privilege is sure to flame out.

Daya Krishna Rai's poem "To Encounter the Almost-Lost-from Memory *Soltini* at Facebook" written in narrative mode celebrates the theme of unfulfilled love of a migrant in youth stage in the homeland. The speaker, from the land of reception, encounters his *soltini* after perhaps decades and wishes to share his dearest sensation with her through virtual medium. The diasporic poetic persona has cherished lovely memories of the past as expressed below:

Frequent encounters at early age
 with *soltini* at marketplaces
 Concealing those memories in mind
 I moved to foreign land
 killing earnest desire to tightly embrace her
 and continue many rounds love talk;
 delicate hands to caress *soltini's* lock of hair
 circumstantially came to caress the pistol. (*Ashwet* 40)

The relation word *soltini* contains rich meaning in Nepali language and cultural system. Literally, *soltini* is the sister of one's brother-in-law. In the rural agricultural society, *soltini* would be a centre for attraction the moment subject of love and marriage emerged. An emotional attachment, either expressed or unexpressed, binds *solti* (male) and *soltini* (female) together in Nepalese cultural firmament. Many male youths have fallen in love, married, or both with *soltini* in Nepalese society. Being based on such cultural context, Daya Krishna has employed the image of *soltini* in order to show the fascination and repulsion on love affairs between the lovers living in homeland and host land. As the speaker's dream girl, the *soltini* reigned his mind throughout the years after they turned to be contactless. However, the modern technology of social media reunited them after ages.

The *trishanku* location, in Bharali's interpretation, "... succinctly signifies the position of a wish fulfilled but desire unsatisfied. This is a situation faced by the immigrants as they are forced to straddle two societies, two cultures and two entirely different new worlds" (263). In the capacity of an army diaspora, the speaker's wish to connect with *soltini* is fulfilled but the desire for the left behind *soltini* in the distant homeland grows severe. He expresses his everlasting longing for family, village and, last but not the least, the dearest *soltini*. As a trainee army he was trained like a plough-drawing young bullock at the training centres of Hong Kong and Malaya. During those monotonous days, his plight would be as follows:

Soltini's reminiscence would drift
 the way a growing young bullock
 passionately follows a heifer
 Every night pillow would drench
 in memory of family, distant village
 and above all the dearest *soltini*. (*Ashwet* 40)

The animal images of young bullock and heifer replicate a diaspora's love entangled in the distant land of cultural home that he left many years back.

After exchanging their initial greetings, the speaker's *soltini*, in satiric tone comments about her diaspora *solti* and that comment enormously infuriates him. She ruthlessly articulates:

Sold like a he-goat dear *solti*
 British government properly looked after you
 We Nepalese daughters eat green vegetables
 and low quality staple
 pre-mature wrinkles we possess

however, immense love grows for Nepal
 No problem though you forget your dear *soltini*
 your birth village, friends and nation, too. (*Ashwet* 42)

The speaker's dearest feelings for his lost love are not positively responded from the next side. The sentiment of love between them gets entangled the way mythical *trishanku* is suspended between the heaven and the earth. Daya Krishna's poetic persona seems to be lingering between modern Western facilities and the lovely memories of the distant past.

In the culturally and socially alien land, diaspora people undergo different phases of experiences. On one hand, they cherish fascination towards here and there; on the other hand, they possess displeasure towards the left-behind society and the currently residing society.

In fact, diaspora life remains full of unresolvable contradictions. Uma Parameshwaran, an Indo-Canadian writer and critic has described four different phases of diaspora life from the phase of alienation to the participation in politics and national issues. He observes:

The first phase is nostalgia for the homeland left behind and mingled with fear in strange land. The second is a phase in which one is so busy in adjusting to the new environment that there is little creative output. The third phase is shaping of diaspora existence by involving themselves in ethno-culture issues. The fourth is when they have arrived and started participating in the larger world of politics and national issues. (qtd. in Kadam, 534)

Parameshwaran suggests the phases of nostalgia, adjustment, shaping of diaspora existence and participation. The first phase shows a strong orientation of diaspora towards the cultural homeland. Similarly, the second and the fourth phases develop diaspora subjectivity and psyche to locate their position in the alien land.

As Parameshwaran describes the phases, in Naresh Kangbang's poem "Prakash and Flute" nostalgia plays a substantial role. The character named Prakash, during his school days, would carry a flute every time with him. After leaving his school and village, Prakash kept carrying the flute to Kathmandu and Brunei, too. As a diaspora of the nostalgic phase, Prakash does possess the flute wherever he goes. The flute serves as a cultural symbol of Nepalinness. The first generation diaspora, though does preserve longing for host land, is filled with memories of the bygone days. The following lines express the fictional character's adherence to flute:

His flute enjoyed no free time in village
 ever busy in the capital city
 busied itself in Brunei as well

At the postmodern city
 in summer season of Europe
 Prakash and flute both keep vibrating. (*Lahure* 84)

In the postmodern city, multiple musical instruments accumulated from multiple cultural locations keep vibrating. However, the Nepalese man without any hesitation in a ritualistic way makes the flute an appendage of his personality. Prakash tries to avoid his sense of alienation by playing the flute that functions as his partner in the summer season conurbation full of cultures, people and practices. The fictional character Prakash, as the mythical *Trishanku*, keeps fascination towards his left-behind culture though he roams around the most developed postmodern cities of Europe.

Many British *Gurkha* armies either the retired ones or the in-service ones are creative writers. Their writing reflects basically the diasporic dilemma, the sense of belonging neither here nor there, desire for homeland as the guiding principles. In short, their citizenship belonging to Britain keeps them at the crossroad of nationalities and cultures. Researcher Puran Rai assesses the situation as follows:

Foreign army writers [from Nepal] have reached to different geographical territories of the globe while performing their duty under British *Gurkha* regiment. Many of them, now, are converted into diaspora. In the literary writing composed by them, experiences of migrant lives are visible. Things like sense of alienation, encounter with new language, experience of negotiation required with unfamiliar communities, longing for homeland, apprehension of the unknown, double vision, reminiscence of the loved ones at distant homeland, narrative of struggle, exploration of identity and formation of diasporic community are surfaced in the writing of Nepalese foreign army. The above mentioned characteristics are manifested from the preliminary phase of Nepalese diaspora literature. (31-32)

The migrant writers' struggle concentrates on negotiating into a new space and culture. They realise their shifting from central to peripheral status along with their entry into a new world where they are assigned with the hyphenated identity.

Mijash Tembe, a poet of philosophical bent and a British *Gurkha* army in-service, defies the politics of discrimination practiced by the government of the land of reception. In the poem entitled 'Halfness', Tembe condemns the attitude of the host land towards diaspora. He writes:

My host land recognizes my sweat
 but shows ignorance about my complexion
 My host land utilizes my gallantry and silliness at once
 But doesn't understand history the way I understand. (*Belayati* 189-190)

Tembe's these lines powerfully deconstruct the notion of gallantry. For the colonizers, British *Gurkha* army's sweat is adorable but the discriminatory ruling system shows ignorance to the brown complexion of the British *Gurkha*. The host land polity diplomatically uses and misuses gallantry and silliness of the British *Gurkha* diaspora.

However, in the same poem, Tembe expresses his discontentment to the homeland as well. The sandwiched status of diaspora is doubly under the pressure. Both of the homeland and the host land turn to be the strange land to them. He expresses the diasporic fate of negligence from both sides as follows:

The moment I return homeland
 earlier generation says, "We have already forgotten you"
 my own generation says, "You have missed so many things"
 new generation says, "We don't know who you are". (*Belayati* 189-190)

Through such expression, Tembe seems to highlight the imperfection, non-acceptance on both sides and the lingering position of diaspora. All three living generations of the speaker's homeland treat him as a stranger and persona-non-grata. Again, *trishanku* image strikingly appeals to understand the predicament of diaspora life. However, their in-between location is a fluid and fertile space for creative outburst. The mythical character *Trishanku* was denied entry into the heaven (new land). In the almost similar fashion, the speaker in Mijas Tembe's poem settles in the West and his villagers do not frankly welcome him.

During the colonial period, the British authority exercised its political and economic supremacy all over the world. After the Second World War the British power gradually diminished in the global range. The shift of between the past and the present is skilfully captured by Devendra Kheres, another diasporic Nepali poet living in London. In the poem 'Dover Beach' Kheres politically criticizes the imperialistic legacy of the British state. In spite of the fact that the British government has offered him hospitality, he draws picture of the globally roaming British ship for expanding ideology and economic market. In Kheres's words, "Sailing ship moving around the globe / time to time come to unload / the weight of imperialism" (*Belayati* 154). These lines somehow sketch the still existing British power. However, the following lines of Kheres from the same poem by using the image of 'worn-out Jeans' ridicules the diminishing colonial legacy of the past:

Calculating the outnumbering days
 looking at worn-out jeans
 and the emptying drink glass
 European hippies mollify their fatigue. (*Belayati* 154)***

*** See *Belayati* 154

The phrases like 'outnumbering days', 'worn-out jeans' and 'emptying drinks glass' symbolize the decay of the British imperialism that was all pervasive for a certain period in the history. A diasporic poet enjoying the British hospitality now, very frankly criticizes the polity of the host nation. As discussed earlier, the *trishanku* psyche of the poet shows alignment and non-alignment to both of the land of origin and land of reception.

Modern diaspora's experience is not exactly the same like that of their predecessors. Life at diaspora can be less painful and less troublesome compared to the past. In Makrand Paranjape's words, diaspora contains "its potential for creating a new kind of culture (that) arises out of such a crossing of boundaries. The diaspora thus must involve in a cross-cultural or cross civilizational passage" (239). Modern Western education system frames the diaspora psyche, largely, very similar to that of the people of the land of reception. Consequently, diaspora develop a *trishanku* psyche having tolerance to the culture/s different from their own.

In this connection, Nina Glick schiller sounds contextual, "Contemporary transnational migration exists in the context in which many people around the world watch the same television shows, are besieged by the same advertisements, long for the same commodities" (142). Durga Prasad Pokharel, a Nepali poet living at British diaspora, in the poem 'Just a Moment on the Bank of Thames River' demonstrates his relation of equidistance to the homeland and host land. The following extract from his poem expresses the non-conformist *trishanku* orientation:

These days I feel from within
 London is as familiar as my own village
 Perhaps the land touches you within
 the longer you stay over
 In the West Minister Abbey I see
 My own Nyatpol Temple gloriously standing
 In the marketplace movements hither and thither
 I notice the glamour of New Road in Kathmandu. (*Belayati* 177)

Standing at the frontier of Nepalese and British culture Pokharel amalgamates the places such as West Minister Abbey, Nyatpol. London and New Road belonging to two entirely different geo-cultural spaces of Nepal and the United Kingdom.

Ihsan Al-Issa defines assimilation as "the relinquishing of one's own ethnic identity and adopting that of the dominant society" (94). The lines extracted above from Durga's poem suggest that the speaker is not exactly assimilated in the British society but his tolerance develops to the cultures of both sides. Further, it indicates that as a diasporic poet

he has given up his initial rigidity about the attachment with the culture left behind. Longing for dual geo-cultural spaces turns to be a remarkable feature of modern day diaspora.

Conclusion

This research paper on Nepalese poetry written at British diaspora representing immigrant's diasporic consciousness make us aware of the fact that Nepalese diaspora in the lands of their relocation survive with *trishanku* psyche of love and hatred to both of the land of origin and the land of destination.

Even though the complex configuration of diaspora can never be analysed in an overarching homogenous way, certain characteristics are common to them. In those aforementioned pieces of poem, the writers from Nepalese British diaspora express their anxiety towards two different cultures and polities. They harness a *trishanku* sense of duality, sometimes desperately looking for an attachment with the homeland and its culture, other times; they fiercely libel the polity and policy of their homeland government. Moreover, sometimes diaspora people appreciate the host land culture and its polity, other times they criticize the discriminatory behaviour and the colonialist supremacy of the host land government. In nutshell, diasporic psyche is formulated with an intricate design of ambivalence. *Trishanku* psyche of diaspora people, diasporic characters and diasporic writers survives in the contact zone without a fixed subjectivity.

The poetic personas in the poems discussed above survive a troubled sense of bifurcation between and among cultures and nationalities as well. These transnational characters shuttle between homeland and host land. At their free will, they create and maintain multiple ties across several national boundaries and cultural practices nullifying attachment to a particular single culture. Those fictional characters travel back and forth without permanent fixture. In an era of globalization, diaspora populations are engaged in complex *trishanku* position with both their host societies and their societies of origin. Further researches can explore *trishanku* psyche reigning in various literary text of multiple genres written by Nepali diasporic writers incorporating in-between situation that not only of characters but of the writers, too.

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