The Survival of the Gathering Economy: A Case Study of the Liangmai Tribe

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Abstract: Manipur, despite being a small state in Northeast India, is home to a diverse population of ethnic groups. The Meeteis/Meiteis, Nagas and Kuki-Chin-Mizo groups are the three major ethnic groups. The Liangmai tribe is part of the Naga tribes. Tamei, a sub district of Tamenglong district, has the highest concentration of Liangmai. Aside from agriculture, this community subsists primarily on wild plant food, fishing and hunting. As a result, they continue to supplement their food supply through gathering economy. This paper aims to shed more light on the nature of this community's procurement, consumption and indigenous methods of preservation. Furthermore, more emphasis is placed on a more accurate interpretation of the role of ecology and environment in this tribe's subsistence pattern and development.

Introduction

The Liangmai tribe is one of Manipur's larger indigenous tribes. Etymologically speaking, the phrase "Liangmai" is made of two words: *Liang* and *Mai. Liang* means "support or grouped as one", and *Mai* means "people." Therefore, the people who have banded together in order to provide assistance for one another and to live together as one community or tribe are referred to as Liangmai (Charengna and Haokip 2017). Previously, this community was a part of the Kacha Naga tribe of this state. They are known as Zeliang in Nagaland. It received tribal recognition in 2011 and was added to Manipur's Scheduled Tribe list. This tribe is primarily found in the districts of Noney, Kangpokpi, Senapati and Tamenglong, which are located in the state's west and northwestern regions. It has a population of about 40,000 people, who live in 43 villages. And, they are mostly concentrated in Tamenglong district's Tamei sub-division and Kangpokpi district's Saitu Gamphajol sub-division. Scattered pockets can also be found

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in Tamenglong and Tousem sub-divisions of Tamenglong district, as well as Imphal West and Imphal East districts (Fig. 1). They speak the Liangmai dialect of the Tibeto-Burman language family.

They are primarily agriculturists. However, in the hilly areas, the majority of them still rely on the gathering economy. They collect various types of vegetables (including various types of inflorescences, roots, shoots and leafy spices), edible fungi and lichens, and various types of fruits and nuts for their livelihood as well as commercial purposes. Hunting and fishing also contribute to their food supply to some extent. The current paper is concerned with the gathering economy of this community. Furthermore, the author attempts to highlight how much the people's economy is influenced by local conditions, and how far they may be able to preserve their age-old traditions.

Socio-Political System

There are two separate patrilineal clans in this tribe, and their names are *Newmai* and *Pamai*. In addition, each clan is comprised of twelve lineages (Devi 2001). They are listed below:

Newmai clan: Abonmei, Daimai, Dirinamai, Disongpunamai, Moitamai, Ngomai, Ngunamai, Penmai, Ringkunamai, Thiumai, Thiupuongtamai, and Ziungnamai

Pamai clan: Boijunamai, Bonmai, Charengnamai, Ginpuinamai, Hengmai, Khapuinamai, Langmai, Makhomai, Malangmai, Mariangmai, Renchang, and Renta

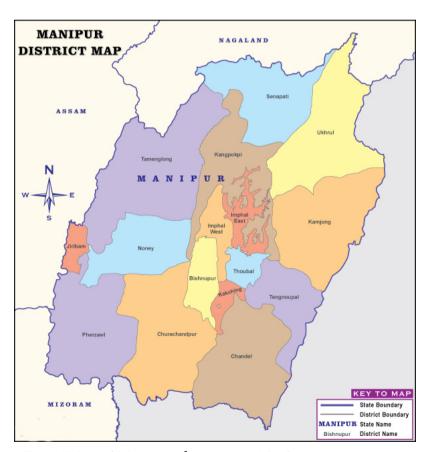


Fig. 1: Map of Manipur showing its 16 administrative units

Each Liangmai village has a traditional village court/council called *Pei/Apai*, headed by the chief of the village concerned, called *Chawang*. The chieftainship is hereditary. It is hereditary in the sense that the chieftainship always goes to a specific clan and his descendants. Though each village is administered by a village council (Pei/Apai), the village chief holds the highest position. He serves as the religious and secular head. The hearing of any case is held at his residence, which serves as the village court, and his decision is final. The Pei/Apai has its own system of preserving their tradition, maintaining law and order, administering justice, and defending the village. This traditional village council has a number of councillors (Peimai/Apaimai), which represent each of the clans, residing in the village concerned. The councillors are equally important and expected to discharge their respective duties in the village administration. Since the laws are customary and divine in nature, there is no necessity for powers. Therefore, the councillors not only execute and administer the laws but also sit as judges, as the village council is the highest court in each Liangmai village. In every Liangmai society, the court and its judges are within easy reach of the poor. Since the poor people compulsorily belong to one clan or another, they are well represented by the ablest member of their clan, who looks after the interests of his own clan. Thus, no one is ignored in any court case. In short, under the leadership of Chawang, the traditional village council is in charge of the village's general administration, and everything is under his council (Devi 2001).

Along with *Pei*, there is also a more contemporary form of village administration, called Village Authority, where *Chawang* serves as the ex-officio chairman. The major duties of the Village Authority are to uphold peace and order in the community and to examine all the Block Development Committee's reports and construction projects. It is managed by the village's elected officials.

Liangmai Economy

Agriculture is the major means of subsistence for the Liangmai people. They use a hoe to undertake dry and wet farming, which means that they cultivate on periodically shifted jhum fields in addition to irrigated terraces and wet fields. In all aspects of agricultural labour, women are the most knowledgeable workers. They work the soil in the jhum, the terrace, and even in the wet fields where they are growing crops. In addition to this, they are involved in the process of planting seeds. Following the planting of various crops, women are then involved in a variety of other chores, such as scaring away birds and other wild fowl from their separate fields in order to protect the sown seeds until they have completely germinated. After that, they will, if necessary, transplant the young seedlings. Women of the community are also responsible for weeding. They are also helpful in the process of harvesting (reaping, threshing, and transporting). They grow various kinds of crops, the majority of which are native to the area, including paddy, millet, etc. (see Table 1). In addition to products from agriculture, horticulture, which includes fruits and vegetables such as oranges, bananas, guava, peaches, a variety of chillies, a variety of beans, yam, ginger, brinjal, cucumber, pumpkin, mustard leaves, and others, have been identified as a major source of income (see Tables 1-2) (Figs. 2-9).

Table 1: Different cereals, vegetables and spices grown by the Liangmai people

Sl. No.	Local Name	English Equivalent	Manipuri Equivalent	Scientific Name	
1	Chamiu/Chaban	Paddy	Phou	Oryza sativa	
2	Tathiu/Tasi/Tasiu	Millet	Chanan	Hordeum vulgare	
3	Hindem/Yendem	Taro	Yendem	Colocasia sp.	
4	Kabi	Taro	Pal	Colocasia esculenta	
5	Chamansa	Pumpkin	Mairel	Cucurbita maxima	
6	Chariu	Arum/Yam	Hamacha	Dioscorea alata	
7	Tasingriu	Cassava	U-Mangra	Manihot esculenta	
8	Mangte/Mate/ Mangbon	Maize	Chujak	Zea mays	
9	Riuthum/Laithum	Sweet potato	Mangra	Ipomoea batatas	
10	Khao thiura	Very hot and large chili	U-morok	Capsicum sinensis	
11	Thiura/ Thiuchi	Bird's eye chili	Uchithi morok	Capsicum frutescens	
12	Nongmangkha	Malabar nut	Nongmangkha	Adhatoda vasica	
13	Jiang	Field mustard	Hanggam	Brassica compestris	
14	Kobi	Wild cabbage	Kobiful	Brassica oleracea	
15	Ngakchoumanbi	Common bean	Ngakchoumanbi	Phaseolus vulgaris	
16	Thangpakpi	Hyacinth bean	Thangpakpi	Lablab purpureus	
17	Karampi	Tree bean	Yongchak	Parkia roxburghii	
18	Chara	Rice bean	Chak-hawai	Phaesolus calcaratus	
19	Maraoba/Mapuna	Bottle gourd	Khongdrum	Lagenaria siceraria	
20	Torbot	White gourd	Torbot	Benincasa hispida	
21	Aaloo	Potato	Aaloo	Solanum tuberosum	
22	Mating	Catmint	Thoiding angouba	Anisomeles indica	
23	Tating	Linseed	Thoiding amuba	Linum usitatissimum	
24	Magina	Cucumber	Thabi	Cucumis sativus	
25	Nuwangpichiu/ Tituangpisi	Cowpea	Kolihawai	Vigna unguiculata	
26	Newraipi / Tajuangraipi	Subspecies of cowpea	Hawai ashangbi	Vegina catjang	
27	Marigomsi	Sponge gourd	Sebot	Luffa cylindrica	
28	Khiang	Deccan hemp	Sougree	Hibiscus cannabinus	
29	Talao	Onion	Tilhou	Allium cepa	
30	Talao	Spring onion	Eeshing tilhou	Allium escalonicum	
31	Raa	Leafy spice	Maroi napakpi	Allium hookeri	

(Table 1 Continued...)

(Table 1 Continued...)

Sl. No.	Local Name	English Equivalent	Manipuri Equivalent	Scientific Name
32	Piuna/Piura	Leafy spice	Maroi nakooppi	Allium odorum
33	Tanam	Garlic	Chanam	Allium sativum
34	Kabiu	Ginger	Shing	Zingiber officinale
35	Gulim	Turmeric	Yaingang	Cucuma domestica
36	Mayangbon	Pungent smelling leafy spice	Mayangba	Ocimum canum
37	Maripiu	Garden mint	Nungshidak	Mentha spicata

Table 2: Different fruits grown by the Liangmai people

Sl.No.	Local Name	English Equivalent	Manipuri Equivalent	Scientific Name
1	Komlasi	Orange	Komla	Citrus aurantium
2	Gasi	Citron	Heijang	Citrus medica
3	Champrasi	Lemon	Champra	Citrus limon
4	Tasingbong / Tasingbangrasi	Papaya	Awathabi	Carica papaya
5	Chalangpusi	Pomelo	Nobab	Citrus maxima
6	Ngua	Banana	Laphoi	Musa paradisiaca
7	Pungdonsi	Guava	Pungdon	Psidium javanicus
8	Chumbreisi	Peach	Chumbrei	Prunus persica
9	Malheisi	Mirabelle/Nectarine	Malhei	Prunus insititia
10	Heikhasi	Plum	Heikha	Prunus indica
11	Heinousi	Mango	Heinou	Magnifera indica
12	Phophorasi	Jackfruit	Theibong	Artocarpus heterophyllus
13	Tatou	Sugar cane	Choo/Chu	Saccarum officinarum
14	Mangtarasi	Pomegranate	Kaphoi	Punica granatum
15	Tarabuja	Water melon	Tarabuja	Citrullus vulgaris

Liangmai people, however, nonetheless continue to practice gathering economics as a means of supplementing their food supply. This is especially true for the people who are living in remote hilly areas. The members of this group who have made their homes in various hilly regions of this state make use of a wide variety of foods that come from wild plants. This community gathers a wide variety of plants in order to supplement the food for their survival during the lean season, and they also sell these plants in order to serve as a form of economic resource for them in order to maintain their way of life. They gather various kinds of vegetables and fruits in the form of whole plants, leaves, shoots and roots. They do not have any specific system for distinguishing between deadly and

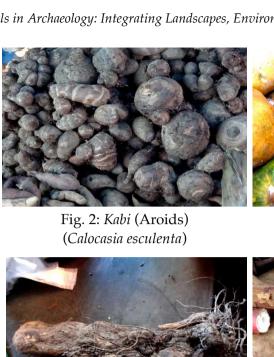


Fig. 4: Chariu / Haa (Arum / Yam) (Dioseoria alata)



Fig. 3: Chamansa (Pumpkin) (Cucurbita maxima)



Fig. 5: Tasingriu (Tapioca) (Manihot esculenta)



Fig. 6: Jiang (China cabbage) (Brassica compestris)



Fig. 7: Kobi (Cabbage) (Brassica olerecea var. capitulata)



Fig. 8: U-Khamenshinba (Cyphomandra batasea)



Fig. 9: *Ajangsi* (bitter taste brinjal) (Solanum gilo)

non-poisonous plant foods other than following the paths that were instructed to them by their ancestors and older people. The names of some of the wild plants that are consumed by this tribe are included in Tables 3 and 4, along with their Manipuri, English, and local equivalents. Also included are their scientific names, which may be found under the appropriate headings (Figs. 10-39).

Because they are skilled hunters and anglers, in addition to hunting wild animals and birds, they also catch fish in the surrounding water logging regions or wetland areas (see Tables 5 and 6). They also catch a variety of snails and use these as food items (see Table 7). They hunt many wild games like deer, bear, boar, porcupine, tiger, leopard, monkey, python, and a number of birds to procure their meat (Figs. 40-43). Hunting of animals depends upon the availability of animals in the surroundings. However, only the male members of the community participate in the activity. Although there is no set rule for hunting, they favoured more ferocious animals like lions, tigers, leopards, bears, wild boars and pythons. While group hunting was more preferable, these knowledgeable hunters also participated in individual hunting expeditions. One was regarded as a brave man of the village or community if he could hunt at least one of these wild animals, if not more. In the past, he was also permitted to erect a megalith in his honour as a reward for his valiant effort, but only after the brave hunter had offered a lavish feast (Devi 2011, 2012). Therefore, activities such as hunting and fishing contribute, at least to some degree, to the availability of food.

Since some insects are excellent sources of proteins, entomophagy is widely practised not just for food but also as a kind of medicine. For example, an insect, locally known as the *Taje* (*Omphisa fuscidentalis*), plays a very important role in Liangmai society because of its taste and also because of its medicinal value. It is found only in the winter months (November, December, and January), particularly when the water in the rivulets and streams is drying up. At that time, the people catch this insect from below the boulders of the river beds and also from rivulets and streams. They have a deep rooted faith in the medicinal value of this insect. For those who are suffering from body aches, muscle pain, low-back pain, and rheumatoid arthritis, Taje is the best medicine. So they prescribe consuming the Taje as the best remedial measure. Another kind of worm known in the area as Siang (Kalotermes flavicollis) is employed for the treatment of conditions that are analogous to those described before. In addition to this, it is now common practice to recommend the use of this worm to patients who have been diagnosed with hypertension. It can be discovered deep within a species of oak tree (Quercus lamellose, locally known as Uyung). People choose fully developed, aged trees, cut them down into sections, and then gather the worms from those pieces. Worms are then collected not just for their flavour but also for the medicinal value they possess. Additionally, they are accomplished honey gatherers.

The Liangmai people also keep a few domesticated animals and birds (see Table 8). Both for the sake of ploughing their wet fields and for the production of their meat, cattle are kept as domesticated animals. The pigs, goats, and chickens are kept only for the purpose of producing meat. People are thought to have a higher economic standing on average if they have a greater number of livestock animals. The ability of the Liangmai people to create their own clothing contributes to their overall level of self-sufficiency. The majority of the ladies in Liangmai are skilled weavers. They use the yarns that they make at home to create clothing.

Table 3: Vegetables and spices collected from the wild

Sl. No.	Local Name	English Equivalent	Manipuri Equivalent	Scientific Name
1	Madang	Edible shoot of the yellow ginger lily	Loklei	Hedychium flavum
2	Madang	Edible shoot of the shell ginger	Poolei	Alpinia nigra
3	Madeng	Edible shoot of a perennial climber	Leipung tharam	Persicaria chinensis
4	Madeng	Edible shoot of a perennial climber	Leiboong tharam	Polygonum molle
5	Tasum	Bamboo shoot	Ushoi	Schima wallichii
6	Sunkhiyang	Fermented bamboo shoot	Soibum	Bambusa tulda
7	Ngunapot	Inflorescence of plantain plant	Laphoo tharo	Musa paradisiaca
8	Chagumbi	New plantain plant and its new shoot	Laphoo	Musa paradisiaca
9	Makhririang	Edible leaf of a creeper (fruit plant)	Monjamhei mana	Tetrastigma bracteolatum
10	Ratian	Edible shoot	Yembum	Not known
11	Khiangleibon	Edible shoot	Ching yenshil	Antidesma diandrum
12	Langbankha	Edible leaf/shoot	Langban Koukhaa	Hedyotis auriculata
13	Chariu	Potato yam	Lamhaa	Dioscorea bulbifera
14	Penia	Edible fungus	Thangjiyel	Tricholoma giganteum
15	Penrao	Edible fungus	Kanglayel	Schizophyllum commune
16	Konsana	Edible fungus	Ucheena	Auricularia delicata
17	Chagumbi	Plantain shoot	Laphoo	Musa paradisiaca
18	Katunpuang	East Indian arrow root	Yaipal	Curcuma angustifolia
19	Peruk	Indian penny wort	Peruk	Centella asiatica/ Hydrocotyle asiatica
20	Chenggum	Edible fungus	Chenggum	Agaricus campestris
21	Tejpataniu	Bay-leaf	Tejpat mana	Cinnamomum tamala
22	Makhkhikum	A leafy spice	Awa phadigom	Eryngium foetidum
23	Gasi	A citrus fruit, whose peel is used as spice	Heirabob	Citrus macroptera
24	Mukthrubi	Winged leafy prickly ash	Mukthrubi	Zanthoxylum alatum

(Table 3 Continued...)

(Table 3 Continued...)

Sl. No.	Local Name	English Equivalent	Manipuri Equivalent	Scientific Name
25	Inchat or Chatna	Edible root and shoot <i>Toningkhok</i>		Houttuynia cordata
26	Yangtu	Spicy plant Lomba		Meriandra bengalensis
27	Aalook	Spicy plant	Kanghoomaan	Meriandra strobilifera
28	Tagigi	Cinnamon	Ushingshaa	Cinnamomum zeylanicum
29	Kophai	Spicy plant	Phakpai	Polygonum sp.
30	Tekta	Leafy spice	Tekta	Meriandra bengalensis
31	Rapum	Spring onion	Cholang	Allium chinense
32	Puleiman	Galangal	Puleimanbee	Alpinia officinarum
33	Chantruk	Shepherd's purse	Chantruk	Capsella bursa pastoris
34	Pakhol	Leafy spice	Leafy spice Pakhol/Pakhon	
35	Laibakngou	Worm seed	Laibakngou nakuppi	Artemisia maritima
36	Jiangpui	Rape	Hangam yellah	Brassica campestris
37	Kham	Leaf use for ritual purposes	Leikham	Goniothalamus sesquipedalis
38	Leipungkhang	Indian night shade	Leipungkhangn ga Morok maan	Solanum indicum
39	Leipungkhang	Yellow berried night shade	Leipungkhangnga A variety	Solanum surattense
40	Yendang	Wild cycas	Yendang	Cycas pectinata
41	Yai	Wild edible shoot	Yaikhu	Thalictrum foliolosum
42	Alalu	Arrow root	Alalu	Maranta arundinacea
43	Наопа	Lemon grass	Наопа	Cymbopogon citratus
44	Thing kobi	Brussels sprout	Kobi ukabi	Brassica oleracea
45	Komprek	Drop wort	Komprek	Oenanthe javanica
46	Kanghoo	Greater galangal	Kanghoo	Alpinia galangal
47	Puleiman	Galangal	Puleimanbee	Alpinia officinarum

Table 4: Fruits collected from the wild plants

Sl. No.	Local Name	English Equivalent	Manipuri Equivale nt	Scientific Name
1	Chakhasi	Edible fruit of cane	Heiree	Calamus cane/
1		plant	1101100	Calamus tanuis
2	Mazingsi	Olive	Chorphon	Elaeocarpus floribundus
				<u></u>

(Table 4 Continued...)

(Table 4 Continued...)

Sl. No.	Local Name	English Equivalent	Manipuri Equivalent	Scientific Name
3	Takhiusi	Walnut	Heijuga achouba	Juglans regia
4	Khiudisi	Small walnut	Heijuga macha	Anacardium occidentale
5	Khiangsi	Very sour fruit	Heibung	Garcinia anomala
6	Tamengsi	A fruit variety	Heiyai	Elaeagnus latifolia/ Elaeagnus umbellata
7	Mantalaosi	Indian goose berry	Heikru	Emblica officinalis
8	Dutsi	Fig variety	Heibong	Ficus carica
9	Thitsi	Fig variety	Ashee heibong	Ficus hispida
10	Seetafonsi	Passion fruit	Seetafon	Passiflora caerulea
11	Phakshi	Wild apple/ Indian crab apple	Heitup	Docynia indica
12	Kihomsi	Pineapple	Kihom	Ananas cosmosus
13	Kamiusi	Very small sour fruit or a variety of drupe	Heimang	Rhus semialata
14	Heibeesi	A fleshy fruit	Heibee	Meyna laxiflora
15	Sahisi	Fruit of Sahi tree	U-thangjing	Quereres semiserrata
16	Boroisi	Plum/Jujube	Boroi	Ziziphus jujuba
17	Tadansi	A variety of drupe	Thangtoop	Phoenix humilis
18	Heiningsi	Hog plum/wild mango	Heining	Spondias pinnata
19	Heiyensi	Big nay	Heiyen	Antidesma bunius
20	Kabangsi	Common mulberry	Kabrangchak	Morus australis



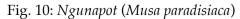




Fig. 11: Chagumbi (Musa paradisiaca)



Fig. 12: Madang / Loklei (Hedychium coronarium)



Fig. 13: Pulei (Alpinia nigra)



Fig. 14: Madeng / Leipung tharam (Persicaria sinensis)



Fig. 15: *Katunpuang* (East Indian arrow root) (*Cucurma angustifolia*)



Fig. 16: Saneibi ushoi (Schima wallachi)



Fig. 17: Warakushoi (Bamboosa oliveriana)



Fig. 18: Yembum (Androcalamus diandrum)



Fig. 19: Yendang (Sago palm) (Cycas revulata)



Fig. 20: Penrao / Kanglayel (Schizophyllum communis)



Fig. 21: Kansana / Uchina (Auricularia delicata)



Fig. 22: Penia / Thangiyel (Lentinula edodes)



Fig. 23: Mukthrubi (Zanthoxylum acanthopodium)



Fig. 24: Tejpataniu (Cinnamomum tamala)



Fig. 25: Awa Makikhum / Awa phadigom (Eryngium foetidum)



Fig. 26: *Gasi / Heirabob* (*Citrus macroptera*)



Fig. 27: *Ushingsha* (*Cinnamonum* sp.)



Fig. 28: *Inchat / Chatna* (Houtuynia cordata)



Fig. 29: Aalook (Elsholtsia blanda)



Fig. 30: *Gasi / Heijang* (*Citrus aurantifolia*)



Fig. 31: Chakhasi / Heiree (Malaca cane / Calamus cane / Calamus tanuis)



Fig. 32: *Takhiusi / hejuga achouba* (walnut) (*Juglans regia*)



Fig. 33: Khiangsi / Heibung (Garcinia anomala)



Fig. 34: Tamengsi / Heiyai (Elaeagnus latifolia)



Fig. 35: Passion fruit (*Passiflora caerulea*)



Fig. 36: Mantalaosi / Heikru (Embelica officinales)



Fig. 37: Phaksi / Heitup (Mocrocos peniculata)



Fig. 38: Kamiusi / Heimang (Rhus semialata)



Fig. 39: Heibeesi / Heibi (Meyna laxiflora)

Table 5: Animals and birds hunted by the tribe

Sl. No.	Local Name	English Equivalent	Manipuri Equivalent	Scientific Name
1	Tathi	Blackbuck	Sajee	Antelope cervicapra
2	Chaheng	Sumatran serow	Sajal	Capricornis sumatraensis
3	Chahui	Jackal	Huithou	Canis aureus
4	Tani	Wolf	Keisahaal	Canis lupus
5	Inguuwang	Procupine	Sabou	Hystrix indica
6	Tathiu	Brown bear	Lammok	Ursus arctos
7	Tajong	Monkey	Yong	Macaca radiata
8	Chakhaojong	Gibbon	Yongmoo	Hoolock hoolock
9	Tachu	Brown rat	Uchi angouba	Rattus norvegicus
10	Ashathi	Fox	Lamhui	Vulpes bengalensis
11	Sajal	Stag	Sajal	Cervus unicolor
12	Tachu	Rabbit	Uchi angouba	Oryctolagus cuniculus

(Table 5 Continued...)

(Table 5 Continued...)

Sl. No.	Local Name	English Equivalent	Manipuri Equivalent	Scientific Name
13	Kalikhumpuina	Squirrel	Kheiroi	Funambulus sp.
14	Thatre	Guinea pig	Theba	Cavia porcellus
15	Sanamba	Fishing cat	Sanamba	Prionailurus viverrinus
16	Inke	Parrot	Tennawa	Psittacula eupatria
17	Takaoleina	Kite	Umaibee	Aquila sp.
18	Langja	Vulture	Langja	Vulture gryphus
19	Chareng or Chahui	Hornbill	Uchek Langmedong	Buceros bicornis
20	Gaa	Crow	Kwaak	Corvus splendens
21	Utoobee	Woodpecker	Utoobee	Dryobates cathpharius

Table 6: Various types of fishes caught by the tribe

Sl. No.	Local Name	English Equivalent	Manipuri Equivalent	Scientific Name
1	Ngakha	Puntius species	Ngakha	Puntius ticto ticto
2	Ngakha meingangbee	Puntius species	Ngakha meingangbee	Puntius manipurensis
3	Ngaprum	Eel	Ngaprum	Monopterus cuchia
4	Ngareel	True eel	Ngareel	Macrognathus aral
5	Ngarel	Devil catfish	Ngarel	Bagarius bagarius
6	Ngakra	Cat fish	Ngakra	Clarias batrachus
7	Nakijou	Loach	Nakijou	Lepidocephalichthys irrorata
8	Ngashang	Flying barb	Ngashang	Esomus danrica
9	Ukabi	Climbing perch	Ukabi	Anabas testudineus
10	Ngapemma/ Phetin	Colisa	Ngapemma/Phetin	Colisa fasciatus
11	Ngamu	Goroi	Meitei ngamu	Channa orientalis
12	Ngamu	Goroi	Ngamu bogra	Chana punctata
13	Ngamu	Gara species	Ngamu sengum	Garra manipurensis
14	Nunga	Balitora species	Nun-nga	Balitora brucei
15	Naosek	Giant water bug	Naosek	Belostoma sp.

Table 7: Different types of snails used by the tribe

Sl. No.	Local Name	English Equivalent	Manipuri Equivalent	Scientific Name
1	Tharoi	Snail	Tharoi ningkhabee	Angulyagra oxytropis
2	Tharoi	Snail	Leikang tharoi	Achatina fulica
3	Tharoi	Common periwinkle	Nung tharoi	Littorina littorea
4	Tharoi	Great pond snail	Tharoi	Lymnaea stagnalis
5	Tharoi	Snail	Lai-Tharoi	Not known
6	Tharoi	Tharoi	Labuk-Tharoi	Pila globosa

Table 8: Animals and birds (Domesticated)

Sl. No.	Local Name	English Equivalent	Manipuri Equivalent	Scientific Name
1	Kami	Goat	Hameng	Capra hircus
2	Yao	Sheep	Yao	Ovis aries
3	Kabuichi	Bull	Shaal laba	Bos indicus
4	Kabuipi	Cow	Shaalbee	Bos indicus
5	Alui	Buffalo	Ero	Bubalus bubalis
6	Buichang	Mithun	Sandang	Bos frontalis
7	Kabak	Pig	Ok	Sus domesticus
8	Tathi	Dog	Ниі	Canis familiaris
9	Na/Ngeochi	Cat	Houdong	Felis domesticus
10	Maruireng	Cock	Yenba	Gallus domesticus
11	Магиіриі	Hen	Yenbee	Gallus domesticus
12	Makhao	Pigeon	Khoonoo	Columba livia
13	Kaniu	Duck	Nganoo	Anas platyrhynchos domesticus



Fig. 40: *Ngaprum* (eel) (*Monopterus chuchia*)



Fig. 41: Nakijou (Lepidocephalus irrorata)



Fig. 42: Ngamu / Meetei Ngamu (Chana orientalis)



Fig. 43: Naosek (giant water bug)

The Liangmai People's Dietary Preferences

Food and food habits have deep psychological roots and are associated with love, affection, warmth, self-image, and social prestige. The diet of the people is influenced by the local conditions, particularly the soil and climate, religious beliefs, and customs. Various types of vegetables, spices, fruits, animals, birds, fish, and insects are used as their food items.

Rice (Chamiu) is the staple food of this tribe. In addition to this, there are two types of millet locally known as Thathiu and Tasi/Tasiu. They consume these two species of millet during the lean season. Previously, they used to take roasted or boiled maize, boiled roots, and millets as their staple food, but nowadays, cooked rice is being accepted by this tribe as their staple food. The Liangmais prefer boiled foods. Therefore, they cook any type of meat (red or white) by boiling, but roasted meat is also used during the lean season. Edible oil was hardly used. Nowadays, however, some changes can be seen while cooking. The youngsters have started using cooking oil, but the quantity of the oil is very low compared with others (residing in the plain areas). There is no special process involved in cooking. They simply boil the meat with locally available leafy spices and a kind of root. They also add ground rice (but not rice flour) while boiling. It was customary for each fisherman or hunter to eat the smaller fishes, insects, or games within the family, whilst the larger games were typically slaughtered and sold in order to cover the costs of maintaining the family. Some hunters prepared the meats to be preserved by smoking them once they had reached the proper size. The detailed process of the same has been discussed in the next section. If they have been successful in catching a python, then they are obligated to provide some of it to each and every household in the hamlet so that it can be eaten.

Preservation of the Animal Products

They use a variety of preservation methods for animal products. Smoking is by far the most popular practice. The roasting procedure comes next after this step. The smoked meats and the roasted meats are both stored in a covered storage basket that is then placed above the hearth or fireplace in a bamboo shelf. This method not only helps to keep the processed meats free from insects, but it also contributes to improving their flavour and ensuring that they remain dry for a longer period of time. The items

obtained through these two processes are intended to be preserved for a longer period of time and utilised during times of great scarcity. The third method (preservation through fermentation) is an additional technique that has the potential to be utilised for day-to-day consumption. It is a rather straightforward process. They began by exposing the meat to the sun in order to hasten the drying process. Next, they place the meat into a bamboo container (a bamboo internode with a node at one of its ends) and pack it as tightly as they could before sealing it. They can store it away in a shed for at least one quarter of a year. After that, they put it to use in the preparation of their many unique and flavorful vegetable curries and chutneys. They do so in such a way that allows them to consume it in the form of a variety of flavours.

Processing and Preservation of the Plant Products

They collect the edible plant foods either from their cultivated fields, jhum fields, or terrace fields, or from the forest that is close by, or both. The various plant products are processed and preserved by the Liangmai people in a variety of ways. For example, bamboo shoots are sliced into thin pieces before undergoing fermentation in order to preserve them. When it comes to some vegetables and spices, which are only available during certain times of the year, the harvesting procedure involves drying them in the sun first, and then putting them away in the appropriate storage baskets thereafter. In a similar manner, the seeds of a variety of beans can be kept through processing. On the other hand, they are also able to preserve soya bean for a longer amount of time, and this is done after the fermentation process. First, the soya seeds are allowed to soak in water for the night, and then, the following morning, the seeds are boiled until they become pliable. After that, they pour out the mixture completely, transfer the seeds that have been cooked to a covered basket that has been specifically prepared (by lining it with the leaves of wild fig) for the process, and then store the basket inside a barn for five days. These days are necessary for the soya seeds to undergo complete fermentation. After that, they remove the fermented soya beans by taking the basket out of the barn where it had been stored. They are able to continue eating the fermented soya beans from that day onward for a total of three days without noticing any change in flavour. In order to ensure the seeds' long-term viability, they used to dry them in the sun after the fermentation process.

Animals in Rituals and Sacrifices

Animals play an important part in various rituals and sacrifices. Animals are offered as sacrifices to 'Charawang' (the supreme God), on behalf of the Liangmai people so that they may receive benefits for their lives, members of their families, harvests, fields, and domestic animals. Rituals and sacrifices play a larger role during times of great significance, such as the sowing of paddy seeds, the harvest, natural disasters, illness, festivals, epidemics, marriage, the birth of a new child, and the grieving of a loved one's death.

During the seed sowing ceremony, a pig (*Sus domesticus*) or a mithun (*Bos frontalis*) is slaughtered as an offering to *Charawang*, in hopes of a bountiful harvest and a prosperous future for the villages. This is followed by a feast in which the locals partake.

Everyone in the community comes to attend this feast. These people believe that by looking at the position of liver and spleen of the pig that was sacrificed as an omen, one can see and predict how well the harvest will go and how well the people will do in the coming year. The omen-reading procedure is typically performed by the village's knowledgeable residents.

In fact, the pig is an important four-legged animal for the Liangmai people. On multiple occasions, they slaughter this animal, which is a predominantly male pig. Moreover, if the village council decides to impose some fine upon any culprit or wrongdoer, this animal may also be used as a fee (as a punishment). Depending on the severity of the offence, the animal's size also varies. They use their traditional way to determine the size of the pig based on counting the number of *Wai/Eajum* (i.e., the girth of the thorax).

Offerings were also made in an effort to placate the disease. These sacrifices consisted of either shedding the blood of domestic animals or releasing them into the wild. Both of these options were considered acceptable. *Phaimiu*, also known as "the Priest", dispenses curative treatments in the form of rites and sacrifices involving an egg, a hen, or a goat, accompanied by the chanting of hymns, in order to treat illness, natural disasters, and epidemics. When a wealthy member of the community passed away, a number of domesticated animals, including cows, buffaloes, dogs, and chickens, were slaughtered and presented as sacrifices. Near the tomb of a common person, the members of the deceased person's family would execute rituals consisting of offering sacrifices of cooked rice, rice beer, and both vegetarian and non-vegetarian items that were wrapped in plantain or banana leaves. These offerings were given the name *Chagumnui*.

Conclusion

In the paper, we addressed the many methods by which the tribe obtains its food supplies. The gathering of wild flora and engaging in agricultural activities are both significant components of their way of life. In a similar manner, they not only raise domestic animals, but they hunt many different kinds of animals and birds that are found in the wild. In order to satisfy their need for supplemental food, they also gather snails, fish, and insects from the areas that are frequently flooded nearby. The climate, geography, and other aspects of the environment have an impact on the food that people eat. In terms of the way they prepare their food, they stick to the age-old practices of hunting and gathering. It is a reality that even though they are farmers, they still rely heavily on the gathering economy for their livelihood. They are sometimes referred to as scavengers, which is another term for them. They have been using their rudimentary technology as an alternative to agriculture for the production and consumption of their food up until this day. Within this context, ecology plays a very significant role. The heavily wooded, steep terrain surrounding Liangmai provides all the necessary components for a thriving gathering economy. Another aspect that is contributing to the community's inability to develop to its full potential is the state of the roads and other modes of transportation, notably the roads.

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