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Liangmai: A Brief Ethno-linguistic Study

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ABSTRACT

India is a land marked by its rich traditional heritage of folk arts and culture. The diverse art and cultural forms of the tribal and rural people formed the colorful fabric which holds the different ethnic people of the nation together. Besides its beauty and splendor, the art and culture of different community played a vital role in reinforcing national integrity, crystallizing social solidarity, fortifying communal harmony, uplifting value system and promoting brotherhood among the people of the country. However, with the advent of modernization and globalization many indigenous cultures are under constant threat. Unless certain measures are taken up for preservation and promotion of tribal and folk art and culture, we are at risk of losing out much important traditional knowledge and worldview of these people. Liangmai is one of the tribal communities of Manipur and Nagaland. Being a minor tribe, the language and culture of Liangmai is under constant pressure from a more dominant culture of the area. The advent of Christianity and modern education has also immensely affected the age-old traditional practices of the community. Though there is nothing wrong in people turning to Christianity or getting modern education, the responses of the people conveyed regret that their youths are gradually losing their bonds with their own roots. Through this study, I would like to highlight brief ethno-linguistic account of the people and show that there are certain positive elements in tradition and culture of the people which need to be revive and kept alive.

1.0. Introduction

Culture is inextricably linked to indigenous peoples' identity, their traditional knowledge, their experiences with the natural environment and hence territorial and cultural rights. Over the course of generations, indigenous peoples have developed rich sets of knowledge about the natural

world, health, technologies and techniques, rites and rituals and other cultural expressions. Cultural practices, traditions and values of indigenous peoples – as long as they are in line with human rights principles – can play a critical and positive role in advancing and promoting gender equality and human rights.

However, today the indigenous culture are threatened with extinction in many parts of the world due to the fact they have been excluded from the decision making and policy frameworks of the nation-states in which they live and have been subjected to processes of domination and discrimination. Their cultures have been viewed as being inferior, primitive, irrelevant, something to be eradicated or transformed. Traditional knowledge and traditional resources have been managed by indigenous and local communities since time immemorial, using customary law embedded in spiritual cosmology. Nevertheless, a great deal of traditional knowledge, including customary laws and folklore has been undermined and destroyed by colonizers and post-colonial states who imposed their own systems of law knowledge and worldview on indigenous people. Indigenous people today stand at the crossroads of globalization and it has huge impact on their culture and language. Language is not only a communication tool but is also an essential component of one's collective and individual identity and therefore provides a sense of belongingness and community. When language dies, that sense of community is damaged. Therefore, it is very important to preserve and promote one's language and culture.

2.0. Methodology

The study is an outcome of extensive linguistic and ethnographic fieldwork that was carried out during my research (M.Phil. and PhD.), among the Liangmais in Manipur and Nagaland. The information gathered is a firsthand empirical data collected by following two methods; observation and interview. The paper is basically a descriptive research that tries to understand and lay a reflection on the phenomena from the researcher's point of view. Other than these two major techniques of collecting the firsthand information, the secondary sources like journal and newspaper articles, books and the internet were taken into consideration for collection of the secondary information.

3.0. Nomenclature: From Kacha Naga to Liangmai

The nomenclature of Liangmai has been a complicated one and till recent, the people have had to go along with the wrong tag or false name given to them. Though the people called themselves as Liangmai, they were not known by their real name. In Manipur, the term Kacha Naga was used to refer to Liangmai and Zeme, much to the dislike of the people. Marrison (1967) in his "Directory of Naga tribes, sub-tribes and alternative names" states about the nomenclatural complexity of Naga tribes:

"The nomenclature of the Naga tribes is complex. The tribes themselves are much subdivided; but apart from this, in many cases there are alternative names, as well as alternative spellings of the same name. When the Nagas were first described, it was usually an outsider's name for a particular tribe which was used; the tribe's own name for itself was not known till later" (cf. Matisoff, 1996).

This complexity is also applicable to the name Kacha Naga, a term which was used to represent both Liangmai and Zeme by the outsiders even though the term has no meaning in their languages. This term is supposedly derived from Angami word *ketsa* which means 'thick forest'. The story has it that outsiders (Britishers) came to Kohima, Nagaland. After surveying the surrounding area, they asked the locals (Angamis), pointing towards the Liangmai and Zeme inhabited area, whether any people lived beyond the thick forest. The local people answered in affirmative, saying that there are people living beyond the *ketsa*. Since then Britishers referred to the people living beyond the thick forest as 'Ketsa Naga'. Later the word got corrupted as 'Kacha Naga' or 'Kachcha Naga'. This term

stuck with the people even after the Britishers left India and was later incorporated in the Scheduled Tribes List of India.

Regarding the term 'Kacha Naga', Soppit (1885) wrote: "this term (Kachcha Naga) is quite unknown to the Kachcha Naga". Different scholars have mentioned about Liangmai using different names in their writings. To mention few, Grierson (1903), in his Linguistic Survey of India, assigned each of the Naga language a definite place in the family of Tibeto-Burman languages. According to him, between Angami-Naga and the Bodo languages there is a group, which he calls the Naga-Bodo group, bridging over the difference between the characteristic features of the two forms of speech, and similarly, between Angami-Naga and the Kuki languages there is another group which he calls the Naga-Kuki group. The Naga-Bodo group consists of two main languages, viz., Mikir and Kachcha Naga. He did some work on 'Kachcha Naga' or 'Empeo'. The language of specimen that Grierson used for 'Kachcha Naga' is Zeme. In this way Liangmai was missed out and no work was done on it. Interestingly, some vocabularies of Liangmai are found in Linguistic Survey of India Vol. III, Part II, page 480, listed under the name 'Kwoireng or Liyang'. Hodson (1911) also used the term 'Quoireng' to refer to Liangmai. He wrote: "the Quoirengs now consist of but nine small villages in the country just south of the great Barail range, which forms the north-western boundary of the state (Manipur)" (pg.5). In Bhattacharya (1963) 'The Gazetteer of India: Manipur', Liangmai were mentioned as Liyengmai. Bower (1950) also mentioned the people in her book 'Naga Path' as Lyang and 'Survey of India Report (Restricted Map)' listed a Liangmai village Oklong as Lhiangmai village (cf. Daimai: 2018).

In this way the name of Liangmai tribe was not used correctly and the term Kacha Naga was officially used by the Government of India till it was finally corrected in The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order (Amendment) Bill, 2011. The Bill amended the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, to modify the scheduled tribes in the states of Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh. It substituted Kacha Naga with Liangmai and Zeme respectively in Manipur.

4.0. Historical Background: Origin and Migration

There is no explicit evidence of the existence of writing system among the Liangmai in the past. However, they have very rich oral traditions. Their history, tales, songs, sayings, chants were handed down from generation to generation orally. According to their oral literatures, there were certain evidences of emigrational movements. The actual original homeland and the migration routes of the Liangmai, like other Naga tribes, into the present habitat have not been fully established. However, various claims were made regarding their origin based on their oral literature. Pamei (2001) mentioned of a certain folk song which says that the people had originated from a land known as *Nchiangram* 'a land of abounding gold'. Some claimed that they originated from China and migrated to the present settlement via Siang region. This claim is based on the fact that there are folksongs that tell about a place named *Siangluang*, which they believed refers to the Siang district of present day Arunachal Pradesh. From there they came to Makhel. Due to their frequent migration, their language, culture and their ethos underwent changes. "We do not have historical document to show their migration or their origination. But people have myths and legends in which they have firm belief that they are factual" (Kamei, 2000). The history of the people before Makhel is murky, however, from Makhel, the migration story is well established.

It is claimed that along with many other Naga tribes like the Mao, Poumei, Angami, Chakhesang, Maram-Thangal, Rengma, Tangkhul, etc., Liangmai ancestors lived for a long time in Makhel, known as *Makhiang* to Liangmai, a point of dispersal in the Naga migration in the pre-historic time, before they migrated to other places. Based on this story, Makhel is considered as the original home of the Liangmai. Many other Naga tribes also refer to Makhel as their original homeland and from this place they dispersed to different directions. They erected megaliths at Makhel to commemorate their dispersal to various directions such as to the frontier of western Manipur, Eastern Naga Hills and Barak valley. The erected megaliths remain intact till today. At the

time of dispersal they took oath that they would unite again in future and planted a tree called *Chutebu*. Hodson (1911) has also noted, “At Maikel is to be seen a stone, now erect, which marks the place from which the common ancestors (of the Nagas) emerged from the earth. Maikel is regarded as the centre from where the migration took place....” It is to be noted that Hodson (1911) wrote ‘Maikel’ to refer to Makhel, which is located at present day Senapati district of Manipur.

They left Makhel and travelled southward and settled temporarily at *Ramtingkabin*. It is said that this place is very narrow and it appeared like it has been squeezed by land and sky; hence, they name it *Ramtingkabin* meaning ‘a squeezed land’. The Liangmai ancestors probably took shelter in this place for some time and moved on to another place called *Chawangphungning*, which means *chawang* ‘king or chief’ and *phungning* ‘flat/plain area’. As the name suggested, it is widely believed that the concept of *Chawang* ‘king or chief’ developed among Liangmai in this place. *Chawangphungning* is identified with the present day Oklong village in Senapati district of Manipur.

From *Chawangphungning* some of the migrants moved westward and settled in an adjacent hill called *Makuilongdi*, which means ‘big round hill/mountain’. The Liangmai ancestors lived at *Makuilongdi* for many generations. This new site provided enough land, forest and water for sustenance of the people. In fact there are many references in the folklore about the prosperity of the people in this great rounded hill. This place is considered to be the last place where Liangmai ancestors lived together with Zeme and Rongmei ancestors as one family.

At *Makuilongdi*, the basic features of Liangmai society were developed. It was a lineage society; the patrilineal social structure had been in operation. The village social organization like the chieftainship, succession of it, the village council (*Apai*), the dormitory system, the village festivals, lineage structure, etc. were developed. There was a well-knit society based on shifting agriculture and a well-organized village polity. Clans and lineages were also developed. There were two main clans, namely, the *Pamai* and *Newmai* as indicated by their megaliths at *Makuilongdi*. It is said that at one point of time the number of household in the village reached as many as seven thousand seven hundred seventy seven. The Liangmai, Zeme and Rongmei ancestors attained the zenith of their socio-cultural life in this place. It was the cradle of their culture.

4.1. Dispersal from Makuilongdi: Origin of the term Liangmai

There are several stories regarding exodus of the people from *Makuilongdi*. One popular legend is the migration after a divine warning for violating the law of nature and breaking the regular cycle of social life. Back in the days, people followed lunar cycle to perform certain duties like agriculture, construction of houses, marriages, etc. Legend has it that at one particular time the villagers devoted their whole time and energy in constructing thirty *Chakiuky*, a grand traditional house, in a single year without any break forgetting their other duties. Each construction was followed by ceremonial house rituals and celebration. Consequently, there were many celebrations and merry making that the villagers forgot to follow the lunar cycle for agriculture. On one such occasion when the villagers were indulging in enjoyment and merry making, a cicada (a kind of bug) flew into the village and in its shrill voice announced to the people that the lunar year had come to an end. Shocked and horrified, people moved out of the village fearing divine judgment will come upon the village.

Another legendary account on dispersal of the people was based on the story of succession to the chieftainship. By far this is the most popular theory among the people and is well supported by present settlement pattern of the people. The legend goes that *Nguiba*, the chief of *Makuilongdi*, had two wives. He married second time thinking that his first wife was incapable of bearing him a son. Subsequently, his second wife bore him a son and was named *Namgang*. However, after few years, his first wife also gave birth to a male child and called him *Kading*. The second wife bore him another son and was named *Rembang*. When *Nguiba* became old and time has come for him to hand over the chieftainship to one of his sons, he could not decide to whom to pass on the

chieftainship. Misunderstanding and disunity cropped up in the family on the issue of succession. Since he could not resolve the issue, *Nguiba* called upon his brother *Making*, who lived somewhere in the northern Koubru range, to settle the matter. Based on *Making's* judgment, the matter was settled and *Kading* was given the right to inherit his father's chieftainship. After this settlement, *Namgang*, along with his band of followers left *Makuilongdi* and moved to the plain areas and came to be known as *Nzengmai (Zeme)*, meaning 'people of the plain'. The Zeme moved further north into Barail mountain range in the present Nagaland state. Later on there were several migration of the Zeme to the west bank of the Barak river in Manipur and the present Haflong region of Assam. *Rembang* and his followers moved to an empty land towards the south and settled there. Thus, they are known as *Maruangmai (Rongmei)*, which means 'people of unoccupied or empty land'. The ancestors of Rongmei settled in the trans-*Irang* river basin in the present Tamenglong district of Manipur. The Rongmei migrated both to the east and west of Barak and even to Cachar and Imphal valley. They travelled as far as Champhai region of the present Mizoram, where remains of ruined villages are still found. *Kading* and his followers remained in the village and came to be known as Liangmai which is derived from *kyliang khatmai* meaning 'one side people' or 'people of one colony'. In course of time they also expanded to Koubru mountain range in the trans-Barak river basin.

It was only after their dispersal from *Makuilongdi* that the names Liangmai, Zeme and Rongmei were used. Prior to that, the people were known as *Hanah* or *Hamai*. The people of Liangmai, Zeme and Rongmei still uphold the spirit of brotherhood to the present day. The term *Zeliangrong* is commonly used by these kindred tribes to show their oneness. It was formed by putting together the first syllables of the three names, "Ze" from Zeme, "Liang" from Liangmai and "Rong" from Rongmei. This composite name of *Zeliangrong* was first coined on the 15th February, 1947, at Keishamthong, Imphal, and subsequently Zeliangrong Naga Council was formed with the objective to bring the kindred tribes under one umbrella and for furthering the economic, socio-cultural, educational, and political achievement of the tribes.

5.0. Geographical Distribution

The people of Liangmai still inhabit in the areas they have settled after their migration from Makhel and their dispersal from *Makuilongdi*. Their habitat is a compact and contiguous area in the border of Manipur and Nagaland. In Manipur Liangmai mainly resides in Tamenglong district. They also live in western Sadar Hills, Tadubi sub-division of Senapati district. In Nagaland they live in Peren district.

6.0. Linguistic Affiliation

In the classification of the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Sino-Tibetan family, Liangmai is placed in the Naga-Bodo subgroup by Grierson-Konow (1903-1928). Benedict (1972) placed it under the Kuki-Naga group. Matisoff (1996:54) placed Liyang or Liangmai as a sub tribe of Zeme, under west-kukish branch based on the work of Shafer. Burling (2003:186-187) also puts Liangmai in Zeme group along with Mzieme (Zeme), Nruanghmei (Rongmei, Kabui), Puiron, Khoirao and Maram. In the classification of Bradley (1997) Liangmai comes under Zeliangrong, which falls under the Southern Naga of the Kuki-Chin-Naga.

7.0. Social Institutions: Family

Family formed the most basic institution in Liangmai society. It is at home all the basic training begins. Parents taught the children basic etiquettes, arts and crafts, social norms and practices. Children were taught at their early age on how to run their own family when they come of age. A Liangmai family consists of a father, a mother, and children. Once a man gets married, he moves out of his father's house and starts his own family. The youngest son however, continues to

live with his parents even after marriage, inherits his father's property and takes care of his aged mother and father. The practice of the joint family is very rare in Liangmai society.

7.1. Youth Dormitory System

Youth dormitory system has been a prominent feature in Naga societies in the earlier days. Similarly, it plays a vital role in the social life of Liangmais. There are separate dormitories for male and female. The boys' dormitory is called *khangchui* and the girls', *liuchui*. The dormitory was the primary institution of the Liangmai society. In Liangmai tradition, all the boys were required to start living in a *khangchui* once they attained puberty. Similar practice operates for the girls in *liuchui*. A *khangchui* or *liuchui* is usually housed at the residence of a prominent elder of the village. Dormitory life plays an important role in grooming the personality of the youths. The youth dormitories abided to specific rules and regulations. In the dormitory all kinds of traditional practices and activities, like warfare, art of fighting and defense, dance, music and songs were taught to its young members. The seniors or *khangpi* taught the juniors to respect and obey elders, care for the needy, basic etiquettes etc. They received training in arts and crafts, like making different types of cane and bamboo baskets, wood carving, carpentry, weaving, yarning and other embroidery works. There are at least two or more dormitories in each Liangmai villages and their primary objective is to cater to the welfare of the whole village. As Daimai (1995) stated "there is a keen competition between the *khangchuis* for the welfare of the village", members of a *khangchui* try to out-perform the members of other *khangchui* in doing good deeds for the village. An egalitarian spirit was a feature of the community life of the Liangmai which owed much to the youth dormitory itself where all members - rich and poor, old and young, strong and weak- were treated equally. The dormitory life taught young people to value the importance of every individual in the community. Thus the spirit of companionship and a sense of caring, sharing, fellowship and goodwill was learnt, maintained and practiced in the youth dormitory which was looked up as an ideal of the Liangmai community. According to Roy (2006), "the training and education that the child received in these institutions can be best described as habituation, imitation or perhaps unconscious conditioning along with the other kind of learning which is conscious and conditioned. With the result that when the children become adult responsible members of the society they react, rationalize, behave and think in a given space and time in a pattern, which when collected objectively would indicate the cultural pattern of the group".

To guard the village was one of the most important duties of the members of the *khangchui*. It was necessary because, under the shadow of the headhunting practice, Liangmai lived in a state of constant guard. Through these services towards the welfare of the village, young people developed a sense of discipline, responsibilities and duty towards their fellowmen and their community as a whole. The youth dormitory member had a moral obligation to ensure that every family in the village was cared for, whether they were orphans, poor or widows. Compassion, valor and discipline were the key words that defined the dormitory. It was the cradle of the social and cultural life of the Liangmai. Pongener (2011) opines that, the youth dormitory, "was the leading traditional institution of learning and the foundation of Naga culture. Therefore, it would be naive to believe or say that Nagas received no education prior to their contact with the western missionaries or before the introduction of modern education. Naga societies, though without a formal educational system, regarded education as operative at all stages of human life and very much in the interest of the cohesion of village communities".

As noted earlier, the traditional youth dormitory system provides a kind of education which was beneficial and relevant for the Liangmai. In the absence of writing and documentation, folk tales, folk songs and folk dances remained the sole links between the past the present. The teaching and learning activities in the dormitory was carried out by transmitting the lessons orally from elder to the younger generation. Thus, the oral traditions were kept alive in dormitory from generation to generation. Their folk songs and tales contain the whole ethos of their culture and its traditions.

7.2. Village Council

The socio-political welfare of the village is looked after by the village council known as *Apai* or *Apai ky*. Liangmai maintained their own village system and had autonomy in political affairs. *Apai* was the most eminent organization in a Liangmai village. It was the highest political office of the Liangmai and exercised sole authority towards the welfare of the village. Every Liangmai village had an *apai* of its own. *Apai* consist of representatives from different clans of the village. In case of strife and conflict among the villagers, *apai* act as a judge, and settle cases in a fair manner. The judgment of *apai* was hold to the utmost degree. In the course of inter-village feuds, it was the duty of *apai* to represent the voice of the village and defend the dignity and integrity of the village. There was no higher court than the traditional village council, which continues to exist till today in Liangmai villages despite the introduction of modern political bodies instituted by the Constitution of India. The most important duty of the village council is to maintain peace and unity within the village and to maintain cordial relationship with the neighboring villages.

8.0. Religion and Festivals

It is not easy to draw a line to distinguish between religion and festivals in Liangmai culture. They are profoundly religious people and every festival is accompanied by rites and rituals. Pamei (2001) opines that before the advent of Christianity the Liangmai had a belief system defined as “primal religion”. All of life is a symbolic paradigm of the sacred. Divine worship, for example, would not be regarded as an activity to be separated or isolated from other activities. Life as lived is considered a sacred activity in and of itself. Their lives were dominated by the demands of the superstitions of animistic worship. They believed every tree, river, stream, hill, rock and lake has its resident spirit. They offered sacrifices and performed rituals to propitiate the gods and the spirits that lived there. Almost all activities have an accompanying ritual. They also believed in one supreme god, the creator of all things and above all men and spirits, known as *Charawang*, meaning ‘king of gods’. Some refer to this supreme god as *Apou Khamdibou* or *Tingwang*. They pray to *Charawang* for peace and well-being, bountiful harvest and prosperity and at the same time they do not forget to thank him for all the blessings he had bestowed upon them.

Different kinds of festivals and feast of merit are celebrated by Liangmai throughout the year. In fact every month in Liangmai calendar has one or other festival except for a month called *chahiu sinbo*. This *chahiu sinbo* is observed once after every seven or eight years when the plants, flowers or the seasons do not tally with the counting of the months. Every festival is associated with religious worship to the supreme god. The festivals are deeply connected with their religion and are usually celebrated in order to appease the god, to invoke his blessing and thanksgiving to mark the end of every season or occasion. Some of the important festivals of Liangmai are *matui ngee*, a festival before harvesting, *miusan ngee*, a festival after harvesting, *chakei ngee*, a festival in honor of the departed souls, *chaga ngee*, a festival of sanctification, etc.

Chaga ngee is considered as one of the most important festivals of the Liangmai. Different people have different opinion about the meaning of ‘*chaga*’ and its significance. Some say it is a festival of sanctification, while others opined it as a festival in preparation for war or a war festival because this festival involves only the male citizen of the village. Whatsoever, majority of Liangmai agrees that this festival is a process of sanctification of the body and mind to get blessing in whatever form one aspire to have. *Chaga* is celebrated annually during autumn season or *chaga hiu* (the month of *chaga*), which usually falls in the later part of October or the early part of November depending upon the sighting of the moon. The festival is celebrated for five days, with each day having significant event or activity. The main objective of this festival is to appease *Charawang* and to seek his blessings to become a great warrior, hunter, wealthier, a great lover and to be free from sickness and misfortune.

9.0. Songs and Dances

Folk songs formed the essence of Liangmai culture. They have rich tradition of folk music. Singing songs was a norm and an integral part of the Liangmai society and it was regarded as an authentic medium of communication. There are songs that contain the historical background of the community, of the village and of the clan. Every important activity has a song to go along with. Some types of songs noted are work songs based on agricultural operation, ritual songs sung during the religious ceremonial dances, harvest songs, songs of praise sung during the feast of merit, warrior songs, romantic or love songs, poetical lyrics, play songs sung mostly by children, lullaby, etc. The people used musical instruments as well and some common one are drum made of hollowed wood covered in two sides by animal hide, horn of mithun or bull, blow pipe made of bamboo, pena, cymbal, gong and flute.

Besides songs, they too have varieties of dances which accompanied the songs. There are different forms, techniques of dance. Some dance form are ritual dances performed during sacrifices, festival dances and creative dances imitating nature and wild life creature like birds, insects, etc. They have elaborate dance costumes and ornaments.

One ritual dance form is the *chariutaobo lem* 'war dance'. Liangmai warriors followed strict norms before they went out for war against the enemy. Any contumacy to such norms was strictly dealt with and such warrior is considered unfit or unworthy. This dance is performed only by able bodied male warriors, led by their leaders who has experienced in warfare with spears and shields. The group moves in two rows and will simultaneously performed the ho-hoeing, known as *magubo*. The traditional ho-hoeing lift up the warriors' spirit and strengthens them. Ho-hoeing is echoed in four parts with no less than two persons in each part. *Magubo* begins in slow rhythm and eventually picked up speed. During the peak ho-hoeing various war cries are also made and it concludes with a slow rhythm.

A common form of festive dance is *kariutaobo lem*, a dance in honor of someone who attained great wealth. Back in the days, Liangmai fore-fathers usually built a decorated house called *Chakiuky*, as a sign of one's pride or joy over one's achievement or attainment of great wealth, fame or social status. To commemorate his achievements, he would invite the village folks to feast and dine with him. On this auspicious day, he would offer ten each of his live stocks to feed the village folk. Thus, the name itself indicates *kariu* meaning 'ten' and *taobo* meaning 'achieved'. *Chareng lem* or hornbill dance is a kind of dance created by imitating the movement of hornbill. Hornbill is a highly regarded bird in the culture of the Liangmai.

10.0. Conclusion

The culture and oral literature of pre-literate Liangmai community has not been properly documented, nor studied for their literary form, content and linguistic features. After colonization and the advent of Christianity and modern education in the early twentieth century, the folk literature in the form of rituals, songs, folklores, dances, legends, myths, etc. were left neglected and the people were discouraged to practice them. As time passed, the rich oral traditions that had been passed down from generation to generation were left stagnant in the present generation. Many facets of their culture are therefore not known to the present generation due to the discontinuation caused by dominant culture. Unless we act now many beautiful rituals, songs, folklores and history of the people will die out along with their few old patrons. Creation of a corpus of cultural material from the rich oral traditions is a significant tool in reclaiming 'history'. Here, I would like to appeal to the community of scholars in the country to pool in our efforts to evolved techniques for retrieving history from oral tradition of the lesser known tribes like Liangmai.

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