

MÜNDLICHE ÜBERLIEFERUNGEN  
IN SÜDASIEN

FÜNF BEITRÄGE

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON  
HERMANN BERGER



FRANZ STEINER VERLAG GMBH · WIESBADEN

1975

ISISN 3-515-01907-3

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Monosatz-Betrieb, Darmstadt-Arheilgen

Printed in Germany.



21.12.81

## MRU TU LONG

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*Mru* means "man, human being" in the language of the Mru-ca, "the children of man", a people in the Southern Chittagong and Northern Arakan Hill Tracts, east of the Bay of Bengal. The rather scanty and poor material on their language in older sources has been compiled and evaluated by Rober Shafer (1941); the position of Mru in relation to Burmese and Kukish has been dealt with by myself (Löffler 1966) on the basis of new material collected more or less as a by-product of two years of ethnographical field-work in 1955-57 and 1964.

*Tu* is the Mru name of a kind of gourd pipe. Like several other peoples of Southeast Asia the Mru, on festive and other occasions, use quite a variety of gourd pipes, called *plung*, consisting of a number of bamboo reed-pipes inserted vertically into a bottle-gourd. Unlike the *plung*, the *tu* have but one reed-pipe, passing through the gourd. *Tu* are used by the Anok Mru (the "Western Men", actually the northernmost group of the Mru) at death ceremonies and certain cattle sacrifices only, and always in a set of three differently tuned instruments. (A single *tu* may be found among the paraphernalia needed during some other sacrifices, it is, however, never blown and generally even lacks the vibrating reed.) The *tu* are said to have been invented by a certain sib of the Anok, therefore called *Tam-tu-ca*, "the children of the *tu* spellers", and legend connects this event with the introduction of the death ceremonies. To have the *tu* blown, three men are required, one of whom must be a *tu chara*, a *tu* "master", who, from his knowledge of the *tu long*, leads the tune.

*Long* in the first instance means "bamboo shaft", the "metrical" structure of which may explain the second meaning, viz. "verse". Besides the *tu long*, there are also *tömma long*, "drum verses", and their performance similarly requires three drummers (although not necessarily three instruments, since the two ends of one drum may be tuned differently and can be beaten by two men.) Death ceremonies and cattle sacrifices moreover ask for the use of another triplet of instruments, the *ner*, small gong plates, to be beaten by one man each; yet there are no *ner long*. The *ner* may be beaten by children: there is no rule for a special tonal sequence, even though two kinds of rhythm are distinguished: *ner cham*, "slack beat", and *ner khöng*, "tense beat". These beats also accompany the performance of the *tu long*.

According to the occasion, a definite number of different *tu long* has to be "spelled", and the charming spell of these *tu long* is audible in special tonal sequences. Those to be charmed are apparently supposed to understand the

verses, and the *tu* master is supposed to know what they understand: the rhythmic tonal sequence is a transformation of words. I was told that there are about 60 different *tu long*, the common men, however, do not know the texts, and the *tu* masters themselves were somewhat reluctant to spell the verses out. Still, near the end of my stay, I recorded the following text from Mita Tang, a *tu chara* from 311 Horinjhiri Mauza under Lama P. S., Southern Chittagong Hill Tracts. I had the text dictated as well as sung on tape. In the sung version some verses were omitted (by mere mistake) while others were sung twice: this slip allows us to realize that, although the number of syllables may change, the tones assigned to the different words remain the same. In the following text the additional syllables of the longer version are marked off by round brackets, the verses for which no sung version was recorded are added in square brackets.

Regrettably, I have no record of a life *tu* performance. I witnessed it twice, but the first time (during a cattle sacrifice, at the beginning of my stay) I was actually unable to understand what was going on, while the second time (during a death ceremony) I had no tape-recorder at hand. The tones sung by Mita Tang come near to B, d sharp, and e. In the following text they are indicated by a low, middle and high vertical stroke behind the syllable. When a middle tone follows a high tone, the singer frequently starts the second syllable still in the high tone before he lowers it to the middle tone. Sometimes the effect is rather weak, but in a few instances it creates the impression of a division of the syllable into two tones. In order to indicate these slurs I use a right angle instead of the simple vertical stroke. No special signs are used to indicate all the variations of tonal length; length is generally accompanied by stress, and stress is clearly audible in some cases while in others it remains rather diffuse; very often it coincides with high or low tones, and I have tried to indicate it by an accent. The transcription system used here will require no special comment besides that *e* and *o* are always open (ɛ and ɔ), *ö* and *ü* are back-vowels (ə and u), *ng* stands for the velar nasal (ŋ), *c* varies from ts to tʃ, and *ch* from tsh to ʃ; the *a* of proclitic *ta*, *pa*, and *ma* can be elided, otherwise hyphens have been used to indicate polysyllabic words.

For the purpose of the following translation I use the dictated version and confine the Mru text to the core words. A “(!)” will indicate forms which deviate from the sung version. Moreover I add the language-tones for those words in common use for which I can retrieve them in the vocabulary which I compiled during my stay. (This vocabulary had to serve mainly practical purposes and is anything but perfect.) Mru has three tones, each of which has (a) an open (or consonant stop) and (b) a glottal stop variant. For the present purpose I shall mark these tones by the following numbers:

- 1: flat open or rising stopped,
- 2: falling open or flat stopped,
- 3: rising open or falling stopped.

Gordon Luce has collected a list of Mru words from Arakan, a copy of which was made available to me by Lucien Bernot. Thanking both scholars for their

kind help, I take the liberty here to indicate the tones from Luce's list by index numbers. My comparative material suggests the following interpretation of Luce's tone numbers:

- 1: flat (open),
- 2: falling (open),
- 3: rising (open),
- 4: stopped.

Thus (although there are several discrepancies), with the exception of (4), which is practically void of information, Luce's numbers are directly comparable with mine.

*Wak Long*, "Corpse Verses", sung version.

1. *taröng*  
hó- ng- hó- ng- hó- e- hó- ng- hó- ng- ng- hó- ng- hó- e- ho- ho-.
2. *taröng plang*  
é- ng- hó- ng- hó- e- hó- ng- hó- ng- ng- hó- ng- ho- ho-.
3. *bung-ku*  
rüm- bung- kú- ngau- chau- íng-,  
mú- ni- kó- rung-, khí- ni- kó- rung- dói- ö- ö-,  
ng- hó- ng- ho- ho-.
4. *wa-ma katha*  
||: wá- ma- ko- thák<sup>1</sup> thák- ö- ng- :||  
thák- ta- rúk<sup>1</sup> rau- chóng- a-,  
ng- hó- ng- ho- ho-.
5. *wa-kheng*  
khéng- a- pa- rêu- pá- rêu- rêu- ó-,  
kúa- a- (pa- rêu-) pá- rêu- rêu- ö- rêu- (ng-)  
ng- hó- ng- ho- ho-.
6. *wa-har*  
hór- har- íng- ng- hár- ng- ng- har- hár- hor- hor- hár- ö-

Text and translation.

1. *taröng* "measuring" and 2. *taröng plang* "repeated measuring" have no text.
3. *bung-ku* "owlet"  
rüm<sup>2</sup> bung<sub>4</sub> ku<sub>1</sub> ngau chau<sup>3</sup>, mü<sub>2</sub> (khi<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>) ni<sup>1</sup> ko<sub>1</sub><sup>3</sup> rung<sup>1</sup> dói<sub>4</sub>.  
forest Athene crested (?) see (perceive) sun's rise not.  
The forest owlet does not see the sun rising.
4. *wa-ma katha* "the hen curses", also called *u-ram thak wan* "step-mother's cursing"  
wa<sub>2</sub><sup>3</sup> ma ko thak<sup>1</sup> taruk<sub>1</sub> rau<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> chong<sup>1</sup> a<sup>3</sup>.  
hen go-to curse six morning every at.  
For six mornings the hen curses.
5. *wa-kheng* (a species of bird)  
kheng kua<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> a<sup>3</sup> parêu.  
(bird) village in align.  
In the village the Kheng-birds dance in a row.

- ng<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup>.
7. *wa-hui*  
 húi<sup>-</sup> hai<sup>-</sup> íng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> (hái<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>)  
 hai<sup>-</sup> hái<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> (hai<sup>-</sup>) húi<sup>-</sup> hui<sup>-</sup> hái<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup>  
 (ng<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup>) ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup>.
8. *ting-ru-kui*  
 ||: tíng<sup>-</sup> ra<sup>-</sup> kúi<sup>-</sup> wa<sup>-</sup> cé<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>l</sup> :||  
 pa<sup>-</sup> kóng<sup>-</sup> ching<sup>-</sup> hái<sup>-</sup> khai<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup>,  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> íng<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
9. *padük padai*  
 ||: klang<sup>-</sup> cé<sup>-</sup> pa<sup>-</sup> dük<sup>-</sup> pa<sup>-</sup> dáí<sup>l</sup> ö<sup>l</sup> :||  
 pa<sup>-</sup> kóng<sup>-</sup> ching<sup>-</sup> hai<sup>-</sup> khái<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup>,  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> íng<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
10. *khang cing kang công*  
 ||: kháng<sup>-</sup> cing<sup>-</sup> kang<sup>-</sup> cáng<sup>-</sup> wa<sup>-</sup> cé<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>l</sup> :||  
 pa<sup>-</sup> kóng<sup>-</sup> ching<sup>-</sup> hai<sup>-</sup> khái<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup>,  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> íng<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
11. *pong lí*  
 hing<sup>-</sup> tám<sup>-</sup> pong<sup>-</sup> lí<sup>-</sup> pong<sup>-</sup> nám<sup>-</sup>,  
 tön<sup>-</sup> káng<sup>-</sup> ang<sup>-</sup> khái<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>,  
 ká<sup>-</sup> döm<sup>-</sup> dói<sup>-</sup> u<sup>-</sup> ó<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>, ká<sup>-</sup> döm<sup>-</sup> dói<sup>-</sup> pa<sup>-</sup> ó<sup>-</sup>,  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> íng<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
12. *plong cet*  
 rüm<sup>-</sup> plong<sup>-</sup> cét<sup>-</sup> lu<sup>-</sup> tú<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>l</sup>,
6. *ting-ru-kui* (a species of bird)  
 ting ru (!) kui wa<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> ca<sup>3</sup> (!) paköng<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> ching<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> khai<sup>1</sup>.  
 Zosterops (?) chicken make-dead live with is.  
 For tiny Tingrukui the living die.
7. *padük padai* "let die"  
 klang<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> ca<sup>3</sup> (!) padük padai paköng<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> ching<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> khai<sup>1</sup>.  
 boy let-die let-lie make-dead live with is.  
 For simulating a dead boy the living die.
8. *khang cing kang công* (a species of bird)  
 khang<sup>1</sup> công<sup>1</sup> (!) wa<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> ca<sup>3</sup> (!) paköng<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> ching<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> khai<sup>1</sup>.  
 claustration perform chicken make-dead life with is.  
 For tiny Khangcông the living die.
9. *wa-har* "thrush"  
 hor har  
 (the call of the Garrulax)
10. *wa-hui* "green pigeon"  
 hui hai  
 (the call of the Treron)
11. *pong lí* "banyan spirit"  
 ching<sub>1</sub><sup>3</sup> (!) döm<sub>1</sub><sup>3</sup> (!) pong<sup>1</sup> lí pong<sup>1</sup> nam<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>  
 tree descend banyan spirit  
 tön<sup>2</sup> kang<sup>3</sup> ang<sub>2</sub><sup>3</sup> khai<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>2</sup> döm<sub>1</sub><sup>3</sup> dói<sub>1</sub><sup>4</sup>.  
 keep dry-up me is get descend not.  
 The banyan spirit detains me, I cannot descend.

cong- rúm- tui- táng-, ka- rúm- tui- táng- dôi- ò- ò-,  
ng- ho- ñg- e- ho- e- hó- ho- ng- ng- hó- ho- ng- ng-

13. [wa-tur]

14. [wa-ak]

15. [wa-wang]

16. wa-wia

e- ñg- ho- ||: ng- é<sup>l</sup> ho- e- ñg- ng- ho- :||  
ng- ho-, ng- é<sup>l</sup> ho- e- ñg- ng- ho-, ñg- e- ho-  
e- ñg- ho-, ñg- e<sup>l</sup> ho- é- ho- ho-  
||: ng- é<sup>l</sup> ho- e- ñg- ng- ho- :|| ñg- e- ho-  
ng- ho-, ñg- e<sup>l</sup> ho- é- ho- ho-  
e- ñg- ho-, ñg- e<sup>l</sup> ho- e- ñg- ng- ho-  
ñg- e<sup>l</sup> ho- e- hó- ho- ng- ng- ho- ho-.

17. poi coi

cói- ma- líng- má- nge<sup>l</sup> ò-,  
||: cói- ma- líng- má- nge<sup>l</sup> ò- :||

18. [ria kwek]

19. wa-ham

||: pú- wa- hám<sup>l</sup> klung- ram- ciá- ton<sup>l</sup> ò- :||  
||: ciá- ton<sup>l</sup> a- :||

12. *plong cet* (a species of bird), also called *pik rau mi tarok cong long* "sick man's offering awaiting verse"

rüm<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> plong<sup>1</sup> cet lu<sup>1</sup> tu<sup>1</sup> cong<sup>1</sup> rüm<sup>2</sup> tui<sup>2</sup> tang<sup>2</sup>  
forest liver divination head bunch wait forest water taste  
ka<sup>3</sup> rüm<sup>3</sup> tui<sup>2</sup> tang<sup>2</sup> döi<sup>1</sup>.

get forest water taste not.

The crested forest liver-diviner waiting for tasty water does not get it.

13. wa-tur "pigeon"

pong<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> (chai ma) tur<sub>2</sub> lip ang<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> nguk ui ting ra nging ngüng.  
banyan (figus) pigeon I coo sorrowful (onomatopoetic).  
(Like) a banyan pigeon I coo sorrowfully.

14. wa-ak "crow"

ng- au- ak-  
(the call of a crow)

15. wa-wang "wagtail"

tui<sup>2</sup> boi wa<sup>2</sup> wang hor<sup>3</sup> leng<sup>2</sup> ce<sup>3</sup> plai<sup>2</sup> ò.  
water? wagtail rapid walk-around dance.  
The water-wagtail runs around dancing.

16. wa-wia "wood-pigeon"

ho ng ...  
(calling woefully)

17. poi coi "feather plucking"

coi ma ling ma nge<sup>2</sup>.  
pluck neck tail.  
Pluck the neck and tail (feathers).

18. ria kwek "bowels emptying"

yoi- ca- kek- kek- ria-.  
intestine emptying bowels.  
Empty the small and the big intestines.

- ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> e\_ ho\_ e\_ hó\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> hó\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
20. *wa-klöt*  
 ||: kím<sup>-</sup> ma\_ wa\_ klók<sup>-</sup> ö\_, yan\_ chóng<sup>-</sup> reng<sup>l</sup> a\_ :||  
 ||: chóng<sup>-</sup> reng<sup>l</sup> a\_ :||  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> e<sup>l</sup> ho\_ e\_ hó\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
21. *khöng taröng*  
 ||: ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> é\_ ho\_ e\_ ho\_ :||  
 ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
22. *khöng taröng plang*  
 ||: e\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> é\_ ho\_ e\_ ho\_ :||  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> e\_ ho\_ e\_ hó\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
23. *dök ching dök kau*  
 dök\_ ching<sup>-</sup> ta\_ hóm\_ ta\_ hóm\_ ng<sup>-</sup>  
 dök\_ káu\_ ta\_ hóm\_ ta\_ hóm\_ ng<sup>-</sup> hóm\_ ng<sup>-</sup>  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> e\_ ho\_ e\_ hó\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
24. [*rin*]
25. *chek*  
 ||: chön\_ á\_ chön\_ á\_ pí\_ chék<sup>l</sup> ö\_ :||  
 ||: chön\_ á\_ pí\_ chék<sup>l</sup> ö\_ :||, ||: pí\_ chék<sup>l</sup> ö\_ :||  
 lang\_ á\_ lang\_ á\_ pí\_ chék<sup>l</sup> ö\_,  
 ||: lang\_ á\_ pí\_ chék<sup>l</sup> ö\_ :||, ||: pí\_ chék<sup>l</sup> ö\_ :||  
 ||: chön\_ á\_ lang\_ á\_ pí\_ chék<sup>l</sup> ö\_ :||, ||: pí\_ chék<sup>l</sup> ö\_ :||  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> e\_ ho\_ e\_ hó\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
26. *achüa*  
 chüa\_ póng<sup>-</sup> kon\_ á\_ yüa\_ ri\_ yáu\_,
19. *wa-ham* (name of a bird ?)  
 pu<sup>1</sup> wa ham klung ram<sub>1</sub> cia<sub>1</sub> ton<sup>1</sup> a<sup>3</sup>.  
 grandpa ? (plant ?) leaf cattle reared.  
 Grandpa Waham's cows reared on Klung-leaves.
20. *wa-klöt* (name of a bird ?)  
 kim<sub>2</sub> ma<sup>1</sup> wa klöt (!) yan<sup>1</sup> chong<sup>1</sup> reng<sup>1</sup> a<sup>3</sup>.  
 house collapse (?) completely altogether.  
 The house collapses completely (?)
21. *khöng taröng* "tense measure" and 22. *khöng taröng plang* "repeated tense measure"  
 have no text.
23. *dök ching dök kau* "fetch bamboo"  
 dök<sup>1</sup> ching<sub>1</sub> ta<sup>1</sup> hóm<sup>2</sup> dök<sup>1</sup> kau<sub>2</sub> ta<sup>1</sup> hóm<sup>2</sup>.  
 fetch tree smooth fetch bamboo smooth.  
 Fetch smooth bamboos.
24. *rin* "cut equal"  
 pön<sup>1</sup> ce<sup>3</sup> rin<sup>2</sup> pön<sup>1</sup> ce<sup>3</sup> büa.  
 length-of-bamboo cut-equal length-of-bamboo cut-off.  
 Cut equal lengths of bamboo.
25. *chek* "bamboo lath"  
 chön<sub>2</sub> a<sup>3</sup> lang a<sup>3</sup> pe<sub>2</sub> (!) chek.  
 thong to lash to give lath.  
 Make thongs from (bamboo) laths.



- yüa- ri- yáu- ng- yau- yüa- ri- yáu- ng-  
tam- póng- kon- á- yüa- ri- yáu-,  
yüa- ri- yáu- ng- yau- yüa- ri- yáu-,  
ng- ho- ng- e- ho- e- hó- ho- ng- ng- ho- ho- ng- ng-.
27. *akong*  
||: kwai- lín- kwai- lén-,  
(kwai- lín- len<sub>L</sub> lin<sub>L</sub> len<sub>L</sub> lin<sub>L</sub> len<sub>L</sub>)  
kwai- lín- len<sub>L</sub> lin<sub>L</sub> len<sub>L</sub> :||  
ng- ho- ng- e- ho- e- hó- ho- ng- ng- ho- ho- ng- ng-.
28. *kep*  
lang- pín- thō- rōi- thō- rōi- ng- rōi- ng-  
lang- pán- thō- rōi- thō- rōi- ng- rōi- ng- ng- rōi- rōi-  
ng- ho- ng- e- ho- e- hó- ho- ng- ng- ho- ho- ng- ng-.
29. *dak kep*  
||: lán- ma- rōi- rōi- ö- :||  
ng- ho- ng- e- ho- e- hó- ho- ng- ng- ho- ho- ng- ng-.
30. *cōng-cōi*  
cōng- cōi<sup>L</sup> ö- cōng- cōi<sup>L</sup> ö-,  
cōng- cōi<sup>L</sup> dóm- lo- cōng- cōi<sup>L</sup> ö-,  
cōng- cōi<sup>L</sup> pái- lo- cōng- cōi<sup>L</sup> cōng- cōi<sup>L</sup> ö-,  
cōng- cōi<sup>L</sup> dóm- lo- dóm- lo- cōng- cōi<sup>L</sup>,  
cōng- cōi<sup>L</sup> pái- lo- pái- lo- cōng- cōi<sup>L</sup>,  
cōng- cōi<sup>L</sup> dóm- lo- cōng- cōi<sup>L</sup>,  
cōng- cōi<sup>L</sup> pái- lo- pái-,  
ng- ho- ng- e- ho- e- hó- ho- ng- ng- ho- ho- ng- ng-.
31. *hom kho ton*  
chūng- má- kan- pén- khu- ö-, ng-  
re- dām- pa- chá- kan<sup>L</sup> ö-,
26. *achüa* “yellowing”  
chüa<sub>2</sub> pong<sup>3</sup> tam<sub>1</sub> pong<sup>3</sup> kon<sup>1</sup> a<sup>3</sup> yü (!) ri yau.  
yellow matting ginger matting in-order-to correctly moisten.  
Moisten (the thongs) for the matting with turmeric.
27. *akong* “plaiting”  
kwai lin len.  
plait up and down.
28. *kep* “railing”  
lang pin (pan) thō rōi.  
lash (both sides) put do-correctly.  
Lash (the railing) well.
29. *dak kep* “carrying pole”  
lang ma rōi.  
Fix the long lashes.
30. *cōng-cōi* (a name)  
cōng cōi dom lo pai<sup>1</sup> lo.  
(name) clasp carry.  
Cōngcōi lift (the body into the coffin).

- ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
32. *kan chur kan leng*  
 kan- chúr- kan- léng- kan- ö-, ng<sup>-</sup>  
 re- dám- pa- chá- kan<sup>l</sup> ö-,  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
33. *kar wan*  
 hú- ha- ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> hü- ha- ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>  
 ha- ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ha- há- hü- hü- há- hü-  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
34. *rak cam tui*  
 ||: kím- ma- rak- cam- tui- wang- á- prik<sup>l</sup> prük- :||  
 ||: á- prik<sup>l</sup> prük- :||  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
35. *chôn pu mala*  
 ||: chôn- pí- chôn- pú- chôn- pú- má- la<sup>l</sup> (ö-) :||  
 ||: chôn- pú- má- la<sup>l</sup> ö- :||  
 chôn- pú- má- la<sup>l</sup> ko- cháí- ma-,  
 chôn- pú- má- la<sup>l</sup> ko- chüa- ma-,  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
36. [*than-ca*]
37. *klung*  
 ||: klung- á- klung- á- cái- ang<sup>l</sup> ö- :||  
 ||: klung- á- cái- ang<sup>l</sup> ö- :||, ||: cái- ang<sup>l</sup> ö- :||  
 thán- a- thán- a- cái- ang<sup>l</sup> ö-,  
 thán- a- cái- ang<sup>l</sup> ö-, cái- ang<sup>l</sup> ö-,
31. *hom kho ton* "rice basket put-near"  
 chüng<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>2</sup> pen khu<sup>1</sup> re dam<sup>4</sup> pa cha kan<sup>2</sup>.  
 hill gourd piece fish (fish) curry.  
 Curry (made of) pieces of hill gourd and two species of fish.
32. *kan chur* "rozelle"  
 kan<sup>2</sup> chur<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>2</sup> leng kan<sup>2</sup>, re dam<sup>4</sup> pa cha kan<sup>2</sup>.  
 Curry of rozelle and two species of fish.
33. *hü* "gibbon", also called *kar wan* "weeping piece"  
 hü ha.  
 (crying like the gibbon)
34. *rak cam tui* "water from the eaves"  
 kim<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> rak<sup>1</sup> cam tui<sup>2</sup> wang<sup>2</sup> a<sup>3</sup> prik prük.  
 house eaves ? water rain in drip drop.  
 Water drips from the eaves of the house.
35. *chôn-pu mala* "rattan girl"  
 chôn<sup>2</sup> pu mala<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>2</sup> chai<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>2</sup> chüa<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>.  
 rattan girl bright white bright yellow.  
 Bright white and yellow rattan girl.
36. *than-ca* "corpse-eater"  
 than ca<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> dun<sup>1</sup> pen pon.  
 (name) eat up wrap putrid.  
 Thanca devours the rotten (corpse).

- ||: klúng- a- thán- a- cái- ang<sup>l</sup> ö-, cái- ang<sup>l</sup> ö- :||  
ng- ho- ng- e- ho- e- hó- ho- ng- ng- ho- ho- ng- ng-.
38. *wa-ta*  
ang- tói- cōng- cé- rum- cé-,  
wa- tá- long- léng- ce- plái- khai- ö-,  
ng- ng- ká- dōm- dōi- u- ó-, ng- ng- ká- dōm- dōi- pa- ó-,  
ng- ho- ng- e- ho- e- hó- ho- ng- ng- ho- ho- ng- ng-.
39. *yom*  
||: kláng- ce- a- ngúm- á- ngia<sup>l</sup> (ö-) :||  
chót- ka- rék<sup>l</sup> lá- ma- yóng- e- yom-,  
ng- ho- ng- e<sup>l</sup> ho- e- hó- ho- ng- ng- ho- ho- ng- ng-.
40. *leng*  
leng- bú- leng<sup>l</sup> yói-,  
leng- bú-<sup>l</sup> bū- yoi<sub>L</sub>, bú- leng<sup>l</sup> léng- yoi-,  
leng- bú- yoi<sub>L</sub>, bú- yoi<sub>L</sub> bū- yoi<sub>L</sub> bū- yoi<sub>L</sub>,  
||: ||: bú- leng<sup>l</sup> yoi-,  
leng- bú-<sup>l</sup> bū- yoi<sub>L</sub>, bú- leng<sup>l</sup> léng- yoi-,  
leng- bú- yoi<sub>L</sub>, bú- yoi<sub>L</sub> bū- yoi<sub>L</sub> :|| :||  
bú- leng<sup>l</sup> yoi-, leng- bú- leng<sup>l</sup> yói-,  
leng- bú- yoi<sub>L</sub>, bú- leng<sup>l</sup> yoi- bū- yoi<sub>L</sub>,  
bú- leng<sup>l</sup> yoi-, leng- bú- yoi<sub>L</sub>, bú- leng<sup>l</sup> yoi-,  
leng- yói- bū- yoi<sub>L</sub>, bú- leng<sup>l</sup> yoi-,  
ng- ho- ng- e- ho- e- hó- ho- ng- ng- ho- ho- ng- ng-.
41. *rüm-rup*  
||: (o-) ko- rúm- rup<sup>l</sup> páu- ö- ng- ng- :||  
khüm- níng- tá- hōm<sup>l</sup> khái- ö- ö-,
37. *klung* ‘‘crumbs’’  
klung<sup>1</sup> a<sup>3</sup> than a<sup>3</sup> cai<sup>3</sup> ang<sup>2</sup>.  
morsel to (termitary ?) to crumble me.  
I am crumbled into morsels of termitary earth.
38. *wa-ta* (a species of bird)  
ang<sup>2</sup> toi cōng<sup>1</sup> ce<sup>3</sup>, rum ce wa<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>3</sup>, long leng<sup>2</sup> ce<sup>3</sup> plai<sup>2</sup>, ka<sup>2</sup> dōm<sup>1</sup> dōi<sup>4</sup> u<sup>2</sup> ö pa<sup>3</sup> ö.  
I join become (spec. of bird) fly-about dance, get down not mother o! father o!  
Having become a bird like those flying about and dancing, I cannot descend,  
oh mother, oh father!
39. *yom* ‘‘Death’’  
klang<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>3</sup> (!) angum angia chot<sup>2</sup> ka rek la<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> yong<sup>1</sup> e yom<sup>1</sup>.  
boy (spirit of eclipse) pierce star moon manner Death.  
Like the Eclipse pierces the moon (I am hunted by) Death.
40. *leng*  
leng bū yoi.  
? belly stomach.  
The body is done (?)
41. *rüm rup* (name of a flower)  
o<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> rüm rup pau<sup>4</sup> khüm<sup>1</sup> níng<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> hōm<sup>3</sup> khai<sup>1</sup>.  
river’s (name) flower catch year smooth is.  
In the valley the Rümrup flower is pretty by the end of the year.

- ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ níng<sup>-</sup> e\_ ho\_ e\_ hó\_ ho\_ níng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
42. [*yüm-yua*]
43. *pur-cen*  
 ||: (||:) níng<sup>-</sup> ria\_ cén<sup>-</sup> long<sup>L</sup> páu\_ ö\_ níng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> (:||)  
 khüm<sup>-</sup> níng<sup>-</sup> tá\_ hóm<sup>L</sup> khái\_ ö\_ ö\_ :||  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ níng<sup>-</sup> e\_ ho\_ e\_ hó\_ ho\_ níng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
44. *pur-cin* (1)  
 ko\_ cín\_ ce\_ hai<sup>-</sup> múm<sup>-</sup> hai<sup>-</sup> múm<sup>-</sup>,  
 ||: o\_ ko\_ cín\_ ce\_ hai<sup>-</sup> múm<sup>-</sup> ö\_ :|| hai<sup>-</sup> múm<sup>-</sup> ö\_,  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ níng<sup>-</sup> e\_ ho\_ e\_ hó\_ ho\_ níng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
45. *pur-cin* (2)  
 ko\_ cín\_ ce\_ hai<sup>-</sup> thár<sup>L</sup> hai<sup>-</sup> thár<sup>L</sup>,  
 ||: o\_ ko\_ cín\_ ce\_ hai<sup>-</sup> thár<sup>L</sup> (ö\_) :||  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ níng<sup>-</sup> e\_ ho\_ e\_ hó\_ ho\_ níng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
46. *pur-cin* (3)  
 ko\_ cín\_ ce\_ hai<sup>-</sup> báí<sup>L</sup> hai<sup>-</sup> báí<sup>L</sup>,  
 ||: o\_ ko\_ cín\_ ce\_ hai<sup>-</sup> báí<sup>L</sup> ö\_ :|| hai<sup>-</sup> báí<sup>L</sup> ö\_,  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ níng<sup>-</sup> e\_ ho\_ e\_ hó\_ ho\_ níng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.
47. *pur-cin* (4)  
 ko\_ cín\_ ce\_ bai<sup>-</sup> kwák<sup>L</sup> bai<sup>-</sup> kwák<sup>L</sup>,  
 o\_ ko\_ cín\_ ce\_ bai<sup>-</sup> kwák<sup>L</sup> ö\_,  
 ||: o\_ ko\_ cín\_ ce\_ bai<sup>-</sup> kwák<sup>L</sup> (ö\_) bai<sup>-</sup> kwák<sup>L</sup> ö\_ :||  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ níng<sup>-</sup> e\_ ho\_ e\_ hó\_ ho\_ níng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho\_ ho\_ ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.

42. *yüm yua* (name of a flower)  
 níng<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> khüm<sup>1</sup> yúa ri pau<sup>1</sup> khüm<sup>1</sup> níng<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> hóm<sup>2</sup> khai<sup>1</sup>.  
 year catch correct flower catch year smooth is.  
 The year's end Yümyua flower is pretty by the end of the year.
43. *pur-cen* (name of a flower)  
 níng<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> ria<sup>2</sup> cen long pau<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> khüm<sup>1</sup> níng<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> hóm<sup>2</sup> khai<sup>1</sup>.  
 year border (name) flower catch year smooth is.  
 The year's border Purcen flower is pretty by the end of the year.
44. *pur-cin* (*hai mum*) "beginning to form"  
 o<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> ko<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> cin ce hai<sup>2</sup> mum<sup>1</sup>.  
 river's (spec. of bird) start bud.  
 In the valley, the Cinjwe bird starts forming.
45. *pur-cin* (*hai thar*) "beginning to tear"  
 o<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> ko<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> cin ce hai<sup>2</sup> thar.  
 river's (spec. of bird) start rip-open.  
 In the valley, the Cinjwe bird starts tearing.
46. *pur-cin* (*hai bai*) "beginning the nest"  
 o<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> ko<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> cin ce hai<sup>2</sup> bai<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>.  
 river's (spec. of bird) starts nest.  
 In the valley, the Cinjwe bird starts his nest.
47. *pur-cin* (*bai kwak*) "throwing the nest away"  
 o<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> ko<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> cin ce bai<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> kwak.  
 river's (spec. of bird) nest throw-away.  
 In the valley, the Cinjwe bird throws his nest away.

48. *long hin*  
 prí\_ po\_ lang\_ hín\_ lang\_ hín\_  
 hin\_ prí\_ po\_ long\_ hín\_ ö\_,  
 ||: hin\_ prí\_ po\_ long\_ hín\_ (lóng\_ hin\_) ö\_, lóng\_ hin\_ ö\_ :||
49. *pri kung*  
 ||: prí\_ ma\_ kúng\_ báng\_ bang\_ :||  
 prí\_ ma\_ kung\_ báng\_ bang\_,  
 ng\_ ho\_ ng\_ e\_ ho\_ e\_ hó\_ ng\_ ng\_ hó\_ ho\_ ng\_ ng\_.
50. *tui pan*  
 ||: o\_ má\_ tui\_ pán\_ lop\_ líp\_ lep\_ :||  
 ng\_ ho\_ ng\_ e\_ ho\_ e\_ hó\_ ho\_ ng\_ ng\_ ho\_ ho\_ ng\_ ng\_.
51. *kan car*  
 túi\_ hu\_ kan\_ cár\_, ching\_ klóng\_ han\_ ra\_ hán\_ ra\_,  
 ||: túi\_ hu\_ kan\_ cár\_, ching\_ klóng\_ hán\_ ra\_ ö\_ :||  
 hán\_ ra\_ ö\_,  
 ng\_ ho\_ ng\_ e\_ ho\_ e\_ hó\_ ho\_ ng\_ ng\_ ho\_ ho\_ ng\_.
52. *kau ting*  
 ||: kau\_ tíng\_ klong\_ kói\_ nia\_ pún\_ khái\_ nia\_ mó\_,  
 (nia\_ mo\_) ng\_ mo\_ nia\_ mo\_,  
 ng\_ lõk\_ pó\_ dön\_ pó\_ ka\_ lúm\_ dôi\_ nia\_ mó\_,  
 nia\_ mo\_ ng\_ mo\_ nia\_ mo\_,  
 ng\_ lõk\_ pó\_ don\_ pó\_ ka\_ háu\_ dôi\_ nia\_ mó\_,  
 (nia\_ mo\_) ng\_ mo\_ nia\_ mo\_ :||  
 ||: ng\_ kan\_ chur\_ bia\_ kói\_ kai\_ klá\_ khái\_ kai\_ mó\_,  
 kai\_ mo\_ ng\_ mo\_ kai\_ mo\_,
48. *long hin*  
 pri<sub>1</sub> po<sub>1</sub> long (!) hin.  
 tiger take (domestic animals?).  
 The tiger takes his prey.
49. *pri kung*, "tiger back"  
 pri<sub>1</sub> ma<sup>1</sup> kung<sub>1</sub> bang bang.  
 tiger back (well visible?)  
 The tiger's back can be seen everywhere.
50. *tui pan* "slutch"  
 o<sub>2</sub> ma<sup>1</sup> tui<sub>2</sub> pan lop lip lep.  
 river water gruel flip-flap.  
 Garbage floats on the river.
51. *kan car* "flood"  
 tui<sub>1</sub> hu<sup>2</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> car ching<sub>1</sub> klóng<sup>2</sup> han ra<sup>1</sup>  
 water much trespass tree slope (contact?) place  
 The water floods the river banks.
52. *kau ting* (a species of bamboo)  
 kau<sub>2</sub> ting klong<sup>2</sup> kói<sup>1</sup> nia<sub>1</sub> pün<sub>1</sub> khai<sup>1</sup> nia<sub>1</sub> mo,  
 bamboo crest to penis climb is penis erectile,  
 lõk<sup>1</sup> po<sup>2</sup> dön (don) po<sup>2</sup> ka<sup>1</sup> lúm<sup>2</sup> dôi<sub>1</sub>, ka<sup>1</sup> hau<sup>2</sup> dôi<sub>1</sub>.  
 one also? also go-to pick-up not go-to require not.  
 kan<sub>2</sub> chur<sub>1</sub> bia<sub>2</sub> kói<sup>1</sup> kai<sub>2</sub> kla<sup>2</sup> khai<sup>1</sup> kai<sub>2</sub> mo,  
 rozelle bowl to vagina fall is vagina erectile,

ng<sup>-</sup> lõk- pó- dön- pó- ka- lúm- dói- kai- mó-,  
 (kai- mo-) ng<sup>-</sup> mo- kai- mo-,  
 ng<sup>-</sup> lõk- pó- don- pó- ka- háu- dói- kai- mó-,  
 (kai- mo-) ng<sup>-</sup> mo- kai- mo- :||  
 ng<sup>-</sup> nia- mo- ng<sup>-</sup> mo- nia- mo-,  
 ng<sup>-</sup> kai- mo- ng<sup>-</sup> mo- kai- mo-,  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho- ng<sup>-</sup> e- ho- e- hó- ho- ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho- ho- ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.

53. *wa-tur tahau*

||: túr- ta- háu- lung- klái- dóm- e- ho-,  
 e- ho- e- ng<sup>-</sup> e- ho- é- ho- ng<sup>-</sup> hó- e- ho- ng<sup>-</sup> :||  
 ng<sup>-</sup> ho- ng<sup>-</sup> e- ho- e- hó- ho- ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho- ho- ng<sup>-</sup>.

54. *ching chüm*

||: ching- chüm- ching- tút- lu- thúr- chüm- chua<sup>l</sup> khai- ö-, ng<sup>-</sup> :||,  
 ching- chüm- ching- tút- lu- thúr- chüm- chua<sup>l</sup> khai- ö-.

55. *tö húa*

||: tö- húa- lõ<sub>L</sub> tö- húa- lõ<sup>-</sup>,  
 tö- húa- di- kõi- tö- hí- húa- :||  
 tö- húa- lõ<sub>L</sub> tö- húa- lõ<sup>-</sup>.

The last *long* is repeated three times, and the whole set has to be played thrice a day. On the last day, when the body is leaving the house, there follows another set of 16 *long*:

*taröng, taröng plang, tür-ram, chang-ku, wa-ce-ca;*

*taröng, taröng plang, tür-ram, chang-ku, wa-ce-ca, kuai hiu;*

*taröng, taröng plang, tür-ram, chang-ku, wa-ce-ca.*

Of these, *taröng, taröng plang,* and *wa-ce-ca* have no text; *tür-ram* and *chang-ku* correspond to Nos. 3 and 4 of the *cia long* (s. below); for *kuai hiu* no sung version has been recorded.

lõk<sup>1</sup> po<sup>3</sup> dön (don) po<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>1</sup> lüm<sup>2</sup> dói<sup>1</sup>, ka<sup>1</sup> hau<sup>3</sup> dói<sup>1</sup>.

one also ? also go-to pick-up not go-to require not.

The penis has climbed to the top of the bamboo, the erectile penis, no one ever is picking him up, nobody will require him. The vagina has fallen into the bowl of rozelle, the erectile vagina, no one ever is picking her up, nobody will require her.

53. *wa-tur tahau* "pigeons mate"

tur<sub>2</sub> ta<sup>1</sup> hau<sup>1</sup> yung (!) klai dóm he hot (!).

pigeon mate ? ? ?

The pigeons mate ...

54. *ching chüm* "tree end"

ching<sup>2</sup> chüm ching<sup>2</sup> tut lu<sup>1</sup> thur chüm chua khai<sup>1</sup>.

tree end tree base head god end insert is.

(At) the base of the tree godhead has stored away.

55. *tö húa* "abandoning"

tö<sup>1</sup> húa<sup>3</sup> lõ tö<sup>1</sup> húa<sup>3</sup> di kõi<sup>1</sup> tö<sup>1</sup> hi húa<sup>3</sup>.

leave abandon alas ? go leave ? abandon.

Abandon and leave behind, go and leave behind.

56. *taröng* and 57. *taröng plang* have no text.58. *tür-ram* "fishtail palm"

tür ram<sup>1</sup> ta lek.

Didymospermum swing.

The fishtail palm leaves swing.

59. *chang-ku* (a species of plant)  
 ma rüm<sup>2</sup> chang ku bür hang<sup>3</sup> pa cim<sup>3</sup> ba<sup>1</sup>  
 forest (plant) reed apply lime do!  
 Apply the (snail) lime to the (vibrating) reeds (made) of forest Changku.
60. *wa-ce ca* "chicken eating" has no text.
61. *kwai-hiu* (a species of bees)  
 kwai<sup>2</sup> hiu bu ü<sup>3</sup> chöng<sup>1</sup> lak ng lak, kwai<sup>2</sup> tam bu ü<sup>3</sup> chöng<sup>1</sup> lak ng lak.  
 bee (stag) swarm flap-the-wings, bee (many) swarm flap-the-wings.  
 A swarm of bees buzzes around (the house).

*Cia Long*, "Cattle Verses", sung version.

1. *taröng*  
 hó- ng- hó- ng- hó- e- hó- ng- hó- ng- ng- hó- ng- ho- hó-.
  2. *taröng plang*  
 e- ng- hó- ng- hó- e- hó- ng- hó- ng- ng- hó- ng- ho- hó-.
  3. *tür-ram*  
 tür- rá- ta- lék- ram- ta- lék- ö- lek- ó-  
 ng- hó- ng- ho- hó-.
  4. *chang-ku*  
 ma- rüm- cháng- ku- bür- ú-  
 hang- pá- cim- bá- cim- bá-  
 ng- hó- ng- ho- ho-.
  5. *plai chet*  
 wa- di- chá- ce- chá- ret- ret-, ng-  
 wa- da- chá- ce- chá- ret- ret-,  
 ng- hó- ng- ho- ho-.
  6. *cia leng*  
 rui- ching- kóng- ü- kóng- ü-  
 nam- ching- kóng- ü- kóng- ü-  
 ng- hó- ng- ho- ho-.
  7. *cia klik*  
 o- má- dam- tí- kon- ó- ng-  
 o- má- dam- láng- kon- ó- ng-  
 pa- próp- chí- löi- próp- chí- löi-.
1. *taröng* and 2. *taröng plang* have no text.  
 3. *tür-ram* and 4. *chang-ku* are the same as Nos. 58. and 59. above.  
 5. *plai chet* "cleaning the dancing ground"  
 wa<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> di (da) chai<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>3</sup> chai<sup>3</sup> ret ret.  
 (spec. of bird) cleanse brush-aside.  
 Tiny Wachai scrapes (the ground) clean.  
 6. *cia leng* "cattle rope"  
 rui ching<sub>1</sub><sup>3</sup> kong<sup>1</sup> nam ching<sub>1</sub><sup>3</sup> kong<sup>1</sup>.  
 (spec. of plant) stem (spec. of plant) stem.  
 The stems of Rui and Nam.

ng<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup>.

8. *krong chari*

krong- cha<sup>-</sup> rí<sup>-</sup> ú<sup>-</sup> wôi<sup>-</sup> tám<sup>-</sup> ba<sup>-</sup> tám<sup>-</sup> ba<sup>-</sup>,  
nam- cha<sup>-</sup> rí<sup>-</sup> ú<sup>-</sup> wôi<sup>-</sup> tám<sup>-</sup> ba<sup>-</sup> tám<sup>-</sup> ba<sup>-</sup>,  
ng<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup>.

In a second performance, Nos. 1-7 are repeated, then follow

8a. *chüng ku hua mang*

||: chüng<sup>-</sup> ku<sup>-</sup> ó<sup>-</sup> húa<sup>-</sup> mang<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup> :||  
pá<sup>-</sup> cöng<sup>-</sup> chüng<sup>-</sup> ku<sup>-</sup> húa<sup>-</sup> mang<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup>,  
ng<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup>.

9. *ching klong wia chang*

||: ching<sup>-</sup> klong<sup>-</sup> ó<sup>-</sup> wía<sup>-</sup> chang<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup> :||  
pá<sup>-</sup> cöng<sup>-</sup> ching<sup>-</sup> klong<sup>-</sup> wía<sup>-</sup> chang<sup>-</sup> chö<sup>-</sup>,  
ng<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup>.

10. *rüm-rup*

||: (o-) ko<sup>-</sup> rúm<sup>-</sup> rup<sup>+</sup> páu<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> :||  
khúm<sup>-</sup> ning<sup>-</sup> ta<sup>-</sup> hóm<sup>+</sup> khai<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup>,  
ng<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup>.

11. *pur-cen*

||: níng<sup>-</sup> ria<sup>-</sup> cén<sup>-</sup> long<sup>+</sup> páu<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> :||  
khúm<sup>-</sup> ning<sup>-</sup> ta<sup>-</sup> hóm<sup>+</sup> khai<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup>,  
ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> níng<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup>.

12. *yüm-yua*

||: níng<sup>-</sup> khúm<sup>-</sup> yúa<sup>-</sup> ri<sup>+</sup> páu<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> :||  
khúm<sup>-</sup> ning<sup>-</sup> ta<sup>-</sup> hóm<sup>+</sup> khai<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup>,  
ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> níng<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup>.

13. *hai mum*

ko<sup>-</sup> cín<sup>-</sup> ce<sup>-</sup> hai<sup>-</sup> múm<sup>-</sup> hai<sup>-</sup> múm<sup>-</sup>  
||: o- ko<sup>-</sup> cín<sup>-</sup> ce<sup>-</sup> hai<sup>-</sup> múm<sup>-</sup> ö<sup>-</sup> :||  
ng<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup> ng<sup>-</sup> ho<sup>-</sup> hó<sup>-</sup>.

14. *hai thar*

ko<sup>-</sup> cín<sup>-</sup> ce<sup>-</sup> hai<sup>-</sup> thár<sup>-</sup> hai<sup>-</sup> thár<sup>-</sup>

7. *cia klik* "cattle tying"

o<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> dam<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> ti (lang) kon pa prop chôi löi.  
river fish (pair ?) piece lie-together harmoniously.  
A pair of river fishes lie together harmoniously.

8a. *chüng-ku hua-mang* "chief rock"

pa cöng<sup>1</sup> chüng ku hua<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> mang<sup>1</sup> chö (!)  
let become ? ? rock chief shall.  
He shall become a majestic stone.

9. *ching-klong wia chang* "famous old tree", also called *bong kom long* "wrist binding verse"

pa cöng<sup>1</sup> ching<sub>1</sub><sup>3</sup> klong<sup>1</sup> wia chang<sup>1</sup> chö.  
let become tree trunk (circle ?) famous shall.  
He shall become a famous old tree.

10. *rüm-rup*, 11. *pur-cen*, 12. *yüm-yua*, 13./15. *hai-mum*, and 14./16. *hai-thar* are the same as Nos. 41.-45. above.



||: o- ko\_ cín\_ ce- hai- thár- ö\_ :||

ng- hó\_ ng- ho\_ ho\_.

15. and 16. repeat 13. and 14.,

17. corresponds to 8. of the first performance.

18. *cia kōng*

cia\_ ma- kōng\_ ö- ba\_ tít- tūa\_ ó- tūa\_ ü-

na- ma- kōng\_ ö- ba\_ táng- tūa\_ ó- tūa\_

ng- hó\_ ng- ho\_ ho\_.

17. *kronḡ chari* "earth lord"

*kronḡ*<sub>2</sub> cha ri nam<sub>2</sub> cha ri wöi<sup>1</sup> tam ba<sup>1</sup>.

earth lord spirit lord exist (behind?) do!

Lord of the earth, Lord of the spirits, be immanent!

18. *cia kōḡ* "dead cattle"

cia<sub>4</sub> ma<sup>1</sup> kōḡ<sub>2</sub> ba<sub>4</sub> tít tūa, na<sub>2</sub> ma<sup>1</sup> kōḡ<sub>2</sub> ba<sub>4</sub> tít tūa.

cattle dead bow? (budge?) buffalo dead bow? (budge?)

Cattle and buffalo are dead, the bow moves (?).

Thus, there are 16 different *cia long*. Still, it is not they which count, but the number of 8 plus 18 *wir*, the clock-wise "circuits" around the sacrificial animals tethered in the centre of the village place. A similar differential counting exists for the *wak long* – there are *wir* around the coffin, the house, and a special offering place erected in front of the house – but my data are too insufficient to allow a systematization. Definitely no strict rule is ever kept in actual performance, and Mita Tang himself was not sure about the correct sequence of the different *wak long*. The latter deficiency adds to the difficulties which arise for the interpretation of the *long*. The meaning of some of the verses is rather cryptic, and the *tu chara* himself was unable to explain them. These *long* contain several words not used in the ordinary language, but even where a translation can be given it may convey very little of what the *long* really alludes to.

When we identify the lexical items by means of the literal translation and compare their tones with those of the sung version, we realize that most of the words are not only sung in tones not inferable from those of the vocabularies, but also differing in apparently identical syllables when they appear in different or even the same verses. Thus, we have *chüḡ\_ ku\_* vs. *chüḡ- ku-* (C 8a), *ching\_ klong\_* vs. *ching- klong-* (C 9), *pri\_ ma\_* vs. *pri- ma-* (W 49), *ning\_ khüm\_* vs. *khüm- ning-* (C 12, W 42), *kan\_ chur\_* (W 32) vs. *kan- chur-* (W 52), *ta\_ hóm\_* (W 23) vs. *ta- hóm-* (W 41ff), and even (according to a field note for W 15) *lang\_ ce\_ plai\_* vs. *lang\_ ce- plai-* (W 38). As shown in these examples, most of the syllables in question appear in but two tones, and my suggestion is that these two tones should be equated with the two variants of the spoken tones. This leads me to infer tone I for

*kau\_ /kau-* (W 52/W 23) bamboo,

*chong\_ /chong-* (W 4/W 20) every,

*ta\_ /ta-* (W 23, C 3/W 41–43, C 10–12) *prefix*,

plai-/plai- (W 15/W 38) to dance,  
 bai-/bai- (W 46/W 47) nest,  
 ma-/ma- (W 17, C 4/W 17, W 35) *prefix*.

In tone 2 we find

ka-/ka- (W 11, W 38/W 12) to get,  
 khüm-/khüm- (W 42, C 12/W 41-43, C 10-12) to grasp,  
 dam-/dam- (W 31/C 17) fish,  
 nam-/nam- (W 11/C 8) spirit,  
 ning-/ning- (W 41-43/W 42-43) year,  
 pri-/pri- (W 48, 49/W 49) leopard,  
 ram-/ram- (C 3/W 19) leaf,  
 lang-/lang- (W 25/W 28-29) lash,  
 leng-/leng- (W 38/W 15) to stroll,  
 wa-/wa- (W 4, 8, 10/W 38, C 5) bird,  
 höm-/höm- (W 23/W 41-43, C 10-12) smooth.

Tone 3, finally, is indicated for

a-/a- (W 25, W 26, W 37/W 5) *postposition*,  
 ko-/ko- (W 3, W 4/W 41, W 44-47, C 13-16) *suffix*,  
 cia-/cia- (W 19/C 18) cattle,  
 coi-/coi- (W 17/W 17) to pluck feathers,  
 chur-/chur- (W 32/W 52) sour,  
 tui-/tui- (W 12, W 15, W 50, W 51/W 34) water,  
 dōi-/dōi- (W 11, W 38, W 52/W 3, W 12) not,  
 pong-/pong- (W 26/W 26) matting,  
 lö-/lö- (W 55/W 55) alas.

With a few syllables, however, the evidence is less clear. Take, e. g., the suffix *ma*. We find

W 29 lang- ma-	but W 20, 34 kim- ma-
W 31 chüŋg- ma-	W 39 la- ma-
W 49 pri- ma-	W 49 pri- ma-
W 50 o- ma-	C 7 o- ma-
C 18 na- ma-	W 35 chai- ma-
C 18 cia- ma-	W 4 wa- ma-

In the spoken language, *ma*, meaning “main, principal” is in tone 1, and the syllable preceding it is generally shortened. I should therefore infer lāŋ’má’ ~ lang<sup>2</sup> (lash), chüŋg’má’ ~ chüŋg<sup>2</sup> (hill), pri’má’ ~ pri<sup>2</sup> (leopard), ō’má’ ~ o<sup>2</sup> (river), nā’má’ ~ na<sup>2</sup> (buffalo), cia’má’ ~ cia<sup>3</sup> (cattle), là’mā ~ la<sup>3</sup> (moon), kím’mā ~ kim<sup>1</sup> (house). This interpretation confirms the tones inferred from the doublets (lang<sup>2</sup>, pri<sup>2</sup>, cia<sup>3</sup>), but leaves four cases to be explained. Since the second form of W 49 (pri mā) shows no closed juncture, it should be reinterpreted in that we regard *ma* as a prefix of *kung*, hence reading *pri makung*, “the leopard’s back”, against *prima kung*, “the tiger’s back”. There is also no closed juncture in examples W 4 and W 35, since we have *wa*<sup>2</sup> and *chai*<sup>1</sup>, and the following *ma* should probably not be translated by “main, principal” (*ma*<sup>1</sup>)

but by "female" ( $ma^3$ ). The remaining deep-toned  $ma$  (C 7), in closed juncture with  $o^2$ , can be explained neither way, but apparently takes the place of  $ko^3$  (cf. W 41), in ordinary language  $ka^3$ , equivalent to the Written Burmese pair  $ka'$  and  $hma'$ .

Although glottal shortening may also appear in terminal juncture (W 23, W 34), most of our double tone examples derive from closed junctures, welding two syllables into one word, as e. g.,  $d\grave{a}m$  vs.  $d\grave{a}m't\acute{i}$ ,  $w\grave{a}$  vs.  $w\grave{a}'t\grave{a}$ ,  $n\grave{i}ng$  vs.  $n\grave{i}ng'ria$ ,  $kh\ddot{u}m$  vs.  $kh\ddot{u}m' n\grave{i}ng$ , or even  $k\grave{a}n'ch\ddot{u}r$  vs.  $k\grave{a}n'ch\ddot{u}r'b\grave{i}a$ . In view of this evidence we must analyse the syllable *ching*, "tree". We have: (W 23)  $d\ddot{o}k-$   $ching-$ , (C 6)  $nam-$   $ching-$ , (C 9)  $ching-$   $klong-$  (W 11)  $ching-$   $d\ddot{o}m-$ , (W 54)  $ching-$   $ch\ddot{u}m-$  (W 51)  $ching-$   $kl\ddot{o}ng-$ , (W 54)  $ching-$   $tut-$ , (C 9)  $ching-$   $klong-$ . The meaning of "tree" ( $ching^3$ ) is clearly involved in W 23, W 51, C 6, and C 9, and the short-stopped form ( $ching'$ ) appears in closed junctures as expected, reconfirming tone 3, but leaving W 11 and W 54 to be accounted for. W 11 is a doubtful case, since the sung version has  $hing-$   $tam-$  (probably: "having many roots"),  $ching-$   $d\ddot{o}m-$ , on the other hand, might also be translated as "soul descend", since in W 9 we have  $ching-$   $hai-$ , "soul with", "living", which might be a closed juncture form, yielding  $ching^1$ , "life substance". Hence we ought to read W 54  $ching-$   $ch\ddot{u}m-$  as "the ended life", "the deceased", and translate the whole verse by something like "God has inserted the deceased life at the base of the tree".

As a last example, let me take the prefix *pa*. From a grammatical point of view, I cannot see any reason why prefixes should appear in contrasting tones at all. There are, however, certain tendencies in the tonal configuration of the *tu long*, as e. g., not to repeat the same tone consecutively more than twice, to favour movements like low-mid-high-mid-low, etc., which might not only account for the fact that the exclamatory final particle  $\ddot{o}$  (and even the final particle *khai*) can appear in any tone, but also for the appearance of different tones in prefixes. The already mentioned example of  $ta^1 h\ddot{o}m^2$  in its realization of  $ta-$   $h\ddot{o}m-$  vs.  $ta-$   $h\ddot{o}m^L$  ( $t\acute{a}'h\ddot{o}m'$ ) moreover may be taken to show that the slurring of the second syllable from high to middle tone is a reflex of the glottal restriction of the preceding syllable, a phenomenon also traceable in W 17  $ma-$   $ng\ddot{e}^L$  and W 25  $ma-$   $la^L$  (from  $m\acute{a}' \sim ma^1$ ) and even more clear from W 40 where, in the repetition of  $b\acute{u}'$ , the glottalisation is clearly audible. The phenomenon disappears, however, whenever the second syllable is short and unstressed. In but one case there is also an upward slur, viz. in W 9  $pa-$   $d\ddot{u}k-$   $pa-$   $dai^{\Gamma}$   $\ddot{o}^L$ , yielding  $p\grave{a}'d\acute{a}i'$  vs.  $p\acute{a}d\ddot{u}k$  and thereby  $pa^3$  as causative prefix. The same  $pa^3$  is good for C 8a and C 9; but there are also middle toned *pa*, as in W 6-8 ( $pa-$   $k\ddot{o}ng-$ ), W 5 ( $pa-$   $r\ddot{o}u-$ ), and C 7 ( $pa-$   $prop-$ ), meaning something like "forming a (dead, line, layer)", i. e., involving a kind of causative reflexive.

A comparison of the tones inferred from the *tu long* with those noted by Luce and myself shows that the correlation is far from perfect. In view of the discrepancies between Luce and me, I should prefer to distrust these notations, for a final judgement, however, more reliable field material will be necessary. Whatever then the value of my explanation of the tonal configurations of the

*tu long*, they can contribute but little to an explanation of the deeper meaning of these verses. All that I can offer in this respect are a few tidbits of folklore seen against a more general interpretation of Mru traditional culture.

### *Tu long* symbolism

There is a story telling how the *tu long* came to be instituted. Again, Mita Tang, the *tu chara*, was my informant. In former times, we are told, men in this world did not die, but those in the other (upper) world died. A sister of those on earth was married to a man of the other world, and when her son died, she invited her relatives to participate in the death ceremony. Those invited found the festivity so nicely done that they looked for an occasion to imitate it. They killed a Zosterops (*ting ru kui*), and maintaining that their son had died, they sent news to their sister, inviting her to attend the festival. The sister, at first refusing to believe that story, finally was persuaded to come. Realizing that the dead nephew was but the corpse of a bird, she cursed her brothers by hitting their staircase six times with her foot. Since that time, humans die, while eternal life is with those in the upper world. The *tu long* then derive from the heavenly rites and date from that time.

This story not only explains W 6-8, but also reveals a (perhaps intended) confusion of *tuama*, "sister", and *wama*, "hen", in W 4 which probably ought to follow W 6-8 instead of preceding it. However, according to Mita Tang, W 4 is also called *u-ram thak wan*, and *u-ram* is mother's younger sister (whom a man may marry after his first wife's death) as well as, more generally, father's second wife, interpreted in all folklore texts invariably as the cruel step-mother. This type of *u-ram* figures most prominently in another Mru story about the introduction of death, that of *chön-pau mala*, the rattan flower girl, alluded to in W 35. I shall give here but a short summary. *Chön-pau mala*, exhausted and harassed by her step-mother, several times tries to commit suicide, finally by drowning herself. Drawn ashore again, she is carried home by her lover (whom she had not been allowed to join), since whenever her parents want to lift her up, she turns into an enormously heavy putrid carcass. Music can be heard from the house of her lover, but whenever her step-mother comes in order to see her, she turns into a dripping carcass again. In fury, the step-mother, hitting the staircase six times with her foot, curses *chön-pau mala* never to resurrect again. The corpse is placed on a pyre, but, when lighted, the flames do not touch it. Her personal belongings are thrown into the fire, still the body only crouches as in pain. The lover, unable to bear this sight any longer, jumps into the fire. At once it roars up and consumes them both. Two flowers grow up from the ashes. They cause some harm to the step-mother when she tries to wear them as ornaments, and she finally destroys the plants.

No *tu long* is mentioned in all of this story. On the other hand, there is no *tu long* referring directly to the cremation, while W 36-37 tell us that the corpse is eaten by termites, crumbled to earth. The actual practice is burning, and the Mru do not recollect that burial was the general rule in former times. Today,

only children below the age of three are normally buried, although one may also resort to burial in case of epidemics or extreme poverty. When buried the body is wrapped into a mat only, and no coffin is made. Still, the *tu long* W 23–32 describe the preparation of a coffin as well as the offerings placed near to it. These verses, however, giving practical instructions to the living, contrast rather sharply with the remainder, oscillating metaphorically between the worlds. Exceptions in this respect are W 17–18 which, I think, are wrongly placed and indeed should join the “practical” verses. This brings the number of verses under the first *taröng* down to 18, i. e., the number also given for the *cia long*, and we might easily reduce the number of verses under the second *taröng* to the same standard as well. While, however, the usefulness of similar speculations must seem doubtful, I should surmise that the verses with practical instructions are of more recent date, added in order to introduce the newer custom of coffin preparation (and cremation) into the older set of ceremonies connected with burial.

One of the main components of these old rites seems to have been the bird dance, unknown today, the “birds” apparently representing the beings of the other world. We have heard that the humans killed a bird in order to imitate their ceremonies. Since, moreover, the soul of the deceased becomes a bird too and joins them (W 38), we might also call them the manes. They are separated from this world, kept back and denied the water, by the spirit of the banyan, the *ficus religiosa* (W 11), symbolising the pathway between the worlds. W 41–47 may indicate that a final death ceremony took place at the end of the year, coinciding, according to the now obsolete Mru calendar, with the end of the harvest, i. e., the end of October. After the tiger has taken his animals (W 48–49) and the flood has carried away his belongings (W 50–51), the deceased cannot return to cohabit with the living (W 52), but will have to mate with the “pigeons” and join those in the other world (W 54–55).

In this short review, I have passed over W 19–20. It may be that W 20 should join W 48–51, depicting the passing away of the earthly belongings, but it may also relate to a wilful destruction of the deceased’s house, still reflected today in a *wak plai*, “corpse dance”, executed by the members of a dead man’s wife’s sib (or a dead woman’s own sib) and leading to a partial demolition of the house. Correspondingly, W 21 (which the *tu chara* would take for the deceased’s envy of the cows, well cared for by the living) might imply a cattle sacrifice, for a closer analysis of which we shall have to turn to the *cia long*.

Although there are stories concerning the cattle sacrifice, it will not be necessary to adduce them here, since none has any bearing on the contents of the verses. C 3 refers to a kind of palm leaves used (more often with the Khumi than with the Mru) to decorate the enclosure of the sacrificial animals tethered to poles in the centre of the village. During the death ceremonies a somewhat yellow variety of these leaves is used to decorate the *tu* pipes themselves (W 58), and it is to the gourd pipes that C 4 (and W 59) refer via the lime applied to the vibrating reeds. C 6 mentions two of the plants used to prepare a “medicine” which is applied not only to the tethering-rope and the sacrificial poles but also

to the foreheads of all participants and the sacrificial animals themselves. As in the *wak long*, the dancers, scraping the place clean with their feet (C 5), are introduced as "birds", while the animals are spoken of as "fishes" (C 7). Similarly, the fish curry mentioned in W 31-32 is in fact curry of pork. In another paper (Löffler 1968) I have tried to show that in various South-East Asian cultures "bird" and "fish" serve as symbols for men's postmortal and prenatal state. For the sacrificial animals, the order has to be reversed.

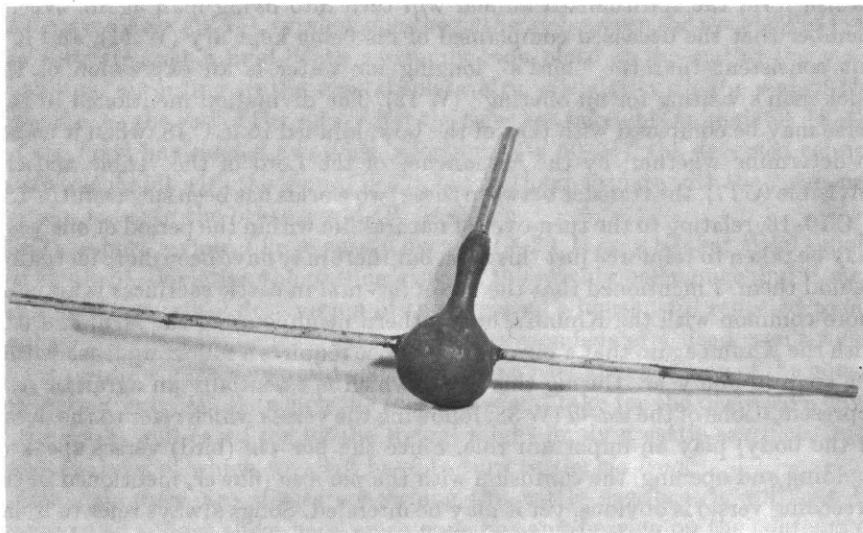
During the immolation water is poured over the muzzle of the victim, and after the sacrifice a stone (the *hua mang* of C 8a) flanked by the victim's jawbones is set up at the foot of the sacrificial pole (the *ching klong* of C 9). By the stone the animal is kept down, turned towards the nether realms: the stone is but the material appearance of what is spiritually *hua mang*, the river divinity. Correspondingly, the "famous tree" stands for the upper realms. For the sacrifice to be efficacious, however, the pole and the stone must become the very representation of these forces (C 8a-9), lastly invoked by the feast-giver himself (the famous tree which will outlast his earthly existence) and the victim as such (the jawboned stone skull). Since the sacrifice gives additional life to men, C 9 is at the same time connected with the ceremony of the *bong-kom* (wrist-binding), in which the life substance of the feast-giver's family is tied to their bodies. Indeed, the logic of the symbolism requires that by passing downward through its fish form the spiritualized animal will turn into living man again. We remember that the deceased complained of his being kept dry (W 11), and it is but consistent that the "bird's" longing for water is an expression of the "sick man's waiting for an offering" (W 12). The divination mentioned in this verse may be compared with that of the bow, alluded to in C 18, when it comes to determine whether, by the immanence of the Lord of the visible and the invisible (C 17), the transfer between these two worlds has been successful (C 18).

C 10-16, relating to the turn-over of natural life within the period of one year, may be taken to reinforce just this idea, but there may have been more factuality behind them. I mentioned that the use of *tür-ram* in cattle sacrifices is actually more common with the Khumi, the Southern neighbours of the Mru, and it is with the Khumi again that a big cattle sacrifice requires a follow-up feast within the span of one year. During this feast (which is essentially an agrarian rite) representations of the *wa-ta* (W 38, following the verses which refer to the decay of the body) play an important role. Since the *pur-cin* (bird) verses speak of budding and opening, the confusion with the *pur-cen* (flower, mentioned in the preceding verse) is obvious, yet it may be intended. Songs always refer to living men in terms of plants, especially flowers; dead men are, as we have seen, "birds". While the death ceremonies deal with the mere passing from this world to the other, the intention of the cattle sacrifice is to regain life. In order to make his living, man kills. And it is the Cinjwe (*pur-cin*) who, at least in a story of the Marma, the Buddhist neighbours of the Mru, symbolises the implication most dramatically. Once upon a time, we are told, there lived two brothers. Suffering badly from hunger, they set out in search of food. The elder brother found nothing, the younger found but a single grain of rice which he

swallowed at once. When the brothers met again, the younger confessed that he had swallowed the single grain, the enraged elder brother, however, slew him, opened his stomach, and then devoured the grain in his turn. But then, still hungry, he fully realized what he had done. In vain he tried to revive his brother. He sat down and began his plaintive song, *cin-jwee*, which you can still hear today.

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The smallest of a set of three *tu*, collected 1964 by the author in the Southern Chittagong Hill Tracts, now in the Linden-Museum, Stuttgart, under Catalogue No. 30772 a-c.

Measurements of the instruments, length  $\times$  diameter, in cm:

reed-pipe: a) 117  $\times$  1.3, b) 136  $\times$  1.7, c) 157  $\times$  2.3  
 calabash: a) 24  $\times$  14, b) 21  $\times$  11, c) 21  $\times$  14  
 blowpipe: a) 15  $\times$  2, b) 16  $\times$  2, c) 15  $\times$  2