MÜNDLICHE ÜBERLIEFERUNGEN
IN SÜDASIEN

FÜNF BEITRÄGE

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
HERMANN BERGER

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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 *tōmma 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 không*, “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 (a and o), ë and ü are back-vowels (a and u), *ng* stands for the velar nasal (ŋ), c varies from ts to tš, and ch from tsh to š; the a of proclitic *la*, *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
2. taröng plang
3. bung-ku
   rüm_ bung–kú–ngau– chau– ŋ–,
4. wa-ma katha
   ||: wá.–ma.–ko– thá-k– thá– ō– ng– :||
   thá– ta– rük– rau– chóng– a–,
5. wa-kheng
6. wa-har

Text and translation.

1. taröng “measuring” and 2. taröng plang “repeated measuring” have no text.
2. bung-ku "owlet"
   rüm² bung⁴ ku₁ ngau chan², mü³ (khii⁵) ni³ ko² rung¹ dòi⁴.
   forest Athene crested (?) see (perceive) sun's rise not.
   The forest owlet does not see the sun rising.
3. wa-ma katha "the hen curses", also called u-ram thak wan "step-mother's cursing"
   wa₂ ma ko thak¹ taruk, rau¹ chong¹ a².
   hen go-to curse six morning every at.
   For six mornings the hen curses.
4. wa-kheng (a species of bird)
   kheng kua² a² paróu.
   (bird) village in align.
   In the village the Kheng-birds dance in a row.
ng· hó· ng· ho· ho·

7. *wa-hui*
   hui· hai· ŋ· ng· (hai· ng· ng·)
   hai· ng· ng· (hai·) hui· hai· ō·
   (ng· hó·) ng· ho· ho·

8. *ting-ru-kui*
   ||: tìng· ra· kúi· wa· cé· ō·:
   pa· kóng· ching· hái· khái· ō·,
   ng· ho· ŋ· e· ho· e· hó· ho· ng· ng· ho· ho· ng· ng·

9. *padük padai*
   ||: klang· cé· pa· dúk· pa· dái· ō·:
   pa· kóng· ching· hái· khái· ō·
   ng· ho· ŋ· e· ho· e· hó· ho· ng· ng· ho· ho· ng·

10. *khang cing khang công*
    ||: khang· cing· khang· câng· wa· cé· ō·:
    pa· kóng· ching· hái· khái· ō·,
    ng· ho· ŋ· e· ho· e· hó· ho· ng· ng· ho· ho· ng·

11. *pong li*
    hing· tám· pong· lī· pong· nám·,
    tòn· káng· ang· khái· ng· ng·
    ká· dóm· dói· u· ō· ng· ng·,
    ká· dóm· dói· pa· ō·,
    ng· ho· ŋ· e· ho· e· hó· ho· ng· ng· ho· ho· ng·

12. *plong cet*
    rúm· plong· cét· lu· tú· ō·

6. *ting-ru-kui* (a species of bird)
   ting ru· (!) kui wa· ca· (!) pakông· ching· hai·
   Zosterops (?) chicken make-dead live with is.
   For tiny Tingerukui the living die.

7. *padük padai* “let die”
   klang· ca· (!) padük padai pakông· ching· hai·
   boy let-die let-lie make-dead live with is.
   For simulating a dead boy the living die.

8. *khang cing khang công* (a species of bird)
   khang· câng· wa· ca· (!) pakông· ching· hai·
   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 li “banyan spirit”*
    ching· (!) dóm· (!) pong· li pong· nam·
    tree descend banyan spirit
    tòn· kàng· ang· hai· ka· dóm· dőij·
    keep dry-up me is get descend not.
   The banyan spirit detains me, I cannot descend.

13. [wa-tur]
14. [wa-ak]
15. [wa-wang]
16. wa-wia
   e-ng-ho-∥: ng-éng-ho-e-ng-ng-ho-∥
   ng-ng-ho-, ng-éng-ho-e-ng-ng-ho-, ng-e-ho-
   e-ng-ho-, ng-éng-ho-é-ho-∥
   ||: ng-éng-ho-e-ng-ng-ho-∥: ng-e-ho-
   ng-ng-ho-, ng-éng-ho-e-ng-ng-ho-
   e-ng-ho-, ng-éng-ho-e-ng-ng-ho-
   ng-e-ho-é-ho-ho.
17. poi coi
   coi ma-líng má nge-ô-
   ||: coi ma-líng má nge-ô-∥
18. [ria kwek]
19. wa-ham
   ||: pú-wa-hám klung ram-ciá-ton-ô-∥
   ||: ciá-ton-ô-∥

12. plong cet (a species of bird), also called pik rau mi tarok cong long “sick man’s offering awaiting verse”
   rúm² ma¹ plong¹ cet lu¹ tu¹ cong¹ rúm² tuí² tang²
   forest liver divination head bunch wait forest water taste
   ka² rúm² tuí² tang² dóí²,
   get forest water taste not.
The crested forest liver-diviner waiting for tasty water does not get it.
13. wa-tur “pigeon”
   pong¹ ma¹ (chai ma) tur, lip anq³ nguk ui ting ra nging nging.
   banyan (ficus) pigeon I coo sorrowful (onomatopoetic).
   (Like) a banyan pigeon I coo sorrowfully.
14. wa-ak “crow”
   ng-ô-ak-
   (the call of a crow)
15. wa-wang “wagtail”
   tuí² boi wa² wang hor² cè² plai² ô.
   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 líng má nge².
   pluck neck tail.
   Pluck the neck and tail (feathers).
18. ria kwek “bowels emptying”
   yoi ca-kek-kek-ria- intestines emptying bowels.
   Empty the small and the big intestines.
ng⁴ hó⁴ ng⁴ e⁴ hó⁴ ng⁴ hó⁴ ng⁴ ng⁴.

20. va-klót
   ||: kim⁴ ma⁴ wa⁴ klók⁴ o⁴, yan¹ chông⁴ reng¹ a⁴: ||
   ||: chông⁴ reng¹ a⁴: ||
   ng⁴ hó⁴ ng⁴ e⁴ hó⁴ hó⁴ ng⁴ hó⁴ ng⁴ ng⁴ ng⁴.

21. khóng tarông
   ||: hó⁴ ng⁴ ng⁴ é⁴ hó⁴ e⁴ hó⁴: ||
   ho⁴ ng⁴ ng⁴ ho⁴ ng⁴ ho⁴ ng⁴ ng⁴.

22. khóng tarông plang
   ||: e⁴ ng⁴ ng⁴ é⁴ hó⁴ e⁴ hó⁴: ||
   ng⁴ hó⁴ ng⁴ e⁴ hó⁴ hó⁴ ng⁴ ng⁴ ho⁴ ho⁴ ng⁴ ng⁴ ng⁴.

23. dök ching dök kau
   dök⁴ ching⁴ ta⁴ hóµ⁴ ta⁴ hóµ⁴ ng⁴
   dök⁴ kau¹ ta⁴ hóµ⁴ ta⁴ hóµ⁴ ng⁴ hóµ⁴ ng⁴
   ng⁴ hó⁴ ng⁴ e⁴ hó⁴ hó⁴ ng⁴ ng⁴ hó⁴ ho⁴ ng⁴ ng⁴ ng⁴.

24. [rin]

25. chek
   ||: chön⁴ á⁴ chön⁴ á⁴ pí⁴ chék⁴ o⁴: ||
   ||: chön⁴ á⁴ pí⁴ chék⁴ o⁴: ||
   ||: pí⁴ chék⁴ o⁴: ||
   lang⁴ á⁴ lang⁴ á⁴ pí⁴ chék⁴ o⁴,
   ||: lang⁴ á⁴ pí⁴ chék⁴ o⁴: ||
   ||: pí⁴ chék⁴ o⁴: ||
   ||: chön⁴ á⁴ lang⁴ á⁴ pí⁴ chék⁴ o⁴: ||
   ||: pí⁴ chék⁴ o⁴: ||
   ng⁴ hó⁴ ng⁴ e⁴ hó⁴ hó⁴ hó⁴ ng⁴ hó⁴ hó⁴ ng⁴ ng⁴ ng⁴.

26. achiùa
   chúa⁴ póng⁴ kon⁴ á⁴ yüa⁴ ri⁴ yáu⁴.

19. va-ham (name of a bird?)
   pu¹ wa ham klung ram¹ cia¹ ton¹ a².
   Grandpa? (plant?) leaf cattle reared.
   Grandpa Waham's cows reared on Klung-leaves.

20. va-klót (name of a bird?)
   kim¹ ma² wa klót (!) yan¹ chông¹ reng¹ a².
   house collapse (?) completely altogether.
   The house collapses completely (?)

21. khóng tarông "tense measure" and 22. khóng tarông plang "repeated tense measure"
   have no text.

23. dök ching dök kau "fetch bamboo"
   dök¹ ching² ta¹ hóµ² dök¹ kau¹ ta¹ hóµ².
   Fetch tree smooth fetch bamboo smooth.
   Fetch smooth bamboos.

24. rin "cut equal"
   pön¹ ce³ rin² pön¹ ce³ büa.
   length-of-bamboo cut-equal length-of-bamboo cut-off.
   Cut equal lengths of bamboo.

25. chek "bamboo lath"
   chön¹ a² lang a² pe¹ (!) chek.
   thong to lath to give lath.
   Make thongs from (bamboo) laths.
yüa- ri- yau- ng- yau- yüa- ri- yau ng-
tam- póng kon- à- yüa- ri- yau-,
yüa- ri yau- ng- yau- yüa- ri- yau-,
ng- ho- ng- e- ho e- hò- ho ng- ng- ho ho ng- ng-

27. akong
||: kwai- lín- kwai- lén-,
(kwai- lín- len lín- len lín- len)
kwai- lín- lín- len lín- len I:||
ng- ho- ng- e- ho e- hò- ho ng- ng- ho ho ng- ng-

28. kep
lang- pín- thò- ròi- thò- ròi- ng- ròi- ng-
lang- pán- thò- ròi thò- ròi- ng- ròi- ng- ng- ròi ròi-
ng- ho- ng- e- ho e- hò- ho ho ng- ng- ho ho ng- ng-

29. dak kep
||: lán- ma- ròi- ròi- ö- I:||
ng- ho- ng- e- ho e- hò ho ng- ng- ho ho ng- ng-

30. công-còi
công- còi-l- ö- công- còi- l- ö-,
công- còi- l- dòm lo- công- còi- l- ö-,
công- còi- l- pài lo- công- còi- l- công- còi- ö-,
công- còi- l- dòm lo- dòm lo- công- còi- l-,
công- còi- l- pài lo- pài lo- công- còi- l-,
công- còi- l- dòm lo- công- còi- l-,
công- còi- l- pài lo- pài-,
ng- ho- ng- e- ho e- hò ho ho ng- ng- ho ho ng- ng-

31. hom kho ton
chùng- má- kan- pén- khu- ö-,
re- dá- pa- chá- kan- l- ö-,

26. achúa “yellowing”
chúa ž pong² tam, pong³ kon² a² 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 pún (pan) thò ròi.
lash (both sides) put do-correctly.
Lash (the railing) well.

29. dak kep “carrying pole”
lang ma ròi.
Fix the long lashes.

30. công-còi (a name)
công còi dom lo pài- lo.
(name) clasp carry.
Côngcòi lift (the body into the coffin).
32. _kan chur kan leng_
kan- čhú- kan- lěng- kan- ō-, ng-
re- dá- m- pa- čhá- kan- t- ō-,
ng- ho- úg- e- ho- e- hó- ho- úg- ng- ho- ho- ng- ng-

33. _kar wan_
hú- ha- úg- ng- hú- ha- úg- ng-
ha- úg- ng- ha- há- hú- hú- hú-
ng- ho- úg- e- ho- e- hó- ho- úg- ng- ho- ho- ng- ng-

34. _rak cam tui_
[: kilm- ma- rak- cá- tui- wang- á- prilk t- pruk- :]
[: á- prilk t- pruk- :]
ng- ho- úg- e- ho- e- hó- ho- úg- ng- ho- ho- ng- ng-

35. _chön pu mala_
[: chön- pí- chön- pú- chön- pú- má- lát (ō- ) :]
[: chön- pú- má- lát (ō- ) :]
chön- pú- má- lát ko- chá- ma- ,
chön- pú- má- lát ko- chá- ma- ,
ng- ho- úg- e- ho- e- hó- ho- úg- ng- ho- ho- ng- ng-

36. _[than-ca]_

37. _klung_
[: klung- á- klung- á- cá- ang t- ō- :]
[: klung- á- cá- ang t- ō- :], [: cá- ang t- ō- :]
thán- a- than- a- cá- ang t- ō- ,
thán- a- cá- ang t- ō- , cá- ang t- ō- ,

31. _hom kho ton “rice basket put-near”_
chúng- m- kau- pen khu- re dá- pa cha kau-.
hill gourd piece fish (fish) curry.
Curry (made of) pieces of hill gourd and two species of fish.

32. _kan chur “rozelle”_
kan- chur, kau- leng kau- , re dá- pa cha kau-.
Curry of rozelle and two species of fish.

33. _hú “gibbon”, also called kar wan “weeping piece”_
hú ha.
(crying like the gibbon)

34. _rak cam tui “water from the eaves”_
kim- m- rak- cá- tui- Wang- n- pruk pruk.
house eaves ? water rain in drip drop.
Water drips from the eaves of the house.

35. _chön-pu mala “rattan girl”_
chön- pu mal- ko- chá- m- ko- chá- mal-
rattan girl bright white bright yellow.
Bright white and yellow rattan girl.

36. _than-ca “corpse-eater”_
than ca- t- dun- pen pon.
(name) eat up wrap putrid.
Thanca devours the rotten (corpse).
37. **klung** "crumbs"
   klung² a⁴ than a³ cai³ ang⁴.
   morsel to (tertiary?) to crumble me.
   I am crumbled into morsels of tertiary earth.

38. **wa-ta** (a species of bird)
   ang⁴ toi cong² ce³, rum ce wa² ta², long leng² ce³ plai², ka³ domì³ döi³ u³ ò pa³ ò.
   I join become (spec. of bird) fly-about dance, get down not mother of father of.
   Having become a bird like those flying about and dancing, I cannot descend, oh mother, oh father!

39. **yom** "Death"
   klang¹ ca³ (!) angum angia chot² ka rek la³ ma¹ yong¹ e yom¹.
   boy (spirit of eclipse) pierce star moon manner Death.
   Like the Eclipse pierces the moon (I am hunted by) Death.

40. **leng**
   leng bû yoi.
   ? belly stomach.
   The body is done (?)

41. **rüm-rup** (name of a flower)
   o² ko³ rüm rup paui³ khümi¹ ta¹ hüm² khai³.
   river's (name) flower catch year smooth is.
   In the valley the Rümrup flower is pretty by the end of the year.
ng\-\ ho\- ñg\- e\- ho\- e\- hó\- ho\- ñg\- ng\- ho\- ho\- ng\- ng\- ng\-.

42. [yüm-yua]

43. pur-cen

\[ (.) níng\- ria\- cén\- long\- páu\- ô\- ñg\- ng\- (.)\]
khum\- níng\- tá\- hóm\- khái\- ô\- ô\- :
ng\- ho\- ñg\- e\- ho\- e\- hó\- ho\- ñg\- ng\- ho\- ho\- ng\- ng\- ng\-.

44. pur-cin (1)
ko\- cín\- ce\- hai\- múm\- hai\- múm\-,
\[ (.) ko\- cín\- ce\- hai\- múm\- ô\- :
ng\- ho\- ñg\- e\- ho\- e\- hó\- ho\- ñg\- ng\- ho\- ho\- ng\- ng\- ng\-.

45. pur-cin (2)
ko\- cín\- ce\- hai\- thár\- hai\- thár\-,
\[ (.) ko\- cín\- ce\- hai\- thár\- (ô\-) :
ng\- ho\- ñg\- e\- ho\- e\- hó\- ho\- ñg\- ng\- ho\- ho\- ng\- ng\- ng\-.

46. pur-cin (3)
ko\- cín\- ce\- hai\- bái\- hai\- bái\-,
\[ (.) ko\- cín\- ce\- hai\- bái\- ô\- :
ng\- ho\- ñg\- e\- ho\- e\- hó\- ho\- ñg\- ng\- ho\- ho\- ng\- ng\- ng\-.

47. pur-cin (4)
ko\- cín\- ce\- bái\- kwák\- bái\- kwák\-,
\[ (.) ko\- cín\- ce\- bái\- kwák\- ô\- :
ng\- ho\- ñg\- e\- ho\- e\- hó\- ho\- ñg\- ng\- ho\- ho\- ng\- ng\- ng\-.

42. yüm yua (name of a flower)
níng\- khüm\- yúa ri pau\- khüm\- níng\- ta\- hóm\- khái\-.
year catch correct flower catch year smooth is.
The year’s end Yüm yua flower is pretty by the end of the year.

43. pur-cen (name of a flower)
níng\- ria\- cén long pau\- khüm\- níng\- ta\- hóm\- khái\-.
year border (name) flower catch year smooth is.
The year’s border Purcén flower is pretty by the end of the year.

44. pur-cin (hai mum) “beginning to form”
o\- ko\- cín\- ce hai\- múm\-.
river’s (spec. of bird) start bud.
In the valley, the Cinjwe bird starts forming.

45. pur-cin (hai thar) “beginning to tear”
o\- ko\- cín\- ce hai\- thar.
river’s (spec. of bird) start rip-open.
In the valley, the Cinjwe bird starts tearing.

46. pur-cin (hai bái) “beginning the nest”
o\- ko\- cín\- ce hai\- bái\-.
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\- ko\- cín\- ce bái\- kwak.
river’s (spec. of bird) nest throw-away.
In the valley, the Cinjwe bird throws his nest away.
48. **long hin**
   príː poː langʰ hínʰ langʰ hínʰ
   hínʰ príː poː longʰ hínʰ ōː,
   ||: hínʰ príː poː longʰ hínʰ (lóngʰ hínʰ) ōː, lóngʰ hínʰ ōː :||

49. **pri kung**
   ||: príː maː kúngʰ báŋʰ bangʰ :||
   príː maː kúngʰ báŋʰ bangʰ,
   ngʰ ho˪ ŋʰ e˪ ho˪ e˪ hó˪ ng˪ ho˪ ho˪ ng˪ ng˪.

50. **tui pan**
   ||: oː máː tui˪ pán˪ lop˪ líp˪ lep˪ :||
   ng˪ ho˪ ŋ˪ e˪ ho˪ e˪ hó˪ ho˪ ŋ˪ ng˪ ho˪ ho˪ ng˪ ng˪.

51. **kan car**
   tuí˪ hu˪ kan˪ cár˪, ching˪ klóng˪ han˪ ra˪ hán˪ ra˪,
   ||: tuí˪ hu˪ kan˪ cár˪, ching˪ klóng˪ hán˪ ra˪ ōː :||
   hán˪ ra˪ ōː,
   ng˪ ho˪ ŋ˪ e˪ ho˪ e˪ hó˪ ho˪ ŋ˪ ng˪ ho˪ ho˪ ng˪ ng˪.

52. **kau ting**
   ||: kau˪ tíng˪ klóng˪ kóː nia˪ pán˪ khái˪ nia˪ mó˪,  
   (nia˪ mo˪) ng˪ mo˪ nia˪ mo˪,
   ng˪ lök˪ pó˪ dön˪ pó˪ ka˪ lüm˪ dòi˪ nia˪ mó˪,  
   nia˪ mo˪ ng˪ mo˪ nia˪ mo˪,
   ng˪ lök˪ pó˪ dön˪ pó˪ ka˪ háu˪ dòi˪ nia˪ mó˪,  
   (nia˪ mo˪) ng˪ mo˪ nia˪ mo˪ :||
   ||: ng˪ kan˪ chúr˪ bia˪ kóː kai˪ klá˪ khái˪ kai˪ mó˪,  
   kai˪ mo˪ ng˪ mo˪ kai˪ mo˪,

48. **long hin**
   príː poː long Œː hín.  
The tiger takes (domestic animals ?).
The tiger takes his prey.

49. **pri kung, “tiger back”**
   príː ma˪ kúng˪ bang bang.  
tiger back (well visible ?)  
The tiger’s back can be seen everywhere.

50. **tui pan “slutch”**
   oː ma˪ tui˪ pán˪ lop˪ líp˪ lep˪.  
river water gruel flip-flap.
Garbage floats on the river.

51. **kan car “flood”**
   tui˪ hu˪ kan˪ car ching˪ klóng˪ han ra˪.  
water much trespass tree slope (contact ?) place  
The water floods the river banks.

52. **kau ting (a species of bamboo)**
   kau˪ tíng˪ klóng˪ kóː nia˪ pún˪ khái˪ nia˪ mo˪,  
   bamboo crest to penis climb is penis erectile,  
   lök˪ po˪ dön (don) po˪ ka˪ lüm˪ dòi˪, ka˪ háu˪ dòi˪.  
one also ? also go-to pick-up not go-to require not.  
   kan˪ chúr˪ bia˪ kóː kai˪ klá˪ khái˪ kai˪ mo˪,  
   rozelle bowl to vagina fall is vagina erectile,
ng- lök- pó- dön- pó- ka- lüm- döl- kai- mó-,  
(kai- mo-) ng- mo- kai- mo-,  
ng- lök- pó- dön- pó- ka- háu- döl- kai- mó-,  
(kai- mo-) ng- mo- kai- mo-,  
ng- ng- ho- úg- e- ho- e- hó- ho- ñg- ng- ho- ho- ng- ng- ng-.

53. *wa-tur tahau*

||: túr- ta- háu- lung- klái- döm- e- ho-,  
e- ho- e- úg- e- ho- é- ho- ng- hó- e- ho- ng- :||  
g- ho- úg- e- ho- e- hó- ho- ng- ng- ho- ho- ng-.

54. *ching chüm*

||: ching- chüm- ching- tút- lu- thúr- chüm- chuaL khái- ò-, ng- :||  
ching- chüm- ching- tút- lu- thúr- chüm- chuaL khái- ò-.

55. *tő húa*

||: tő- húa- lōL tő- húa- lō-,  
tő- húa- di- kōi- tő- hí- húa- :||  
tő- húa- lōL tő- húa- lō-.

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.

lök¹ po² dön (don) po³ ka¹ lüm² döl₃, ka¹ hau³ döl₃.  
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"

tur₂ ta¹ hau¹ yung (!) klai döm he hot (!).
pigeon mate ? ? ?
The pigeons mate …

54. *ching chüm* "tree end"

ching² chüm ching² tut lṳ thur chüm chua khai¹.  
tree end tree base head god end insert is.  
(At) the base of the tree godhead has stored away.

55. *tő húa* "abandoning"

tő¹ húa³ lō tő¹ húa³ di kōi¹ tő¹ hi húa³.  
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 ram⁴ ta lek.
Didymospermum swing.
The fishtail palm leaves swing.

59. **chang-ku** (a species of plant)
    ma rúm⁴ chang ku búr hang⁴ pa cim⁴ ba¹
    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)
    kwai² hiu bu ü⁹ chong¹ lak ng lak, kwai² tam bu ü⁹ chong¹ 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**
    hó̂̂ ng¬ hó̂̂ hó̂̂ e¬ hó̂̂ ng¬ hó̂̂ ng¬ hó̂̂ ng¬ hó̂̂ ho¬ hó̂̂

2. **taröng plang**
    e¬ hó̂̂ ng¬ hó̂̂ e¬ hó̂̂ ng¬ hó̂̂ ng¬ hó̂̂ ng¬ hó̂̂ ng¬ hó̂̂ hó¬ hó¬

3. **tür-ram**
    tür¬ rám¬ ta¬ lék¬ ram¬ ta¬ lék¬ ó¬ lek¬ ó¬
    ng¬ hó¬ ng¬ ho¬ hó¬

4. **chang-ku**
    ma¬ rúm¬ cháng¬ ku¬ búr¬ ú¬
    hang¬ pá¬ cim¬ bá¬ cim¬ bá¬
    ng¬ hó¬ ng¬ ho¬ ho¬

5. **plai chet**
    wa¬ dí¬ chái¬ ce¬ chái¬ re¬ re¬, ng¬
    wa¬ da¬ chái¬ ce¬ chái¬ re¬ re¬,
    ng¬ hó¬ ng¬ ho¬ ho¬

6. **cia leng**
    rui¬ ching¬ kóng¬ û¬ kóng¬ û¬
    nam¬ ching¬ kóng¬ û¬ kóng¬ û¬
    ng¬ hó¬ ng¬ ho¬ ho¬

7. **cia klik**
    o¬ má¬ dam¬ tî¬ kon¬ ó¬ ng¬
    o¬ má¬ dam¬ lâng¬ kon¬ ó¬ ng¬
    pa¬ prôp¬ Choi¬ lôî¬ prôp¬ Choi¬ lôî¬

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”
    wa² dí (da) châi¹ ca¹ châi³ re ret.
    (spec. of bird) cleanse brush-aside.
    Tiny Wachai scrapes (the ground) clean.
6. **cia leng** "cattle rope"
    rui ching² kong¹ nam ching² kong¹.
    (spec. of plant) stem (spec. of plant) stem.
    The stems of Rui and Nam.
ng̖ hō̂ ng̖ hô hô.

8. krông chari
krông- cha- ū- wōi- tám- ba- tám- ba-,
nam- cha- ū- wōi- tám- ba- tám- ba-,
ng̖ hō̂ ng̖ hô hô.

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

8a. chūng ku hua mang
||: chūng- ku- ō- húa_ mang- ō- :||
pā_ cong- chūng- ku- húa_ mang- ō-,
ng̖ hō̂ ng̖ hô hô hô.

9. chūng klong vía chang
||: chūng- klong- ō- vía_ chang- ō- :||
pā_ cong- chūng- klong- vía_ chang- chō-,
ng̖ hō̂ ng̖ hô hô hô.

10. rūm-ruz
||: (o-) ko- rūm- rup̂ pāu- ō- ng̖ ng̖ :||
khūm- ning- ta- hōm̂ khai̊- ō̂- ō-,
ng̖ hō̂ ng̖ hô hô hô.

11. pur-zen
||: ning- ria_ cén̂ lonĝ pāu- ō- ng̖ ng̖ :||
khum- ning- ta- hōm̂ khai̊- ō̂- ō-,
ng̖ hô ūg̖ e- ho- e- hō_ ho- ng̖ ng̖ hô hô ng̖ ng̖.

12. yūm-yûa
||: ning- khūm_ yūa- ō̂ pāu- ō- ng̖ ng̖ :||
khum- ning- ta- hōm̂ khai̊- ō̂- ō-,
ng̖ ho- ūg̖ e- ho- e- hō_ ho-.

13. hai mūm
ko_ cín_ ce- hai- mūm_ hai- mūm-
||: o- ko_ cín_ ce- hai- mūm̂ ō- :||
ng̖ hō̂ ng̖ hô hô hô.

14. hai thār
ko_ cín_ ce- hai- thār- hai- thār-

7. cia klik “cattle tying”
o² ma³ dam³ ti (lang) kon pa prop chōi lōi.
river fish (pair ?) piece lie-together harmoniously.
A pair of river fishes lie together harmoniously.

8a. chūng-ku hua-mang “chief rock”
pa cong¹ chūng ku hua¹ mang¹ chō (!)
let become ? rock chief shall.
He shall become a majestic stone.

9. chūng-klong vía chang “famous old tree”, also called bong kom long “wrist binding verse”
pa cong¹ chūng¹ klong¹ vía chang¹ chō.
let become tree trunk (circle ?) famous shall.
He shall become a famous old tree.

10. rūm-ruz, 11. pur-zen, 12. yūm-yûa, 13./15. hai-mūm, and 14./16. hai-thār are the same
as Nos. 41.-45. above.
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 chüng- ku- vs. chüng- 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- höm- (W 23) vs. ta- höm- (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,
pir-/pir- (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,
döi-/döi- (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 chung- 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
lång' mà- ~ lang2 (lash), chung'mà- ~ chung2 (hill), pri'mà- ~ pri2 (leopard),
ő'mà- ~ ò3 (river), nà'mà- ~ na2 (buffalo), cia'mà- ~ cia3 (cattle), là'mà- ~ la3 (moon), kim'mà- ~ kim1 (house). This interpretation confirms the tones inferred from the doublets (lang2, pri2, cia3), 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 wa2 and chai3, and the following ma should probably not be translated by "main, principal" (ma1)
but by “female” (ma³). The remaining deep-toned ma (C 7), in closed juncture with o², can be explained neither way, but apparently takes the place of ko³ (cf. W 41), in ordinary language ka³, 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., dám vs. dăm’ti, wà vs. wá’tà, ning vs. ning’ria, khüm vs. khüm’ ning, or even kän’chúr vs. kän’chúr’bìa. In view of this evidence we must analyse the syllable ching, “tree”. We have: (W 23) dök–ching–, (C 6) nam–ching–, (C 9) ching–klöng– (W 11) ching–döm–, (W 54) ching–chüm– (W 51) ching–klöng–, (W 54) ching–tut–, (C 9) ching–klöng–. The meaning of “tree” (ching³) 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–döm–, 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 ching¹, “life substance”. Hence we ought to read W 54 ching–chüm– 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 ö (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 ta¹ höm² in its realization of ta–höm– vs. ta–höm¹ (t’àhöm¹) 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–nge¹ and W 25 ma–la¹ (from ma³ ~ ma³) and even more clear from W 40 where, in the repetition of bù¹, 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–dük–pa–dai¹ ö¹, yielding pà’dài¹ vs. pà’dük and thereby pa³ as causative prefix. The same pa³ is good for C 8a and C 9; but there are also middle toned pa, as in W 6–8 (pa–köng–), W 5 (pa–rōu–), 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 titbits 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 carcase. 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 carcase 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 postmortual 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 klông* 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 *túr-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 Cínjwe (*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-jweee, which you can still hear today.

REFERENCES


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
calebash: 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