Kammu Gongs and Drums (II):[1]

THE LONG WOODEN DRUM AND OTHER DRUMS

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The Drum

> Well, I will tell you something very carefully. The water will rise and overflow, it will flood the villages, flood the houses. I am burrowing a deep, deep hole for myself, for I fear the flood to come. If you want to survive, then go home and make you a drum, and then crawl into it and stay inside the drum!

These are the words of the bamboo rat, who helped mankind to survive the flood in a drum.[2] The Yùan Kammu say that the drum was a prìiŋ wàaŋ ' long drum ', also called prìiŋ nám ' big drum ' (fig. 1). This is a double-headed drum which is made out of a hollowed-out tree-trunk. Its length is about 2 meters and its diameter about 50 cm.[3] The Kammu also use a shorter barrel-shaped drum. In some villages both kinds of drums are used together.[4]

Making A Prìiŋ

The respect paid to the prìiŋ is evident already in the choice of a suitable tree for its body. One demand is that the tree should be easy to work, but normally one of the sorts of tree used only by people of high rank is chosen.[5] Trees with red resin are not used because of the resemblance to blood. It is thought that a ceremony with blood-sacrifice will be held in the near future, or that such ceremonies will become more common, if such a tree is used for making a priiŋ. It would bring sickness and death to the whole village.

The tree must be in perfect condition and of perfect shape. Trees which have been struck by lightning are not used since the lightning-spirit is considered dangerous. A tree with a broken top is rejected on

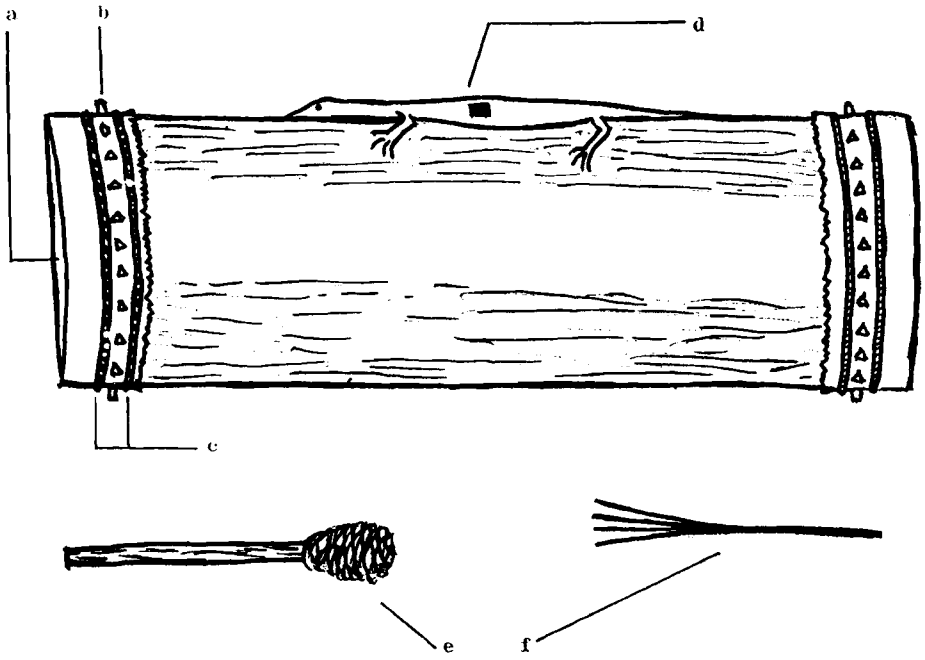


Fig. 1. Prìiŋ wàaŋ, 'long drum'
a) náa=face
b) kláŋ prìiŋ=drum pegs
c) snúk=rattan ropes
d) trkɔ́ɔt=lizard
e) trnàm=beater
f) trnàm kncréh, scraping beater

the grounds that one's family-tree likewise will be of the same shape, i.e. that the family will not be continued. A hollow tree is not used because hollowness implies emptiness; stomachs, houses, barns, handbags etc. will all become empty. The choice of an undamaged and well-shaped tree means good luck in all respects.[6]

When a proper tree has been chosen, a sacrifice is made to the spirits who own the area where it stands. The leader of the group, which may consist of about a dozen men, approaches the tree with a number of gifts that he carries on a banana-leaf. The gifts are:

8 banana-leaf cornets with a flower and a candle,
8 betel-leaves prepared as for chewing, i.e., with pieces of a special bark, pntrìik, some lime and a small nut, plé,
8 pinches of tobacco,
8 tea-leaves.

Kneeling in front of the tree he places the banana-leaf tray with these gifts on the ground and prays to the spirits.

The tree is then felled, and its trunk is hollowed out with axes and hoes. Before the sun sets the work should have advanced so far that one can see right through the log. Otherwise it is said that the prìiŋ will have " no road through it " and that its sound will be poor. In that case the unfinished drum-body is abandoned, a new tree is chosen and the work is begun all over again.

Once an opening through the log has been made within one day, the hollowing-out may be finished at a later date. Though the prìiŋ is cylindrical the bore is slightly convex, narrowing off just behind the openings where wooden pegs are driven in when the skins are fastened.

When the trunk has been barked, the figure of a lizard is carved in bas-relief on the side of the drum (fig. 1d). A hole is made through this figure for the rope by which the prìiŋ will be suspended.

The cow-hides, which are used for the skins, are soaked and scalded in hot water.[7] They are then hung up on a rack made of bamboo, and are beaten with branches of the kmrìal* plant in order to stretch them.[8] The skins are then nailed onto the drum-body with wooden pegs (fig. 1b) and tied with rattan ropes on both sides of the pegs (fig. 1c). If the prìiŋ later should happen to lose its sound, the whole drum is moistened and heated.

There are two drumsticks for a prìiŋ. One is a padded drumstick made of wood with one end wrapped in cloth (fig. 1e). The other is made of bamboo, which is cut in a whisk-like manner (fig. 1f).

The Drum-Giving

Anybody, who so wishes, can make a prìiŋ for himself. Under special circumstances a man can also receive a prìiŋ as a gift. It is one of the objects, which traditionally are given by the wife-giving group to the wife-taking group.[9]

In practice, a prìiŋ is given by a father to his son-in-law's father or to the eldest male member of the son-in-law's lineage group. This can only occur if the giver and the receiver both are wealthy enough to be considered rich, and only if the latter is old enough to be given a high rank, like Tá Pía. Only men, who have reached sixty years of age and have a prospering family, can become Tá Pía. Since it is also the wife-giving group who gives such titles, the rank-giving feast is sometimes combined with the drum-giving.[10]

* Due to an oversight " crossed i " has been mistakenly printed as " t " in Part I of this article (pp. 65–86). We apologize. The Editor.

If the wife-giving and wife-taking groups live in different villages, the prìiŋ must be carried through the forest. The people engaged in this dress themselves in hats made of palm-leaves with flowers and green leaves for decoration. Men, women and children all join in. Two men carry the prìiŋ, which is covered with a traditional blanket, and they play it all the way. Also bossed gongs and cymbals are brought along. Playing the instruments and dancing, the procession continues along the path to the other village.

The blanket, which covers the prìiŋ, is also a gift to the wife-taking group. Certain other valuable antiques are brought along as gifts: an antique earthenware jar and traditional clothing consisting of a pair of trousers, a shirt and a cloth for the hair.

A reception committee is sent out from the other village to meet the procession. The leader of the wife-taking group presents the leader of the wife-giving group with the following gifts:

8 (or 12) pairs of banana-leaf cornets with a flower and a candle,
8 (or 12) cups of wine,[11]
1 earthenware jar of water.

They pause together for a while and talk, sing and make music, before they continue together to the village. Here, those who stayed behind have prepared food and wine for the feast. The prìiŋ is carried into the common-house where it is suspended alongside one of the longer walls. The antiques are given to the eldest man of the son-in-law's lineage group, who is then dressed up in the traditional clothes.

While the giver drinks 8 (or 12) cups of wine, the prìiŋ is beaten and the receiver or a member of his lineage group sings a song in praise of the prìiŋ (ex. 6). The giver, or a good singer in his group, then sings in return. In this song it is stressed how simple the prìiŋ is and what a poor sound it has. These songs serve as an opening and during the following party much singing is done.[12]

The wife-taking group, which has received the prìiŋ and the other valuable gifts, is likely to visit its wife-giving group with return presents that roughly equal the value of the gifts. Normally the return gifts consist of one or two buffaloes. The cost of the feast and the return gifts is mainly paid for by the lineage group itself, but to some extent all the families in the village help them with the costs.

Although the prìiŋ is normally given in the way described above, exceptions are known. At least once two prìiŋ were given from a Lamet village to two Kammu villages. In this way the Lamet wanted to show their good will and keep up good relations. These two prìiŋ were made out of the same tree-trunk and were therefore called the " upper

one" and the "lower one."[13] Since the givers and the receivers were not of the same people, no marriage bonds were necessary in this case.

Ownership

Formally each prìiŋ is owned by its maker or, if it was a gift, by the person who received it. The prìiŋ are kept in the common-house of the owner's lineage group. They are suspended in a row along a longer wall of the common-house, and the drumsticks are stuck into a knot on the ropes. If there are two prìiŋ of different sizes in the same common-house, they may be called "mother and child."[14]

Each of the families which shares the same common-house, is free to use the prìiŋ there. Families which belong to a common-house where there is no prìiŋ are lent one when they need it. This is a gesture of honour on the part of those who own prìiŋ, and the family in need should not have to ask permission to borrow one.

Prìiŋ are not traded. Thus a prìiŋ has no economic value ascribed to it.[15] Although the person who receives a prìiŋ cannot exchange it for money, he is considered to have become richer. The prìiŋ increases his prestige in Kammu society. However, it hangs in the common-house to be collectively used by all those who share the same common-house and to be lent to any other villager.

People in the village remember who made each prìiŋ and to whom it was given. After a few generations, however, this knowledge may be forgotten, and if the prìiŋ is still functioning, it is then considered to be the property of the common-house and the people who use this common-house. In practice then, the prìiŋ are collectively owned and used. In consequence the cost for repairing a damaged prìiŋ is shared equally by the villagers.

The Soul of the Prìiŋ

The prìiŋ is considered to have a soul, hrmàal, just like human beings. Its pkùn, "honour, power", is as big as that of the highest ranked people in the village. The prìiŋ must be treated with all the respect that its big pkùn deserves, and it must not be misused. Since prìiŋ are only made of special trees which have good bún, "luck", each prìiŋ also has good bún.

It is not necessary to sacrifice to the prìiŋ each time it is used, but on certain occasions food is given to it. Thus a hen is sacrificed when a prìiŋ is returned to the common-house after it has been played outdoors, as sometimes happens.

No dangerous spirits are known to manifest themselves in the prìiŋ. The soul of a prìiŋ is not dangerous, but it is considered to have

the temper of a child and to be easily offended. Therefore care must be taken not to upset it.

Being a gift from the wife-giving group, each prìiŋ is of great importance for the harvests, as well as for success in hunting. The prìiŋ is explicitly said to be " the flower of rice and the flower of cotton." Possibly it is sometimes thought of as the residence of the rice-soul and the cotton-soul, but the main importance of the prìiŋ is that its sound pleases the soul it is being played for. It is played in honour of the soul in question.[16]

The presence of one or more prìiŋ in the common-houses of the village is thus important for the welfare of all the villagers. A memorate tells of a man, who in a rage damaged a prìiŋ with his jungle-knife. He had to pay a large fine and was furthermore held responsible for any failure in the village food-supply during that year. Thus the mistreatment of a prìiŋ draws punishment not only upon the wrong-doer and his family, but also upon the whole village.

Since they are kept in the common-houses where the men gather, prìiŋ are only played by men. When a prìiŋ has become so old that it cannot be repaired any more, it is taken down and laid on the floor. Later it is carried to the outskirts of the village and left there to rot. The Kammu never destroy a worn-out prìiŋ, and no part of a useless prìiŋ is ever used for any other purpose.[17]

Use and Playing Manner at the Time of Danger

Since the prìiŋ can be heard at a distance of about two hours' walk, it is an effective signalling instrument. The prìiŋ is therefore beaten when a serious *accident*, for example a fire, has occurred. It is then beaten rapidly, tám ràn, with a padded drumstick (ex. 1a–b).[18]

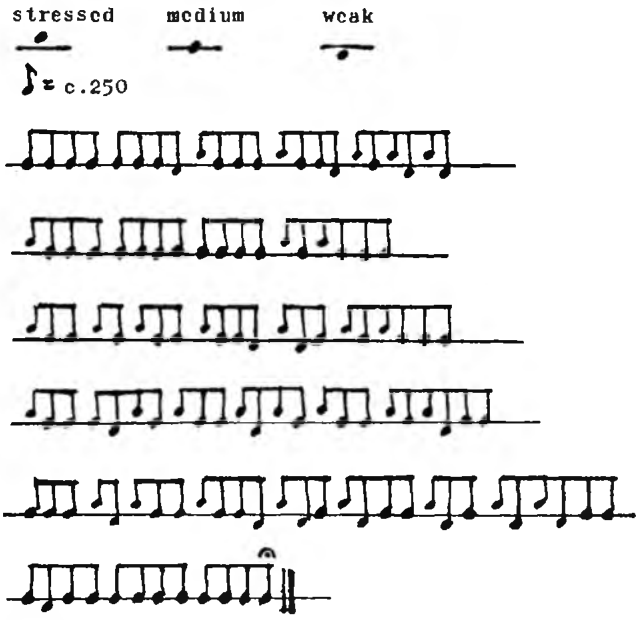
The prìiŋ is beaten in the same manner at the approach of a storm or typhoon.[19] On such occasions also the end-blown buffalo horn, túut, is blown.[20] In modern times guns are fired as well. The purpose is to call all the villagers together and to scare off all evil spirits.

Prìiŋ, túut and gunshots are also used during lunar or solar eclipses. This is in order to help the moon or the sun.[21]

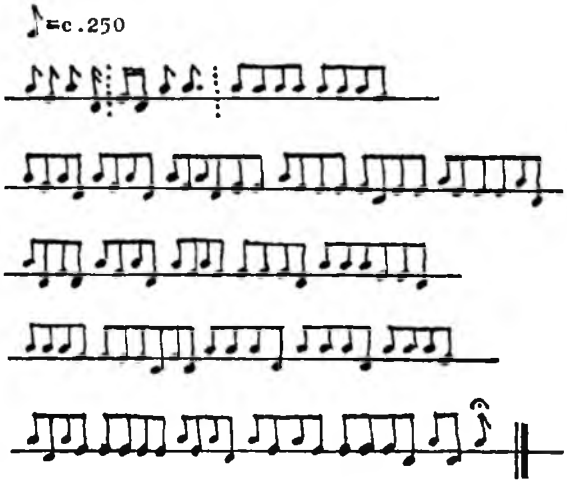
Use on Festive Occasions

Welcoming feasts are held in order to greet the soul of a person, who returns after a long time away from the village. Members of wife-giving groups are also welcomed with a feast if they live in far-away villages and seldom can pay visists. Visitors of high rank also receive welcoming feasts. The feast takes place in one of the common-houses and the prìiŋ is beaten. It is also played to greet the souls of

Ex. 1a.



Ex. 1b.



Ex. 1a-b.* Fast playing on the long wooden drum, priiŋ, at a time of danger or accident.

* All musical examples in this article and in the previous one (concerning the kettlegong) were made from recordings which were done as reconstructions. We have no field recordings of drums or kettlegongs in their real settings.

the buffaloes, when they are brought back to the village after the harvest season.

When *hunting with spear-traps* has resulted in the slaying of big game, the prìiŋ and the side-blown horn with a free reed, tpú, are sounded to greet the soul of the animal. The meat is divided between the villagers, but a part of the sirloin goes to the head of the village and another part to the prìiŋ. The piece of meat is hung on one of the pegs with which the skins are fastened. Later it will be eaten by the man in charge of the common-house.[22]

If the harvest has been good, the prìiŋ is used at the *harvest feast* at which the rice-soul is welcomed. Since such feasts are held under one of the barns, the priiŋ is taken out of the common-house and brought there.

Village ceremonies are held, at most, once a year: after sowing or before harvesting. During village ceremonies the prìiŋ are decorated with green leaves and flowers. At one time during the ceremony, which lasts for three days, the prìiŋ is played together with tuned bamboo clappers, kltɔ̀ɔŋ, in order to greet the rice-soul.[23] During the rest of the time the prìiŋ is frequently played.

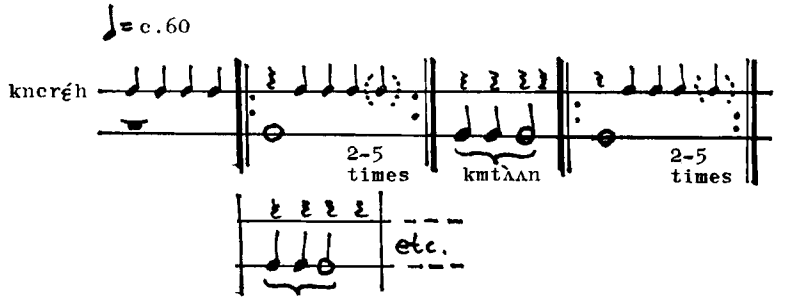
During the second or third day of a village ceremony held after the sowing, certain *rain-making rites* are performed. One of these, which takes place in the evening or night, involves a procession of men who carry one of the men and a prìiŋ all around the village. The priiŋ is beaten and bossed gongs and cymbals are also played. All this is in order to arouse the dragon spirit, róoy pryɔ̀ɔŋ, and to provoke it to make rain.[24]

Also at *feasts which take place in the common-house* and are of a more common nature, the priiŋ may be beaten. At these times it is played together with the bossed gongs and cymbals as a song accompaniment or as accompaniment to the sword dance.

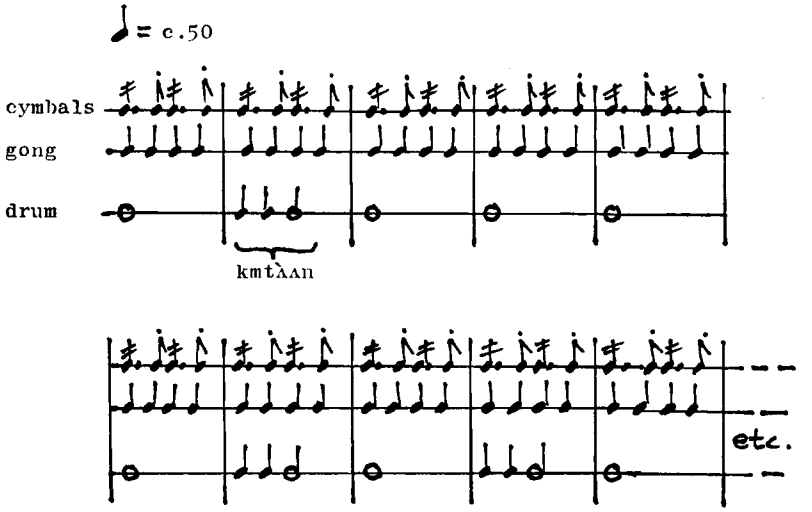
Playing Manner on Festive Occasions

On these occasions the padded drumstick is not allowed to strike the skin at a right angle, tám tàl, but tangentally, tám pát. If there is only one player, he delivers slow strokes embellished with a contrasting, sharper sound called kncréh. For this effect, he strikes the skin close to the edge with the handle of the padded drumstick (ex. 2).[25]

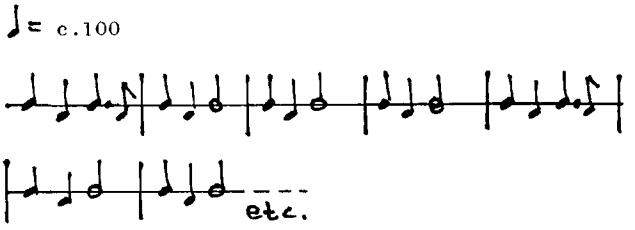
If there are two players for the same prìiŋ, both skins are used. One of the players produces slow strokes with the padded drumstick, while the second player plays the kncréh part, using a drumstick of bamboo which has been spliced in a whisk-like manner, trnàm kncréh (fig. 1f).



Ex. 2. Slow playing on the long wooden drum, prìiŋ, for festive occasions.



Ex. 3. Long wooden drum prìiŋ, played together with gong and cymbals, mòoŋ and crɛ̀ɛŋ.



Ex. 4. Drum pattern for the sword dance, for which also gong and cymblas are used.

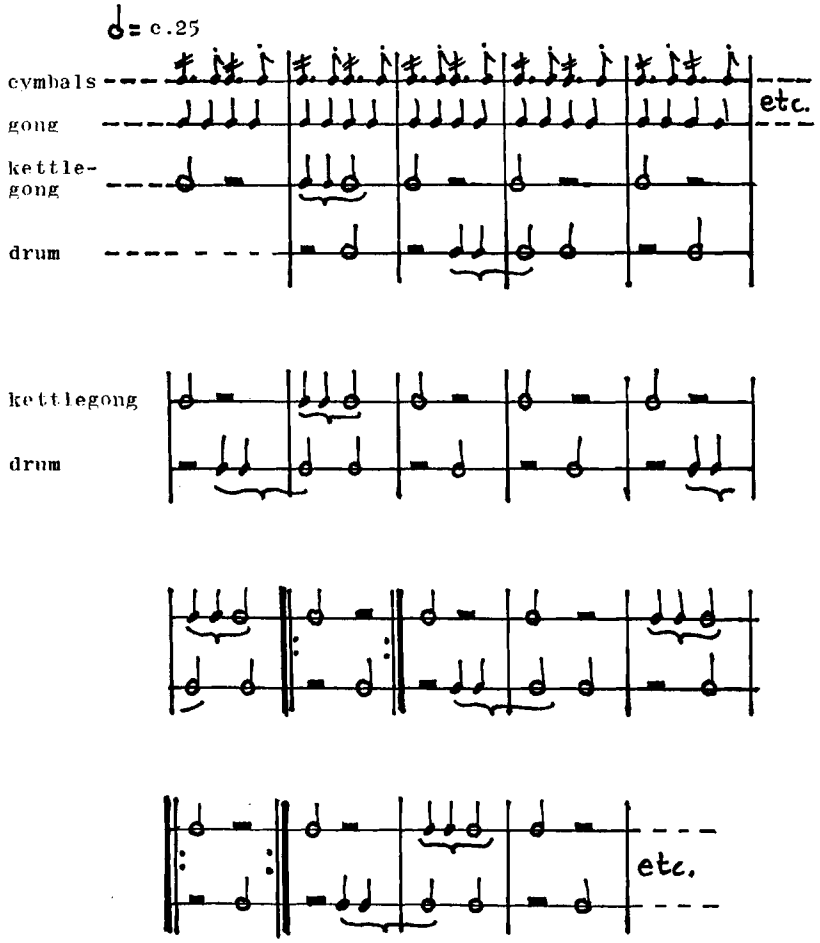
When a prìiŋ is played together with gongs and cymbals, it produces a slow and steady beat, interrupted by passages of faster strokes

called kmtàʌn (ex. 3). The patterns used for sword dances are shorter (ex. 4).

Uses Exclusively for People of High Rank

At a ***drum-giving feast*** the prìiŋ is played in the slow manner. This is also the case at ***rank-giving feasts***, which often are combined with drum-giving. In recent times rank-giving feasts have also been held for men when they became soldiers.

People who have achieved a high rank can use the prìiŋ more freely than other people. Thus prìiŋ may be played together with the kettlegongs at the *funeral* of a man of high rank. People of high rank



Ex. 5. Long wooden drum, prìiŋ, and kettlegong, yàan, played together with gong and cymbals.

may also use prìiŋ at *house-building feasts*, together with kettlegongs. On this occasion the prìiŋ may be played together with one or more kettlegongs and with bossed gongs and cymbals. In such ensembles the larger instruments (the kettlegongs and the prìiŋ) are played slowly, producing a steady beat interrupted by faster series of strokes called kmtàʌn. If there is one kettlegong and one prìiŋ they are beaten alternately (ex. 5).

Using a prìiŋ at funerals and house-building feasts means to take the prìiŋ out of the common-house. Out of respect and politeness, poor people would never think of brìnging the prìiŋ to their own house, since their pkùn is inferior to that of the prìiŋ.[26]

Other Drums

The prìiŋ klúk is a small single-headed wooden drum. Its body is somewhat conical and its bottom end is open. The skin is fastened with pegs and ropes. This drum has no ritual importance. It is kept in the common-house and used for song accompaniment.

Kammu children make small drums out of bamboo. For this drum the skin of a toad is used.

The Yùan Kammu also use drums which are manufactured by other peoples. Among these are the prìiŋ prà ' monk's drum ', which is a single-headed hour-glass shaped drum.

Slit Drums

The k'lóok is a slit-drum made of bamboo. It is about 50 cm long and has one slit. The k'lóok is kept in the common-house and is beaten with a wooden stick in order to call the villagers together for meetings. K'lóok may be suspended vertically from a branch of a tree, and struck by a horizontally suspended wooden stick. A fan attached to the lower end of the slit drum by a rope, catches the wind, which causes the slit drum to sound. Such suspended k'lóok are used to scare off wild animals from the fields.[27]

The Yùan Kammu also know of a long, wooden slit drum called krlàk, but they do not appear to use it. There are reports, however, about one krlàk in a Kammu village in the Rɔ̀ɔk area, which is supposed to have been used until recently. It is said that most people in the Yùan area know what a krlàk looks like and how it is made. It is also said that old Kammu people can tell about krlàk being used in the Yùan area several generations ago, and it is supposed to have been used and treated in the same way as the prìiŋ is nowadays.[28]

This information is supported by the fact that the Yùan Kammu consider the Rɔ̀ɔk Kammu to hang on to the older traditions longer

1 Plàaŋ	2 lmtrèem,		
Elephant-grass	tidy,		
1 plàaŋ	3 lìa yía !		
elephant-grass	long !		
3 Cìa	1 rmàaŋ,		
Generation	wealthy,		
2 èem	1 rmàaŋ !		
wife-givers	wealthy !		
4 Tmpír	5 ŋàk knŋàk	6 crì	7 ktáaŋ,
Pigeon	wag	ficus	valley
4 Tmpír	5 ŋàk knŋàk	6 crì	8 clɔ́ɔŋ !
pigeon	wag	ficus	river-bank !
5 Krlàk	4 crír, tncrír	8 tòoŋ	6 trtì,
Slitdrum	sound	part	centre,
5 Krlàk	4 crír, tncrír	7 kàaŋ	6 trtì !
slitdrum	sound	house	centre !

Translation:

How straight the elephant-grass,
How long the elephant-grass !
How rich the family,
How rich the wife-givers !
How the pigeon nods and coos in the ficus in the valley,
How the pigeon nods and coos in the ficus by the river !
How the drum resounds in the centre of the village,
How the drum resounds in the central building !

Ex. 6 : Trnɔ́əm krséeŋ prìiŋ, 'Song in praise of the drum.'

Note: The song is rhymed cross-wise. The rhymes are indicated by numerals. When sung, poetic words are inserted, but these do not alter the rhymes.

than other Kammu people. It also fits with an otherwise curious passage in the song in praise of the prìiŋ (ex. 6).

Although this song is sung when a prìiŋ is given, it has the word "krlàk" instead of "prìiŋ." The song seems to stem from a time when the Yùan Kammu used slit-drums. In that case the drumgiving-feast may also be older among the Yùan Kammu than the prìiŋ itself.

In the flood myth, however, the drum is always said to be a prìiŋ, and many versions include a motive which tells how the couple inside the drum makes a hole in the drum-skin to see if the water outside has sunk. If the prìiŋ is considered to be more recent among the Yùan Kammu than the krlàk, the flood myth must be either of the same age or younger than the prìiŋ, *or* the motive about the drum-skin has been added or changed to fit with the prìiŋ. Such an addition or change

can easily occur in a myth.

With respect to this, it is interesting to look more closely at the song in praise of the drum (ex. 6). It has a very tight rhyme structure, in fact no other Yùan Kammu song transcribed so far is anywhere near so tightly rhymed. This may be taken as an indication of great age. It is obvious that a change in wording, from krlàk to prìiŋ, would be disastrous to the intrinsic rhyme pattern. This might explain why the song in praise of the prìiŋ actually praises the krlàk.

Conclusions: The Role of Drums and Kettlegongs in the Culture of the Yùan Kammu

The long wooden drum and the kettlegong appear to be the most important musical instruments in Kammu culture. Both represent wealth—the drum culturally, the kettlegong economically—and both represent power—the drum for the village, the kettlegong for the individual lineage group. They are both used on rather few occasions of great importance. Also the playing manner is similar: they are beaten fast at a time of danger or death, and slowly on festive occasions. Yet these two instruments are seldom played together. This is a privilege only for people of high rank.

The kettlegongs are owned by the individual local lineage groups, and a family has free access to the kettlegongs owned by its group. If a spirit is angered by the misuse or mistreatment of a kettlegong, or if a kettlegong becomes cursed, the punishment or curse consequently affects only the members of the lineage group to which the kettlegong belongs. Advantages or disadvantages which stem from owning a certain type of kettlegong also concern only the members of the lineage group in question.

The wooden drums are symbolically given to the eldest member of a wife-taking group. In practice the whole village owns the drums collectively, and everyone has the right to use them. Good harvests and good success in hunting are advantages for the whole village. Misuse or mistreatment of a wooden drum may result in punishment. The punishment consists of bad harvests and bad luck in hunting, and it affects the *whole* village.

In consequence, kettlegongs are used at events which mainly concern individual families or lineage groups, whereas drums are used on occasions which concern the whole village (See table 1). This is with the exception of the people whose rank can measure with that of the drum, who are not governed by these restrictions.

Besides the religious and practical functions of drums and kettlegongs, both have important functions in the life cycle as well as in the

Table 1. Use of Drums and Gongs Among the Yuan Kammu

	Priiŋ wàaŋ long wooden drum	Yàan kettlegong and/or rpàl large gong	Mòoŋ+crɛ́ɛŋ small gong and cymbals	Other instruments	Used by v=whole village lf=lineage group and/or family	Playing manner: hot=fast cold=slow
Danger/accident	X	—	—	túut horn	v	hot
Eclipse	X	—	—	túut	v	hot
Funeral	x	X	y	—	lf	hot
Village ceremony	X	—	Y	kltɔ̀ɔŋ clappers	v	cold
Rain-making	X	—	X	—	v	cold
Drum-giving	X	—	Y	—	v/lf	cold
Rank-giving	X	—	Y	—	v/lf	cold
Welcoming feast	X	—	Y	—	v/lf	cold
Harvest feast (greeting rice-soul)	X	—	Y	—	v/lf	cold
Hunting feast (greeting soul of animal)	X	—	—	tpú horn, side-blown	v	cold
General feast in common-house	X	—	Y	priiŋ klùk drum, a.o.	lf	cold
Buffalo ceremony	x	X	X	tɔ̀ɔt flute	lf	cold
House-building feast	x	X	Y	tíiŋ stamping tubes	lf	cold
Testing when trading	—	X	(Y)	—	lf	cold

X=always, x=only used by people of high rank, Y=mainly used at the the parties accompanying ceremonies and at feast, y=brought with other valuables but not always played.

(*Note*. Gongs and cymbals are also used on several other occasions. The "other instruments" listed here are limited to those which are most typical for the occasion in question.)

year cycle. In their functions the two instruments are complementary to one another. Both are essential to the functioning of traditional Kammu society.

During the last decades, Kammu culture has been steadily changing and it is possible that the contents of this article and the previous one are mere history for most Kammu people. There are Kammu

villages in which drum-giving feasts have not occurred for many years, and in many villages there are no kettlegongs any longer. Other changes in the musical culture involve, for example, the making of drums from oil barrels. It is at present not possible to estimate how far-reaching these changes are. There may, however, still be villages in which life follows the traditional patterns.

NOTES

1. See *AFS* 40: 65–86, and footnote no. 1.

2. Quoted from Lindell, Swahn and Tayanin 1976. For other Kammu versions of the flood myth see Roux 1927 and Ferlus 1972. Two Lamet versions are given by Izikowitz 1951: 22 and 1944: 48 (perhaps these are two translations of the same version).

3. The Lawa drums measured by Kauffmann (1972) were of the same average size, but there was much variation. This is probably also the case among the Yùan Kammu. The Wa word kriŋ and similar Lawa names for drum is the only word found so far that might have a relationship with the prìiŋ of the Kammu, cf. Diffloth 1980: 131.

4. See illustration in Izikowitz 1951: 70. This drum comes from the Lamet, who live close to the Yùan Kammu. Also on this drum the skins are fastened as in fig. 1.

5. Such trees are the ones called *mɔ̀ɔm*, *stú* and *màa*, which we have not been able to identify.

6. The trees that the Wa choose for their slit drums must not have broken boughs and should be of perfect shape. Cf. Ōbayashi 1966: 77.

7. Kauffmann 1972: 285, stresses that buffalo hide is never used for drumskins by the Lawa. The same is true for the Yùan Kammu.

8. The process of stretching and fastening the skins is the same as among the Lamet. This is described in detail by Izikowitz 1951: 161 ff.

9. See Lindell, Samuelsson and Tayanin 1979 for social organization among the Yùan Kammu. Other musical instruments given in the same manner are described in Lundström and Tayanin 1981.

10. The rank Tá Pía corresponds to Lem in Lamet society. Cf. Izikowitz 1951: 116 ff.

11. These gifts are always arranged in pairs. The higher the number, the greater the respect shown.

12. Similar exchange of songs occurs on several other occasions, cf. Lundström and Tayanin 1981 concerning decorated scarecrows.

13. *Tè túal* and *tè túut* respectively.

14. Among the Wa there are usually two drums (slitdrums) lying side by side (Ōbayashi 1966: 73). Among the Lawa, up to four drums were found lying beside each other. If there were two of different sizes, they were called husband and wife (Kauffmann 1972). Unlike the Wa and Lawa the Yùan Kammu have no special drum-houses and they keep the drums suspended as long as they are in use. Perhaps this is also the case among the Lawa for the drums mentioned by Kauffmann appear not to have been in use for some time.

15. Drums made by other peoples than Kammu are traded, however.

16. For the rice-soul among the Yùan Kammu see Lundström and Tayanin 1981.

17. Similarly, the Wa do not destroy bad slit drums, but leave them outside to rot (Õbayashi 1966: 81).

18. Its effect is mentioned in a Kammu story in Lindell, Swahn and Tayanin 1980: 59 ff.

19. The Lamet play the drum during thunderstorms (Izikowitz 1944: 64).

20. Kammu horns are described in Lundström and Tayanin 1981. Drum and horn is a common combination among the peoples of Southeast Asia. The Wa used them in war (Õbayashi 1966: 85).

21. Noise-making at eclipses is mentioned for the Sõ people by Kania 1969: 102.

22. For hunting rites among the Yùan Kammu see Lindell and Tayanin 1978 and among the Lamet see Izikowitz 1951: 78, 197.

23. See Lundström and Tayanin 1978 for klt͡ɔŋ. The use of drums for village ceremonies is mentioned for the Lamet by Izikowitz 1951: 78, and for the Lawa (slit drums) by Kauffmann 1972: 286.

24. See further Lundström and Tayaṇin 1981.

25. This is similar to the "cold" playing of the kettlegong.

26. In many societies drums are beaten at funerals. Among the Yùan Kammu the kettlegong is the primary instrument at funerals and commoners cannot use drums.

27. There is a drawing of a suspended k'lóok in Lundström and Tayanin 1981.

28. The use of slit drums among the Kawa is similar to that of the prìŋ among the Yùan Kammu, cf. Õbayashi 1966. For the Kammu, however, there is nothing to suggest a relationship between drums and head-hunting practices.

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