A unique work but of interest to many musicologists

Today, the Kammu are an upland people mainly found in Laos, Yunnan, Thailand, Burma and Vietnam. This people – who have retained their orally based culture through to the present day – provide an example of complex sung poetry that has seldom been studied in detail.

What this volume offers is an ethnomusicological presentation of one person’s vocal performance of rather highly varied sets of words in different manners of performance, and the use of these competences in communication with other singers. This orally transmitted form of singing is unique to the Kammu but is related to a much larger complex in Southeast Asia. It will thus be of interest to a wide group of musicologists.

Håkan Lundström has a long experience in teaching music and society, particularly ethnomusicology, folk music, world music and popular music. Currently, he is Dean of the Malmö Faculty of Fine and Performing Arts, Lund University, Sweden. His book, Kammu Songs (co-authored with Damrong Tayanin, and also published by NIAS Press), is a companion work to this volume.
I WILL SEND MY SONG
By the same author

*Kammu Songs. The Songs of Kam Raw*
Håkan Lundström and Damrong Tayanin

Other books on the Kammu world published by NIAS Press

*Folk Tales from Kammu – I: A Kammu Story Listener’s Tales*
Kristina Lindell et al.

*Folk Tales from Kammu – II: A Story-Teller’s Tales from Thailand and Laos*
Kristina Lindell et al.

*Folk Tales from Kammu – III: Pearls of Kammu Literature*
Kristina Lindell et al.

*Folk Tales From Kammu – IV: A Master-Teller’s Tales*
Kristina Lindell et al.

*Folk Tales from Kammu – V: A Young Story-Teller’s Tales*
Kristina Lindell et al.

*Folk Tales from Kammu – VI: A Teller’s Last Tales*
Kristina Lindell et al.

*The Kammu Year*
Kristina Lindell et al.

*Hunting and Fishing in a Kammu Village*
Damrong Tayanin & Kristina Lindell
I WILL SEND MY SONG

KAMMU VOCAL GENRES
IN THE SINGING OF KAM RAW

Håkan Lundström
To Kayo
I will send my song...
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**Music transcriptions:** Appendix 5 203

In addition: 68 examples, figures and tables
Many years have now passed since Dr Kristina Lindell at Lund University, Sweden, first introduced me to Kam Raw and her research project on Kammu language and culture. At one time she also let me listen to a few recordings of Kammu songs. They sounded different to me from anything I had heard before. After that Kam Raw and I worked together with recorded songs, talked about their meaning and how they were used. I started to make music transcriptions, but there were things that I couldn’t understand particularly concerning their form and varying lengths. It soon became clear that there were some basic principles in the singing that I needed to sort out if I wanted to make meaningful transcriptions and analysis. It was also evident that this would need a large material and it took many years to get the material and to analyse it. In the meantime our work focussed on Kammu musical instruments and their uses and functions.

This book, which also became my PhD thesis in musicology is the result of this longdrawn process. It was the research environment including Kam Raw, Dr. Kristina Lindell and linguist Professor Jan-Olof Svantesson, that provided the setting for the work and we have cooperated regularly. It also provided the system of transliteration of the Kammu language that is used in this book.

Needless to say, this could not have been achieved without the long-term support provided by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation, who also supported the printing of this book, the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences and the Crafoord Foundation.
KAMMU PRONUNCIATION

a
Like German ‘Stadt’
e
Like English ‘bait’
ə
Like English ‘the’
ɛ
Like English ‘bet’
i
Like English ‘bit’
i
Somewhat like English ‘soot’ but unrounded
ɔ
Like English ‘boat’
ɔ̃
Like English ‘hot’
ʌ
Like English ‘cut’
u
Like English ‘boot’

c
Like English ‘check’
ñ
Like English ‘new’
ŋ
Like English ‘song’
r
Like Italian ‘r’
y
Like English ‘you’

/glottal stop/

Long vowels:
Long vowels are indicated by double letters, for example:

œœ
Like English ‘hurt’
œ
Like English ‘the’
ii
Like English ‘beat’
ι
Like English ‘bit’

Word tones:

‘
High word tone
`
Low word tone

Minor syllables:
Certain consonant combinations at the beginning of words are pronounced with a
short ‘ə’ after one of the consonants, such as hrh (pronounced ħrh) or trnəm
(pronounced tRNEM). These so called schwa vowels are almost inaudible in
speech but often clearly audible in singing. They are therefore written out only in
words given in combination with musical transcriptions.
SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

In word-for-word translations, the translation is placed below the Kammu words. When plants and animals cannot be given their scientific names the words are only translated by the category ‘tree’, ‘plant’, ‘bird’ etc. given in italics. The same goes for categories like ‘name’, ‘title’, ‘measure’ etc. Apart from this the following signs are used:

0 meaning unknown,
[?] meaning uncertain,
[] (in Kammu text:) inaudible, obvious mistake,
[] (in English text:) explanation,
Alt. alternative words or lines of a transcription are given immediately after the interpretation,
clf classifier,
exp expressive (the word in question expresses a certain quality such as how something looks, sounds or feels),
exp beat expresses how one beats,
exp look expresses how something looks,
exp sound expresses how something sounds,
here special use,
n noun,
p particle,
pro pronoun,
v verb,
V, var variation.

Code numbers of songs: Code in the right-hand column, for example ‘7c1’.

Code numbers of lines: Code in the right-hand column, for example ‘2b1’, referring to the model in Example 35.
A DEPARTURE

A number of people are gathered in a house in Lampang in northern Thailand on 19 July 1974. Among the people is a man in his mid-30s who comes from Laos and belongs to the ethnic group called Kammu. Very soon he will leave this place and go half-way around the world to Sweden. What he certainly doesn’t know is that more than thirty years later he will still be there. His name is Kam Raw, but he is also known by his Thai name, Damrong Tayanin.

This is a farewell party in the Lampang Field Station of the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies. It also happens to be a birthday party for Kristina Lindell, Swedish field-linguist who will accompany Kam to Sweden. She turns the tape recorder on and documents the party. There are other Scandinavian, Thai and Kammu people there – among the latter a young girl whose name is Nàaŋ. When the singing has been going on for a while Nàaŋ takes over and, tears streaming down her cheeks, sings:

Oh, heey!
I say, you shot birds and threaded up squirrels
in the land of Laos.
You shot birds and threaded up squirrels in the city of Lœ≥œ….
I say, you will go into an airplane and be a master
in a foreign country,
Oh, a father in a foreign country.

Be careful to remember the fig tree by the water.
Be careful to remember the fig tree on the ground,
Oh, I say, if you go into the airplane,
Be careful to remember your dear back here, dear friend.
Be careful to remember your friend back here, dear friend.
Oh my dear, oh my friend.
We are cowpea cluster and lhée straw.
Be careful to remember your dear back here.
We are brother and sister.
Be careful to remember your dear back here.
We are brother and sister...

The singing gradually turns into weeping. Then Kam sings in reply:

Heeey, I say,
Don’t think that way!
Oh, we are bound tightly like a cross-bow.
Don’t think like that!
Oh, we are bound tightly like a snare-trap.
Heeey,
Don’t think that way!
Oh, we are forever good friends.
Don’t talk like that!
Oh, we are forever true friends.

Heey, don’t be a fig tree!
Oh, we are bound tightly like a torch.
Oh, we are bound tightly like a snare-trap.
Don’t talk like that!
We are good old friends, true old friends.

[Recording tracks 1–2]

If you could have asked Kam what this was, he would have answered that this is tāŋ, a Kammu way of singing. And if you asked what they sang about, he would perhaps have explained that Nānq sang that she was sad because he was parting and asked him not to forget her, his people and his native place, and that he himself sang that she should not be sad and not worry, that he would always remember.

This kind of singing is the subject of this book.

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1 Full word-for-word translation in Lundström and Tayanin 2006: 231–234.
1. INTRODUCTION

Research subject and aim
This is a study of the singing of one man, or – to be more precise – of a particular part of his repertoire. This man is Kam Raw, who was born about 1938 in a rice-farming mountain village of the ethnic minority Kammu in northern Laos and who since the mid-1970s has been living in Sweden. He represents the culture of his native village but also the crossing of geographical and cultural borders. In a sense he has travelled from a childhood in an oral tradition into an adult life in the computer age.

I met Kam Raw in Sweden. Our reasons for meeting were coincidental, but closely related to his own cultural background and to my interest in ethnomusicology and the part of the world where he came from. We may first have met at a party at the Institute of East Asian Languages at Lund University. At that time I heard a tape recording of another Kammu singer’s performance and was intrigued by the fact that I could not really make sense out of what I heard.

I had two reasons for choosing Kam Raw’s singing as the subject for a study. One was practical: several factors made it next to impossible to conduct field work in northern Laos at the time, but an on-going research project in Lund would provide good opportunities for study. The other reason was qualitative: Kam Raw turned out to be a person who took his musical tradition seriously, who was equipped with a good memory and who was eager to pass on his knowledge at the same time as he skilfully balanced his culturally rather complex situation. Above all he understood what I was searching for and proved to be equipped with enough patience to give me the time I needed to become sure that his singing made sense to me. These circumstances made me pursue our collaboration and seek ways of finding answers to my questions with Kam Raw as the main source.

This study was made in order to reach an understanding of one person’s way of vocally performing rather highly varied sets of words, handling a repertoire of different performance manners and of using these competences in communication with other singers. Another object has been to provide a documentation of this vocal repertoire, including the development of a practical and relevant method of transliteration of the words which would permit the results to be used by Kammu-speaking people.

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2 The work leading to this book has in essential parts been supported by The Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences and The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation.
The Kammu Language and Folklore Project

The Kammu Language and Folklore Project was based at the Institute of East Asian Languages at Lund University, Sweden and was founded by Dr Kristina Lindell who has been the leader of the project since its start in 1972. At that time she had spent a year in Thailand at the Lampang Field Station run by the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen. She had conducted research in the Kammu language and also made recordings which included a large body of tales and songs. This material was later enlarged during several field trips made by her and by other members of the project. The Kammu people can briefly be described as follows:

Most of the people of the ethnic minority called Kammu live in northern Laos where Kam Raw grew up. There they are the largest single minority. In Laos their number is probably at least 500,000. There are also about 18,000 Kammu in northern Vietnam, about 1,600 in Sipsong Panna (Xishuang Banna) in Yunnan province, southern China, and a small population in northern Myanmar (Burma) close to the Laotian border. The Kammu population in northern Thailand has been estimated as 4,000, but the true figure is likely to be tens of thousands. These figures are not very reliable but suffice to give an indication of the size of the Kammu population. It is generally supposed that there are many more than these figures indicate.

Apparantely the Kammu people have lived in Sipsong Panna and in northern Laos for a considerable time, probably since before the arrival of the Tai peoples who were the ancestors of today’s majority people in Laos and Thailand. During the Tai migration, which occurred roughly one thousand years ago, the Kammu were probably driven southwards and up into the mountains.

The word Kammu, which means ‘human being’, is what the Kammu people call themselves. The spelling Kammu has been adopted within the Kammu Language and Folklore Project, as a readable modification of the strict transcription which is ‘Kmmú’. Several other transcriptions are in use – most commonly ‘Kmhmu’ and ‘Khmu’ – depending on different scholarly traditions and differences between various dialects of the Kammu language. In the older literature the Kammu are often referred to as ‘Kha’, meaning ‘slaves’, which was a common Lao designation for various minority peoples. In modern Laos the Kammu

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3 Concerning the Lampang Field Station see Egerod and Sørensen 1976.
4 Concerning this and related projects and their funding see Lindell 1979 and Lindell et al. 1984b. For a fuller account see Lundström and Svantesson (eds) 2005.
5 For the sources of these figures see Svantesson 1983, which is also the main source for the linguistic and historic background given in this paragraph.
are included in the category ‘Lao thoeng’, ‘Uphill Lao’, a term which also includes other minority peoples.

The Kammuic languages constitute a branch of the Mon-Khmer languages which in turn are classified as Austro-Asiatic languages. The Kammu dialect spoken in Kam Raw’s home area Yùan is a tone language with a high (’) and a low (`) word tone, whereas certain other Kammu dialects do not have tones. Traditionally the Kammu do not have a written language. The transcription method employed in the present study is the one developed within the Kammu Language and Folklore Project.⁶

The Kammu traditionally divide themselves into groups related to geographic divisions which seem to coincide with differences in dialects and perhaps also in other cultural traits. These are called tmɔ́ɔy, here referred to as ‘areas’. This study is primarily concerned with Kam Raw’s native area: the Yùan area which is located to the north of the Nam Tha river that connects the city of Luang Namtha with the Mekong (see Map 1). Kam Raw also knows vocal styles of some neighbouring Kammu areas, namely the Kwɛ̀ɛn, Cwàa (also called Lɨ̀ɨ) and Ùu areas (see Map 1).⁷ Other areas that will be briefly mentioned are the Rɔ̀ɔk and Krɔ́ɔŋ areas. There will also be reason to consider the Rmèet area which is populated by another Mon-Khmer-speaking people called Lamet (or Rmèet).

At about 1975–76 in addition to Dr Lindell the project included the linguist Prof Jan-Olof Svantesson and the research assistant Damrong Tayanin (Kam Raw’s Thai name). The stress of the research was on linguistics, phonetics and oral traditions but the social and religious fields were also included. I came in contact with the project in about 1976 as a graduate student in musicology with an interest in East Asian music. From this time on I worked regularly with the recordings and with Kam Raw. From 1980 through 1984 I was a regular part-time member of the Kammu Language and Folklore Project and thus music became a branch of its own within it. Since then this project has been succeeded by other projects, but the core of the original Kammu Language and Folklore Project still exists and the researchers still keep up their co-operation in different constellations. One major achievement has been the

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⁶ For word tones see Gandour et al. 1975; Gårding and Lindell 1977 and for transcription see Svantesson 1983. Actually both words in Kam Raw’s name have a low tone (Kàm Ràw) but for practical reasons they will here be written without tone.

⁷ The concept tmɔ́ɔy has been studied by Évrard 2007, who finds that it does not necessarily coincide with geographic areas, but seems to do so among Kammu in the part of northern Laos relevant to Kam Raw’s birth place. It will be used throughout this study as a designation for dialect areas related to geographic location.
construction of a writing system for the Kammu language using both phonetic letters and Lao letters, the production of a Kammu–Lao dictionary, a forthcoming Kammu–English dictionary, and the teaching of the writing system to Kammu people. Up to now no fewer than six volumes of tales have been published. All motifs are stored in a computer-based motif index.

The main branches of research within the project – language, oral traditions and music – are closely interrelated. They serve each other where both questions of methodology and formulation of problems are concerned. The linguistic branch has provided excellent possibilities with regard to music terminology and to song texts. The folkloric branch has provided information concerning ethno-history and matters relating to uses and functions of the music. It has thus been possible to study Kam Raw’s musical experience in relation to other aspects of Kammu culture in close co-operation with a team of researchers. It has been especially important to work in continuous dialogue with three leading experts on northern Kammu dialects: Lindell, Svantesson and, of course, Kam Raw himself.

The studies made within the Kammu Language and Folklore Project by myself alone or in co-operation with Kam Raw/Damrong Tayanin deal with music related to the farming year, with gongs and drums, singing and music terminology. The study of musical instruments and their uses has added to the understanding of the religious and social life of the Yùan Kammu, while the study of song texts has provided words and other linguistic evidence. The poetics of Kammu singing was first encountered in connection with the study of music during the farming year and a study of drums and was further developed in two articles.

Studies of Kammu music
References to Kammu music are interspersed in a few ethnographic articles and in travel accounts from the decades around 1900. The writers of this period were predominantly French. Of these references and a few later works actually only those by Gaston Knosp and Georges de Gironcourt are musicological studies.

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8 Svantesson et al. 1994 and forthcoming.
13 As far as the music of Laotian minorities is concerned, Knosp 1913 is more or less a summary of Lefèvre-Pontalis 1896 and 1902 and one of Lefèvre-Pontalis’s illustrations is incompletely reproduced there (cf. Lundström and Tayanin 2004).
The others have other main subjects and the musical information offered in them varies from general comments to rather detailed descriptions. Of those authors Karl Gustav Izikowitz had a background in musicology. Though they were not musicologists A. Raquez and Hugo Bernatzik seem, to judge from their writings, to have had a particular interest in music.

Map 1. Map of north-western Laos showing the Kammu areas mentioned in the text and also the Rmēet area. The thick line is the Mekong River. South of Huayxay, the river Nam Tha leads up to the east side of the Yùan area. The rectangle enclosing the Yùan area is enlarged in Map 2 (Chapter 2) (after Santesson et al. forthcoming).
Because the backgrounds and interests of these authors were so diversified it is difficult to evaluate the reliability of their writings. Another characteristic of the early references is that they mainly concern Kammu people living in the vicinity of Luang Phrabang in Laos. One exception is Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis, who wrote about Kammu of the Nam Tha area close to the Chinese border and quite close to the Yùan area, which is of special relevance to the present study. Lefèvre-Pontalis was rather exact in reporting the names of various ethnic groups of people. In many other cases terms like ‘Kha’ are used which are difficult and sometimes impossible to interpret. In total this early material adds up to some 25 pages. Scanty as it may seem this literature nevertheless contains very important information that helps in checking the reliability of information obtained through interviews with Kam Raw and at the same time sheds some light on questions of stability and change in Kammu music culture.

One early record of Kammu singing was published by Lefèvre-Pontalis in the form of a translation of the words sung in alternation between a boy and a girl. Lefèvre-Pontalis included the translation in a collection of songs from several peoples in Laos, unfortunately without musical transcription and without a description of the actual performance situation. The song is said to stem from ‘Kha’ people in the area of Nam Tha. Close to it is a drawing of ‘Kha’ customs. There are also some other drawings in a similar style.

Another publication includes drawings in the same style and are here specified to depict ‘Khas Mouk’. These drawings are said to be of Laotian origin. Lefèvre-Pontalis states that they were made on his initiative by a Laotian monk whose name is not given. One of them shows a pig being slaughtered and women carrying bamboo water containers. A number of men assembled around a wine jar are sipping wine through straws. One person, who apparently had a little too much, is vomiting. Another man is refilling the jar by means of a measure made from horn. Other drawings show a bronze drum and bamboo tubes shaped like the concussion tubes called kltɔ̀ɔŋ in Kammu. The name ‘Khas Mouk’ and the gathering around the wine jar in combination with these particular musical instruments indicate that this and some of the other pictures are likely to depict Kammu people and probably are slightly caricatured representations of Kammu practices.

Some 30 years later Henri Roux and Tran Van Chu witnessed a ceremony in a ‘Khmu’ village. It took place at the time before the forest was to be burnt in order to

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15 Lefèvre-Pontalis 1902: 56.
16 Such containers are called tìiŋ in Kammu and were also used for stamping tubes at house-building feasts, cf Lundström and Tayanin 1978: 65.
17 There is a Kammu song pertaining to the custom of refilling the wine jar with water which was sung at death wakes, the pɛ̀ɛŋ kròoŋ ‘fortune by horns of wine’. This song belongs to a category of ceremonial songs different from the category under study here (cf Chapter 2).
make fields. Bronze drums, gongs and cymbals were used for the rituals. Afterwards one group of boys and one group of girls sang in alternation. The words of their singing were transcribed in the original language with the following comment: ‘I have in vain tried to learn the meaning of these two songs. Oddly enough everybody knows them by heart and no one can explain them. Could it be a foreign language or an ancient form of today’s Kammu which now has become incomprehensible?’

The information seems to have been collected not far from Luang Phrabang in Laos. There is no reason to doubt that the article by Roux and Tran really concern Kammu. Actually Kam Raw understands about half of the transcribed performance and he knows the song that it was built on. This can therefore safely be identified as Kammu singing. The parts that Kam Raw does not understand could stem from a different trnœm unknown to him or could be embellishment words in a local dialect. A full translation has been suggested by Frank Proschan.

The gathering around a communal wine jar was – and in many places still is – the common Kammu way of feasting and also of several other peoples in Southeast Asia. It was also an important singing situation in Kammu tradition. Using the general term ‘Kha’ for Laotian minorities, Noel Bernard mentions their bronze drums and also makes the following remark concerning the singing: ‘It occupies quite a subordinate position among the artistic manifestations of the Kha.’

In his study of Southeast Asian music Georges de Gironcourt mentions the ‘Kha’ of Laos in connection with bronze drums and with singing: ‘The singing of the jar is limited to the ‘tribal’ phrase, often short and monotonous. In no way do they re-echo the magnificent and important ensembles, choirs and drums...’ Most likely ‘Kha’ is here used as a general term for the minorities in Laos and does not specifically refer to the Kammu. However, it does not exclude the Kammu. The statement that the singing at the wine jar employed only one melody which was typical for the village and was repeated over and over covers the Kammu practice very well – as well as that of many other minorities.

De Gironcourt, who referred to his research as ‘geographie musicale’, mainly took an interest in musical instruments and in musical scales. His approach was descriptive and comparative. Generally speaking, early ethnomusicologists as well as

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18 Roux and Tran 1927: 197. This is my own translation from the French. The original goes: ‘J’ai essayé en vain de connaître le sens de ces deux chansons. Chose étrange, tout le monde les connaît par cœur et personne ne peut les expliquer. Serait-ce une langue étrangère ou une forme ancienne du khmu actuel, devenue aujourd’hui incompréhensible?’
19 10a5 in Appendix 2.
21 Bernard 1904: 387. This is my own translation from the French. The original goes: ‘Il tient une place très secondaire dans les manifestations artistiques des Khâs’.
22 De Gironcourt 1942: 46. This is my own translation from the French. The original goes: ‘Le chant de la jarre se limite à la phrase ‘tribale’, souvent courte et monotone. Nulle part ne retentissent les magnifiques et importants ensembles, chœurs et tamtams’.
ethnographers writing about music were quite preoccupied by organology. To many of them music built on extensive repetition was above all a sign of the primitive and, since it appeared to be monotonous, consequently also of less importance. This is one reason why the singing of the minorities was not much cared for but considered rather artless and uninteresting. For these scholars the study of singing served as the means for providing notations from which scales could be deduced which then could be used for comparative ends within an evolutional frame. It must also be taken into account that the earliest writers on the minority peoples in Southeast Asia were the first pioneers into virtually unknown areas. As was already mentioned they had very different backgrounds, so the quality of their descriptions and comments on music naturally depends on their personal interests. In most cases language must have been a major obstacle. Working with untrained translators – in some cases even via one or more intermediary languages – it is no wonder that they could not decipher traditional singing filled with poetical words which even the singers themselves might find hard to understand and also failed to discover the existence of differing concepts of song and singing.

The more recent literature on Kammu music consists of references in an article concerning the Kammu in Vietnam by Nghiem Van Dang and an article devoted to the musical instruments of the Kammu in Sipsong Panna published in China by Li Daoyong and Yuan Bingchang. The latter is the only one of the studies mentioned so far that has Kammu music as its main subject. Recent research in the USA has resulted in a thesis by Proschan concerning *Kmhm Verbal Art in America* in which one chapter is devoted to the poetics of Kammu singing and another to Jew’s harp love dialogues. Proschan does not consider the musical aspects of tđom. On the other hand his analysis of its verbal aspects offers the best comparative material published so far and his attempt to put Kammu culture as a whole in a wider Southeast Asian perspective provides useful information. Proschan discusses stanzas from love dialogues and draws parallels to other Southeast Asian cultures and to ancient Chinese songs. He also studies a long performance sung by a woman who now lives in the USA. Though he has recorded some singers from northern Thailand most of them evidently came from the areas east of the Nam Tha River. Some of these singing styles differ in several respects from those under study here.

A number of recordings made by Michel Ferlus among Kammu close to Luang Phrabang has kindly been made available to the Kammu research project. There are

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24 Li and Yuan 1981 and 1983.
28 At this point I want to point out an error in Lundström and Tayanin 1978. On page 154 the two Kammu songs on the accompanying record are said to come from the Ferlus collection.
two recordings from the same area on a long-playing record produced by Jacques Brunet. 29  Proschan has made copies of recently recorded Kammu music in different localities in Southeast Asia accessible to me and some of his recordings have been collected on a CD. 30  Li Daoyong of the Central University for Minorities in Beijing has introduced me to recordings made by him and other researchers at the Nationality Institutes of Beijing and Kunming. These recordings contain examples of the singing of several other minorities in Sipsong Panna, including Mon-Khmer groups like Lawa and Wa. There are also a few Kammu recordings in this material. 31  Recordings of minority music in Sipsong Panna made by Professor Zhang Xingrong, Yunnan Art Institute, Kunming, that have appeared on CD contain three Kammu (‘Kemu’) performances similar in style to the above-mentioned Chinese recordings. 32  There is Kammu material at the Vietnamese Institute of Musicology in Hanoi. In Vietnam I have also since 2006 had the opportunity to take part in the documentation of music in the Kammu village Muong Phang as well as music of other minorities elsewhere. Some commercial recordings of minority peoples in Southeast Asia do exist, but not very much on Mon-Khmer-speaking peoples.

Studies of particular methodological interest
Much of the recent experimentation and theoretical development in ethnomusicology has actually been done in connection with the study of vocal music. In Tiv Song Charles Keil dealt with the problems of collecting information and of interpreting underlying symbolic patterns. 33  Symbolism and the understanding of categories through language are important issues in Steven Feld’s Sound and Sentiment. 34  Feld worked with a limited number of informants whom he did not present as an anonymous collective but who stand out as individuals in the study. Also Judith Vander placed the individuals in the foreground in her study Song-Prints. The Musical Experience of Five Shoshone Women. 35  Questions of translation and cultural
categories were central to Regina Harrison in *Signs, Songs, and Memory in the Andes.* In *Why Suyá Sing* Anthony Seeger exploited a technique of presentation in which he alternated between present and past tense for certain portions of the text, and he discussed questions concerning description and analysis of the creative aspect of musical situations. The theoretical and methodological issues raised in these studies point toward a reorientation of ethnomusicological research that parallels that of anthropology as characterized by George E. Marcus and Michael M.J. Fischer in *Anthropology as Cultural Critique.* These perspectives will be returned to in connection with the methodological considerations below.

There is a rather extensive research concerning vocal expressions with regard to ethno-poetry and to the relationship between language and music. Studies concerning formulae and the simultaneous variation of words and music are of particular relevance for the present study. The theory proposed by Albert Lord in *The Singer of Tales* was based on fieldwork carried out by him and his teacher Milman Parry among epic singers in Yugoslavia in the 1930s with the intention of explaining Homeric poetry as orally transmitted epic poetry. The view on composition in performance is essential to this theory: ‘Oral epics are performed orally, it is true, but so can any other poem be performed orally. What is important is not the oral performance but rather the composition *during* oral performance...’

According to the oral-formulaic theory composition during performance was made possible by means of sets of formulae which the singer could use as stock phrases or as a base for inventing new formulaic phrases. While the theory has put Homeric poetry in a new light, it has also been criticized for generalizing from one epic tradition that in many respects is very specific and also for exaggerating the difference between oral and written poetry. Studies of composition of oral poetry and its relation to performance have shown that strict application of the theory to other cultures or genres is not unproblematic. Thus Ruth Finnegan stresses the existence in Pacific oral forms of a ‘variety of modes of composition’ as shown among others by Feld concerning Kaluli latents. While most of this debate has taken place in the field sometimes called ‘verbal art’, the oral-formulaic approach has also been used in connection with music. Schimmelpenninck handles musical formulae in a manner rather close to Lord and demands ‘a clear structural framework in which they are inserted in specific places’, whereas Lars Lilliestam defines musical formula as ‘a

36 Harrison 1989.
37 Seeger 1987. These techniques of presentation are also mentioned in Seeger 1991: 352.
38 Marcus and Fischer 1986.
40 Lord 1960: 5.
characteristic musical motif or pattern...' 43 In the present study the term formula will be used in both senses: it will be used in the former sense in the case of initial and final formulae of songs and in the latter and more general sense in other cases.

This focus on questions of composition in performance has led to an emphasis on the creative qualities of such oral forms and to an increased interest in the actual situation of performance. Finnegan discusses the drawbacks of what she calls the ‘text-based paradigm of oral literature’ and states that: ‘...the text alone is an insufficient guide to the art form [i.e. ‘verbal oral performance’], and... to understand it fully one must go further and also study the processes of performance and audience reception as they actually take place in space and time.’ 44

Among the studies on the musics of the majority peoples in Southeast Asian countries some are immediately relevant to the present. These are Nguyen Van Huyen on Vietnamese singing traditions, 45 Carol Compton’s Courting Poetry in Laos 46 and Terry E. Miller on Laotian lam. 47

A number of studies concerning minority peoples in Southeast Asia other than the Kammu provide useful comparative material. There are a few general studies in the form of articles. Among these are the report from a study of music in Indo-China by Gaston Knosp, 48 La musique des protomalais by Paul Collaer 49 and The music of the hilltribes in northern Thailand by Hans Oesch. 50

Articles on the music of particular ethnic groups living in the vicinity of the Kammu people in Laos and/or speaking related languages include those on Hmong, Karen, Jeh, Rengao, Lawa, Jarai, Bahnar, and Wa. 51 Some are rather general presentations of music traditions whereas others specialize in one particular aspect of a music culture. Among the larger studies is Hans Peter Larsen’s on Lisu. 52 The major collection of song texts is David Crockett Graham’s Songs and Stories of the Ch’uan Miao. 53 Also the extensive studies by Murray Barnson Emeneau on singing of the Toda in India are of very high relevance for the present study. 54

44 Finnegan 1986: 74.
45 Nguyen 1954.
46 Compton 1979.
48 Knosp 1913.
49 Collaer 1962.
50 Oesch 1979.
52 Larsen 1981. See also Larsen 1984.
53 Graham 1954.
54 Emeneau 1937, 1966; and 1971.
The language–music relationship is central to Bell Yung’s study *Cantonese Opera* and the anthology *Text, Tone, and Tune* edited by Bonnie C. Wade. Several studies deal with the relationship between language tones and pitch. There is also an increasing number of studies of narrative vocal traditions and alternating songs in mainland China by Chinese and Western scholars. The largest is Antoinet Schimmelpenninck’s study on *Chinese Folk Songs and Folk Singers* which deals with a vocal tradition in south China. Some of these vocal traditions are orally transmitted. In some cases the words exist in written form and are adapted to oral practice in performance. Most Chinese studies seem to approach these traditions with the methods developed in the study of written traditions. Thus in the Chinese studies known to me the ‘idealized’ versions of words of orally transmitted songs are already taken for granted as a starting point and this also seems to apply to the musical notations. Though there may be exceptions to this I have not found Chinese sources which explore the question of creativity in performance. Within the Western research on the language–music relationship there is, generally speaking, a tendency away from the tradition of depicting the musical aspect of ‘songs’ by normalized (or normalizing) transcriptions, and towards the analysis of ‘songs’ as the product of a number of interactions between language, music and other factors.

Some definitions

Kam Raw is a good exponent of the Kammu vocal genre referred to by the verb tə́əm. Tə́əm is a vocal representation of poems called trnə̀əm. Important characteristics are that words and music are closely intertwined through simultaneous variation and that there is much room for individual expression. In a traditional setting this singing is often done in direct communication between two or more singers – particularly so in the party situation – but one would also tə́əm while alone. Historically tə́əm has held a very important place in Kammu culture. It still does, even though this practice seems to be deteriorating as oral transmission tends to give way to other means of communication such as writing, broadcasting and recording that are becoming increasingly important. The problems in relating the concepts tə́əm and trnə̀əm to

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56 Wade 1993.
58 Among these are Zhang and Schaffrath 1991; Wang 1992; Marcus and Reynolds 1995; Rebollo-Sborgi 1995. A number of Chinese language studies of singing traditions of the minorities of Sipsong-Panna (Yunnan) have been surveyed with regard to notations and have been partially translated for me.
60 This is also the opinion of Schimmelpenninck 1997: xi.
Western terms are considerable. Even a simple term like ‘song’ is problematic. One reason for this is that in the study of orally transmitted singing the concept ‘song’ has been closely associated with the concepts ‘original’ and ‘variant’. These concepts are ideologically burdened and therefore difficult to use. The problem has been expressed by Lord as follows:

‘Our real difficulty arises from the fact that, unlike the oral poet, we are not accustomed to thinking in terms of fluidity. We find it difficult to grasp something that is multiform. It seems to us necessary to construct an ideal text or to seek an original. I believe that once we know the facts of oral composition we must cease trying to find an original of any traditional song.’

Attempts have been made to develop Western terms into more useful tools in ethnomusicology. Still many problems remain in translating local concepts to Western counterparts, particularly the vagueness or ambiguity normally inherit in such terms whether local or Western.

When Proschan used the term ‘verbal art’ for his study of Kammu oral traditions in America, he included the verbal aspects of təəm in this concept. The approach taken by Anthony Seeger was built on a definition of verbal forms that differ from ‘normal speech’ into a category called ‘vocal art forms’. This category then contains a number of sub-categories with their own local names. One fact that characterizes these categories is that they can be represented as different degrees on a scale spanning speech to singing. These kinds of approach make it possible to include in a study all those vocal forms that are relevant to the study without having to consider categories like speech versus song, song versus recitation or versus chant or versus something else. However, ‘verbal’ refers to speech in contrast to writing, and the terms ‘art’ and ‘art form’ are not free from the problems inherent in the term ‘song’.

I have instead chosen to speak of vocal expressions for those expressions that differ from ‘normal speech’ in the practice of Kam Raw, and vocal genre for sub-categories of vocal expression. In this terminology təəm is a vocal genre. Another vocal genre which will be discussed in some detail is called hrlìi. Təəm and other vocal genres which will be discussed here all utilize the type of orally transmitted poetry called trnəəm. In a more general sense this word may mean approximately ‘song’. When referring particularly to poetry the expression hrlò

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61 Lord 1960: 100.
64 Seeger 1987: 25 ff.
65 For comments on ‘normal’ speech and other vocal expressions see Chapter 3, final paragraph.
trnə̀əm may be used (hrlɔ̀ means ‘word’). Throughout this study these terms will be used with the following meanings:

- **trnə̀əm** = orally transmitted poetry used in vocal expressions,
- **tə́əm** = vocal genre used particularly at feasts,
- **hrlɨ̀ɨ** = vocal genre used outside of feasts.

In cases where the risk of misunderstanding is small I also for practical reasons sometimes use Western terms like ‘song’, ‘recitation’ and so forth.

**Methodological considerations**

The present study is built on one single individual, namely Kam Raw, who for more than 20 years has been living away from the context that he grew up in. Two other singers who sing in dialogue with Kam Raw and one tə́əm exchange in which Kam Raw did not take part have also been studied in some detail. Additional recordings of other singers have mainly been used as points of reference in checking the reasonableness of the data collected. Kam Raw’s background in the tradition of his home area in northern Laos and the neighbouring areas provides a natural geographic delimitation. Most of the comparative material also comes from this geographic area. A delimitation in time is also implicit in the source material: namely, the fact that the recordings of the singing of Kam Raw as well as other Laos-born Kammu in the 1970s and early 1980s had to be made outside Laos. Most of the singers had moved from their home country around 1970. However, the majority of the trnə̀əm date back to the period before that and there appear to be rather few cases of new trnə̀əm in traditional style in the new environment.

I started out with a rather vague notion of making a descriptive study of Kammu music culture. This idea was left aside as I began to learn more about Kam Raw’s musical competences. Hence the choice to study the singing of one person in depth. It soon became obvious that the most intriguing part of this person’s repertoire was the performance of trnə̀əm in the form of tə́əm or other vocal genres – hence my focus on this part of his repertoire. One approach would have been to use the transcriptions of a number of performances in order to abstract versions that would serve as common denominators. This method, which has been frequently employed in studies of European folk music – not least Swedish – has been closely connected to theories about origins and to comparative research. Although the method also has been used without these connotations it is probably best used for comparative studies within clearly delimited systems. In the present case there were good reasons to...
suspect that whatever the ordering principle might be, it would probably be more rewarding to search for something other than a common denominator extracted from a number of performances. In fact that method might have gone in directions that would have prevented me from finding principles relevant to the practice. This explains the choice of the oral-formulaic theory taken in a rather broad sense as a general starting point.

It was found appropriate to start with the small pieces of the performances and to develop an understanding moving step by step up to the sung dialogues. Proschan, who so far has produced the only study of trnåsem, started from the large over-all forms of the verbal aspects of sung performances or dialogues and related them to linguistic theories.\textsuperscript{66} Whereas his study seems to aim more at general explanations, the present study concentrates on the specific and microcosmic. This choice is also based on my impression of how Kam Raw builds up a performance. At first glance my approach may seem close to linguistic methods. However, to search for structures in the performance of the music and the poetry is a rather normal procedure in musical analysis and is in this case not a result of the application of structuralist models. Though performance practices will sometimes be described in the form of principles, these are fundamentally different from the rules of a generative method in that they are not formulated with the intention of being possible to test.\textsuperscript{67}

The focus on one individual has both disadvantages and advantages. It would be problematic if the aim was to make a general description of a music culture. To use this approach in order to reach an understanding of the inner order of a part of the musical experience of one individual representative of a society is, however, a quite different matter. Also in this case the result will be a construct but a construct of another relevance to the concept music culture. In the study of folk music – meaning the study of American folk music in America, European in Europe and so forth – it is not uncommon to work with a single informant. Gunnar Ternhag has noted a trend from the general to the specific in the study of Swedish music since late nineteenth century and has himself made a major study of one Swedish folk fiddler who made an exceptional commercial career.\textsuperscript{68} Bruno Nettl has pointed out that the individual surprisingly seldom is noted in the ethnomusicological literature concerning non-Western societies and the results are more often presented as the expressions of a group of people.\textsuperscript{69} He then discusses situations in which the study of individuals would be particularly useful: biography, personal repertory, and personal performance practice.

\textsuperscript{66} Proschan 1989.
\textsuperscript{67} Cf. Nattiez 1973 who discusses the application of linguistic theories to the study of music.
\textsuperscript{68} Ternhag 1992 (particularly pp. 14–24) and 1999. See also Nielsen 1982 concerning stability and improvisation in one repertoire of Icelandic epic song and Ramsten 1990 concerning the career of a Swedish folk singer.
\textsuperscript{69} Nettl 1983: 278 ff.
The growing tendency in recent ethnomusicological work on non-Western societies to work with a limited number of informants and to let them stand out as individuals\(^{70}\) parallels the current development in interpretive anthropology in which the metaphor of dialogue is increasingly brought into the foreground in ethnographic representations.\(^{71}\) This is the metaphor of a dialogue bridging the gap between what have been called ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ interpretations or ‘experience-near’ and ‘experience-far’.\(^{72}\) In such a process both the researcher and the informant by necessity become visible.

The relation between the individual and general perspectives as formulated by Ferdinand de Saussure has been compared to the following musicological analogies by Charles Seeger:

- **Parole**: ‘the singing and playing of a music by individual musicians’,
- **Langue**: ‘the percept music, as the particular sung and played subsystem that is one of the many musics of man’ and
- **Langage**: ‘the concept music, as the universal cultural system of predominantly asymbolic auditory communication’.\(^{73}\)

Dan Lundberg relates the distinction parole/langue to levels of generalizations in the discussion of one individual improvisation in a certain mode and points out the importance of considering at what level it is reasonable to interpret modal systems.\(^{74}\) Jean-Jacques Nattiez points out that the justification of transferring linguistic models must be critically analysed.\(^{75}\) Those applications of linguistic models to the study of orally transmitted music that exist tend to aim at the identification of rules for creating music that can be generalized to a whole musical tradition and implicate the possible existence of even wider underlying structures. Though the present study by making comparisons with a couple of other singers opens up to a discussion of a more generalized level, it basically concentrates on the ‘parole’ in Seeger’s sense: that is, many performances of a limited number of genres by one singer. This corresponds to the second level in Lundberg’s scale of five. Timothy Rice, who worked with

\(^{70}\) Apart from Seeger 1987; Vander 1988 and Feld 1990 examples from Swedish ethnomusicology can also be mentioned, namely Hammarlund 1993; Lundberg 1994 and Ternhag 1992.

\(^{71}\) Marcus and Fischer 1986: 30–31.

\(^{72}\) The terms ‘experience-near’ and ‘experience-far’ go back to Clifford Geertz (Marcus and Fischer 1986: 180 n. 5).

\(^{73}\) Seeger 1977: 25.

\(^{74}\) Lundberg 1994: 5–6.

\(^{75}\) Nattiez 1973: 52.
two individuals in his study of Bulgarian music, calls attention to Pierre Bourdieu’s statement: ‘Each individual system of dispositions [i.e. habitus] is a structural variant of the others, expressing the singularity of its position within the class [or group or class habitus] and its trajectory.’ Rice concludes that: ‘...the individual can properly enter the domain of social science, not as a self or ego independent of history, society, and class, but as an agent living in a world of actions and symbols whose meanings can be interpreted from a variety of different social and historical positions.’

From the perspective of transnational movements Ulf Hannerz speaks of ‘habitats of meanings’: ‘Habitats can expand and contract. As they can overlap entirely, partially or just possibly not at all, they can be identified with either individuals or collectivities... In the global ecumene, some people may indeed share much the same habitats of meaning, but these can also become quite idiosyncratic.’

The fact that Kam Raw no longer lives in the society he grew up in raises questions concerning representativeness. He is a Swedish citizen, so in one sense this is a case of ‘doorstep ethnomusicology’. On the other hand he is the only native Kammu speaker in Sweden. The question of whether Kam Raw is representative demands a definition of ‘representative of what?’ Is the issue whether Kam Raw is representative of a group of Kammu-speaking village people? Of Kammu-speaking people living in urban areas? Of Kammu-speaking people living in a country different from their homeland? Of the group of recent immigrants to Sweden?

The question of reliability as formulated here becomes less important, not to say irrelevant, if culture is not perceived as something static with distinct borders. The view of boundaries in human communities as symbolic constructions is discussed in detail and related to questions of identity by Anthony Cohen. Similar perspectives are gaining in importance in the (ethno)musicological studies of sub-cultures or migration by Mark Slobin and others. The focus on these matters have led to a critique of an overly unflexible culture concept – in some cases to a denial in favour of the study of individuals. This has been thus described by Renato Rosaldo: ‘In the present postcolonial world, the notion of an authentic culture as an autonomous internally coherent universe no longer seems tenable, except perhaps as a “useful fiction”...’

From this point of view Kam Raw’s representativeness must be seen relative to his own experience, his own ‘habitat of meaning’ which includes growing up in...
a Kammu village, being in transition and living in Sweden. As in research built on other sources, data must be collected, studied and in the end lead to conclusions, the relevance of which are open to evaluation. In ethnomusicological tradition this process normally involves a number of judgements made by the researcher and sometimes by the researcher’s informants as well. Whether explicitly stated or not, the researcher is always present in a study of that kind. The informants also are present unless they are so many that results can be validated by statistical methods which is seldom the case. Therefore in studies built on a limited number of individuals the dividing line between their roles as objects or as subjects is in fact not clear. It is rather the researcher who defines himself and the informant(s) as subject(s) or object(s) and who decides whether this is an issue to be discussed or not.

The present study is built on the conviction that the study of the individual is as necessary for the understanding of music and man as is the study of groups of people. This does not mean that it opposes traditional fieldwork as a method in ethnomusicology. On the contrary, fieldwork can deal with the individual as well as with a group of people. It can be carried out in Western as well as in ‘non-Western’ localities. Moreover, it is necessary in order to reach certain kinds of results and to enrich ethnomusicology with theoretical tools that are needed for a successful study of an individual outside his native society. For these reasons I see no conflict between working with an individual’s experience and at the same time continuing to use the concept ‘culture’ in a general, flexible sense.\textsuperscript{83} I do argue, however, that many of the problems involved in the study of one individual in a ‘foreign’ environment are also present in the normal fieldwork situation – but not always acknowledged – and that the study of the individual may add new and important knowledge to ethnomusicological method. The approach has limitations but also advantages.

\textbf{Working with Kam Raw}

Initially, i.e. in the late 1970s, my work with Kam Raw was mainly conducted as interview sessions with the aim of achieving some idea of his personal experience of music. The questionnaire developed by David P. McAllester for his study of Navaho music was used as a starting point.\textsuperscript{85} Though some questions had to be rephrased in order to fit, some had to be left out and others had to be invented, it provided a good way to get started. It led to a concentration on questions concerning Kam Raw’s

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\textsuperscript{83} Hannerz 1998: 30 ff. argues for continual revision of the concept ‘culture’.

\textsuperscript{84} Rice 1994: 33 says concerning the choice of studying two individuals in their cultural context: ‘This particular choice suppresses certain issues, and emphasizes others...’.

\textsuperscript{85} McAllester 1954: 91–92.
experience of the uses and functions of music as defined by Alan P. Merriam and of the time and place of musical situations, and it was obvious to me that Kam liked the way the questions were phrased and that they made sense to him.

Unless otherwise stated all contextual information stems from this dialogue between Kam Raw and me from 1976 on. It is possible to recognize different aspects of this dialogue: Kam Raw’s own initiative to relate; questions asked with the intention of triggering Kam Raw to relate; precise questions; questions intended to put pressure on him to deliver an answer; and return questions (from both of us). These techniques were employed fairly consistently but neither scheduled nor minutely recorded. By using return questions, it has been possible to draw some conclusions concerning the reliability of the interviews. As may be expected information obtained through pressure proved to be the least accurate. On the other hand, in several cases this approach yielded important information. The validity of the information obtained in the remaining three ways has proven mainly to depend on the topic and the degree to which Kam himself had participated in various situations.

Under the assumption that the control with return questions has been effective enough to bring into the open most of the possible misinterpretations and misconceptions, the approximate degree of accuracy thus obtained has been taken to represent Kam Raw’s likely degree of certainty on each matter. Of course, it is neither possible to measure nor to express exact degrees of certainty. However, I have tried to indicate very rough degrees by my choice of qualifying words: ‘is’ for high certainty, ‘seems’ or ‘appears’ (etc.) for medium certainty and ‘is maybe’ or ‘is perhaps’ (etc.) for low certainty. In order to exclude lengthy discussions concerning questions of reliability, these nuances have been applied throughout the study. When referring to contextual information obtained from Kam Raw, the choice of verbs thus contains some information about how I evaluated the information. Ultimately this reflects how certain I myself was that Kam Raw was certain.

The gradual change of our roles from an interviewer/informant relationship to a friend/co-worker relationship had obvious advantages but also disadvantages in that it was easy to take understanding for granted. As a result of the use of return questions, this risk was, however, recognized at an early stage. In the beginning our common language was English but gradually Swedish mixed with Kammu terminology became the most effective means of communication. While we learnt to communicate better and became more acquainted, we also learnt to ‘read’ each other’s reactions. Thus Kam could sense when I was developing a misconception and would in such cases go into further explanation, often by means of simile.

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87 This process has been described in Lindell et al. 1984b: 27–30. See Lundström 2005 for a fuller account.
88 Certain aspects on the changing roles are discussed by Ternhag 1999.
Conversely, I could recognize when I had confused Kam by thinking along lines that were irrelevant to his experience. I use the word dialogue not only in the meaning of ‘conversation’ but also as the metaphor described by Marcus and Fischer. This has to do with interpretation through a dialectic process in which the researcher shifts between experience-near (or emic) and experience-far (or etic) perspectives. Throughout the book the two perspectives meet and at best each model of explanation given is the result of a reasonable synthesis between the two.

The problems discussed above are more or less present in every situation involving the discussion about cultural practices but are emphasized when two people work together over a very long period of time. The on-going dialogue is, however, not a guarantee that every statement is correct in an absolute sense. They are in each case the result of interpretations made in a certain context of references or thought associations on my behalf as well as Kam Raw’s. Rather the dialogue helped to make clear that the issue is less a matter of deciding whether a piece of information is correct and more that of deciding when an interpretation is well grounded and reasonable, which is a matter for the researcher to decide and for future research to confirm or contradict.

**Recorded sources**
Kam Raw’s singing was recorded during the period 1972–97, i.e. over 25 years, by different persons and in different situations. If the performance of two to three stanzas, which seldom exceeds the length of two minutes, is counted as one ‘song’, the number of different items is about 140. Since many are sung several times in various variations, the total number in the collection may be estimated at about five hundred. For details on the recorded material see Appendix 3.

The recordings can be divided into three categories. *The social recordings* are recordings made in the presence of a Kammu-speaking audience in which Kam Raw either sings alone or in alternation with other Kammu singers. *The studio recordings* were made in Sweden and contain songs performed on Kam Raw’s own initiative. *The laboratory recordings* were made in Sweden and contain songs that Kam Raw was specifically asked to perform as, for example, a certain trnøm in a certain vocal genre. In certain parts of the study Kam Raw’s performances will for various reasons be grouped into other categories (see further Appendix 3). These are:

- **Sample I** The hrli studio sample consisting of all hrli among the studio recordings and the trnøm used in these.

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89 Marcus and Fischer 1986: 30 ff.
Sample II  The izabeth laboratory sample consisting of all izabeth among the laboratory recordings and the trnəm used in these.

Sample III  The izabeth/trnəm sample consisting of all cases when one trnəm is performed both as izabeth and trnəm.

Sample IV  The trnəm sample consisting of all trnəm performances.

The general field recordings of Kammu singers other than Kam Raw actually constitute the largest part of the recorded source material. The singers are mainly Kammu people who at the time of the recording resided in Thailand but who represent traditions from northern Laos. The majority of the singers stem from the Yuan area – several come from villages neighbouring Kam Raw’s – and a smaller number from the areas Kwèen, Cwàa (= Lìi), Ùu, Ròk and Krọŋ. There are also some singers from the Rmèet area.

Many of the field recordings were made among Kammu who had moved to Thailand where the most common singing situation seems to be the feasting situation. This singing is not exclusively done by men but it is dominated by men. Thus the female singers are few. The ritual songs in the collection were not recorded in their ceremonial contexts. Such circumstances might have been serious defects in a study of Kammu vocal music as a whole. In the present study, however, the focus is on singing in the feasting situation. Since the majority of these recordings were made in feasting or similar situations they must be considered representative for this particular genre of Kammu vocal music as practiced by singers who carry the tradition of the Yuan area. The material as a whole is rich in examples of Kam Raw’s manner of performance, the degree of variation and so forth. Although there are a few exceptions, it is weaker when it comes to audience participation and to interchange between singer and audience. This will naturally be reflected in the disposition of the study.

The recordings of Kam Raw’s singing were made in a number of different situations. This means that there may be differences in the performance manner, particularly between studio recordings and recordings made in alternation with another singer. Variations in his inspiration to sing may also have affected the results. Another essential question is whether his performance manner has changed over time. There are many opportunities in the recordings at hand for comparison in these respects.

The recordings were made over a long period of time and on several kinds of recorders. They were not made with the aim of producing professional recordings but rather to capture various unique performances. Consequently the sound quality varies.
Transcriptions and translations
The music transcriptions are operational in the sense that they were made with the object of assisting the analysis of those questions under study instead of giving a detailed description of performance. This means that emphasis has been put on displaying structure and order rather than nuances of melodic or rhythmic variation. The symbols used for transcriptions are kept as simple as possible and are explained when introduced. Since the transcriptions do not aim at exact description, the recorded examples are necessary complements if one wants to know how the music sounds.

For the transliteration of the Kammu language, the method developed within the Kammu Language and Folklore Project is used. Variations are explained when they are introduced. When English translations of Kammu words are given in the text, they are normally placed immediately after the Kammu word and within quotation marks. In word-for-word translations of trnàom or other words the translation is placed below the Kammu word. For those trnàom which for practical reasons are only quoted in English, references to complete word-for-word transcriptions, translations and interpretations in Lundström and Tayanin 2006 are given by use of the index codes in Appendix 2.

When plants and animals cannot be given their scientific names, the words are only translated by a category: [tree], [plant], [bird] etc. within brackets. When the meaning of a word is unknown, this is indicated by [0] and when uncertain by [?]. Otherwise, words within brackets ([ ]) are explanations. The following abbreviations are used: clf = classifier, exp = expressive (the word in question expresses a certain quality such as how something looks, sounds or feels), p = particle, v = verb.

All translations were made in co-operation with Kam Raw and with the linguistic branch of the Kammu research group in Lund and their dictionary. This is to my knowledge the only existing expertise on the Yûan Kammu dialect. My own knowledge of the Kammu language consists of musical, poetical, religious and agricultural vocabularies. This is not enough to carry out a conversation in Kammu or to trnàom, which needs an extremely good knowledge of the language. While my knowledge is inadequate for translating trnàom singlehandedly, it is sufficient for recognizing various trnàom and their poetic structure and also for recognizing poetic variations.

Kam Raw and I have developed a systematic technique of translation which gives reasonably accurate results. Normally Kam transcribed the words of the trnàom in question from a recording. Together we sorted them out into lines, recognized rhyme patterns and discussed the contents. Kam did the main part of the word-for-word translation. When new and difficult words were encountered, they were discussed within the linguistic group. Usually I did the interpretation of the full trnàom. Often it
was necessary to discuss specific problems again until we both agreed that the word-for-word-translation and full interpretation are correct.

The interpretations of the trn=Tm should be seen as free renderings in which it is usually impossible and also less meaningful to aim at exact translation. This is particularly true for the first half of the trn=Tm which normally involves metaphors, the meaning of which may be more or less obscure. Rather the aim has been to make the renderings readable (as soon as the reader gets used to their form, that is), and also if necessary to invent ‘parallel’ metaphors and above all to maintain parallelism, which is an important structural element of the trn=Tm. No attempts have been made to keep the original number of syllables or the rhymes. Kam Raw was the ultimate judge of the quality of the interpretations with regard to both exactness and feeling.

The design of the study
Having decided to work from the smaller parts to the larger units and to steer away from the comparative method, a theoretical frame was progressively constructed with performance as a starting point and as a continuous point of reference. The theoretical tools were built up from an inner order within the framework made up of the different vocal genres, and particularly within the vocal genre t̥ộm. This has been done in such a manner that it permits the various parts of performances under discussion to be treated as continuously movable and interrelated.

As a starting point Kam Raw’s musical and cultural background is described (Chapter 2). This information is built on his own recollections as presented in a number of publications from the Kammu research project at Lund university, including his own writings, and on our discussions. Since Kammu culture and its music in particular has not been extensively described, this chapter also serves to give an idea of the kind of society and music culture that Kam Raw grew up in. In this chapter the recollections of Kam Raw are presented in the past tense in order to avoid writing in the ‘ethnographic present’.91 This has also been the principle throughout the text.

The basic characteristics of the trn=Tm are then described in connection with one of the less complex vocal genres, namely hräh (Chapter 3). This approach parallels Kam Raw’s own learning process and leads to the definition of fundamental traits of the poetry of the trn=Tm: stanzas, lines, syllables, major rhyme patterns and so forth. The vocal performances themselves constitute the source for the definition of these factors, which in turn make possible a description of certain musical characteristics

91 The negative effects of the ethnographic present are discussed in Rosaldo 1989: 42, 48. However, the present tense is as demonstrated by Seeger 1991: 352 often very suitable for a text. I have chosen to use the present tense in the main part of the text but have as far as possible avoided the ethnographic present.
and of correlation between poetical and musical variations. This chapter is built on the hrhi performances of the trnœm among the studio recordings (Sample I), whereas the hrhi performances among the laboratory recordings are used as a test sample (Sample II). The results are then used in the description of four other less complex vocal genres.

The understanding of the trnœm arrived at so far is in Chapter 4 used to describe and analyse Kam Raw’s tœm style of the Yûan area. This is done by using tœm versions of the same trnœm that were introduced in the preceding chapter. The discussion is broadened to include other trnœm but is still limited to those that were performed both as tœm and hrhi, i.e. the hrhi/tœm sample (Sample III). The chapter continues with a description of some basic characteristics of tœm and how it differs from hrhi. The same approach is then used in the description of three other tœm styles practiced by Kam Raw.

In Chapter 5 the analysis of tœm is carried one step further by using the results reached so far on the complete tœm sample, including more elaborate performances (Sample IV). In this process a number of tools employed in creating aesthetically pleasing tœm performances are discussed and placed in a theoretical framework by defining a number of often recurring forms. The correspondences between variation of poetical and musical forms are exemplified. Taking the results concerning rhymes as a starting point, Chapter 6 deals with the poetic imagery, particularly nature imagery, and meaning of the trnœm.

The results of the analysis carried out to this point are used in Chapter 7 to make aspects of quality and taste, individual expression and communication in tœm visible. The synthesis is exemplified by two tœm dialogues which are discussed mainly from these analytical perspectives and also serve as comparisons between the singing of Kam Raw and that of two other persons.

The results are summarized and discussed in the concluding chapter which also contains a discussion from a comparative point of view.
Kam Raw considers himself to belong to the Kammu people. His mother tongue is a dialect of the Kammu language. He was born about 1938 in the village Rmcüal in the area called Yûan, which is located north of the river Nam Tha in northern Laos (see Maps 1 and 2). He spent his childhood in his home village where life at that time followed rather traditional patterns, but from the time he was a young man life for Kammu people in that area has changed radically.

The people in the village recognized themselves as belonging to various totemic clans based on their conceptions about their origins or on inherited relations to certain animals or plants. A local lineage held the position of wife-givers, èem, to another lineage and the position of wife-takers, kháy, to still another lineage. The èem/kháy relation was upheld by means of gifts and services according to traditional practices. This also involved music and musical instruments.

While growing up Kam Raw learnt to cultivate mountain rice on dry fields located on the mountain slopes. The agriculture was of the slash-and-burn variety and some of the swiddens lay at a considerable distance from the village. A rotation system was utilized so that 11 areas were burnt for fields in as many years. This cycle permitted the soil to rest and made it possible for the villagers to live in the same area for a long period of time. It was also an important factor in keeping track of time – it is by means of this 11-year cycle that Kam Raw has been able to deduce approximately in which year he was born. Apart from rice cotton was also grown as well as vegetables and other plants. Hunting and fishing were of considerable importance and one of the skills Kam Raw developed was that of making traps.

The eldest man of the eldest generation of a lineage was called ‘father of the house’ and was responsible for sacrifices to the ancestor spirits. The elders chose the village headman who handled affairs with the community outside the village.

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93 Lindell et al. 1979.


95 See Tayanin and Lindell 1991 concerning hunting and fishing.
Map 2. Map of the Yuan area in northern Laos showing the village Rmcùal (arrow) and neighbouring villages (after Svantesson et al. forthcoming).
The ritual head of the village was responsible for a number of important rituals. The shaman, m̀dò ròoy ‘spirit doctor’, who was in closer contact with the spirit world than ordinary people, suggested causes and cures for illnesses or other problems. Living beings as well as important plants (like rice or cotton) or objects (like wooden drums and kettlegongs) were considered to have hr̀màal, which can be translated as ‘soul’ or ‘souls’.

The Kammu word ròoy has a slightly different meaning and can be translated as ‘spirit’ or ‘spirits’ (the Kammu language makes no difference between singular and plural). After death the soul of a human was thought to become a ròoy kàaŋ ‘house spirit’, ancestor spirit. Especially important among the many spirits that were recognized were also the dragon spirits, which were thought of as controlling the rain and water, and the waste spirits.

The balance between humans and spirits was upheld by means of ceremonies and taboos. Ceremonies involved sacrifices consisting of blood, plants and certain other items. They also involved prayer and in many cases music. The taboos, crí, were prescriptions against certain actions at certain places, at certain times and/or for certain persons. Some taboos concerned singing or instrumental music.

The calendar depended on natural signs and on two weekly systems, a twelve-day week and a ten-day week. Certain days were considered good or bad for some activities. Decisions as to the proper time for a certain kind of activity were made in agreement with natural phenomena and calendar rules. Taboos and omens further affected the choice. In Kam Raw’s village most activities whether ritual or not – including music and singing – were regulated by such conditions.

Kam Raw has a deep knowledge of the spiritual world and knows many things which were probably not common knowledge. This is because he was trained to become a shaman. However, this education was not completed since it was cut short by the death of his teacher in 1960. Kam Raw also took an active part in learning orally transmitted tales and has an impressive repertoire of tales and sayings.

As a young boy Kam Raw lived in the common-house of the village according to the common practice. At the age of about 10 he was old enough to stay with other young boys in the fields in order to watch over the rice in the season before the harvest. He also journeyed to Sipsong Panna in south China where the people of his home village used to go on foot in order to buy salt. In his teens he spent time away from the village as a seasonal worker close to the Thai border and in the city of Luang Phrabang.

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97 See Tayanin 2006 for death rituals and for beliefs concerning souls and spirits.
98 See Lindell et al. 1984a.
99 See Halpern 1963 concerning trade and seasonal work of the Kammu in Lào.
Kam Raw’s experience of instrumental music

In Kam Raw’s home village most people were able to join in the music activities and to play a number of instruments. There were no professional musicians in the strict sense of the word that people could earn a substantial part of their living costs by making music, but on occasions of special importance those who were considered particularly talented were called upon to perform the music. Kam Raw took part in many of the ceremonies and festivities of his home village and learnt to play the musical instruments that were used on such occasions and he has related that he was asked to perform music on ritual occasions.

The various musical instruments had their proper time and place. Those instruments that were considered to have strong powers were predominantly used on rather few occasions of major ritual importance. There were also other restrictions such as a taboo against flutes and reed pipes during the sowing season and a taboo against all kinds of music during the harvest season.

PLATE 1. Yàan, bronze drum, of the type used in Kam Raw’s home area. This one, which actually came from there, was photographed in an antique shop in Vientiane in 1996. When played the bronze drum is suspended so that its surface is vertical.


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The kettlegong or bronze drum, *yàan*, was an important ritual instrument and was considered to have a power which could be beneficial to the owners but could turn out to be disastrous as well (Plate 1). The kettlegongs were used at funerals, buffalo ceremonies and house-building feasts. They were considered to have the power to call the ancestor spirits to the location of the ceremony. Since the kettlegongs also represented a considerable economic value, they were one of the measures of wealth. They were owned by the lineages and were passed on as inheritance. 101

The long wooden drum, *prìiŋ wàaŋ*, was also an instrument of great importance. This was a double-headed cylindrical drum with a convex bore. It was made from a tree trunk and was about 1.5–2 metres long. The wooden drums were kept suspended in the central common-house of the village and were used for signals in the case of danger. Their other main use was to celebrate and to greet the souls of highly ranked visitors, of rice and cotton and of larger animals slain in hunting. The drums were thus regularly used at many kinds of social gatherings. 102

Several drums could be played together and this was also the case with kettlegongs. Drums and kettlegongs could also be played together in ensemble. They could be accompanied by large suspended bossed gongs, *rpàaŋ*, and more commonly by the smaller bossed gong, *mòoŋ*, and cymbals, *crɛ́ɛŋ*. The music of this percussion ensemble was organized according to colotomic patterns.

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The long wooden drum was one of the traditional gifts from wife-giving to wife-taking groups (cf. the *èem/khāy* relationship described on p. 27). This set of gifts also included decorated bamboo clappers, *pɔ̀h*, which were raised in the fields before the harvesting began and two kinds of bamboo idiophones which were considered to call the rice-soul at village ceremonies or to call the rain after sowing. One of these idiophones was a stamping tube of bamboo called *trà* or *trà kntìik* which was equipped with a horizontal wooden stick that served as an amplifier (Plate 2).

The other bamboo idiophone was a wedge-shaped bamboo tube which was beaten either with a slightly shorter, similarly shaped bamboo tube (concussion tubes) or with a wooden stick. This idiophone is called *kltɔ̀ɔŋ* (Plate 3). When these idiophones were used in ensemble they were played according to certain colotomic patterns.

There were also a number of musical instruments which were used more or less exclusively in rites directed at particular spirits. Among these were a ground harp and a ground friction drum for the dragon spirit, which according to traditional belief controlled the rain. A certain rattle was used for the lightning spirit. A side-blown free-reed horn, *tpú*, was used to please the soul of a slain gaur (a wild ox) or other large game. Apart from instruments like these there were also a large variety of

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104 Lundström and Tayanin forthcoming.
105 See photographs in Lindell et al. 1982: xi–xii.
bamboo idiophones driven by wind or water power. These belonged to the fields and gardens and many served as scarecrows.\(^{106}\)

Much of the non-ritual instrumental music that was played on flutes or reed pipes was closely related to the vocal music. One example of this was playing on a leaf, \(\text{lá}\). The \(\text{tósito yàam cuù} [\text{weeping-for-the-sweetheart-flute}]\) is a vertical flute and the \(\text{rànàplàng} [\text{flower-of-the-elephant-grass}]\) an idioglottic clarinet which could be played single or double. These instruments were especially often played while staying in the fields where there was plenty of time and materials.\(^{107}\)

Other musical instruments included an idiochordic bamboo zither with two strings, \(\text{prìiŋ pə̀ət}\), which was used especially at house-building feasts. The mouth harp, \(\text{róōγ}\), was traditionally a boys’ instrument used for serenading girls.\(^{108}\) The bamboo idiophone \(\text{tàawtàaw}\) with two parallel vibrating tongues carved out of a bamboo tube produces drone(s) and harmonics much like a mouth harp.\(^{109}\) It was predominantly a female instrument played as a pastime or while walking along mountain paths. It has often been described as typical for the Kammu in Laos and in China.\(^{110}\)

The instrumental music and the instruments themselves thus had rather particular uses within the social, religious and economic spheres of the village life. The majority of the instruments were of the percussion type – even though some of these could also produce pitches. The melody instruments, among which flutes and clarinets predominated, seem to have been closely related to the vocal music. The relative importance of percussive music in Kammu culture is reflected in the language: while no word seems to exist for ‘melody’ in traditional music\(^{111}\) there is a rich terminology referring to sound and timbre and to the physical actions involved in the playing of percussion instruments.

This survey has been built on Kam Raw’s experience of musical instruments and their uses in his home village and therefore represents the ‘experience-near’ (or ‘emic’) views and may suffice to give an idea about traditional Kammu music culture in that area. Kam Raw knows these and some other instruments but he is

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109 The \(\text{tàawtàaw}\) has the same basic construction as the so-called \(\text{rere}\) of Celebes described by Kaudern 1927: 25 ff.
110 Izikowitz 1944: 199; Li and Yuan 1981 (or 1983). See also Lundström and Tayanin 1983b.
111 The Lao expression \(\text{tham nœœ...}\) is, according to Kam, used for melody only in connection with ‘modern’ songs like popular Lao music.
112 A similar division of musical language was recognized by Moréchand 1951: 385 concerning two Mon-Khmer-speaking peoples in Vietnam, the Jarai and the Bahmar. He divided their music into three main categories: ‘musique religieuse’ (including gongs), ‘musique poétique’ (including flutes, string instruments) and ‘musique technique ou ludique’ (including various bamboo idiophones, wind- or waterpowered sound-sources).
most at ease with the kettlegong, gong, cymbals and stamping tubes while he never ‘cared much’ for flutes and clarinets.

Kam Raw’s experience of vocal music
Certain songs that Kam Raw learned belonged to ceremonies, many of which were religious. These ceremonial and ritual songs included those in the following list:

Lɔ̀ɔŋ ŋɔ̀ɔr, ‘Showing the way’, was sung or recited at funeral wakes to guide the soul of the deceased to the land of the dead.\(^{114}\)

Pɛ̀ɛŋ kròoŋ, ‘Wine-measure song’, was sung when wine was served at funeral wakes. While people sipped wine through straws from a common jar, water was poured into it from a measure (a horn or a cup). Each stanza of the song relates to the number of cups that were consumed – it begins with a number and then says whether it is good or bad.

Yàam róoy, ‘Weep for a spirit’, is a dirge which was sung at funeral wakes predominantly by women.

K’ə́əy kmù, ‘Calling the rain’, would be accompanied by a ground harp, a friction drum or stamping tubes and was intended to arouse the dragon spirit in order to call for rain in connection with village ceremonies after sowing.\(^{115}\)

ɔɔc, ‘Begging’, is a song belonging to a wassail sung with the object of driving out the waste spirits after harvesting.\(^{116}\)

Yàa was used by certain totem groups to placate the ancestor spirits in connection with buffalo ceremonies, when a buffalo was sacrificed in the case of a serious illness or other difficult situation. It was accompanied by bamboo water containers used as stamping tubes, tìnŋ.\(^{117}\)

Yùun tìnŋ, ‘Water tube dance’, consists of a song and a dance which were performed at house-building feasts to the accompaniment of water containers used as stamping tubes, tìnŋ,\(^{118}\) played by the dancers.

\(^{113}\) Other instruments commonly known to be used among the Kammu people are the mouth organ and the one-string fiddle. According to Kam Raw he never encountered them in his home village. Note that some of the musical instruments discussed here can be heard on Proschan et al. 1999.

\(^{114}\) Lindell et al 1984a: 234.

\(^{115}\) Lundström and Tayanin 1982: xi–xii, 76 ff.

\(^{116}\) Lundström and Tayanin 1982: 122–123.

\(^{117}\) Lundström and Tayanin 1978: 65 and recording.

\(^{118}\) Lundström and Tayanin 1978: 66–67 and recording.
Yùun rwàay, ‘Tiger dance’, is a song and dance ritual used to drive out the tiger spirit, which was a kind of vampire spirit.

These songs have certain musical characteristics in common. Most of them consist of short musical phrases of a narrow range. They may be in even or in triple time or employ additive metres. The words are grouped in phrases normally consisting of 5, 6, 7 or 8 syllables. These phrases are arranged in a poetic pattern built on parallelism and/or certain rhyme patterns, the most common being rhymes between the final or one of the last syllables of a line and the first or one of the first syllables of the following line.\(^{119}\)

Many children’s songs, trnèm kòn nè, and children’s game songs are built on very short formulae. Kam Raw knows many of these and he also knows songs for playing with children. Among these are the lullaby, lùuy kòn sis ‘lull a child to sleep’, and kùuk kntrúl (rocking a child on one’s knees while lying down).\(^{120}\)

Kam Raw knows a number of prayers and powerful songs, kriùu. Many of these can be characterized as chants or recitations, but some shaman songs that Kam learned resemble the tòóm vocal genre and are actually in the Lamet tradition. Wedding ceremony songs, harvest feasts and some other ceremonies were of the tòóm variety.

Kam Raw sings in a self-confident manner with much concentration and sincere emotional involvement. It seldom happens that he has to stop a performance in order to search for words. In fact, if he is uncertain whether he can manage, or if his feeling is not right he prefers not to sing the song. He treasures his songs highly and demonstrates a strong responsibility towards his tradition.

**How Kam Raw learned to tòóm**

This also holds true for his relation to the vocal genre tòóm that is the focus of this study. Many trnèm are of such that he is able to tòóm whenever he wants to, but there are also those that only come into his mind under special circumstances. Outside of the traditional singing situations in a Kammu society, similar inspiration can result from thought associations and from momentary feelings. In some cases he can repeat such trnèm afterwards – though usually not identically – but sometimes he cannot sing them as well again unless a similar occasion were to occur.

Singing was considered so important in the village where he grew up that someone who did not know how to tòóm was more or less socially handicapped. On the other hand most people were able to sing well enough to join in the social singing situations. Kam Raw remembers having heard that a new-born baby’s first

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\(^{120}\) Lindell et al. 1984a: 124 ff. contains the words of a few of these.
meal would be a spoonful of cooked rice. People thought that this would free the throat from ‘hairs’, thus giving the child a smooth throat and a nice voice for singing. Parents showed much interest in teaching their children to sing and in encouraging them in singing. Kam Raw says:

Everybody should know the trnàq – that is, not nowadays but from my father’s generation and back. You don’t want another person to get the better of you. It is like pairs of trnàq. If somebody performs a trnàq, then, like a question, you should be able to answer correctly in order not to lose face. At feasting, the singer chooses who should answer by nipping at that person’s straw to the wine jar.

Children didn’t tǎq together with the grown-ups at parties, but in the fields they could do that. At feasts boys at the age of six or seven could sit on their fathers’ knees. The elders used to say: ‘You will never get good relations with other people if you don’t tǎq. You will stay by yourself. You will never get people for parties and you can not go to another village or play with girls’. So the boys liked to sit on their fathers’ knees and to learn. The following morning my father used to ask: ‘Did you hear which trnàq we used? Why do you think we used those?’

Boys also used to gather by themselves during parties and try to tǎq like the grown-ups. Women did not join the drinking men but used to sit by themselves. The women didn’t stay up so late, so children who spent their time with their mothers didn’t learn so much. [Kam Raw’s words retold by HL].

Kam Raw was the youngest of seven children, one girl and six boys. Two of his brothers were good singers and he considers his oldest brother Mán Ràw to be the best singer in the village. The other particularly good singers were Pòàŋ Plòò and Càŋ Sò, neither related to Kam, and then Nǐi Ràw who was the fifth child in the family. In this environment Kam Raw learned a large part of his repertoire simply by growing up, and in many cases he does not know when or from whom he learned particular songs, especially children’s songs, lullabies and other songs for children but this also concerns many of the trnàq.

Apart from the stimulation in his home and at play with other children Kam Raw sees certain other situations as particularly important in his learning process. One was the singing that occurred among young boys and unmarried young men when they lived together in the common-house of the village. Another situation for picking up trnàq was while walking in connection with journeys related to trading or seasonal work away from home.
Above all he mentions the singing that was done in the fields especially during the months immediately before the harvesting season. At that time of year – roughly from August to September – young boys lived in the fields in order to watch over the growing rice and to guard it from birds and wild animals. The evenings and nights were spent in small field houses. This was a time when the youngest children learned singing and how to play certain musical instruments from their older friends.

When Kam Raw first stayed in a field he was about ten years of age. In the evenings the boys of neighbouring fields used to gather in one of the field houses where the older boys would teach trnòam to the younger ones. Often enough this seems to have taken the form of proper lessons during which two, three or even more trnòam were taught. The one who knew a trnòam would táom or hríi it, and the others tried to copy him. Mistakes would be corrected by the ‘teacher’ and during the following days the ‘pupils’ would practice and try to memorize the new trnòam. When necessary they would correct each other or the ‘teacher’ would do so if he happened to be about. At this time of year the boys also did some hunting and fishing. Trnòam were taught also on these occasions, particularly while walking along forest paths in small groups or two by two.

The trnòam that were taught in these situations were of many kinds and were not limited to those with subjects concerning the fields or the forest. Thus Kam remembers that he learned the trnòam of the wedding ceremony while staying in the fields. These trnòam would not be sung in the village unless there was a marriage ceremony going on, but like several other trnòam they could be sung out of their ceremonial context in the fields – at least in this rather intimate situation.

However, there were also trnòam and ceremonial songs which were not even sung here. Among those were the songs of the funeral ceremony and songs directed to certain spirits. Kam learned those as a child by overhearing ceremonies during which they were sung and later on by participation in the ceremonies. Nor were the strong shaman songs called kriùu taught in the fields. Kam learned these from the age of about 18 under the guidance of his ‘uncle’ Tá Séen, who died in 1960. 121

Another category of trnòam, which for practical reasons was more or less exempted from the teaching in the field houses, was the trnòam of formal politeness which belonged to social feasting situations. Kam learned such trnòam as a child while listening to the adults and later as a participant in such situations. The first time that Kam Raw can recall that he actually attended a feast with adults as a true participant was about 1958 when he was 20. He was with C nạn Sọ and it was the very first time that Kam did táom at a feast.

Some individuals were more important than others to Kam Raw in the learning process described above and they are the ones who stand out as teachers. At about

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121 Tá Séen, whose mother came from Kam’s wife-takers group (khọay), had learned the shaman songs from people of the Lamet (Rmèet) and Cwàa areas and in Thailand. His musical style was basically Lamet and the words were generally in the Tai language. See Tayanin 1994: 18 ff.
1951 Kam learned trnə̀əm from his older uncle Tá Yɔ̀ɔm. Another person he considers a teacher was Ràw Lìaŋ from his wife-taking side relatives. At about 1952 he learned many trnə̀əm from Khàń Làaŋ, who was almost ten years older and also from the wife-taking side. This youth knew more trnə̀əm than most other young people did, but he was very shy to tɔ́ɔm at feasts which he seldom did. Instead, he taught Kam Raw several trnə̀əm by means of the vocal genre hrl «≥fl which is quite different. Kam regards him as his foremost teaching master.

**Situations of social singing**

Some trnə̀əm are very sad and lonely. According to Kam Raw a particular trnə̀əm may make people miss a person who used to sing that particular one often. Other trnə̀əm may make the one who hears them really believe that he or she is as beautiful or wealthy as the singer says. There are many trnə̀əm and there are many factors which influence the choice of a particular trnə̀əm in a particular situation. Some trnə̀əm are sung with the intention of making people feel happy and at ease, whereas others make the one who hears them angry or sad.

Before starting to sing, Kam Raw considers to whom he is going to sing: whether it is a person of the wife-giver’s side or the wife-taker’s side; if it is a stranger or a good friend; if it is a younger or a much older person; if it is a man or a woman; if it is a person of superior standing or not. He also considers whether he is a guest of the other party or if the other party is his guest. Furthermore he thinks of where he is. If the singing occurs in somebody’s field he will first sing in praise of the field and the rice there. If it is in another village or in somebody’s house he will first sing of the village and the house. What he will sing also depends on who will be the first one to sing. If, for example, one of the wife-giver’s side arrives in Kam’s house and the former starts singing, Kam will have to respond with suitable trnə̀əm.

Tɔ́ɔp trnə̀əm practices are reflected in a rather rich terminology concerning the use of trnə̀əm and singing. A large category is the alternating trnə̀əm, and many trnə̀əm go together in pairs for such alternation, paired trnə̀əm (see Appendix 2: A1a as compared to 1b, 2a as compared to 2b and so forth):

\[
\begin{align*}
tɔ́ɔp & \quad \text{trnə̀əm} & = \text{alternating trnə̀əm} \\
\text{answer} & \quad \text{song}
\end{align*}
\]

Trnə̀əm to start the singing are called:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{trnə̀əm} & \quad \text{krnɔ̀ɔ} & = \text{starting trnə̀əm} \\
\text{song} & \quad \text{start}
\end{align*}
\]

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122 Actually this may have been a common way to learn and hrɦɨ may have functioned as a learning tool much like in classical Chinese education where children learned by ‘singsong’ in order to move into ‘chanting’ poems when reaching a more mature age (Chao 1956: 54).
To sing in answer is called:

\[ \text{tóəm} \quad \text{tóop} = \text{sing in return} \]

Those trnəəm which fit a specific situation can be grouped together, but actually such categories might include some trnəəm which can be used in more than one situation depending on taste and manners. Traditionally it would be rude – or in some cases even taboo – to sing a certain trnəəm in the wrong situation. If that happened with other less sensitive trnəəm it would merely signify showing bad manners.

Together Kam Raw and I have developed a categorization of trnəəm that is as much as possible in keeping with Kam’s own points of view. This is a theoretical construction and thus a categorization from the outside perspective. The category names are built on different criteria, mainly on situation, content and/or use in a singing situation. They contain much information about practices involving singing situations. The categories are not totally exclusive but some overlapping occurs. The trnəəm in Kam Raw’s repertoire are listed according to these categories in Appendix 2. Apart from the groups listed below there are a number of trnəəm that belonged only to specific feasts. These were happy situations such as marriage, harvesting or drum-giving. These particular trnəəm are referred to by the names of their respective situations (Appendix 2: A5).

**Wine songs**

Such trnəəm which belong to the situation of feasts in the village are called ‘wine trnəəm’ or the similar (A1–7). This was normally a situation for adults that often included both the elderly and the young men:

\[ \text{trnəəm} \quad \text{pùuc} = \text{wine trnəəm} \]

\[ \text{pɛɛŋ} \quad \text{trnəəm} = \text{wine trnəəm} \]

\[ \text{trnəəm} \quad \text{trnàŋ} \quad \text{pùuc} = \text{wine-table trnəəm} \]

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123 A similar but not quite comparable list of categories or genres can be found in Mottin 1980: 2 ff. concerning Hmong Blanc. The importance of recognizing situation-based categories is also stressed by Dournes 1987: 20–21.
The wine trnəm constitute the dominating type of trnəm in the repertoire at hand. The singing at feasts included trnəm for starting, for finishing, for flattering and so on. Many wine trnəm come in pairs and a singer normally expected somebody to answer and to take over the singing. At traditional feasts the singer might indicate this by nipping at the rice-straw of the person he wanted to continue. To sing a certain trnəm that invites somebody to take over is called:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tə́əm} & \quad \text{tό} & \quad = \text{sing to invite an answer} \\
\text{sing} & \quad \text{continue, induce}
\end{align*}
\]

The word ‘tό’ has several meanings. Those which are relevant to this use are: to continue, to extend and to tease in the sense of inducing or urging somebody (to sing). If this does not have effect, there are trnəm that press someone more strongly to sing by teasing that person:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tə́əm} & \quad \text{pnpèès} & \quad = \text{sing to tease someone to sing} \\
\text{sing} & \quad \text{trick, answer}
\end{align*}
\]

There are several names for trnəm sung in the feasting situation which form more or less stringent sub-categories. Certain trnəm are suitable for starting the singing:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{trnə̀əm} & \quad \text{prá} & \quad \text{snáam} & \quad = \text{starting trnəm} \\
\text{song} & \quad \text{break} & \quad \text{courtyard}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Snáam’ is a Laotian word which in this case means the area outside the house where the feasting takes place that is depicted as an arena or a stage. It should probably be understood as an approving word for the place and literally translates as ‘courtyard’. To break the courtyard means to start singing in such a fine place with many people listening. A singer should praise the person or persons he is singing to and should belittle himself (A1–4, A6d–e):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{trnə̀əm} & \quad \text{plóoc} & \quad (\text{lòoc}) & \quad = \text{belittling trnəm} \\
\text{song} & \quad \text{belittle} & \quad \text{exp}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{trnə̀əm} & \quad \text{krséŋ} & \quad = \text{praise trnəm} \\
\text{song} & \quad \text{praise}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{trnə̀əm} & \quad \text{cóol} & \quad = \text{flattering trnəm} \\
\text{song} & \quad \text{flatter}
\end{align*}
\]

40
Those which express respect are called:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>trnə̀əm</th>
<th>káan</th>
<th>’yám</th>
<th>= respectful trnə̀əm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>song</td>
<td>ceremony</td>
<td>respect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>trnə̀əm</th>
<th>tháw</th>
<th>kɛ́ɛ</th>
<th>= song with the elderly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>song</td>
<td>old [?]</td>
<td>debt [?]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Joke songs used on formal occasions are called:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>trnə̀əm</th>
<th>tnhœ≤œy</th>
<th>= joke trnə̀əm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>song</td>
<td>joke</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Field songs**

The trnə̀əm that belonged to the fields often deal with loneliness such as longing for one’s sweetheart or for the village life (B8). Many of them are set in the fields and often refer to the weather and to certain plants or animals that belonged there. Sometimes people whistled or played the melodies on a leaf, lá, instead of singing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>trnə̀əm</th>
<th>tàa</th>
<th>ré</th>
<th>= field trnə̀əm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>song</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>field</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Forest songs**

Trnə̀əm that were normally sung while alone or within a small group of young men were sometimes about loneliness or about the mountain paths. In these birds play a rather important role (B9). Many of these trnə̀əm were male joke songs about women that were not supposed to be sung in the presence of older people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>trnə̀əm</th>
<th>yɔ̀h</th>
<th>prì</th>
<th>= forest-walking trnə̀əm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>song</td>
<td>walk</td>
<td>forest</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Sometimes the singing was done loudly in order to get an answer from somebody else at a distance. People also used to whistle the melodies or play them on a leaf, lá. This singing is called:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tôəm</th>
<th>hėét,</th>
<th>tôəm</th>
<th>óor</th>
<th>= sing shouting and screaming</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sing</td>
<td>shout,</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>scream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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124 This is similar to some of the so-called shange or ‘mountain songs’ of Chinese minority peoples. Liang 1985: 139–140 describes the mountain songs, shange, as a sub-category of folksongs, minge. A recording of Kam singing the song 8b2 (cf. p. 132) in this loud manner made in a forest context in Laos 2001 is published on a DVD accompanying Lundström and Svantesson (2005): track 9 after approximately 3,5 minutes.
Youth songs

Certain trnə́əm were often sung by young people, especially between boys and girls. Many of these are songs used for joking and teasing when boys and girls met. There were many opportunities for this in the fields before the harvesting when the youths watched over the growing rice and went fishing or frog-catching. If these trnə́əm were used at other times or places, vocal genres other than tõ̂m would be preferred: for example hrfū (B10).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>trnə́əm</th>
<th>kó̃n</th>
<th>nühl</th>
<th>= youth trnə́əm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>song</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>young</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

These trnə́əm included:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>trnə́əm</th>
<th>crlūh</th>
<th>= teasing trnə́əm</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>song</td>
<td>tease</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>trnə́əm</th>
<th>trwàas</th>
<th>= cursing trnə́əm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>song</td>
<td>curse</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The latter is a kind of strong teasing song intended to make a person angry or even to hurt a person in a sense similar to the use of certain magic songs, particularly from boy to girl or vice versa when, for example, being deserted by one’s beloved. Another sub-group is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>trnə́əm</th>
<th>tèn</th>
<th>káp</th>
<th>kó̃n</th>
<th>nühl</th>
<th>= courting trnə́əm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>song</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>young</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These songs had to do with the traditional courting situation when a boy would visit a girl according to formalized courting practices.

Kam Raw’s singing in transition

The years from 1960 on was a time of unrest in northern Laos. During the following years Kam Raw stayed at various places in and around his home area. At this time he learned the tõ̂m styles of several villages in that part of the country. Naturally Kam Raw also knows a number of songs in the Lao language, mainly what is generally referred to as pléeŋ Lao. Some of these he probably learned while working in Luang

125 See further Proschan 1989: 381 ff. who also discusses the use of the mouth harp in connection with courting.

126 See for example Dommen 1964 concerning the political situation in Laos at that time.

127 Also called phéŋ Lao. In Lao: pheeng.
Phrabang but also later during the war. He also knows a few songs in Laotian style with Kammu words. These are distinctly different from the various types of old Kammu songs in his repertoire, and also includes some popular Thai songs. In 1973 Kam Raw was in Thailand where he became a helper, an interpreter and eventually an important informant of Kristina Lindell. He arrived in Sweden on 8 August 1974 and became a regular member of the recently started Kammu Language and Folklore Project. Since then he has – with the exception of frequent journeys to Southeast Asia and the USA – been living in the city of Lund, Sweden, officially known by his Thai name, Damrong Tayanin.

Kam Raw’s singing since moving to Sweden

After moving to Sweden Kam Raw’s musical activities have been formed mainly by three circumstances: his family, the fact that he was the only native Kammu speaker in Sweden and his work in co-operation with Swedish researchers.

In his family Kam Raw has above all sung for his children, particularly for his first son who was born in 1978. Most of the lullabies, soothing songs and game songs that he sang then were recorded, mainly by himself. This situation also brought back to his memory many children’s songs that he knew as a child. His children have heard Kam Raw tɔm many times but have not learnt it. This is partly because they have been busy learning Swedish and then Thai and English and then – to differing degrees – the Kammu language. Another reason is that the natural social environment for tɔm does not exist in Sweden. Kam Raw has done his personal singing alone, for example while driving, which reminds him of walking in the forest where one would normally sing to oneself. He has also composed songs, including a lullaby, some songs in Laotian style and a couple of trnɔm.

A form of social singing which is rather widespread among Kammu in Laos and in other countries is sending sung letters using cassette tapes. Such letters include spoken messages mixed with sung messages and the style is almost exclusively tɔm. Kam Raw also has taken part in social singing with Kammu people while visiting the USA, Thailand and Laos.

Much of his singing while living in Sweden has been related to the research situations with the intention of recording, documenting and analysing the performances. As a member of a research team Kam Raw has also had the opportunity to tɔm in formal situations as a courtesy to a host or as part of opening ceremonies or demonstrations in lectures or at conferences. Such situations have occurred in the USA, China, Thailand and Laos as well as in Sweden where at one time he sang to the Swedish queen.

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128 This information comes from Dr Lindell, who has also given me information needed for the Prologue. Other details concerning Kam Raw’s life can be found in Lindell et al. 1984a: LI ff. and in Tayanin 1994.
Closely related to this is singing as a display which Kam Raw has done using sword dance and bamboo dance (including his wife and children) at meetings of Thai and Laotian organizations in Sweden but also at festivals like the Folk Music Week held at the Malmö Academy of Music in 1990.

While living in Sweden Kam Raw has not learned to make music in Western styles, but of course he listens to music that he likes. Apart from the above-mentioned dances his eldest son has been learning to play the mouth-organ khêên. Otherwise his two sons both play the guitar and their idols are not different from those of other Swedish teenagers.

For many years Kam Raw has spent much of his time actively working to ‘rediscover’ what he learnt while growing up. This has made him very observant of his own singing, and of other aspects of his cultural knowledge. As already been mentioned, he is not a professional singer or musician and he is not first thought of as a singer. Though he is certainly among the more competent singers in my source material, singing is but one of his many capacities that he does very well. Apart from general knowledge and understanding of various aspects and practices of Kammu culture and language, this is exemplified by his repertoire of tales. In his own words: ‘The tales are our books and the songs are our letters’.

129 See Lindell et al. 1984a.

Kam Raw is himself very aware of the unusual situation he has been in and he is happy about this, for against the background of today’s Kammu culture in Laos as he knows it he stresses that: ‘If I had continued living in Laos, I would probably not be able to sing at all today’.

Obviously Kam Raw’s active musical life mainly consists of the repertoire he learned as he grew up and until he became a grown man. In approaching this rather complicated tradition it has proved useful to start out in a way similar to his own acquisition of its practice. In the two following chapters one particular trnɔem which he claims that he learned from Khám Lāaŋ will be followed through the transformation from hrī (Chapter 3) to tôem (Chapter 4). This process parallels how Kam Raw learned a number of trnɔem from this person, whom he considers to be his particular teaching master.

Plate 5. Kam Raw (left) teaching how to read Kammu text in the method devised at Lund University. The girl to the right of him is singer and flute-player Khamphɔ́ɔŋ (cf. Epilogue). The other two persons worked with the Kammu language radio broadcasts. Vientiane 1993.
3. Vocal Genres Other Than For Feasts

This chapter is a description and analysis of vocal genres in Kam Raw’s repertoire used at other situations than feasting. A common denominator between them is that they are performed rather straightforwardly without too much musical or poetical variation. This makes them a suitable approach to the more varied tœm vocal genre. The description also serves to point out some basic characteristics of the poetry of the tœm as well as the nature of the relationship between words and music.

The hrîî vocal genre

Hrîî had its proper place when tœm were sung inside the village when there was not a feast going on or when young people sang to each other. Particularly those tœm that were used by young people are closely related to hrîî. The hrîî vocal genre involves very little variation of words and there are few musical embellishments. This made it – as in Kam Raw’s case – a convenient pedagogic medium and a useful mnemonic device. It makes hrîî a natural and suitable starting point for approaching the oral repertoire under study here.

The main outline of a hrîî performance is graphically depicted in Example 1 [Recording track 3]. The delivery of the words is strictly syllabic. The whole performance is dominated by two tone durations. The location of the tone durations divides the words into meaningful verbal units in which the penultimate syllable is long. These units will be called lines. A breathing pause after a line marks out larger units. Such a unit will be called a stanza. In this way the definitions of syllables, lines and stanzas in the poetry of the tœm are based on hrîî performance practice.

The words of this tœm fall into two stanzas, each of which contains four lines. Looking at the interpretation, one may conclude that the first stanza is difficult to understand whereas the second seems to contain a more concrete meaning. This is a common characteristic of the tœm. The first stanza may be seen as a poetic parallel to the second. This particular tœm is a polite tœm that might be sung by a person who visits someone and expresses self-deprecation by the singer/visitor.

The exact intervals in a hrîî performance may vary but basically there are three pitch levels. The lowest pitch level ‘l’ is used in the very beginning of the first line of a stanza. The rest of the words are sung at the low ‘L’ or high ‘H’ pitch levels. This is connected to the fact that the Yuan dialect of the Kammu language is a tone language with a low (‘) and a high (’) word tone. As can be seen in the example, most of the
words with a low word tone are sung at the low pitch level and most of the words with a high word tone are sung at the high pitch level. For the part of performances where word tones and musical pitch coincide I will use the term *word tone centration* whereas other parts are characterized by *music-pitch centration*.

The Kammu language contains both monosyllabic and polysyllabic words. A special feature is the existence of half-syllables or minor syllables. Words with such half-syllables are called sesquisyllabic: for example words like *kl-tàak* [tree] and *k-núun* ‘knee’ (see Example 1). However, in hrîĩ performance no difference is made between half-syllables and major syllables. The initial consonant of a half-syllable is normally followed by the vowel ‘ə’: for example, *kal-tàak, ka-núun*. In ordinary speech this vowel is so fast that it is almost inaudible, but in hrîĩ it is clearly audible. In the transcriptions of performances such sung half-syllables are transcribed by underlining: ə. In other texts this vowel will, following the example of Svantesson, not be written out.

**Example 1.** An outline of a *trnàam* in a *hrîĩ* performance by Kam Raw, recorded in Lund, Sweden, 11 November 1982 [I am still small like a little child, Appendix 2: 2d1:2. Recording track 3].

*Interpretation:*

I am still weak like a plaited table,
Weak like a plaited table, like a stepped-on tree-trunk.
I am still weak like a plaited table,
Weak like a plaited table, like a stepped-on tree-stump.

I am still small like a little child,
Small like a little child, less than knee-high.
I am still small like a little child,
Small like a little child, just about knee-high.

Total time: 14 seconds; — ≈ 260

Pitch levels:

<table>
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<th>— —</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lowest (l)</td>
<td>low (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high (H)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

130 Svantesson 1983: 12 ff.
Vocal genres other than for feasts

Example 1. Cont.

\[ breathing \]
Example 2. The same trnąm as Example 1 in notation [I am still small like a little child, Recorded in Lund 15 Nov. 1982, Appendix 2: 2d1:2. Recording track 3].

I will send my song
Some poetic principles

The characteristics described above are shared by most of the hrli performances. They are all syllabic. No difference is made between long and short vowels, half-syllables are treated as whole syllables and diphthongs are treated as single vowels. The penultimate syllable of a line is generally long – sometimes also the last syllable of a stanza. The delivery is fast and except for breaks between stanzas there are few breathing pauses. There are 12 hrli performances among the studio recordings and 24 among the laboratory recordings (samples I and II respectively in Appendix 3).

When it comes to metre and the order of phrases the number of syllables in a line varies from 5 to 12 with a predominance of 5 or 7 per line. As shown in Example 3a, the longer lines are also longer in performance. One particular trnœm occurs in two hrli versions in which the lines were performed in a different order. Evidently some trnœm are so constructed that the order of the lines can be varied without doing harm to the contents. When this is done the metre comes out differently in the two versions and so do the pitch levels, since high and low word tones will be differently distributed. The deviations can be explained by comparing the difference in location of high and low word tones (Example 3b). This comparison supports the observation that word tones and pitch levels are closely related in hrli.

Example 3a. Examples of word metre in hrli.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of syllables performed:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:</td>
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</table>
Example 3b. The same performance as Example 1 (p. 48): 5+7+5+7.
**Vocal genres other than for feasts**

**Example 3c. The same trnəəm performed 5+5+7+7:**

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53
Several kinds of rhyme occur in trnəm. The most obvious are final rhymes which occur in monosyllabic words, in the final syllables of two-syllable words or in the first and last syllables of three-syllable words, but also in combinations of up to three monosyllabic words in a row. Diphthongs may also rhyme. Occasionally different but similar vowels may rhyme (the sounds œœ/ŒŒ and ia/ua in the example). It also happens that two homonyms or identical words are located in the places where rhyme words normally appear. Word tones do not influence the rhymes: a syllable with low word tone can rhyme with low or with high, high can rhyme with high or with low.

Example 4. Examples of rhymes.

| tǐi | ←→ |  kǐi |
| hit |  | this |
| pák | ←→ |  pàk |
| beat |  | ride |
| làm | ←→ |  kàm |
| elf |  | word |
| nɔœŋ | ←→ |  klœœŋ |
| knowledge |  | clepsydra |
| khíaŋ | ←→ |  Cíaŋ |
| dig |  | name mythological being |
| nè | ←→ |  kl - tré |
| small |  | exp small |
| rŋ - kŋl | ←→ |  tŋ - kíl |
| about |  | tree stump |
| kt-pát | ←→ |  dát - rŋ - dát |
| wag |  | exp tremble |
| póʊŋ wàay wɔt | ←→ |  póʊt yàay ròʊŋ |
| touch the untouchable [?] |  | walk around balcony surrounding a house |
| kl - tǎak | ←→ |  hn-tàak |
| tree |  | tongue |
| pɔo | ←→ |  làa |
| tree |  | say |
| khíaŋ | ←→ |  hùaŋ - kl-hùaŋ |
| dig |  | exp looks |
In one common rhyme pattern the last syllable (or one of the last) of a line rhymes with the first syllable (or one of the first) of the following line. This pattern may be repeated for a substantial number of lines which is one reason why I choose to call it *chain rhyme*. The Kammu word is *trwàt* which means ‘interlocking’ or ‘catching each other’. The chain rhyme actually occurs more frequently in ceremonial or ritual songs and in prayers than in *trnọm*.

However when present in *trnọm*, the lines are normally grouped into stanzas and generally the chain pattern does not extend outside a stanza. This kind of rhyme is closely related to the rhymes of the proverbs called ‘rhyme-pivot sayings’ by Lindell. It is also one of the most frequently recorded rhyme patterns in the literature on the poetry of ethnic groups of Southeast Asia. This rhyme pattern occurs in five out of the 29 different *trnọm* among Kam Raw’s hrhili performances.

**Example 5. Chain rhyme [The sunset is nearly past, Appendix 2: 9a5].**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t -</th>
<th>kán</th>
<th>và</th>
<th>sút</th>
<th>sút</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bamboo rat</td>
<td>plug in</td>
<td>exp sob</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| t - | kúut | vàut | l - | trèen |
| buttonquail | fly | exp look | Y |

| r - | yèen | màt | prì | kúut |
| nearly past | sun | set | |

| r - | sút | àm | màt | hàan |
| burst | tear | out | |

| r - | yèen | màt | prì | kúut |
| nearly past | sun | set | |

| r - | sút | àm | màt | kòxr |
| burst | tear | flow | |

---

Interpretation:

Sob, sob, locked-up bamboo rat!
Flap, flap, flying buttonquail!
The sunset is nearly past,
Soon my tears will come.
The sunset is nearly past,
Soon my tears will flow.

Rhyme words:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{súut súut} & = X \quad \text{buttonquail fly} \quad = X^1 \\
\text{exp sob} & \\
\text{1-trèɛŋ} & = Y \quad \text{nearly past} \quad = Y^1 \\
\text{exp look} & \\
\text{kùut} & = X^2 \quad \text{burst} \quad = X^3 \\
\text{set} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The majority of the trnəəm among the hrn performances have interior rhymes of a type which here will be called *cross rhyme*. In Example 6 the positions of the rhymes are shown by means of capital letters and by the superscripts ‘1’ for the first stanza and ‘2’ for the second stanza. Thus X₁ in the first stanza rhymes with X₂ in the second stanza, Y₁ with Y₂ and so on (for practical reasons the repetitions of the rhyme words at the beginning of lines 2, 4, 6 and 8 are disregarded in this figure). This is the most common rhyme pattern in the trnəəm, but there is also much variation. For example, rhyme words do not always fall symmetrically on the corresponding syllables. Trnəəm with cross rhymes may occasionally also contain chain rhymes or end rhymes.

Those rhyme words that are placed some distance away from each other, for example in different stanzas as in Example 6, have the Kammu name kàm prkaąy, ‘return words’. This term also includes other types of rhyme. The expression kàm prkaąy, ‘return words’ carries for Kam Raw the meaning of catching and returning.

---

134 This type of rhyme was described by Lundström and Tayanin 1982: 86 ff.; 1981b: 184 and the term cross rhyme was introduced in Lundström 1983: 55-56.

135 The term ‘end rhyme’ will be used for rhymes between the final words of lines, whereas ‘final rhyme’ refers to the part of a word which functions as a rhyme word.
something, like catching a ball that you throw up into the air and throwing it back.\textsuperscript{136} The Kammu concept \textit{hrlo pragp}, which Proschan translates as ‘reverse words’, has been taken as a starting point by him in his analysis of rhyme in \textit{trnãom}.\textsuperscript{137} If this term exists in the Yùan area, it is not known to Kam Raw.

The hrli performances contain a few \textit{interjections} which are used rather freely and in performance simply lengthen a line. The interjection \textit{sáh}, ‘I say’, is sung at the beginning of lines in most of the hrli performances. In the majority of the cases the word ‘\textit{sáh}’ is squeezed in after a pause, normally a breathing pause. Therefore it occurs particularly often at the beginning of the second or later stanzas and sometimes also in the middle of stanzas (i.e. in the beginning of the third line of a four-line stanza). Even though the word tone is high, this word is normally sung at the lowest pitch level just like the immediately following words. It is always given a short tone duration.

Only two other interjections appear among the studio recordings, namely \textit{ɔɔ yò} ‘oh, friend(s)’ and \textit{snnì oo}, ‘like that, oh’. These are used as final formulae at the very end of performances. In the Kammu language sentences are made interrogative by the addition of the particles \textit{béc}, \textit{béc òo} or \textit{béc ɨ̀ɨ}. Four of the hrli performances contain such question particles. In these cases the particles are located at the end of lines and do not influence the rhyme pattern.

\textbf{Example 6. Cross rhyme (for interpretation see Example 1, p. 48.} \textit{[I am still small like a little child, Appendix 2: 2dI:2].}

\begin{tabular}{ccccccc}
\textbf{àay} & \textbf{mèh} & \textbf{krê} & \textbf{nôcô} & \textbf{òôn} & \textbf{kìl} & \textbf{tàak} \\
I am & low table & still & soft & & & tree \\
\hline
\textbf{krê} & \textbf{nôcô} & \textbf{òôn} & \textbf{pùun} & \textbf{pùun} & \textbf{pùun} & \textbf{kl} - \\
low table & still & soft & stamp & [on soil] & & stamp \\
\hline
\textbf{àay} & \textbf{mèh} & \textbf{krê} & \textbf{nôcô} & \textbf{òôn} & \textbf{tùn} - & \textbf{kl} \\
I am & low table & still & soft & & & tree stump \\
\hline
\textbf{krê} & \textbf{nôcô} & \textbf{òôn} & \textbf{pùun} & \textbf{pùun} & \textbf{pùun} & \textbf{kl} \\
low table & still & soft & stamp & [on soil] & & stamp \\
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{136} This question will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

\textsuperscript{137} Proschan 1989: 300 ff.
Rhyme words:

krè  =  X₁  \leftrightarrow  nè  =  X²
low table  small

ɔ̃n  =  Yᵢ  \leftrightarrow  kón  =  Y²
soft  child

pùun pùun  =  Pᵢ  \leftrightarrow  knúun  =  P²
stamp [on soil]  knee

kltàak  =  Qᵢ  \leftrightarrow  hntàak  =  Q²
tree  about

tjkìl  =  Rᵢ  \leftrightarrow  rjkìl  =  R²
tree stump  below

Other interjections occur among the laboratory recordings. They occur only in three performances and may well reflect a tòom practice carried over into hrâ̆ (at least one of these trnòom is of the kind that Kam Raw had not previously sung in the hrâ̆ genre). The interjections are: àay kón, dèe nàaŋ, dèe khɔ̆ŋ, dèe cúu and all translate as ‘oh, dear/love/friend’. In one case a combination of lines occurs where more lines are included (compare Examples 3, pp. 51–53, and 7, note the interjection sàh at the beginning of the second stanza, that the third line of the second stanza is dropped and that lines 2 and 3 of the second stanza occur in a different order compared to Example 3, pp. 51–53):

Interpretation:

→ Really, don't be a fig tree!
→ Really, don't be such a fig tree!

I am still weak like a plaited table,
Weak like a plaited table, like a stepped-on tree-trunk.
I am still weak like a plaited table,
Weak like a plaited table, like a stepped-on tree-stump.
I say,

→ Don’t speak like that!
→ Don’t talk like that!

I am still small like a little child,
Small like a little child, less than knee-high.
Small like a little child, just about knee-high.

If the introductory lines of each stanza (marked with arrows) are studied separately it becomes obvious that they have their own independent rhymes. These lines can therefore be regarded as a separate term which is superimposed on and interspersed with the other one.

**Example 8. The rhyme pattern of the lines marked with an arrow (→→) in Example 7 [Don’t talk like that, Appendix 2: 6f2].**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>táa</th>
<th>crì</th>
<th>táa</th>
<th>ln -</th>
<th>nāh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Y¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>táa</th>
<th>crì</th>
<th>táa</th>
<th>ln -</th>
<th>nāh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Y¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>táa</th>
<th>sáh</th>
<th>táa</th>
<th>tŋ -</th>
<th>nì</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Y²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>táa</th>
<th>ləə</th>
<th>táa</th>
<th>tŋ -</th>
<th>nì</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Y²'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Musical principles**

The music of the hr̤i performances will be described in quantitative terms. This is in order to determine the degree of adherence to principles and also to determine the degree of similarity between the hr̤i studio and laboratory samples (for the samples, cf. Chapter 1 p. 22 ff. and Appendix 3).
The hři studio sample contains 12 performances and the number of different trnøm is 10 (two of them were performed twice). All these trnøm are ones that Kam Raw had sung in the hři genre before and that he sang on his own initiative on the occasion of recording. In all these performances contain 126 lines and 909 syllables.

The hři laboratory sample contains 24 performances and 22 different trnøm (two of them were performed twice). All of them were sung at my request and among them are some trnøm that Kam Raw has said he had never before performed in the hři genre. He managed most of them without trouble but in a couple of cases he had to stop and start over again. Such incomplete renditions are not included among the 24 performances. In total the performances contain 196 lines and 1,393 syllables.

In all these cases there are only two tone durations (except for occasional longer final tones). All performances are dominated by the short tone duration. Invariably the long tone duration occurs on the penultimate syllable of a line and occasionally on the last syllable of a stanza. No difference in duration is made between major syllables containing a short vowel, long vowel or diphthong. In all the performances minor syllables are treated like major syllables and are thus given their own tone durations, making their vowel sound clearly audible. All the hři performances employ three pitch levels: the lowest (l), low (L) and high (H) (see Example 1, p. 48). The approximate intervals between the pitch levels are: l \( \longleftrightarrow \) L: a 4th (five semitones), L \( \longleftrightarrow \) H: a minor 3rd (three semitones).

There is a high degree of correlation between word tones and pitch levels. However, syllables in initial and final formulae are sung at the lowest pitch level regardless of word-tone; the word tones of minor syllables could not be easily checked and have been the theme of a separate study. When these two categories of syllables were subtracted there remained in the studio sample 666 major syllables to be checked and in the laboratory sample 1,150. The pitch levels of these syllables were compared to the word tones in the Kammu Yu-an-English Dictionary. The result of this comparison was a 100 per cent agreement between pitch level and word tone in the studio sample and 99.7 per cent in the laboratory sample. Altogether only four syllables were sung to the ‘wrong’ pitch level. Two of these were Laotian loan words that according to Svantesson are sometimes ambivalent with regard to word-tone.

That minor syllables are also sung in correlation with pitch levels and word tones is shown in a separate study in which the hři performances were used in order to verify assertions made by Svantesson concerning word tone rules for minor

138 For Kammu as a tone language and the musical implications see also Svantesson and Lundström 2005.
139 Lindell et al. nd.
140 Svantesson 1983: 42-43.
syllables. This was possible because in hrñi minor syllables are performed just as major syllables are. It is therefore possible to measure the tones of minor syllables, whereas this is normally not the case in common speech where such syllables are too short.\(^{141}\) Out of the 195 sesquisyllabic words found in the hrñi samples all but one word supported Svantesson’s assertions.\(^{142}\)

The *initial formula* consists of a number of syllables sung at the lowest pitch level. It occurs at the beginning of stanzas and after pauses within a stanza (which are rather rare). Together, the two groups of hrñi recordings contain 116 such instances and only one lacks the initial formula. Example 9 shows the initial formulae of the same hrñi performance that was used in the preceding examples. In Example 9a (the first line of the first stanza) the first word ‘àay’ has a low word-tone. It is followed by two other words with low word tone (‘mñh’ and ‘krè’). The word tone centration starts from the fourth word ‘nññ’ which has a high word-tone. Example 9b (the first line of the second stanza) starts with the same two low word tones at the lowest pitch level, but in this case the third word, which is ‘kññn’, has a high word tone, and word tone centration starts from there. Note that the word ‘såh’ is also given the lowest pitch level though its tone is high. This word can be regarded as an interjection which does not affect the rules of the initial formula but merely results in an extra tone at the very beginning of the line.

Example 9. Examples of initial formulae in hrñi. [Lines from Appendix 2: 2d1:2].

```
a)          
 ___ ___ ___ ___
 àay mñh krè nññ

b)          
 ___ ___ ___ ___
 [såh] àay mñh kññn nññ nè
```

\(^{141}\) Lundström and Svantesson 2008.

\(^{142}\) Svantesson 1983. The assertions made by Svantesson were that major syllables of only an obstruent (p, t, c, k, kh, s, h) do not have word tones but that the domain of the tone is the entire sesquisyllabic word; that minor syllables with an initial ‘l’ or ‘r’ have low tone and that those with initial ‘s’ or ‘h’ have high tone.
The initial formula varies in length. The longest initial formula has six syllables. The proper word tone centration starts on the second syllable or on any of the following ones but not later than the penultimate syllable. The initial interjection and the first syllable of the line is given the lowest pitch level regardless of its word tone. The following summary covers all the 115 lines with an initial formula:

- initial formulae occur at the beginning of a stanza or at the beginning of a line within a stanza after a pause;
- the initial formula consists of one or more syllables sung at the lowest pitch level;
- word tone centration starts at the earliest on the second syllable of a line and at the latest on the penultimate syllable;
- in lines of both low and high word tones the word tone centration is most likely to start with the first high word tone following on the first syllable (disregarding initial interjection), less likely with the second or third high word tone;
- in lines of only low word tones, the word tone centration is most likely to start with the first or second low word tone following on the first syllable (disregarding initial interjection).

There are only a handful examples of a final formula. In practical usage they were probably more frequently used than they are in this material. Two formulae appear among the studio recordings, namely ṣo yɔ̀ ‘oh, friend(s)’ and snni oo, ‘like that, oh’.

Other vocal genres
Apart from hrhiri there are other vocal genres for trnɔɔm that Kam Raw learned in his home village. It should be noted that the source material at hand for these other vocal genres is not as rich as that of hrhiri (the number of performances are listed in Appendix 3:III). For this reason no difference will be made between performances belonging to the studio and laboratory recordings. Furthermore, in the case of hrhiri there was no difference between the two samples.

Hrwɔ̀, which translates approximately as ‘long for, think of’, is a vocal genre that belonged to situations outside of the village like in the fields or while fishing. It was especially used by adolescents, particularly by females. In the hrwɔ̀ performances the words of the trnɔɔm are sung without much variation. The source material contains lines of five, seven or nine syllables. The syllables are performed in an even rhythm.
and the final note of each line is long. The tone of a syllable is often divided in two shorter tones of equal length. This corresponds to a reduplication of vowels (nàaŋ becomes nàaŋ-a) or a new attack on a final vowel of a word (tró becomes tró-a). In the example the locations of frequent vowel reduplication is marked by ‘V’ and the less frequent with ‘v’.

Hrwə̀ differs from hrũi in that it is built on a short melodic motif which is repeated with small variations (Example 10). It makes use of three basic pitch levels. In detail there is much variation in the execution of pitches and in the rhythmic delivery. The highest and the lowest pitch levels are approximately a 4th apart. The middle pitch is normally a minor 3rd above the lowest. The last note has a downward slur with an indefinite ending pitch approximately a 4th below. There is much variation in pitches though. Insofar as word tones affect intonation, it is in the very fast initial attacks of tones. This would need computer analysis, which has not been possible to do for this study. The melodic motif is similar to certain children’s songs and to the pattern employed in ensembles of bamboo idiophones for summoning rain at village ceremonies.

**Example 10. Hrwə̀. Basic template. Each figure stands for a syllable numbered from the end, V = frequent vowel reduplication, v = less frequent vowel reduplication.**

\[\text{Example 10. Hrwə̀. Basic template. Each figure stands for a syllable numbered from the end, V = frequent vowel reduplication, v = less frequent vowel reduplication.}\]

\[\text{Huuwə̀ was mainly sung in the fields and particularly by young girls. It is more or less identical to hrwə̀ but differs in that it has a refrain sung to the syllables ‘huuu wə̀’ before and after the stanzas (Example 11). In the neighbouring Kwëen area the corresponding singing manner was called ‘əə lə̀ə’ after its refrain in that area. The refrain is very similar to the refrain of a lullaby using the words ‘tuul luul’ for lulling a child.}\]

\[\text{143 These bamboo ensembles are studied in Lundström and Tayanin forthcoming.}\]
Yàam, ‘weeping’, was mainly performed by women. Inside the village it was used for soothing songs (a song called Tàa yàam ‘Don’t weep’), for dirges belonging to funeral wakes (Yàam róoy) and a song guiding the soul of the deceased to the land of the dead (Lɔ̀ɔŋ ñɔ̀ɔr). The poetic form of those songs differs from that of the trnò̂m. If somebody had died in a field the clothes of the deceased would be laid there and women would go regularly to yàam there. After the harvesting a ceremony would be held in the field and the women would sing dirges.

Even if this singing is particularly connected to female singing and to funeral practices, it was not exclusively so as demonstrated by the existence of a song called ‘Singing and weeping’ (Tə́əm yàam). Kam Raw sings it in the yàam vocal genre but also tɔ̂ɔms it. In this song the words are not arranged in stanzas as trnò̂m are but in about 20 lines which are tied together by chain-rhymes. It rather resembles certain ceremonial songs. Actually the latter half of the song is identical to the ‘Tiger dance’ (Yùun rwaày) which belonged to the ceremony for driving out the ‘Tiger spirit’ (róoy rwaày), a kind of vampire spirit. The ‘Singing and weeping’ was sung with an unfaithful girlfriend or boyfriend in mind. According to Kam Raw, it is a very serious song by which one actually intended to send away the soul of the person in question to the land of the dead.

Outside of the village yàam was also used for trnò̂m: for example, when women were by themselves while washing in a river, while fishing or catching frogs. Young girls and boys used it sometimes. In these cases yàam was not used for praise or depreciation but rather for joke or youth trnò̂m. Boys and girls could also use yàam for a different kind of rhyme which just as often would be spoken.

Example 12. Yàam. Basic template. Each figure stands for a syllable numbered from the end, V= frequent vowel reduplication, v = less frequent vowel reduplication.
Yàam is based on a short melodic formula which is varied with regard to the length of the lines. The words are organized in an iambic pattern here transcribed as a syncopation. Insofar as word tones affect intonation, it is in the very fast initial attacks of tones. The range is a 6th and the musical phrase is arch-shaped: G-c-d-eb-c-Bb. It has the feel of a triad with a minor touch and with ‘c’ in the example as the central tone that finishes on the 7th, ‘Bb’, similar to a blue ending in blues music. Kam Raw sings in a low register and very softly.

‘Yùun ñiŋ’ is not a Kammu concept for a vocal genre but a term I am using for a vocal genre which is very similar to the melody of a ceremonial song and dance called ‘Water tube dance’ (Yùun ñiŋ) which was used at house-building feasts. According to Kam Raw this vocal genre was used inside the village only in that particular situation. In the forest or field areas it was, however, used for trnñoam. Evidently it was related to singing situations other than that of common feasting. It was commonly used also in the Cwàa, Ùu and Rœk areas and in some villages there it was also used for feasting situations.

Most of the trnñoam that Kam Raw spontaneously has sung in this vocal genre relate to fields and forest: trnñoam of the rice ceremonies in the fields, for walking uphill and those which are connected to travelling. The two latter types of trnñoam have also been sung in this vocal genre by another singer from Kam Raw’s village and one singer stemming from a neighbouring village.

Example 13. Yùun ñiŋ. Basic outline of the two main melodic phrases: a-phrase of 11, 9 or 7 syllables and b-phrase of 10, 9 or 7 syllables.

---

146 The ceremonial giving and receiving of decorated bamboo clappers, pàh, is described in Lundström and Tayanin 1982: 108 ff.
The melodic movement is different from the previous genres and consists of larger intervals, mainly minor thirds and fourths, resulting also in a wider range. Each syllable gets the duration of a iambic unit. With few exceptions the vowels are reduplicated (nàay becomes nàay-a) and final vowels will often have a new attack (trā becomes trā-a or trā-ha). Yùun tịŋ has two musical phrases:

- **a-phrase:** encloses the full range (10th), starts high and ends low,
- **b-phrase:** has the range of a 6th and moves in the lower area.

In performance the words may be sung to a-phrases only but often the a-phrase is followed by the b-phrase throughout the whole performance. The first three iambic units of the a-phrase are sung in the same way in all cases but one, and the same is true of the b-phrase (Example 13). The two final iambic units are sung similarly in many performances. There are two endings of which one occurs more often than the other. There are several small variations in the singing of the penultimate iambic unit. There is no clear evidence of correlation between word tones and pitches.

The examples of phrase length and melody in Example 13 have many exceptions. Here those which appear to form a consistent pattern have been grouped together. Kam Raw also knows a slightly different way of singing which uses basically the same melodic material but differs in that the phrases often return to the high starting pitch that resembles tāəm Cwàa (see Transcriptions 2e and 3c, Appendix 5). He considers these to come from different villages in the Cwàa area.

**Different genre realizations of one trnəəm**

This analysis of hrhi has served several purposes. Although it was necessary to go into some detail, the results can be expressed on a more general level. The most important are:

- vocal performance differs from ordinary speech with regard to intonation, syllable length, long/short vowels, diphthongs etc.;
- there is a strong correlation between poetic and musical metre;
- there is a strong correlation between musical pitch and word tones (word tone centration);

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147 Chao 1956: 53 uses the term singsong for one kind of Chinese vocal expression which is characterized by ‘the fact that it is speech minus the element of intonation’. This is also true of hrhi, but the existence of initial and final formulae as well as temporal changes are unlike singsong.
musical factors may dominate over word tones in portions of the performance (music pitch centration in initial and final formulae);

- syllables, lines and stanzas in *trnəm* could be defined from performances;

- basic rhyme patterns (chain-rhymes and cross-rhymes) could be defined from performances;

- practices of poetic variation and their correlation to the music could be described.

When the other vocal genres were approached in the same manner it turned out that they were built on short, characteristic melodic motifs which were repeated with variation, particularly with regard to the number of syllables in lines. The *yùun tiŋ* differed in that it had a longer motif and wider intervals and range. Also the vowel reduplication appears to be differently used in the vocal genres and may be of importance for the metrical aspects of the different templates.

The fact that all the characteristics of the *hr̄i* performances are present not only in the studio sample but almost without exceptions in the laboratory sample as well indicates that Kam Raw is able to apply the principles of *hr̄i* to new *trnəm*. It can thus be concluded that *hr̄i* may be regarded as a technique for the performance of *trnəm*.

That the approach also turned out to be useful in the description of the other vocal genres indicates that these also may be explained as techniques for the performance of *trnəm*. *The vocal genres can therefore be seen as different media for performing trnəm, each demanding its own technique.*

Performances thus result in rather different manifestations of a *trnəm*. The fact that Kam Raw has spontaneously performed some *trnəm* in more than one vocal genre indicates that this is normal practice to him. In actual practice, however, some *trnəm* were so closely linked to a situation that there seldom was a reason to use them in connection with more than one vocal genre.

When the same *trnəm* is performed according to the techniques of different vocal genres comparison is facilitated since one parameter can be kept stable, or nearly stable: namely the *trnəm*. Transcription 1 (Appendix 5 p. 205) shows such an example [*Recording tracks 6–10*]. The *trnəm* in question is one that Kam Raw has performed spontaneously in various vocal genres (in studio recordings), whereas others were performed at my request (in laboratory recordings). A quick comparison shows that there is no difference in principle between the two groups of recordings.
This is because Kam Raw knows the different techniques for realizing a trnåøm in these vocal genres.

This particular trnåøm is interpreted as follows and characteristically the second stanza contains the concrete information (Appendix 2: 7a3).^{148}

Which silkworm’s fruit are you, dear,
Beautiful and tall like a cùut plant?
Which silkworm’s fruit are you, dear,
Beautiful and tall like a banana flower?

Which mother’s child are you, dear,
Rosy and sweet like a cockscomb flower?
Which mother’s child are you, dear,
Rosy and fair like a cockscomb flower?

**Example 14. Tonal material in the vocal genres.**

148 An additional segment sung in one case (not included in the example) translates as: The cockscomb flower child is still dark red. / The cùut flower dear is still light red.
When the tonal material in these vocal genres is organized in scales it turns out
that hrifié is close to húuwò and hrwò (which are identical) in that the falling third is
structurally important. It has a minor flavour though intonation varies. Yàam also
shares this characteristic, but here the major 2nd below the ‘tonic’ is also prominent
as a final tone. Yùun tìi differs in that the falling 3rd is not used in the end of phrases
but rather the major 2nd. It also has an alternative ending on second tone, d.

Apart from hrifié most of these vocal genres in Kam Raw’s experience primarily
belonged to the localities outside of the village, i.e. the fields or the forest, which
include moving along paths and staying by rivers or streams. The same or very
similar singing manners were also used inside the village but then in rather particular
situations. The predominant locations for use of the vocal genres when singing trnəm
are summarized in Example 15 and contrasted with the situations for corresponding
singing manners or music inside the village.

Example 15. The locations of the use the vocal genres. X = main use, x = also used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use of vocal genres for trnəm outside village</th>
<th>Corresponding genres inside village</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fields</td>
<td>Forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrifié</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrwò</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>húuwò</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yàam</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yùun tìi</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. **Tóem Performances**

Tóem is mainly a solo genre. If people other than the singer are present, they will join in a common tone between stanzas or poetical lines. This is called *knnàay*, ‘cheering’. If the singing is accompanied, it is mainly by a flute playing a slow parallel melody or by the mouth-organ which mainly plays a bourdon. Kam Raw describes the use of tóem as follows:

People tóem while alone or in the company of other persons. In the latter case the singing is often directed at one or several of those present. Singing to a person normally implies that an answer is expected or that the other person will take over. Traditional situations for tóem while alone were when walking along forest paths in order to gather food, to go fishing or while travelling for trading purposes. One occasion for tóem in company with others was at evening gatherings in the fields in the period before harvesting when mainly young boys stayed there.

But the main occasion for tóem was village feasts. Feasts were arranged when visitors arrived but also in connection with life-cycle ceremonies or the yearly cycle. At feasts the singing was predominantly done by men who were seated around a common wine jar, sipping rice wine through straws. The singing could go on all through the night and could have an element of competition. Ceremonial feasts could last for several days.

You tóem basically because you are happy or because you are sad, but there were certain restrictions. It was bad manners or even forbidden to tóem inside the village if no feast was going on. In that case hrñi was the normal vocal genre to use. Also if someone paid a visit to a villager, but not in connection with a wine feast, and the visitor and host wanted to exchange then it would be suitable to use hrñi.

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149 Mouth-organs of the same basic construction as the Laotian type, *khéén*, are used by many Kammu who call them *sjēial* (cf. Li and Yuan 1981 or 1983). There were no khéén in Kam Raw’s home village when he grew up. He heard the Lamet mouth-organ used in a similar manner in a neighbouring village. This instrument is called *smyñày* and is differently constructed, having a round air chamber and fewer pipes with resonators (cf. photograph in Izikowitz 1951: 77).

Tə̱əm was taboo when somebody had died – in fact the family members of a deceased person should not tə̱əm for a year. In the past this taboo lasted for three years. It was also taboo to tə̱əm in the fields during harvesting for it was believed that loud sounds would anger the rice soul and thereby endanger the harvest.151

In this chapter the tə̱əm of Kam Raw will be described and analysed using the results of the previous chapter as a starting point. The tə̱əm performances will be limited to those trnəəm among the studio and laboratory recordings that were performed both in the tə̱əm and hrɦĩ vocal genres. In this manner the material will be limited not only in quantity but also in complexity since only the tə̱əm performances that can be approached via their corresponding hrɦĩ varieties are used. The number of tə̱əm performances is 44 and the number of different trnəəm is 31. The recordings are grouped together in the hrɦĩ/tə̱əm sample (Sample III in Appendix 3).

Tə̱əm Yʊən
Kam Raw’s singing is in the tradition of his home village Rmcůal and the neighbouring parts of the Yʊən area. This tradition is called tə̱əm Yʊən. In performance the dynamic contrasts can be large – from an initial loud shout at one extreme to an almost inaudible murmuring at the other. The singing begins high and loud and descends to low and weak so that the overall shape of the melodic movement resembles a shouted phrase. There is no distinct beat, but there is an underlying slow pulse. A special feature is that the end of stanzas are often sung accelerando. Large portions of the stanzas appear to be predominantly word tone centred. The trnəəm are often adorned by words which do not interfere with the rhyme patterns and have the character of initial and final formulae. In such parts a performance tends to be more music pitch centred [Recording tracks 4–5]. The most common characteristics of the tə̱əm Yʊən are:

• an initial expressive ‘həəy’, ‘hey’, ‘oh’, which is sung as a loud, high-pitched tone;
• a low-pitched ‘eee’, ‘oh’ at the beginning of the second or later stanzas or after major pauses within stanzas;
• a final expressive ‘káay sáh’, ‘return, I say’ ‘then I say’ meaning ‘that’s all’, ‘so’ or ‘this is what I say’, which is sung at a low pitch and finished off with a downward slur. It occurs at the end of stanzas but also sometimes at the ends of lines within stanzas.

Example 16. The contours of the musical phrases in the tòm Yuàn shown in a simplified graph built on the performance in Transcription 1a (Appendix 4).
Pauses in the performance generally coincide with the lines of the tunes as defined in the previous chapter. Thus the performance can be said to consist of a number of musical phrases that generally coincide with poetic lines. Using Greek letters they can be described as follows. In a standard case the order of the musical phrases will be: $\alpha \beta \beta' \gamma / \delta \beta \beta' \gamma$.

**α-phrase**  Initial phrase. Occurs in the beginning of a first stanza, sometimes also for later stanzas and occasionally at a line within a stanza. It starts on a high pitch (c in the transcriptions) and falls one octave.

**β-phrase**  Middle phrase. Within the range of a 5th (g–c).

**β'-phrase**  Middle phrase with a breathing pause.

**γ-phrase**  Final phrase. Occurs at the end of a stanza, occasionally at the end of a line within a stanza. Range: 6th. Ends on the 7th (Bb) with a downward slur often sung accelerando.

**δ-phrase**  Initial phrase. Occurs in the beginning of the second or later stanzas, occasionally at a line within a stanza. Range: 6th. Starts with an upward glissando to the low pitch (C).

### Metre and rhythm

The major part of a tām Yūan performance consists of words organized in a iambic pattern. The proportions between tones in a iambic unit vary depending on the performance style. Generally, relaxed solo performances are rather free and have a high degree of rubato, whereas dialogues are more consistently performed in this way. In the transcriptions the latter has been taken as the norm for all performances. Therefore the pulse unit is symbolized by a quarter-note with a triplet subdivision. This means that the proportion between the short and the long tone in a iambic unit is described as 1:2. With this as a norm fluctuations in speed have been followed. In some performances though, a ratio of 2:5 or 1:4 lies near at hand. If an unchanging beat had been used as a norm, the transcriptions would include many rhythmic variations. The choice that has been made here is therefore to be seen as an approximation to facilitate the identification of structures of order rather than the variability. The following codes are used in the description of the metre and rhythm: \[153\]

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152  Differing performance styles are further discussed in Chapter 7.
153  See further Appendix 5.
designates syllables which are squeezed in and take space from the surrounding tones while not affecting the metre;

designates syllables performed short;

designates syllables performed long;

(≈ — + ——) designates syllables performed extra long, equaling one iambic unit, generally corresponding to one pulse beat ≈ 55–60.

The basic realization of the words is that of a varying number of iambic units ending with a long and stressed syllable. Often a seven-syllable line simply has one more iambic unit than a five-syllable line:

Example 17. Iambic pattern of a five- and a seven-syllable line [lines from Appendix 2: 2dI:2].

Breathing pauses often occur in a β-phrase, which is then designated β’. The breathing pause occurs anywhere except during the first or last iambic unit – usually in the middle of a sentence and quite often in the middle of a word. The recitation is simply stopped after a iambic unit, the last tone of which will have a downward tail slur. After a breathing pause the singing starts again on the vocalise ‘eee’, whereupon the recitation continues with a full iambic unit. In practice this means that one iambic unit is added, the first part of which is a breathing pause and the second part a vocalise.

In lines which are longer than seven syllables, new iambic units are normally added. When the musical aspects of the phrases α, β, γ, δ are taken into account, their characteristic initial and final motifs are present in all cases no matter how many syllables there are in the line. This means that it is the middle parts of the musical phrases that are flexible and can be made longer or shorter depending on how many words or syllables are sung. For lines consisting of an odd number of syllables (which dominate), this pattern can be shown as in Example 18. This technique will be called prolongation.

Example 18. Prolongation of lines by iambic units.

Syllables per line:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5:</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An alternative technique for handling longer lines is to squeeze more syllables into a line by splitting one of the short tones into still shorter ones. Although not exclusively, this occurs more often for certain iambic units than others. Thus a five-syllable line becomes a six- or a seven-syllable line and so on. This technique permits a тм³°й made up of lines of nine and eleven syllables to be performed as if they were five- and seven-syllable lines. This technique will be called contraction.\(^{155}\)

Example 19. Contraction of lines by splitting tones into shorter ones.

Syllables per line:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{155}\) Compton 1979: 146–151 mentions techniques of ‘squeezing’ or ‘stretching’ syllables in connection with lam (Lam Sithandone) which, however, has more regular phrases than тм³°й that are made up of a certain number of beats. A similar phenomenon has been noted by Collaer 1962: 86 ff. in a polyphonic Naga song. He uses the terms ‘dilatation’ and ‘contraction’ for similar things but does so by relating variations in performance of a certain motif relative to a basic form that evidently was extracted from the performance by comparison of the variants – or perhaps being the first manifestation of the motif in the performance. This and the fact that the verbal aspect of the performance was not taken into account makes it difficult to relate his results to the practice of тм³°й in any way other than as an example of a possibly related phenomenon. Note that the term has a different meaning here in comparison to Fabb 1997: 61.
Lines of an even number of syllables can be performed as uneven simply by changing two tones in an iambic unit into a double long. This usually occurs on the third iambic unit counting from the end. This changes a seven-syllable phrase into a six-syllable one, a nine into an eight and an eleven into a ten and will be termed *adaptation by tying* (Example 20).

As was shown in the previous chapter tōm performances usually contain various *interjections* and words which do not alter the poetic form of the trnōm. Often it seems that a pair of *embellishment words* are there to create lines of equal length, for example dēe nàaŋ, ‘oh, dear’, This will be called *adaptation by embellishment words* (Example 21).
Example 20. Adaptation by tying: lines of an even number of syllables created from lines of an uneven number.

Syllables per line:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7:</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9:</th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>8:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>11:</th>
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<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>10:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 21. Adaptation by embellishment words: iambic pattern of a 5+2 and a seven-syllable line [lines from Appendix 2: 2d1:2].

Similarly the words say or am are often introduced into a line for what seems to be metrical purposes. By this method a ten-syllable line becomes an eleven-syllable line without another alteration (Example 22).

The word sāh, ‘I say’, is often sung at the beginning of a line. This word is normally squeezed in before the first syllable of the line without altering the main rhythmic declamation (Example 23).
EXAMPLE 22. Adaptation by embellishment words: fitting a line of an even number syllables to an uneven one by means of an interjection (əəy).

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & əəy & 8 & 9 & 10 \\
\end{array}
\]

EXAMPLE 23. The initial interjection ‘sáh’ [lines from Appendix 2: 2d1:2].

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccccccc}
\text{sá} & \text{đāy} & \text{mēn} & \text{krē} & \text{nœ} & \text{đē} & \text{nāa} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccccccc}
\text{sá} & \text{krē} & \text{nœ} & \text{đē} & \text{pōun} & \text{pōun} & \text{kāl} & \text{tāak} \\
\end{array}
\]

Reduplication of vowels occurs often, i.e. mēn becomes mēn-e or mēn-eɛ. In these cases one syllable becomes two, and these two syllables are either of equal length or the second syllable is long. Likewise the minor syllable of a sesquisyllabic word (see Chapter 3 p. 48) often has a doubled vowel, i.e. kltāak becomes kāl-o-tāk-aa.

If the syllable with a doubled vowel falls on a short note that note, will be split into two shorter ones of approximately equal length. If it falls on a long tone, the first vowel will occupy the latter part of the preceding short tone and the doubled vowel will occupy the space of the long tone (marked out with italics in Example 24). If the syllable falls on the final double-long tone of a phrase, this tone will be divided into a short and a long or into equal halves (marked with bold letters).

The frequent reduplication of vowels sometimes makes sung words differ considerably from ordinary speech, but there is hardly reason to speak of a special song language. Reduplication of vowels may also occur in speech to fill out space while the speaker is thinking how to continue. According to Kam Raw this is also a way to make the language more beautiful in formal situations. It may have the same function in singing, but there it occurs so often that reduplication seems to be the rule rather than exception. The emphasis on the vowels may also have a poetic reason similar to the one noted by Emeneau concerning Toda songs and have the function to add syllables in order to fit the sung lines. The rhymes and the play

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with sounds are reinforced in this manner, helping to give the performance a certain character or ‘vowel colour’.

**Example 24. Reduplication of vowels [lines from Appendix 2: 2d1:2].**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sā-aay</th>
<th>mɛ̀ɛn</th>
<th>krè</th>
<th>nɔŋ</th>
<th>ðɔn</th>
<th>dɛɛ</th>
<th>nāaŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sāaay mɛ̀ɛn- ee</td>
<td>krè</td>
<td>nɔŋ</td>
<td>ðɔn</td>
<td>dɛɛ</td>
<td>nāaŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sāh</th>
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<th>nɔŋ</th>
<th>ðɔn</th>
<th>pùun</th>
<th>pùun</th>
<th>kəl-</th>
<th>tɑɑk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sāh</td>
<td>krè</td>
<td>nɔŋ</td>
<td>ðɔn</td>
<td>pùun- uu</td>
<td>pùun kəl-</td>
<td>aɑ-</td>
<td>tɑɑk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Melodic movement**

When initial and final formulae are subtracted, i.e. the parts where music pitch centration dominates, a performance is more influenced by word tone centration. This happens above all for the β-phrase but also parts to α-, γ- and δ-phrases. The following analysis utilizes all the β-phrases in the sample.

The pitch combinations that occur can be reduced to four, as shown in Example 25. In general, high word tones are, when they are stressed, sung high (G) and less often medium (Eb), whereas low word tones are sung either medium (Eb) or low (C). The correspondence is at least ≥ 50 per cent. However, this also means that word tone recitation is not strictly applied. Certain pitch combinations are juxtaposed to certain word tone combinations more frequently than to others, but other pitch combinations occur in juxtaposition to more than one word tone combination. This applies to the final syllable, which is always sung in the same manner, no matter what the word tone is. One long tone is used in ten-syllable phrases in the third iambic unit counting from the end. This gives an impression of an extra ending or a half-cadence in long lines.

The pitch combination (low–low, C–C in the transcriptions) occurs in combination with H–H, L–L as well as L–H word tones. It seems more neutral than

pronounced with the final consonant of a word no matter which vowel preceded it. There are also other syllables without meaning.
the others and probably also has a structural function. It occurs particularly often in connection with embellishment words when several syllables in succession have the same word tone or when rhymes or assonances are emphasized. It normally occurs in the latter part of the phrase and often in the penultimate iambic unit or in the third counting from the end. In total the β-phrases may thus be characterized as rather word tone centred with music pitch dominance always on final tones and sometimes on the penultimate unit or on the third counting from behind.

**Example 25. Pitch combinations and word tones in β-phrases.**

![Example 25](Image)

The initial falling phrase, the α-phrase, is the most characteristic part of the Yûan têam performances. It has the character of an initial formula which may also be used at the beginning of any of the following stanzas or sometimes also before lines within a stanza. This is a part of the performance where the singer can show off musically. The articulation of the α-phrase varies with the situation and with Kam Raw’s intensity and concentration.

The α-phrase is invariably begun with a long and loud, high-pitched tone and finished with a long tone an octave lower (Example 26). The first and second iambic units are sung in a high range and the remainder of the phrase is in a medium range. The words are regularly performed in a iambic fashion. The high and medium ranges are either bridged by a falling motif or by an abrupt junction involving a large downward jump (marked with arrows in the example). The first part of the α-phrase is dominated by music pitch centration. Word tones do sometimes coincide with
pitches there, but just as often melodic line or stress dominate. The latter part of the phrase adheres to the principles described in the β-phrase.

**Example 26. Examples of α-phrases.**

The last phrase of a stanza, the γ-phrase, initially resembles a β-phrase but differs in that it normally has a short final formula with the words kàay sáh, ‘I then say’ or ‘this I say’ in the low range and often is preceded by an accelerando (Example 27a). The accelerando has the effect of hurrying in order to finish all the remaining air in the singer’s lungs. This effect is reinforced by the fact that the final note has a long downward slur. Occasionally also other lines of a stanza may end with this formula.

The δ-phrase begins a second or later stanza of a tòom performance and normally follows a γ-phrase. It occupies the same place in the second or later stanzas of the trnòom as the α-phrase does in the first stanza. More rarely it occurs at the beginning of a line within a stanza. The δ-phrase moves mainly in the low range, but phrases of seven or particularly nine or more syllables tend to continue in the middle range in the fashion of β-phrases. The first iambic unit is invariably sung to the vocalise ‘Eee’ as shown in Ex 28. The second iambic unit normally varies with the word tone but is not strictly word tone centred. The last iambic unit has a long tone like all the phrases.
The correspondence between pitch and word tones needs to be commented upon further. In the case of hrī it was shown that the correlation was simple and complete, introductory and final formulae being the only exceptions. In tôm this question appears to be less simple. There are portions of the singing which are more music pitch centred than word tone centred. These are particularly the initial formulae (approximately the first half of the α- and γ-phrases) and final formula (the latter part of the δ-phrases), but direct correlation between word tones and musical pitch also do occur in these parts to a substantial degree. The remainder of a stanza is basically word tone centred and in the lower range (β-phrases), although the correlation between pitch area and word tone is not slavishly adhered to.

There are also frequent cases of non-correlation between word tones and musical intervals. One possible explanation would be that in such relations correlation may not be straightforward and simple and therefore difficult to detect. Several examples in the literature show that the relation between word tone and pitch may be rather complex. In Thai music, for example, certain sequences of word tones may result in musical motifs that in part are contradictory to the word tones but nevertheless
co-ordinated as a whole. This also may be the case in Kammu tradition, though the fact that the dialect at hand has only two tones might perhaps suggest that this is less likely. One factor also of importance here is stress. A syllable or word may be stressed for musical, lexical or emotional reasons. A combination of these factors may result in a seemingly unsystematic handling of pitches and word tones, particularly in initial and final phrases which are normally dynamically stressed.

**Example 28. Combination of motifs in the δ-phrases.**

![Diagram of Combination of motifs in the δ-phrases]

**Two tə́əm Yùan performances of one trnə̀əm**
The tə́əm Yùan of Kam Raw will here be exemplified by two versions of the same trnə̀əm which was used as an example of hrı̆ in the previous chapter (Examples 2–3 pp. 50–53 and 6–9 pp. 57–62) presented in Transcription 2 (Appendix 5) [*Recording tracks 4–5*]. The α-phrase of the first performance (1a) falls quickly and goes directly

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157 Cf. for example Tanase-Ito 1988 and also Oesch 1979: 18–19, who concludes that in Yao tradition ‘if the song is syllabic... the level of the musical version is defined by the relative position of a tone to its preceding tone’ and ‘if the song is melismatic... the intonation of the word is expressed in music by an ascending or descending melismatic configuration’. Oesch also notes that final formulae are musical culminations where music often dominates.
to the lower pitch in the second iambic unit. It is a seven-syllable type of line. The β-
phrase largely follows the pattern described above as does the breathing pause in the
β’-phrase. The γ-phrase of the first stanza has seven syllables, and the final formula
is squeezed into one iambic unit.

The second stanza starts with a δ-phrase. The β-phrase contains two high word
tones in the first iambic unit and thus differs from the corresponding phrase of the
first stanza. The following β’-phrase behaves according to the common principles,
and again the final γ-phrase is a seven-syllable type, contracted to fit one iambic unit
and sung accelerando.

This is a rather standard təəm Yūan performance by Kam Raw. It contains few
alterations or variations and the poetic lines are sung in a straight and simple fashion.
The performance in Transcription 1b pp. 205 ff., however, includes more words (this
is the same combination of trnəəm as presented in Exs 6–7 pp. 57–60).

It is the first line being sung that gets the α-phrase, whereas the first line of the
second trnəəm (‘āay mə̄h kə̀ kə̀nə̄n ŋə̄n’) is combined with a β-phrase. The same goes
for the beginning of the second stanza: δ-phrase plus β-phrase. Apart from smaller
differences in pitch, breathing pauses and rhythm or stress, the major difference is in
the second stanza (see *) where the lines of the trnəəm are tied together into a 12-
syllable β’-phrase. This shows the normal degree of variation from one performance
to another and illustrates how embellishment words or lines and combinations of
lines may be performed.

Other təəm melodies
In Kam Raw’s home village the təəm Yūan formula was the basic təəm melody
type and it had many individual variants. Neighbouring villages had their own təəm
formulae still within the same basic frame. Generally, the melodies of other dialect
areas differed more (see Map 1). Kam Raw knows a handful of such local formulae.
These will here be referred to as təəm area melodies.

From the late 1940s and during the 1950s it became common in Kam Raw’s
home village to use the singing manner of the Cwàa area. After that time it became
more common to use the singing manner of the Ūu and Kwëən areas. One reason for
this change was that due to enlistment Kammu people began to move around more
than before. Most of the Kammu singers from the Yūan area who are represented
in my material actually preferred to use the Kwëən area melody. Only a few used
təəm Yūan even though it belonged to their traditional singing and they used it only
occasionally.

158 In the village Mọŋ Klàaŋ, for example, they sang kàay ɕněː more often than kàay sáh.
The source material for Kam Raw’s performances of other area melodies is not as rich as that of tóom Yüan (the number of performances are listed in Appendix 3). The description will here be based mainly on the order of musical phrases, melodic contour, initial and final formulae, the rhythmic distribution of words and vowel reduplication (see Example 29, Transcription 3 in Appendix 5 pp. 213 ff.) [Recording tracks 11–14].

The tóom Kwèen is rather similar to Yüan but still distinctly different. The introductory ‘həy’ starts with a higher grace note and leads much faster down to the recitation pitch. There is no particular ending formula. The dynamic contrasts are not as large as in tóom Yüan and there is no marked accelerando at the end of stanzas. There is no special initial formula for the second stanza. Either the recitation continues or one starts over with the introductory ‘Həy’, which therefore is heard more often in tóom Kwèen. The impression is that of a rather strict rhythmic realization of the words. Rhythmically there is less of a triple feel though the recitation is mainly iambic. Particularly in the even-numbered lines syllables are squeezed into a shorter space by speed-doubling. Characteristically almost every word has a vowel reduplication. The singing is mainly at a low pitch which is almost only interrupted when there are high word tones or syllables with particularly heavy stress.

**Example 29. Melodic contours of the first two phrases of the area melodies. Cf. transcription 3a–d (Appendix 4).**

![Melodic contours of the area melodies](image-url)
In tə́əm Cwàa the initial ‘həəy’ is reached by a higher grace note and followed by an ‘əəy’ which during one iambic unit falls nearly one octave to a recitation pitch. The final word of the first line gets three iambic units and here the pitch again rises to the high pitch level. This is the α-phrase. The β-phrase stays close to the recitation pitch all the way. The γ-phrase is an α-phrase without the initial ‘həəy əəy’. Most words have vowel reduplication. As in tə́əm Kwèen, speed-doubling occurs particularly at the beginning of even-numbered lines, i.e. in beginning of the β-phrases.

Kam remembers having learned one way of singing this melody in 1962 when he was in the village Pcrèe and its surroundings in the Cwàa area. There he heard ‘Don’t weep’ (Tàa yàam) and ‘Water tube dance’ (Yùun tíŋ) and he learned several tə́əm. The melody used in those villages for general tə́əm resembles Yùun tíŋ and Kam Raw believes that perhaps this melody and the tradition of the ‘Water tube dance’ (Yùun tíŋ) came to his home village with the fashion for Cwàa influences in the early 1950s or even earlier (cf. Chapter 3 pp. 66–67).

Example 30. Tonal material of the area melodies.

The tə́əm Ùu is quite different from the area melodies described so far. One obvious difference is the character of voice. Kam Raw changes his voice quality radically and sings at a rather low pitch with a continuous fast and narrow vibrato. The initial ‘həəy’ is sung at a much lower pitch than in the previous formulae, starting with a
downward glissando and followed by a pause. The ‘hɔɔy’ is repeated approximately after every two lines and has the character of a refrain rather than an initial formula of a phrase. The words of the first line are sung rather rapidly to a rising melody which is repeated for the second line. The general impression is that of a syllable-counting performance (of a similar kind as in hrli) as opposed to the iambic organization of the other area melodies. Vowel reduplication occurs regularly on the penultimate word of a line and only occasionally elsewhere. There are no particular introductions for the first line of the second stanza and there are no final formulae.

The tonal material of the area melodies is rather similar and also resembles that of the other vocal genres (see Example 14). Yùan differs in ending a large second below the tonic. The Ùu area melody differs more, finishing on the minor 3rd below. This is similar to the Yùan tîn melody.

In this chapter a number of characteristic tɔɔm Yùan traits have been shown by taking advantage of the fact that certain tɔɔm may be performed both as hrli and tɔɔm. In a sense this parallels the way Kam Raw learned a number of tɔɔm and is true of those used as examples here. The tɔɔm thus constitutes the link between the two vocal genres. The analysis showed:

• a iambic pattern of performing;
• methods of variation identified as prolongation, contraction and tying;
• use of embellishment words for symmetry;
• systematic reduplication of vowels;
• correspondences between language and music;
• correspondences between poetic and musical variation.

Looking at performance as technique permits this analysis of tɔɔm and also clarifies the variations demonstrated by the two different performances in Transcription 2 (Appendix 5). Therefore it is reasonable to regard the characteristics of tɔɔm Yùan shown here as techniques in tɔɔm as practiced by Kam Raw within the frame of the tɔɔm Yùan. It was also shown that Kam Raw is able to handle the techniques of performing tɔɔm in the area melodies of the areas of Kwèn, Cwàa, and Ùu. Though similar in their basic construction, there are distinct differences between them in several respects, the most obvious being the initial formulae, melodic contour and the principles of vowel reduplication.
5. ELABORATE TŌM PERFORMANCES

Syllables, lines and stanzas in tōm poetry were defined by analysis of a number of performances in the hrāi vocal genre (Chapter 3). It was found that many tōm consist of two stanzas made up of four lines each. The stanzas are kept together by repetitions and by rhyme patterns – normally cross rhyme or chain rhyme. It was also found that the order of the lines within a stanza could vary and that interjections or embellishment words could occur as could combinations of tōm.

These findings were then used to analyse musical aspects of Kam Raw’s tōm Yūan (Chapter 4). It was shown how stanzas are related to musical form, that the words are delivered in a iambic rhythm and that the musical phrases can be correlated to the poetic lines either by adding more tones to a musical phrase (prolongation), by squeezing tones in without making the musical phrase longer (contraction), by tying tones together or by using embellishment words. It was also shown that the vowel of a syllable was often repeated after the final consonant of the syllable (reduplication). Further it was shown how tōm could be performed in any of a number of vocal genres or tōm area melodies.

So far the analysis has been limited to tōm in rather uncomplicated tōm performances or to other vocal genres which do not involve much poetic variation. Starting with this chapter the results will be used for analysis of more elaborated and complex tōm Yūan performances with examples taken from the complete tōm sample. In this chapter a number of poetic elements of the tōm in tōm performance will be defined in order to construct categories and a vocabulary for an analysis of the realization of tōm in the tōm vocal genre, i.e. a method for analysis of the oral and much varied realization of tōm. Some of these categories correspond to entities expressed by Kam Raw whereas others do not. As a system of categories it is thus a theoretical construct with no counterpart in traditional Kammu culture. The elements are ordered from the smallest to the largest.

Combining poetic elements

*Embellishment words* are words which deviate from the syllable patterns of lines and which can be present or absent without affecting the rhyme patterns. Embellishment words may be single words or word pairs or combinations of these:
**Example 31. Embellishment words.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introductory words:</th>
<th>hey</th>
<th>(I) say</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ee</td>
<td>oh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final words:</th>
<th>then (I) say</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kàay sáh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khùn dée</td>
<td>pity oh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tük dée</td>
<td>poor oh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exclamations:</th>
<th>also, too</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ee</td>
<td>oh, but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öäm</td>
<td>oh (requesting, suggesting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öay</td>
<td>oh, well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó</td>
<td>let’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nòo</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo</td>
<td>oh, well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yəh</td>
<td>oh, well</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amplifications:</th>
<th>we</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>à</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>béc ii</td>
<td>[question particles]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>béc oo</td>
<td>[question particles]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>béc too</td>
<td>[question particles]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ì</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kósên</td>
<td>indeed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ô</td>
<td>(I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ô) lóo</td>
<td>(I) then</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words of address:</th>
<th>mister, friend [male]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>àay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cúu</td>
<td>dear [=darling]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khòo</td>
<td>dear [=darling or (male) friend]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làar</td>
<td>mister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàaŋ</td>
<td>miss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nòōy</td>
<td>little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plà</td>
<td>beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pòo</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāk</td>
<td>beloved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāan</td>
<td>beloved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yō</td>
<td>friend [male]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These words are often grouped together two by two or in longer sequences. They are sung in consequence with the iambic distribution of words discussed in Chapter 4. Most often they are grouped and performed as shown below:

---

159 Mottin 1980: 13-14 has made a similar list from love dialogue songs of Hmong Blanc. See also Graham 1954: 101 ff.

160 These paired embellishment words correspond to what Compton 1979: 139 calls ‘additive phrases’ in Lao lam which also has similar words called ‘initial phrases’ at the beginning of lines.
Example 32. Iambic organization of embellishment words.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>déc</td>
<td>nàañ</td>
<td>oh, dear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qm</td>
<td>phia</td>
<td>oh, beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pòp</td>
<td>qey</td>
<td>you, oh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ràk</td>
<td>tàan</td>
<td>dear love</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tük</td>
<td>déc</td>
<td>yò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰin</td>
<td>déc</td>
<td>nàañ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Poor, oh friends
oh, pity, dear

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰin</td>
<td>déc</td>
<td>nàañ</td>
<td>kàay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sàh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Oh, pity, dear, this I say

Words of address deviate from the syllable patterns of lines. Normally they have their own rhyme patterns which also set them apart from the lines of the trnɔom. They usually consist of six syllables divided in two equal halves, i.e. 3 + 3 syllables. The rhymes are of the type X₁ Y₁ × X₂ Y₂ or X₁ Y₁ Z₁ × Z₂ Y² X². Embellishment words or other variations often occur in actual singing. In performance the first and second parts of the words of address are usually interspersed with the lines of the trnɔom and are therefore quite separated from each other in time.

Example 33. Words of address.

For a wife-giving group:

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plàañ</td>
<td>Im -</td>
<td>trèem,</td>
<td>ñem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silver-</td>
<td>exp long, fine</td>
<td>Y₁</td>
<td>X²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interpretation:

Silvergrass so long and fine; wife-givers so wealthy.

For friends:

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ùul</td>
<td>hóom</td>
<td>trò,</td>
<td>yò</td>
<td>pròom</td>
<td>tùul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X¹</td>
<td>Y¹</td>
<td>Z¹</td>
<td>Z²</td>
<td>Y²</td>
<td>X²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire-</td>
<td>bind</td>
<td>torch</td>
<td>friends</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>friends</td>
<td>friends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

91
Interpretation:

Torches bound together; good old friends.

Segments are phrases linked together by rhyme(s), parallelism or other poetic techniques which normally are longer than words of address but shorter than a stanza. The majority of the segments are two lines in length. They occur initially or, more commonly, at the end of a stanza or as a kind of continuation.

Example 34. Segment for a gift (cf. Lundström and Tayanin 2006: 75).

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{àay} & \text{cëê} & \text{pâh} & \text{tèè} & \text{tè} & \text{prnëet} \\
I & \text{will} & \text{keep} & \text{me} & \text{for} & \text{amulet} \\
\text{àay} & \text{cëê} & \text{pâh} & \text{tèè} & \text{tè} & \text{rnjàn} \\
I & \text{will} & \text{keep} & \text{me} & \text{for} & \text{charm} \\
\end{array}
\]

Interpretation:

I will keep it as an amulet,
I will keep it as a charm.

These lines were sung at the end of a trnàóm which had lines using the same first three syllables (àay cëê pâh). The two lines do not rhyme but build on parallelism and variation. Actually only one word differs and is replaced with a synonym (prnëet, rnjàn). Another pair of lines may exist which rhyme with these or a singer could make such lines at will, thus changing the segment into a stanza.

Since words or whole lines can be varied in performance, a trnàóm changes from one performance to another. It is hardly possible to say with certainty which one of a number of versions is the basic one. Indeed, to attempt to do so may be irrelevant to the trnàóm and its practice. For the present study it is nevertheless important that the words of a trnàóm can be defined in one form, flexible enough to be used to describe different versions. What has been found so far about the trnàóm makes it possible to isolate some of its characteristics: 

- division into stanzas, lines and syllables,
- parallelism,

---

161 It should be noted that parallelism in Kammu poetry can occur on several levels. This has been described by Proschan 1989 and 1992.
flexible order of lines,
rhyme patterns,
combinations of trnəəm,
combinations with embellishment words, words of address and segments.

**Example 35.** A model for representation of the trnəəm. The example shows two segments (1a–2a, 1a–2a₁) arranged in two units (1 and 2)[I am still small like a little child, Appendix 2: 2d1:2, cf Exs 1, 2, 5–8, 10 and Transcription 1].

It is not possible to define a word or a line as ‘added’ until a sufficient number of trnəəm have been compared and maybe not even then. I therefore prefer to isolate lines using the syntactic form and the rhyme patterns as a basis. Lines that don’t fit together in these respects will be considered as belonging to different trnəəm. In this way it is possible to reduce a performance to one or more basic formulae. The descriptive model shown in Example 35 has been developed and trialed to meet these demands. The sentences or phrases are labelled 1 and 2 respectively. The letters a and b stand for the first and second stanzas. The indices denote variants within a stanza.
The vertical divisions denote the syllables. The squares that contain rhyme words are shadowed in different patterns so that the cross rhymes can be easily spotted. This model can be seen as an abstract analytical representation of the trnøem.

A unit is a grouping of lines built on a substantial degree of syntactic parallelism and corresponds to the boxes 1 and 2 respectively in the model. Unit, then, is a theoretical concept which differs from stanza. The trnøem in Example 35 thus consists of two units.

A compound is an obvious whole consisting of one or more units. Thus the two units in Example 35 above form a compound. A compound may also have embellishment words and be combined with words of address and segments (cf. Example 7, p. 59). The compound is the form that most resembles the Western concept of a song.

With this model it is possible to express the two stanzas of the performance of Exs 1 and 2 thus: 1a – 2a – 1a – 2á / 1b – 2b – 1b – 2b́ and the version in Example 7, p. 59 – only if the longer trnøem is considered – as: 1a – 2a – 1a – 2á / 1b – 2b – 2b́. The full version will be as in Example 36:

Example 36. The hrÚi performance of Example 7 p. 59, partly codified according to the descriptive model [Appendix 2: 6f2 + 2d1:2].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>táa</th>
<th>crí</th>
<th>táa</th>
<th>lŋ</th>
<th>nàh</th>
<th>[6f2]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l1a</td>
<td>crí</td>
<td>táa</td>
<td>lŋ</td>
<td>nàh</td>
<td>[2d1:2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l1a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| sáh, | táa  | sáh  | táa  | tŋ  | m̀   | [6f2] |
|------|------|------|------|-----|------|
| l1b  | lÀÀ  | táa  | tŋ  | m̀  | [2d1:2] |
| 2b1  |      |      |     |     |       |
| 2b   |      |      |     |     |       |

If the two trnøem are given code names (like the ones in Appendix 2: 6f2 and 2d1:2 respectively), the performance where they are mixed can be described: that is, every performance in which the lines and rhymes are somewhat intact can be described in a rather short form (Example 37).

---

162 Note that the half-syllables are written without a vowel following Svantesson 1983, though in actual performance there will be an ‘ǝ’ between the consonants, that is ‘hn-’ is pronounced ‘hǝn-’, ‘tŋ-’ is ‘tǝŋ-’ and so forth.

163 A similar construction of an abstract version was made by Hale 1984 in connection with an Aranda song (Australia) as quoted in Fabb 1999: 90.
**Example 37.** The *hrlîi* performance of Example 7 p. 59 codified according to the descriptive model.

\[
6f2 \ [a–1a^1] – 2d1:2 \ [1a–2a–1a–2a^1] / 6f2 \ [1b–1b^1] – 2d1:2 \ [1b–2b^1–2b]
\]

Some *tnôôm* have names. Others may be named after one of the lines. Since it is often convenient to refer to a name, I have chosen to name the *tnôôm* by picking out one line that expresses the contents well. This will be called the *distinctive sentence*. This technique can be used for segments, units and compounds. The distinctive sentence is often 1b in the model above but occasionally it will be the first line. The performance in Exs 36 and 6 would thus be referred to as: ‘Don’t talk like that + I am still small like a little child’. In the list of Kam Raw’s repertoire of *tnôôm* in Appendix 2 each *tnôôm* is characterized by its distinctive sentence (with very few exceptions where other names used by Kam Raw have been employed).

The descriptive model has been tried and found useful in a pilot study.\(^{164}\) It has also been used to describe all the *tnôôm* performances recorded in the Kam Raw’s singing. Though developed for the kind of *tnôôm* which employs cross rhymes, it can with slight modifications also be used for those with chain rhymes. This is, however, usually not necessary since such *tnôôm* more often have a fixed order of lines because of their particular rhyme pattern. The different performances of a *tnôôm* are not to be seen as variants of its representation in this model – the latter is rather *the hub around which the various realized and not yet realized performances revolve*.

The idea of using a theoretical model as a means for analysis of *tôôm* performances has been taken up by Proschan,\(^{165}\) who calls the simpler version ‘regularized text’ as opposed to ‘performance’. The ‘regularized text’ is constructed according to the researcher’s own intuition and under the assumption that syllables in poetic recitation are stressed as they are if they are spoken. This is, however, not the case in the *hrîî* of Kam Raw nor in the *tôôm* *Yûan*-style. The two examples I have heard of Kammu people actually declaiming *tnôôm* poetry show no such alternation between weak and strong syllables, but rather they resemble *hrîî* with stress on the penultimate syllables of lines: W–W–W–W–W–S–W (W = weak, S = strong).

The method to construct theoretical models of poems is often used in the study of orally transmitted poetry, not least in conjunction with the study of songs. This was done by Lord, but also by Smith for the Rajasthan Epic of *Pûbûjî*, who found three versions: the nuclear or unembellished underlying text, the sung text and the declaimed spoken text. To the sung version were added ‘particles, vocatives,

\(^{164}\) Lundström 1984.

\(^{165}\) Proschan 1989: 288 ff., 300 ff.
pronouns, and similar redundant sentence-fillers, together with repeated key words’ particularly in the beginning of lines and before cadences. He concluded that these embellishments were added in order to fit the poetry to the demands of different melodies thereby obscuring the metre.  

This is rather similar to the tõm practice. In this study, however, the focus is on performed poetry. In this case the perspective becomes the exact opposite. For example, the words of embellishment are interesting for their function in the performance situation rather than as redundant sentence-fillers which blur an underlying metre. It also becomes less important to find the underlying metre. The descriptive model is needed in order to understand the performed poetry rather than searching for a historical or original form. Since the model which is basically hrh except minus some very few embellishment words is sufficient to reach this end there is no reason to construct an underlying metre or a regularized text based on linguistic and phonetic approaches. This is an advantage since this is the very point where the immanent risk of a clash between emic and etic views can be avoided. In the terminology of Jakobson, the intention here is to focus on the delivery instance defined as ‘...the verse line as it is actually performed...’, and to isolate performance templates. These are templates that ‘...relate to the meter of the text or would directly relate to the text itself’.  

The definition of a line is not unproblematic. Here it has proven natural to use the division made by metre in hrh for defining a line. However, in a hrh performance by another singer the lines are tied together so that two lines (1a and 2a) become one (1a+2a) etc. When Kam Raw heard this recording he said: ‘Oh, he does it in the old way!’ Proschan has chosen to look at the poetry this way which means that it will be described as stichic, whereas in my approach will be strophic. His criterion for a line-ending is a long pause in the singing of a tõm performance. This has disadvantages since breathing pauses in tõm are not always synchronized with the poetic phrases. Often, however, Proschan needs to regroup the lines into shorter units during his discussion. My approach has the advantage of being clearcut as to what a line is. It also has proven useful in the analysis of tõm. This ambiguity should, however, be kept in mind when comparison is made with poetry which has been differently written out.  

The descriptive model was applied to the total repertoire of tõm in order to count the numbers of syllables in the sentences of which the units are composed.  

171 Since the unit is a theoretical construct by which the performances are condensed, the number of occurrences Example 38 are fewer than if the numerous repetitions had been counted.
Excepting a few trnəəm which did not easily lend themselves to this kind of analysis, the figures are:

**Example 38. Frequency of lines consisting of different numbers of syllables.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of syllables in the line</th>
<th>No. of occurrences in total repertoire</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>39,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>38,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(= 182)</td>
<td>(= 99,8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five- and seven-syllable sentences turn out to be the most frequent. Together they account for 78 per cent of the cases. The nine-syllable sentences are approximately three times less frequent and the remaining ones (of four, six, eight, eleven and twelve syllables) make up less then 10 per cent together. In performance the picture is much more complex because of embellishment words and the fact that lines may be tied together in the same musical phrase (for example two five-syllable lines may occasionally be sung as a ten-syllable line, or a five- and seven-syllable line may become a twelve-syllable line and so on). The analysis has shown, however, that the poetry centres around lines made up of five, seven and to a slightly lesser degree nine syllables, whereas other numbers of syllables are much less frequent.

**A trnəəm suite**

It is not unusual for several trnəəm to be linked together. Certain trnəəm are often tied together in recurrent combinations because of similarities of subject or in emotional content. Compounds linked together will be call *suites.* In the suite-type of performance, compounds or units are simply hooked on to each other as a series of trnəəm in such a way that each trnəəm is individually completed but without breaks between them.

---

172 Donald Bahr et al. 1979 uses the terminology ‘set’ or ‘multi-song sets’ for similar combinations of songs among the Piman Indians. The word ‘set’ suggests a rather fixed combination of songs and also permits other combinations than the linear which is meant by suite.
The three trnəəm in Example 38 belong to the fields and have been performed by Kam Raw as a suite. In this case the fields constitute the setting. In the first trnəəm (9a1) the key words are: overgrown field, snakes, riverbank, low clouds. In the second trnəəm (9a2) the happy and festive life in the village is contrasted with the loneliness of the fields: snails, wild herbs, the sound of water in the mountain brook. The last trnəəm (9a3) is about the distance to the singer’s sweetheart. The themes that make these trnəəm go well together are: away from the village – loneliness – longing. Taken together the result is a rather lonely picture.

The Greek letters in the right hand column of Example 38 signify the musical phrases as presented in Chapter 4; the other symbols signify the stanzas as lines according to the model in Example 35, p. 93. Code numbers referring to Kam Raw’s repertoire of trnəəm are given within brackets (cf. Appendix 2).

Example 38. A trnəəm suite, performed by Kam Raw, recorded in Lund, Sweden, c. 1977 [Appendix 2: 9a1 + 9a2 + 9a3].

Kammu words and word-for-word translation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[9a1]</th>
<th>sāh</th>
<th>pōō</th>
<th>crā</th>
<th>ré</th>
<th>àay</th>
<th>prīm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oh</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>thin out</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>my</td>
<td>overgrown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dée</td>
<td>nāaŋ</td>
<td>oh</td>
<td>dear</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àay</td>
<td>lōō</td>
<td>crā</td>
<td>ré</td>
<td>prīm</td>
<td>həm</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>thin out</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>overgrown</td>
<td>change skins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mār</td>
<td>ploŋŋ</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td>rat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àay</td>
<td>lōō</td>
<td>crā</td>
<td>ré</td>
<td>prīm</td>
<td>həm</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>thin out</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>overgrown</td>
<td>change skins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mār</td>
<td>plāas</td>
<td>käay</td>
<td>sāh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>sand</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>say</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee</td>
<td>sāh</td>
<td>pōō</td>
<td>tūm</td>
<td>ré</td>
<td>àay</td>
<td>că</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>stay</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>my</td>
<td>distant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dée</td>
<td>nāaŋ</td>
<td>oh</td>
<td>dear</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àay</td>
<td>lōō</td>
<td>tūm</td>
<td>ré că</td>
<td>ċō</td>
<td>lōŋŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>stay</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>distant</td>
<td>riverbank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cūur</td>
<td>pūut</td>
<td>lower</td>
<td>cloud</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"I will send my song"
Elaborate t'ım performances

say not stay field my distant
say not stay field distant wet field

Ooh dear

I then stay field distant wet field

Cloud then stay say

oh say, dear stay at many people

enjoy people

I stay at sound

oh water

say dear stay at many people

enjoy people

99
Interpretation:

[9a1]
Oh, I say, I have not thinned out my overgrown field, oh dear
So I thin out the overgrown field,
where the rat snake sheds its skin.
So I thin out the overgrown field,
where the sand snake sheds its skin, this I say.

Oh I say, I have not spent the night in my faraway field, oh dear.
So I stay in the faraway field,
by the riverbank where the clouds are low.
I say, I have not spent the night in my faraway field, oh dear.
So I stay in the faraway field,
by the paddy field where the clouds are low, this I say.

173 There are two versions of the last sentence. The other one is: pyɔ åay dɔɔm làat, meaning: Send your chain for me to see.

100
Elaborate tông performances

[9a2]
Heey I say, my dear stays where people pull bamboo and crúan-tree.
I stay where basil leaves are beaten, oh, beaten.
I say, my dear stays where people pull bamboo and crúan-tree.
I say, I stay where the snails are beating, oh, beating, this I say.

Oh I say, my dear stays where people are happy together.
I say, I stay with the noise, oh, of water.
I say, my dear stays where people are happy together.
I say, I stay with the sound, oh, of water, this I say.

[9a3]
Oh I say, dear, you work on one side;
I work on the other.
I say, dear, you stay upstream;
I say, I stay downstream.
I say, send your necklace for me to see, oh dear.
Set a hair afloat for me to see, oh dear, this I say.

The contents and progression of this suite can be described by use of the distinctive sentences as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
9a1: & \quad \text{I sleep in the faraway field} \\
+ & \\
9a2: & \quad \text{My dear stays where people are happy together} \\
+ & \\
9a3: & \quad \text{Dear, you stay upstream.}
\end{align*}
\]

This performance can now be described by a compact formula. The description utilizes the definition of suite, the line codes derived through the trèom model (Example 35, p. 93), the description of musical phrases (Example 16, p. 73) and the list of Kam Raw’s repertoire of trèom (Appendix 2).

All three trèom start with an \(\alpha\)-phrase. In 9a1 and 9b1 the second stanza starts with a \(\delta\)-phrase and all stanzas end with a \(\gamma\)-phrase. This is in keeping with the analysis of Kam Raw’s tông Yùn in the preceding chapter. In 9a3, however, the \(\beta\)-phrase is repeated all through until the very last line. This is rather common in the latter part of longer performances. Actually this trèom has a different shape in comparison to the other two and consists of one unit (1a–1a’–1b–1b’) and one segment (2a–2b).

\[
\begin{align*}
9a1: & \quad 1a– 2a– 2a^1 \mid / \quad 1b– 2b– 1b– 2b^1 \\
\alpha– & \quad \beta– \quad \gamma \mid / \quad \delta– \quad \beta^1– \quad \beta– \quad \gamma
\end{align*}
\]
The trnəəm 9a3 may in fact exemplify the variability of təəm performances. It is possible that there are pre-existing additional lines that would give the segment 2a–2b the form of a full unit, thus being performed as an individual stanza rather than as a continuation of the first stanza. It is also possible that Kam in another performance would create additional lines by developing the segment. There are, I believe, examples of both of these in other performances in the təəm sample. The important fact is that both alternatives are theoretically possible and that this is taken into account in the analysis. This is one reason why it is necessary to analyse performances and to be able to relate different performances to each other.

Techniques of rhyming
So far the discussion of rhyme has been limited to the most obvious characteristics, but the use of rhyme is far more intricate than that and includes several practices that are intimately connected to poetic variation in performance. In the following several references will be made to the study of Laotian poetry by Carol Compton, who draws mainly on Maha Sila Viravong. Obviously there are many similarities between the rhymes of the Kammu trnəəm and Laotian poetry, but there are also differences. Among the latter are that in trnəəm word tone has no influence on rhyme and that polysyllabic words may rhyme.

The most obvious rhyme in the trnəəm is the external rhyme. The majority are final rhymes consisting of vowels (V) or of vowel+consonant (VC). In Laotian poetry Compton defines category rhyme as the rhyme between words of different final sounds which however belong to the same category, either stopped, nasal or open. This is not uncommon in the trnəəm:

174  Compton 1979: 134 ff., 154 ff. where references are made to Viravong 1970.
175  See Example 4, p. 54, for examples of rhyme words.
stopped rhyme: \( \text{héel} \) weed \( \longleftrightarrow \) \( \text{kléer} \) peep

nasal rhyme: \( \text{rjam} \) \( \longleftrightarrow \) \( \text{pjan} \) get

open rhyme \( \text{là} \) say \( \longleftrightarrow \) \( \text{pò} \) tree

Words ending in vowel+consonant (VC) in which the vowels differ but are similar are slightly more common:

\( \text{rmlàan} \) center \( \longleftrightarrow \) \( \text{Krón} \) stem

\( \text{tèn} \) \( \longleftrightarrow \) \( \text{làn} \) roll [cotton-roll]

\( \text{srò̂ø̂} \) star \( \longleftrightarrow \) \( \text{Nòø̂} \) persuade [?]

*Internal rhyme*, i.e. rhyme within the same line, occurs frequently and are of the same kinds as those presented by Compton, here listed with examples from Kam Raw’s *trnàørm*:

**Example 40. Rhyme types.**

1. Vowel rhyme

A. Paired-word rhyme

\( \text{púut} \) cloud \( \longleftrightarrow \) \( \text{cúur} \) sink

\( \text{pràay} \) trap \( \longleftrightarrow \) \( \text{páam} \) set up

B. Yoked-word rhyme

\( \text{hpòø̄t} \) bee \( \longleftrightarrow \) \( \text{cøø} \) will be \( \text{rìø̄y} \) hundred

\( \text{hùn} \) exp looks: clouds sink low

\( \text{rùut} \) exp looks: epidemic spreading

---

* Elaborate *tłom* performances

103
2. Consonant rhyme

A. Continuous consonant rhyme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yèl</th>
<th>yèl</th>
<th>yàam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cicada</td>
<td>weep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mòk</td>
<td>mìañ</td>
<td>mòot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>village</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Separated consonant rhyme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tèe</th>
<th>tè</th>
<th>ciuu</th>
<th>tìan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>myself</td>
<td>marry</td>
<td>dear</td>
<td>love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trùu</td>
<td>lm</td>
<td>tròo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exp soft, bendable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alliteration, i.e. identical or similar initial consonants in several words within a line, is common. It often carries over into following lines. The high amount of repetition in trnòem makes alliteration very prominent. Assonance is also frequently used within lines and between lines.

Repetition, which results in parallelism, is a very strong organizational principle in the trnòem. Those words in a line which are not rhyme words are in most cases repeated at least once and often several times during a performance. Occasionally the place of a rhyme word may be occupied by a word which does not rhyme but which is synonymous with the proper rhyme word or of the same category. Quite frequently the synonym is a Laotian loan word. This technique, which is a kind of lexical parallelism, will be called substitution.

Example 41. Substitution.

a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sr-</th>
<th>t¹il</th>
<th>ìl</th>
<th>pàan</th>
<th>yèn</th>
<th>skèn</th>
<th>ċìan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dazzled</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>able</td>
<td>look</td>
<td>blinded</td>
<td>horizon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>màt</th>
<th>prí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

176 This technique has also been observed by Lindell 1988 and Proschan 1989; by Mottin 1980: 10–11 and a similar one was noted by Dournes 1990: 142 who called it ‘semantic rhyme’ (rime sémantique).
Another strong principle is the repetition of word pairs, that is: two monosyllabic words are repeated – often within the same line – so that they attain the quality of a unit. Quite often embellishment words are treated as pairs. This technique is closely connected to the iambic metre of the tõm Yùan style, the second word of the pair being sung long. Repetition of word pairs (I and II below) is often combined with substitution. Normally the first word of the pair (underlined in Example 41) is substituted with a synonymous word.

**Example 42. Two examples of repetition of word pairs (Roman numbers) combined with substitution.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td><strong>wàt</strong> temple</td>
<td><strong>rõon</strong> palace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>còŋ</strong> high</td>
<td><strong>còŋ</strong> high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td><strong>sòm</strong> two times</td>
<td><strong>sáam</strong> three times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>pât</strong></td>
<td><strong>pât</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Usually several of these various rhymes are present in each individual tõm. Though the poetic complexity varies, many tõm have a considerable density of rhyme and sound play which is underlined by the repetitions, as in the following short tõm which consists of only one stanza:

105
Example 43. ‘I walk back all by myself and crying’ [Appendix 2: 9a6].

Interpretation:

Where the grasshopper cries ‘côle côle’, I set my trap.
Where the grasshopper cries ‘côle côle’, I propped up my trap.
I walk back all by myself and crying.
I walk back all by myself and singing.

Pràay páam/kläm and yàam/tòom kàay are cross rhymes and at the same time have the character of end rhymes, particularly between the first two lines. There is much alliteration using ‘c’ (pronounced ‘ch’) but also some with ‘k’. Assonance using ‘a’, ‘o’ and ‘o’ dominates. ‘M/n/ŋ’ sounds are also important and may perhaps be seen as category rhymes. Apart from the repetition of lines there is also repetition of words (càñ càñ, côle côle), yoked word rhyme (càñ-ñ-càñ), continuous consonant rhyme (pràay páam) and repetition of word pairs combined with substitution (pràay páam, pràay kläm, yàam kàay/tòom kàay). The only word that seems difficult to explain is slõh, but it may be considered a category rhyme with côle if o/c and h/c both are accepted as categories. If so, one may interpret slõh/côle and càñ càñ/càñkncàñ as two pairs of cross rhymes. As can be seen from this small example, rhyme and sound play are extremely important factors in this poetry and consequently essential to tòom.

End rhyme, i.e. when the last words of lines rhyme, occurs in rather few cases and then often in combination with other types of external rhyme, in this case chain rhyme (skyàak/sáak, côlecôle/kôle, lỳéèn/téèn).\(^{177}\)

---

\(^{177}\) End rhyme also occurs in the songs of other minority peoples in the area. See for example Mottin 1980: 10.
EXAMPLE 44. ‘I met a beautiful sweetheart’ [Appendix 2: 7a6].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>àay</th>
<th>pìp</th>
<th>mòŋ</th>
<th>sk -</th>
<th>yàak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>meet</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>exp look</td>
<td>large, hanging</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mòŋ</th>
<th>sáak</th>
<th>tàa</th>
<th>Ḟọ</th>
<th>Bọ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>v eclipse</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>road (to)</td>
<td>name salt well</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>àay</th>
<th>pìp</th>
<th>mòŋ</th>
<th>sk -</th>
<th>yàak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>meet</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>exp look</td>
<td>large, hanging</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mòŋ</th>
<th>sáak</th>
<th>tàa</th>
<th>Ḟọ</th>
<th>Bẹŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>v eclipse</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>road (to)</td>
<td>name village</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>àay</th>
<th>pìp</th>
<th>nàaŋ</th>
<th>cọd -</th>
<th>Ḟọ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>meet</td>
<td>dear</td>
<td>exp look</td>
<td>well proportioned</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ḟọ</th>
<th>à</th>
<th>kọọ</th>
<th>kàm</th>
<th>yàak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cause</td>
<td>us</td>
<td>begin</td>
<td>word</td>
<td>difficult [for parting]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>àay</th>
<th>pìp</th>
<th>nàaŋ</th>
<th>ln -</th>
<th>vẹẹŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>meet</td>
<td>dear</td>
<td>exp look</td>
<td>beautiful, slim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ḟọ</th>
<th>à</th>
<th>tẹẹŋ</th>
<th>kàm</th>
<th>yàak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cause</td>
<td>us</td>
<td>put out</td>
<td>word</td>
<td>difficult [for parting]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interpretation:

I met a large moon hanging,
The moon eclipsed on the road to the well Bọ.
I met a large moon hanging,
The moon eclipsed on the road to the village Bẹŋ.

I met a beautiful sweetheart,
This caused us to speak sad words of parting.
I met a slender sweetheart,
This caused us to say sad words of parting.

*Chain rhyme* was defined in Chapter 3 p. 55. The last or the penultimate syllable (or both) rhymes with one (or two) syllables in a following line (normally one of the first syllables). Fewer than 20 per cent of the trnąem are built exclusively with this rhyme scheme. Another 20 per cent include segments with chain rhyme.

The most common type of rhyme is the *cross rhyme* defined in Chapter 3 p. 56. Cross rhyme occurs predominantly at the end of lines but can fall on any syllable in the line. Numbering the syllables from last to first (i.e. 1 = last syllable,
2 = penultimate etc.) rhymes on syllables 3×1 and 4×1 dominate clearly. Nearly two-thirds of the rhymes are of this type. For lines of five or seven syllables the most common location for the rhymes are syllables 3×1, that is between the last and the 3rd counting from the end. The second most common is between the last and the second counting from the beginning, that is 4×1 in five-syllable lines and 6×1 in seven-syllable lines. Occasionally this repetition of cross rhymes is only partly carried through, resulting in forms like 5×3,1 and similar. This occurs in 14 units of varying numbers of syllables and is usually caused by a repetition of two words, one of which is the rhyme word.

The poetry of the trnəoŋm is an important and distinctive feature of Kammu poetry and very closely linked with the musical aspects of təoŋ and the simultaneous variation of words and music. It is rather complex and it is hardly possible to express Kammu poetry fully in one single formula. Some characteristics of the trnəoŋm also exist in more or less similar forms in Laotian poetry. As has been seen above this is true for the construction of rhyme words, assonance, alliteration and interior rhymes. The embellishment words and segments resemble the ‘initial phrases’ and ‘additivephrases’ in Laotian poetry as presented by Compton and by Miller.178

The phenomenon of a flexible order of lines in Kammu poetry has at least one parallel.179 A similar practice has been described, however without rhymes, by Emeneau in the songs of the Toda in southern India: ‘...occasionally two pairs of sentences are interwoven’.180 Possibly this practice is more common in poetry built on parallelism than one would expect from the literature at hand.

Example 45. Cross rhymes on syllables 5×3,1 and 3×1 [When it looks like an epidemic is coming close, Appendix 2: 2e1].

178 Compton 1979; Miller 1985.
179 First described in Lundström 1983; 1984.
180 Emeneau 1937: 545 n. 4.
Interpretation:

When it looks like the clouds are getting low,  
Let us search for thatch grass to cover our houses.  
When it looks like the clouds are getting low,  
Let us search for bamboo to repair our village.

When it looks like an epidemic is getting near,  
Let us search for cows to sacrifice to the ancestor spirits.  
When it looks like an epidemic is getting near,  
Let us search for elephants to sacrifice to the village spirits

Lindell found word pairs in Kammu proverbs. 181 Word pairs within lines and between lines are also common in the lam of Laos and northeastern Thailand. 182 Nguyen van Huyen saw word pairs as a fundamental organizational principle in the poetry of Vietnamese alternating songs. 183 Emeneau builds his analysis of Toda song poetry on ‘three-syllable song-units from which are built the longer syntactic structures and the

182 Compton 1979; Miller 1985.  
183 Nguyen 1954.
paired parallel units and sentences’. These are examples of lines and stanzas being constructed from small units of paired syllables or words. Although the iambic metre of the tām Yūn style might suggest this, it hardly seems meaningful to explain the words of the tranām in this manner. One supporting factor is that in other vocal genres and in other area melodies of tām there are examples of different metres, although in other respects the principles of the poetry are more or less identical.

In the present study poetic lines have been defined by their number of syllables. An alternative would be to count the number of words. This was actually found relevant by Lindell in the poetry of proverbs where half-syllables seem to be of no consequence for the rhymes. In studies of Laotian poetry this is the norm, but since monosyllabic words dominate so strongly there this almost equates to the counting of syllables.

Some of the most obvious characteristics of the tranām are the combination of extensive repetition and complex rhyme patterns. Cross rhyme involving rhymes of two or three syllables seems to be unique to this poetic form. This aspect was also noted by Proschan. As was shown above this is not the only rhyming technique in tranām poetry, and it is not the dominating one in the repertoire at hand. This aesthetically very satisfying type of rhyme should therefore be seen in relation to other types of rhyme. In the case of proverbs and sayings Lindell defined what she named the pivot-rhyme. This is the rhyme that here has been called chain rhyme, which connects one line to another by rhymes between one of the last words of a line and one of the first of the following line. If the two first lines of the tranām in Example 5 [p. 55, Appendix 2: 9a] are juxtaposed it becomes obvious that these are the same type of rhyme:

```
t - kán  ān  súut  súut ↔  t - kuüt  ūut  l - trèen
bamboo rat  plug in  exp sob  buttonquail  fly  exp look
```

Lindell also found double rhymes in pivot-rhymes. This is also the case in words of address discussed above, for example:

```
krœñ  lœr - pō ↔  kõ  pr - yœñ
stalk  tonga vine  aunt’s dragon  daughter
```

184 Emeneau 1971: 15. The analysis was developed in Emeneau 1937 and 1966.
186 It should be noted that different ways of counting and also of defining lines in stanzas would facilitate comparison to Laotian poetry. See, for example, Abhay 1956 and Peltier 1988: 39 ff. On the other hand, according to Koret 1999 the description of Laotian poetry is since Viravong 1970 largely based on analysis of written Thai literature, whereas in the present study the analysis of Kammu poetry is totally based on orally transmitted poetry.
Three syllables in a mirrored rhyme with three corresponding syllables can also be found in trn≥gm:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{ùul} & \text{h≥m} & \text{trò} \\
\text{fire} & \text{bind} & \text{torch}
\end{array}
\quad \leftrightarrow \quad
\begin{array}{ccc}
yò & \text{p≥m} & \text{tùul} \\
\text{friends} & \text{good} & \text{friends}
\end{array}
\]

It is thus possible to regard the two- or three-syllable rhyme as an extended type of chain rhyme (or pivot-rhyme in Lindell’s terminology) bearing a close resemblance to the yoked-word rhyme (cf Example 40).

In t≥m performance the rhyming lines are normally separated by other lines that may belong to different segments or units which in their turn may contain one or two or more layers of external rhyme structure superimposed on each other. That the cross rhyme can be traced back to the chain- or pivot-rhyme is shown in the following examples using rhymes from three trn≥gm when the disjunct lines from trn≥gm are placed in close juxtaposition.

**Example 46.** Three examples of the relation between cross rhyme and chain (or pivot-) rhyme.

A [Appendix 2: 2e1]:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{ríäŋ} & \text{ruùt} & \text{āay} \\
\text{tree} & \text{[dear]} & \text{tree}
\end{array}
\quad \leftrightarrow \quad
\begin{array}{ccc}
kùut & \text{klùan} & \text{āay} \\
\text{come} & \text{in} & \text{[dear]}
\end{array}
\]

B [Appendix 2: 2e1]:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
pìut & \text{çùur} & \text{hùaŋ} - \text{kl} - \\
\text{cloud} & \text{come} & \text{exp look}
\end{array}
\quad \leftrightarrow \quad
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{khiąŋ} & \text{çùur} & \text{ruùt} - \text{q} - \text{ruùt} \\
\text{epi-} & \text{come} & \text{exp look}
\end{array}
\]

C [Appendix 2: 2d2:1]:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{āay} & \text{mìh} & \text{sìŋ} \\
\text{I} & \text{am} & \text{pig}
\end{array}
\quad \leftrightarrow \quad
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{āay} & \text{mìh} & \text{phíi} \\
\text{I} & \text{am} & \text{spirit}
\end{array}
\quad \begin{array}{ccc}
\text{sìŋ} & \text{mǐan} \\
\text{two colours} & \text{wander} & \text{country}
\end{array}
\]

Whereas chain rhyme is common in Southeast Asian traditions, cross rhyme seems to be unusual. There are examples, however, of *chiasmus* which generally do not

---

*Typical of this rhyme is that the first word of the rhyming pair is more or less incomprehensible until it is explained by its rhyme word. This fact has been noted in Lundström and Tayanin 1982: 86 ff. in connection with trn≥gm relating to the farming year and in Lundström and Tayanin 1981b: 184 relating to the wooden drum. It has also been touched upon in a separate study, Lundström 1984. The term ‘cross rhyme’ was first used in Lundström 1983: 55, which was a study of two song poems where a description of the ‘chain rhyme’ also occurred.*
involve rhyme but occasionally can do so. Whether the Kammu system of cross rhyme is unique to the Kammu tradition or not, it is definitely a very strong feature of Kammu poetry.

**Interwoven segments and units**

When segments or units of polite address are combined with compounds, this is generally done in such a fashion that the words of address are interwoven with the lines of the compound. Segments or units which normally are closely integrated in one compound may also be taken out of that context and be interwoven between the lines of another compound. The main compound in the following example is a variant of one used for several previous examples (see among others Example 1 and 10). The words of address are interwoven in the first stanza only.

The order of the musical phrases are given in the righthand column. It should be noted that the initial \( \text{trn} \) consists of introductory phrases which go directly into final phrases (\( \alpha \) into \( \gamma \), \( \delta \) into \( \gamma \)). This particular performance can be described by distinctive sentences as shown in Example 47.

**Example 47.** A \( \text{trn} \) (\( C = 2d1:1 \)) with two interwoven units of words of address (A and B).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hay</th>
<th>sáh</th>
<th>Khá</th>
<th>ò</th>
<th>oøy</th>
<th>sɔ-</th>
<th>náam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hey</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>chestnut</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>oh</td>
<td>courtyard</td>
<td>( \alpha \ A1a )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáh</td>
<td>plàaŋ</td>
<td>lgm -</td>
<td>trèem</td>
<td>plàaŋ</td>
<td>ːka</td>
<td>ykə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>silver-grass</td>
<td>exp long, fine</td>
<td>silver-grass</td>
<td>exp beauty</td>
<td>( \gamma \ B1a )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàay</td>
<td>sáh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>say</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee</td>
<td>sáh</td>
<td>ìay</td>
<td>mɛn</td>
<td>krè</td>
<td>nɔŋ</td>
<td>bɔn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>low table</td>
<td>still</td>
<td>soft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáh</td>
<td>krè</td>
<td>nɔŋ</td>
<td>bɔn</td>
<td>pát</td>
<td>pát</td>
<td>sgm - nír</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>low table</td>
<td>still</td>
<td>soft</td>
<td>exp beat</td>
<td>exp beat</td>
<td>birdcatching rod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oøy</td>
<td>sáh</td>
<td>kéeey</td>
<td>nɛ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>( \beta \ C2a )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáh</td>
<td>Khá</td>
<td>ò</td>
<td>oøy</td>
<td>ràaŋ</td>
<td>ːam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>chestnut</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>oh</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>( \beta' \ A1b )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

189 For examples of chiasmus without rhyme see Mottin 1980: 11.
Elaborate "ṯon" performances

**sáh** say  èay  mëen  krè  ṉṉ  èn  
I am table still soft β C1a

**sáh** say  krè  ṉṉ  èn  p̱t  p̱t  sa̱m - ṉr  
table still soft exp beat pát pát birdcatching rod

**ée** say  sáh  kéeey  ṉṉ  kàay  sáh  
oh say chicken small then say γ C2a

ee say  sáh  ṛam  ò  øey  
oh say ashamed I oh

pee say  sáh  kà  ò  øey  
shy I oh δ A2a

èem say  ṛ-  màaŋ  c̣a  ṛ-  màaŋ  kàay  sáh  
wife- wealthy ancestry wealthy then say γ B1b

ee say  sáh  èay  mëen  ḳon  ṉṉ  ṉe  
oh say I am child still small δ C1b

**sáh** say  ḳon  ṉṉ  ṉe  p̱r  p̱r  ḍt- ṛṉ- ḍt  
child still small tremble tremble exp look [plural]

**ée** say  sáh  ṉe  c̣ey  
oh say small heart β C2b

sáh say  èay  mëen  ḳon  ṉṉ  ṉe  
I am child still small β' C1b

sáh say  ḳon  ṉṉ  ṉe  p̱r  p̱r  ḍt- ṛṉ- ḍt  
child still small tremble tremble exp look [plural]

**ée** say  sáh  ṉe  c̣ey  kàay  sáh  
oh say small heart then say γ C2b

Interpretation:

Heey I say, I am a chestnut, oh, I have stage fright!, A1a
I say, silvergrass so long and fine, silvergrass so beautiful, this I say. B1a
Oh I say, I am still weak like a plaited table, C1a
I say, weak like a plaited table, like a small chicken, swinging a birdcatching rod. C2a
I say, I am a chestnut, oh, an àam flower. A1b
I say, I am still weak like a plaited table, C1a
I say, weak like a plaited table, like a young chicken, swinging a birdcatching rod, this I say. C2a
I will send my song

Oh, I say, I am ashamed, oh, embarrassed, oh,
Wife-givers so wealthy, ancestry so wealthy, this I say.  

Oh I say, I am still small like a little child, 
I say, small like a little child, like a small heart 
trembling all over.
I say, I am still small like a little child, 
I say, small like a little child, like a young heart 
trembling all over, this I say.

Example 48. Distinctive sentences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musical phrases</th>
<th>1st stanza</th>
<th>2nd stanza</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am shy</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>δ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealthy wife-givers</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am still small like a little child.</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>β'</td>
<td>β'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>γ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The re-creation of trnðam

The systematic division between embellishment words, segments, units, compounds, suites and interwoven combinations introduced in this chapter is a theoretical construct which to some extent is justified in practice as exemplified by Kam Raw. The model for representing the poetic structure of the trnðam (Example 35, p. 93) is also a theoretical construct but built on performance. This model is essential for analysing the trnðam and for identifying the embellishment words, segments, units, compounds, suites and interwoven combinations and makes the transliteration and translation of performances possible. This form of transliteration permits the writing out of trnðam in the Kammu language. This can be done by utilizing the Laotian writing system as adapted within the Kammu Language and Folklore Project.

Kam Raw recognizes embellishment words and words of address as separate entities. Embellishment words and words of address do not stand alone but need one of the other categories in order to be used. Nor do segments generally stand alone but are usually linked to the larger categories. To some extent this also applies to the units which usually are linked to or interwoven with compounds. Occasionally they can stand by themselves, particularly when used in communication with another person as words of advice (such as ‘Don’t talk like that’ in Example 7, p. 59, and Recording track 2).
The trnəəm proper are most likely to be found among the compounds which can stand by themselves. Sometimes Kam Raw refers to trnəəm by name or – more often – by one of its lines. This implies that in some sense he conceives trnəəm as pre-existing entities. However, this survey of the poetic resources of təəm shows many possibilities for performing trnəəm in a number of variations and combinations. The process of performance definitely involves improvisation in some sense of the word. The meaning of this term to a great extent still carries the connotation of jazz improvisation, although it has been widened in a number of recent studies. For the time being I therefore prefer to call this process in təəm performance re-creation.

Kam Raw’s use of the word trnəəm is ambiguous. He uses it for at least two things: (1) in a general sense the trnəəm as it has been realized in a particular rendition in a vocal genre and (2) in an abstract sense the trnəəm as it is conceptualized as a theoretical unsung entity. The first use is rather uncomplicated whereas the latter raises the question of how trnəəm are conceptualized.

In some cases it is quite obvious that Kam knows the words of a trnəəm so well that he will re-create it instantly more or less without thinking. In other cases he has to search for the words. Then he often thinks backwards, starting with the distinctive sentence (usually 1b in the model Example 35, p. 93) and perhaps the corresponding sentence of the second stanza (2b in this case). Above all, he will also think of the corresponding cross rhymes (in lines 1a and 2a) and other lines if there are many rhymes. In this manner the whole compound can be reconstructed. The rest: substitutions, embellishment words, words of address, segments and suites can be thought out while singing.

Therefore it seems reasonable to suggest that the trnəəm in this specific sense exist as distinctive sentences combined with a knowledge of rhyme words and the principles of rhyming. The poetic principles then serve at least two purposes: (1) to reconstruct trnəəm from memory and (2) to re-create trnəəm in performance. The sum of known trnəəm and the techniques for re-creating them, which involve the performing techniques of the genre in question, constitute the bulk of Kam Raw’s repertoire. One can thus distinguish between three meanings of the concept trnəəm:

- general sense, approximately meaning ‘song’;
- abstract sense, meaning distinctive sentence and corresponding rhymes;
- specific sense, meaning re-created form in performance.

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190 See for example Lortat-Jacob 1987 and Nettl and Russell 1998.
191 This term is used among others by Finnegane 1977.
192 This technique is also discussed by Proschan 1989: 300 ff. in relation to those rhymes which he calls ‘reverse words’.
Təəm is the only one of the vocal genres at hand in which the re-creation of the trnəəm includes the full repertoire of embellishment words, segments, units, compounds, suites and interwoven combinations. In this sense təəm has a unique position within the system of vocal genres. This close relationship is also obvious in the terminology. The words ‘təəm’ and ‘trnəəm’ differ only by the infix ‘–rn–’. In the Kammu language a verb is made instrumental by this infix and often the word tone will be changed in the process. Another example of this phenomenon is tām, ‘beat’ and trnəm, ‘drumstick’. In analogy then, as the drumstick is that with which you beat, the trnəəm is that with which you təəm. In this sense trnəəm is the tool and təəm is the action. This supports the interpretation that trnəəm in one sense exist as abstract entities and that təəm is the action of developing them in performance.

To sum up, təəm may be characterized as a vocal expression by which trnəəm are re-created, performed and developed according to a set of musical and poetical techniques.

The creation of new trnəəm
There are a couple of cases in the source material of new trnəəm made by Kam Raw. In these are demonstrated how poetic units and rhyme patterns may be used in order to create new trnəəm. The following example is one made spontaneously without my knowing it until it was ready.

Example 49. ‘Lucky he who can win himself Sweden.’ Trnəəm composed by Kam Raw (Appendix 2: 11a1).

Compound:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1a</th>
<th>2a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lə</td>
<td>mə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lucky</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɨəŋ</td>
<td>km -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>country</td>
<td>peaceful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɨəŋ</td>
<td>pʰləŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>country</td>
<td>people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elaborate them performances

lò mò piàn tèe séŋ oo
lucky who can self win oh

mian country km tèc peaceful

miæ country prìa téć hŋ - káam
people sell chaff

lò mò piàn tèe wèc oo
lucky who can self come oh

mian country Swi - den Sweden

mian country prìa prō tèe wèc
people wish self come

lò mò piàn tèe wèc oo
lucky who can self come oh

mian country Swi - den Sweden

mian country prìa yàam tèe wèc
people weep self come

Unit A

lòt - phéeey yø̃h cèm miæ
train go every city

kriæ - bín cùur cèm kūŋ
air-plane land every village

lòt - phéeey yø̃h cèm miæ
train go every city

kriæ - bín cùur cèm kàaŋ
air-plane land every house

II7
Unit B

téen  p-  té  tl-  yàaŋ
  tread  ground  seldom
  Q’

cùur  tàa  kàaŋ  rm-  pɔœc  Vol- vo
  leave  from  house  caress  name  Volvo
  Q”

téen  p-  té  tl-  yàaŋ
  tread  ground  seldom
  Q’

cùur  tàa  kàaŋ  rm-  pɔœc  lɔt  Saap
  leave  from  house  caress  car  name  Saab
  Q”

Interpretation:

Lucky he, who can win himself a peaceful land,
A land where people sell giant bamboo.
Lucky he, who can win himself a peaceful land,
A land where people sell rice chaff.

Lucky he, who can come to, oh, Sweden,
A land people wish to go to.
Lucky he, who can come to, oh, Sweden,
A land that people weep to go to.

Trains go to every city.
Airplanes land at every village.
Trains go to every city.
Airplanes land at every house.

People seldom tread the ground,
They leave their houses and caress their Volvo.
People seldom tread the ground,
They leave their houses and caress their Saab car.

The trñøm consists of a compound and two units. The compound is held together by syntactic parallelism, cross rhymes (X, Y, Z) and substitution (underlined). The segments are constructed by syntactic parallelism, chain rhymes (P and Q respectively) and substitution (underlined). The line 1a in the compound has a counterpart in the trñøm ‘Lò mò pían têe tîoy kmû’ (Lucky he, who can follow behind, see Appendix 2: 10a1) which begins:
Elaborate təm performances

lì,mà,pìan,tèe,tí,sn-tí,Sáay-klóoy
lucky,who,able,self,carry,wrist chain,name

The line 1b, the rhyme words and the remainder seem to be built on another trnəəm.

Example 50. ‘Wish I could come to the village of Rmcùal’ (7d9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wish</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>light</th>
<th>oh</th>
<th>mountain</th>
<th>peaceful</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>sell</td>
<td>chaff</td>
<td>käam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wish</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>light</td>
<td>oh</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>smack [to call spirits]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>sell</td>
<td>giant bamboo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wish</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>come</th>
<th>oh</th>
<th>mountain</th>
<th>name, village</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>cry</td>
<td>self</td>
<td>come</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wish</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>oh</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>name, village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>self</td>
<td>come</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interpretation:

Wish I could see the quiet yellowish mountains,
The mountains where people sell rice chaff.
Wish I could see the blessed yellowish mountains,
The mountains where people sell giant bamboo.

Wish I could come to the village of Rmcùal,
The village that people weep to go to.
Wish I could come to the village of Rmcùal,
The village that people wish to go to.
Units and segments expressing something that happens often and everywhere (like Unit A) are common as are those which express that which is rare (like Unit B). Often such units or segments make use of chain rhyme and substitution. I have not previously encountered the rhyme words used in this case, so they might be original. The words for ‘village’ and ‘house’ are often used to substitute for each other whereas ‘Volvo’ and ‘Saab’ are certainly original to this trnäm. In performance the lines are fitted to a tām melody as described in Chapter 5.

What is demonstrated here is what Kam Raw told me in one of our first working sessions together: that new trnäm are made by using old ones and changing them. Such creations may be made in the actual singing situation or more carefully thought out beforehand and then tried out.
6. Nature Imagery and Meaning

The dominating theme of trnём can be summarized as expressing matters of social belonging. This may be broken down to three closely interrelated themes which are separately stressed in different groups of trnём (cf. Appendix 2):

- **social belonging**: being socially accepted, showing social adherence (respect, humbleness, social position), appreciation for friends;
- **longing**: for the solidarity of the home village, for relatives and friends or for the loved one;
- **journeying**: to the fields, the forest, for seasonal work, emigrating.

The trnём related to journeying stand out as a main category in relation to seasonal work. Probably the years of the civil war in the 1960s that forced many Kammu to leave their home villages and some to move into exile, have led to an increased dominance for this theme among those living in other countries. The themes are more or less clearly expressed in the individual trnём and are normally expressed through poetic images, symbols and metaphors, some of which will be discussed in this chapter. The nature of tём cannot be understood unless the symbolic meanings of the trnём are taken into account. The majority of trnём use nature as a point of reference. Most of the remaining cases contain local place names or are very short segments which would normally be combined with other trnём.

Since references to nature dominate the poetic imagery, it is necessary to consider the different ways in which words relating to nature are actually used in this poetry. Such analysis involves many questions of interpretation. Some, which can be called ‘inside’ interpretations, have been arrived at through discussions with Kam Raw. Other ‘outside’ interpretations have been done by myself with or without support of literary references.

The frequent references to nature raise a problem when it comes to the identification of plants and animals (particularly insects, reptiles and birds) and the translation from Kammu into English common or scientific names. The dictionary work done at Lund University has produced the best source material available in this respect. Even so, some of the translations will by necessity be approximate. In order to separate different varieties of similar species I have, when necessary, added the Kammu name (for example: bamboo: pọ̀c and bamboo: chúk are two different kinds of bamboo).
The discussion will develop in steps starting with an analysis of the relation between nature reference and rhyme words, initially concentrating on rhymes in polite segments and then on cross rhymes in units. This approach is based on the hypothesis that the cross rhyme words – apart from their role in the poetic structure of the trnɔam – have a double function in that they also add to the symbolism and content. Generally speaking, Kam Raw is of the opinion that the rhyme words, which in many instances are difficult to understand, are just there for the sake of the rhymes, but he does not rule out the possibility of symbolic meanings when looking at the results of this discussion. However, such an interpretation does not come naturally to him and must be regarded as an outside interpretation. The same applies to the remainder of the analysis which is carried out on whole trnɔam and finally exemplified in a performance in which several trnɔam are combined. Nevertheless, Kam Raw recognizes many of the interpretations that were made in the individual cases and co-operated with me for a substantial number of them.

Nature imagery in words of address
The rhymes of words of address stand out as particularly obvious and also point toward a connection between rhyme words and nature images:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ùul} & & \text{hóom} & & \text{trèen,} & & \text{kwèen} & & \text{pròom} & & \text{tàul} \\
\text{fire-wood} & & \text{bind} & & \text{elephant} & & \text{beloved} & & \text{good} & & \text{old} \\
X^1 & & Y^1 & & Z^1 & & Z^2 & & Y^2 & & X^2
\end{align*}
\]

In this case the first part of the rhyme \((X^1 Y^1 Z^1)\) mentions a kind of elephant grass which is used for binding touches, and the second part \((Z^2 Y^2 X^2)\) is about good old friends. This segment has its place in singing among friends, particularly when of the same sex and of approximately the same age.

The local lineage from which another local lineage group chooses their wives is highly respected, i.e. the èem/khɔay relationship (cf. Chapter 2). In a polite segment the words which describe their wealth is preceded by ‘long and fine silvergrass:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{plàan} & & \text{lm} - & & \text{trèem,} & & \text{èem} & & \text{r} - & & \text{màan} \\
\text{silvergrass} & & \text{exp long, fine} & & \text{wife-givers} & & \text{wealthy}
\end{align*}
\]

Several constructions occur but the dominating frames are:

194 See Appendix 2 C: 11–25 for a complete listing of words of address in Kam Raw’s repertoire.
Certain words refer to beauty or long life and happiness, such as leaf, straw, cotton and sugar-cane. These words appear to relate to fertility and the cultivation of rice and other plants.\(^{195}\) When the rhymes are listed, it turns out that most of them relate to cultivation, to edible wild plants and to hunting. Some of the most respectful words of address involve plants or objects of ceremonial importance. Some rhyme words seem to draw on simile or association.

**Cotton: general respectful.**
Cotton is grown at the bottom of rice fields next to garden plots for pepper and other condiments. The cotton soul comes next to the rice soul in importance.\(^{196}\)

**Chain: visitor from another village.**
A chain of bamboo is used in a ceremony for re-initiating traps (\(pràay\)) which have not caught anything for a long time and also when catching frogs.\(^{197}\)

**Long and fine silvergrass: wealthy wife-givers, wife-takers' generation.**
**Beautiful silvergrass: wealthy generation.**
Silvergrass (a kind of elephant grass) is used to drive away accident spirits.\(^{198}\)

**Sugar cane: wealthy grandson or son-in-law.**
Some families grow sugar-cane in their gardens. \(^{199}\)

---

\(^{195}\) This combination is present in a prayer before planting the rice, Lundström and Tayanin 1982: 68–69, 139.

\(^{196}\) Lundström and Tayanin 1982: 65.


\(^{198}\) Lundström and Tayanin 1982: 78–79.

\(^{199}\) Svantesson et al. 1998.
I will send my song

Straw of cow-pea: mighty elder brother. This kind of cow-pea, *stipàay*, grows in the fields and climbs up trees. Many different kinds of food may be prepared from it.

Straw of salted bamboo shoot: mighty elder brother’s wife. Ladle: mighty elder brother’s wife. Bamboo shoot has to do with food and this might also be the case for the ladle (used for scooping up rice).

Straw of fern: mighty sister’s father-in-law. The fern in question, *krsùuñ*, grows along riverbanks. Its young leaves are steamed and eaten with rice or made into a stew.²⁰⁰

Straw of philodendron: mighty aunt’s daughter. This philodendron, *lɔ̀ɔrpɔ́*, is a vine which grows on a tree.²⁰¹

Crpɨ̀ ɨ p fruit: wealthy person. Tree with edible fruit.²⁰²

Cntràm grass: wealthy person. A kind of grass about two metres high. When people weed the fields they collect the shoots, steam or roast them and eat them with rice.²⁰³

Torch: good friends. Torches tied together from an elephant grass called *trɛ̀ɛn* are used when catching frogs at night: something young boys and girls do together in the season they stay in the fields.²⁰⁴

Crossbow: good friends; rat snare: good friends. Crossbows (which have certain ritual functions as well) and rat snares are used for hunting.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁰ Svantesson et al. 1998.
²⁰¹ Svantesson et al. 1998. Rhyme words similar to personal names are given in Lundström and Tayanin 1982: 151.
²⁰² Svantesson et al. 1998.
²⁰³ Svantesson et al. 1998.
This list serves to show that the obvious rhyme function of the ‘nature word’ is coupled with its image. The symbol comes in the first part of the rhyme and its references in the latter part. In performance these parts are often separated by whole units of a trenm and are thus far apart. This insight into the function of the rhyme words will be used for a discussion of nature images in trenm.

**Nature imagery in rhymes**

In trenm the whole first stanza is often an image which becomes clarified by the contents of the second stanza. In most cases such images have to do with nature, and the rhyme words are often plants or animals. The following short trenm, which consists only of one stanza, exemplifies this:

**Example 51. ‘I wish we could live together in the village’ [Appendix 2: 2e2].**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wish</th>
<th>we</th>
<th>sprout</th>
<th>together</th>
<th>sour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wish</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>sprout</td>
<td>together</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wish</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>stay</td>
<td>together</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wish</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>together</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Interpretation:**

I wish we could sprout together bitterly.
I wish we could sprout together happily.
I wish we could live together in the village.
I wish we could sit together in the village.
I wish we could sit together in the house.

---

206 In this analysis most words of address were used. Some, however, could not be used due to uncertainties in the translation (nos. 16, 21, 22, 23 in Appendix 2).
This stanza actually consists of one sentence in which certain words which are marked by ‘0’ are exchanged:

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{prö} & \text{àay} \\
\text{wish} & \text{we} \\
\text{rùam} & \text{together} \\
\end{array}
\]

The words that are exchanged are the rhyme words:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{plùŋ} & \text{cét} & \text{èn} \\
\text{sprout} & \text{sour} & \text{0} \\
\text{kùŋ} & \text{yèt} & \text{tèn} \\
\text{village} & \text{stay} & \text{sit} \\
\end{array}
\]

The meaning of the word ‘èn’ is unclear. The word ‘cét’ can be translated but its meaning in the sentence is still difficult to understand. It is possible that these words have had certain meanings which are unknown to Kam Raw or have been forgotten in his home area. Perhaps they never have had any other function than that of being well-sounding rhyme words in this and other trnòm, and the function of suggesting the corresponding words of the second stanza. Another possibility is that in song ‘cét’ should be understood as actually meaning ‘stay’ and ‘èn’ meaning ‘sit’.

In the last line the word ‘kùŋ’, village, is replaced by ‘kàaŋ’, house. Both words have the same initial and final consonants which is one possible type of rhyme. ‘Plùŋ’, sprout, and ‘kàaŋ’ have only the final consonant in common. This is occasionally enough for a rhyme. Probably the last line is best seen as a variant of the penultimate line in which the rhyme word is simply exchanged for a different word of the same class. This is an example of the substitution rhyme described above.
The example shows that nature words may relate to other words later on in the trnãm, not only as rhymes but also as content. Thus the verb ‘plúŋ’, sprout, in the first two lines relates to nature and corresponds to the verbs ‘yèt’, stay, and ‘tèn’, sit, in the two following lines:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{plúŋ rùam} & \text{sprout together} \\
\downarrow & \\
\text{yèt rùam,} & \text{stay together,} \\
\text{tèn rùam} & \text{sit together}
\end{array}
\]

The meaning of ‘sprout together’ thus becomes obvious later on in the trnãm. The expression ‘sprout together’ is used in several trnãm and probably carries not only the obvious meaning of growing from the same root but also that of growing into a cluster implying ‘doing well’, ‘being comfortable’.

This is a case of lexical parallelism. According to Nigel Fabb it often results in semantic parallelism. Both are typical of the trnãm with cross rhymes, the dominating type of trnãm in Kam Raw’s repertoire. Another feature of lexical parallelism is the pairing of two words: ‘the relation of meaning between the two words determines the relation of meaning between the two larger sections of text which include these words’.\(^{207}\) In the case of trnãm such word pairs are also rhyme words.

The following list is a summary of all word pairs that are also cross rhymes and relate to plants and animals. These are the dominating nature references, whereas the universe words (sun, moon, stars) and geographical terms (mountain, hill, local names) that occur are much less frequent. The following discussion will therefore, for practical reasons, be limited to plants and animals. Within these categories the vocabulary concerning trees/bushes and insects is particularly rich. These categories occur more frequently and in more different variations than others.

Anne Birrell’s comments in *New Songs from a Jade Terrace* provide a useful list of examples of nature symbolism in Chinese poetry up to about the year AD 600.\(^{208}\) References to Birrell have been added to the list of Kammu nature symbols when they seem to clarify the possibly symbolic meaning of the Kammu words. The intention is not to make a comparative study or to go into a discussion concerning historical relationship, which would be beyond the scope of the present study. The following is merely a list of examples of Kammu nature symbols in which historical Chinese symbolism has been used as the point of reference simply because a convenient list exists.

\(^{207}\) Fabb 1997: 139.
\(^{208}\) Birrell 1982: 295 ff.
Plants and fruits

Bamboo occurs in different connections depending on the variety of bamboo. To cut young pɔ̀ɔc bamboo and to drag or pull chùk bamboo has to do with being together, being happy together, building (or repairing) a village. Chúk bamboo was actually used for house construction.\(^{209}\) To cut pɔ̀ɔc bamboo is also related to meeting a wealthy person. Rháay bamboo tree relates to a high palace which in turn is used as a flattering expression for the house of one’s host. Rháay is a big variety of bamboo which was used for the finest kind of bamboo musical instruments in certain ceremonies.\(^{210}\) Meanings of bamboo leaf in Chinese poetry given by Birrell are of constancy because it is evergreen and long life because it is durable.\(^{211}\)

Elephant grass, plàaŋ or lmséek, has been mentioned above to symbolize wealth and probably also respect. It is also used in the sense of feeling affection. It seems to carry associations similar to those of bamboo. Kam Raw’s reflection is that elephant grass was used at a ceremony intended to drive out waste spirits.

Lianas seem to carry the association of high (physically and socially) and long (i.e. uninterrupted and successful) as in the connection to teacher, master and to climbing high (up a mountain).

Rice, ṣó, which is not empty, is juxtaposed with a voice which is not good, whereas empty rice refers to a nice voice. According to the previously mentioned memorate a person would get a nice voice if the first food he or she was given as a new-born baby was a bit of cooked rice. This would make the throat smooth and free from hairs which would otherwise hinder the air from passing through. A good throat is a throat free from hairs, i.e. empty, which is then likened to rice consisting only of an empty shell, whereas a bad throat is filled with something and leaves no room for the air.

Melon, kìal, is used for a fair girl. To harvest melons relates to getting married. Decorations symbolizing melon seeds were used on a ceremonial pole in the fields in the season before the harvesting as symbols of fertility.\(^{212}\) Birrell states that the ‘numerous seeds of the melon denote fertility’.\(^{213}\)

\(^{209}\) Lindell et al. n.d.
\(^{210}\) Lundström and Tayanin 1982: 75.
\(^{211}\) Birrell 1982: 296.
\(^{213}\) Birrell 1982: 318.
Flower, ràāŋ, is a general word used for nice things like wealth, richness, fields. According to Birrell flower was a common representation of life.214

Sprouting cockscomb flower, ràāŋ rɔ̀ɔn, is juxtaposed to villagers. This flower had a ceremonial role in relation to the sowing and was a sacrifice to the rice-soul.215 It can probably be seen as a symbol of fertility. Kam Raw considers this flower beautiful.

Water-hyacinth, tɔ̀ɔŋ, is connected to work in the fields in one trn̂m. They grow in rivers and work by the rivers was often female work. In the song it is the sweetheart who works in the field. Birrell comments on caltrop (or water chestnut) that, ‘its flower is very pale, a quality admired in a woman’s complexion. Women usually picked the caltrops, and this imparts an erotic connotation to them’.216

Duckweed-flower, ràāŋ rì, is related to wealth as a symbol of respect towards a person who gives somebody a present. Birrell finds alga to be ‘a feminine image in love relations, signifying woman’s dependence on man, as the alga clings to the surface of water.’217

Animals
Swallow, sʔíil, and its graceful swaying movement is used in connection with female beauty. Kam Raw says that the swallow looks beautiful and is compared to beautiful persons. Birrell has: ‘...flying swallow. A descriptive phrase suggesting a woman’s graceful appearance’.218

Partridge, próŋ, refers to a beautiful lady. Kam Raw considers the partridge as something beautiful because it has a beautiful sound.

Pigeon, tṃpîr, which nods and coos is compared to a drum that rolls and rumbles. Possibly the continuous movement of the pigeon is related to the movement of the drummer and the large number of the nods refers to the multiplying of the sound.

214 Birrell 1982: 15.
218 Birrell 1982: 345.
Silkworm, mɔ̀ɔn, refers to a young female or girl-child. According to Birrell cocoon had a connotation of abundance and fertility and was an erotic symbol \(^{219}\) and ‘... in spring, the season of love, the silkworms grow quickly and feed hungrily on mulberry leaves. Girls tending to them are called ‘silkworm girls’.\(^{220}\)

Locust/cricket/lizard occur in different varieties. The sounds of these are important seasonal markers. \(^{221}\) In the trnɔ');</span></noscript>am they portray feelings. Thus the cry of the cáŋ cáŋ-locust implies loneliness (‘walking back all alone’) and the stmiat-locust implies anger. The cackling of the trkɔ́ɔt-lizard is likened to irritating thoughts that one cannot get rid of. The eggs of the túus- and plɔ̀-locusts are connected to resounding or echoing which probably has to do with large numbers that multiply. According to Kam Raw many locusts have certain connotations relating to seasons. The stmįat-locust has a beautiful sound. The túus- and plɔ̀-locusts as well as the trkɔ́ɔt-lizard are something negative or repulsive. Birrell characterizes the cricket as ‘a symbol of poignant suffering and likened to a woman’s emotional distress when her lover deserts her’. \(^{222}\)

Bees, hpɔ́ɔt, that swarm are likened to many visitors or to many words. This is a kind of bee that lives in trees or in the ground and which does not sting. \(^{223}\)

Pig, sɨáŋ, is used in connection with stranger, wanderer and as a condescending denotation for certain groups of people. Kam Raw says that pig means something negative.

The poetic imagery of the trnɔ');</span></noscript>am, i.e. introductory nature pictures followed by concrete descriptions within a rather strict poetical framework, shows obvious parallels with early Chinese poetry as it appears, for example, in The Book of Songs in the translation by Arthur Waley. \(^{224}\) This parallel was first pointed out to me by Professor Wolfram Eberhard in the early 1980s. Frank Proschan has also commented on this. \(^{225}\) The fact that similarities do exist is in itself interesting. It should be considered, however, that parallelism is a widespread trait in several poetic traditions

\(^{219}\) Birrell 1982: 302.
\(^{220}\) Birrell 1982: 326.
\(^{221}\) Lindell et al. 1982: 27 ff.
\(^{222}\) Birrell 1982: 303.
\(^{223}\) Lindell et al. n.d.
\(^{224}\) Waley 1954.
\(^{225}\) Proschan 1989: 269 ff.
of Southeast Asia and so is nature imagery, as shown by Mottin concerning the Hmong Blanc. Interestingly the metaphors listed by Schimmelpenninck concerning the shange of southern Jiangsu in China also have some parallels to those in Kammu poetry although the poetry is rather different in other respects. Possibly these local present-day traditions are variations on what is basically a common and widespread poetic frame of reference with ties back to older traditions.

The consistency of the list in combination with the references suggest that the interpretations made here are realistic and that nature symbolism in the Kammu trnəəm is not coincidental but is likely to have its own logic. If the nature rhyme words are interpreted in this way, it becomes possible to explain a number of otherwise puzzling words in the trnəəm which in the beginning of my study constituted one of the major obstacles in the interpretation of trnəəm. According to Nigel Fabb one of the functions of parallelism is to ‘express parallelism in cultural thinking’. Evidently this applies to word pairs made up of cross rhymes. The nature word or metaphor thus says something about Kammu categories and values.

Nature imagery in whole trnəəm

Often stanzas or whole trnəəm develop the nature theme. Typical behaviour or characteristics of animals or plants often constitute the whole first stanza in relation to the second stanza:

**Example 52.** ‘Dear, choosing to leave, choosing to return’ [Appendix 2: 10a6].

A wavering cloud of parakeets
Turning over, alighting on the hog plum.
A wavering cloud of parakeets
Turning over, landing on the ráay tree.
Dear, choosing to leave, choosing to return
You’ll end up married to a bad tiger-spirit.
Dear, choosing to leave, choosing to return
You’ll end up married to a vampire spirit.

---

226 Mottin 1980: 5–7. See also Graham 1954: 101 ff. Another example in Southeast Asia is the Dusun of North Borneo. The songs given in Staal 1926 are rich in nature symbolism in combination with parallelism. The actual images used in these cases are, however, quite different from those of the Kammu trnəəm. Davidson 1978: 49–50 provides a list of male/female nature symbols in Vietnamese poetry.


228 Fabb 1997: 144.

229 Voorhoeve 1977 reports a similar instance from the Asmat people in South-West New Guinea. Here songs were made up of parallel lines in which only certain key-words differ. These in turn belong together and in song metaphors take on the same meaning as the main word. Such sets of words tended to belong together in local categories.
This particular parakeet is black and white. When a whole flock turns itself over, the colour changes drastically, providing the image of a fickle mind. Bees and wasps which can fly become the carriers of a message to a loved one:

**Example 53. ‘I will send my song’ [Appendix 2: 7d4].**

I will send my song with a bee,
And make it visit you, dear.
I will send my song with a wasp,
And make it visit you, dear.

If a bee buzzes, it’s not that someone spoke ill of you.
It is my crying words that come.
If a wasp buzzes around, it’s not that someone spoke ill of you.
It is my crying words that come.

The bee that buzzes late in the evening,
Makes you dream about me, dear, oh.
The wasp that buzzes late in the evening,
Makes you dream about me, dear, oh.

In the following trnàm the barbet symbolizes the voice of one’s sweetheart (or rather one’s longing for the sweetheart’s voice). The first stanza is a picture which parallels the second stanza. The crab roasted in a folded leaf can be interpreted as a scene by a brook where the singer hears the barbet. It can also be interpreted as a symbol which stands for the atmosphere and feeling of loneliness while staying away from the home village – for example during the season between sowing and harvesting when young men stayed in the fields to watch over the rice or during a journey while trading. This would then stand in contrast to the social well-being in the village. In this way the whole trnàm can be seen as a picture:

**Example 54. ‘Why are you singing there, barbet’ [Appendix 2: 8b2].**

Why are you roasting there, crab,
Well-roasted crab of the brook?
Well-roasted crab,
did the tree’s leaf close?
Well-roasted crab,
did the vine’s leaf close?

Why are you singing there, barbet,
Well-singing barbet by the brook?
Well-singing barbet,
did your sitting-branch break?
Well-singing barbet,  
did your sitting-branch bend?  

If you are a barbet, then cry!  
If you are my dearest, then cease!  
If you are a barbet, then cry!  
If you are my sweethear, then cease!

Many trnâøm are about wandering, normally for seasonal work, or trading, but in a more symbolic way they may refer to travelling away from one’s home village in general – even to places where there are no mountains and which are far away from the Mekong River. The motif of the following trnâøm is considered by Birrell to be a typical picture of male life in older Chinese poetry as a wanderer whose world is full of ‘topological barriers, such as steep mountains, wide rivers...’便会.

Example 55. ‘To see the mountains makes me want to return’ [Appendix 2: 7b7].

To see the sweet potatoes makes me want to dig.  
I dig, soon hindered by bent down rattan.  
To see the sweet potatoes makes me want to dig.  
I dig, soon hindered by bent down silvergrass.

To see the mountains makes me want to return.  
I return, soon hindered by a landslide at the Mekong.  
To see my country makes me want to return.  
I return, soon hindered by the steep banks of the Mekong.

The following is a parting trnâøm which may be sung by the person who is leaving a feast in order to excuse himself:

Example 56. ‘Dragons, stay carefully’ [Appendix 2: 6g1].

Brothers, smear well!  
Friends, smear well!  
The thatch-grass will return to its own cluster,  
Return to squeeze into the little bumblebee’s hole;  
Return to squeeze into the little bird’s hole.

Dragons, stay well;  
Sirs, sit well!  
The crow will return to its own village,

---

Return to the grass-hut where the puppies live;  
Return to the grass-hut where the piglets live.

The word ‘smear’ probably has to do with a strengthening ceremony which involved smearing one’s kneecaps with the blood of a sacrificed chicken or pig. In this case ‘Dragons’ means wealthy or important people. It is a part of the polite conventions to belittle oneself in trnødøm. On the one hand there are the important people likened to the Dragon and on the other the small, unimportant, poor singer who on top of all that is also black as a crow. The whole trnødøm is a picture built on the following chains of associations:

| brothers | → | Dragons | → | partakers of the feast, |
| thatch-grass | → | crow | → | the singer, |
| cluster | → | village | → | singer’s home, |
| bees’, birds’ small nest | → | grass-hut for dogs, pigs | → | singer’s humble house. |

This is reminiscent of a practice in Asmat songs in Irian Jaya (Indonesia). C. L. Voorhoeve found lexical equivalent sets in three steps: one word carried the meaning and the other two words of the set were considered synonyms when occurring in a song. Otherwise they were names for similar things. In the trnødøm one may talk of lexical equivalent pairs, meaning the rhyme words. There are only a few cases of such pairs occurring in more than one trnødøm but enough to indicate that some of these pairs are pre-existing.

The examples show that the use of nature as a resource for poetic pictures is not limited to combinations of single words. A whole stanza or a whole trnødøm may be a poetic picture. The nature words – which often but not always are rhyme words – function as trigger words in order to create a larger picture. It is thus possible to understand them literally or to permit them to trigger a larger picture. That is an associative rather than a direct process.

The following trnødøm is the kind which was sung in praise of a house which the singer is visiting. In a traditional situation the host would answer by singing in depreciation of his house, his food and so on, and a dialogue in singing might start. In this case A and B are the trnødøm, whereas C is a unit of words of address which is interwoven with the trnødøm.

---

231 Voorhoeve 1977.
Example 57. ‘The first time I climb a staircase’ (A), ‘Indeed I walk around a castle-porch pole three men can’t embrace’ (B) and words of address (C). The capital letters in the righthand margin refer to $\text{trn}_3\text{om}$; the lower-case and superscript refer to lines within stanzas (cf. the model in Example 35, p. 93). *Performed by Kam Raw. Recorded in Lund, Sweden, 1979/80* [Appendix 2: 3b1 + 3b2].

Oh, the first time I cut an eggplant,  
I will cut a hundred fruits.  
I say, the first time I cut an eggplant,  
I will cut a hundred seeds.

I say, the first time I climb a staircase,  
I say, I will climb a hundred yards.  
I say, the first time I climb a staircase,  
I will climb a hundred steps.

Beautiful silvergrass.  
Oh, long and fine silvergrass this I say.

Oh, indeed I touch the liver of the tadpole,  
The liver of the tadpole no one can see.  
I say, indeed I touch the liver of the cicada,  
The liver of the cicada no one can see.

Wife-givers so wealthy, this I say.

Oh, I say, indeed I walk around a castle-porch pole,  
A castle-porch pole, three men can’t embrace.  
I say, indeed I walk around a castle-porch post,  
A castle-porch post, three men can’t embrace, this I say.  
Oh, beautiful silvergrass.  
Oh, long and fine silvergrass.

I say, indeed you must have cut its hardwood tree  
at the mountain’s foot  
and used elephants to pull it.

I say, indeed you must have cut its hardwood tree  
at the mountain’s foot  
and used elephants to lift it, this I say.

I say, oh, beautiful silvergrass.  
Oh, long and fine silvergrass, this I say.

Obviously most of the references to nature in this combination of $\text{trn}_3\text{om}$ relate to wealth and richness. The action of cutting eggplants refers to the action of climbing a staircase and the number of eggplants corresponds to the number of stair rungs, thus implying a huge building. On the other hand, eggplants and staircases do not seem to have much in common (though eggplants may sometimes symbolize fertility). This is more like a parallel or an association rather than a direct picture. It seems that
‘touching the liver’ of an insect is a similar parallel, where the importance lies in the impossibility of the action. This is paralleled by the obvious exaggeration that three men would not be enough to measure the periphery of the main post of the house. Cutting the tree at the mountain’s foot may also be an exaggeration since the Kammu normally live up on the mountainsides. The use of elephants is an exaggeration, for no poor people could own or were even permitted to own elephants. This latter part of the performance is, however, more concrete in its contents.

Another aspect which can be observed in this trnəem could perhaps be called a ‘bewildering’ function of rhyme words. This occurs in combination with the parallel action, for example the locust and cicada which by rhyme are connected to the pole. At the same time there is a similarity in the action and a contradiction in juxtaposing minor animals and huge poles. There are several examples of nature words as first-stanza rhyme words which appear to be unlogical. I have elsewhere likened this trait to that of orally transmitted riddles. A riddle typically has a bewildering first part and a clarifying second half. Many trnəem have a first stanza that is grammatically and/or semantically incomprehensible, while a second stanza clarifies the meaning.

The associative qualities of the imagery
In a few cases the references to nature in the source material could be classified as simile if simile is defined as an explicit reference using the word ‘like’ (mīun in Kammu). This occurs but is not common. If metaphor is defined as implicit references to nature, metaphor obviously plays an important role in təem poetry. Naturally several symbolic meanings other than those considered here can be read into the trnəem. Here, however, the aim has been to seek general principles for the use of nature imagery in stanzas and rhymes.

There seems to be more in common between Chinese poetry and the trnəem than merely certain metaphors. Thus Marcel Granet has characterized the Chinese way of parallelism as present in The Book of Songs in a way which on a general level very well expresses also the construction of a Kammu trnəem.

It cannot be ruled out that Kammu poetry perhaps preserves characteristics of Laotian poetry. It has not been within the scope of the present study to search for such evidence, but there is at least one parallel which relates to praise. Thus a Laotian poem has: ‘The Palaces shine bright like golden stars, Roofed in with massive gold instead of thatch...’ (Abhay 1956: 352, source of poem not given). Praise trnəem are about palaces (2b1) and golden buildings: ‘The lattice is made of golden bamboo strips, The gable roof is covered by gold. Dazzled I am unable to look’ (3b4); ‘From the eaves of your house water flows like brilliant sunshine..., At the front the roof of your house is covered with gold’ (3b3).

Lundström 1983.

An example of parallelism in sung poetry is given by Bahr et al. 1979: 247 ff. from Piman Indians. In this case the poems are also divided in two stanzas which are variants of each other, with a large amount of repetition; the two stanzas are, however, ordered not by association but by
...one of these two formulae placed in opposition appears as the symbolic double of the other: a natural image seems to express indirectly and as by allegory the human fact with which traditional experience associates it.\textsuperscript{235}

This was an fact a poetic device called \textit{xing}, which has been described as ‘two opening descriptive lines in ancient Chinese songs leading to a main theme by often borrowing things from nature such as birds, animals, isects, fish, montains, rivers, grasses and trees and these lines function as metaphor for the theme.’\textsuperscript{236}

As was shown above nature words may have many functions even in the same \textit{trнём}. For example, a bewildering juxtaposition of rhyme words may be present at the same time as a parallel action builds up a similarity between stanzas, and the key words trigger the association to a wider picture of the environment. When \textit{trнём} are built out to suites or are performed in dialogue this complexity increases. In summary:

- nature, particularly plants and animals, is a dominating source of reference;
- nature words are often rhyme words;
- the images are mainly built on association and parallellism;
- the associative processes may occur simultaneously on several levels.

The many aspects of the associative qualities in the nature images make the interpretation rather open and closely related to contextual factors. In other words, the same \textit{trнём} is likely to be given different meanings in different contexts. This means that even a rather limited repertoire may cover a wide range of meanings.

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\textsuperscript{235} Granet 1932: 213.

\textsuperscript{236} Liu 2008: 228 [my translation]. See further Fu 1994.
7. Tǝøm Dialogues

When two or more people take turns in tǝøm performances individual expression and communication are both essential – in fact the individual styles, characters and preferences are strikingly present in these singing situations which after all are rather collective. This fact is also obvious from the comparatively rich vocabulary that relates to characteristics of performances. In this chapter the vocabulary will be presented followed by a study of two tǝøm dialogues.

The individual expression

According to Kam Raw, it is easy to learn how to tǝøm but difficult to tǝøm well. Most people are able to express their feelings in singing or to join in the collective singing, but few are really good. Some people make up their own words. Kam Raw does not regard tǝøm or tǝøm melodies in themselves as beautiful or less beautiful. Those words do not apply to his concept of traditional Kammu music. However, a tǝøm can be performed really well or it can be performed less well. This goes both for its music and its poetry. The singing is as individual as each person’s rendering of the local spoken dialect. Some sing fast and nervously, others slowly and smoothly and so forth.

Many qualitative statements of tǝøm performances are in the form of expressives, usually reduplicated words. Also the word slaj, ‘sound’, is used for describing a wide variety of musical sounds such as pitches:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{slay} & \quad \text{nè} & \quad \text{or:} & \quad \text{slay} & \quad \text{còŋ} & \quad = \quad \text{high pitch,} \\
\text{sound} & \quad \text{small} & & \text{sound} & \quad \text{high} \\
\text{slay} & \quad \text{nám} & \quad \text{or :} & \quad \text{slay} & \quad hntè & \quad = \quad \text{low pitch.} \\
\text{sound} & \quad \text{big} & & \text{sound} & \quad \text{low}
\end{align*}
\]

In the following list terms are ordered in the categories of voice character, singing manner, poetical aspects and musical aspects. By necessity there is some overlapping between these categories. All categories except musical aspects have words for better or worse nuance. Generally those in the left column are considered positive by Kam Raw, and those in the right column negative. Some are both, though, depending on the situation. Kam’s most important preferences are marked with a (+). As far as possible the aim has been to match expressions which are each other’s opposites.
Voice character

tróŋ muàn ‘nice throat’, good voice: voice quality is generally speaking rather throaty and raspy without much vibrato, and occasionally nasal.

tróŋ hmpàć ‘hairy throat’, poor voice: a throat full of hair of an itching kind that can be found on certain plants.

síaŋ plàŋ resonant sound. Used only for a person’s throat, meaning that it is wide and permits the air to pass freely.

síaŋ tán thin sound. Used only for a person’s throat, meaning that it is tight and the air must be pressed through.

síaŋ hncǐm soft sound.

síaŋ kmpǐŋ muffled sound.

síaŋ hntúr muffled sound.

Singing manner

síaŋ ktǎm heavy sound. tǎm lìitrǐi sing heavily. A singer who sings in a loud, high-pitched voice which is strong all the time and who doesn’t run out of breath while singing. Self-confident singing, like walking with steady steps (+).

síaŋ kúurìi long-drawn sound, legato. Rather slowly with much legato, lingering on second syllables in iambic units which often are reduplicated vowels (+).


síaŋ plǒkplǒk skipping sound, staccato, tǎm lǎtǐbòt sing briefly, tǎm ptcàac prcìir sing quickly. Performing the words quickly without prolonging them or reduplicating the vowels.

tǎm pntrǎ pntrǎàn sing hurriedly, tǎm rǎaŋrōon sing hurriedly. The singer tries to get through the song as quickly as possible, sings fast, doesn’t embellish, leaves out words etc.

tǎm kntrǐŋ kntrɔ̀ɔc sing slowly.

tǎm kpʔlp kŋlèeŋ sing noisily.

I will send my song
Poetic aspects

tə́əm kákháac ‘sing a full mound’, sing full,
prkàay return, rebut,
prsát to complete.
To complete the rhymes between stanzas well.
The first expression refers to a full mound of an animal (like, for example, a bamboo rat) (+).
tə́əm hóŋháac ‘sing a thin mound’, sing thin.
Not completing the rhymes between stanzas well.
tə́əm prklák prklík ‘sing helter-skelter’,
tə́əm prcàar prcìir ‘sing helter-skelter’.
Mixing parts of different trn without completing any of them.
tə́əm còpcàaŋ ‘sing babbling’,
tə́əm kpcòp ‘sing babbling’.
Putting many words into the performance without a poetic structure or rhyme pattern.

Musical aspects

tə́əm krlìi krlàaŋ ‘sing cirkling’,
tə́əm krlìir krlɔ̀ɔr ‘sing cirkling’,
tə́əm klìi krlaàŋ ‘sing crawling’,
síaŋ klyɔ̀ɔŋ ‘swimming sound’,
síaŋ klwìi ‘whirling sound’.
In the tə́əm Yùan style, the melody is often prolonged in a pendulum movement on the lower pitch level. This results in a flowing, melismatic way of singing where there are no pauses between words or syllables. They seem to flow into each other (+).
tə́əm ñɔ̀ɔt-ñìar ‘sing stretched out’.
Sing without taking a new breath (+).
tə́əm knhúul knhə́əc ‘sing reverberating’ (?)
sing with ‘half-voice’ in a soft falsetto manner.
The word knhúul is also used for the sound of the flute, tɔ́ɔt, and the bamboo idiophone ùaw ùaw and perhaps refers to the sound of the first partial.
tə́əm krhú krhɨ́an ‘sing shaking’.
This refers to the larynx shaking up and down. It is a kind of trill or fluttering voice.
These value terms are not absolute and all of them may not be generally accepted standards. They constitute, so to speak, the matrix within which Kam Raw describes performances and evaluates them. His own preferences are clear. He favours full and heavy, drawn out singing with all rhymes returned, legato, with much circling and stretched-out sections. I made a tape of all Kam’s tσ̣om Yùan performances in the hrɐi/tσ̣om sample (see Appendix 3, Sample III). These had been recorded over a long period of time and many of them he had not heard for several years. When I asked Kam to listen to the tape and evaluate the performances in a conversation with me, he turned up with a short written commentary speaking of himself in the third person and summarized here:

The singer sings the first part of his trn̄om well enough but not quite perfectly because he sings too slow. This way is what people call tσ̣om kntṛiŋ kntrɔ̀ɔc (steady, slowly, singing too slow) or tσ̣om káp kràan kl’ah-kltèn (exhausted, singing lazily and tiredly).

In some trn̄om the singer has forgotten the rhyme words and is trying to find them. He sings in this way because he doesn’t intend to sing the real way. The second parts of the songs are all perfect and very good singing.

One of the trn̄om that is really good actually should be sung on the forest path and therefore should have no words of address, and there should be no knnàay (cheering) either.

In another case he sings very well, but he sings as if playing around. He doesn’t sing as he would do at a real party. This is because he is singing all alone and nobody is listening to him. If he sings at a party and there are some people who listen to him he will sing in the real way. It is as if you are going to take a picture of somebody, and you tell that person and then he tries to smile and stand properly.

A number of trn̄om are perfectly good. He sings as if he is at a party with many people. He is really singing.

In a similar way Kam has discussed other singers in our material who use the Yùan area melody. He has also demonstrated other persons’ ways of singing [Recording tracks 15–16]. This manner of imitating individual styles could be used at parties when the participants want to include a person who is absent in the singing.

Quite evidently there is a difference between the concentrated singing at a party or in a dialogue situation on one hand and the more relaxed singing done alone. Kam rates the concentrated singing highest, but relaxed singing can also be good as long as the singer balances the demands of the poetic side well. Many recordings in the material at hand are of this kind and are therefore representative of the relaxed singing.
situations. However, the general principles are relevant to both ways of singing. This is illustrated in the singing situation from 1974 described in the Prologue. Kam Raw uses the Kwêen area melody \[\text{Recording track 2}\]. In comparison to the other example of this melody among the recordings made in a studio situation nearly 20 years later \[\text{Recording track 12}\], it is clear that the main melodic line, the distribution of the words and the adherence to word tones follow the same principles. It may seem as if he stays much longer on the high introductory pitch in the older recording. This is explained by the fact that the first three words of this trnæm all have high word tones, whereas in the other one the first two words have low tone. The other singer, Nàañ \[\text{Recording track 1}\], also follows these principles. She emphasizes the high word tones more than Kam does, however. The only words with low tone that are sung as if they were high are the embellishment words ‘nàañ’ and ‘cùu’. Such words are often stressed in tæm performances and are examples of cases where stress decides the higher pitch and not the word tone. The main difference could be summerized by the word intensity – higher intensity goes with higher concentration and results in more complete performances poetically and musically.

**When Kam Raw met an ‘uncle’**

In 1986 Kam Raw’s ‘uncle’ Tá Làay Sivilay visited Sweden from the USA together with his son. Tá Làay and Kam had not met for about 25 years. Tá Làay is older than Kam. The Kammu term for their relation is tāay hɛ̀ɛm, ‘elder brother/younger brother’. In Western terminology they are next cousins. When they met, they sang to each other \[\text{Recording tracks –}\]. It is striking that the two singers while singing in tæm Yùan-style represent rather individual styles with regard to melody, rhythm and tempo.

Tá Làay sings rather quickly. He squeezes several syllables into the iambic units and seldom doubles vowels. The iambic pattern is not very pronounced. He doesn’t linger very long on any word, thus not utilizing the prolonging or circle techniques mentioned above. To some extent these characteristics possibly depend on the fact that he might have been nervous and that he at the time of the recording had not had much recent training. Nevertheless, as demonstrated by Tà Làay’s other recordings these are strong traits of his personal style.

Kam Raw sings in a heavy style, rather slowly with pronounced iambic units, and he dwells on prolonging and circle techniques. Compared to many performances

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237 The singing took place in my living room. Present except for the singers were Tá Làay’s son who video-recorded the situation and myself who made the sound recording. Full translation in Lundström and Tayanin 2004: 235 ff.

238 Tá Làay later sent me a tape with his singing. Musically these performances have the same general characteristics, which may therefore be considered essential to his personal style.
that he made singing alone, here he handles the combination of musical phrases more freely, he tends to make the first stanza more musically pronounced and also puts many polite words and embellishment words there. His singing is rather more intense and loud compared to many other performances.

The opening tr̥ḁm of the dialogue are transcribed in Example 58 in the compact form made possible by the descriptive model introduced in Chapter 5 (Example 35, p. 93). The code in the inner righthand column refers to the list of tr̥ḁm in Appendix 2 and that in the outer column to the stanzas and sentences according to the descriptive model. The different layers of words have been marked by different styles in the transliteration and interpretation: bold, bold italic, and italic.


A) TÁ LÀAY:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>həy</th>
<th>sáh</th>
<th>ò</th>
<th>tìi</th>
<th>mòk</th>
<th>mə̀aŋ</th>
<th>Mòɔt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hey</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>village</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ò</th>
<th>tìi</th>
<th>mòk</th>
<th>mə̀aŋ</th>
<th>Màn</th>
<th>kəay</th>
<th>sàh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>village</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>say</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ha</th>
<th>khá</th>
<th>ò</th>
<th>nè</th>
<th>sə̊- nəàm</th>
<th>ò</th>
<th>nè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hey</td>
<td>chestnut</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>oh</td>
<td>courtyard</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>oh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sáh</th>
<th>kha</th>
<th>ò</th>
<th>nè</th>
<th>kəm- pə</th>
<th>ò</th>
<th>nè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>chestnut</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>oh</td>
<td>rhododendron</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>oh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ee</th>
<th>kə̊rə̊ʊ̊ŋ</th>
<th>kə̊l- mə̊</th>
<th>kə̊ay</th>
<th>sàh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oh</td>
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<td>sugarcane</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>say</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ee</th>
<th>sáh</th>
<th>ò</th>
<th>rɔ́ɔt</th>
<th>mòk</th>
<th>mə̀aŋ</th>
<th>kìi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oh</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>village</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ò</th>
<th>tàn</th>
<th>mòk</th>
<th>mə̀aŋ</th>
<th>kìi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>village</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>oo</th>
<th>khá</th>
<th>ò</th>
<th>sə̊- nəàm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oh</td>
<td>chestnut</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>courtyard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>oo</th>
<th>khá</th>
<th>ò</th>
<th>kəm- pə</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oh</td>
<td>chestnut</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>rhododendron</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hɛ́ɛm</th>
<th>pə́ŋ- kà</th>
<th>hɛ́ɛm</th>
<th>pə́ŋ- yɔ́ŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nephew</td>
<td>shy</td>
<td>nephew</td>
<td>dragon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kāay sāh [nāa-ay] then say

B) KAM RAW:

hay sāh mèe tīi mòk māŋ Māot hey say you hit mountain village name α 1b1:1a
tāay sū - pāay krōŋ līa wōey uncle cowpea stalk exp straight, fine γ X:1a
kāay sāh [nāa-ay] then say

ee sāh tāa khā tāa kəm - pā oh say not chestnut not rhododendron δ 6f1:1a
sāh tāa khā tāa rāay àam say not chestnut not flower name γ 6f1:1a¹
kāay sāh [nāa-ay] then say

ee sāh mèe rōt mòk kē kī oh say come mountain this δ 1b1:2a
tāay par - yōŋ uncle dragon γ X:2a

tāa Ṇō tāa pāŋ - kā dée ēy oh oh not afraid not shy β’ 6f1:2a
sāh mèe tēn kāaŋ līaŋ kīi say you sit house here this β 1b1:2a¹

tāa rāam tāa pāŋ - kā not ashamed not shy β 6f1:2a¹
tāay par - yōŋ uncle dragon kāay sāh [nāa-ay] γ X:2a

Interpretation:

A) TĀ LĀAY:

Hey I say, I bumped into the Māot mountain village,  lα1:1a
I bumped into the Màn mountain village, this I say. lα1:1a¹
I say, a chestnut, I am in the courtyard.  6f1:1a
I say, a chestnut, I am a rhododendron,  6f1:1a¹
Stalk of sugar-cane, this I say.  X:1a
Oh, I say, I came to this mountain village,
I sit in this mountain village.
Oh, a chestnut, I am in the courtyard.
Oh, a chestnut, I am a rhododendron.
I am embarrassed nephew, dragon nephew, this I say.

B) KAM RAW:

Heey, I say, you bumped into the Mœêt mountain village,
Cowpea uncle, straight-grown stalk.
I say, don’t be a chestnut, don’t be a rhododendron.
I say, don’t be a chestnut, don’t be an àam-flower, this I say.

Oh, I say, you bumped into this mountain,
Dragon uncle.
Don’t be afraid, don’t be embarrassed, oh, oh.
I say, you sit in this house.
Don’t be ashamed, don’t be embarrassed,
Dragon uncle, this I say.

If the three layers are arranged one by one and if the embellishing words are taken away the following layers emerge:


A) TÀ LÀAY:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tà Làay</th>
<th>Kám Raw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ò tìi mòk mǐaŋ Mòèt</td>
<td>mèe tìi mòk mǐaŋ Mòèt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I hit mountain village name</td>
<td>you hit mountain village name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>1a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò tìi mòk mǐaŋ Màn</td>
<td>mèe tìi mòk mǐaŋ Màn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I hit mountain village name</td>
<td>you hit mountain village name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a¹</td>
<td>1a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò rōt mòk mǐaŋ kìi</td>
<td>mèe rōt mòk kàə kìi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I come mountain village this</td>
<td>you come mountain this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò tàn mòk mǐaŋ kìi</td>
<td>mèe tàn mòk mǐaŋ kìi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sit mountain village this</td>
<td>you sit mountain village this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a¹</td>
<td>2a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interpretation:

A) TÀ LÀAY:

I bumped into the Mòɔt mountain village.
I came to this mountain village.
I sit in this mountain village.

B) KAM RAW:

You bumped into the Mòɔt mountain village.
You sat in this house.

This is a trnòəm that belongs to the opening of a singing exchange. As a visitor and as the older person Tà Làay starts the singing. The poetic structure is rather simple and in his reply Kam Raw basically uses the same words as his uncle. Only the pronouns are exchanged (‘I’ and ‘you’). The uncle completes most of the rhymes: tíi / kìi, mòɔt / rɔɔt, màn / tàn. The words mòɔt, mòŋ and màn may have meanings but, if so, they are unknown to Kam Raw. Màn might refer to the old Chinese word for mountain people or to an ethnic minority. The other two words have no obvious meanings. They may be old words or perhaps distant village names not known to Kam Raw. They occur in many other Kammu areas in connection with this particular trnòəm which is very widely spread and that I have heard in villages close to Luang Phrabang and Vientiane as well. They may, however, function only as rhyme words. In his answer Kam Raw uses the same rhymes, but he leaves one line out:

This line occurs in other performances and would have completed the rhyme èn / tèn. The word èn is of the same category as the rhyme words discussed above and might have no meaning. Again, this is within the borders of normal variation in təəm. As can be easily understood from the interpretation, this trnòəm means that the visitor excuses himself for intruding, whereas the host takes it as a point of departure for making his visitor feel welcome and at ease. If Kam had been hosting in his own house he might have made excuses for his humble home.

239 According to Kandre 1967 ‘Man’ could stand for the the ‘Iu Men’ or ‘Yao’ in Laos.
240 The same trnòəm is discussed by Proschan 1989: 314 ff.
Example 60. Tóam exchange between Tá Làay and Kám Ràw: Layer 2.

A) TÁ LÀAY:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khá</th>
<th>Ð</th>
<th>Sa-</th>
<th>Náam</th>
</tr>
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B) KAM RAW:

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</thead>
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<table>
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<th>Pàg</th>
<th>Kà</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>shy</td>
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<th>Ràam</th>
<th>Táa</th>
<th>Pàg</th>
<th>Kà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>not</td>
<td>worry</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>shy</td>
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</tbody>
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Interpretation:

A) TÁ LÀAY:

A chestnut, I am in the courtyard.
A chestnut, I am a rhododendron.
A chestnut, I am in the courtyard.
A chestnut, I am a rhododendron.

B) KAM RAW:

Don’t be a chestnut, don’t be a rhododendron.
Don’t be a chestnut, don’t be an àam-flower
Don’t be afraid, don’t be embarrassed,
Don’t be ashamed, don’t be embarrassed.

Kam Raw’s uncle sings about being shy. He uses a standard trnòam but does not return the rhymes. Thus khá would rhyme with pjàkà, ‘shy’, in a later line and snàam with ràam, ‘ashamed’. Instead he repeats the first two lines without changes. As has
been shown, the first rhyme word of a pair is often taken from trees or plants which are difficult to translate. This is an example of a starting trnəm, trnəm prá snáam, ‘breaking the arena’ (cf. Chapter 2, p. 40). Kam Raw answers by using the same trnəm in which the pronoun ‘I [am]’ is replaced by ‘do not’, thus saying ‘do not be ashamed, do not be embarrassed’. He completes the rhymes carefully. This is a standard answer.

**Example 61. Tə́əm exchange between Tá Làay and Kám Ràw: Layer 3.**

**A) TÁ LÀAY:**

| krɔ̀ɔŋ | kəl - me | hɛ́ɛm | pəŋ - kà | hɛ́ɛm | pər - yɔ̀ɔŋ |
| stalk | sugarcane | nephew | shy | nephew | dragon |

1a

**B) KAM RAW:**

| tàay | síi - pàay | krɔ̀ɔŋ | ìì | wə̀əy |
| uncle | cowpea stalk | exp straight, fine |

| tàay | pər - yɔ̀ɔŋ |
| uncle | dragon |

1a

| tàay | pər - yɔ̀ɔŋ |
| uncle | dragon |

2a

**Interpretation:**

**A) TÁ LÀAY:**

*Stalk of sugarcane.*

*I am embarrassed nephew, dragon nephew.*

1a

2a

**B) KAM RAW:**

*Cowpea uncle, straight-grown stalk.*

*Dragon uncle.*

1a

2a

*Dragon uncle.*

2a

Layer 3 contains words of address. As was shown in the previous chapter these often use plants as rhyme words, particularly for that which is straight or long as...
a simile suggesting a long and prosperous life. Dragon (Prɔ̀ɔŋ) is an address word of appraisal which means wealthy and high. In these two trnõymology it seems as if the singers merely use words of address to prolong a couple of lines. In other cases whole segments may be used.

The trnõymology described in these examples are the initial ones of a longer exchange and as previously mentioned they are common opening trnõymology. The contents of the full dialogue are given in Example 62 using distinctive sentences which normally coincide with the first line of the second stanza (cf. Chapter 5, comments to Example 35, p. 93). This is where the actual contents of the trnõymology are usually first expressed. Each trnõymology has been numbered by the code used in Appendix 2. Trnõymology not in Kam Raw’s repertoire are given capital letters (A, B, C...). The main trnõymology are printed in bold letters. Segments of polite words, represented by ‘X’, are in thin letters.

The following list is an abridgement of the actual exchange of trnõymology that took place. Each step in the dialogue is a condensation of a performance built up in analogy with Example 58, p. 144. Once the singing has started the basic guiding principle is for each singer to praise the other and whatever belongs to that person – this is called to krséŋ, ‘praise’, or to cóol, ‘exaggerate, beautify’ – and to depreciate oneself and one’s own belongings which is called plóoc, ‘look down upon, despise, depreciate’. Several trnõymology often occur in pairs of krséŋ and plóoc functions and may be considered paired trnõymology.


1. Tá Làay:
   1a1 I came to this mountain village
   6f1v I am embarrassed
   X Dragon nephew

2. Kam Raw:
   1b1 You came into this house
   6f1 Don’t be embarrassed
   X Dragon uncle

3. Tá Làay:
   1a1 I came to this mountain village
   A I climb the dazzling shining staircase
   6f1v I am embarrassed

---

This circumstance has to a certain extent been taken as the basis for the numbering of the trnõymology in Appendix 2.
This abridged version of the exchange illustrates the sort of messages singers may communicate. Rather than a continuously developing dialogue as in a spoken conversation it resembles a chain messages as in a telegram, linked to each other in a manner that leads stepwise forward. The messages appear to consist of codified sentences in the trửơm or words of address embedded in an abundance of poetic embellishment.

242 Meaning: will die from eating too much of the food offered by the host.
243 Meaning: the rumour of his arrival came before the visitor had climbed up to the village.
244 Cńą́ is a mythological hero.
245 Meaning: I am your servant.
When Kam Raw met an acquaintance
While visiting Vientiane in January 1996 Kam Raw incidentally met a person he knew from the village Mọ̙ Krò, which is a neighbouring village to Kam’s home village, Rmcùal. This was Lêŋ ‘Yọ́n who is born about 1960. Since he is about 20 years younger than Kam he was only a small child at the time Kam left his home village. The two families had much contact, however, and Lêŋ ‘Yọ́n’s father – who according to Kam was a very good singer – used to sing with Kam’s elder brother who in his turn was an inspiration to Kam. Kam and Lêŋ ‘Yọ́n decided to sing to each other [Recording tracks 19–20].

In Example 63 their singing has been condensed using the same technique as in the previous section. Each of these trn̄̄ð̄̄m thus stands for a full performance including several lines and rhymes between them as well as the corresponding musical variation. In the following figures the performance is described with regard to the order of lines and musical phrases (Greek alphabet).


1) Kam Raw
X Dear grand-son
  1a1 I came to this country.
X I am embarrassed
  1a3 I indeed squatted down outside the village, peeping in

2) Lêŋ ‘Yọ́n
  6f2 Don’t speak like that
    A We have nothing to offer
    X I am embarrassed
    X Wealthy Uncle
  6c3 Endlessly shy I answer
    1b1 You sit on this mountain

3) Kam Raw
  2d2:2 I am a spirit wandering the land
    X Good old friends
    4a2 What is believed at a distance

4) Lêŋ ‘Yọ́n
  6f2 Don’t talk like that

---

246 The singing took place in my hotel room in Vientiane. Present except for the singers were Professor Bertil Sundin (music education), Professor Jan-Olof Svantesson (linguistics), Professor David House (linguistics), who made the sound recording, and myself who documented the situation with video and photographs. Full translation in Lundström and Tayanin 2004: 255 ff.

247 This trn̄̄ð̄̄m is closely related to 2d1:1 which was used in several examples in this study.
Don’t be embarrassed  
I will receive and return your beautiful words  
When I talk I worry that I might make a mistake

5) Kam Raw

Villagers, don’t disturb

6) Lèn Yɔ̀n

Don’t exaggerate so much  
Even if we stay together in the village  
What I wish for and long for is Uncle.  
Don’t speak like that  
Do not let everybody cry  
What is hard for others is not hard for Uncle

7) Kam Raw

Wealthy grandson  
You who stay in the village, sitting in the house

8) Lèn Yɔ̀n

Don’t speak like that  
Wealthy Uncle  
When you pass to us through many countries  
People say in 1971 you then went to Chiangkhong  
Uncle disappeared like the wind  
Uncle left the villagers and became a visitor

1) Kam starts the singing by combining two trnɔɔm that are suitable for a visitor to sing. He puts in quite many polite segments which – when the lines are paired – are sung α → γ or δ → γ. With this exception the musical phrases are performed in a normal order for Kàm.

2) Lèn starts with a line from a polite segment (6f2) that is not completed later on in the performance but continues directly into other polite words. This is sung as an α → γ phrase, which seems to be a personal preference of his. He builds his reply on the answer to Kàm’s trnɔɔm (1b1) and makes it a frame for his performance by beginning with it and not completing it until the very end of his answer. In between he puts a suite consisting of three trnɔɔm (A, 4c1, 6c3) and polite segments. Musically his performance does not have very clear subdivisions but gives the impression of a continuously developing idea. The singer performs the lines in groups of two or three and usually does not breathe until after the γ-phrases which mark the end of such groups. He praises Kam and expresses his own humbleness.

3) These are two trnɔɔm performed as a suite. Both belittle the singer in response to the praise from the other party.
4) \( \text{Lèêŋ} \) goes on to speak about answering Kam’s singing and expresses his worries that the result will not be good enough. His rendering of the \( \text{δ} \)-phrase does not have a very marked introductory formula. This makes the frequent use of \( \text{γ} \)-phrases sound less final.

5) Kam answers politely and praises \( \text{Lèêŋ} \)’s voice. The \( \text{trnəəm} \) he chooses has four sentences and he performs the major part of it as a series of \( \text{β} \)-phrases.

6) Here the introductory exchange of polite \( \text{trnəəm} \) is over and \( \text{Lèêŋ} \) continues by singing about Kam and how much the people at home have missed him. These are perhaps pre-existing \( \text{trnəəm} \) that are changed to fit this particular situation by substituting some words, but all of it might also be newly invented. The \( \text{trnəəm} \) develops into a suite and musically the lines are mainly grouped as two or three.

7) Kam answers with a traditional \( \text{trnəəm} \) that is thematically linked to the previous one. He keeps his answers short. This is a part of the singing when the other party expresses his thoughts.

8) This statement starts and ends with variants of pre-existing \( \text{trnəəm} \). The middle part is newly invented or highly varied. Here the singer lists major events in Kam’s life year-by-year. [The singing stopped when it was interrupted by visitors.]

Musically Kam’s performance here follows the ‘normal’ distribution of musical phrases. This is shown in Example 64, which contains his final entry and is followed by \( \text{Lèêŋ} \)’s final one.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Musical phrase</th>
<th>Key words</th>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>( X )</td>
<td>( \alpha )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7d16</td>
<td>1a</td>
<td>( \beta' )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7d16</td>
<td>2a</td>
<td>( \beta )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2a</td>
<td>( \beta' )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( X )</td>
<td>( \gamma )</td>
<td>Wealthy grandson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7d16</td>
<td>1b</td>
<td>( \delta )</td>
<td>You who stay in the village, please, take care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2b</td>
<td>( \beta )</td>
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### Tơm dialogues

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<tr>
<td>7d16</td>
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#### 8) Lýeg 'Yồn

<table>
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<th>6f2</th>
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<tr>
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<td>γ</td>
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<td>Wealthy Uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>1a_1</td>
<td>β</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>1a_1</td>
<td>γ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>2a</td>
<td>δ</td>
<td>When you pass to us through many countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>2a</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>People say in 1971 you then went to Chiangkhong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>≈</td>
<td>γ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>≈</td>
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<td>β'</td>
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<td>2a</td>
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<td>2a_1</td>
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<td>3a_1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c3v</td>
<td>3b</td>
<td>δ</td>
<td>Uncle left the villagers and became a visitor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c3v</td>
<td>3b_1</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Complete interpretation:

#### 7) Kám Ràw

Heey, I say, bind torches, oh, silvergrass, sugar-cane. 
I say, you who sprout together bitterly and happily. 
I say, please, take care of my small squirrel basket, oh. 
Please, take care of my small fish basket, oh. 
Good friend, wealthy grandson, this I say. 

Oh, I say, you who stay in the village sitting in this house, oh. 
I say, please, take care of my pitiful mother, oh. 
I say, you who stay in the village sitting in the house 
Please, take care of my pitiful sister, oh, this I say.
8) Lèn ‘Yön

Heey, when you are such a fig tree, oh, like that, 6f2':1a
Beautiful leaf, oh, straight-grown straw, this I say. C3c
When you dig us many shallow rivers today. t:1a
I say, when you dig us many handfuls, this I say. t:1a1
When you left to us for many countries. t:2a1
When you went away from us for many countries, this I say. t:2a1
I say, people say in 1971, oh Uncle, you then went to Chiangkhong. var...
When 1972 arrived you indeed went down to Bangkok, this I say.
I say, you went down, dear, perhaps to seek for knowledge.
When 1975 arrived, oh Uncle, I say, you indeed you visited the old village.
Our bedding still remains, this I say. t:3a
I say, the bamboo flooring is all worn out. t:3a1

When 1977 arrived you indeed went to foreign countries. u:1a
We looked in your direction, looked and wept, this I say. u:2a
I say, Uncle indeed left for foreign countries. u:1a
We followed in your direction, followed and wept. u:2a1
Uncle indeed flew like the black kite flies. u:3a1
Flew like the black egret flies, this I say. u:3a2
I say, Uncle indeed disappeared like the wind disappears. u:3b
Uncle indeed flew away like the wind flies away, this I say. u:3b1

It is not that we abandoned Uncle to stay
with the munia-birds, oh, Uncle. 2c3':1a
It is not that we abandoned Uncle to stay
with the tree shrews, this I say. 2c3':1a1
It is not that we left Uncle with others. 2c3':2a
It is not that we abandoned Uncle with others. 2c3':2a1
Uncle himself left the banana plant
and became a wild banana. 2c3':3a
Uncle himself left the banana cluster
and became an orchid tree, this I say. 2c3':3a1
Oh, I say, today Uncle has indeed parted from the villagers
and become a visitor. 2c3':3b
Uncle has indeed parted from the family and become
a visitor. 2c3':3b1

Towards the end of the exchange Lèn makes a variation on a pre-existing tramān or
invents new words much as exemplified in Chapter 5, pp. 116 ff. (the G and H parts).
Generally speaking he has a preference for going quickly to the ending γ-phrase. He
uses the initial α-phrase only for the very first line. The rest of the performance is
built on δ → γ or, more often, β → γ with variants (β → β' → γ). He uses the
β into γ combination extensively in the newly invented or varied parts.
In this song exchange it is the younger Lèn who does most of the praising,
while Kam returns his songs. Musically Kam sings in his usual manner as described
above. Kam’s body posture when singing is relaxed. His back is straight providing
good circumstances for breathing. His face is relaxed with a faint, hardly noticeable
smile on his lips. His eyes are gazing sideways down to the floor and seem focused
on something far away. He sways slightly sideways in keeping with the slow pulse
of the singing. When he listens to the other singer he sits still with a relaxed face –
occurrently interrupted by a smile or a laugh, sometimes a short spoken comment –
and he looks down. This is a striking characteristic of all singing situations I have
seen: the listeners look down, sideways or up but not straight at the singer or at
each other. At first glance they may seem uninterested and distracted, but in reality
they listen carefully as if enclosed in their own world. If there is a party going on,
however, those who don’t concentrate on listening may well be talking and laughing
noisily, however.

Lènẹ́ listened to Kam with a relaxed body and a faint smile on his face, sometimes
looking down sideways, sometimes up into the ceiling as if thinking while listening
(Plates 6–9). In singing he sat straight, moving his body from the waist up in a
slow clockwise circular movement in co-ordination with the pulse of the music. His
singing style is not so different from Kam’s. His voice is heavy though somewhat
more nasal and clear. His singing manner is of the ‘heavy’ variety. He pronounces the
iambic rhythm strongly, frequently prolongs phrases employing the circle technique
and makes much use of vowel doubling. The overall impression is of a somewhat
more ‘aggressive’ style than Kam’s singing, which goes from a loud, intensive start
to a more soft and ‘inwardly’ finish.

The basic principles of tóom dialogue
The individual styles of the singers in the dialogues under study are quite prominent.
The individual characteristics are as present in the sung conversations as in spoken
conversation. It is striking that this is also carried out in song exchanges where one
perhaps would expect singers to adjust to a norm or to each other. Body postures
differ but common elements are a slow swaying or circular movement of the upper
body, a relaxed facial expression, eyes focusing on the infinite and away from the
eyes or faces of other persons present. Except for the swaying of the upper body the
same also applies to the listening pose.

The guiding rule of singing with others is to krsény, ‘praise’, and to cóol,
‘exaggerate, beautify’, the one(s) the song is directed to and to plóoc, ‘look down
upon, despise, deprecate’, oneself and one’s own belongings. Several trnọom exist
in pairs of krsény or plóoc functions. The dialogues start with the first singer praising
the other using a suitably paired trnọom and the appropriate polite words for self-
deprecation. The other party then answers with the corresponding trnọom, deprecating
himself and praising the other party, and then goes into another paired trnọom that
will inspire the other party to develop the exchange further.
I will send my song

Plate 6. Lẹẹ̀ Yọ̀on singing.

Plate 7. Lẹẹ̀ Yọ̀on singing and Kam Raw listening and thinking.
Plate 8. Kam Raw singing and Lèn ‘Yọn listening and thinking.

New trnəəm are then added, but they are not necessarily paired ones. Though there are no such examples in the dialogues studied here, there also exist certain trnəəm for inviting a person to sing, for persuading, teasing or advising and for ending a dialogue (cf. Appendix 2: 6 a–g).

The cheering which takes place between stanzas serves to encourage and spur the singer on. In other recordings of dialogues where more people are present they all fill in in unison. An element of competition is inherent in this singing situation. However, there are no examples of proper singing competitions in the material at hand. The competitive element as explained by Kam Raw shows itself as a wish to avoid being ‘out-sung’ by the other party both musically and poetically. Therefore he tries to do his best each time.

In a tə́əm dialogue the trnəəm are not developed as a continuous conversation but rather constitute a chain of telegram-like messages which are linked to each other in a manner that leads forward in steps. As has been shown a trnəəm may include a lot of symbolism on many levels. They are so much open to interpretation that they may be used in several different situations, the interpretations thus being closely related to the context.

One example is the trnəəm or segment, ‘Don’t talk like that’ (6f2). In the dialogue in Example 64, p. 154, Łęṣə Yəço uses it frequently as a polite expression when Kam belittles himself. In the introductory example (See Prologue) Kam uses it in order to comfort Nàa who sings about her worries for his departure and journey. As can be seen, this excerpt from a longer singing situation is also performed in the same way as the dialogues described in this chapter.

Generally each singer’s performance in these situations may include one or more trnəəm segments, units or compounds either as suites or superimposed on each other with polite words woven into the performance. In a simplified manner the basic principles may be summarized as follows:

**Example 65. Example of overall basic form of a tə́əm exchange between two persons.**

**Singer A**
- Praising
- Praising
- Deprecating
- Deprecating

**Praising**
- Polite words
- *Paired trnəəm 1*
- Segment
- *Paired trnəəm 2*

**Singer B**
- Praising
- Deprecating

- Segment
- *Return trnəəm 1*
### Tǝm dialogues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Praising</th>
<th>Deprecating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polite words</td>
<td>Return tǝm 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Singer A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Praising</th>
<th>Deprecating</th>
<th>Praising</th>
<th>Praising</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polite words</td>
<td>New return tǝm 2</td>
<td>Segment</td>
<td>Tǝm 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Singer B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Praising</th>
<th>Reciting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polite words</td>
<td>Return tǝm 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reciting</td>
<td>Segment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deprecating</td>
<td>Tǝm 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other content</td>
<td>Tǝm 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*etc.*

Basically each tǝm is performed using the $\alpha \beta \beta \gamma / \delta \beta \beta \gamma$ order of musical phrases. Often, however, the opening line of each contribution to the tǝm exchange will be combined with many polite words and therefore be prolonged into a final phrase: $\alpha \rightarrow \gamma$. The interior part of such a contribution may consist of a number of repetitions of $\beta$-phrases and there may be a number of variations.

**Example 66. Basic distribution of musical phrases in a tǝm Yûan dialogue.**

![Diagram illustrating the distribution of musical phrases in a tǝm Yûan dialogue.](image-url)

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This study was undertaken in order to reach an understanding of one person’s way of handling a repertoire of different performance manners, of vocally performing rather highly varied sets of words and of using these competences in communication with other singers. This person is Kam Raw who grew up in a Kammu-speaking village in northern Laos and for a long time has been living in Sweden where he moved as a grown man. After a presentation of his cultural and musical background, the subject was approached in a way which to a certain extent parallels his own learning experience. One trnəm was studied first in the form of the vocal genre hrḫi and then compared to the vocal genres hrwə, hũuũ, yàam and yũu tiiŋ. In these genres music and language are closely interrelated with regard to pitch, stress, rhythm and metre. While hrḫi proved to be a rather straightforward word tone recitation, the other vocal genres had more poetic and melodic characteristics.

It was concluded that the vocal genres can be regarded as different techniques for performing trnəm. Important elements in these techniques are musical motifs, the rhythmic distribution of words, the relationship between word tone and musical pitch, and the practice of vowel reduplication. The mastery of the poetic capacities of trnəm, the basic characteristics of which were defined and described, is essential for these techniques.

The insights into the nature of these performance techniques were then used in the analysis of the tōm Yūan area melody and the tōm area melodies of three neighbouring areas Kwẽn, Cwàa and Ûu which are also used by Kam Raw. It was concluded that the tōm area melodies can also be regarded as different techniques for performing trnəm. The tōm melodies of the Yūan, Kwẽn and Cwàa areas were found to be rather similar in structure, mainly differing in melodic contour, initial formula, the rhythmic distribution of the words and the use of vowel reduplication. The Ûu area melody had a different initial formula, which returned as a refrain, a different tonal material, no word tone centration and the words were mainly delivered syllabically by equally long tones.

The basic characteristics of trnəm poetry which had been defined from performances within the hrḫi vocal genre needed to be supplemented with more exact tools for understanding complex and eloquent tōm performances. Such tools were a more detailed understanding of the techniques of rhyming and a number of categories which have been introduced for different poetic techniques: embellishment words, words of address, segments, units, compounds, suites and interwoven combinations. These categories were derived from performances, and
with these tools in combination with a descriptive model, also performances that
included much variation could be analysed. This was also essential for developing
a transliteration based on performance, which when used with the Laotian alphabet
will be accessible to those Kammu-speaking persons who learnt to read Kammu.

The concept ‘ṭnəm’ was described as having three meanings: (1) in a general
sense approximately meaning ‘song’; (2) in an abstract sense meaning a distinctive
sentence and corresponding rhymes and (3) in a specific sense meaning a re-created
form in performance. Təəm can therefore be characterized as a vocal expression by
which ṭnəm are re-created, performed and developed according to a set of musical
and poetic techniques.

A major theme of the təəm performances is the expression of an urge for social
belonging. Three sub-groups of themes dominate Kam Raw’s repertoire: social
belonging, longing and journeying. The major source of reference for the poetic
imagery is nature. Nature – particularly plants and animals – is referred to in a
number of different ways and nature words are often also rhyme words. The images
are mainly built by association and parallelism. One feature may be the juxtaposition
of rhyme words that have no particular lexical meaning outside the singing situation.
In a ṭnəm each of normally two stanzas is, to use Granet’s words, ‘...the symbolic
double of the other: a natural image in the first stanza seems to express indirectly and
as by allegory the human fact in the second stanza with which traditional experience
associates it.’

With all this as a background təəm dialogues were studied in the final chapter
with particular regard to individual expression and communication. It was evident
that the Kammu language has a rich vocabulary relating to the qualities of təəm
performance, to personal styles and to the handling of the poetry in performance.
The personal styles are easily recognizable to Kam Raw, distinct as a kind of ‘voice-
print’ and therefore possible to imitate. Among the factors that vary are: character of
voice, volume, speed, favourite combinations of musical phrases, favourite ṭnəm
and embellishment words.

In a təəm dialogue one is expected to krsény, ‘praise’, and cóol, ‘exaggerate,
beautify’, the person(s) the song is directed at and plōoc, ‘look down upon, despise,
deprecate’, oneself and one’s own belongings. Several ṭnəm exist in pairs of krsény
or plōoc functions; for example for beginning or ending a təəm dialogue. It was
concluded that in a təəm dialogue the ṭnəm do not build up to a continuous and
straight conversation, but resemble a chain of telegram-like units and often also
symbolic messages that are linked to each other in a manner that makes the dialogue
develop in a stepwise fashion.

Musically the ṭnəm are performed within a basic order of phrases (defined as
α β β γ / δ β β γ ). Often the opening line of each contribution to the exchange will

248 Granet 1932: 213.
be combined with many polite words and therefore be prolonged into a final phrase \((\alpha \rightarrow \gamma)\) with the addition of a number of other variations.

**Handling a repertoire of different performance manners**

It has been shown that Kam Raw’s repertoire of trnãøm can be musically realized in different ways depending on the choice of vocal genre. This involves a number of techniques by which the trnãøm can be transformed from a more or less abstract form into a poetic expression in performance, having thus been re-created according to the principles of one of the vocal genres. The fact that Kam Raw has mastered these practices makes it possible for him to perform several trnãøm in more than one of these vocal genres.

One common denominator between all the vocal genres and all the tâøm area melodies is that each is built on one basic melody or tune that is varied according to the words of the trnãøm in question. I will use the term mono-melodic for this phenomenon. This term is preferred to Schimmelpenninck’s ‘monothematism’ and ‘monothematic’ since these and the term ‘theme’ itself already have rather distinct and different connotations in the study of Western art music.\(^{249}\) For similar reasons I avoid looking at the group of tâøm area melodies as tune families, a concept closely related to the reconstruction of historical developments by the study of ‘variants’.\(^{250}\)

Tâøm Yüan has thus been placed within one mono-melodic system of vocal genres and one mono-melodic system of area melodies. This points towards a music which is organized in a rather specific way relative to social, spatial and situational factors.

The repertoire of trnãøm can be divided into sub-groups which relate to situations. In practice some trnãøm are rather closely tied to certain situations and to the specific vocal genre that belongs to that situation. This means that a number of trnãøm seldom or never would be performed in more than one vocal genre. On the other hand there are also a number of trnãøm that may well occur in several situations and be performed in more than one vocal genre. The singing and the choice of vocal genre or area melody is dependent on the situation in which social, spatial and chronological factors are of special importance.

Many trnãøm in Kam Raw’s repertoire can be identified by name. Some of them he seems to perform straight from memory, whereas others are re-created in performance. The vocal genres include both singing and the metre of poetry. Both aspects must be considered inherent in the genres since the one does not exist without the other, i.e. trnãøm do not exist in any form other than as a vocal expression, and the melodies seem not to be perceived as separate entities but only as carriers of

\(^{249}\) Schimmelpenninck 1997: xi, 267.

\(^{250}\) These matters are discussed in Nettl 1983: 105 ff. and Wade 1993: 3 ff.
It is only in a theoretical sense that the poetry and music can be regarded as separate entities by which a number of manipulations are re-created in the form of τόαm or any other vocal genre. In reality the processes involved in re-creating a τόαm appear primarily to be instantaneous and simultaneous. Example 67 is an attempt to illustrate this process.

**Example 67. The process of re-creating a τόαm in the mono-melodic system.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUSICAL COMPETENCE</th>
<th>VERBAL COMPETENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vocal genre</strong></td>
<td><strong>Τόαm area melody</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>WHEN?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WHY?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Re-creating a τόαm in a vocal genre within this mono-melodic system is evidently a process that involves creativity in several aspects. First the aspects involved in handling the situational framework must be considered. This is much in keeping with Roy Wagner’s view that the individual’s handling of ritual and social aspects of words.251 This may not hold true for Kammu areas without word tones where τόαm may sometimes be declaimed like Western poetry without any pitches that differ from common speech where the last word in a verba phrase is stressed and long.
culture is creative and with Anthony Seeger’s similar views concerning an individual’s handling of vocal art forms of the Amazonian people Suyá.\(^{252}\) In relation to Cantonese opera the creative aspect of treating linguistic and musico-poetical factors have been recognized by Yung, who defines three levels of creativity in a model of creative process: the production of a skeletal melody, transforming linguistic tones to musical pitches and final adjustment of a number of partly unknown rules.\(^{253}\)

In the case at hand the creative aspects may be summed up as situational (social, spatial, chronological) and musico-poetical (musical, poetic, linguistic) as specified in Exs 66 and 67. The creative process consists of making a number of relevant choices of a situational and musico-poetical nature in such a way that the result will be a functional and aesthetically satisfactory performance of a vocal expression. Examples of creation by variation of existing tòäm were also found.

### Performing varied sets of words

Tòäm is the most complex and variable of the different vocal genres. Since it has its place in highly esteemed social situations, it must be regarded as the foremost representative of this system. It follows that the re-creation process of tòäm is particularly complex in the vocal genre tòäm. There are many local variants of tòäm melodies, the area melodies, each of which has its own characteristic melodic contour and set of principles for performing the tòäm. Within the areas, such as the Yùan area, the area melody has variations from one village to another.

To establish the fact that tòäm functions as a tool for variation and creation does not explain what it is in tòäm that makes this possible or how this is done. In order to discuss these matters it is necessary to consider various techniques in tòäm performance on a micro level. Certain techniques can be interpreted as mnemonic. The most obvious are the formulae made up of the tòäm themselves. It is sufficient for Kam Raw to remember the distinctive sentence and the rhyme words in order to re-create a tòäm. Then there are a number of stock segments, many of which consist of polite words which can be interwoven with the actual tòäm. Including these also give him time to think about what to sing next.

The tòäm melody may also be seen as a formula. Its distinct parts are the initial formulae (in the Yùan style: ‘Hobby’ of the α-phrase, ‘Eee’ of the δ-phrase) and final formulae (‘Kàay sàh’ of the γ-phrase). The remainder is a partial word tone recitation (the β-phrases) which may be shorter or longer depending on the words. Normally the initial formulae are used for the first line of a stanza, but often a line within a stanza will be prolonged by polite words and given an extra final which is then

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followed by a new initial formula for the second line. In this manner the musical prerequisites permit the singer to make an impressive start and at the same time to linger a while on a sentence while considering how to continue. Most of the polite words are found at the beginning of a performance. This, of course, is also because the singer is addressing another party.

Certain techniques seem particularly important for co-ordinating thought, words and music. The iambic ordering of words in recitation in tỗm Yûan serves to facilitate the delivery of the trnơom but is also important as a rhythmic frame for embellishment words, which are often sung in pairs that fit the iambic units, and for newly invented lines. The words of the latter may in turn be made aesthetically beautiful by a number of poetic principles that are less complicated than cross rhymes and therefore easier to manage (see Chapter 5, particularly Exs 39–40).

The techniques of putting more words into a formulaic phrase – making it longer by increasing the number of iambic units (prolongation) or shorter by inserting padding syllables (contraction) – give the singer considerable freedom in executing the words. These techniques also make it possible to change the plan if the line was miscalculated or the breath taken was not enough. Phrasing in general depends much on the breathing – when Kam Raw runs out of breath, he can change the recitation into a γ-phrase by accelerating and continuing into a final formula. This probably explains why many first lines continue directly into a final formula: if much breath is spent on making the initial phrase loud and long-drawn, a break will be needed. He may in that case continue with polite words that lead to a final formula.

Tỗm is in its essence communicative. Except for the situation when a person sings alone the singing is directed to one or more persons and an answer is normally expected. This is also evident by the abundant use of words of address which are interwoven into the trnơom. While one person is singing, the other(s) fill in during major breaks in the performance, thereby showing their interest and inspiring the singer to continue. While one person is singing, the other has time to think about the ‘answer’. There are a number of trnơom that directly belong to starting, finishing, deprecating, expressing respect, expressing gratitude, agreeing to return a song and so forth (see Appendix 2). These may serve as breaks that shift the singing from one phase to another. Thus Kam Raw says that when he sings with another person he does not plan very far ahead. The large form of the song exchange develops naturally by use of such particular trnơom.

**Using the competences in communication**

In tỗm Kam Raw makes a number of choices according to certain criteria. The performance which results is a creation related to a particular situation that combines relevant choices with stanzas or words and the matching of the words to the tỗm
melody. Kam Raw stresses the following factors that he always considers before starting to tǝǝm. If the situation involves one or more other persons, the criteria he considers are: sex, age, status and relation. These factors affect not only the choice of words of address or polite tǝǝm units (cf Example 68) but also the choice of tǝǝm.

The location affects the singing manner (voice quality, loudness, intensity) and the choice of tǝǝm. The chief categories mentioned by Kam Raw in connection with the practice of the village where he grew up are: village, fields and forest. The location may also affect the choice of tǝǝm area melody: if the singer knows several area melodies, he might choose the one that the other persons know best.

Time influences the choices in at least two respects: one is the season or the time of day; another is, in a traditional setting, whether there is an individual or collective taboo against singing at the time.

**Example 68. Situational framework for singing within the mono-melodic system.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social</th>
<th>sex/age:</th>
<th>man / woman / young / old</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>status:</td>
<td>higher / equal / lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>relation:</td>
<td>friend / relative / formal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spatial</th>
<th>local level:</th>
<th>village / fields / forest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>general level:</td>
<td>individual / village / area / country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Chronological | taboos: | calendrical / seasonal / life cycle |

The information that he wants to express is of course a fundamental factor in the choice of tǝǝm. This choice involves a knowledge of the symbolic contents of tǝǝm and the ability to link suitable tǝǝm together in suites. If the situation is a song exchange where another singer started, the answer tǝǝm should be chosen so that it/they relate to the preceding one(s) and carry the exchange forward.

The question of what it is that is communicated is complex. Certain tǝǝm have rather concrete meanings whereas others serve as metaphors. Thus, for example, the introductory tǝǝm: ‘I come to this mountain village’ (1a1) may be used in any place without a change of wording. Its essential meaning is approximately: ‘I am sorry for intruding’ and the answer tǝǝm, ‘You come into this house’ (1b1), means: ‘You are welcome but I have little to offer’. There are many similar examples among the tǝǝm.
This metaphorical quality of trnəəm makes it possible for one trnəəm to have different meanings in different contexts: the context suggests how the trnəəm should be interpreted. In this respect a rather limited number of trnəəm actually covers a much broader spectrum of possible messages, and the context is important for interpreting them. The trnəəm (segments, stanzas and units) can thus be read differently depending on the context.

Emeneau found a similar quality in his study of the Dravidian-speaking Toda group in South India:

As a formulaic poetry, with an almost exhaustive stock of formulas for culture traits and themes, including even the emotions, it never really sings about an individual instance of a trait or theme, that is, about an event, in individual terms. It can sing only in the general terms that have been formulated about the culture patterns over many generations. Selection of the appropriate song-units from those that are provided for the theme makes it possible to approximate the individual event, but it is seldom a very close approximation. The art is allusive rather than explicitly specific. It requires the audience to recognize in the use of the generalized cultural statements the appropriateness of the allusions to the specific instance.\(^{254}\)

Even if the təəm repertoire under study here may be slightly more fixed than the Toda songs are, this observation is also relevant for təəm. As mentioned above, many trnəəm concern social relations and express the desire to be socially accepted. This is evident in the use of words of address but also in the choice of trnəəm in particular situations. This circumstance demonstrates that an important function of təəm has been – and is – to establish or reconfirm social relations between people or groups of people. Some information of this kind is inherent in the very act of singing itself.

A person also communicates his or her personal way of singing. It was mentioned that Kam Raw can imitate some other personal styles. He recalls that this was done at feasts where a missing person’s way of singing would be used as a substitute. When it comes to his home area, he can also detect from whom a person has learnt to təəm. In this way singing also expresses personal identity. Someone, who like Kam Raw knows several area melodies, also communicates respect when singing the same melody as the host when visiting a more distant village.

\(^{254}\) Emeneau 1971: xlvii–xlvii. Note that Emeneau uses the term ‘song-unit’ to designate the minimal poetic unit, which is a three-syllable unit out of which songs are developed, especially by the construction of parallel pairs.
The question of representativeness
Throughout our work Kam Raw has been very consistent in his views on matters of context. Naturally there are cases when we have changed an original statement when discussing it more closely or subsequently. And naturally there are points which are unclear, sometimes perhaps because there are no clear-cut answers. This concerns, for example, those categories of trnām which are possibly ambiguous in their nature, but where it would have been much simpler for me as a researcher if the categories had been clearly defined and never overlapping. In several cases the emic and etic views are by their nature more or less incompatible.

This point, however, has nothing to do with Kam Raw’s reliability as an informant but emphasizes the question of how far a researcher should pursue a line of thought in the search for answers. One outcome of my work, which has had a single person representing a foreign and – to me – rather different tradition, has been the realization of how central this problem actually is. The quality of a number of judgements made in the course of the work depend strongly on how well I have succeeded in balancing the emic and etic views – in other words, how far I have pursued results expected from an etic point of view in cases when the emic has deviated from those expectations.

That Kam Raw is active in his tradition means that he continuously re-creates it, and that he is able to find solutions even to questions about matters he never encountered while living in his home village. Kam’s information about contextual matters should be seen in this light: the role of taboos for singing, the proper choice of vocal genre in various situations, the proper choice of trnām and polite words and also the so called laboratory recordings which were, so to speak, ‘contrived’ recordings. He is nevertheless able to handle those things he has never experienced simply because he has a sense of how they, ideally, should be handled. This is a manifestation of the above-mentioned creative aspects of cultural competence.

The method of analysis of the musical and verbal aspects of tōm developed from the singing of Kam Raw also proved useful in the analysis of the singing of two other persons in the song dialogues. At the same time the individual nature of their styles became apparent. Other song exchanges with other singers that I have analysed but not included in this study, support this result, indicating that as a singer in the Yùn Kammu tradition Kam Raw does not deviate more than is acceptable from other singers in the context where this tradition exists.

Basically Kam Raw’s singing has been consistent over the years, i.e. his techniques for realizing trnām in either of the vocal genres have not changed. When it comes to performances in different situations there are, however, differences. When other Kammu are present Kam Raw often sings loudly and with high intensity. When singing alone with a microphone his singing is usually less strident. He himself compares the most relaxed singing to the way he would sing in the early morning after singing and feasting for a whole night and becoming tired and lazy. In the
recording situation he normally sings without polite segments and usually does not make suites. However, when he wants to do those things he does so even in that situation. In the social tōm situation he occasionally remembers trnām that he did not otherwise think of and new suites of trnām may occur.

Kam Raw has been living away from his home country for a long period of time. What this means for his singing is hardly possible to measure. At least it can be concluded that his repertoire is basically that of a young man some 30 years earlier. This also goes for his singing style. An obvious change is that he has become less at ease with the singing styles that were in vogue when he left his village, particularly the tōm Kwèn style and Laotian-style songs, and is now most confident with the styles he grew up with, the tōm Yūan style and Cwàa.

Kam Raw himself thinks that he would not have sung at all if he had stayed in Laos. If – on the other hand – he had stayed in his home area and if he had continued to sing, his singing would certainly have developed differently from the way it has evolved in Sweden. Probably he would have lost some of the old trnām but would have acquired more new ones and perhaps also further developed his techniques of variation. When Kam sang with Lêé Yṅn (Chapter 7), he did not vary the words as much as Lêé Yṅn did. When asked why, he replied that he simply did not know what had happened to Lêé Yṅn in his life. Therefore, he could not tōm about it as he would otherwise have done.

Living in Sweden has meant that there are partly other reasons for singing than would have been the case in Kam’s home area. This must have influenced his singing as it is today. Concentration on remembering and demonstrating his trnām, his singing and his performance of different vocal genres has certainly revitalized large parts of his repertoire. He has also become more of an expert in transforming trnām into more than one vocal genre. In this respect the mono-melodic system is now more pronounced than it was when we started working together and probably more developed than it would otherwise have been. During our work he has also begun to recognize this as a system. Similarly, his awareness of the practice of systemizing poetic analysis and categories has increased and he has probably also developed his singing and mnemonic techniques.

This development has not taken him away from the core of his tradition, for his singing works well in communication with people who are living in an environment where they sing often. It is as if he has undergone a development that is ‘normal’ for his age and within the limits of what would have been normal (though different) had he had stayed in the Yūan area. In this perspective the new qualities he has developed can be regarded as an increase in expertise. Kam’s life experience is certainly rather unusual, but there are bound to be others who in a macro-perspective create similar kinds of rather ‘idiosynchratic habitats’, to use Hannerz’s terminology. In that respect Kam is not atypical. Moreover, this is probably a growing category of people who therefore will be of growing importance as objects of ethnomusicological research.
A comparative perspective

In a wider perspective the kind of singing that employs the variation of traditional poems performed to one melodic pattern seems to be the rule rather than an exception in Southeast Asia as well as in many other parts of East Asia. There are also examples of vocal expressions representing degrees of recitation or singing within local categorizations as in the music dramas in Chinese traditions and in Japanese no drama. This phenomenon has recently attracted more attention in the study of various folk or popular music styles that are common in South China and Southeast Asia. The Chinese term shange, or ‘mountain songs’, is often used to designate monomelodic exchange songs among various peoples. In Western terminology they are sometimes referred to as ‘alternating songs’, ‘chants alturnés’ etc. Such categories are not limited to the situation of singing exchanges in mountains or courting songs but may have several other uses as well. Nicole Revel states that they are found among many cultures belonging to the language families ‘tibéto-birmane, chinoise, miao-yao, thai, austroasiatique et austronésienne’.

In a general sense Kammu tœm clearly resembles these widespread singing styles. First, it is a mono-melodic type of singing that in many of its uses shares the characteristics of shange. Thus Schimmelpenninck has found that the shange of southern Jiangsu in the Shanghai area have what she calls ‘tune regions’ or ‘monothematic regions’ and ‘textual regions’, and that texts have a ‘supra-regional’ distribution whereas tunes are limited to smaller geographic units that to some degree coincide with dialect areas. Some singers knew up to ten such tunes, usually with a strong preference for one of them. Singers sometimes attached ‘the name of their village or county to it’. This parallels Kammu practice and is also the practice in Laotian tradition where the local styles of lam or khap are are often named by city, village or area.

On a basic structural level there are also many things in common. Thus, in the classification given by Zuozhi Zhang and Helmut Schaffrath, a shange consists of stanzas of four musical phrases called beginning, development, turn and end. These correspond rather well to the phrases of the tœm Yùan style designated α/γ, β, δ respectively. The same authors define a loud style which they divide in ranges: low,

256 For uses of the term shange see Schimmelpenninck 1997: 16 ff.
258 Schimmelpenninck 1997: xii, 267. It should be noted that such ‘monothematic regions’ – at least in the case of Kammu tradition – not should be taken to characterize a regional musical culture. It is limited to one or a few vocal genres, whereas other music in the same places may be organized according to different principles.
260 See, for example, Compton 1979: 96–100.
middle, high. The existence of padding syllables as well as initial and final formulae are further parallels. In a general sense then, Kammu təm may be seen as belonging to the shange or mountain song complex. This view is also supported by parallels in symbolism and metaphors. Proschan has further shown how Kammu love dialogues with mouth harp relate to widespread practices in Southeast Asia.  

Generally speaking, it would appear that many peoples in Southeast Asia have vocal genres similar to təm. Among the examples in the literature are studies of songs among Sino-Tibetan peoples such as the love dialogue songs among the Hmong Blanc in northern Thailand and Lisu singing. For the Hmong Blanc, each singing genre has its own fixed melody. This may perhaps be interpreted as a description of a mono-melodic system of genres (‘...chaque genre a son air fixé une fois pour toutes.’). In insular Southeast Asia similar types of singing exist, for example in Sabah.

Even taking this into account, təm stands out as a very distinctive characteristic of Kammu music culture. The area melodies that Kam Raw knows were presented in Chapter 4. The recorded material by other singers includes təm Rɔ̆k melody and several examples of more distant styles from northern Laos. When the təm melodies are compared they fall into two broad categories. One type is characterized by a substantial amount of recitation in a low range, a falling melodic contour and rather short introductory and final formulae. This type includes təm Yūan, Kw∪∪n, Cwàa and Rɔ̆k. Since these areas are located close to the river Nam Tha, the melody may be called the western Kammu melody type. In a belt reaching from south China, down along the river Ùu to Luang Phrabang and further south to the vicinity of Vientiane, another melody type seems to dominate. It is characterized by long wordless initial and final melismatic sections which surround short phrases of words that are delivered very rapidly (including təm Ùu). In analogy this may be labelled the eastern Kammu melody type. Tonal Kammu dialects are spoken in the areas around Nam Tha, whereas the other areas speak non-tonal dialects. This correlates well with the western melody type leaving much room for the word tones, whereas the opposite applies to the eastern melody type. This difference of melody type is possibly one example of a major division within northern Kammu culture.

The Lamet speak a Mon-Khmer language that is closely related to Kammu, but the two languages cannot be mutually understood. In some areas the Kammu

262 Proschan 1989.
266 According to Kam Raw this applies to the parts of the Rɔ̆k area which are located close to Yūan, whereas he considers the melodies of more distant parts of the Rɔ̆k area and of the Krɔ̆ area as rather different. This is verified in the few examples at hand in the source material.
267 Svantesson, personal communication.
and Lamet live in close contact with each other. This was the case in Kam Raw’s home area and he actually sings the shaman songs in his repertoire in Lamet style. Since Lamet melody in that area does not differ more from the tšăm Yûan style than those of other neighbouring areas, it is close to the western Kammu melody type. Similar characteristics can be found in recordings from Khabit (or Phsin, Sipsong Panna).

The Kammu are generally believed to be closely related to the Mon-Khmer-speaking groups Wa and Lawa. Kam Raw actually knows sayings or stories which express belief in such a relationship. Referring to the Lawa in northern Thailand Klaus Wenk mentions that the songs translated in his article were sung to the one melody which was adjusted to the rhythms and intonation of the Lawa language. The overall contents of the songs resemble the Kammu tšăm and the existence of words of address can be assumed from the translations. The rhymes of the two songs given in the Lawa language are apparently of the chain rhyme variety.

Among the Mon-Khmer peoples in Vietnam there is evidence of song types similar to tšăm. It would appear that their poetry is dominated by chain rhymes in combination with end rhymes as exemplified by the Jarai, Sre, Bahnar and Cau Maa. The songs of the Mnong Gar of Vietnam often utilize chain rhymes and are reported to have a high degree of variation from one singer to another and evidently also by the same singer. Furthermore one song can be used in several situations. To sing is called tong and to sing in exchange is called tăm tong (tâm = exchange).

A mono-melodic system similar to that of the northern Kammu, which is built on traditional poems and a limited number of vocal genres, may possibly exist among other peoples in the area. Similar systems may lie behind two rather short reports concerning the Mon-Khmer-speaking groups Jeh and Rengao in Vietnam, but this cannot be said with certainty. It is likely that the lack of literary references to similar category systems is because this special feature has not been particularly studied. The results of this book show the importance of recognizing such systems for an understanding of a vocal tradition.

When dealing with mono-melodic systems in comparative research, it is essential that the genres to be compared are so well defined that their relationships to other genres within the system in question are known. One could easily imagine how different the outcome would be if in one case hrï performances from one area

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268 Recordings in my own source material.
269 Recordings given to me by Li Daoyong.
270 Wenk 1962. The article contains five songs of which two are given in the Lawa language. All songs were translated into German via Thai and no word-for-word translation is given.
272 Condominas 1953; 1977 and n.d.
were compared to tœm performances of another area, and in another case tœm performances from the two areas were compared. When it comes to comparison outside those Kammu areas and Lamet that Kam Raw knows, there are actually no comparable sources at hand, but the selection of what is compared has to be based on the assumption that the entities are comparable.

A few recordings of Lawa- and Wa- (or Wa-related) speaking singers from Sipsong Panna show similarities to western Kammu style and perhaps particularly to the Lamet style.\textsuperscript{274} Voice character and melodic movement are distinctly different from those of the majority peoples and from most Sino-Tibetan groups that I have heard. The often rather coarse, rasping quality of voice sets them apart from many of the Sino-Tibetan-speaking groups in the area. Many of the latter also have melodies characterized by movement in large intervals and by the existence of many word tones. The voice quality of Kammu and other Mon-Khmer singing actually seems to have more in common with minorities in Cambodia (like different groups of Pör which are also Mon-Khmer-speaking groups).\textsuperscript{275} The Lawa and Wa melodies dwell rather much on a recitation pitch; in some cases there is the feel of a iambic delivery and also a kind of singing similar to the circle style of tœm Yûan which is used when prolonging poems. The recordings of some Mnong Gar songs from Vietnam reveal similar characteristics concerning voice character, iambic delivery and particularly the circle style.

While this very general survey does not suffice to draw any definite conclusions it suggests that the western Kammu style, though distinctly Kammu, is reasonably close to some other Mon-Khmer styles. It also suggests that voice quality, iambic delivery and the circular singing manner may be distinctive features of the Mon-Khmer-groups that are not as often encountered among other minority groups. Further investigation on this matter would have to include poetry and techniques of variation as well as the possible existence of systems similar to the mono-melodic system described here.

\textsuperscript{274} Svantesson personal communication. Evidently Li Daoyong considers these recordings to be Wa dialect or some close dialect, because he is able understand them from his knowledge of the Wa language. According to Svantesson the Lawa and Wa languages are closer to Lamet than to Kammu. This supports the impression I got from listening to these few recordings.

\textsuperscript{275} Brunet n.d.
EPILOGUE:

A RETURN

It is 1 December 1993 and the scene is the Kammu village Lakpeet not far from Luang Phrabang in Laos. The house that serves as a community hall is full of people of all ages. They are performing tükći with a number of visitors. This is a ceremony when cotton threads are tied around peoples’ wrists in order to strengthen their souls and make them well. The centre of everybody’s attention is a Kammu man in his mid-fifties who now lives in a foreign country. His name is Kam Raw, but nowadays he is better known as Damrong Tayanin. He is well known in Laos – not only among the Kammu – as the Kammu man who became an honorary doctor and who writes books about Kammu life and language.

In his group are a Kammu man and a woman from the Luang Phrabang radio station’s Kammu-language programme, a Laotian man from the Institute for Research on Lao Culture in Vientiane and a linguist and an ethnomusicologist from Sweden. The reason for the visit is that they are interested in Kammu music and particularly in singing. Another purpose is that they want to demonstrate to the villagers and the people from the local radio station that Kammu singing and music is a national treasure.

A few of the young women are dressed up in folk costume. One of them is seated by the wine jar which has straws for a handful of people to take turns in sipping rice wine. As the wine sinks she adds water from a glass and sings at the same time. Her name is Ya Thœœ and she is a good singer. Her song is accompanied on the mouth organ. The melody is very different from those in Kam’s repertoire. It is the so called ceem aey or tœäm Luang Phrabang, which is very popular among the Kammu in the surroundings of Luang Phrabang from where it has spread particularly during the 1960s. After a while two other girls, Ya Peœ and Ya Liaœ, take over the singing and the water pouring.

Another man in his fifties starts singing a different tœäm accompanied on the mouth-organ. He has a raspy and raw quality of voice and there is no doubt he is a very good singer. His name is Ta Ñii. Like most of these villagers he stems from Phongsali in the north. He uses an older type of tœäm melody which is very much alike the tœäm Ùu. Quite obviously there are two layers of melody types here: the tœäm area melody and the ceem aey. The former is the older of the two and we get the impression is that very few people can tœäm that way, maybe none of the younger people.

Afterwards we are all invited outside to an open space in the centre of the village. We are seated on a bench and the villagers are standing all around the area.
On the righthand side are two musicians playing the mouth-organ and a small drum respectively. A group of young school children enters the ‘stage’ and dance in a circle around a girl who carries a flower. We learn that they have rehearsed only for four days. Next comes a group of slightly older boys and girls in their early teens who perform another dance. The third group consists of boys and girls in their upper teens or lower twenties. They perform a more complicated dance which shifts from a large circle into a chain and into two smaller circles. A characteristic movement of that dance involves kicking out with the feet. Kam says this is similar to a game he knew as a child. The rest is new. These dances have been recently choreographed. They had been rehearsing for a while in order to perform at the New Year’s festivities which were coming up soon. Later we learnt that they had professional help from the dance and music group Kongsilapakorn in Luang Phrabang which have also another Kammu dance in their repertoire. What we experienced here can be described as follows:

- a historical artefact: traditional tāṃ performance to an old area melody;
- a popular modern folksong: the performance of ceem əy;
- the birth of a new form of representative performance: newly choreographed dances.

The tendency seems rather clear: traditional tāṃ performance is becoming rarer – although more slowly in more remote places like the Yūan area – and will ultimately disappear with the language. The ceem əy, which has already spread very widely, has the potential to become the dominating form of Kammu singing, but this would also depend heavily on language knowledge. Consequently the Kammu dances might become the future representative form of Kammu culture.

There are also some tendencies working in the other direction, thus slowing up the process. One is the local Kammu-language radio broadcasts where songs can be recorded by Kammu people and broadcast, tapes can be sent in etc. A growing interest in Laos in its cultural heritage may affect its future development. The first music student with a Kammu music background has attended the National School of Music and Dance in Vientiane. She is Khamphɔ́ɔŋ from Phongsali in the north, who both sings and plays the flute. In her song to Kam Raw, Khamphɔ́ɔŋ politely belittles her own voice and singing. She then sings of her longing for home – or, perhaps, everyone’s longing for the place where they grew up – about the evening star that bridges the distance and the difficulties in finding one’s way back. In this case she uses the singing style called ceem əy or tāṃ Luang Phrabang.

276 This occasion is also described in Lundström 1994.
Epilogue: A return

Ceem oh, elder brother, oh.
Listen, I will send my song to you.
The sound of my voice is indeed not good.
You sing and let me hear.
Your voice is far nicer, oh.
What I sing is indeed not good.
Don’t listen, indeed the sound is terrible.
Oh, elder brother, oh.

Today we look in the direction of the village,
Only in the direction of the house, oh.
I would like to look in the direction of our village,
The evening star shining so far.
I would like to look in the direction of our house,
I see our evening star, oh.
When I try to return bamboo leaves are hanging down,
Long and sharp cowpea leaves are shooting out.
The girl who bade farewell wants to return home.
Oh, elder brother.

[Recording track 21, Transcription 4 in Appendix 5]

The total picture is complicated by the influence of new media including writing, tape or cassette recording, radio, television, video, minidisc etc. At the same time that these media bring new and competing musical forms, they also increase the possibilities for communicating the local forms. The fact that tɔam performance is kept alive by Kammu living abroad shows that to many people it is an important means of expression and communication and using the new media keeps the tradition alive.

* * *

The experiences we had this warm December day in Lakpêt had a very special meaning for me and my work in ethnomusicology. It was my very first visit to Laos. Until that time I had basically worked without any experience of Kammu life in Laos. The closest I had got – except from working with Kam Raw – was among immigrants to the USA living in Seattle, Washington. I had worked with material which in a sense was historical, and I was not sure what I would hear and see in Laos and whether I would like it or not. In my head, of course, everything was clear: the relativist approach, the tolerance, the interest in processes of change, the acceptance of mixtures or cultural border phenomena and so on. But what would I actually feel? Would I develop into an advocate for the survival of traditional tɔam performance
and nothing else? Or would I accept the complexity, the mixture and the ambitions of the present situation?

The resolution came right here on this very day and I was happy to find that the result was towards acceptance and a will to understand the complexity. As shown to us in Lakpøet traditional tóøm does indeed have a place in the spectrum of cultural expressions among Kammu-speaking people. It is carried on by individuals inside and outside Laos and by people like Kam Raw and others we have met in this study. While its place in the whole spectrum will continue to change, it has a strong potential to be in use for a long time as one of several Kammu cultural expressions. Some support and encouragement would probably increase the chances that this will actually be the case, though. It is my hope that this study can contribute in that direction.
APPENDIX 1: GLOSSARY OF KAMMU TERMS AND NAMES

This glossary contains a selection of Kammu words mentioned in the book. It is limited to geographical names, terms for musical instruments and vocabulary relating to singing, music making and poetry.

cřeη  cymbals
Cwàa  Kammu geographic demarcation
èem  wife-giving group

hrñi  flattering talk (vocal genre)
hrô trnɔəm  poem, song
hrwɔ  vocal genre
hûuwɔ  vocal genre

kàm hrñi  flattering words (vocal genre) cf. hrñi
–  knôo  starting words
–  prkàay  return words, cross rhyme
khôy  wife-taking group
khên  mouth-organ (Laotian type)
kltnɔj  wedge-shaped bamboo concussion tubes
kmnàay  cheering between stanzas
Krñŋ  Kammu geographic demarcation
Kwên  Kammu geographic demarcation
k?ɔ̀y kmà  calling the rain (song)
krùu  powerful songs and prayers
kûuk kntrúl  songs for children

Lîi  Kammu geographic demarcation
lûun  showing the way (funeral song)
lûuy kûon sîs  lull child to sleep (lullaby)

Mòŋ Krô  village in the Yûan area
môon  small bossed gong
môô rôoy  spirit doctor, shaman
I will send my song

begging (wassail song)

wine song-poems
wine song at funeral wakes
songs in Laotian style
decorated bamboo clappers
long wooden drum
return, rebut rhyme words
to complete the rhymes

idioglottic single-reed flute
Kam Raw’s home village in the Yùan area
Lamet, a minority ethnic group in north Laos
mouth-harp
Kammu geographic demarcation
large bossed gong
cheering when drinking wine

sound
high sound, high pitch
soft sound, weak sound
low sound, low pitch
muffled sound
whirling sound, falsetto or half-voice
swimming sound, rolling sound
hard sound
mighty sound, low pitch
small sound, high pitch
shrill sound
mouth-organ (Lamet type)
mouth-organ (Kammu/Laotian type)

bamboo buzzer with two tongues
vocal genre
sing nonsense
sing without completing
sing completely
sing in relaxed manner
sing while inhaling
sing nonsense
Glossary of Kammu terms and names

- krìhì krìlahìgì: sing in circles
- Kwèen: tìóm Kwèen-style
- lát iòot: sing quickly without pausing
- pnpèè: sing to tease someone to sing
- prècààár prècààirìr: sing in helter skelter fashion
- prklàik prklàïkìrì: sing in helter skelter fashion
- sìaàh hmèàalìrì: sing lightly
- sìaàh kùùììrì: sing legato
- sìaàh kàámììrì: sing heavily
- sìaàh pìòk, pìòkìrì: sing staccato
- tòò: sing to invite an answer
- tòòc nòottìrì: sing prolonging the phrases
- tòòpìrì: sing in return
- Ùu: tìóm Ùu-style
- Yùanìrì: tìóm Yùan-style

Tììngì: bamboo water container also used as a stamping tube

Tììñìì: geographic division
Tììòp tììòomìrì: alternating song-poem
Tpòìì: side-blown free-reed horn
Trà kntìikìrì: bamboo stamping tube with a resonance stick
Tòòt yààam cúùìrì: vertical flute
Trììòomìrì: song-poem, song
Trììòom còôì: flattering trììòom
- crìlhì: teasing trììòom
- kàán yààmìrì: respectful trììòom
- kòôm nèìrì: children’s songs
- kòôm númìrì: youth trììòom
- kùùìì: starting trììòom
- kàssèì: praise trììòom
- pìòoc (lòocìrì: belittling trììòom
- prá snààamìrì: starting trììòom
- pùùcìrì: wine trììòom
- tàà réìrì: field trììòom
- tèèn kàp kòôm númìrì: courting trììòom
- thàw këèìrì: trììòom with the elderly
- trììñòoyìrì: joke trììòom
- trììàn pùùcìrì: wine-table trììòom
- trììàsìrì: cursing trììòom
- yììh prìì: forest-walking trììòom
- trònòh hmpèècìrì: hairy throat, poor voice
I will send my song

– mùan  nice throat, good voice
trwàt  chain rhyme, interlocking, catching each other
Ùu  Kammu geographic demarcation

yàa  song at a buffalo ceremony
yàam  weeping (vocal genre)
yàam róoy  weep for spirit (dirge)
yàan  bronze drum, kettlegong
yùun rwàay  tiger dance, a song and dance to drive out a tiger

– tìij  (1) stamping-tube dance performed at house-building feasts;
(2) a song used here to designate a vocal genre
Yùan  Kammu geographic demarcation
Appendix 2: Index of Kam Raw’s Repertoire

A Songs of Feasting

1 Greeting Songs

a. A visitor

1a1 Ô rôi mọc miếng kí I came to this mountain village
1a2  Ấn pào nẹọẹ têmọ Interpret if you had known a visitor would come
1a3 Âay kóm rôi tên tả trầmọ If I indeed squatted down outside the village, peeping in
1a4 Þũũn tả mè yêh I go anywhere there is the smell of meat

b A host

1b1 Pọọ rôi kàn kè kí You came into this house
1b2  Ấn âay nẹọẹ têmọ Interpret if I had known a visitor would come
1b3 Kúut kláu, âay, kúut kláu Come in, friend, come in
1b4 Húan mè klán tả sú The word has spread that you were climbing up from below

2 Respectful Songs

a Praising a person

2a1 P्रiạŋ là pọọ pẹn Cíaŋ It is said that you are Cíaŋ
2a2 P्रiạŋ húâŋ mèe nẹọẹ prwẹy ték People say that you know more than others
2a3 Pọọ kọọ klée conj mình yê chéen You are altogether truly masters and sirs

b Praising beauty

2b1 Nàâŋ hían tả rôọ ngọe You step out from the high palace
2b2 Họọm klâ khat sákáay Your hair-knot is gracefully tied

c Songs of humility

2c1 Kọọ sọọn ọ sọọng pạt, sẹam pạt Just teach me two or three times
2c2 Klǐs kẹọ wàan Correct me if I do wrong
2c3 Tạa pıc âay yạ p्रiạŋ Don’t abandon me to stay with others
Songs of self-deprecation

2d1: 1 Àay m’hè khôn ngơ nè I am still small like a little child
2d1: 2 Àay m’hè khôn ngơ nè I am still small like a little child
2d2: 1 Àay m’hè phi tão miêng I am a spirit wandering the land
2d2: 2 Àay m’hè phi tão liêng I am a spirit of the yellow leaves

Songs of social unity

2e1 Khìâaj cuûr rûutçûut When it looks like an epidemic is getting near
2e2 Prô àay yêt rûam kûj I wish we could stay together in the village

Songs of Praise

Praising an area or a village

3a1 Ô lôu êew miêng cà kntiông lvâa I then visit a distant land on the far side of heaven
3a2 Tình tìn trnâaj tôok Tramping feet on the covered bridge
3a3 Tâaj kûj têà hnlûk lûc yàan Your village is built in the valley where bronze drums are moulded

Praising a house

3b1 Rôţôaj àay phôon kàa kâay kàa The first time I climb a staircase
3b2 Ô kôn pôot yàay rôon tmcêl sââm dôm Indeed I walk around a castleporch pole three men can’t embrace
3b3 Kàaj liàng lâas pôo tôok yûl çriïl At the front the roof of your house is covered with gold
3b4 Rôûyôot hmôt crïïl Long, hanging bamboo strips of gold

Praising wine and food

3c1 Ktàj pûuc pòo kôn nâm Your wine jar is indeed huge
3c2 Mô sês àay tê phôçj Who serves me from the measuring cup
3c3 Tàa mô pòo rûj pûuc Where did you make the wine
3c4 Pôo phâan ô yûl pûuc You are serving me wine till I die
3c5 Pôo côuy ô cêô hân If you don’t help me, I will die
3c6 Pûuc pôo kôn lâm miêng ôm kà Your wine is indeed delicious like fish soup
3c7 Ô pô mâh prîim I eat prime rice
3c8 Rôot pnyáap kàaj khônôj I come and empty the house of my good friend
### Praising a Gift

| 3d1 | Ràp tàa tí tàa hàąjà | I receive this from your red-coated hand |
| 3d2 | Ràp tàa tí tàa hàąjà | I receive this from your red-coated hand |

### Songs of Deprecation

#### General

| 4a1 | Tàa kòon cóí câł cèk | Indeed, don’t exaggerate so much |
| 4a2 | Rmòìm tàa táàŋ cà | What is believed at a distance |
| 4a3 | Pò pó kòon pnèè è mùttìrmàtàt | Indeed, you outdo fragile me |
| 4a4 | Ràam ò òòy, pnàkà ò | I am ashamed, oh, I am embarrassed |

#### Deprecating one’s house

| 4b1 | Kààŋ sók, kààŋ tìmòòŋ | A house on the outskirts, by the edge of the village |
| 4b2 | Pìk prìím, cnąràŋ prìím | Ancient crossbeams, ancient posts |

#### Deprecating one’s wine and food

| 4c1 | Ktáŋ thán mà tí | With a wine jar small as a thumb |
| 4c2 | Pùuc ò màh pùuc cààŋ | My wine is what I could gather by begging |
| 4c3 | Ò lòò póò yàà táŋ pòò màh | I then have nothing to serve you |

### Songs of Special Feasts

#### The rice soul feast

| 5a1 | Spò tàa mà kònl mèè àày | Where did you cut the giant bamboo |
| 5a2 | Pòò àày màh pòò pòò mùàn | My bamboo clapper is not melodious |

#### The harvest feast

| 5b1 | Húàŋ póò pìàn òò ròòy | It is rumoured that you got a hundred basketfuls of rice |

#### The drum giving feast

| 5c1 | Krlàk crír trncrír | The slit drum rolls and rumbles |

#### The wedding feast

| 5d1 | Chìat sìjkòm | Fastening the flower |
| 5d2 | Cùur tàa kààŋ | Descend from your house |
| 5d3 | Lòò wèc kèò, hòò nààŋ | Then come to your home, oh dear |
6 SONGS OF CHEERING AND SINGING

a Starting
6a1 Skí mèh mìi lè, wàn mùan Today is a good day, a nice day
6a2 T’àm’í hó Let us sing

b Inviting a person to sing
6b1 Pèer àay tè möoy pàa krìb If you give me one or two words

(c Agreeing to sing
6c1 Ó cèò ràp tèe tèa kàm’í ñàh I will receive and return your beautiful words
6c2 Kòn khóy tàa tòon sók cèò ràp The poor child from the outskirts will àatñàa reply your song eloquently
6c3 Pàò tòop cù tèe tòop Though I cannot, I would like to answer

d Praising another’s voice
6d1 Kòn tòon tàa pkúik Villagers, don’t disturb
6d2 Mèc sñà cùu tèe dìi psák Hearing my friends’ voices suddenly makes me feel good

e Deprecating one’s own voice
6e1 Tròon àay mèh tòon pàò trò My throat is not at all good
6e2 Mò mèc tàa kùnñèn Anyone who hears, don’t listen
6e3 Mà mò nàa cù mèc tòon mùan Lady, who wants to hear a nice voice

f Persuading, teasing and advising
6f1 Tàa ñò, tàa pâkà Don’t be afraid, don’t be embarrassed
6f2 Tàa lù, tàa tèñì Don’t talk like that
6f3 Tàa klàt, tàa hmcò Don’t be angry, don’t be sad
6f4 Smáaà àn piàn tè Be brave if you want to get married
6f5 Pàò kù mò tñúñ nmpòñ Even if you don’t want to, you can speak a little
6f6 Làaà cè tèjòò yèt yàà cè My ugliness surely stays with me

g Parting
6g1 Kòoy yèt ñëm pròññ Dragons, stay well
6g2 Kòn mè tàa pàaw tòo ní tàa tèe Don’t anyone hurry to give in
6g3 Lmpòñ àn nàañ nòof plò nòøn Sweet talk cannot at all persuade our friend to have fun
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<tr>
<th>7</th>
<th>SONGS OF VARIOUS SUBJECTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>About love and beauty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a1</td>
<td>Án dò pian tèe tèe cùu tån</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a2</td>
<td>Kiat yàa ca tèe wáay khiwáay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a3</td>
<td>Nàaŋ mën kón mà mòn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a4</td>
<td>Mè pàn nàaŋ tèe phía</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a5</td>
<td>Mà àay àn àay yòh wáay wèc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a6</td>
<td>Àay pip nàaŋ cóŋ dó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a7</td>
<td>Là mò àh hrnòk cròoy críl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a8</td>
<td>Krnò yêm nàaŋ wèc tàa múum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a9</td>
<td>Nàaŋ cër ?yêt ?yêt hócò àh prtíŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a10</td>
<td>Kntrâm khóc mà nè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b</th>
<th>About trading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7b1</td>
<td>Àay pəol cà kòy cà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b2: 1</td>
<td>Tàa tîm kàaŋ, tîm ré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b2: 2</td>
<td>Àay màh kòon nòoŋ nè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b3: 1</td>
<td>Pòø thàn pòø lòø wèc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b3: 2</td>
<td>Àay pòø práa tàn wèc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b4</td>
<td>Àay lòø pnéphiat tèe pòø cà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b5</td>
<td>Àay lòø èew sàaw cà kntiľŋ lwàaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b6</td>
<td>Àay tòkṣét miŋ kàmàaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b7</td>
<td>Kùuŋ mòk lò nèŋ kàay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>c</th>
<th>About departure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7c1</td>
<td>Kòoy yèt, kòoy dòom kùŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7c2</td>
<td>Sîp pîi tǎa pàaw ràat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁷⁷ This song was composed after people left their villages (refugee song).
I will send my song

**d**  *About longing*

7d1  Mọ̀nj̣ kàṇ lọ̀c̣, kàṇ lọ̀c̣  The moon it grows and wanes, grows and wanes

7d2  Pèlọ̀c̣ tèe yòò priaṇ̃  I tried to comfort myself with other people

7d3  Trèkèt ròṭ kọ̀ọ̀ y ròṭ  The thoughts keep on coming

7d4  Ô cèo tòàm pyọ̀  I will send my song

7d5  Án ạày mā̀ ḥ sìị̀ṃ rụ̀ṃ  If I were a drongo-bird

7d6  Yèm ọ̀ tát pò̀c̣ déẹ̀, së̀tëṇ̃ pò̀c̣ déẹ̀  When I think of you, oh, long for you

7d7  Prò nààṇ kùuṇ̃ ṛèḳkọ̣̀ ą̣ay yòọ̀  I wish you could see the mountain ridge where I walk

7d8  Prò nààṇ kùuṇ̃ èṇtèḳ  I only wish you could see me a little

7d9  Prò ọ̀ wèc mòḳ Rmçụ̀ạḷ  Wish I could come to the village of Rmçụ̀ạḷ

7d10  Khòọ̀ sùùẉ ą̣ay klàat màṇ̃ nòòḳ  My round-faced dear has left for a foreign land

7d11  Kọ̀ọ̀ yèt kò nàṇ̃ ą̣aỵ  Take good care and wait only for me

7d12  Tàà pìc mòḳ òṃ Kíạ̀ṇ̣  Don’t abandon Kíạ̀ṇ̣-stream area

7d13  Mè yòò tàà Smpïạṛ  You who have been to the Smpïạṛ River

7d14  Ô ọ̀kọ̀ṇ tòḳṣèêt càànkạ̀ṇ̃  I am indeed flung away, feeling forlorn

7d15  Àày ị̀ọ̀ pìc kààṇ̣, pìc kñtụ̀ịṇ̃  I then left my house and left my homestead

7d16  Pè̀c̣ yèt kùṇ tèn kààṇ̣  You who stay in the village, sitting in the house

**B**  *Songs of Various Situations*

8  *SONGS OF THE FOREST*

*a*  *The mountain paths*

8a1: 1  Tṇḳiạ̀ṇ priaṇ̃ cààl mààḥ, cààl òṃ  On the ascending path people bring food and water

8a1: 2  Tṇḳiạ̀ṇ priaṇ̃ kìạṇ kwọ̀ṣ̣c̣, kìạṇ kẉṣ̣c̣  On the ascending path people climb up and pass over

8a2  Kò nị̀, nààṇ̃, kò nị̀  Wait there, dear, wait there

8a3  Pàḥ mònj̣ cèḳwà ń cerca  Moonlight, widen out my path

278  This song was composed after people left their villages to live in foreign countries. People who remained behind composed it.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8a4</td>
<td>Kọọọ pọọọ knọọọ kláaŋ Just walking along the mountain ridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>The birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b1</td>
<td>Priaŋ húŋ mëe kliá mòk, klía mìaŋ They say you travel far and wide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b2</td>
<td>Mée yàam ḗh màh tàa ni sî̀k Why are you singing there, barbet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Songs of the Fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>About loneliness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a1</td>
<td>Peso crà ré àay prím I had not thinned out my overgrown field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a2</td>
<td>Nàañ yèt tàa lùk cùu, mùan cùu My dear stays where people are happy together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a3</td>
<td>Nàañ yèt lmtòh òm Dear, you stay upstream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a4</td>
<td>Yem àay yèt tàa lès pìkà When close to you I’m shy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a5</td>
<td>Ryèen mòt prì kùut The sunset is nearly past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a6</td>
<td>Slòh cangkncàŋ yàam kàay I walk back all by myself and crying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a7</td>
<td>Priaŋ ñèel nɔ̌əŋ àh kò Others who are poor still have their hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Frog-catching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b1</td>
<td>Skíi kèè lèè mà̀ hà mà mà What kind of day is it today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Songs of Young People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>About girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a1</td>
<td>Lò mà pìàn tèe tòoy kní Lucky he, who can follow behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a2</td>
<td>Nàañ àh mà smáan My dear has an ill-tempered mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a3</td>
<td>Kɔɔn kùŋ tèe pìè ùun mà tè I would not let a stranger marry a girl from my village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a4</td>
<td>Nàañ kràa cnàm ?yòsìk When a girl is fair is the right time to tease her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a5</td>
<td>Khòɔŋ sysdòq yò tòoy pǐkùt I will follow and lean against my beautiful dear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a6</td>
<td>Nàañ ƙàk yìh, ƙàk kàay Dear, choosing to leave, choosing to return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a7</td>
<td>ṢYàa làm làay kìmhòt Delicious tobacco is carefully wrapped up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Joke songs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b1</td>
<td>Pùŋ plàŋ ñay pèo cháay kùurì Blowing the flute I cannot make trills</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10b2  ?Wiat mian ?Wiat mà màn      I am tired like a pregnant woman
10b3  Khcàn àay yò taa Srkáp      My dear is in Srkáp

11  SONG MADE BY KAM RAW IN SWEDEN
11:1  Lò mò piàn tèè wèc miàn Swiden    Lucky he, who can come to Sweden

C  Words of Address

1  Addressing: general and respectful
2  Addressing visitor(s) in general
3  Addressing wife-givers: èem
4  Addressing another clan: căa ['ancestry’]
5  Addressing a sister’s father-in-law: kúuñ
6  Addressing a woman on wife-givers’ side
7  Addressing an aunt’s daughter: kò
8  Addressing an elder brother: táay
9  Addressing an elder brother’s wife: pàoay
10  Addressing a grandson or son-in-law: cè
11  Addressing young villager(s)
12  Addressing female villager(s)
13  Addressing male villager(s)
14  Addressing (male) friend(s): yò
15  Addressing by first name

D  Origin of the Songs in Kam Raw’s Repertoire

Learnt from: 279
Màn Ràw (eldest brother): 1a2, 1b2, 1b4, 2a1, 2a2, 2c1, 2c2, 3c5, 4c1, 4c2, 4c3, 6d1, 6g2, 6g3
Càñ Ràw (third brother): 1a3, 1b3, 7a2, 7a5, 7b1, 7b2: 1, 7b2: 2, 7b3: 2, 7b4, 8a3, 8b1, 9a6
Khám Làañ: 2b1, 2b2, 2d1: 1, 2d1: 2, 4a1, 5a1, 5a2, 5c1, 6c2, 6f3: 1, 6f3: 2, 6f5, 6f6, 7a4, 7a7, 7a8, 7b5, 7b6, 7c2, 7d2, 7d9, 7d12, 9a1, 9a2, 9a3, 9a5, 10a6, 10b1
Ràw Lìañ: 2c3, 4b1, 5b1, 6c3, 7a1, 7a3, 7a6, 7a9, 7a10, 6f4, 6g1, 7d1, 7d11, 10a4

279  This list is made from Kam’s memory and is uncertain on some points.
Index of Kam Raw’s repertoire.

Cơj Plọc:  
Cơj Sơc:  
Mình Raw: 7d3
Sét ñên: 10b2
Slep C萱: 4a3
Táo Yơom: 10a3
‘Yơơ Wään’: 9a7
‘unknown girls’: 7b3: 1281, 7d13282
Yơơ Hák C萱
(=Táo C萱, Srkáp village): 6d2
Yơơ Sơc Pơ (Pơơplọc village): 5d1, 5d2, 5d3, 6e1
Mơc Plọc (Mơơk connaît village): 1b4, 2d2: 2
Tmọọ Kwërën: 3b3, 6e2, 6e3, 6f2, 7e1, 7d4, 7d8, 7d10, 8b2[?], 9b1, 10a1, 10a5
Tmọọ Cwàà: 3b3, 9a4
Táo ñơơ (Tmọọ Ûu): 7d5
Kâm Raw composed: 7b6283, 11:1

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280 Learnt when they were in Thailand in 1954–55, standing on the Thai side of the Mekhong looking over to the Laotian side.

281 Learnt from some girls since this is usually a girl’s song. They used sing it in order to call back their boyfriends when they went to work in Thailand.

282 Learnt from a Srkáp girl who sang it to Mơơ Lặč.

283 Made after Kâm Raw came to Thailand.
APPENDIX 3: RECORDINGS AND SAMPLES

This appendix contains additional information to that in Chapter 1, p. 22 ff.: ‘Recorded sources’ for different groups of recordings and details on the samples used in the study.

The groups of recordings

A) The social recordings
The first recordings were field recordings made by Kristina Lindell in Thailand in the autumn of 1972 and the spring of 1973. A few of these were made at actual feasts, but the majority were made with a group of informants who sang in alternation thus simulating the singing situation at feasts. Recordings were also made in Thailand during the autumn of 1980 by Kam Raw documenting his own singing in alternation with other persons. These two occasions also involve a number of other Kammu-speaking singers who also constituted an audience. Social singing was recorded by myself in Sweden in 1986 and in Laos 1996. In these cases there was not a real audience present when Kam Raw sang.

B) The studio recordings
A second group of recordings consists of trnỳem performed by Kam Raw in Sweden between 1974 and 1997 on his own initiative whenever they were brought to his mind by thought associations during our conversations or on other occasions such as sending tapes to friends in Laos and elsewhere. The recordings from the period 1974–76 were made by Kristina Lindell and those after 1976 mainly by myself. There are also several cases when Kam Raw has handled the recording himself.

C) The laboratory recordings
The recordings of this group are the result of Kam Raw being specifically asked to perform certain trnỳem using certain vocal genres or local styles. Most of the trnỳem had already been recorded, but now he sang them in the style of different genres according to my requests. These recordings were made from 1980 on until it became obvious that Kam Raw had sung the major part of his active repertoire of trnỳem.
D) The general field recordings
All recordings of other Kammu informants are referred to as ‘the general field recordings’. These recordings were made by Kristina Lindell, Kam Raw and social anthropologist Rolf Samuelsson on several different occasions, notably autumn 1972 to summer 1973, autumn and winter of 1973–74, the summers of 1974, 1976 and 1978 and the autumn of 1981. Kam Raw has made recordings among Kammu in Laos, Vietnam and France. Some recordings of Kammu singers living in Seattle, USA, were done by myself in the autumn of 1986. Recordings in the vicinity of Luang Prabang and Vientiane in Laos were made by myself in 1994, 1996 and 2007 as well as some in Vietnam 2008.

Additional singing situations have also been documented by the singers themselves on tapes sent to Kam Raw from Kammu people in Laos, Thailand or the USA. These tapes sometimes include more than one person taking turns in singing in a way similar to traditional situations at feasts with an audience. Many of the individual singers are also represented in the above-mentioned field recordings and they mainly represent the traditions of the Yùan area and surrounding villages. There are, however, also informants from more distant areas and some whose birthplaces.

The samples

SAMPLE I. The hr̃lɨ̀ɨ studio sample consisting of all hr̃lɨ̀ɨ among the studio recordings and the trnwəm used in these.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Performances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d2  Ăay mĕh kɔ̀n nɔ̀ŋ n neuropia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a2  Tın tin trnàt ṯɔk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5d1  Chít sŋkɔm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5d2  Cùur tɔa kàaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5d3  Lɔ̀o wc̱e kɔ̀, hɔ̀c nɔ̀ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a3  Nǎaŋ mĕn kɔ̀n mà mà?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a4  Mɔ̀ pán nɔ̀ŋ tə pha?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a9  Nǎaŋ cèr ?yêt ?yêt hɔ̀c aŋ pṟtŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a6 Nǎaŋ ᵇək yɔ̀h, ᵇək kàaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m22  Tɔɔm yàam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SAMPLE II. The hřli laboratory sample consisting of all hřli among the laboratory recordings and the trnəəm used in these.

No. of performances

1a3 Ąay kńon rōt tēn tāa tlnmọŋ  I indeed squatted down outside the village, nooop klēer  1
2c3 Tāa pǐc āay yōo priasj  Don’t abandon me to stay with others  2
5b1 Hūaŋ pōo pian nō rōy  It is rumoured that you got a hundred basketfuls of rice  1
5c1 Krlaŋ cřir trcřir  The slit drum rolls and rumbles  1
6g1 Kọọy yēt əəm pryōŋ  Dragons, stay well  1
7b1 Ąay pōavl kọọy câ  I trade far away and slowly  1
7c1 Kọọy yēt, kọọy dōom kūj  Take good care, look after the village well  1
7d3 Trkēt rōt kọọy rōt  The thoughts keep on coming  1
7d8 Prō nāaŋ kūmū ēntēk  I only wish you could see me a little  1
8a1:2 Tnkuăn priasj kian kwōac, kian kwōac  On the ascending path people climb up and pass over  1
8a3 Pāh mōŋ cŋkwā nəor  Moonlight, widen out my path  1
8b1 Priasj hūaŋ mēe kīa mōk, kīa mīaŋ  They say you travel far and wide  1
8b2 Mēe yāam əh māh tāa ni slōk  Why are you singing there, barbet  2
9a1 Pēo crā rē āay prōm  I had not thinned out my overgrown field  1
9a2 Nāaŋ yēt tāa lūk cúu, mūn cúu  My dear stays where people are happy together  1
9a3 Nāaŋ yēt lmtōh ōm  Dear, you stay upstream  1
9a5 Ryēeŋ māt pī kūut  The sunset is nearly past  1
9a6 Slōh cŋǎŋçǎŋ yāam kāay  I walk back all by myself and crying  1
9b1 Skū kūo laŋ māh māh māh  What kind of day is it today  1
10a3 Kōōn kūj tēe pōō ūnū mō te  I would not let a stranger marry a girl from my village  1
10b2 ?Wīat mīan ?wīat mā māaŋ  I am tired like a pregnant woman  1
SAMPLE III. The hrli/tə́əm sample consisting of all cases when one trnə́əm is performed both as hrli and tə́əm. [The number of performances in other vocal genres and area styles are given in smaller fonts].

No. of Yùan tə́əm performances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no.</th>
<th>Yùan tə́əm performances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a3</td>
<td>I indeed squatted down outside the village, peeping in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d 2</td>
<td>I am still small like a little child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c3</td>
<td>Don't abandon me to stay with others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a2</td>
<td>Tramping feet on the covered bridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b1</td>
<td>It is rumoured that you got a hundred basketfuls of rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5c1</td>
<td>The slit drum rolls and rumbles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5d1</td>
<td>Fastening the flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5d2</td>
<td>Descend from your house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5d3</td>
<td>Then come to your home, oh dear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6g1</td>
<td>Dragons, stay well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a3</td>
<td>Which mother's child are you, dear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a4</td>
<td>Who gave you your beauty, my dear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a9</td>
<td>A darling dear so sweet, so sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b1</td>
<td>I trade far away and slowly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7c1</td>
<td>Take good care, look after the village well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7e3</td>
<td>The thoughts keep on coming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7e8</td>
<td>I only wish you could see me a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a1: 2</td>
<td>On the ascending path people climb up and pass over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a3</td>
<td>Moonlight, widen out my path</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Song Title (Original)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b1</td>
<td>Príaŋ húaŋ mèe klía mòk, klía míaŋ tóom kwéen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b2</td>
<td>Mèe yàam òh mà̤h tàa ni slók tóom cwâa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a1</td>
<td>Páo crà ré āay prím</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a2</td>
<td>Náañ yèt tàa lùk cúu, mùán cúu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a3</td>
<td>Náañ yèt lmtòh ³m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a5</td>
<td>Ryêëŋ mât prí kût</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a6</td>
<td>Slôh čnąnkncâŋ yàam kâay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b1</td>
<td>Skíí kòò lòò mèh màł màh?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a3</td>
<td>Kóon kúŋ têe pâo ³un mà te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a6</td>
<td>Náañ ³lák yē, ³lák kâay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b2</td>
<td>?Wîat mıâ̤n ?wîat mà màan tóom cwâa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m22</td>
<td>Tóom yàam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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APPENDIX 4: SONG TRANSCRIPTIONS

The majority of the songs in this book have been fully transcribed in the Kammu language and translated in Lundström and Taynin (2004). This appendix contains two songs that are not included in that volume.

Siaŋ troŋ pəə muan
My voice is not good

Record track 21
See Epilogue, p. 179

201
I will send my song

Cu yɛɛŋ kuŋ yɛɛŋ gaŋ
Want to see the village and the house

Record track 21
See Epilogue, p. 179
APPENDIX 5: MUSIC TRANSCRIPTIONS

This appendix contains the following full transcriptions referred to in the text:

Transcription 1:
Naàŋ mɛ̀ɛn kɔ́ɔŋ mà mə / Which mother’s child are you, dear [Appendix 2: 7a3, translation p. 69]. Performed by Kam Raw as:

2a) hrũ̃i                      Cf. Chapter 3, pp. 48–50; Recording track 6
2b) hrũwɔ                      Cf. Chapter 3, pp. 63–64; Recording track 7
2c) hũuũwɔ                     Cf. Chapter 3, pp. 64–65; Recording track 8
2d) yàam                      Cf. Chapter 3, pp. 65–66; Recording track 9
2e) yũun tũŋ                    Cf. Chapter 3, pp. 66–67; Recording track 10

Transcription 2:
Àay mə́h kɔ́ɔŋ nɔ́ɔŋ nɛ / I am still small like a little child [Appendix 2: 2d1, translation pp. 84–85]. Performed by Kam Raw twice as:

1a) tɔɔm Yũan                  Cf. Chapter 4: Example 6, p. 57; Recording track 4
1b) tɔɔm Yũan                  Cf. Chapter 4: Example 7, p. 59; Recording track 5

Transcription 3:
Naàŋ mɛ̀ɛn kɔ́ɔŋ mà mə / Which mother’s child are you, dear [Appendix 2: 7a3, translation p. 69]. Performed by Kam Raw as:

3a) tɔɔm Yũan                  Cf. Chapter 4, pp. 72–85; Recording track 11
3b) tɔɔm Kwəən                 Cf. Chapter 4, p. 86; Recording track 12
3c) tɔɔm Cwàa                   Cf. Chapter 4, p. 87; Recording track 13
3d) tɔɔm Ûu                     Cf. Chapter 4, pp. 87–88; Recording track 14

Transcription 4:
Ceem ñay (Luang Phrabang area melody) performed by Khamphəŋ (from Phongsali). Cf. Epilogue, p. 179; Recording track 21
The music transcriptions were made in order to serve the analysis of those questions under study rather than to give a detailed description of performance. Therefore they are organized after the distribution of the words. This facilitates comparison between the different vocal genres under study. Emphasis has been put on displaying structure and order rather than on nuances of melodic or rhythmic variation. There are no time signatures, but only approximative grouping in units mainly based on the words, and there are no rests between phrases. The recorded examples are necessary complements if one wants to know how the music in question sounds (see Appendix 6 p. 219).
TRANSCRIPTION 1. One trnə̃m performed in different vocal genres. Performed by Kam Raw, recorded in Lund, Sweden 1978 (hùuwə, yàam), 1979/80 (hrlài, hrmwə), 1992 (yùun tìiŋ). [Which mother’s child are you, dear? App. 3: 7a3, CD tr. 6–10].

- a) Hrñìi, 22"
  - nàan-ì mëèn trò mà màon

- b) Hrñwa, 101", -1
  - nàan-à mëèn trò ça mà mòn

- c) Hùuwə, 1'14", -2
  - (Refrain here) nàan-a mên-e trò ça mà mòn

- d) Yàam, 47"
  - nàan-a mên-e trò mà-a mòn

- e) Yùun tìiŋ, 52", -2
  - sàh nàan-a mên-e trò ça mà-a mòn

- a)
  - bon-òr-bon nàan kòon mìàn bon ciút

- b)
  - bon-òr-bon nàan-à kòon mìàn bon-ò ciút

- c)
  - bon-òr-bon khòng kòon màn-à bon-ò ciút

- d)
  - bon-òr-bon-ò nàan kòon màn-ì bon-e ciút

- e)
  - bon-òr-bon-ò nàan-à kòon-ò màn-i bon-e ciút-ù
I will send my song

TRANSCRIPTION 1. Page 2.

a)

b)

naang mien tro ma mon

naang a mien tro o ma mon

naang a mien e tro o ma mon

naang a mien e tro ma a mon

naang a mien e tro o ma a ha mon o

a)

bon oroon naang kon mian bon yol

bon o oroon kon mian a bon o yol

bon o oroon kon mian a bon o yol

bon o oroon kon mian a bon o yol

bon o oroon kon mian a bon o yol

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TRANSCRIPTION 1. Page 3.

Music transcriptions
I will send my song


sat - ṭyūṭ nān j kōn mīan rānj rōn
sat - ṭyūṭ nān j kōn mīan rānj rōn
sat - ṭyūṭ u khōnj kōn mīan rānj rōn
sat - ṭyūṭ u nāsaj kōn mīan rānj rōn
sat - ṭyūṭ u nān j kōn mīan-i rānj rōn
Music transcriptions

TRANSCRIPTION 1. Page 5.

Ending formula:

Refrain:

209
TRANSCRIPTION 2. One trnəm performed twice (A and B). Performed by Kam Raw, recorded in Lund, Sweden 1982-11-15 (A) and 1982-05-04 (B). [I am a child still small. Appendix 3: 2d1, CD tr. 4–5, cf. Example 7 p. 59].

A: 43''

B: 55''

I will send my song

A

\[ \text{ätzr} \]

B

\[ \text{ätzr} \]

A

\[ \text{ätzr} \]

B

\[ \text{ätzr} \]
Music transcriptions

Transcription 2. Page 2.

\[ \text{Transcription Content} \]
I will send my song

TRANSCRIPTION 2. Page 3.

A

B

sáh

áay máh-o kóon nöong

ee nè-e

kóon nöong nè han-
-
-
-
-
-
taak-a kanúun

kóon nöong-o nè раз-
-
-
-
-
-
líl ka-núun

A

sáh

áay meen-e kóon nöong

ee nè

áay máh-o kóon nöong

ee nè

kóon nöong nè ræñ-kêl ka núun kaay sáh

kóon nöong nè han-taak-ka-núun kaay sáh
TRANSCRIPTION 3. One trnàom performed according to different area melodies. Performed by Kam Raw, recorded in Lund, Sweden 1979/80 (A), 1092–11–11 (C), 1992 (B, D). [Which mother’s child are you, dear? Appendix 3: 7a3, CD tr. 11–14].

A) Yùan, 56'

B) Kwèen, 53'

C) Çwàa, 1'02', -1

D) Ùu, 57'

TRANSCRIPTION 3. One trnàom performed according to different area melodies. Performed by Kam Raw, recorded in Lund, Sweden 1979/80 (A), 1092–11–11 (C), 1992 (B, D). [Which mother’s child are you, dear? Appendix 3: 7a3, CD tr. 11–14].
I will send my song


Music transcriptions

215
I will send my song


A

săh

sat-o-yút-u không kôon-o mîan râng êe rôn

B

săh

sat-yút-u n$$ô$$ng kôon-o mîan-hi râng-a rôn-o

C

săh

sat-yút-hu n$$ô$$ng kôon-o mîan râng-a rôn-o

D

săh

sat-o-yút n$$ô$$ng kôon mîan râng-a rôn

A

săh

n$$ô$$ng mên-e kôon mà-a mên-ô

B

săh

n$$ô$$ng-a mên-e kôon-ho mà-a mên-ô

C

săh

n$$ô$$ng mên-e kôon mà-a mên-ô

D

săh

Ho-ay săh n$$ô$$ng mên kôon mà-a mên-ô

216

Music transcriptions

A

B

C

D

sān-tūn nāaŋ kōn mian rāŋ rōn khāy sāh
sān-tūn-u nāaŋ kōn-c mān-i rāŋ-a rōn-c
sāh
sān-tūn-u nāaŋ kōn-c mān rāŋ-a rōn-c
sān-tūn nāaŋ kōn mian rāŋ-a rōn-c

cont.

I will send my song

Cont.
APPENDIX 6: CONTENTS OF COMPACT DISC

       Translations pp. 1–2

1.  Nàaŋ (from the village Mòlœ≤œt):
   Köøy mìλy kóøø yìñì knì
   Be careful to remember your dear back here

2.  Kam Raw:
   Tàa lìa tìñì
   Don’t talk like that

3–5.  Àay mòh kóøø nòøø nè / I am still small like a little child.
       Translations pp. 48, 59

3.  Hrøi
    Cf. pp. 48–50

4.  Tøøm Yùan
    Transcription 2a, pp. 210 ff.

5.  Tøøm Yùan
    Transcription 2b, pp. 210 ff.

6–14.  Nàaŋ mèøn kóøø mà mº / Which mother’s child are you, dear.
       Translation p. 69

6.  Hrøi
    Transcription 1a, pp. 205 ff.

7.  Hrwó
    Transcription 1b, pp. 205 ff.

8.  Húuwó
    Transcription 1c, pp. 205 ff.

9.  Yàam
    Transcription 1d, pp. 205 ff.

10.  Yùun tìñì
     Transcription 1e, pp. 205 ff.

11.  Tøøm: Yùan area melody
     Transcription 3a, pp. 213 ff.

12.  Tøøm: Kwèen area melody
     Transcription 3b, pp. 213 ff.

13.  Tøøm: Cwàa area melody
     Transcription 3c, pp. 213 ff.

14.  Tøøm: Ùu area melody
     Transcription 3d, pp. 213 ff.

15. In the style of Tá Làay (from the village Rmcùal):
   Àay mə́h kɔ́ɔŋ nɔ́ɔŋ nɛ / I am still small like a little child
   Translation p. 48

16. In the style of Khám Làay (from the village Rmcùal):
   Prłaŋ ləə pəo pén Ćiaŋ / It is said that you are Ćiaŋ
   Cf. 2a1 p. 185

17–18. Tə́əm dialogue between Tá Làay and Kam Raw, June 1986 (Yùan area melody).

17. Tá Làay:
   Ô rəot mə́k mɨn kii
   I came to this mountain village Example 58, p. 144

18. Kam Raw:
   Mɛɛ rəot mə́k kə́ə kii
   You came to this mountain village Example 58, p. 145


   Translations pp.179, 201–202
   Transcription 4, p.218

   Siaŋ trooŋ pəə muan
   My voice is not good
   into:
   Cu yɛɛŋ kuŋ yɛɛŋ gaaŋ
   Want to see the village and the house
22–23 Pronunciation of Kammu terms

22. Names: Kàm Ràw, Kmmú (Kamnu); Rmcùal; Yùan; Kwèen; Cwàa; Ùu

23. Music terms: Trnèəm; təəm; hrwà; hruwà; húuwà; yàam; yùun tìiŋ.
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I will send my song

Anthropology, pp. 135–141

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