

THE LAWА AND SGAU KAREN IN NORTHWESTERN THAILAND

By
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1. Introduction

In the April of 1963 during my travels in Thailand with students from the University of Tokyo, I found an opportunity to visit some Lawa and Karen villages in the area between Mae Sarieng and Kong Loi in Northwestern Thailand.¹

My main object was to make an ethnographic reconnaissance there, collecting as much information as I could in a short time, because publications on these ethnologically highly interesting peoples,² though valuable, are still scanty and much remains to be done to fill in our deficient knowledge.³

On the 20th of April I flew from Chiangmai to Mae Sarieng, accompanied by Yoichi Higaki, a student from the University of Tokyo, who acted as my assistant, and George of Chiangmai Travel Service, who served as my guide and interpreter. Having spent a night at the Border Patrol Police Station at Mae Sarieng, we started on the 21st for Ban Pe, a Karen village of 79 houses, 6 km to the northwest. On the 22nd we went back through Mae Sarieng to Pa Pă, a Lawa village of some 40 houses, 25 km to the east. From Mae Sarieng on, two border policemen and some porters accompanied us. We remained in Pa Pă until the morning of the 24th, and in the afternoon we arrived at La Ub, the village of Lawa silversmiths (85 houses), 12 km from Pa Pă, where we sojourned until the morning of the 27th. In the afternoon of that day we came to Huai Ragmai Năa, a Karen village of 20 houses 20 km from La Ub, passing Huai Ragmai, another Sgau Karen village, on the way. The next day we visited Umphai, the stronghold of the Lawa (160 houses including neighbouring villages) 18 km from Huai Ragmai Năa, but could spend only a night there, because we had not more time. Besides, this village already had been studied by various scholars, notably Prince Rangsit, Funke, Wenk and Kauffmann. On the 29th we arrived at Mă Tho, a Karen village of 32 houses,

17 km from Umphai, passing through a Meo village on the way. Finally, on the 30th we returned to Chiangmai by way of Kong Loi, 12 km from Mä Tho.

Because of my short stay in these villages, my results are necessarily of only limited value. Nevertheless, I hope these results will provide a stimulus for more intensive and systematic research in the future.

In the following I will try to give a general ethnographic description of the Lawa and Karen I visited. Fuller accounts will be published in other places.⁴

2. The Lawa

Physical Features :

Physically the Lawa seem by no means to be homogeneous but quite heterogeneous. Generally speaking, the male adult is about 160 cm tall and the female about 150 cm. Their complexion is darker than that of the average Lao. They lack conspicuous Mongoloid features, such as the epicanthic fold and a flatness of face,⁵ yet they are poor in body hair and some babies show a Mongolian spot on the buttocks.

Language :

Every village visited has its own dialect. The dialects of Pa Pă and La Ub, however, correspond for the most part to that of Umphai as described by Prince Rangsit (1942-1945) and to that of Bo Luang (Nimmanahaeminda 1963), so far as we can judge from a cursory comparison of terms for body parts. It might be assumed all these belong to the same dialect group.

Settlement :

The Lawa live in permanent villages. These are situated high up near hill tops, surrounded by forest which often contains big jack-fruit trees. Umphai is quite removed from any stream, but Pa Pă and La Ub each have a stream within 100 or 300 meters from the village. The water is carried from the stream by women or boys by means of some bamboo tubes, each hung on the back from a forehead string.

The settlement tends to be laid out in the form of a street-village (Strassendorf). Houses line both sides of the street, their verandas facing it askant. A meeting house and the sacrifice posts stand toward one end of the village. (Pl. 1).^{5a}

Material Culture :

Dwellings are built on piles, which stand in 3 rows as viewed from the street. Behind the veranda is a foreroom open in front, where women weave. Behind the foreroom stands the main room, one walled on all sides, where the occupants sleep at night. A typical main room has two fireplaces, although houses are usually lived in by single families, and only one fireplace is used. The fireplace consists of a square wooden frame around three stones which serve as a trivet. Under the floor will be found a pig-sty, henhouse, and piles of firewood. Buffaloes are quartered here by night. The roof is grass-thatched (Pl. 2). None of the houses had a fenced-in garden, as reported for Bo Luang.⁶

Besides dwellings there are rice barns scattered throughout the settlement. Rice barns have again three rows (La Ub, Pl. 3) or only two rows of piles built under the floor. Meeting-houses have shorter piles than dwellings. Every meeting-house has only one fireplace (Pl. 4).

Clothes are furnished from homespun cotton made by village women. The cotton is first ginned, the fibre passing between rollers, which is then batted by means of a bow and spun on a spinning wheel. After dyeing, the yarn is woven on a loom of the Malayan type (Pl. 5). Sitting-looms were seen only in Pa Pà.

Men's clothes consist of a jacket with sleeves, and baggy trousers. Women, both married and unmarried, wear a sleeveless jacket in *poncho*-cut style and a kilt, resembling the *sin* of Lao women, with horizontal stripes. The stripes are coloured white, dark blue, black and red. Black dye is made from leaves of the *baihom* tree; other colours now are produced from chemical dye-stuffs obtainable in Mae Sarieng. The dark blue stripe often shows a splash pattern resulting from the *ikat*-technique of dyeing yarn

(La Ub). The *poncho*-cut jacket of the Lawa might originally have been adopted from the Karen, as supposed by Hutchinson.⁷

Leggings are a characteristic feature of women's clothing. The heads of both sexes are covered with a white cloth, looking like a loose turban. Women usually do their hair up in a knot on the back of the head. At La Ub I saw a girl of marriageable age knot up her hair on her forehead.⁸ In the same village I saw a small girl whose head was tonsured with only a small patch of hair left over above the neck.⁹ (Pl. 6)

Personal ornaments such as ear plugs and bracelets are often made of silver. The silversmiths at La Ub have been using case-bellows (Kastengebläse) of the Chinese type for about the last ten years, ever since they adopted the idea from bellows seen in Mae Sarieng. Previous to that, vertical cylinder-bellows of the Malayan type were in use.

Tattooing is applied to both men and women. Elaborate tattoo-motifs on the male abdomen (tortoise or monkey) and thigh (cat, tiger or monkey) are the handiwork of Karen specialists in Me Lanoi (Pa Pä, La Ub).

They use a winnow-shaped cover to protect themselves from rain, especially when working in the fields (La Ub).

For transporting goods they use bamboo baskets and for water bamboo tubes, both supported from a forehead string. Bridges are made by felling a tree across the stream (Pa Pä).

Before the introduction of benzine lighters, fire was made by striking a piece of iron against flint (La Ub).

Economy :

The economic base of Lawa life is rice cultivation. All the villages visited plant both hill rice and wet rice. The typical implement used in cultivating the former is a bamboo digging-stick tipped with an iron head, for the latter a buffalo-drawn plough. I had an occasion to observe the sowing of hill rice by means of the digging-stick in Pa Pä. Paddy is pounded by women every afternoon in a stepping-mortar under the house floor. Movable mortar

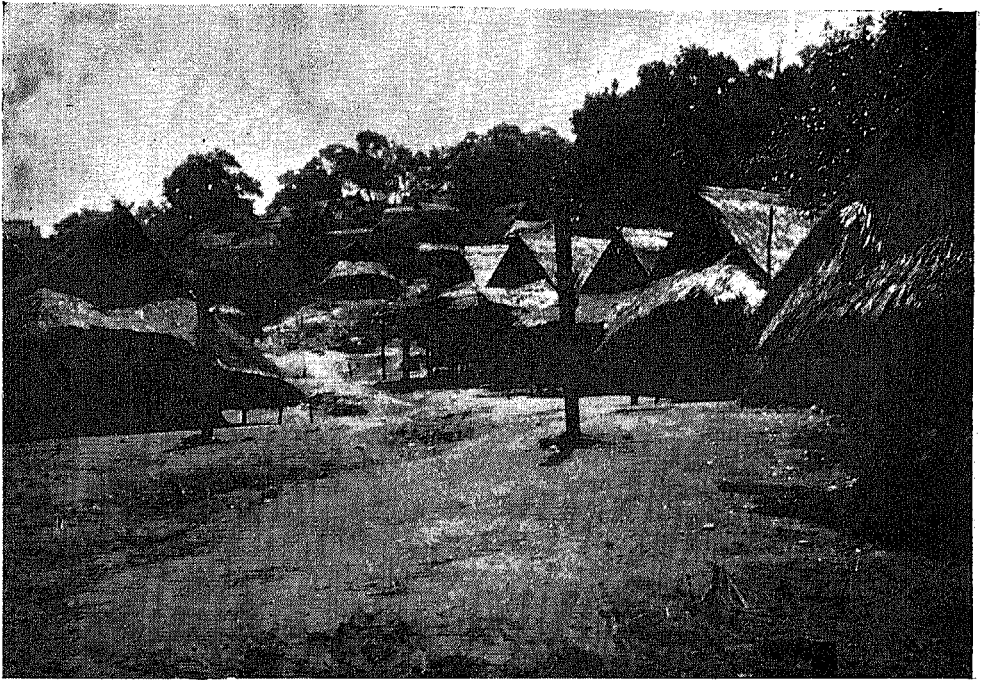


Fig. 1. Plaza of La Ub village



Fig. 2. Lawa dwelling (Pa Pă)



Fig. 3. Rice granary (La Ub)



Fig. 4. Meeting house, with post for pig sacrifice beside entrance (La Ub)

and pestle, described for Bo Luang decades ago,¹⁰ were not observed in use now in the visited villages. But Kauffmann reports that they were still used in the villages of Umphai mountains on his visit in 1962.¹¹

No millet is said to be planted in Pa Pă, but it is planted in Umphai according to Kauffmann.¹² Besides rice, tobacco, beans, sesame, hot pepper and cotton are grown (Pa Pă and La Ub). By streams and along the fringes of wet rice fields I saw taro, which looks as if it were growing wild (La Ub, Umphai), but is said to be cultivated in Pa Pă and La Ub. Yam is also said to be cultivated in Pa Pă and La Ub.

Rice-whisky, betel-chewing and tobacco are indulged by the villagers.

Their domesticated animals are the buffalo, pig, dog and chicken. Besides them, domestic ducks are kept in La Ub. The buffalo, pig, dog and chicken are used for sacrifice. For sacrificial purposes, buffaloes and pigs are not castrated in Pa Pă and La Ub, but in the village of Umphai this restriction does not always hold, and the animals are sometimes given to the Karen for castration.

Social Organization :

Marriage is concluded after the boy's nocturnal visit to his girl, their elopement, and payment of the bride price. The rule of post-nuptial residence is virilocal (patrilocal), in case the natal home of the groom has been lived in only by a nuclear family, or neolocal. As I heard at La Ub, a marriage with a mother's brother's daughter is preferred, but is strictly prohibited with a father's sister's daughter.¹³ In view of this asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage, and considering like cases among related tribes, such as the Wa in Yunnan¹⁴ and the Lamet in Laos,¹⁵ one could postulate an exogamous patrilineal lineage (or its former existence), but I was unable to confirm this point.¹⁶

When the husband dies, his wife inherits everything. If she remarries, however, the legacy is then divided among the sons and daughters. The land is divided among the sons. The daughters receive only silver ornaments and other small chattel (La Ub).

A widow may remarry, but the bride price expected will be less than that paid at her first marriage. The levirate is practised: both the elder and younger brother of the dead man may marry the widow. When the wife dies, her husband may not remarry with her younger sister. Polygamy is not allowed (La Ub).

In La Ub three hereditary status-ranks obtain:

1. *samang*, high-priest, namely a representative of the royal family, descendants of a legendary Lawa king. Only one of the sons of a *samang* may acquire the title of *samang*; the others are called *kun*, although they are thought of as members of a *samang* family.¹⁷ (Pl. 7)
2. *lam*, low priest.¹⁸ Again, only one of the sons of a *lam* becomes a *lam*, the others receiving no special title, although they are recognized members of a *lam* family.
3. *lua*, ordinary people.¹⁹

Umphai has no *lam*. The *samang* there have hardly any religious meaning, according to Kauffmann.²⁰ The term *samang* might derive from the Pali, *samana* (priest), and the term *kun* from the Thai, *khun* (leader, ruler or the lowest title of conferred nobility). If the etymology be correct, it could possibly indicate the outside influence of some high civilization on Lawa social ranking.²¹

What points to an initiation rite for boys is a custom in La Ub by which a boy, reaching the age of 16, used to receive and sometimes still receives a sword from his father. This custom is reminiscent of a similar one among the Wa of Yünnan.²² At the onset of the menarche, girls begin to blacken their teeth with a dye made from the bark of the *ko-pum* tree (La Ub). No age-class system nor any secret society was heard of in the Lawa villages.

Religion:

The dead are buried in forest land just outside the village. The details, however, differ from one village to another. For example, grave posts were not observed, but simple ones were said to be erected in La Ub, where threadsquares (Fadenkreuz) are said

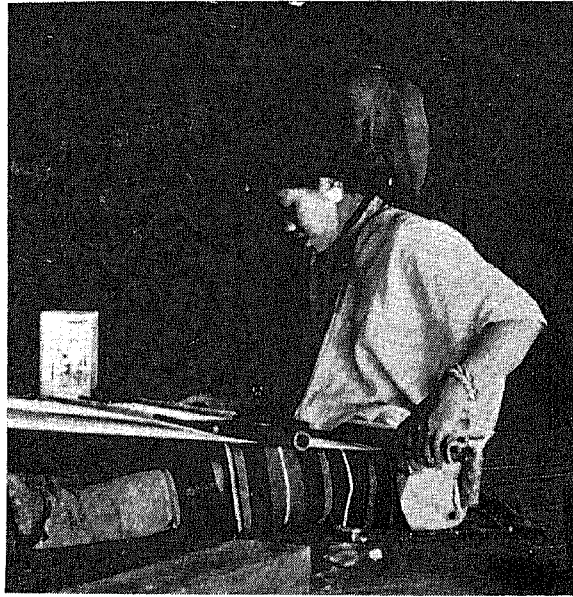


Fig. 5. Woman weaving (La Ub)



Fig. 6. Woman and two girls. Left girl showing her tonsured head (La Ub)



Fig. 7. Decorations of a *samang* house. Gable horns are beautifully carved. Upright post of gable is notched in zigzag motif on both sides. On horizontal board is attached wooden model of buffalo-horns (Umphai)

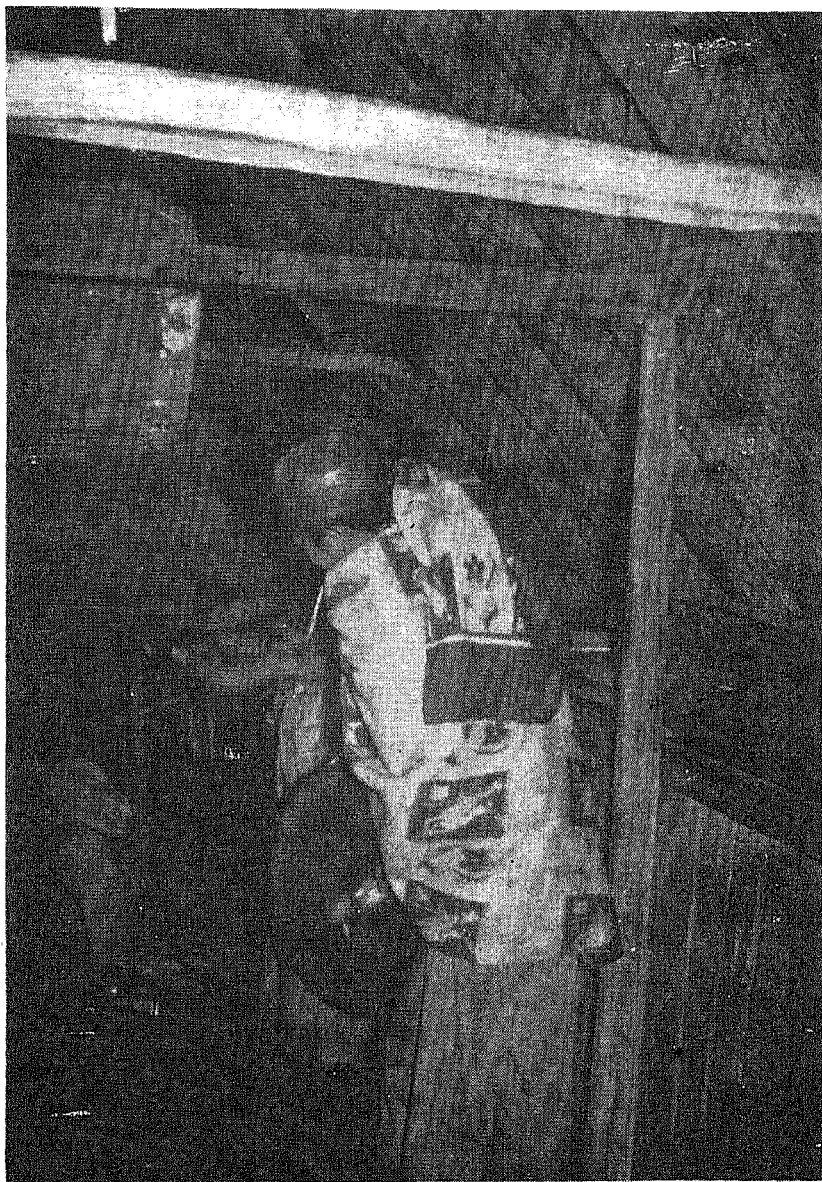


Fig. 8. Male guests from Ban Den village beating gong at meeting house during wake
(Umphai)

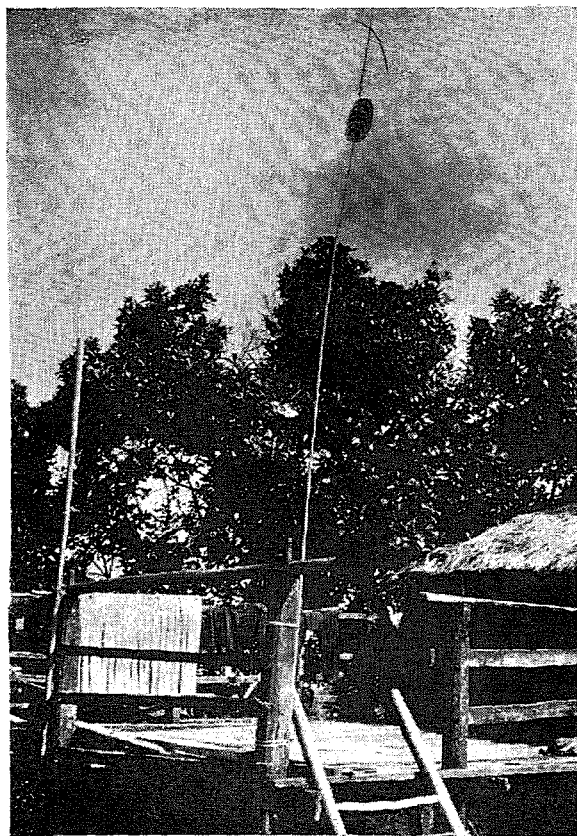


Fig. 9. Bow atop polee protcting inhabitants from malign spirit of heaven (La Ub)

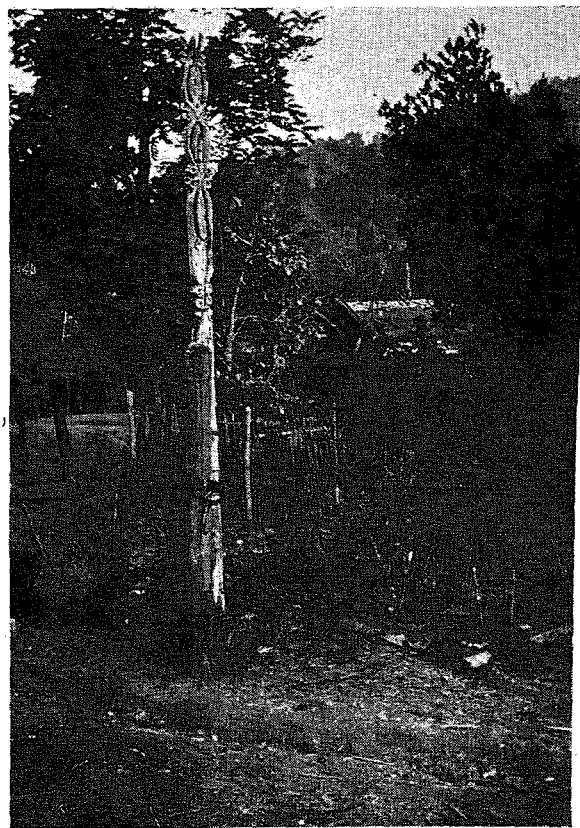


Fig. 10. Post for buffalo-sacrifice with carving (Pa Pă)

to be buried together with the dead. At Umphai, on the other hand, threadsquares are set up outside on the cemetery grounds, and besides simple grave posts, special ones are erected for male descendants of the legendary Lawa king, Kun Luang Milangka.²³ I had an opportunity in Umphai to observe the first night of a wake which lasted three nights (Pl. 8).

The Lawa are surrounded by a host of spirits (Pl. 9). To ward off and appease them, the Lawa set up many taboo signs (*ta-lao*, in Thai)²⁴ and sacrifice domestic animals. The most important of these is the buffalo sacrifice, which takes place at a certain interval from 5 to 50 years.²⁵ Wooden sacrifice-posts in the village plaza bear witness to these feasts. The post in Pa Pă (Pl. 10) and some of the posts in Umphai are beautifully carved, while the huge ones at La Ub are simply shaped (Pl. 11). Meeting houses play an important role in buffalo sacrifice as well as in death ceremonies. The jaw bones of sacrificed buffaloes are deposited in the meeting houses (La Ub). One meeting house at Umphai has a post with the picture of a lizard engraved on it.²⁶ Pig sacrifices are occasions for minor festivities and posts of simpler design are then erected. The *samang* and *lam* play a leading part in these animal sacrifices (La Ub). Apparently the sacrifices and posts belong to the megalithic complex in Southeast Asia, as noted by Steinmann and Prince Rangsit.²⁷

I collected the following myths: Deluge (Pa Pă, La Ub), Former Dwelling in a Cave (Pa Pă), Migration of the Lawa (La Ub), Origin of Rice (La Ub, Umphai), Rice of Wonder (Pa Pă, La Ub), Origin of Planting Rice with a Digging-Stick (La Ub), Origin of Eating Rice (La Ub), Origin of Lunar Eclipse (Pa Pă), Origin of Divination from Chicken Bones (La Ub), Lost Letters (Umphai). The deluge myths belong to a type according to which a surviving brother and sister marry each other. The migration legend tells how the Lawa came from Burma, pursued by two huge rolling stones. Rice was brought to mankind from a mountain either by a bird or an ant. The lunar eclipse is caused by a toad, who swallows his brother, Moon.

Recreation :

Boys play on stilts during the rainy season. I was assured there is no doll play by girls (La Ub).

3. The Karen²⁸***Physical Features :***

The Karen are no less heterogeneous than the Lawa. Mongoloid features, however, are more marked among them than the Lawa: Not only may the Mongoloid spot on babies be seen often, but also the appearance of epicanthic folds in many of them. But in Huai Ragmai Nüa I saw a woman showing some Caucasoid facial features.²⁹ The average height is about the same as the Lawa, but the complexion of some women is fairer than their Lawa sisters.

Language:

According to Nai Tawa, a border policeman who accompanied us and who understands Sgau Karen, the Sgau Karen speak the same language in both Thailand and Burma, while the Pwo Karen speak different ones here and there. Among the villages visited the Lawa understand the Karen, but the Karen do not understand the Lawa.

Settlement :

Karen villages are also permanent ones. The settlement pattern, however, is less regular than the Lawa's, although houses do tend to be arranged in straight lines. The villages are situated near running streams. I met no case of a village consisting of a single longhouse, such as reported for some Karen in Burma.³⁰ The main difference I noted between Lawa and Karen villages is the absence of meeting houses and sacrifice posts in the latter.

The water supply is the same as noted above for the Lawa. But in Ban Pe a well is drawn upon in addition to the stream.

Material Culture :

A Karen house looks quite similar to ones of the Lawa at first glance, but the Karen have no gable horns, and they build only

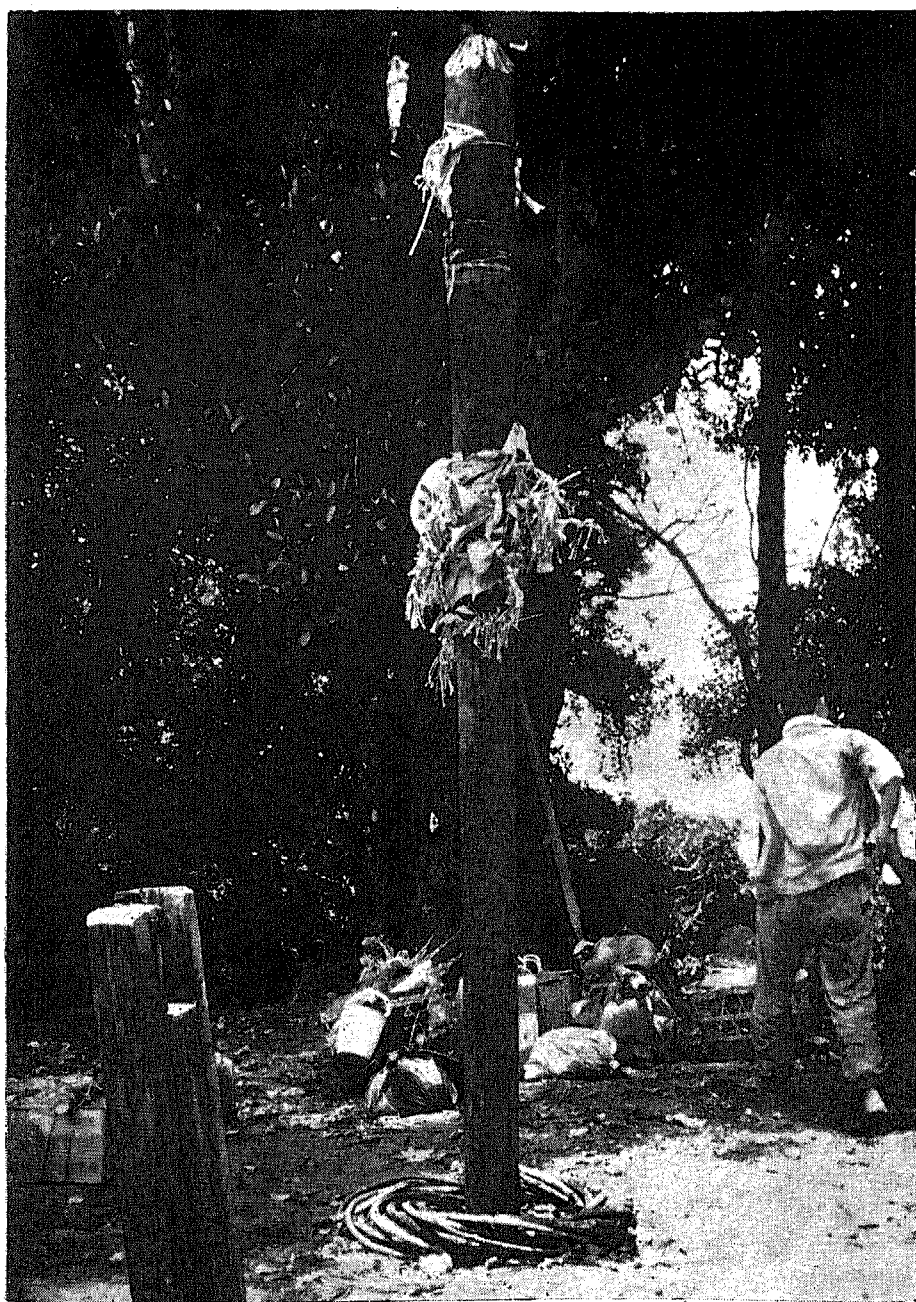


Fig. 11. Phallic post for buffalo-sacrifice (La Ub)



Fig. 12. Karen belles. Right two smoking with pipe (Ban Pe)

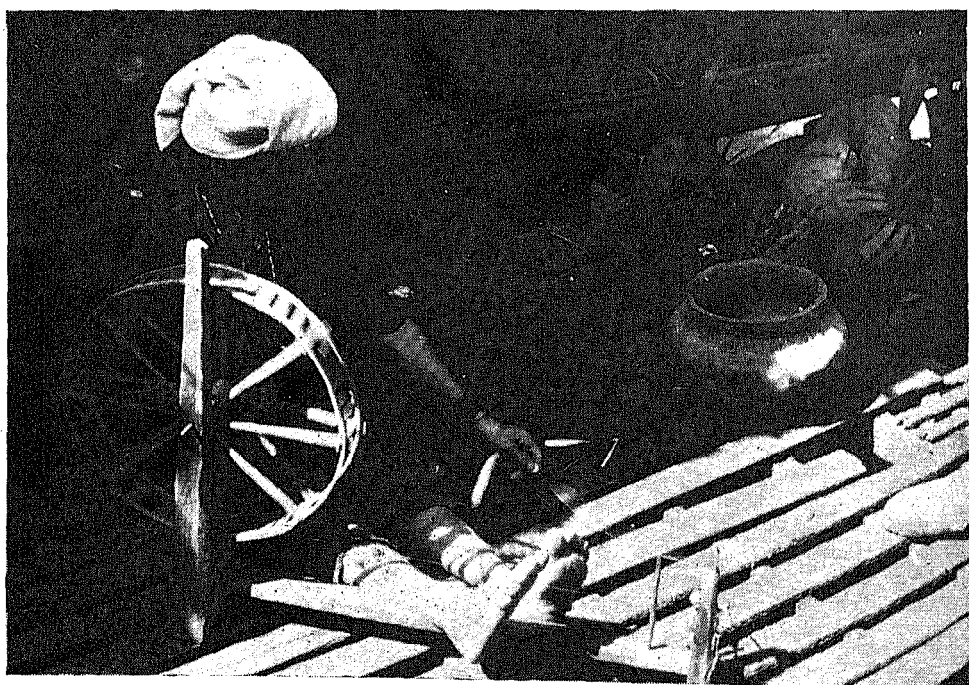


Fig. 13. Woman spinning (Ban Pe)

one fireplace in the main room. The pile supports under a dwelling stand in 3 (Mä Tho) or 4 rows, while those of a rice barn in 2 or 3, of storage houses in 2 (Ban Pe). The roof is thatched with leaves from a resin-yielding tree in Ban Pe, and with grass in other villages. A Karen building ought to be made of bamboo. Should it be built of wood, at least some bamboo ought to be used (Huai Ragmai Nüa).

Male attire consists of a sleeveless jacket in *poncho*-cutting and baggy trousers. Only married women wear a *poncho*-cut jacket and a *sin*-type kilt, girls wearing only a one-piece sac in *poncho*-cutting (Pl. 12). Female clothing in Mä Tho seems rather different compared with other villages: Job's tears (Coix) are embroidered on the jacket and the women wear leggings.

Spinning (Pl. 13) and weaving cotton is similar to the Lawa process, but I noticed no case of splashed patterns owing to the *ikat*-technique of dyeing yarn in Huai Ragmai Nüa, but Kauffmann noticed it in Mä Tho and all the other Karen villages he visited.³¹

The tonsuring of small girls, leaving only a patch of hair behind the head, was seen practised in one instance upon a girl from Huai Ragmai Nüa and another from Mä Tho. In a small village which we passed through on our way from Mae Sarieng to Pa Pā, I saw a young, presumably married, Karen woman with her hair cut in a clean horizontal line all around the head above the ears.³² As to other points of their headdress, the Karen resemble the Lawa. Their ornaments and women's tattooing differ somewhat from those of the Lawa.

A rain cover similar to those of the Lawa was seen in Huai Ragmai Nüa, its lower part being more pointed.

Paddy is also pounded in a stepping-mortar.

Carrying-baskets with a forehead-band and bamboo tubes for carrying water with a forehead-string are in use. I saw carrying poles ("coolie" yoke) only in Ban Pe, where both men and women use them. A felled tree serves as a bridge over a stream (Huai Ragmai Nüa).

In Mä Tho I saw a vertical double-cylinder bellows for iron-working (Pl. 14).

Fire was struck from iron and flint, but is also produced from a bamboo fire-saw on a journey even today (Mä Tho).

Economy :

Rice is also the staple crop of the Karen. Ban Pe cultivates only wet rice, the other villages having both wet and hill rice.

Maize, sugar cane, soyabeans, tobacco, taro, yam and garlic are grown. Oil is pressed out from sesame (Ban Pe). In Huai Ragmai Nüa tobacco and *makua* are grown.

The main domesticated animals, again, are the buffalo, pig, dog and chicken. The castration of male pig is performed by cutting off the testicles with an iron or bamboo knife (Ban Pe). Every woman possesses pigs of her own, if only one. The Karen are skillful elephant drivers (Ban Pe, Huai Ragmai Nüa).

Hunting and fishing is pursued in Ban Pe.

Tobacco, betel-chewing and rice-whisky are indulged.

Social Organization :

Courting is initiated by boys in Ban Pe, but in other villages by girls. The most part of expenses of a wedding is imposed upon the bride's side. Post-nuptial residence is uxorilocal (matrilocal). I was unable, however, to confirm, whether they have a matrilineal lineage or not.³³ As for cousin marriage, I could obtain no clear picture: It is said that marriage between cousins is not allowed in Ban Pe, while in Huai Ragmai Nüa that a boy may indeed marry a mother's younger brother's daughter or a father's younger sister's daughter, but not a mother's elder brother's daughter nor a father's elder sister's daughter. A wife ought to be younger than her husband (Huai Ragmai Nüa). A girl may not marry, before her elder sister gets married (Ban Pe).

There is no hereditary chief. A chief is chosen by election (Ban Pe).



Fig. 14. Cylinder bellows for iron-working (Mä Tho)

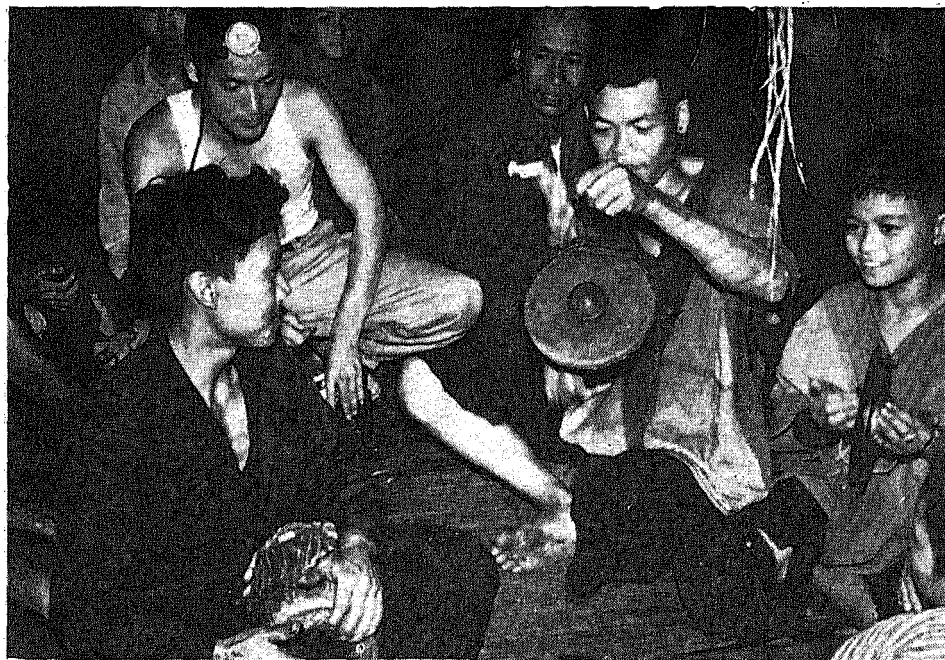


Fig. 15. Making music at New Year's Festival. Man with head-lamp is Mr. Higaki, my assistant (Mä Tho)

Religion :

When an aged person dies, he or she is cremated, while dead young ones are buried (Ban Pe). At the funeral they play a game of chance with 12 stones on a woven gaming-board (Mä Tho) which is also practised by the Lawa (Umphai).³⁴

The worship of spirits is vigorously maintained despite the influence of Buddhism and Christianity. In Mä Tho I observed the New Year's Festival (Pl. 15).

The myths which I collected are: Creation of Mankind (Huai Ragmai Nüa), Separation of Heaven and Earth (Huai Ragmai Nüa), Origin of Death (Huai Ragmai Nüa), Origin of the Busts of Women (Huai Ragmai Nüa), Origin of Lunar Eclipse (Ban Pe), Origin of Rice (Huai Ragmai Nüa, Mä Tho), Rice of Wonder (Mä Tho), Origin of the Poverty of the Karen (Huai Ragmai Nüa), Lost Book (Huai Ragmai Nüa). Rice was stolen by a bird from a mountain. An eclipse is caused by a tiger or a bear who swallows the moon, but these animals are no brothers of the moon.

Recreation :

The wooden horn is blown as a musical instrument (Ban Pe). Gong, cymbals and drum were beaten at the New Year's Festival (Mä Tho). Children play on stilts and swings. The latter are hung under the floor of dwellings (Ban Pe).

4. Culture Contact and Culture Change

Acculturation is going on at a rapid tempo among the Lawa and the Karen. The history of culture contact and culture change could be traced back into early times: engraving-motifs on some of the sacrifice posts and gable horns of the Lawa (Pa Pā and Umphai)³⁵ and their terms for social rankings, for instance, suggest influences from some high civilization.

Not to be forgotten is the rather close relation between the Lawa and the Karen. In Mä Tho there was a case of marriage between a Karen man and an Umphai-Lawa woman in the recent past, and there are now two cases of marriage between an Umphai-

Lawa man and a Karen woman. They dwell in Mä Tho. The Karen seem to take a superior attitude to the Lawa, because the Lawa understand the Karen language, but the Karen not the Lawa language, and because traits like tattooing-motifs and the castration of pigs, and perhaps also the smock in *poncho*-cutting, made or are making entry from Karen into Lawa culture.

More profound and more systematic is the influence of Thai culture.³⁶ The cultivation of wet rice, for instance, seems to have been introduced from the Lao, as Kerr supposed.³⁷ In every village there are some men, especially young ones, who understand the Lao, i.e. Northern Thai. Through or beside Thai influence, the impact of western civilization is being felt in these mountain villages. Especially is it strongly felt in Ban Pe and Pa Pă, both of which are within a day's journey from Mae Sarieng. For example, a government school is now open in Ban Pe, and a school in Pa Pă is managed and taught in by a border policeman. In both schools Thai is taught. In both villages we often saw portraits of Their Majesties on dwelling walls. Even a calendar with the portrait of a Japanese movie actress was seen on the wall of a house in Ban Pe! In every village I saw some young men carrying an electric torch and a benzine lighter. Men's traditional jackets are now being replaced by imported shirts to a considerable degree and men's hair is cut now mostly in western fashion.

Buddhism influenced all these Karen villages, although the Lawa villages are still free from it.³⁸ Christianity is making entry in Ban Pe (2 houses Protestant), La Ub (about 10 houses Protestant)³⁹ and Huai Ragmai Nüa (about 8 houses Catholic).

In conclusion, I want to express my hope that these ethnologically important peoples will be thoroughly studied, before it is too late.

Notes

1. I wish to express warm thanks to all those who shared with me the hardship of the journey and helped me in my work. I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the useful advice and warm encouragement as well as valuable comments of Prof. Dr. H.E. Kauffmann, Munich, Germany. Talks with *Mom Chao* Sanidh Rangsit after return from the Lawa mountains profitably helped me to bring my ideas into shape. Mr. Don Schlatter of the New Tribes Mission, Muang Hot, kindly gave me answers to my questions and remarks on the first draft of this paper. Prof. Dr. Robert Heine-Geldern, Vienna, Austria, to whom I owe my training in the ethnology of Southeast Asia, aroused my interest in these hill tribes and kindly commented on my report. I own some useful comments also to Prof. Keiji Iwata of the Osaka City University and Mr. Yoneo Ishii of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo.
2. The importance of the Lawa in the ethnology of Southeast Asia was emphasized by Heine-Geldern 1957.
3. The Lawa: Hallet 1890, Kerr 1924, 1927, Hutchinson 1935, Seidenfaden (Holladay and Bevan) 1940, Steinmann und Rangsit 1940, Rangsit 1942-1945, Srisavasdi 1955, 1963, Wenk 1959, Funke 1960, Nimmanahaeminda 1963 (Vocabulary of Bo Luang dialect). Kauffmann made a field work at Umphai in 1962, and his results are now published in JSS. Schlatter wrote about the Lawa only in the form of letters to his friends. But he made translations of some parts of the Bible in Lawa, which were printed in Thai characters (Communication of the 10th, Sept. 1963). Dr. Peter Kunstadter of Princeton University made a 10-days reconnaissance in the rainy season of 1963, pursuing the same route as mine (Kunstadter 1963). Kauffmann made a 16-days trip from Bo Luang to Mae Sarieng, via Mä Tho, Umphai, Changmo Noi, Changmo Luang, Huai Ragmai Nüa, La Ub and Pa Pü early in 1964. Kunstadter is now making an intensive research in Pa Pü. (Communication of Kauffmann, the 23rd, March, 1964)
- The Karen: Walton 1922, Andersen 1923, Srisavasdi 1955, 1963, Young 1962. Iwata visited three Sgau Karen villages west of Fang, i.e. Ban Kon Nog, Ban Kon Klang and Ban Kon Noi in 1962. His results are still waiting publication.
4. They will be published in *Paideuma* and the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*.
5. Kauffmann is of the opinion that some of the somatic types of the Lawa are to be recognized also among the Tibeto-Burman-speaking Mru in Chittagong, the Mrabri (Phi Tong Luang) in North Thailand and among some Moi groups in Vietnam. They represent a very old racial stratum in Further India, which linguistically might be associated with the Austroasiatic languages (Kauffmann. Communications of the 27th, Feb. 1963 and of the 9th, Jan. 1964)

- 5a. Kauffmann (Communication of the 23rd, March, 1964). However, often more than two villages are amalgamated into one village. In such a case, each component village has one meeting house.
6. Kerr 1924 : 138, Hutchinson 1935 : 156
7. Hutchinson 1935 : 174
8. This type of coiffure is widely spread in Further India. cf. for instance, Smyth 1898 I : 296
9. This type of girl's tonsure is reported from many islands of Eastern Indonesia (cf. Vatter 1932 : 50, 125-126, 168, 171, 267, Plates 29-1, 72-2, 73-1) and from the Chang Naga in Assam (Kauffmann 1939 : 333).
10. Hutchinson 1935 : 156
11. Kauffmann Communications of the 19th, Nov. 1963 and the 9th, Jan. 1964.
12. Kauffmann Communication of the 19th, Nov. 1963.
13. Hutchinson reported from Bo Luang that a marriage of cousins is forbidden there (1935 : 160-161) and I obtained the same information in Pa Pă. However, it seems possible to me they meant by saying this that marriages between cousins are *mostly* (i.e. with the exception of a marriage with a MoBrDa) forbidden. It is also possible, as Kunstadter supposes, that "the system of cross-cousin marriage has been dropped in the more Thai-ized villages such as Baw Luang" (Kunstadter 1963). This point should be clarified by more systematic field work in the future.
14. Huang and Hsieh 1958 : 70
15. Izikowits 1951 : 85-95. Cf. Needham 1960 : 65-66
16. According to Kunstadter, "Apparently, with one exception, there are no clans or lineages" (Kunstadter 1963).
17. Schlatter comments on the *samang* : "Although they do have a few special privileges they are usually not the rulers of the village nor do they necessarily control the worship" (Schlatter. Communication of the 8th, Oct. 1963). The *samang* of the Lawa seems to correspond to the *xamiā* of the Lamet (Izikowits 1951 : 112-116).
18. The *lam* of the Lawa is to be compared with the *lem* of the Lamet (Izikowits 1951 : 116-118). In the village of Ou Nua in northernmost Laos, i.e. within the domain of the ancient Nan Chao Kingdom, the Lu call the chief *lam* which is given to respectable Lu by their lord. The head of a *lam* is called *pho lam* (father of *lam*) (Deydier 1954 : 107). This *lam* might be again related with the Lawa *lam*. Kauffmann suggests that the *lam* of the Lawa and the *lem* of the Lament might be related with the *lam* (female trance-dancer or priestess of lower class) of the Lao in Ban Koeun near Turakon, 80 km north of Vientiane, be-

- cause the Lawa certainly once distributed also in Laos (Kauffmann. Communication of the 14th, Oct. 1963 and of the 19th, Nov. 1963, based on a communication by Charles Archaimbault).
19. The Lawa call themselves as a whole Lua, or are so designated by the Thai. The meaning of the word *lua* is probably people (Volk), hence it means broadly the whole Lawa on the one hand, and, more narrowly, the ordinary people on the other.
 20. Kauffmann's communication (23rd, March, 1964). Also Funke recognizes only the division of *kun* (privileged people) and *lua* (ordinary people) among the Umphai Lawa. (Funke 1960: 142, 145).
 21. This reminds us of the development of *status lineages* among the Chin as an adaptation to Burman civilization (Lehman 1963: esp. 139-156).
 22. Ho 1936 II. Chap. 8: 19
 23. Steinmann und Rangsit 1940: 173
 24. Funke asserts that in Umphai area every house within the village possesses threadsquares (die magische Abwehrzauber gedachten Fadenkreuze) (Funke 1960: 142). However, there are no threadsquares but only *talaeos* in the houses. Kauffmann is also of the same opinion (Communication of the 23rd, Dec. 1963).
 25. Cf. Steinmann und Rangsit 1940 and Wenk 1959
 26. Cf. Kauffmann 1962: 103-104
 27. Steinmann und Rangsit 1940: 165
 28. The classification of the Karen is quite complicated. Embree and Thomas give the White Karen as another name of the Pwo Karen, and they treat the Sgau Karen as a different group from the White Karen. According to them, there are few Sgau Karen in Thailand (Embree and Thomas 1950: 31, 72). Young, however, takes the Sgau for the largest group of the Karen in Thailand. According to him, the Sgau are called the White Karen by Thai farmers (Young 1962: 60, 171). Seidenfaden includes both the Sgau and Pwo Karen in the White Karen (Seidenfaden 1958: 124). Also Andersen seems to classify both as the White Karen, because the distribution of the White Karen as given by him (Andersen 1923: 51) covers the whole area inhabited by the Sgau as well as the Pwo Karen (cf. Young 1962: map on p. xii). Doubtless all the villages visited belong to the White Karen in the broad sense. The problem is whether they are the Sgau or not. All the Karen villages visited were said by the interpreter to be the Sgau. A comparison of their costumes with those of the Sgau (Seidenfaden 1958: Fig. 28, Young 1962: 71, Plates between pp. 68-69) and of the Pwo (Young 1962: 75-76, Plate between pp. 76-77) indicated that they really belong to the Sgau Karen. The location of the villages

- again falls in the Sgau area in the distribution map of Young (1962: xii). Therefore, all of the Karen groups I visited seem to belong to the Sgau Karen. However, the situation of the Karen is so much complicated, that it may be wiser to leave the question open here, as Kauffmann suggests (Personal communication of the 23rd, March, 1964).
29. Also Andersen wrote: "In the Me Chem district, between Chengmai and Mae Hawng Sawn, I have seen many young people both men and women with perfectly Jewish features" (Andersen 1923: 52).
 30. Marshall 1922: 56-65. Concerning the White Karen in Thailand, Andersen reported: "As a rule each family has its own house, generally containing only one room. . . . I have, however, seen two villages where the houses were long buildings, each divided into several rooms, and inhabited by several families, all related to each other" (Andersen 1923: 54-55).
 31. Kauffmann. Communication of the 19th, Nov. 1963
 32. This coiffure is applied to men among the Naga tribes. Hutton advanced a theory that it belongs there to the Austroasiatic culture complex (Hutton in Smith 1925: xii).
 33. Heine-Geldern takes the uxori-local residence and the way of courtship for "mutterrechtliche Züge" and refers to his early discussion (Heine-Geldern 1921: 119-121) on the possible existence of some matrilineal features among the Bghai and other Karen groups in Burma (Communication of the 19th, Nov. 1963). Among the Sgau Karen visited by Iwata the rule of post-nuptial residence is in most cases uxori-local, but in some viri-local. He noticed a bilateral kin group called *do pou wal* (Iwata. Communication of the 8th, Jan. 1964).
 34. Prince Sanidh Rangsit filmed the game at Umphai. The Thai game *S'ua kin vua* ('Tiger eats Cow') and the Sgau Karen (Burma) game *Tiger and Fowl* (Bastian 1867: 327) seem to resemble the game in question. According to Heine-Geldern, the custom of playing certain games in connection with the cult of dead is also found in Celebes and might once have been widely distributed (Communication of the 19th, Nov. 1963).
 35. Kauffmann. Communication of the 27th, Feb. 1963
 36. Cf. Kunstadter 1963
 37. Kerr 1924: 139-140
 38. Tradition puts it however, that the Lawa believed in Buddhism before they retreated from the plains to the mountains.
 39. Don Schlatter of the New Tribes Mission has been in and out of La Ubi for about 5 years (Schlatter. Communication of the 10th, Sept. 1963).

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