

# CHILDREN'S RIDDLES AND DITTIES FROM THE SOUTH OF TATUNG

(Shansi)

by

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## INTRODUCTION

Many sinologues throughout China have manifested a decided interest in general matters of folklore these last years; some have specialized in particular studies, as for example, in folksongs and children's rhymes, which among the Chinese scholars are regarded as a new and inspiring element for popular literature. Yet it remains true that very little is known about Chinese folklore. Two reasons for this assertion are: in spite of all the contributions, we are still in the first period of collecting folklore material, and secondly, much collecting has been done in an unsatisfactory way.

The area covered by the term "Chinese Folklore" is too large and the existing folklore institutes are still too few, the fieldworking scholars too scattered and unorganized. Further, the subject matter of Chinese folklore can still be divided into a long series of special branches, such as: religion, folksongs, popular customs, popular arts of all kinds, theater etc. Each of these branches opens an immense field of facts to be collected, arranged, studied and interpreted. Each element in these different branches must be regarded in its local setting, in its actual distribution throughout adjoining areas, in its influence, its growth or decrease, which result from the contact with other historical and cultural elements. It may be added that the historical problems, as they crop up in the entire bulk of Chinese literature, also bring an arresting array of new points for serious consideration.

Moreover, in many cases the true folkloristic outlook is almost lacking among the small number of people who are willing to collaborate in this tremendous task of the study of Chinese folklore. Some collaborators have taken the wrong slant on folklore and have been misled into incorporating any and various considerations under the study of folklore; they discuss language, literature, education and even politics, but seldom

devote undivided attention to folklore in itself, that, is, the folkloristic data for themselves.

The material on the children's riddles and ditties actually existing in China, can be taken as an illustration of the general characteristic of Chinese folklore investigation. Sometimes a great wealth of information is collected in places like Peking and other large cities, while almost nothing is known inland about the given subject. As long as this situation remains, it will be impossible to make a general survey and a genetic study that is based on complete material, collected from the whole expanse of China. That kind of complete information on any question is still lacking. Even a comparatively small locality or village may proffer data that cannot be neglected. The extension of a particular type of song will seldom coincide with the political boundaries of a province. Hence it is not sufficient for folkloristic studies if the types from every province, or one or two specimens from the most important cities of every province are available for discussion. In the endeavour to make a complete survey of the songs with the theme *K'an-chien-t'a* "看見他" for instance, in the *Ko-yao-chou-k'an* 歌謠周刊, n° 62 and n° 63 by Tung Tso-pin 董作賓 and some additional notes and remarks in the following numbers, we are still far away from a complete grasp of the elements, the grouping of the types, the origin of their extension, the development of more recent types. No matter how interesting the conclusion of that paper may be a propos of the different customs and the dialectal peculiarities, the study of the interdependency of all the types and their local distribution is naturally far too general and crude. It is simply because the mesh of the net of information and material cast over the whole of China, is much too broad to catch many interesting "fishes" which may determine a frontier between two different types of the same theme. In this case of the song "*K'an-chien-t'a*", out of forty-five songs, only two specimens represent the province of Shansi, one the province of Shensi, one that of Ssu-ch'uan, while Hopei province alone has more than ten!

Generally speaking very little material of any kind has been gathered from the province of Shansi. And yet, we must remember that the extension and the position of this province proves that it easily could provide us with ample and rich material for an *independent folkloristic investigation*. Only the founding of several *provincial* folklore institutes, connected with each other, could meet the needs of such intensive local studies.

But our desiderata are still far from realization. Up to the present, we are forced to be satisfied with the very limited contributions of isolated and singlehanded persons. Concerning children's rhymes and songs, we must admit, that though there are many interesting specimens seen in

various publications, such as the *Ko-yao-chou-k'an* 歌謠周刊, *Min-chien-wen-yi* 民間文藝, *Min-hsiu-yue-k'an* 民俗月刊 etc., the material seems so scattered when we look at them for the study of *one* determined region. It appears that no region has been thoroughly investigated. Consequently, it is impossible to draw any conclusion from the comparison of all the folklore material from different regions. Moreover, the usefulness of these specimens is reduced because some essential and fundamental principles necessary for scientific study were completely disregarded in these collections.

Therefore in the next paragraphs we will discuss the qualities most necessary for a scientific approach toward the question of collecting and recording the materials.

## I. METHOD

### A. Collecting.

In taking the children's riddles and ditties of the South of Ta-tung (Shansi) as the subject of our present discussion I do *not* by any means intend to present an *exhaustive* study of the subject. Yet I am confident that it will suffice to prove the fundamental conditions for a collection of data which is safe and reliable to be used for further investigation. Although the material of my paper has not been collected intentionally for folklore aims, it will be sufficient to demonstrate that a very narrow strip of territory can give us many local differences. This region, where my material has been collected, extends some 75 km. East-West, along the Sang-kan-ho river 桑乾河, and some 10 km. North-South, below the same river, with a strip extending northwards to Tatung, at the Western end of the region studied.<sup>1</sup> The material has been collected from thirty different villages scattered throughout the entire area. During my four years residence at *Hsi-ch'ai-t'ien* 西冊田, (Hd 210), small village South-East of Tatung-city, I continuously associated with the people. There I was able to collect material for a complete linguistic description of the dialect, spoken in this territory. Any linguistic data, from single words and expressions, independent sentences, to long phrases, stories, riddles and proverbs, which I heard spoken by the inhabitants, I recorded at the moment I heard them spoken. It is from this collection that I have drawn to publish this discussion of some 195 riddles and ditties. It is not much, but the origin and the method in which they were collected give them authentic value.

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1) The most important villages and places mentioned in this article can be found on the map which accompanies the article of W. A. Grootaers, *Les temples villageois de la région au Sud-Est de Ta-t'oung*. The letters and numbers refer to his map.

The fact that I collected them only as linguistic material, with no intention of using them as future folklore material will indicate that no preconceived ideas or theories on folklore could have influenced me when I collected the material. At that time I pursued one aim, i.e. to gather data of *language*, direct and spontaneous expressions. It was but natural that childrens' rhymes and riddles should have had their part in these notes.

The first important feature is a *true phonetic reproduction of the spoken texts*, with all their personal or small local peculiarities, including even their mistakes in words or syntax their little divergences due to affective language, etc. Secondly, every note has been dated and accompanied with the name, the age, sex and the origin of every informant.

The fact, however, that the riddles and rhymes were recorded only as pure linguistic data, and not intentionally as folkloristic material, has its natural drawback. Very seldom at that time was my attention directed to the question whether a given theme of rhyme or riddle, which I discovered in *one* place, existed in *another* place; since I only intended to gather as much *different* material of children's *language* as I could. In other words, every variant in my collection presented here, is a pure *fortuitous* result, found two years after the notes had been made; there can be no question that the variants could have been obtained by badly put questions, or direct suggestions, which could have influenced the different informants. This same reason explains why some interesting types, which might be worthy of examination, are completely *missing*. Among these are, for instance, the rhymes spoken over insects, the ditties recited in alternation and other possible kinds. As to the rhymes said over insects, I only have one specimen, n° 160.

Yet in spite of this drawback, it is possible to use this limited number of ditties, not only for a comparison with the rhymes of different localities, but also for a study of the development of these rhymes.

Therefore I give the list of the villages and the names of my informants:

Hd 210: *Hsi-ch'ai-t'ien*: 西册田

1. Hsü Chi-mao 徐繼茂
2. Chao Te-ming 趙德明
3. Fan P'ei-wen 范丕文
4. Liu Hsiao 劉孝
5. Hsü Chieh-shan 徐傑山
6. Hsü Shih-yi 徐世義

East of Hsi-Ch'ai-t'ien:

Hd 215: *Pu-ts'un* 楠村

1. Liu Fu-shan 劉富山

Hd 216: *Kuei-jen* 貴仁

1. Yang P'ing 楊品 ( ? )

Hd 219: *Yu-chai* 友宰

1. Sun chun-yi\* 孫俊義

Hd 220: *Fung Chieng* 坊城

1. Chia Fu-wu 賈蠶武
2. Wei Fu-jen\* 魏富仁
3. Wei Fa 魏法

Hd 227: *Lung-p'u-tsun* 龍堡村

1. Liu Tso 劉佐

Hd 252: *Tai Wang* 大王

1. Li Jun-yin 李潤印
2. Li P'ei-chi 李倍紀
3. Hsiu An\* 徐安
4. Ho Chu-ching 郝柱卿
5. Li Yüan-te\* 李元德

Hd 253: *T'uan-p'ü* 贖堡

1. Li Shih-jui\* 李世瑞
2. Ts'ao An-hua\* 曹安華
3. Yang p'ing 楊平
4. Wang Chao\* 王昭

Hd 228: *Yü-lin* 榆林

1. Yao Chiu-en 姚久恩

Hd 231: *Nan-hsiü* 南徐

1. Hsiü Kuo-ping 徐國斌

West of Hsi-ch'ai-t'ien:

Hd 207: *Hsü-t'uan* 徐贖

1. Ting Jui-heng\* 丁瑞亨
2. Ting Ch'üan-shih 丁奎世
3. Ting Chün-heng 丁俊亨

Hd 241: *Tung-fou-t'ou* 東浮頭

1. Ko Mao-ch'uan 葛茂川

Hd 74: *Chien-ch'ang* 嫌場

1. K'ang Ying-k'ui 康映魁

Hd 75: *Feng- yü* 峰峪

1. Wang jih-hsien 王日暹

Hd 78a: *Sun-chia-chiang* 孫家港

1. Yao Cheng-shun 姚承舜
2. K'ang Wen-ming 康文明

Hd 79: *Hu-chia-kuo-tsü-t'ou* 胡家窩子頭

1. Yang Fu-lin\* 楊富林

- Hd 80: *Hou-tsu-k'ou* 後子口  
1. Chao Yüan-chin 趙元津
- Hd 103: *Pe-tung-chuang* 北棟莊  
1. Kao Ch'eng 高承
- Hd 93: *T'ung-chuang* 仝莊  
1. T'ung Ch'i-tung 仝齊東
- Hd 92: *Ma-chuang* 馬莊 (*Ch'ing-shui-wan* 清水灣).  
1. Li Ping 李斌  
2. K'ang T'ing-jun 康廷贊  
3. K'ang T'ing-yü 康廷玉  
4. Li Hsing 李興  
5. Li Tien 李典  
6. Wang Li 王理  
7. Li Kuei-wen 李貴文  
8. Wang Chien-tso 王建佐  
9. Li Sheng-ch'un 李生春  
10. Wang Hsi 王喜  
11. Li Chung 李忠  
12. Pai wen 白文  
13. Ch'in Lan-ts'un 秦蘭存
- Hd 91: *Tung-hsin-ch'iao* 東新橋  
1. An Chieh 安傑  
2. An Hao 安皓
- Hd 98: *Chang-chia-p'u* 張家堡  
1. Wang Tso 王佐  
2. Ch'i Yu-ts'ai 齊有財
- Hd 86 *Shen-tsui-wo* 神咀窩  
1. Yü Ts'un 玉存
- Hd 58: *Ma-chiang-tsu* 馬港子  
1. Ts'ai Shih-te 蔡士德  
2. Li Hsiang-yang 李襄陽
- Hd 52: *Hsiao-yen-fang* 小鹽房  
1. Yang Heng 楊恆
- Hd 18: *Mao-tsao* 毛皂  
1. Chang Ts'un-ai 張存愛
- Hd 585: *Tu-shu-ts'un* 獨樹村  
1. Huo Yü-fu\* 霍毓富
- Hc 274: *Yü-lin* 榆林  
1. Yang Yi 楊義

All those informants are children from 6 to 12 years old, still in their primary school. Only the names indicated with an asterisc\* are those of adults, who gave me some riddles and ditties, with the express

statement that they were generally recited by children. Three rhymes, which I heard in Tatung, were recited by boys, whose names are unknown to me. They are the rhymes n° 163, 139, 133. The number of the village, the number corresponding to the speaker, and the date when it was recorded, will be added to every rhyme as follows: *Hsi-ch'ai-t'ien*, H s ũ C h i - m a o , 21th of January 1941 = Hd 210. 1. — 21. 1. 41.

This method of collecting material is a most important point. When we take, for instance, the abundant and interesting material, of Witold Jablonski's book: "*Les Siao-ha(i-eul)-yu de Pékin. Un essai sur la poésie populaire en Chine*"<sup>2</sup>, we discover that the material has been gathered by a certain Mr. T'ung (Ch'e-n-hsiang), 佟臣相, his Chinese teacher. But this means that the material, when being collected, has been made uniform. His teacher wrote the ditties down in Chinese characters, and Jablonski then again transposed them into a French transcription. Thus all specific differences of phonetism have been left out<sup>3</sup>. Jablonski himself calls attention to the fact that Peking derived so many of its habitants from the interior provinces and that they took with them their own native expressions and folklore elements<sup>4</sup>. Although Jablonski concerns himself mainly with the literary side of the object, it is certain that the collection would have still more value, if the material had been collected from the mouth of the children themselves. This might be more difficult to do in cities than in provinces, but at any rate, for a broader study of the subject, such detailed notes on the origin are of a paramount importance. The same remark applies to the songs and rhymes which we find in the Chinese collections of the *Ko-yao-chou-k'an* 歌謠周刊 and others, where only the name of the collector and a most general indication as *T'ung-hsing Ho-pei* 通行河北, *T'ung-hsing Chang-chia-k'ou* 通行張家口, or even *T'ung-hsing Sai-pen-ko-ti* 通行塞北各地 are given as the only information!

### B. Recording the ditties.

When noting down the ditties or the riddles, I never cared or asked about the Chinese characters of the words in the ditties and the rhymes, they recited for me. I only paid attention to a *true phonetic transcription*

2) Witold Jablonski. *Les Siao-ha(i-eul)-yu de Pékin. Un essai sur la poésie populaire de Chine.* Krakow, 1935.

3) An example is the expression which Jablonski writes *Kung-mu-lia* 公母倆 in his book p. 132 "husband and wife" according to the pronunciation of the "characters", while spoken, they are ordinarily pronounced *ku-mu-lia*.

4) Jablonski op. cit. p. 7: "En effet, jadis, les mandarins venant du fond de leurs provinces s'établir à Pékin, importaient avec leur personnel de servants, nourrices etc. des trésors de folklore local. Et ainsi le folklore de la capitale s'enrichissait de ces apports nouveaux.



of the sounds, as they were pronounced, and to their meaning. This might seem to be a real and, to many people — especially to Chinese investigators — an inexcusable shortcoming, since it was done intentionally, and with great harm to the material itself.

From what I have already said about the texts of Jablonski, we see that from a phonetic point of view, the same may apply to the Chinese characters. The result of writing the texts in Chinese characters *only* or *chiefly*, is just wiping out all that is linguistically local and peculiar as belonging to a geographically well determined dialect. The Chinese characters, being a mean of recording a generally accepted cultural language, cannot in any way adequately reproduce the regional linguistic peculiarities. Either they have recourse to all kinds of locally invented characters like 仔, 唔, 唸 and others, to suggest very incompletely some indications about most divergent sounds, for which they can impossibly find a true character from the cultural language, or they have to join a series of phonetic explanations which will never be perfectly understood. In both cases it should be as well to write the text directly in a phonetic script with a translation into the cultural language.

This reason, however, seems only to be of a rather practical nature. More theoretical and fundamental are the following reasons:

1) No child when reciting, or making the rhymes, nor any country-woman when she is reciting the ditty\* for her child, ever thinks in characters, but *in the words themselves*. What is still more important, they get the ideas of those words not through the characters but through the sounds of the words, and these sounds are pronounced according to the local phonetic system.

2) Since the dialects may have very great differences in sounds as well as in words and phrasing, a rhyme, which is not quite clearly understood by the speakers, because of the semantic and phonetic changes, or because it has come from another locality, is interpreted or rather re-interpreted in the mind of the speaker. This re-interpretation naturally goes in the line of the folk-etymologies. It is made according to the meaning of a word which the sound of the not-understood word evokes, and not according to the characters which originally might have stood for that word. Thus it appears that every dialect can have another interpretation of an obscure rhyme according to their different dialectal pronunciation and vocabulary, in which they adapt the words of the rhymes. This is true for any kind of dialectal studies, whatever their aim or contents might be, and it necessarily must apply to the more special kinds of linguistic materials as songs and children's ditties. In these branches of folklore, methods of folklore never can be kept apart from those of linguistics.

Consequently, we may say, that in fact, every time a fieldworker tries to write down a song or a ditty in Chinese characters, he disregards two important sides of linguistic nature which his material naturally provides him. The first is the *phonetical* aspect. This information is of paramount importance in the explanation of all folklore material, such as stories, songs etc. Those texts may be full of puns and allusions built on *sounds*, i.e. the *dialectal* sounds. Moreover the rhythm and the accentuation are different according to the dialects and are not clear in the Chinese characters. When put into Chinese characters the whole thing is suddenly clothed in *kuan-hua* words, and consequently the puns disappear instantly and almost completely for every reader in other parts of China, because he reads the characters according to the Pekinese or to his own phonetic system.

The second is the *semasiological* aspect. When the fieldworker writes these dialect-sounds in characters, he himself already re-interpretes the text according to the meaning, which he himself gets out of it. When the rhyme is not clear the important thing is to state the facts as they are, and to ask the meaning which those sounds convey to the people, and not to substitute a personal hypothesis by proposing a character for the sounds. The fieldworker in doing this, unwittingly perhaps, falsifies the text.

Briefly, the important principle in collecting texts is not to find the historically original character in order to write the ditties, but to record the sound of the ditty itself, and its meaning in the mind of the speaker. The importance of the sound associations in the mind of the speakers has not been fully grasped, and we still find discussions about the "true character" to be used in the noting of the ditties. In *Ko-yao* (2 Vol. fasc. 1. p. 2) a ditty noted by *Hsü Fang* 徐芳, gives a good example. The rhyme is:

拍 拍 胸  
不 傷 風  
拍 拍 背  
剃 幾 穢

A correspondent writes in the next third fascicule p. 8, that 穢 must be written 晦, with the meaning of 晦氣: "evil influence" and that 剃 should be 替. The question is not what *we* can make of it, but how the *speakers*, the children or the mother understand it. What ever might have been the original version, the actual meaning which the speakers find in it is primarily important. These new interpretations start new variants and new rhymes. Again the desire of that same correspondent to "correct" a line in another alternative ditty, by proposing the characters

江米酒 for the word 醬拌酒 (which he does not understand), would simply result at best into making uniform originally different words, and at worst in *falsifying* texts. The same has happened to the series of congratulatory songs given by *Hsü Fang* 徐芳 (in *Ko-yao*, 2 vol., 17 fasc. p. 1), when a criticism was given in the following fascicule (fasc. 19, p. 8) about the "incorrect" characters. But the fact still remains that if one really heard a beggar saying 金蓮燈 in the congratulatory songs for the married girl, it is of no use, even with all possible proofs from contexts or variants, to substitute afterwards for it the words 金鈴鐺 or to substitute 一夜單雙歲 for what was heard to be said like 一年單雙歲. It is phonetically quite another thing. Whether the beggar recited it correctly or not, it shows that the accidental faults cropping up in the songs, are to be "respected" as well, for these faults, once becoming current, will direct the song into a new line of evolution.

Even if no characters are forcibly proposed to correct a text, the necessity of a text in phonetic script is still imperative. It can be clearly deduced from the review of the collection "*Mei-hsien childrens' ditties*", 梅縣童謠, (*Ko-yao*, 2 vol. Fasc. 19, p. 5) made by Chang Ch'ing-shui 張清水. The reviewer cites many special dialectal words and expressions, which even written in so-called correctly chosen characters remain quite unintelligible. He requires fuller explanations of them. But how much simpler and more valuable it would have been if the original text were in transcription, with a complete and accurate translation in *Kuan-hua*!

We have seen frequent articles in the above mentioned publications where the method of the phonetic script is explained for quite a number of different dialects; nevertheless very rarely did we see Chinese ditties collected in that way.

We conclude that even in the case that the Chinese characters are supposed to be correct, it is never so important a question as knowing the actual idea which the words of the rhymes call for in the mind of the speaker. This meaning which the speaker grasps from the sounds is not always the same meaning as that which the Chinese characters convey to the readers or the writers. Above all, in the cases of obscure expressions and words, the speaker allows himself to drift away with the sounds, and the meaning of other words from his dialect which are more or less intimately associated with that sound. It may be the origin of some very serious divergences, in comparison with the variants of other places.

### *Transcription*

The transcription we will use here is that of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Because of difficulties in finding the necessary

signs, some explanations are still to be given, concerning the special use of some of the phonetic signs here:

### Vowels

The vowels *e* and *o* are not stable, and when long, for instance in the fourth tone (falling-rising), they have a consonantal glide, *j* or *w* respectively.

*a* and *ã*, are both represented by the type *a*, because *a* is always *ã* nasalized:

*o* nasalised has been represented by *õ*, an adequate sign being lacking. A difference of sound is meant by the sign *ø* and *ø:* (followed by :). The second is meant for the vowel pronounced in quite the same place as the consonants which precede, namely after *s* and *f*.

### Consonants

*v*: labiodental occlusive, formed by a short contact of the lower lip with the upper teeth.

*w*: followed by the vowel *õ*, it means a light rounding of the lips. In other cases it is an ordinary bilabial semi-vowel.

*t'*: palatal occlusive.

*l*: a retroflex or cerebral *l*, obtained by a position of the tongue turned up, without touching the palate. This position has a profound influence on the vowels which precede this sound.

*tʃ'h*: the *t* is alveolar, followed by a palatalized fricative and a light voiceless laryngal aspiration.

*r*: rolled (one or two strokes) and prepalatal.

### Tones

The tones have been described in detail in my paper "*Les Cérémonies du mariage*" (F.S. III, 1, p. 76-78). They have been indicated here by the numbers 1, 3, 4 and 5 put *before* the tone-carrying syllable. For 3 and 5, the numbers sometimes stand on top of the word or below, to indicate that the tone inflexion, in case, is pronounced on a higher or a lower tonal modality than the surrounding sounds. They may be described in short as follows:

1: falling, long. Begins at medial height.

3: high, short, and when pronounced distinctly still rising slightly.

4: Begins at medial height, falls slightly, and rises quickly. When not pronounced distinctly and isolated, it has only the rising modality of the tone.

5: its vocalism is indicated with a sign ʷ, which means a short vowel, and in some cases, in distinct pronunciation, with a somehow reduced laryngal occlusive. The tonal modality of such words is that of a transition between the other words. When accentuated it is *high* (like in the 3d tone) in some words, *low* in others, f. i. <sup>5</sup>*kəǎ lə*: I am thirsty; *stāzə*: Mongolian.

## II. THE CHILDREN'S RIDDLES AND DITTIES

### A. Definition.

After this lengthy diversion on method and general outlook regarding folksongs and ditties, I will give the definition and the extension of my subject called "Children's riddles and ditties". These points are not so easily defined, and many specimens could be accepted as falling under the heading of children's rhymes, more or less according to rather subjective criteria as personal impressions and feelings. However, some criteria must be found to sift out the texts which can really be proposed as children's rhymes.

1) One of these criteria is the construction of the verses and the rhyming system. Although it might aid in distinguishing these ditties from other songs and become of some value in addition to other characteristics, it still remains quite subjective. In fact we find many rhymes collected under headings *Min-ko* 民歌 "Folksong" and *ko-yao* 歌謠 "Song" of which we encounter elsewhere perfect similar variants under the heading "*erh-ko* 兒歌, or *t'ung-yao* 童謠: children's rhymes. So for instance the much spread theme" 月亮爺, 亮鑼鑼, and 月亮走, 我也走 (published in the *Kao-yao-chou-k'an*) are called sometimes "*Ko-yao*" and in other places "*erh-ko*".

2) A second criterion is that it has really been said by children. This criterion is most useful when one goes to the children to investigate the subject. But still many texts will be noted then which will not be true ditties. This has happened in the collection of the *Mei-hsien children's ditties*. According to the review of Chang Ch'ing-shui, the title *T'ung-yao* 童謠 was not very proper, because so many simple "proverbs, riddles" appeared among the real ditties. The difficulty is that the children will never submit to the rules which the specialist imposes concerning the essential characteristics of the true children's ditties. The reason is easily understood, when we remember that the children freely pick up their material everywhere from existing proverbs and songs. An example is the rhyme cited by Hsü-fang 徐芳 (*Ko-yao*, 2 vol.; fasc. 1, p. 4):

一 抓 金 兒  
 二 抓 銀 兒  
 三 不 笑  
 四 好 人 兒

(Another variant of the same ditty is to be found in Jablonski, p. 72, n° 4, and in Yang K'un's short article "La vie de l'enfant en Chine" (L'ami, 1939). The first two lines of this ditty also enter as an element in the formula, used during the Marriage ceremonies in the regions of Tatung, when the husband must perform the ceremony *chua-ch'ien* 抓錢. There the expressions "*chua-chin* 抓金, *chua-yin* 抓銀" have their natural meaning, while the translation of Jablonski: "on gratte la première fois . . . etc." is based on the circumstances in which this rhyme is recited.<sup>5</sup> Another example is the children's rhyme in the series *Sai-pei erh-ko* 塞地兒歌 (in *Ko-yao*, 2 vol. fasc. 20, p. 6):

哭 上 走  
 笑 上 來  
 三 天 領 上  
 小 女 婿 來

This rhyme is spoken when the bride is leaving her home. We know variants of this rhyme in the cities of Tatung and Hun-yüan (潭源) but *only as a proverb*, recited by grown ups, never as a peculiar children's rhyme.<sup>6</sup> It results that this criterion too cannot be used independently of other norms. On the occasion of marriage-celebrations, many rhymes are recited before the newly married couple, who have to repeat them either alternating or not, and many lines and expressions from these rhymes seem to be known by the children. However they cannot be cited as typical children's ditties, as it is not an exclusive children's amusement. What is the particular position for children in the amusements of marriage-celebration is not known to me in detail. As far as I was informed about the marriage-celebrations, none of these rhymes are true children's rhymes. In fact, no such rhymes were ever recited to me by children, among the collection

5) Jablonski op. cit. p. 72 explains it: "L'enfant a les jambes croisés, on lui gratte le genou, et il ne doit pas rire." We see here how probably the way in which this song is said to amuse the child may have been influenced so that it begins to have a completely other meaning, than that which we gather from parallel texts like that in my paper "Les cérémonies du mariage" (Folkl. Stud. III, 1, p. 101): 一抓金, 一抓銀, 一抓元寶頂了門.

6) Compare: Les cérémonies du mariage, F. S. III, 1, p. 116-117.

I could gather, although they have free entrance and participation for these amusements.<sup>7</sup> Only one specimen was given by Li-tien (Hd 92. 5. — 14. 12. 1941):

<sup>1</sup>pxadə <sup>4</sup>xwe <sup>1</sup>pxala,  
<sup>3</sup>dzeudə <sup>4</sup>xwe <sup>3</sup>dzeula,  
<sup>4</sup>tu <sup>3</sup>li <sup>5</sup>kət'ikət'ä.  
<sup>3</sup>ju <sup>1</sup>jula.

It only seems a true variant of the rhyme which we cited in our paper on the marriage-ceremonies (F.S. III, 2, p. 86): "Some can already crawl along on all fours, others can already go; and in my body, I feel it's hard, there is another one." It seems only a case where the child remembered one of those specific rhymes, but it cannot be considered as a peculiar children's ditty. Moreover concerning the riddles, the content of those recited during marriage-celebrations is so entirely different from that of the typical children's rhymes. We can judge from a comparison of a sort of rhyme, which might be considered as an extreme type of those of marriage-occasions:

<sup>5</sup>jəvü <sup>1</sup>sə<sup>1</sup>le,  
<sup>1</sup>sə<sup>1</sup>tsxwō <sup>1</sup>tsxä,  
<sup>5</sup>jə<sup>1</sup>txwæt <sup>3</sup>ju <sup>1</sup>mo  
<sup>5</sup>jə<sup>1</sup>txwæt <sup>1</sup>kä.  
<sup>4</sup>t'f'hy <sup>1</sup>kəkək <sup>4</sup>t'f'f',  
<sup>5</sup>tsxü<sup>1</sup>le <sup>1</sup>js<sup>3</sup>fwe <sup>1</sup>ts'ä. (Hd 79. 1. — 3. 6. 41)

"An object is three inches long. One extremity is smooth, the other is full of hair. It enters dry and clean, and comes out again with water and slime." (A riddle on "toothbrush", said on the occasion of the *Shwa-siao-si-ferh* or *Nao-hsin-fang*). (Cfr. F.S. III, 2, p. 77 ff.)

3) A third criterion I could rely on, at least for the ditties in the region I explored, is the way in which those rhymes are recited. In the article "On the way, how children recite their ditties" by H s ü f a n g 徐芳: 唱兒歌的方法 (*Ko-yao*, 2 vol, fasc. 1. p. 1), mention is made of the "specific way" in which the children's ditties are song. However no

7) Jablonski, (op. cit. p. 62) finds still a difference between the rhymes used in the ceremony "nao-hsin-fang" and the real children's rhymes, notwithstanding the similarity which these two kinds sometimes have. "Un des thèmes les plus importants est celui de la noce. Ici, c'est la mariée, n'importe si elle louée ou raillée, qui occupe la première place. La description du cortège nuptial, la beauté de la mariée, ses émotions pendant la cérémonie, l'attitude de ses parents, tout ceci est minutieusement décrit. La description de la noce permet aussi des plaisanteries usuelles: tantôt on raille doucement la mariée, tantôt on la bafoue, avec une âpreté qui fait penser à l'usage de *Nao-hsin-fang*".

more detailed description of this way of singing or reciting is given. Moreover in the whole series of publications of *Ko-yao-chou-k'an* etc. the texts of real *songs* are very seldom accompanied by indications about the music in which they are sung. The ditties, I gather, were never *sung*, but recited in a special rhythmic way.

4) Finally, I have taken as specimens really fit for this publication of "Children's rhymes" only those rhymes which the children themselves have called "*Hsiao-huarh*" 笑話兒, or "*ch'uan-huarh*" 傳話兒. At the same time they are rhymes who are recited in the special rhythmic way and are constructed in general like the most typical specimens of the so-called *t'ung-ko* 童歌. In fact, they are only "rhymes for and by children". The general characteristic is the rhythmic way in which they are recited; a strong dynamical accent gives a well marked scansion, according to which the same structure is easily applied to every kind of rhyme. It is this rhythm and construction of the lines which brings it about that in the mind of the children no clear distinction is marked between the rhymes which prove to be real "riddles" to us and the true ditties. They call both kinds by the same term, namely "*hsiao-huarh*" and "*ch'uan-huarh*", and they freely mix them up when asked to recite some of the ditties they know. Hence I also have included the children's riddles, grouped under a special chapter.

### B. Rhythm and rhyme in the children's ditties.

The rhythm of the children's rhymes is not based on the tones of the words, nor on the length of the syllables, but only on the regular disposition of accentuated and non-accentuated syllables in the lines. The same rhythm is quite regularly repeated in every line of the ditty, although some changes may occur for reasons we will further explain.

Sometimes different kinds of rhythmic disposition are used in one rhyme in order to obtain an opposition in its lines themselves. Some examples may suffice, to show the kinds of rhythmic schemes that are generally used. From every ditty or riddle we are going to publish here, a scheme will be added to the phonetic text. Accentuated syllables are indicated by ', and non-accentuated by -.

#### 1. A riddle for the "melon".

There is opposition of rhythm between the two first lines and the two last ones, while the rhyming is crossed:

<sup>1</sup> ly	<sup>3</sup> seu't'f̄	,	- ' -	
<sup>3</sup> po	xwō <sup>4</sup> t̄x̄		- ' -	
<sup>4</sup> ju	<sup>3</sup> xot̄s̄x̄		' - '	
<sup>4</sup> ju	<sup>3</sup> xo <sup>4</sup> kx̄x̄		' - '	(Hd 92. 1. — 14. 12. 41)

"A red handkerchief, containing red balls; it's good to eat, and nice to see".



## 2. A riddle on the "tiger".

Of the five lines, the four first are regular rhythm; only the last line is quite irregular, but it rhymes with the two first lines:

<sup>1</sup> xā	<sup>3</sup> līmo		' - '	
<sup>1</sup> d-āē	pū	<sup>3</sup> sjo;	' - '	
<sup>5</sup> d-wa <sup>4</sup> dzu	<sup>1</sup> -āē		' - '	
<sup>3</sup> ma,	<sup>1</sup> nju,	<sup>1</sup> jā	' - '	
<sup>4</sup> tu	<sup>4</sup> tā	<sup>3</sup> lofu	<sup>4</sup> læ <sup>3</sup> jo.	' - ' - - ' (Hd 252. 1. — 22. 1. 41)

"Yellow-striped hair, really (it is) not a small (animal); it takes men, horses, oxen and sheep, and it all bites them wildly as if they were only a rat."

## 3. A riddle on the "wolf".

Here we do not only see a rhythmical opposition of lines, which however keep the same number of syllables, but also an opposition between short and long lines:

<sup>5</sup> pū	sə:	<sup>3</sup> xu		' - '
<sup>5</sup> pū	sə:	<sup>3</sup> keu;		' - '
<sup>1</sup> t f'hemje	<sup>5</sup> t'ādza	<sup>1</sup> tsxato		' - ' - ' - '
<sup>4</sup> xuumje	<sup>1</sup> txwədza	<sup>1</sup> sa <sup>4</sup> so.		' - ' - ' - ' (Hd 210. 2. — 22. 1. 41)

"It is not a tiger, nor a dog. Before him he carries a strawcutter; behind him he drags a sandbroom". (The strawcutter is meant for the mouth and the teeth of the wolf, the sandbroom for the typical way in which the wolf lets hang its tail).

Sometimes between two or more lines, one short line of two or three syllables is put between to break the rhythm. Thus in

## 4. A riddle on the "Melon-seeds".

<sup>3</sup> ljā <sup>4</sup> fæ	xe	<sup>4</sup> tamæ;		' - - ' - '
<sup>1</sup> kxe <sup>1</sup> kxe				' - '
<sup>5</sup> jōkə	<sup>3</sup> sjo	<sup>1</sup> pe <sup>1</sup> zæł.		' - - ' - ' (Hd 74. 1. — 9. 12. 40)

"Two leaves of a big black folding-door. Open them, and there is a small white boy."

In other cases, a certain *caesura*, which in reciting the rhymes means a very slight pause in the line, makes good for a rather unexpected break in the rhythmical cadence:

## 5. Riddle on the "Steam".

<sup>1</sup> fā	<sup>4</sup> ta	<sup>5</sup> jō <sup>4</sup> kxwə	<sup>1</sup> pjō,		' - / ' - '
<sup>3</sup> kæ	<sup>3</sup> dza:	<sup>5</sup> mō	<sup>5</sup> jō <sup>1</sup> t'ō.		' - / ' - ' (Hd 58. 1. — 14. 12. 41)

"A piece of ice (as big as a house), and if you dare to weigh it, it doesn't weigh a pound." (The thing described is the Chinese living-room, full of steam when during the preparation of the food, the lid of the kettle is removed).

Irregular types occur in some riddles, like the following riddle on the "bread-basket":

6.  $\begin{array}{l} {}^1xw\bar{o} \quad xw\bar{o}{}^4t\bar{o}e\bar{l} \quad ' - ' \\ {}^1j\bar{a}pa \quad l\bar{j}\bar{a}{}^4p\bar{o}e\bar{l}. \quad ' - - ' \end{array}$  (Hd 92. 8. — 14. 12. 41)

"A red living ball, when you pull at it, it falls into two parts". (Description of a basket, of which the lid is almost as large as the lower part, and fitting closely on it, so as to make it like one whole).

In most specimens, the third line makes an exception in the general construction of the rhythm. It is characteristic for the four and five-lined rhymes, that the third or fourth line, in rhyme as well as in rhythm, is quite different from the others. It also happens that because of this breaking of the rhythm a new cadence is also followed in the last line, but more regular and more fitting with part of the third line. This we remark for instance in:

7. A rhyme for three riddles together, expressed in four lines:

$\begin{array}{l} {}^1f\bar{a} \quad f\bar{a}d\bar{o} \quad {}^1xwe, \quad ' - - ' \\ {}^4fu \quad f\bar{o}d\bar{o} \quad {}^4tx\bar{e}, \quad ' - - ' \\ {}^1x{}^2\bar{a}l\bar{i}d\bar{o} \quad {}^1jydz\bar{a}, \quad ' - - ' - \\ {}^4neu \quad p\bar{u} \quad {}^4l\bar{e}. \quad ' - ' \end{array}$  (Hd 231. 1. — 3. 1. 41)

"The ashes on the house (= tiles), the coal on the trees (= birdsnest), the driftwood of the river, which cannot rot (= fish)".

As we shall see later there sometimes seems to be an intentional change in the rhythm, in order to obtain a comic effect, or to stress an insult.

In the ditties of six and more lines, the rhythm is very seldom kept uniform till the last line. In fact we see several kinds of rhythmical schemes being used in two or three lines, and following one after the other in one and same ditty.

## 2. Rhyme

A preliminary question to the study of rhymes is the cutting of the different lines. In the *ko-yao-chou-k'an* and similar publications, perfectly rhymed and rhythmically equally constructed lines are put in one line, because of an apparent difficulty perhaps in the cutting of the following verse, of which one half is irregular. Therefore they almost always write, for instance: *Ko-yao*, (2 Vol. fasc. 30, p. 6):

東風揚, 西風揚,	3 + 3
小娃喝了, 不尿床.	4 + 3.

Ibid. 2 vol. fasc. 28. p. 7:

麻子麻, 樹上爬,	3 + 3
拿鞭子, 拿板子,	3 + 3
麻子撿, 一麻餇餇,	3 + 4
麻子打架, 麻子勸.	4 + 3.

If we closely examine the rhythm and rhymes, it seems that another more natural arrangement of the lines can be made. 揚, 揚 and 床 are perfectly rhyming, the third line gives an imperfect rhythm and rhyme. In the second example 麻 and 爬, 鞭子 and 板子, 撿 and 勸 give perfect rhymes, and in the middle again two lines without rhyme and with a changed rhythm. So we prefer to write:

東風揚,  
西風揚,  
小娃喝了,  
不尿床.

and:

麻子麻  
樹上爬,  
拿鞭子  
拿板子,  
麻子撿  
一麻餇餇  
麻子打架  
麻子勸.<sup>8</sup>

This appearance of a non-rhyming line should not surprise us, as we see that it sometimes can be intentionally put in the rhyme for a sudden effect. We will have many cases where an irregular rhythm in the rhyme brings forth a new rhythm, but again more regular in the following lines, because the impression of the last cadence in the irregular line is still in the ear and starting from that impression, new rhythmical forms are begun.

The rhymes never consider the old historical sounds of words, or the old rhyming rules of classical versifications, as Jablonski seems

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8) This same rhyme occurs also in the collection of Jablonski p. 137, n° 127, with the same disposition of lines as we propose here.

to find in some Pekinese verses. The fact that the rhymes are built on the local dialectal pronunciation of the words, and that no child whatever has any notion of the classical versification rules, and further the way in which we can see the newly invented rhymes growing and being corrected, by the children themselves, as they become more and more current, excludes, at least for the regions where I collected my material, the theory that some ditties should have been made by scholars or some kind of learned people. Of course, parts of songs made by popular poets are picked up by the children, and even whole pieces can be *taken over* and adapted, but I know of none of those *ready made* children's ditties as such started by learned people. It is only a pity that if Jablonski knew about some determined rhymes which originated in that way he did not state it expressly in each case<sup>9</sup>.

The frame, according to which the rhymes can be disposed, may take all kinds of forms. Thus some ditties are only or two lines: *aa* or *ab*

- 3 lines: *a bb*; *aaa*; *abc*.  
 4 lines: *abca*; *abcc*; *aaba* (most frequent scheme); *abcb*; *aaab*.  
 5 lines: *aa bb a* (n° 2); *abc bb*.  
 6 lines: *ab cbcc* (n° 185); *ab ab ab* (n° 186); *abcd* (n° 80).  
 7 lines: *abcc dee* (n° 173); *abcb dbe* (n° 170).  
 8 lines: *abbb cded* (n° 159); *aa bebc ee* (n° 133); in n° 152, all over the eight lines the same rhyme is repeated.  
 9 lines: *abcb abdb e* (n° 179); *ab ccc cded* (n° 162).  
 10 lines: *aaba* + 6 lines irregular (n° 166).  
 11 lines: 4 lines irreg. + *aaba cda* (n° 169); *aaba acd dded* (n° 175); *aabc bad acaa* (n° 174).  
 12 lines: *abcb* + 8 lines irreg. (n° 164).  
 14 lines: *abac addd ef gdhd* (n° 188); in n° 180 all over the lines same rhyme repeated.  
 16 lines: *aaba cded fgfg ggig* (n° 189).  
 18 lines: *abcbdb effb hbib ibib* (n° 171).  
*abca deff aa gg hijijhi* (n° 168).  
 26 lines: *abcb* + 12 lines irreg. + *ddedf* + 5 lines irreg. (n° 165).

We see that like we have said for the rhythm, also for the rhyme, the ditties of 5 lines and more can be rearranged so that the non-rhyming lines become regularly disposed into the rhyme frame of the simpler kinds of 3 or 4 lines. We can also observe that lines *which are not perfectly rhyming, are nearly always imperfect in their meter*.

9) Jablonski op.cit. p. 7: Dans la formation de cette opinion (publique) le lettré déclassé joue un rôle important. Bien qu'on insiste que les *siao-ha(i-eu)l-yu* sont improvisés par des enfants, il semble que parfois les vrais auteurs sont des personnes adultes possédant un certain vernis littéraire.

In some verses the rhyming sounds consist of two syllables as in n° 3, where the two last lines have the words <sup>1</sup>*tsxato* and <sup>1</sup>*sa<sup>4</sup>so*, rhyming together. This can lead us to cases where such dyssyllabic rhymes, come in the beginning of the lines, as in

8. A riddle for the "lid" on the fire-oven, called <sup>3</sup>*xwɔ<sup>4</sup>kɛ*.

<sup>1</sup> <i>jʉæ<sup>1</sup>jʉældə</i> ,	- ' -	
<sup>1</sup> <i>pæ<sup>1</sup>pældə</i> ,	- ' -	
<sup>3</sup> <i>ljäka</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>æltwō</i>	' - ' -	
<sup>3</sup> <i>wæ<sup>3</sup>wældə</i> .	- ' -	(Hd 78a. 2. — 3. 1. 41)

"It's all round, it's all flat, its two ears are very soft". (The word <sup>3</sup>*wæ<sup>3</sup>wældə* means "soft, yielding, meak". This is one of those sound-analogies which are due to the rhyme attractions, with the rhymes of line 1 and 2: <sup>1</sup>*jʉæ<sup>1</sup>jʉældə* and <sup>1</sup>*pæ<sup>1</sup>pældə*. The real words which corresponds to the reality of the two iron handles (called "the two ears") of that lid is <sup>5</sup>*ǰǰældə*: "very hot".

9. A riddle on the "Moon-cake" has the same rhyming scheme:

<sup>1</sup> <i>jʉæ<sup>1</sup>jʉælt</i> ,	- ' -	
<sup>3</sup> <i>pæ<sup>1</sup>pælt</i> ,	- ' -	
<i>sǰzə</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>padə</i>	' - ' -	
<sup>3</sup> <i>mæ<sup>1</sup>mældə</i> .	- ' -	(Hd 228. 1. — 3. 1. 41)

"All round, all flat; lice are sticking in it everywhere". (The sesame-seeds or the sugar-bits are compared to lice).

Some words, the accurate sounds of which would not be considered as real rhymes, are however felt as such by the speakers. This is not due to the old rhyming-rules. The fact is that these sounds, really distinct, because of the nearness are still felt as good rhymes. In other cases, there is a fluctuation of the sound between two or three phonetically really distinct variants, which however do not imply a change in the meaning of the word, and which in the mind of the speaker are one and the same sound. They are felt as one phoneme. Thus: "路: the road" is sometimes said <sup>4</sup>*luw*, <sup>4</sup>*low* and <sup>4</sup>*leu*". Although in the transcription of the rhymes I give here, I have followed strictly the particular pronunciation of every speaker, the fact that this sound forms only one phoneme with other sounds, clearly phonetically distinct, must be taken into consideration, for the outlining and explaining of the rhyme-rules in the ditties. This is one more proof that the rhymes are exclusively built on the dialectal phonetic system of every region. Every dialect has its own grouping of sounds into different series of phonemes. "*jɛ* = also" has the same vowel as "*lɛ* = to come" with a small difference due to the influence of different tones. But *lɛ* "to come" is said *le* in some sentences, so that it easily can be taken as a rhyme to "*kwe* = devil", like in:

## 10. Riddle on the "Chamberpot".

<sup>1</sup>tʰə<sup>4</sup>lɥæ<sup>1</sup> <sup>3</sup>kwe ' - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>petçε <sup>3</sup>dzew ' - ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>xə<sup>1</sup>je <sup>1</sup>le. ' - ' - ' (Hd 252. Several boys 27. 11. 40)

"A bull headed big devil. In daytime he goes, and at night he comes out."

For the same reason the words ending in -j<sup>1</sup>ɸ, when sung are pronounced as -j<sup>1</sup>ə and -j<sup>1</sup>ē, and in more stressed cases, as -j<sup>1</sup>ō. Even in ordinary speech one sometimes can observe a fluctuation between -j<sup>1</sup>ɸ and -j<sup>1</sup>ē. This explains the rhymes between sounds as p<sup>1</sup>j<sup>1</sup>ɸ, tsxwō, f<sup>1</sup>ē etc., in the following rhymes 11, 12 and 13:

## 11. Riddle on a "clock".

<sup>1</sup>petçε p<sup>1</sup>ē, p<sup>1</sup>ē, p<sup>1</sup>ē, p<sup>1</sup>ē. ' - ' - ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>xə<sup>1</sup>je t<sup>1</sup>ē, t<sup>1</sup>ē, t<sup>1</sup>ē, t<sup>1</sup>ē. ' - ' - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ē tç<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>z<sup>1</sup>ē tsxw<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>j<sup>1</sup>ɸ. ' - ' - ' (Hd 220. 1. — 27. 11. 40)

"During the night (it says): peng, peng, peng, peng. In the day (it goes) teng, teng, teng, teng. It can make one to be vigilant."

## 12. Riddle on the "bees".

<sup>1</sup>j<sup>1</sup>ɸ<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ē <sup>1</sup>lelə j<sup>1</sup>ə<sup>3</sup>xwō <sup>1</sup>p<sup>1</sup>j<sup>1</sup>ɸ, ' - ' - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>dzə:dzə: <sup>1</sup>nju:nju <sup>3</sup>v<sup>1</sup>ē to <sup>1</sup>tsxwō. ' - ' - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>tozə <sup>3</sup>fuzə <sup>3</sup>vō p<sup>1</sup>ǔ <sup>4</sup>p<sup>1</sup>xə, ' - ' - ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>dzə: <sup>4</sup>p<sup>1</sup>xə <sup>3</sup>v<sup>1</sup>āje j<sup>1</sup>ə<sup>3</sup>ku f<sup>1</sup>ē. ' - ' - ' - '  
 (Hd 252. 1. — 22. 1. 41)

"From the South comes a troop of soldiers, humming and buzzing they can be heard during springtime. Neither knife, nor axe do I fear, I only fear a wind at night."

## 13. A riddle on "a woman's hat".

<sup>3</sup>j<sup>1</sup>ɥ<sup>4</sup>kx<sup>1</sup>ē <sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>ē <sup>3</sup>ju s<sup>1</sup>ǎ, ' - ' - ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ɸ<sup>1</sup>tç<sup>1</sup>ɸ<sup>3</sup> fwe v<sup>1</sup>ū <sup>1</sup>f<sup>1</sup>ē; ' - ' - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>tsxwō t<sup>1</sup>f<sup>1</sup>hy <sup>1</sup>xwā <sup>1</sup>xw<sup>1</sup>ē dzε, ' - ' - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>z<sup>1</sup>ē <sup>1</sup>le <sup>3</sup>njo p<sup>1</sup>ǔ <sup>4</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ɸ. ' - ' - ' - '  
 (Hd 210. 1. — 25. 1. 41)

"Seen from far (it is) a mountain, full of colours; heard (even) from near, the water has no sound. At springtime the flowers are still blooming. When people come, they cannot piss into it." (The description hints at the false colours and flowers on the hats).

But it is quite to be expected that in popular verses of this kind, we meet a large number of rhymes which are quite poor, as in:

## 14. A riddle on the "carrot".

<sup>1</sup> xwō	<sup>1</sup> kwō <sup>1</sup> t'i	- ' -	
<sup>4</sup> ly	<sup>3</sup> jipa	- ' -	
<sup>4</sup> tæuŋ	sə:	' -	
<sup>4</sup> ti	<sup>3</sup> tisja.	- ' -	(Hd 92. 10 — 14. 12. 41)

"A red cock, with a green tail. The head is under the ground."

There is only identity of vowels in the words <sup>3</sup>jipa and <sup>3</sup>tisja, but because of the same tone and same accentuation, they are still felt as rhyming words.

When there is no real rhyme, the repetition of the same word on the same place in every line gives the impression of a real rhyme, and is therefore felt sufficient. Examples are:

## 15. Riddle on the "windowpane".

<sup>3</sup> j'æ	<sup>4</sup> kxæ	<sup>1</sup> lixu,	' - ' -	
<sup>4</sup> t'φ	<sup>4</sup> kxæ	<sup>1</sup> lixu,	' - ' -	
<sup>3</sup> seu	dzə:kə	<sup>1</sup> lixu,	' - - ' -	
<sup>4</sup> kxæ	put'e	kə	<sup>1</sup> lixu.	' - - - ' - (Hd 93. 1. — 14. 12. 41)

"Seen from far it's like a tiger, seen from near it's like a tiger, when you (go and) search for that tiger, you can't see any more tiger." (The criss-cross wooden frames, on which the paper is pasted, are considered as being the stripes of a tiger).

## 16. Riddle on the "oil-baked cakes".

<sup>1</sup> twæ <sup>1</sup> mela,	- ' -	
<sup>1</sup> txe <sup>1</sup> mela.	- ' -	
<sup>5</sup> jə <sup>3</sup> kxæu	<sup>1</sup> jolakə,	' - ' - -
<sup>5</sup> s'ā	t'fxū <sup>1</sup> le.	' - ' (Hd 92. 11. — 14. 12. 41)

"Twan-mei-tzū, t'ai-mei-tzū! With one bite, one bites them all bleeding!" (Twan-mei-tzū, T'ai-mei-tzū are childnames for girls. The pronunciation *l* for *z* or *ʒ* is a phonemical variation which is very frequent. The oil which drops from the cakes when they bit into it, is compared to blood. The cakes are so lovely and good, they can say like sometimes to the small children "I could bite you!" This is the psychological explanation for the calling of the two childnames.)

## 17. Riddle on the implement to make oat-strips.

<sup>1</sup> zeuʒeu,	' -	
<sup>3</sup> zwæʒwæ;	' -	
<sup>3</sup> zwæʒwæ,	' -	
<sup>1</sup> lju:lju.	' -	
<sup>1</sup> pæ <sup>3</sup> t'hi	<sup>4</sup> ta <sup>3</sup> txwe	' - ' -
<sup>1</sup> tçe	kə	<sup>4</sup> pät'fæwe. (Hd 98. 1. — 14. 12. 41)

“All soft and slim, (the strips come down); lift up one leg and press down the beater”.

Finally, some ditties have no rhymes at all, and still because of the strong rhythmical stress all over the lines, and because of the parallel construction we find in them, it is quite easy to imagine how they can be classed by the children with the other rhymes. So for instance the riddle-rhymes on the “rolling-mill” and the “ovenbed”:

18. <sup>5</sup>jətço <sup>1</sup>sje ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>tsxwə<sup>4</sup>kwo <sup>1</sup>tsxə, ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>tsxə <sup>4</sup>twōtxǎ - ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>xə <sup>4</sup>t'oxǎ. - ' - ' (Hd 252. 1. — 22. 1. 41)

“One thread, which goes across the city. The city shakes and the sea howls.” (The thread is the pivot which goes across the millstone, and to which the roller is fixed. The “sea howls” means the sounds and the flowing of the rolled grains.)

19. <sup>1</sup>xǎ <sup>5</sup>t'ə<sup>4</sup>ljǎ, ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>xə <sup>4</sup>tu <sup>3</sup>ti. ' - ' (Hd 210. 1. — 23. 1. 41)

“A yellow backbone, but a black belly”. (The yellow means the colour of the mat made of reeds which is spread out over the ovenbed, and the black is the colour inside of the bed, blackened by the fire.)

### C. Theme and content in the rhymes.

When we want to divide the rhymes no longer according to rhyme or rhythmical schemes, but according to their theme and contents, we can find three main categories: 1) the riddles 2) the mocking and satiric rhymes 3) the rhyming stories, cock-and-bull rhymes, the lullabies etc.

#### 1. The riddles

The reason why I have here included also the study of the children's riddles, has been explained before. In fact among the popular songs, we find sometimes short texts, which almost resemble a riddle. They are not recited as such, because the description is so clear, so well known and current among the people, that they cannot be longer used as riddles. They are a real sarcastic depicting of some aspects in social life. A good example is the song published in “*Nomin no uta*” (農民の歌) “Rural Folksongs”<sup>10</sup>, on p. 248, which is a sarcastic way of describing a bicycle:

遠看一條龍  
 近看鐵撐  
 好路龍馱龜  
 壞路龜馱龍

10) *No-min no uta* 農民の歌 by Fujii Shin 藤晋. The rhymes seem to be most from Hua-pei, without further indications. The collection is somehow mixed with riddles and proverbs of all kinds.



"Seen from far it is like a dragon.

Seen from near it is like bended and twisted iron.

On good roads the dragon carries the tortoise,

But on bad road the tortoise (has) to carry the dragon!"

The children's riddles, when studied in themselves, have a real unmistakable popular colour. The objects which they depict, the way of description, the quite childish conception of those things must strike everybody who reads them. A comparison with the learned type of riddles, playing on the form of the characters, etc. makes it clear at once. Those learned riddles we find in books, or hear from the teachers at school. Three examples will suffice:

- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| 1. 三人同日去觀花 | Three men on the same day go to look at the flowers: 三人十日 = 春                                  |
| 百友原來出一家    | The hundred friends originally are from one and the same family: 百十友 = 夏                       |
| 禾火二人同作伴    | The two men "huo <sup>2</sup> " and "huo <sup>3</sup> " are going as two companions: 禾 + 火 = 秋 |
| 夕陽橋下壹雙瓜    | Under the bridge of the evening-sun are two melons: 夕 + 一 = 冬                                  |

It is a riddle on the characters of the *four seasons*.

- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| 2. 倒士眼窩兩棵蛋 | In an upturned soldier (士 = 干), two eyes like eggballs. ( 丩 = 平 ).   |
| 和尚底下壹條巾    | Under the Buddhist bonze is a handkerchief ( 尙 + 巾 = 常 ).  |
| 雖然平常兩個字    | Although they are two ordinary characters (which must be conjectured), if (you can find them) you may be declared a great learned man. (Two ordinary |
| 考到許當大學人    | characters: this is a play on the characters themselves 平常).   |

- |              |  |
|--------------|--|
| 3. 四大名山, 山對山 | Four big famous mountains (stand) one against the other.                               |
| 四大名川, 川對川    | Four big famous valleys stand each against the other.                                  |
| 四個口字, 連方坐    | Four characters "mouth" (口) are sitting near each other in a square form.              |
| 四個王字, 巔倒巔    | Four characters "king" (王) are put head to feet". (It is a riddle on the character 田). |

Even popular riddles current among the people, but which suppose some knowledge of historical persons represented in theatres and containing a pun on words too difficult for children, have nothing to attract

a child's attention. For instance, a popular riddle, which however is not used for children, is 穿鞋沒底: "He is wearing shoes without soles". The main parts of the shoes being the soles and the upper leather, there remains according to the riddle, only the upper leather, which is called "pang": 鞮. The solution of the riddle is the name of the emperor Han Kao-tsu, 劉邦 Liu-pang. (Pun on the sound pang). This riddle still supposes too much to become a children's riddle of the true type. We can compare these examples with the witty description of a "woman's small shoe" in the following riddle:

20.  $\begin{array}{l} {}^5j\ddot{a}v\ddot{u} \quad {}^1s\ddot{a}le \quad {}^1t\dot{f}'h\ddot{e}txeu \quad {}^1t'\epsilon, \\ {}^4tup\dot{c}i \quad s\dot{j}\ddot{a}'sja, \quad {}^3k\ddot{x}eu \quad j\dot{f}\ddot{e} \quad {}^1tce, \\ {}^5k\ddot{a}j\ddot{a}d\ddot{a} \quad {}^1xw\ddot{a}el, \quad {}^1txa \quad teu \quad {}^4ts, \\ {}^5j\ddot{a}k\ddot{a} \quad {}^3\ddot{a}eltw\ddot{o} \quad {}^4dz\epsilon \quad {}^4p\ddot{x}\ddot{a}p\dot{j}\epsilon. \end{array}$   $\begin{array}{l} ' - ' - ' - ' \\ ' - - ' ' - ' \\ ' - - ' ' - ' \\ ' - ' - ' - ' \end{array}$
- (Hd 252. 3. — 22. 9. 38)

"One thing has been growing into a sharp head, the belly is turned below, the mouth is turned upward, all kinds of flowers it is wearing, and (it has) an ear on each side."

As to the number of the riddles which have been published here, in comparison with that of the other ditties, I wish to stress again that the children were absolutely free to tell everything they knew when called to recite some of their "hsiao-huarh". The number of riddle-rhymes and other kinds of ditties, collected only for the sake of linguistic material, may therefore have some value for a statistical comparison, although mention should still be made as to a serious incompleteness of this material. The proportion of the riddles to that of the other ditties in this collection is that of 62.5 %.

Thus, the riddles form the most numerous set of rhymes known to children. The reason probably is that they are all very short, most of them four lined, very regularly constructed, and easy to remember and recite. All these riddles show a most stereotyped form. One can see that they are *not* invented by the children, and that they had no part in making them. They recite them just in the same invariable form as they heard them, and are commonly current among the people. This characteristic provided a sure method for checking the children as to the accuracy or the correctness in their reciting. They were mostly in small groups when I noted their ditties, and the slightest deviation from the commonly current versions brought out protest and corrections from the bystanders.

a. *Variations of rhymes and local distribution.*

The most important result, however, of this invariability in form of the rhymes is that it naturally brings forth some definite and interesting differences according to the various localities. These differences

cover an indefinite series of possibilities from the simple deviation of personal pronunciation of some words, substitution of new words, and repetition of words and lines, to the case of inter-dependent but strongly varying rhymes.

So the riddle, n° 5 (Hd 58), is differently recited in the locality Hd 207. There I heard two variants:

21. *dzə: ʰsə: ʰjə̃kxwɛ ¹pjǫ̃,* ' - ' - '  
*⁴tə̃ ⁴dzə: ⁵mō ⁵jə̃¹t'ǫ̃* ' - ' - '

“This is a piece of ice; only if you weigh, it does not weigh a pound”.

22. *¹fā ⁴ta jə̃⁴kxwɛ ¹pjǫ̃,* ' - ' - '  
*⁴dzə:tʃ'hi ⁵mō ⁵jə̃¹t'ǫ̃* ' - ' - '

(Both by Hd 207. 2. — 21. 11. 40)

“A piece of ice (as big as a house), if you dare to weigh it, it doesn't weigh a pound”.

The above cited riddle n° 7 (Hd 231), as it is recited in Hd 220, is almost the same in its wording, but because of a small difference has no more the same perfect rhythm in the third line:

23. *¹fāsədə ¹xwɛ* ' - - '  
*⁴susədə ⁴txə̃* ' - - '  
*¹x³ædə ¹jydzǎ* ' - ' - '  
*⁴ɣow pū¹lə̃* ' - ' (Hd 220. 3. — 26. 1. 41)

Same meaning as in n° 7.

Some variants only differ by a repetition of a line, but obtain this way a more perfect whole of the kind of the four-lined rhymes; such is the variant of n° 9:

24. *⁵tə̃ lwæł ³kwe*  
*⁵tə̃lwæł ³kwe*  
*¹petçɛ ³dzeu*  
*⁵xə̃⁴jɛ lɛ.* (Hd 210. 2. — 26. 1. 40)

Same rhythm and same meaning as in n° 9.

The following variants show still greater difference. Two different versions of the riddle on the “buckwheat”:

25. *¹sə̃ kətǎ ¹dzwə̃* ' - - '  
*⁴kɛləkə ⁴mjo;* ' - - '  
*³litxɛu ⁴dzuləkə* ' - ' - - '  
*¹pe ³loto.* ' - ' (Hd 210. 1. — 21. 1. 41)

"With three bricks, a temple is built, inside lives a white Taoist monk."

26. <sup>1</sup>sə̌ <sup>4</sup>kxwō̌ <sup>1</sup>dzwə̌ ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>kələ̌ <sup>4</sup>mjo ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>litxəu <sup>4</sup>dʒulə ' - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>pe <sup>3</sup>loto. ' - ' (Hd 91. 1. — 14. 12. 41)

"With three hollow bricks etc..." While this last variant has only a slight different in wording, it still has been sufficient to make a quite different rhythm.

Two different versions exist for the riddle on the "eggplant":

27. <sup>3</sup>dzə:sǎ̌ <sup>4</sup>su ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>dzə:sǎ̌ <sup>1</sup>xwə̌l ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>dzə:sǎ̌ <sup>1</sup>pçə̌li ' - ' -  
dzǎ̌ <sup>1</sup>dzə:ma. - ' - (Hd 227. 1. — 3. 1. 41 &  
Hd 252. 3. — 22. 9. 38)

"A violet tree, with violet flowers. In a violet bottle, are put sesame grains". (In these four lines we can see how the rhythm of the third line (' - ' -) brought for a new rhythm in the last line (- ' -), different from the two first lines).

28. <sup>5</sup>jə̌kə̌ <sup>3</sup>loxə̌ ' - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>pe <sup>4</sup>ə̌tteu <sup>1</sup>kxǎ̌; - ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>tə̌wō̌lə̌ <sup>1</sup>mwo ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>xə̌dzə̌l <sup>1</sup>kǎ̌. ' - ' (Hd 92. 2. — 14. 12. 41)

"An old man carries two bushels of chaff, his behind has been rubbed quite smooth."

Two riddles for the "tongue"

29. <sup>1</sup>xwō̌ <sup>1</sup>mə̌ľwə̌l, ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>pe <sup>4</sup>jɣə̌ tʃ'hjǎ̌, ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>litxəu <sup>4</sup>dʒulə ' - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>fwa <sup>4</sup>ə̌llǎ̌. ' - ' (Hd 92. 2. — 14. 12. 41)

"A red gate-storey, a white round wall; inside dwells *Shua-erh-lang*". This version is known in Hd 252 as well but with the slight difference of the last line which is said: "<sup>3</sup>fwa <sup>4</sup>velǎ̌". The expression is unknown to the children, even the term "*erh-lang* 二郎" for "the second son" is not known with that meaning. They explain the words as "a terrible, strong man". In Hd 253, according to Ts'a o A n-hua the last line is "*wang-ta-niang* 三大娘."

30. <sup>5</sup>jät f xũ <sup>1</sup>næmæ ' - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>jä<sup>4</sup>ju <sup>4</sup>kwe. ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>kwe <sup>1</sup>nε <sup>4</sup>kwe, ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>kwe <sup>5</sup>kxã <sup>4</sup>kwe. ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>kwe <sup>3</sup>litxœu - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>ju <sup>1</sup>dʒœdʒu <sup>1</sup>ma<sup>4</sup>no ' - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>jykätroet <sup>4</sup>t f xwe. ' - - ' (Hd 75. 1. — 27. 11. 40)

“When one comes out of the South-gate, there is a whole row of cupboards. One cupboard is against the other, one is shocking against the other. Inside the cupboards is a pearly and cornelian jade-mallet”. (This riddle keeps in general lines to the description of the first in n° 29: the description of the mouth as a “gate”, the teeth as “wall” or a row of cupboards protecting the thing which is inside and which one must guess at.)

Two different riddles on the “bean”:

31. <sup>1</sup>ju tæ <sup>3</sup>dʒə:, ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>po <sup>1</sup>xãla ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>fwe twæ pũ<sup>1</sup>dʒœ ' - - '  
<sup>4</sup>tã <sup>1</sup>vãpã. - ' - (Hd 58. 1. — 14. 12. 41)

“A piece of fine oiled paper, covering (a piece of) yellow wax; he who doesn't find it, is a tortoise.” (Here again the last line has an inverted rhythmical scheme in comparison with the two first lines, because of the influence of the third).

32. <sup>3</sup>vapxœl ' -  
<sup>4</sup>kœu <sup>3</sup>vapxœl; - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>litxœu <sup>4</sup>dʒu jœkæ ' - ' - -  
<sup>4</sup>taxã <sup>1</sup>mœl. ' - ' (Hd 210. 2. — 22. 1. 41)

“A tile covering a tile, inside dwells a chubby yellow cat.” (The rhythm is quite irregular).

Two variants also give a description of the “ergot”, a kind of excrescence in the ears of some cereals (German: Mutterkorn), called “*meme*”:

32. <sup>3</sup>jʏæ <sup>4</sup>kxæ <sup>4</sup>ly, ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>t'φ <sup>4</sup>kxæ <sup>5</sup>t f xãdæ, ' - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>pækxœ sə: <sup>1</sup>pedæ, ' - - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>jokxœ sə: <sup>5</sup>xãdæ. ' - - ' - (Hd 252. 2. — 22. 11. 40)

“Seen from far it is green, seen from near it is like something to eat; open it, it is white; bite it, it is black”.

34. <sup>3</sup>jʏæ <sup>4</sup>kxæ sə: <sup>5</sup>lyãdæ, ' - - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>pækxœ sə: <sup>1</sup>pedæ, ' - - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>jokxœ sə: <sup>5</sup>xãdæ. ' - - ' - (Hd 210. 2. — 25. 1. 41)

In this last variant we have only three lines, but built in a more completely parallel construction than in the former one.

Two riddles for the "cock" from the same informant:

35. <sup>5</sup>kəpœdə <sup>4</sup>tsæ,                    - ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>tälə kə <sup>4</sup>kxä.                    ' - - '  
<sup>3</sup>lopæwœt <sup>4</sup>swet'o                ' - - '  
<sup>4</sup>xæzə <sup>1</sup>tʃxä.                    ' - ' -'

"On the hard firewood, a bed is made up. The wife is still sleeping but the husband is singing."

36. <sup>1</sup>txeu tɛ <sup>1</sup>sæxu <sup>5</sup>pĩ't'a            ' - ' - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>sœtswæ <sup>3</sup>vusä <sup>1</sup>ji'kwa.            ' - ' - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>kosœ <sup>5</sup>jä'tsxä,                    ' - - '  
<sup>4</sup>zə: tsxü <sup>1</sup>tʷöfä.                ' - ' -                (Hd 252. 3. — 22. 9. 38)

"On his head he carries a coral pencilstand. On his body he wears a coat with all kind of colours. When he sings aloud, the sun comes out in the East."

The "beansprout" is described in two different riddles:

37. <sup>1</sup>sœkœ <sup>5</sup>pülwä <sup>4</sup>ti,                ' - ' - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>sœjɛ pükxɛ <sup>1</sup>xwa.                ' - ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>t'ɛsä ju <sup>4</sup>mɛdə,                ' - - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>jʷælə pũ'dzwe'txa.            ' - - ' -                (Hd 252. 3. — 22. 9. 38)

"It has a root, but does not come to the earth; it grows leaves, but no flowers. On the street there are people who sell it, but in the gardens people do not sow it."

38. <sup>5</sup>jökə sjö'fœt                    ' - - '  
<sup>5</sup>jätçə <sup>3</sup>txwe.                    ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>mälə <sup>4</sup>mozə                    ' - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>dzä <sup>4</sup>ta <sup>3</sup>dzwe.                ' - '                (Hd 228. 1. — 24. 11. 40)

"A young bride with one leg; when she takes off her hat, she opens a big mouth."

A "mirror" is described in two different rhymes:

39. <sup>5</sup>jö <sup>4</sup>t'ɛfä,                    ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>ljätxœ<sup>3</sup>txœ.                    ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>ljäkə <sup>3</sup>sjokwœt                ' - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>t'o <sup>1</sup>jiʃä.                    - ' -                (Hd 210. 2. — 21. 1. 41)

"A house, all shining, and two little devils, who compare their clothes."  
 (Here again, the third line has something of the rhythm of the first lines, but because it is not regular, it prepares the new rhythm of the last line.)

40. <sup>4</sup>t'ḡ xũl'œl <sup>1</sup>sḡ ' - - '  
<sup>5</sup>xǎ xũl'œl <sup>4</sup>jy; ' - - '  
<sup>5</sup>t f xũ pũ'le, ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>t'ḡ pũ<sup>4</sup>t f'hy. ' - ' (Hd 52. 1. — 14. 12. 41)

“A golden mountain, and a black valley. You cannot come out, and you cannot go in.” (The golden mountain is meant for the glass, the black valley must be the wooden frame around).

In the following riddle on the “bean-pod”, we again find two variants on the same type of riddle, neither of which however is completely correct in its rhymes. It shows that the children apparently just cite these lines like they have heard them, without ever changing a word:

41. <sup>5</sup>jḡ <sup>4</sup>mjo <sup>4</sup>fu ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>pũ <sup>1</sup>ko<sup>1</sup>kœl - ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>fufũ <sup>3</sup>ju ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>sjo <sup>1</sup>toto - ' - ' (Hd 92. 9. — 14. 12. 41)

“A tree, not very high, on which is a small knife”.

42. (Hd 210. 3. — 21. 1. 41): same, but the second line is “pũ <sup>1</sup>ko<sup>1</sup>ko” and the fourth line “<sup>3</sup>sjo <sup>1</sup>totrœl”.

Two riddles on the “spoon”:

43. <sup>1</sup>txwḡ <sup>1</sup>txeu ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>txwḡ <sup>4</sup>pe - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>ko<sup>1</sup>kœl <sup>3</sup>txwe. ' - ' (Hd 227. 1. — 3. 1. 41)

“A copper head and a copper back, and a long long leg”.

44. <sup>k</sup>ḡ<sup>1</sup>nḡ <sup>1</sup>elə ' - ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>xḡ <sup>3</sup>sjozə; - ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>ju <sup>1</sup>txeu - '  
<sup>5</sup>mḡ <sup>1</sup>nozə. - ' - ' (Hd 92. 7. — 14. 12. 41)

“From the South comes a little black boy. He has a head, but no brains.” (Only the second and fourth line have a rhyme and rhythm corresponding to each other.)

The same rhyme has been proposed for the “manure fork”: only the rhythm of the two first lines is just the inverse of the preceding variant:

- <sup>1</sup>t f xo <sup>1</sup>nḡ lə ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>jḡkə <sup>3</sup>sjozə... ' - ' - '

The rest is the same. (Hd 207. 3. — 22. 11. 40) (Cfr. n° 69).

Four different variants are known for the "steelyard":

45. <sup>5</sup>jə̀kə <sup>3</sup>loxə̀                    ' - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>ηε <sup>1</sup>tʃ'hā <sup>4</sup>fwe;                ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>sāzə <sup>1</sup>t'izə                    ' - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>pālə <sup>5</sup>jə̀dzə:<sup>4</sup>pe.                ' - ' -'        (Hd 103. 1. — 14. 12. 41)

"An old man sleeping along the wall. Lice and lice-eggs, are sitting all over his back." (The steelyard laying along the wall, on the upperside of the stick, the weights are indicated by lines of yellow or white nails, big and small; these are described as lice and lice-eggs.)

46. <sup>4</sup>tɛlə <sup>3</sup>sjo<sup>4</sup>sʃyōti,                ' - - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>tʃxūmā <sup>dzwō</sup><sup>1</sup>sāji,                ' - - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>dzwā və <sup>3</sup>sjoʃpʃɛzə,            ' - ' - -  
<sup>1</sup>txwō və <sup>4</sup>tā <sup>1</sup>ηjɛt'v.            ' - - ' -        (Hd 252. 3. — 22. 9. 38)

"I carry my young brother, and go out to do some work. He takes my braid, and (wants) it as a souvenir of me (?)"

47. <sup>5</sup>jə̀kə <sup>3</sup>sjo<sup>1</sup>meme                ' - - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>tʃxūmā <sup>dzwō</sup><sup>1</sup>sāji.                - ' - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>ljātɛwɛl <sup>3</sup>sjo<sup>2</sup>pʃɛʃə.            ' - - ' -        (Hd 74. 1. — 9. 12. 40)

"A little younger sister, goes out to do some work; on both sides she has a little braid." (Instead of *pʃɛʃə* we should expect *pʃɛzə*.)

- <sup>5</sup>jə̀kə <sup>3</sup>loxə̀l                    ' - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>kxo <sup>1</sup>tʃ'hā <sup>4</sup>fwe:                ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>pjāsā <sup>5</sup>pālə                    ' - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>jə̀ <sup>dzə</sup><sup>4</sup>pe.                    ' - '            (7. 3. 41)

The informant Hd 210. 6. gave this last variant, which is almost the same as in n° 45 and with same sense except for the last lines: "the bugs are sitting all over his back".

Three variants also, all built on the same common type, for a riddle on the "onion":

48. <sup>1</sup>tsxo <sup>1</sup>nā <sup>1</sup>ɛ                    ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>jə̀kə <sup>sʃə</sup><sup>4</sup>fə̀l                    ' - - '  
<sup>1</sup>pe <sup>pū</sup><sup>3</sup>sə̀l                    ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>ly <sup>4</sup>kxwə̀l.                    - '                (Hd 75. 1. — 24. 11. 40)

"From the South comes a young bride, with a white light gown, and green trousers."

49. (Hd 210. 1. — 23. 1. 41) This variant has almost the same wording except for the first line which sounds: "<sup>1</sup>tsxo <sup>1</sup>twō <sup>1</sup>ɛlə": "from the East comes. . . ." and the third line which sounds: "<sup>1</sup>pe <sup>pū</sup><sup>3</sup>srə̀l".



50. <sup>1</sup>fǎē <sup>1</sup>tʃxwǎē <sup>4</sup>lʏsrǎēl, ' - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>tǎwē <sup>1</sup>tʃxwǎē <sup>1</sup>pe<sup>4</sup>kxu. ' - ' - (Hd 78a. 1. — 5. 3. 41)

“On the body (she) wears a green gown, and on the legs (she) has white trousers.” (Here the rhyme is completely lacking, but the lines are clearly built on the two former variants, with a perfect parallel construction, a clear opposition of the two lines, and a more perfect rhythm than the former ones.)

Three versions on the riddle for “heaven”:

51. <sup>1</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>ǎǎ <sup>1</sup>fǎ<sup>3</sup>pǎē ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>fǎ<sup>3</sup>pǎē <sup>1</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>ǎǎ. ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>tǎǎ <sup>1</sup>jǎ<sup>1</sup>tǎǎ ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>tǎǎ <sup>1</sup>fǎǎ <sup>1</sup>jǎ<sup>1</sup>tǎǎ ' - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>fʌ pǎ <sup>1</sup>dʒǎē. ' - ' (Hd 210. 1. — 7. 11. 41)

“A grey-black slate, the slate is grey-black; (on it) are nailed silver nails; silver nails are nailed (on it) in countless multitude.”

52. <sup>5</sup>jǎ <sup>1</sup>kǎtǎ <sup>1</sup>dʒwǎē ' - - '  
<sup>4</sup>sǎ:mǎǎēl <sup>1</sup>kxuǎē, ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>lǎ xwǎ<sup>4</sup>pu ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>sǎ mǎ<sup>1</sup>srǎēl, ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>twǎ <sup>4</sup>dʒo <sup>1</sup>tǎē, ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>kwxǎ <sup>1</sup>xwǎēl ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>kxe <sup>4</sup>vǎtʃ<sup>h</sup>ē. ' - ' (Hd 228. 1. — 23. 11. 40)

“A brick which is broad on all four sides. Tear off a piece of red stuff to make a hem. A fine long little cord, points to the heaven. Fruits and flowers are open and blooming in thousands and ten thousands.” (This means a description of the heaven from different points of view at the same time. First four lines: heaven with a strip of red clouds at sun rise, for instance; following two lines description of heaven in rain-times; two last lines: heaven at night.)

53. (Hd 210. 2. — 21. 1. 41) This variant has the same wording as 52, but for the fourth line: “<sup>4</sup>twǎ <sup>3</sup>sjǎpǎē”: the <sup>4</sup>twǎ of which cannot be explained; it has been said in analogy, I suppose, with the fifth line of n° 52: <sup>5</sup>twǎ <sup>4</sup>dʒo <sup>1</sup>tǎē. At the end, two new lines are added:

- <sup>1</sup>fʌwemǎ <sup>4</sup>tǎdʒǎ,  
<sup>4</sup>tʌo vǎ kǎ <sup>1</sup>tǎē.

“He who guesses it, will call me “father”.”

Six variants for the same riddle on the “red peper”, the wording and the construction of which must certainly go back to one and the same group:

54. <sup>1</sup>xwō <sup>4</sup>pjεkæł ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>ly <sup>4</sup>pjε<sup>1</sup>sræł ' - '  
<sup>jō</sup> <sup>1</sup>jā <sup>4</sup>sjalə ' - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>xō <sup>jā</sup><sup>1</sup>kæł. ' - '

"A red whipstock, with a green whiplash; one sheep has given birth to a black lamb."

55. <sup>1</sup>xwō <sup>1</sup>dʒu<sup>1</sup>jo - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>ly <sup>3</sup>dʒwa:dʒwa; - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>na <sup>3</sup>ni <sup>1</sup>nju:nju ' - ' -  
<sup>svə</sup> <sup>3</sup>ʃwaʃwa. - ' - (Hd 91. 2. — 14. 12. 41)

"A red waistband with green straps; let me play with your breasts".

56. <sup>1</sup>xwō <sup>1</sup>tæłʏæł - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>ly <sup>3</sup>pokæł; - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>ʃwe <sup>4</sup>twæ pū<sup>1</sup>dʒœ, ' - - '  
<sup>5</sup>tʃhā <sup>3</sup>notræł. - ' - (Hd 78. 1. — 14. 12. 41)

"A red lantern with a green cover. He who can't guess it, I will cleave his head."

57. <sup>1</sup>xwō <sup>1</sup>txwōtxwō - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>ly <sup>3</sup>tjǫtjǫ; - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>litxœu <sup>3</sup>dʒākə ' - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>si <sup>3</sup>pjǫpjǫ. - ' - (Hd 58a. 2. — 3. 1. 41)

"A red body with a green top, inside is growing a fine little cake."

58. <sup>1</sup>xwō <sup>3</sup>papa - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>ly <sup>3</sup>tjǫtjǫ; - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>litxœu <sup>4</sup>fāləkə ' - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>si <sup>3</sup>pjǫpjǫ. - ' - (Hd 210. 2. — 21. 1. 41)

"A red pile of human excrement, with a green top, inside is put a fine little cake."

59. Next day the same child (Hd 210. 2. — 22. 1. 41) had another riddle-rhyme on the same subject:

- <sup>5</sup>jō <sup>4</sup>mjo <sup>3</sup>tsxo ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>kx<sup>ə</sup>ti <sup>3</sup>to; ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>sjo<sup>4</sup>mjæł <sup>4</sup>t'o ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>æł <sup>4</sup>jo<sup>3</sup>jo. ' - '

"A small plant, which is found everywhere. It's childname is *erh-yao-yao*". (According to Ts'a o An-hua, this last line "<sup>4</sup>æł<sup>4</sup>jo<sup>3</sup>jo" is not known as a childname, but he reminded me of the existing childname "*erh-yang-yang*: 二羊羊" which must have been changed into <sup>4</sup>æł<sup>4</sup>jo<sup>3</sup>jo under the influence of the rhyme.)

Another rhyme presents a case of a borrowing of the description of the "red pepper" riddle for that on the "kaki".

60.  $^1xw\bar{o}$   $^3pj\bar{\phi}pj\bar{\phi}$                     - ' -  
 $^4ly$   $^4k\epsilon k \epsilon$ ;                        - ' -  
 $^3jo$   $^5j\bar{\delta}^3kx\epsilon u$                     ' - '  
 $^4n\bar{\alpha}x\epsilon x \epsilon$ .                            ' - '                    (Hd 228. 1. — 24. 11. 40)

"A red little cake, with a green lid on; bite into it, and it is all slimy stuff".

As we could already observe, we find two entirely different rhymes said by one and the same person in one locality, and otherwise among a whole series of locally different riddle-variants, we can find the same riddle unchanged in the most far apart localities from East to West:

61. Two riddles by the same boy on the "hand":

- $^1tw\bar{o}$   $^5j\bar{\delta}k\bar{\alpha}$   $^3lox\alpha\bar{e}l$ ,                    ' - - ' -  
 $^1nal\bar{\alpha}$   $^3vuk\bar{\alpha}$   $^5dzw\bar{\delta}^1k\bar{\alpha}$ ;                ' - ' - ' -  
 $^1si$   $^5j\bar{\delta}k\bar{\alpha}$   $^3lox\alpha\bar{e}l$                     ' - - ' -  
 $^1nal\bar{\alpha}$   $^3vuk\bar{\alpha}$   $^5dzw\bar{\delta}^1k\bar{\alpha}$ .                ' - ' - ' -                (Hd 210. 2. — 22. 1. 41)

"One old man in the East, carrying along five bamboosticks; and another old man in the West, carrying in his hands five bamboosticks."

62.  $^4s\bar{\alpha}:k\bar{\alpha}$   $^1x\epsilon z\bar{\alpha}$ ,                        ' - ' -  
 $^5j\bar{\delta}^1txw\bar{o}$   $^3fwa$ ,                            ' - '  
 $^3mej\bar{\delta}k\bar{\alpha}$   $^1x\epsilon z\bar{\alpha}$ ,                        ' - - ' -  
 $^1tx\epsilon u f\bar{a}$   $^4t\epsilon$                                 ' - '  
 $^5j\bar{\delta}p\bar{c}\epsilon$   $^5dzw\bar{\delta}^3va$ .                        ' - ' -                    (Hd 210. 2. — 26. 1. 41)

"Four children playing together, every child has on its head a glazed tile." (Curiously enough, we should expect a text about "five children" signifying the five fingers!).

Again three different riddles on the "wine-pot" are found in the same locality:

63.  $t f x o^1 n \bar{\alpha}$   $^1 l \epsilon l \bar{\alpha}$                         ' - ' -  
 $^5 j \bar{\delta} k \bar{\alpha}$   $^1 p \epsilon s k \bar{\alpha} z \bar{\alpha}$ ;                        ' - ' - -  
 $^1 t f^{\prime} h \bar{\phi} t f^{\prime} h \bar{\phi}$   $^1 l \epsilon l \bar{\alpha}$                     ' - ' -  
 $^4 f \bar{a}$   $^5 d z w \bar{\alpha} z \bar{\alpha}$ .                            - ' -                    (Hd 210. 1. — 2. 1. 41)

"From the South comes a white pigeon; when the relatives have arrived, it alights on the table."

64.  $t f x o^1 n \bar{\alpha}$   $^1 l \epsilon l \bar{\alpha}$                         ' - ' -  
 $^5 j \bar{\delta} k \bar{\alpha}$   $^1 p \epsilon^1 k w \bar{\delta}^1 t^{\prime} i$ ;                    ' - - ' -  
 $^4 t \bar{c} o l \bar{\alpha}$   $^1 k w \bar{\alpha} z \bar{\alpha}$ ,                        ' - ' -  
 $^3 f w a$   $^3 k w \bar{\delta} f w \epsilon$ .                        - ' -                    (Hd 210. 2. — 21. 1. 41)

"From the South comes a white cock, it jumps out of the water-kettle, and plays in the water." (The rhythm in this rhyme opposes the first and third line to the second and the fourth. The two riddles have the same introductory lines, but differ in their third and fourth lines. Another completely similar rhyme to this of n° 62, is that under n° 70 and n° 88 but applied to the "set of teacups" and the "teapot").

Another pair of quite different riddles on the "incensesticks" are both known in the same locality:

65. <sup>4</sup>tisʔō <sup>1</sup>sæ̃kə ' - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>jəpœl <sup>1</sup>ko, ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>tsxwædə ' -  
<sup>1</sup>xā lwə<sup>4</sup>pu <sup>1</sup>pɔ. ' - ' - (Hd 210. 1. — 7. 11. 41)

"Three brothers, all of the same height, and clothes with a yellow gown of bolting-cloth". (<sup>1</sup>xālwə<sup>4</sup>pu is a corrupt pronunciation for <sup>1</sup>xā<sup>1</sup>lwə<sup>4</sup>pu).

66. <sup>4</sup>tisʔō <sup>1</sup>sæ̃kə ' - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>jəpœl <sup>1</sup>ko; ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>txeu <sup>4</sup>tɛ - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>xwō <sup>1</sup>dzæ̃mo. ' - ' (Hd 210. 3. — 26. 1. 41)

"Three brothers, both of the same height; on their heads they wear a red felt hat."

In two comparatively distant places I have heard the same identical riddle on the "cook-kettle":

67. <sup>5</sup>jəkə sɔ̃ə <sup>1</sup>nju ' - - '  
<sup>1</sup>pɔ̃ə txeu <sup>1</sup>vɔ; ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>xodə <sup>4</sup>ɛdə ' - ' - (Hd 18. 1. — 14. 12. 41 &  
<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>w</sup> stfɔ̃ə<sup>4</sup>kwə. - ' - Hd 210. 3. — 21. 1. 41)

"A black cow, lying down with head (and body) coiled up. Good food and bad food, she eats them all."

68. <sup>1</sup>dzə:<sup>4</sup>ve <sup>1</sup>ku:njā ' - ' -  
sɔ̃ə<sup>3</sup>ljɛ sɔ̃ə<sup>1</sup>ji; - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>ɣæ <sup>3</sup>ta pū<sup>4</sup>txwō, - ' - '  
s<sup>t</sup>ā<sup>5</sup>tçə pū<sup>4</sup>li; - ' - '  
sju <sup>1</sup>xwœl <sup>1</sup>dʒæ̃, ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>dʒæ̃ jɛ <sup>3</sup>tçə pū<sup>3</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>i. ' - ' - (Hd 228. 1. — 3. 1. 41)

"This girl, with her black face and black clothes; you strike her with the fist, and she has no pain, you kick her with the foot, and she will not leave. When she makes embroidery work, she can not even thread the needle."

This riddle on the "shadow" can be found with a slightly different variant, in another locality, Hd 220. 1 (22. 11. 40), where only the third line est changed: "tʃ<sup>h</sup>ɣæ <sup>3</sup>ta pū <sup>1</sup>txæ̃, <sup>5</sup>tçə <sup>1</sup>txa pū<sup>4</sup>li": .... Kick her she has no pain....".

The literally same-worded riddle on the "strawcutter" is heard in two villages situated in the extreme East and the extreme West of the region explored, (Hd 86. 1. — 14. 12. 41 and Hd 231. 1. — 22. 11. 40) :

68 a.	<sup>5</sup> jākə	<sup>1</sup> j̄	' - '
	<sup>5</sup> jākə	<sup>4</sup> jo	' - '
	<sup>5</sup> jākə	<sup>5</sup> kā't'u	' - - '
	<sup>5</sup> jakə	<sup>4</sup> t̄o.	' - '

"An eagle and a jay. One is squatting down, the other is jumping up (and down). (The comparison is meant for the two men who cut the straw: one is squatting and holding the straw-stalks on the wooden frame of the strawcutter, while the other is moving the knife up and down.)

This riddle must be wide-spread in North-China with different local variations, as is proved by the variants given by F F. K. De Jaegher and M. Van Durme (*Chineesche Raadsels*, n° 13. *Sino-Mongolica*, II, 2, p. 13, 1921-22); they are current in Jehol Province, but unfortunately no more exact geographical indications are given.

*i ko hu, i ko pao*  
*i ko hennchao, i ko t'iao.*

"A tiger and a leopard; one is pushing down, the other is jumping up and down."

Elsewhere it is said: *i ko wu, i ko pao* . . . . "The first one takes it [the knife] in the hands, the other grasps it [the straw] in his arms." These variants show how a sight phonetic change *hu* > *wu*, brings forth an entirely new interpretation: from the noun "tiger" to a verb "to take"; this consequently causes the sound *pao* to be understood as a verb too "to grasp in the arm".

These examples only serve to show that the existing differences can be of any kind and grade, and this within a comparatively small and limited area, while still other riddles remain constant and current in the same wording and form throughout the entire region. This fact only makes the problem of explaining the way and the reason of their spreading more difficult. Only a more complete and more systematic list can afford a possibility of explanation. Some of these differences, however, clearly show us how incorrect pronunciations and contaminations of one type under the influence of the other, must be noted most accurately, in order to discover where and how the themes have been changed from place to place.

#### b. Internal construction of the rhymes.

Our collection of rhymes also shows us how the riddles and the ditties are built up. We not only see that they have a special form for rhythm and rhyme, but we are in a position to rearrange

these specimens according to the literary internal construction of every line. Thus, the first thing which strikes us is the regular and frequent use of the same kind of phrases and expressions, and of comparisons and images. These elements we can regard as being employed as a technical norm for the construction of a new riddle of the good and appreciated traditional type. The growing of these expressions and phrases into technical helps is, of course, a natural result of analogical constructions. It is a slow and quite unnoticeable growing number of some expressions, the special turning of which is much liked and indefinitely repeated.

The readers must already have noticed the frequent use of the introductory lines: "From the South, or the East... comes a....".

Besides the cases in n° 12, 30, 44, 63, 64, we have still

69. *tsxo* <sup>1</sup>*næ* *le* <sup>5</sup>*xǎ* <sup>4</sup>*xewt*, ' - ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>*kxwət'e* <sup>3</sup>*tje* <sup>1</sup>*txewt*. ' - - ' (Hd 274. 1. — 14. 12. 41)

"From the South comes a black monkey; in all the streets it makes a nod with its head." (A riddle on the "Manurefork").

70. <sup>1</sup>*jǭnæ* <sup>1</sup>*lelǎ*, ' - ' - '  
<sup>jǎ</sup><sup>4</sup>*twe* <sup>5</sup>*kǎzǎ*; ' - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>*tʃ'hǭtʃ'hǭ* <sup>1</sup>*lelǎ* ' - ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>*t'u* <sup>4</sup>*ʃǎ* <sup>5</sup>*dʒwǎzǎ*. ' - ' - ' (Hd 92. 3. — 14. 12. 41)

"From the South comes a couple of pigeons; when the relatives have come to visit, they alight on the table." (Riddle on "the teacups") (comp. n° 63).

71. <sup>jǭ</sup><sup>1</sup>*næ* <sup>1</sup>*lelǎ* ' - ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>*sjo* <sup>4</sup>*mut'ǎ* ' - ' - '  
<sup>pǎ</sup><sup>4</sup>*jʒ* <sup>4</sup>*pǎzǎ*, ' - ' - '  
<sup>pǎ</sup><sup>4</sup>*jʒ* <sup>4</sup>*fuzǎ*, ' - ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>*ke* <sup>jǎ</sup><sup>4</sup>*t'e* - ' - - '  
<sup>3</sup>*sjo* <sup>4</sup>*dzǎfǎ*. - ' - - ' (Hd 210. 1. — 22. 11. 40)

"From the South comes a little carpenter; without a mattock, without an axe, he has built a small house facing the South." (A riddle on the "swallow").

72. <sup>jǭ</sup><sup>1</sup>*næ* <sup>1</sup>*lelǎ* ' - ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>*jǎtʃ'hʒ* <sup>1</sup>*jǎ*; ' - ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>*pǎ*<sup>1</sup>*lju* <sup>5</sup>*pǎ*<sup>1</sup>*lju* ' - ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>*t'u* <sup>4</sup>*sja* <sup>1</sup>*x'ǎ*. ' - ' - ' (Hd 92. 4. — 14. 12. 41)

"From the South comes a flock of sheep, and one after another they go down to the river". (Riddle on the "meat-dumplings", compared with "sheep" who go down into the river, the waterkettle.)

Another riddle on the same subject is:

73.  $\overset{1}{\phi}n\overset{1}{\tilde{a}} \quad \overset{1}{l}\varepsilon \quad \quad \quad ' - '$   
 $\overset{5}{j}\overset{3}{\tilde{a}}xw\overset{3}{\omega} \quad \overset{3}{k}\overset{3}{\tilde{a}}z\overset{3}{\omega}, \quad \quad \quad ' - ' - '$   
 $\overset{4}{p}\overset{4}{\tilde{a}}k\overset{4}{\omega} \quad \quad \quad ' - '$   
 $\overset{3}{j}\varepsilon \quad \overset{5}{m}\overset{5}{\tilde{a}}\overset{5}{s}w\overset{5}{\tilde{a}}z\overset{5}{\omega}. \quad \quad \quad ' - ' - ' \quad \quad \quad (\text{Hd 253. 3. — 7. 3. 41})$

“From the South comes a group of pigeons, when they are going to pass by, there is no. . . . (?)”

74.  $\overset{1}{t}s\overset{1}{x}\overset{1}{o}\overset{1}{n}\overset{1}{\tilde{a}} \quad \overset{1}{l}\varepsilon \quad \overset{5}{j}\overset{5}{\tilde{a}}k\overset{5}{\omega} \quad \quad \quad ' - ' - - -'$   
 $\overset{1}{m}\overset{1}{o}t\overset{1}{x}\overset{1}{e}u \quad \overset{5}{x}\overset{5}{\tilde{a}}\overset{5}{k}w\overset{5}{e}. \quad \quad \quad ' - - - '$   
 $\overset{5}{m}\overset{5}{\tilde{a}}l\overset{5}{\omega} \quad \overset{4}{m}\overset{4}{o}z\overset{4}{\omega} \quad \overset{3}{f}w\overset{3}{\tilde{a}}\overset{3}{f}w\overset{3}{e}; \quad \quad \quad ' - ' - - - -'$   
 $\overset{3}{f}w\overset{3}{\tilde{a}}\overset{3}{p}\overset{3}{\tilde{a}} \quad \overset{3}{f}w\overset{3}{e}, \quad \overset{4}{t}\varepsilon\overset{4}{m}\overset{4}{o}z\overset{4}{\omega}, \quad \quad \quad ' - ' - - - - -'$   
 $\overset{4}{t}\varepsilon\overset{4}{p}\overset{4}{\tilde{a}} \quad \overset{4}{m}\overset{4}{o}z\overset{4}{\omega} \quad \overset{4}{f}w\overset{4}{e}t'\overset{4}{o}. \quad \quad \quad ' - ' - - - - ' \quad \quad \quad (\text{Hd 220. 2. — 27. 11. 40})$

“From the South comes a dark devil with a head full of hair. After doffing his hat, he plays in the water. When he finishes playing in the water, he wears his hat and he sleeps with his hat.” (Riddle on the “writingbrush”).

75.  $j\overset{1}{\phi}n\overset{1}{\tilde{a}} \quad \overset{1}{l}\varepsilon l\overset{1}{\tilde{a}}k\overset{1}{\omega} \quad \quad \quad ' - ' - - -'$   
 $\overset{3}{s}j\overset{3}{\omega} \quad \overset{4}{x}\overset{4}{e}u\overset{4}{s}r\overset{4}{\omega}l, \quad \quad \quad - ' -'$   
 $\overset{3}{d}z\overset{3}{\omega}:k\overset{3}{u} \quad \overset{1}{n}j\overset{1}{u}:n\overset{1}{j}\overset{1}{\omega}l \quad \quad \quad ' - ' -'$   
 $t\overset{1}{f}x\overset{1}{\tilde{a}}\overset{1}{t}\overset{1}{o} \quad t\overset{1}{f}'h\overset{1}{\tilde{a}}\overset{1}{\omega}l. \quad \quad \quad - ' - \quad \quad \quad (\text{Hd 228. 1. — 29. 11. 40})$

“From the South comes a young boy, only wanting to spin and whirl around. . . . (A riddle on an insect crawling over the ground.) (?)

76.  $k\overset{1}{\tilde{a}}\overset{1}{n}\overset{1}{\tilde{a}} \quad \overset{1}{l}\varepsilon l\overset{1}{\tilde{a}}k\overset{1}{\omega} \quad \quad \quad ' - ' - - -'$   
 $\overset{4}{t}\overset{4}{\tilde{a}} \quad \overset{4}{x}w\overset{4}{e} \quad \overset{1}{l}\overset{1}{\tilde{a}} \quad \quad \quad ' - ' -'$   
 $\overset{1}{j}i\overset{1}{p}\overset{1}{\tilde{a}} \quad \overset{1}{d}z\overset{1}{\tilde{a}}\overset{1}{\omega}l \quad \overset{1}{t}f\overset{1}{x}\overset{1}{\tilde{a}}. \quad \quad \quad ' - ' - - ' \quad \quad \quad (\text{Hd 86. 1. — 14. 12. 41})$

“From the South comes a big grey wolf, his tail is one *chang* and two inches long.” (Riddle on a “bag for potatoes”).

77.  $\overset{1}{j}\overset{1}{\phi}n\overset{1}{\tilde{a}} \quad \overset{1}{l}\varepsilon \quad \quad \quad ' - '$   
 $\overset{4}{p}\overset{4}{e} \quad \overset{4}{t}\overset{4}{\tilde{a}} \quad \overset{4}{p}\overset{4}{e}. \quad \quad \quad ' - ' -'$   
 $\overset{1}{t}\overset{1}{x}\overset{1}{e}u\overset{1}{f}\overset{1}{\omega} \quad \overset{3}{t}j\overset{3}{\phi} \quad \quad \quad ' - ' -'$   
 $\overset{3}{l}j\overset{3}{\tilde{a}} \quad \overset{1}{k}x\overset{1}{w}\overset{1}{\tilde{a}}\overset{1}{t}s\overset{1}{x}\varepsilon \quad \quad \quad ' - ' -'$   
 $\overset{3}{d}z\overset{3}{w}\overset{3}{e}l\overset{3}{i} \quad \overset{1}{x}\overset{1}{\tilde{a}}l\overset{1}{\omega} \quad \quad \quad ' - ' - -'$   
 $\overset{1}{p}w\overset{1}{\tilde{a}}\overset{1}{p}w\overset{1}{\tilde{a}}\overset{1}{j}y \quad \quad \quad ' - ' -'$   
 $\overset{1}{p}\overset{1}{\phi}i\overset{1}{k}u \quad \overset{1}{p}\overset{1}{\tilde{a}}t\overset{1}{s}x\overset{1}{\tilde{u}} \quad \quad \quad ' - ' - -'$   
 $\overset{5}{x}\overset{5}{\tilde{a}} \quad \overset{3}{d}z\overset{3}{r}\overset{3}{\omega}l \quad \overset{1}{l}\varepsilon. \quad \quad \quad ' - ' - - ' \quad \quad \quad (\text{Hd 231. 1. — 21. 11. 40})$

“From the South come big white backs; on their heads they carry two pieces of hollow wood, and in the mouths they have a precious stone. From their rumps there come small black beads.” (A riddle for a “sheep”).

It is not at all surprising that this so much cited introductory line does not always harmonize with the rhythm and the rhymes of the following lines of the riddle.

Other most frequently used introductory lines for a riddle-rhyme are:

- 1) an old man . . . . . (n° 28, 45) or a black man.
- 2) a yellow rat . . . . .
- 3) a monkey . . . . . (n° 69).
- 4) a dog . . . . .
- 5) a piece of clothe . . . . .
- 6) (on) a tree . . . . . (n° 41).
- 7) for a description of things more agreeable and pleasant we find the introductory line "a little young bride" (n° 38) or "a little younger sister" (n° 47).

Many of these cases we have already met in the above cited rhymes. This type of description seems to be much preferred, as will be clearly seen from the following series of new examples:

78.  ${}^5j\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}$   ${}^3lox\ddot{a}$  ' - ' -  
 ${}^4xw\ddot{o}l\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}$   ${}^5p\ddot{a}s\ f\ddot{a}{}^5p\ddot{a}$ ; ' - - ' - '  
 ${}^1t\ddot{c}\ \epsilon t\ddot{c}\epsilon$   ${}^3dzot\ f'hi$ , ' - ' -  
 ${}^5kx\ddot{a}$   $\epsilon t\ddot{a}$   ${}^5kx\ddot{a}$  ' - ' (Hd 98. 2. — 14. 12. 41)

"An old man, eighty-eight years old, rises daily very early, and (everywhere) he gives *k'ot'ow's*". (Riddle for a *duster*).

79.  ${}^5j\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}$   ${}^3lox\ddot{a}l$  ' - ' -  
 ${}^4xw\ddot{o}d\ddot{a}$   ${}^3t'us\ f\ddot{a}{}^3t'u$  ' - ' - '  
 ${}^3sj\epsilon xw\ddot{a}l$   ${}^4t'o\ nj\ddot{a}$  ' - ' -  
 ${}^1nju$   ${}^4tw\ddot{e}$   ${}^3f\epsilon u$ . ' - ' (Hd 252. 2. — 24. 11. 40)

"An old man, ninety-nine years old, makes one wring him, until his hands are almost broken". (A riddle for a *dishcloth*).

80.  ${}^5j\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}$   ${}^3lox\ddot{a}$  ' - ' -  
 ${}^1pel\ddot{a}$   ${}^4\ddot{a}l\ddot{t}eu$   ${}^1kx\ddot{a}$ ; ' - ' - '  
 ${}^3dzeu$   $j\ddot{a}{}^3dzeu$  ' - ' -  
 ${}^5sj\ddot{a}$   ${}^5j\ddot{a}$   ${}^5sj\ddot{a}$ , ' - ' -  
 $t\ddot{x}o$   $t\ f\ddot{x}\ddot{u}$   ${}^1mo{}^3t\ f'h\ddot{a}l$  ' - ' -  
 ${}^5nj\ddot{a}$   ${}^5j\ddot{a}{}^5nj\ddot{a}$ . ' - ' (Hd 210. 3. — 26. 1. 41)

"An old man is carrying on his back two bushels of chaff. He goes and sinks down. He takes out a hairy sparrow, and wrings it out." (A riddle for the "oil-mill". "He goes and sinks down = the grains, compared with chaff, are put in frames and wrapped up in a sack, and then pressed by means of wedges inserted between the frames. The wedges are called "*{}^5sj\ddot{a}z\ddot{a}*"; a pun on these words is intended when they pronounce the word *{}^5sj\ddot{a}*, here as a verb: "to sink down while going").





"A tree with five sidebranches. In the middle it holds a white tiger."  
(A riddle for "a teacup in one's hand").

89. <sup>5</sup>jǎ <sup>4</sup>kxwǎ <sup>4</sup>fɯ, ' - ' -'  
<sup>kə</sup>³pç <sup>ε</sup>pçε; - ' - -'  
<sup>4</sup>fǎtxew <sup>4</sup>dʒuləkə ' - ' - -'  
<sup>1</sup>sǎ <sup>3</sup>tjstjε - ' - -'  
<sup>vǎvǎ</sup> tʃ'hε. ' - ' (Hd 92. 5. — 14. 12. 41)

"A tree, all split up, and above the tree, dwells my third . . . . . ?

90. <sup>5</sup>jǎkə sɪʃǎl ' - ' - -'  
<sup>5</sup>jǎdzə: <sup>3</sup>jε; ' - ' -'  
<sup>kǎt'ika</sup>⁴lǎl - ' - -'  
<sup>1</sup>nǎ <sup>4</sup>kxǎt'ε. - ' - (Hd 210. ???)

"A young bride, with one eye, every turn and every corner, she can see"  
(A riddle for a "lamp").

With this kinds of introductions we may compare the more rare ones like:

91. <sup>5</sup>jǎkə <sup>5</sup>kǎtwǎ, ' - - -'  
<sup>1</sup>txo <sup>5</sup>tʃ'hǎkə <sup>5</sup>kxǎ¹lwǎ. ' - - - -' (Hd 210. 3. — 7. 1. 41)

"An earthen tower, in which are made seven holes" (A riddle for the "head").

92. <sup>jǎ</sup>¹sǎ <sup>1</sup>mo ' - ' -'  
<sup>4</sup>sə:dzə: <sup>3</sup>few; ' - ' -'  
<sup>4</sup>dzǎ dzε <sup>4</sup>tɪfǎ <sup>4</sup>sǎ <sup>1</sup>ʒǎ, ' - ' - - -'  
<sup>5</sup>fǎ dzε <sup>4</sup>tɪfǎ <sup>4</sup>sǎ <sup>3</sup>keu. ' - ' - - -' (Hd 228. 1. — 3. 1. 41)

"All over its body is hair; it has four hands. Standing up it looks like a man, crouching down it looks like a dog." (A monkey).

Another type of introduction is that of the description of a determined place, like f.i. "a door (n° 29, 30)", "four walls", "a house (n° 39)", "in the middle of the courtyard", "a brick" (n° 25, 26, 52). Other examples are:

93. <sup>4</sup>sə:mjǎl <sup>4</sup>sə:tu <sup>1</sup>tʃ'hǎ, ' - ' - -'  
<sup>tǎt'ǎl</sup> <sup>1</sup>ŋo <sup>1</sup>matxǎ ' - - - -'  
<sup>1</sup>fwe <sup>4</sup>tǎ <sup>dʒǎ</sup> - ' - -'  
<sup>1</sup>tʃxǎ <sup>jǎ</sup> <sup>1</sup>tʃxǎ. ' - ' (Hd 220. 1. — 22. 11. 40)

"All around the four sides, are four walls. In the middle are cooked some sugar-sticks. He who guesses it, may taste them once." (W.C.!)

94. <sup>4</sup>sə:mjǎl <sup>4</sup>sə:tu tʃ'hǎ, ' - ' - -'  
<sup>1</sup>nǎ <sup>4</sup>tʃ'hǎx <sup>1</sup>dzu ' - ' -'  
<sup>5</sup>pǎtʃ'hǎx <sup>1</sup>jǎ. ' - ' (Hd 92. 6. — 14. 12. 41)

"All around the four sides are four walls, you enclose pigs in it, but no sheep." (Riddle on a *reckoning board*, <sup>1</sup>*dzu* is a pun on the sound for *pig* and the *balls* of the abacus).

95. <sup>1</sup>*pætʃ'hā* ' - -  
<sup>dʒulə</sup> <sup>5</sup>*jə't'azə*, ' - - -'  
<sup>1</sup>*xwe* <sup>1</sup>*ʒæ't'a*. ' - -'  
<sup>3</sup>*to* <sup>3</sup>*mi*, <sup>3</sup>*to* <sup>4</sup>*miə* - - -'  
<sup>4</sup>*t'usə*: <sup>4</sup>*ve* <sup>ʃ</sup>*ʒæ't'a*. ' - - -' (Hd 210. 2. — 21. 1. 41)

"In the breast-wall is dwelling a family of bad men. The grain and the flour they put into disorder, just to harm people." (Riddle on the "rats"). This riddle can be compared with the following:

96. <sup>1</sup>*sælcə* <sup>4</sup>*sə:t'o* <sup>1</sup>*fā*, ' - - -'  
<sup>1</sup>*dzæ'dzu* *po* <sup>1</sup>*xwənjā*; ' - - -'  
<sup>3</sup>*sjā* *tʃxə* <sup>1</sup>*xwənjādə* <sup>4</sup>*ʒeu* ' - - - -'  
<sup>3</sup>*t'ε* <sup>4</sup>*kəutræɫ*, <sup>5</sup>*təwō* <sup>1</sup>*jifā*. ' - - - -'  
 (Hd 210. 1. — 21. 1. 41)

"A three-cornered conic house, where a pearl contains a red woman. If you want to eat the flesh of the red woman, loosen her trouserband, and take off her clothes. (A riddle for the *three-cornered millet dumpling*, which is always wrapped up in reed-leaves.)

- 96a. <sup>5</sup>*jə't'ε* <sup>1</sup>*fā* ' - -'  
<sup>5</sup>*xə'twōtwō* ' - -'  
<sup>3</sup>*ljākə* <sup>3</sup>*ʒjo*<sup>3</sup>*kwæɫ* ' - - -'  
<sup>3</sup>*ʃwa* <sup>4</sup>*kwō*<sup>4</sup>*kwō*. - - - (Hd 210. 2. — 21. 1. 41)

"A house quite dark and black, in which two little devils are playing with a stick." (Riddle on "the bellows").

97. <sup>4</sup>*tā* <sup>ʃ</sup>*ʒæ* <sup>ʃ</sup>*jə'mjo* <sup>4</sup>*ʃu* ' - - -'  
<sup>1</sup>*dzə:dzə* <sup>1</sup>*nju:nju* ' - - -'  
<sup>4</sup>*kxwə* <sup>3</sup>*jy*<sup>4</sup>*ʃu*. ' - - -' (Hd 210. 5. — 6. 3. 41)

"In the middle of the courtyard is a tree; shaking and trembling, it is an elmtree. (Riddle for a *roll-mill*; compare n° 18; here the pivot, to which the roll-stone is fixed, is compared to a tree.)

98. <sup>4</sup>*tāʃʒæ* <sup>5</sup>*jəpçj'ma* ' - - -'  
<sup>3</sup>*kə* *tʃ'hi*, *pūskə* <sup>3</sup>*ta*. ' - - -' (Hd 207. 2. — 21. 11. 40)

"In the middle of the courtyard is a horse; one dares to ride on it, but does not dare to beat it." (Riddle on a *child's excrement*).

99. <sup>3</sup>*ljətçə* <sup>1</sup>*pe*<sup>3</sup>*keu* ' - - -'  
<sup>3</sup>*tādze* *mə*<sup>3</sup>*kæu*; ' - - -'  
<sup>3</sup>*vukə* <sup>1</sup>*tsx*<sup>3</sup>*zə* ' - - -'  
<sup>1</sup>*lɑʃə* *t'u* <sup>3</sup>*dzæu*. ' - - -' (Hd 228. 1. — 3. 1. 41)

"Two white dogs are guarding the doorway; five envoys pull at them to chase them away." (Riddle on the "snotty nose").

Some lines, even in the middle of the rhymes, are frequently used in a series of riddles greatly different in their themes. These sentences are like: "Thousand men, ten-thousand men (or horses) cannot carry it" or "put it aside"; "inside dwells . . . . ."; "above is dwelling" . . . Besides the cases we have already observed in n° 25, 26 29, 30, 31, 41, 57, 58, 89, we still may cite:

100. <sup>1</sup>fāfā <sup>5</sup>jə <sup>4</sup>mjo <sup>3</sup>tsxo, ' - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>tʃ'he <sup>13</sup>ǝ <sup>4</sup>vǝ <sup>13</sup>ǝ ' - ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>kǎ pǔ<sup>3</sup>to. ' - ' (Hd 227. 1. — 24. 11. 40)

"On the house is a plant; a thousand men, or ten thousand men cannot cut it." (A riddle on the "column of smoke").

101. <sup>4</sup>tāt'ε <sup>3</sup>jukə ' - ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>ta txe <sup>4</sup>vǝ; ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>tʃ'he <sup>13</sup>ǝ <sup>4</sup>vǝ <sup>3</sup>ma ' - - '  
<sup>1</sup>txə pǔ<sup>4</sup>twǝ. ' - ' (Hd 92. 12. — 14. 12. 41)

"In the middle of the street is a big jar. Thousand men or ten thousand horses cannot lift it up." (Riddle for a "well").

102. A variant of the riddle n° 101:

- <sup>4</sup>tā jʉǝ <sup>5</sup>jǎkə vǝ ' - ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>fǝspǎkə <sup>1</sup>nju ' - - '  
<sup>1</sup>la pǔ<sup>4</sup>twǝ. ' - ' (Hd 220. 1. — 24. 11. 40)

"In the middle of courtyard is a jar, ten or eight oxen cannot pull it from its place."

103. <sup>1</sup>fāfəda <sup>1</sup>dzeu ' - - '  
<sup>1</sup>tʃ'he <sup>13</sup>ǝ <sup>4</sup>vǝ <sup>13</sup>ǝ ' - ' - '  
pǔ<sup>3</sup>kǝ <sup>1</sup>kxeu. ' - ' (Hd 210. 3. — 23. 1. 41)

"A congee from the house (*fang* for *mao-fang*: latrine), a thousand men or ten thousand men dare not cover it with their hands." (A riddle on the "excrement").

104. <sup>5</sup>kǎd3ǝ <sup>1</sup>mǝ ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>kǎd3ǝ <sup>4</sup>xu; ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>litǝu <sup>4</sup>d3uləkə ' - ' - - '  
<sup>1</sup>xwa sjǎ<sup>4</sup>fu. ' - ' (Hd 252. 4. — 24. 11. 40)

"A thorny door, a thorny house; inside dwells a bright-coloured bride". (Riddle on the "magpie's nest").

- 104a. <sup>4</sup>tisʰɔ̄ <sup>3</sup>ljākə                    ' - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>jəpœl̄ <sup>1</sup>ko                                ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>jʰæzə                                        ' -  
<sup>4</sup>t'ḡ <sup>5</sup>t'ā<sup>4</sup>njo                            ' - '                    (Hd 210. 1. — 7. 1. 41)

“Two brothers, both of the same height; in the courtyard they are always making water.” (Riddle for “waterpails” hung on a pole.) Compare n° 65 & 66, as well as with n° 84 (last line). We see that our riddle here is completely made up with elements taken from other riddles, which however have a quite different meaning. This kind of construction can be observed in many other examples; it would take too much space to indicate the constructive parts of every case.

105. <sup>1</sup>petʰhā <sup>m</sup>ḡ<sup>4</sup>fœl̄,                    ' - - '  
<sup>3</sup>litxœu <sup>4</sup>dʒuləkə                    ' - ' - -  
<sup>1</sup>xā<sup>4</sup>sjœl̄.                                    ' -                    (Hd 210. 4. — 22. 1. 41)

“A white wall without any crevice, inside is a yellow stuffing”. (Riddle on the “egg”). The same has been proposed by another child as a riddle for the “bug”. He explained it as following: “The whitewashed walls show no crevice and still after some time the little insects come out.” This example shows how in the imagination of the children whole riddles or parts of them can be applied to different things, with apparently no connection to each other.

106. <sup>1</sup>mavũ <sup>3</sup>dzə:                        ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>xwḡ <sup>d</sup>zā <sup>3</sup>dzə:                        ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>litxœu <sup>4</sup>dʒukə                        ' - ' -                    (Hd 227. 1. — 3. 1. 41 &  
<sup>1</sup>pe <sup>4</sup>pxādzə.                            - ' -                    Hd 252. 3. — 22. 9. 38)

“A piece of coarse paper, and a piece of red paper; inside dwells a white fat thing.” (Riddle for the “pea-nut”).

Many rhymes show that a strong inclination exists to build rhymes with parallelism; this is done either by repetition of the same words in most of the lines, or by antithetical position of some naturally opposed elements as: night-day, clear-dark, big-thin, above-below, East-west, etc. Examples:

107. pũ <sup>1</sup>sje <sup>3</sup>ni <sup>1</sup>tʰhɔ̄,                    - ' - '  
pũ <sup>1</sup>sje <sup>3</sup>ni <sup>4</sup>fu                            - ' - '  
tē <sup>4</sup>kxē <sup>x</sup>ḡ<sup>4</sup>je                            ' - - '  
<sup>4</sup>fā <sup>3</sup>ni <sup>n</sup>ə <sup>4</sup>tu.                            ' - - '                    (Hd 210. 3. — 22. 1. 41)

“I don't care whether you are rich or poor. Just wait and (see), till at night I will climb over your belly.” (Riddle on the “Quilt”).

108. <sup>1</sup>tʃxā pũ <sup>4</sup>kwo jə<sup>1</sup>dza, ' - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>tʃxu pũ <sup>4</sup>kwo jə<sup>2</sup>pa, ' - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>swæltæu <sup>3</sup>tʃ'hi ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>ju kə skə<sup>2</sup>kxa. ' - - ' (Hd 210. 2. — 22. 1. 41)

"It is no longer than a hand's breath, it is no longer than a handpalm; on the top of it is an obstacle." (Riddle on the "wine-pot").

108. <sup>3</sup>tʃwetʃwe <sup>3</sup>nida ' - ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>māsmā <sup>3</sup>voda; ' - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>pæksɛ <sup>3</sup>nida ' - ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>sæʃə <sup>3</sup>voda. ' - ' - ' (Hd 210. 20. — 22. 1. 41)

"Fingering yours, fingering mine. Tearing away yours and filling up mine." (Riddle on "button and button-hole").

As in the rhymes 11, 12, 97 there is a frequent use of onomatopoeic words:

110. <sup>3</sup>lo <sup>1</sup>xæuzə, - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>xē, <sup>1</sup>xē; <sup>1</sup>xē, ' - ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>dzwə dzɛ <sup>3</sup>xwəʃā ' - ' - '  
pũ <sup>3</sup>tʃ'hi<sup>1</sup>sē. ' - ' - ' (Hd 215. 1. — 8. 12. 40)

"An old man, sits on the fire panting and hissing without moving himself." (Riddle for the "tea-pot"; cfr. n° 62).

Opposition *above-below*:

111. <sup>4</sup>ʃā<sup>1</sup>mo ' - - '  
<sup>4</sup>ʃa<sup>1</sup>mo ' - - '  
<sup>4</sup>tolə xə<sup>4</sup>je ' - - - '  
<sup>1</sup>mo <sup>4</sup>twe <sup>1</sup>mo ' - ' - ' (Hd 210. 3. — 22. 1. 41)

"Hair above, hair below. At night hair comes close to hair." (Riddle for the "eyelashes.")

Opposition *East-West* (cfr. n° 61):

112. <sup>1</sup>twōtʃ'hā <sup>5</sup>jəkə <sup>3</sup>dza:ʃsā, ' - ' - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>sitʃ'hā <sup>5</sup>jəkə <sup>3</sup>dza:ʃsā; ' - ' - ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>tə <sup>4</sup>kxə <sup>3</sup>ljəkə ' - ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>to pülə <sup>5</sup>jə<sup>5</sup>tā. ' - - - ' (Hd 210. 3. — 22. 1. 41)

"On the eastern wall a violet colour; on the western wall a violet colour; you can only see two, and they never can come together." (Riddle for the "eyebrows").

113. <sup>1</sup>twō jəkə <sup>4</sup>mjæɫ ' - - - '  
<sup>1</sup>si jəkə <sup>4</sup>mjæɫ; ' - - - '  
<sup>3</sup>ljəkə <sup>3</sup>sjo <sup>3</sup>kwæɫ ' - ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>ʃā <sup>5</sup>jəkə <sup>4</sup>t'o. ' - - - ' (Hd 210. 1. — 7. 1. 41)

"A temple in the East, a temple in the West; two little devils have been hanged at the same cord." (Riddle for "?").

Opposition *big-thin*:

114. <sup>4</sup>twæł <sup>4</sup>ta                    - '  
<sup>1</sup>jo <sup>4</sup>si;                            - '  
<sup>1</sup>txeu fə̃ <sup>3</sup>tjǝdə                ' - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>xwət f'hi.                        ' -                    (Hd 98. 1. — 14. 12. 41)

"Big buttocks, thin waist, on the head it carries a copper instrument." (Riddle for a "lamp").

- 114a. <sup>3</sup>titrwæł <sup>4</sup>ta                    ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>tāt'æł <sup>3</sup>sjo,                        ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>fātxeu nə <sup>3</sup>dzwedzwæł        ' - - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>ju <sup>4</sup>ta.                                ' -                    (Hd 210. 1. — 7. 1. 41)

"Below it is big, in the middle it is thin, above at its mouth, it is big again". (Riddle for "the wine-pot") (Cfr. n° 63).

Opposition *night-day* (cfr. n° 10, 11, 24):

115. <sup>1</sup>petçε tǝlju:lju,                ' - - ' -  
xǝ<sup>4</sup>je <sup>5</sup>t f xǝ <sup>1</sup>nju:nju.            ' - - ' -                    (Hd 228. 1. — 22. 11. 40)

"During the daytime it hangs dangling around, during the night it sucks the breasts." (Riddle on the "iron chain used to lock the Chinese house-doors". During daytime the chain is hanging loose, during the night it is fastened with its extreme link to the link fixed in the door. This is compared to the sucking of the breasts.)

116. <sup>1</sup>petçε <sup>3</sup>dzeulə                    ' - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>t f'het f'hε <sup>3</sup>li;                    ' - '  
xǝ<sup>4</sup>je <sup>1</sup>vǝ dze                        ' - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>kxǝje <sup>3</sup>ti.                            ' - '                    (Hd 210. 1. — 7. 1. 41)

"During daytime it wanders thousands and thousands of li, during the night it lies beneath the edge of the oven-bed." (Riddle for "shoe").

After these citations illustrating the form of the internal construction used in riddle-rhymes, we can easily understand how the frequent use of the same definite and popular expressions necessarily results in a series of phrasing-types, ready to be applied according to a general frame, in order to make new riddles of any kind. Thus, these riddle-rhymes, even when newly made, on a new subject, or lacking good rhyme and regular meter, give a traditional aspect, its elements being similar to or built up on a traditional frame, as a resultant of all the other most current riddle-rhymes. Together with the study of geographical distribution of the themes, it is this sort of comparative study of the constructive elements

which will provide us with the key to solve the most complex clusters of a series of riddle-rhymes.

## 2. *The Mocking and Satiric Rhymes.*

This analysis of the construction of the riddle-rhymes could also be applied to the other kinds of rhymes. In general, even from that point of view, the passage from one kind of rhyme to another is very gradual and almost imperceptible. We have already noted the meter and rhyme rules, and we have also seen that many of these riddles cited above end in one or two lines, totally irrelevant to the description or suggestion of the thing to be conjectured, but serving merely for a playful addition. They are only a kind of burlesque or comic addition for the sake of effect, completing at the same time the riddle with a new rhyming line. It contains in most cases an insult more or less strong to the listener. This type of riddles, we will see, makes a good and easy passage to the real mocking rhymes. Besides the cases given in n° 31, 53, 55, 56 we may still cite:

117. <sup>1</sup>pe <sup>1</sup>jo<sup>1</sup>jo                    - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>xä <sup>4</sup>kærukæu                    - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>fwe <sup>4</sup>twä <sup>pü</sup><sup>1</sup>dzo                    ' - - '  
<sup>4</sup>sə: kə <sup>5</sup>pjä<sup>4</sup>tæutæu.            ' - - ' -            (Hd 92. 9. — 14. 12. 41)

“A white trousers-waist, and little black trousers. He who can't guess it, is a little tortoise or a hare.” (Riddle for “jar”. The upper part near the rim is of clear colour, while the rest is more dark in colour, hence the comparison with the Chinese trousers whose waist have a different colour from the rest of the trousers).

118. <sup>4</sup>tʃätæ <sup>3</sup>few<sup>1</sup>pæ                    ' - - '  
<sup>1</sup>fwe <sup>3</sup>tæ <sup>pü</sup><sup>1</sup>dzo                    ' - - '  
<sup>4</sup>sə: kə <sup>3</sup>fvetæ.                    ' - ' -            (Hd 92. 1. — 14. 12. 41)

“The feet step (on it), and the hands draw (at it). He who can not guess it, is a rotten egg.” (Riddle for a “ladder”).

We must observe here, too, that the first of these two specimens also has the peculiar characteristic of putting the words in *diminutive form*, which is so special for the childrens' language, as we will point out in some rhymes below. (Cfr. n° 161 sq).

In some mocking rhymes we find the same introductory lines we noted for many riddle-rhymes, together with the insulting conclusion of the above-mentioned riddles. (Cfr. n° 97 & 98, 117 & 118).



119. <sup>4</sup>tājʷæ <sup>5</sup>jā<sup>4</sup>mjo <sup>3</sup>jʷ su           ' - ' - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>jʷ su <sup>4</sup>kawatʃo <sup>1</sup>pçikxu;       ' - ' - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>pçikxu dzwālə <sup>5</sup>sāzə,       ' - ' - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>ni <sup>1</sup>tjə <sup>4</sup>t'okə <sup>1</sup>dze<sup>5</sup>kxāzə.   ' - ' - ' -

(Hd 252. 4. — 24. 11. 40)

“In the middle of the court-yard is an elmtree. On the elm-tree is hanging a pair of fur-trousers. From the fur-trousers I pick a louse. Your father is a thief.” (*Kxāzə*: used in many insulting terms as in “*lwō<sup>5</sup>kzāzə*: a deaf adder.”)

It is in this type of mocking rhymes that we can see the children themselves at work, inventing and building up their rhymes. They want to mock and laugh at each other. Therefore these mocking-rhymes are ordinarily very short, and in most cases very realistic and rude. Any kind of physical defect, every interesting happening in their own lives and their surroundings is described and always with a touch of irony and wit.

#### First stage.

The simplest way of making these mocking-rhymes is to take the nickname of the person scoffed at, and to add any insult whatever, the whole more or less disposed in rhythmic sentences, and here and there a line ending with a rhyme. The rhymes of this kind seem always very shapeless, rough and mean. They might fall down after the first use, or later be taken up again, and in this last event these first compositions are necessarily reshaped in more regular, traditional form, and, in most cases too, the roughness and rudeness will somehow be smoothed out. One example of those first-draft mocking-rhymes may suffice:

120. <sup>5</sup>kā <sup>3</sup>lo<sup>4</sup>xā                   ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>pçikxu <sup>5</sup>kət'āləkə           ' - ' - - -  
<sup>3</sup>xwə <sup>4</sup>tā.                       - '  
<sup>5</sup>kāləba!  
<sup>4</sup>tweʃə <sup>1</sup>zē                       ' - '  
pū <sup>3</sup>xo<sup>4</sup>kxā                   ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>fāpçi <sup>3</sup>ju<sup>4</sup>ve!               (shouted line)       (Hd 210. 3. — 22. 1. 41)

“You old man Ko! In your fur-trousers you carry a fiery testicle! Cut it off! In front of people, it's not very fine! You break a fart, and it smells very bad!”

Lines four and seven are not said in the same rhythmical cadence as the other lines. The first of the two is recited in a natural spoken voice, the last is shouted. These kinds of sentences are always the ones which will be omitted or reshaped to a more fitting meter, when the theme is later rearranged. In some mocking rhymes below, however, these shouts or plain spoken lines can reappear, but with a better though arresting

new meter, intentionally made, in order to obtain a forceful effect. Many of these mocking-hymes are invented but they never remain popular for a long time, because the mocking allusions refer to facts sometimes much too transitory in their children's life, or because they are not sufficiently well made. In any village almost every boy has his own nickname and there is always a mocking rhyme made about it.

One boy's forehead was defigured with a sickle-shaped scar. He received this nickname and rhyme as follows:

121. <sup>4</sup>pə̃ <sup>5</sup>jʏəl̩jā                    ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>xāko <sup>3</sup>læ<sup>1</sup>teuf̩!                    ' - - ' -        (Hd 210. 1. — 23. 1. 41)

"Crescent moon! (Every day you eat) steamed millet pudding, and rotten bean-curd!"

Another boy was called 七子 "the seventh", but his nickname was "<sup>5</sup>tʃ'hə̃ sʃjā<sup>4</sup>lo: the seventh mole." The rhyme for him was:

122. <sup>5</sup>tʃ'hə̃<sup>5</sup>sʃjā<sup>4</sup>lo                    ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>tʃ'hə̃<sup>5</sup>sʃjā<sup>4</sup>lo                    ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>kwɔ̃lə <sup>3</sup>və                            ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>ælm̩u <sup>4</sup>pə̃                            ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>ta <sup>1</sup>sə̃<sup>4</sup>jo!                            ' - '        (Hd 210. 1. — 23. 1. 41)

"Seventh mole, seventh mole, you have upset an acre (畝) and half of my big potatoes."

The same informant (Hd 210. 1) told me that on his own childname "<sup>1</sup>jḥ̩<sup>3</sup>xuzə̃", other children merely recited the well known formula used to reckon the successive cyclical yearnames, but only beginning with the *third line* of that formula, which happens the sound:

<sup>1</sup>jḥ̩<sup>3</sup>xu: 寅 虎  
<sup>4</sup>mo <sup>3</sup>txu 卯 兔  
<sup>t</sup>ʃxə̃ <sup>1</sup>lwɔ̃ 辰 龍  
<sup>fə̃</sup>: <sup>1</sup>f<sup>ə̃</sup> etc.... 巳 蛇

It is clear that such rhymes cannot remain among the current ones. But other rhymes made on determined persons, show a more regular form:

123. <sup>4</sup>æ̃ <sup>4</sup>m̩xu!                            - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>pə̃jɛ <sup>3</sup>tʃ'hikə̃                            ' - ' -  
<sup>ni</sup> <sup>4</sup>me <sup>1</sup>pɕiku!                            ' - ' -        (Hd 210. 3. — 20. 7. 41)

"Erh-mihu! (nickname for a shepherd: "second stupid-one") at midnight you (want to) stand up, and sleep with your younger sister!"

The boy Yao Chiu-en (姚久恩, Hd 228. 1.) had a small growth on the lobe of one of his ears, and was therefore called "three-ears", with the following rhyme on his behalf:

124. <sup>1</sup>səkə <sup>3</sup>ættwə ' - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>tʃ'həkə <sup>3</sup>jæł ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>lju<sup>4</sup>nœ <sup>5</sup>txa<sup>3</sup>ʃwe - ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>pũ <sup>4</sup>tɛ <sup>3</sup>tjœł. ' - ' (Hd 227. 1. — 27. 11. 40)

“Three-ears” and seven holes (in his head), from which is leaking purulence and water. He is not worth any attention.”

The boy *Fan P'ei-wen* (范丕文, Hd 210. 3) was brought by his family from the mountains when he was still very young. He was still insulted as “mountain sparrow”. The rhyme which was current on him, he told me himself:

125. <sup>1</sup>t'i la ' -  
<sup>4</sup>tu la ' -  
<sup>1</sup>sə <sup>3</sup>tʃ'hœł ' -  
<sup>4</sup>ʃä ni<sup>1</sup>ma <sup>4</sup>tula. ' - - ' - (Hd 210. 3. — 22. 1. 41)

<sup>1</sup>t'ila <sup>4</sup>tula: the syllable *la* in both words is due to the rhyme and rhythm-analogy of the lines in the ditty. In ordinary speech, it would be: <sup>1</sup>t'ila <sup>4</sup>tuli, where *lə* is a descriptive suffix after the verb, and *li* means “in”. So we translate:

“You feel hungry in your stomach, you mountain-sparrow! Go and climb unto your mother's lap (and suck her breasts)!”

On the boy *Hsü Chieh-shan* (徐傑山 Hd 210. 5), the following rhyme was made with his childname “<sup>5</sup>ʃə lo<sup>3</sup>pə̃”:

126. <sup>5</sup>ʃəlo<sup>3</sup>pə̃ ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>ʃə<sup>4</sup>mjo <sup>3</sup>tjɛ <sup>1</sup>tœ<sup>3</sup>dzə̃ - ' - - '  
<sup>1</sup>tœ<sup>3</sup>dzä mə <sup>3</sup>tjɛ ' - - '  
<sup>3</sup>mɛ ljäkə <sup>3</sup>və̃. ' - - ' (Hd 210 several boys. 8. 3. 39)

Since I did not understand the rhyme, it was repeated to me by a grown-up, who was from a mountain village in the South (*Teng ts'ao* 鄧草), *Ch'in Yüan-ting* 秦元鼎; it is his wording I have noted. “Ssü-lao-pan, goes up to the temple to light the lamp. The lamp has not been lit, and he buys some tea-cups.”

I had one occasion to see the growth of a rhyme on a young woman-teacher, who after having made a promise for marriage, broke it again and started a lot of difficulties. The children of the school in that village made a first rhyme:

127. pə̃, pə̃, pə̃ ' - '  
tə̃, tə̃, tə̃ ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>själə̃ pũ<sup>3</sup>ke ' - - '  
<sup>1</sup>tʃ'hipo<sup>1</sup>mjə̃. ' - ' (Hd 210. 3. — 20. 2. 41)

“Teng, teng, teng! Peng, peng, peng! Hsiang-lan will not be given in marriage to Ch'i Pao-ming.”

Some days later a second and better rhyme was made:

128. <sup>1</sup>sy <sup>1</sup>själæ                    ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>sy <sup>1</sup>själæ                    ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>tʃ'hy ni <sup>5</sup>pū xo<sup>4</sup>pæ            ' - ' - '    (Hd 210. 3. — 26. 2. 41).  
<sup>5</sup>māfe <sup>4</sup>twæ <sup>3</sup>ni <sup>1</sup>ljākə <sup>1</sup>tʃhε ?    (shouted line)

"Hsü Hsiang-lan, Hsü Hsiang-lan, it is not easy to marry you! Does one, perhaps, still owe you some money?!"

Such rhymes will perhaps disappear, because they are far too special and for well-determined circumstances and persons. We can however easily imagine how with some slight changing they can evolve into another kind of mocking rhymes of more permanent form with more general use and application. And this makes the

### Second stage.

It should not be wondered at that some of these themes should attack local social conditions of life, or express some feelings of the people of one village toward the people of another. Others may spread over a whole region, and in this way, result again in different local variants. Of this last case, we have one example with three variants:

129. <sup>5</sup>txə<sup>1</sup>lœt <sup>1</sup>sje,            ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>to <sup>4</sup>xεukæ                    ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>ni <sup>1</sup>ma <sup>4</sup>'aləkə            ' - ' - -  
<sup>3</sup>sjo <sup>4</sup>xεusœ.                    ' - '            (Hd 91. 1. — 14. 12. 41)

"You drag your shoes, and your heels are worn out., Your mother has married a young man."

130. <sup>4</sup>vε <sup>4</sup>tε <sup>4</sup>mœl                ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>txə<sup>1</sup>lœt sje                    ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>fwe ljä<sup>1</sup>xve                    ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>t'o vɔ kə <sup>1</sup>tjε                ' - - '            (Hd 210. 3. — 25. 1. 41)

"His hat is all on one side, his heels are worn out. He who looks back will call me "father". (He is a bastard, cfr. n° 117 sq.)

131. <sup>4</sup>vε <sup>4</sup>tε <sup>4</sup>mœl                ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>txə<sup>1</sup>lœt <sup>1</sup>sje,                    ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>sjä tākə <sup>3</sup>dzə:ti                ' - - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>mō <sup>1</sup>ljākə <sup>1</sup>tʃ'hε.                ' - - '            (Hd 207. 1. — 27. 2. 41)

"His hat is all on one side, his heels are worn out. He wants to play the rich man's son, but has no money."

An insulting rhyme for a woman passing-by is:

132. <sup>3</sup>fǝzǝ <sup>4</sup>ta:njǎ                    ' - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>txǝkxǝ <sup>4</sup>leu                        ' - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>na <sup>3</sup>ni <sup>3</sup>lofǝ                        ' - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>njo jǎ pxo <sup>4</sup>njo.                    ' - - '        (Hd 228. 1. — 28. 11. 41)

“Oh, you old woman, get out of my way! or I will piss on your body!”

An insult to young boys:

133. <sup>3</sup>ju <sup>3</sup>dza:mǎ <sup>5</sup>jǎ<sup>5</sup>tǎza                    - ' - - - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>xo <sup>5</sup>tfxǎ <sup>4</sup>nǎtǝkǎ<sup>5</sup>tǎza;                    ' - - - - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>tfxǎlǎ jǎ<sup>1</sup>tǝǝ,                        ' - - - '  
<sup>3</sup>dzǎlǎ jǎ<sup>3</sup>vǎǎ,                        ' - - - '  
<sup>5</sup>tfxǎlǎ jǎ<sup>1</sup>nǝǝ,                        ' - - - '  
<sup>3</sup>dzǎlǎ jǎ<sup>3</sup>pxǎ.                        ' - - - '  
<sup>5</sup>tfxǎlǎ jǎ<sup>3</sup>peza,                        ' - - - -  
<sup>3</sup>dzǎlǎ jǎ<sup>4</sup>kweza.                        ' - - - -

(Tatung-city. April 1942)

“There is such a group of boys, who like to eat dry snotcrusts. When they have eaten for a (whole) day, they can put aside a (whole) bowl. When they have eaten for a year, they put aside a whole plate. When they have eaten of it during a whole lifetime, they put aside a whole cupboard.” (The rhythm of the first line is repeated twice; the second scheme is repeated four times, the third one is repeated twice again. The disposition of the rhyming words in the successive lines is according to a similar pattern as that of the rhythm; in the second scheme, the rhymes are crossed.)

134. An insult for a long thin man:

- <sup>1</sup>jo <sup>4</sup>si,                                        ' -  
<sup>3</sup>txwe <sup>1</sup>tfxǎ,                                - '  
jǎ<sup>4</sup>peza                                        - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>tfhǎ<sup>5</sup>vǎ.                                        ' -  
lama <sup>3</sup>jǝxǝu.                                ' - ' -  
ǝmǎ<sup>3</sup>ju <sup>4</sup>kxǎ<sup>1</sup>txǝu.                        ' - ' -        (Hd 207. 1. — 13. 9. 40)

“Thin waist, long legs, Your whole lifetime you will be a poor devil! Oh, you long-leg! You are not worthy to be looked at!”

155. An insult for a shepherd:

- <sup>1</sup>jǎ <sup>3</sup>pǎlǎ                                        - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>ta ni <sup>1</sup>mada                                ' - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>twǎ<sup>4</sup>tǎlǎ!                                        - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>ǎ pǎ <sup>3</sup>ni <sup>1</sup>mada <sup>5</sup>twǎ<sup>4</sup>tǎ <sup>3</sup>jodzola!                    ' - - - ' - - - ' - -  
<sup>3</sup>vǎ ke <sup>3</sup>ni <sup>1</sup>ma <sup>1</sup>zǝu jǎ <sup>1</sup>zǝu,                    - ' - ' - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>ni <sup>1</sup>ma <sup>4</sup>ma <sup>3</sup>vǎ <sup>1</sup>sopǎ<sup>1</sup>txǝu!                    ' - ' - ' - ' -

(Hd 210. 3. — 20. 7. 41)

"Shepherd! I beat your mother on her behind! The wolf has bitten your mother's behind. I am rubbing your mother (on the hurt place), and your mother insults me (saying): *shao-pa-t'ou*." (The word means a double insult: I am your father by incest).

Other rhymes attack social conditions. The following one is a satiric description of the small troops of bandits around the villages. However perfect this rhyme might seem in its meter and rhyming form, it is a *new one* made for quite changed times. Some years before the bandit-troops were an unknown thing in the region:

136.  ${}^1j\ddot{a}j\epsilon$   ${}^1xw\epsilon l$  ' - '  
 ${}^1kxe$   ${}^1pe:la$  ' - '  
 ${}^1s\ddot{a}si$   ${}^4twe$  ' - '  
 ${}^4to{}^1me:la.$  - ' -  
 ${}^5m\ddot{o}{}^3ma$   ${}^5m\ddot{o}$   ${}^1t f'h\ddot{a}$ , - ' - '  
 ${}^3jeu$   $na$   ${}^4txot f x\ddot{o}{}^4p\ddot{a}.$  ' - ' - '  
 ${}^3t f'hif\epsilon$   $n\epsilon{}^3ma$  ' - - '  
 ${}^4kxwaf\epsilon$   $n\epsilon{}^1t f'h\ddot{a}$  ' - - '  
 ${}^5p\ddot{a}kxe$   ${}^3tjep\epsilon l$  ' - ' -  
 ${}^1sj\phi$   ${}^1ku:nj\ddot{a}.$  - ' - (Hd 210. 3. — 20. 7. 41)

"The opium flowers are in full white blossom. The Shansi troops are down on their luck. They have neither horse nor rifle, in their hands they have just a beggar's stick. Riding their horses, slinging their rifles, they switch on their flashlights and look for a girl." (The rhythm of the four first lines is that of the ordinary four-lined rhymes, then there is a sudden change with a new rhythm repeated in two lines. One may be inclined to think that after the sixth line, a new ditty is beginning, because of the new rhythm and the contradiction of the lines four and fives to the lines six and seven. The next ditty seems to justify this opinion. However as a matter of fact, this rhyme has been recited *as one*, and the contradictions are things which only grown-up people would consider.)

137.  ${}^1j\ddot{a}j\epsilon$   ${}^1xw\epsilon l$  ' - '  
 ${}^1kxe$   ${}^1pe:la$  - ' -  
 ${}^1s\ddot{a}sid\epsilon$   ${}^4xwe{}^3kwe$  ' - - ' -  
 ${}^4ju$   ${}^1e:la.$  - ' - (Hd 210. 3. — 20. 7. 41)

"The opium flowers are in full blossom. The bad devils of Shansi (the troops) have come again!"

A rhyme expressing the feelings of contempt and scorn of one village for another is:

138.  ${}^4sw\ddot{e}$   ${}^1t f'hulj\phi,$  - ' -  
 ${}^3l\ddot{e}$   ${}^1jylj\phi;$  - ' -  
 ${}^4t f xeu{}^3 fwe$   ${}^5p\ddot{a}{}^4tw\ddot{o},$  ' - - '  
 ${}^1f\ddot{a}t f x\ddot{e}$   ${}^4tsxw\ddot{o}.$  ' - ' (Hd 253. 2. — 8. 1. 45)

“Sour (haughty) *Ch'iu-lin* (秋林), stupid *Yü-lin* (榆林), a pool of stinking water, (that is) the village *Fang-ch'eng* (坊城).

Witticism on more general sides of the life are for instance:  
Feigned sickness:

139. <sup>4</sup>*tɛ<sup>1</sup>txwōdə* <sup>1</sup>*mwəmwo*, ' - - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>*sytɬxō<sup>1</sup>tɬxō.* ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>*və* <sup>4</sup>*t'ulə* <sup>1</sup>*ljākə* ' - - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>*poxxō<sup>1</sup>xō.* ' - - '  
<sup>3</sup>*və* <sup>1</sup>*ma* <sup>4</sup>*t'o* <sup>3</sup>*və* ' - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>*dzwo* <sup>4</sup>*j̄sō,* - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>*və* *t'u* <sup>1</sup>*dʒāləkə* ' - ' - -  
<sup>4</sup>*tuzə* <sup>1</sup>*txō.* ' - ' (Tatung-city, April 1942)

“The steamed breads of Tatung are very soft. I have eaten some of them till utter fullness. My mother wants me to do some work, but I falsely pretend a tummyache.” (The rhyme has been heard in Tatung-city self. <sup>4</sup>*tɛ<sup>1</sup>txwō* is an archaic pronunciation for the name of *Tat'ung* (大同), which in ordinary speech is always <sup>4</sup>*ta<sup>1</sup>txwō*. There is nothing peculiar in finding the archaic pronunciation in songs and rhymes).

140. The four civilization-signs: <sup>4</sup>*sə*: <sup>4</sup>*ta* <sup>1</sup>*væmj̄ɸ*:  
<sup>4</sup>*tjesjɛ* <sup>1</sup>*kəzə* ' - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>*twōlwæ<sup>1</sup>fō* ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>*ta* *t'ʉ<sup>3</sup>pæ<sup>1</sup>* ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>*pj̄ā<sup>1</sup>sō.* ' - ' (Hd 79. 1. — 26. 12. 40)

“Electricity-poles (in reality they mean: telephone poles, by which the words go as fast as) whirlwinds; big feet (of the women), a student who finished his examination.”

141. The four hurries: <sup>4</sup>*sə*: <sup>4</sup>*ta* *mālē.*  
<sup>4</sup>*sjā<sup>3</sup>jy* <sup>1</sup>*feu* <sup>1</sup>*tɬxā.* - ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>*xwə* <sup>1</sup>*fə* <sup>1</sup>*fā,* ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>*dze* <sup>3</sup>*və* <sup>5</sup>*kxwōzə,* ' - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>*lā* *t'o* <sup>1</sup>*jā.* ' - ' (Hd 79. 1. — 26. 12. 40)

“To bring in the harvest when it rains. The fire burns your house. A thief is digging a hole through your wall. The wolf bites (one of your) sheep.”

142. The four calamities: <sup>4</sup>*sə*: <sup>4</sup>*ta* <sup>1</sup>*xwe*:  
<sup>4</sup>*txolə* <sup>1</sup>*xwe* ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>*talə* <sup>4</sup>*kxā* ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>*sə:lə* <sup>3</sup>*lospxā* ' - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>*mālə* <sup>4</sup>*tɬxā.* ' - ' (Hd 79. 1. — 26. 12. 40)

“To pull out the ashes (from the ovenbed-fire). To rebuild an ovenbed.  
To have lost his wife. To miss the theatrical play (in the village).”

Four rhymes among my material are a ludicrous play on religious ceremonies. In the official prayers for rain, small children are used by the people to offer up prayers before the statue of Lung wang. The long prayers of the taoist monk are, of course, unknown to ordinary people, but just as on many other occasions, (such as for instance I indicated in my paper in F. S. III, 1. p. 128-130, for some superstitious formulas in the marriage ceremonies), the people made a new and short rhyme in the place of the true prayer itself. These were recited to me by an old man (Hd. 252. 5.-1. 7. 41):

143.	<sup>1</sup> pxu:sa	<sup>1</sup> pxu:sa	' - ' -
	<sup>5</sup> t'ä'tä	<sup>1</sup> lje xwa	' - ' -
	<sup>3</sup> fəu	<sup>1</sup> na <sup>1</sup> jälju	' - ' -
	<sup>3</sup> t'fh̄	<sup>1</sup> fä <sup>3</sup> jysja.	' - ' -

“P'u-sa, P'u-sa, you stand with your feet on the lotus-flowers, in your hand you have a willow branch. We ask for wind and rain.” The same rhyme is known in *T'uan-p'u* (Hd. 253) according to *Ts'ao An-hua*, who thinks that last line is a corruption of the ordinary expression which is found written on the walls of every temple painting of *Lung-wang* (龍王): 風調雨順. In times of great drought, sometimes children gather in the street, and when they see a dark cloud appear in the sky, giving some hope for rain, they begin to recite the verse:

143 a.	<sup>1</sup> lwōvā,	<sup>1</sup> lwōvā	' - ' -
	<sup>4</sup> sja	<sup>4</sup> ta <sup>3</sup> jy!	' - ' -
	<sup>3</sup> tafō	<sup>4</sup> məzə,	' - ' -
	<sup>4</sup> kwōjā	<sup>3</sup> ni.	' - ' -

(Hd 253. 2. — 14. 5. 45)

“Dragon-king, dragon king, give us rain. When we have gathered the harvest of wheat, we will offer it to you.”

A similar rhyme from the country of Kuang-ling can be cited there for comparison. It was communicated to me by Father P. Van Esser, C. I. C. M.:

老天爺下雨罷。  
打上吃米罷。  
管我們這個小嘴罷。

The other rhyme is connected with unofficial religious practice to obtain rain, performed by small girls. The girls in the region worship the goddess of the latrines (called Mao-ku-ku, in order 1) to ask (at new year) whether they will get a husband that year, 2) to ask for rain in times of great drought. In the first case they make an image of the god-



des with help of a broom and a big spoon, which they paste over with paper. In the last case, the girls also ride on a broom shouting aloud:

144.  $^1tʃ'h\bar{\phi}$   $^1txw\bar{\omega}$   $^4t'æł$  ' - '  
 $^3sotʃx\bar{u}$   $^3ma$  ' - '  
 $^3tʃ'h\bar{\phi}ʃ\bar{\theta}$   $^1moku$  ' - ' -  
 $^3ʃava$   $^j\bar{\alpha}^3ʃwa.$  ' - ' (Hd 252. 5. — 1. 7. 41)

“A bright copper looking-glass, a broom for a horse; we ask the goddess of the latrines to come and play with us.”

The next two rhymes are ridiculizing the buddhist prayer:

145.  $^1na:mwo$   $^1ni:mwo$  ' - ' -  
 $^5tʃx\bar{\alpha}^3txu$   $^4\eta^{\circ}æ^1ni$   $^1txw\bar{\omega}ʃwa.$  ' - ' - ' -  
 (Hd 227. 1. — 24. 11. 40)

“*Nan-wu* 南無 (*namah*: I humbly trust; Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*), *ni-muo*; he eats dust, and ejects mud, *T'uo-fuo!* ( $^4\eta^{\circ}æ^1ni$ : “to eject mud” is put instead of *O-mi*-[*t'o-fo*]: *Amithaba*, in order to make a ludicrous pun on the sounds, *O-mi*).

146.  $^1na:mi,$   $^1na:mwo$   
 $^1a-mi^1txw\bar{\omega}ʃ$   
 $^3teu^sʃæł$   $^1mw\bar{\omega}mwo.$  (Hd 75. 1. — 24. 11. 40)

“*Nan-wu* (南無) *nan-wu*, *Amithaba*, and a bread with a farce of beans inside!”

### Third stage.

In the last group which we will give now, we can even observe that the general application of the rhyme has gone so far, and its contents have become so general and somewhat didactic, that they almost are on the border between the children's rhymes and the proverbial sayings.

147. The hopes of the day-workers:

- $^1ko$   $^3w\bar{\alpha}t\bar{r}æł,$  - ' -  
 $^4tsx\epsilon$   $^3m\bar{\alpha}t\bar{r}æł,$  - ' -  
 $^1kw\bar{\omega}tʃ'h\epsilon$   $^4taj\bar{\alpha}t\bar{r}æł,$  ' - ' -  
 $^1t\bar{c}\epsilon$   $^3tw\bar{\alpha}t\bar{r}æł.$  - ' - (Hd 220. 4. — 25. 1. 41)

“The millet congee a little softer, vegetables a little more; the wages a little bigger, the days a little shorter.”

148. The things a beggar does:

- $^5tʃxw\bar{\alpha}$   $^3keu^1txeu$  - ' -  
 $^4jo$   $^3l\bar{\alpha}d^1eu$  - ' -  
 $^3taso$   $^3tsx\epsilon^3ti$  ' - - ' -  
 $^4to$   $^1dz\bar{\alpha}t\bar{r}æu.$  - ' - (Hd 220. 4. — 25. 1. 41)

"To stab with the stick at the dogs, to bite in cold congee, to sweep under the coffin (of the deceased), and to turn out the pillow (of the deceased).

149. The sworn brother:

<i>t'ã<sup>4</sup>pe</i>	-'	
<i>t'ã<sup>4</sup>pe</i>	-'	
<i><sup>3</sup>ke ni t'œt <sup>3</sup>tsə:me</i>	'--'-	
<i><sup>4</sup>liæ.</i>	'-	(Hd 220. 2 — November 1938)

"My sworn brother, my sworn brother, I will be rough with your sisters" (we will be bedpartners).

150. "He is a chip of the old block":

<i><sup>1</sup>pe<sup>x</sup>wa <sup>1</sup>œlza <sup>4</sup>kxwa <sup>1</sup>tʃ'hetsxœl,</i>	'--'-'-'
<i><sup>5</sup>tçã<sup>4</sup>t'ã <sup>1</sup>œlza <sup>1</sup>twõ<sup>1</sup>twõ <sup>1</sup>kœl,</i>	'--'-'-'
<i><sup>4</sup>xwat'ã <sup>1</sup>œlza <sup>1</sup>jesã <sup>3</sup>vœl,</i>	'--'-'-'
<i><sup>4</sup>sizã <sup>1</sup>œlza sta<sup>3</sup>pazã.</i>	'--'-'-'

(Hd 219. 1. — 6. 9. 40)

"The son of the gambler has his bag (with money) hanging over the shoulder; the son of the blacksmith knows the song of the hammering on the anvil; the son of the housepainter: a pot full of colours; the son of the comedian does stunts."

Two other variants of the same theme:

151. <i><sup>1</sup>dzãxu <sup>1</sup>œlza <sup>4</sup>xwe <sup>1</sup>la<sup>4</sup>twõ,</i>	'--'-'-'
<i><sup>1</sup>pe<sup>x</sup>wa <sup>1</sup>œlza <sup>4</sup>xwe <sup>5</sup>dçœ<sup>1</sup>fwõ,</i>	'--'-'-'
<i><sup>4</sup>tzot<sup>1</sup>xãzã <sup>1</sup>œlza <sup>4</sup>xwe <sup>1</sup>la<sup>4</sup>kwõ.</i>	'--'-'-'

(Hd 585. 1. — 29. 4. 41)

"The son of the farmer can draw the roller, the son of the gambler knows how to throw the dice on the 4, 5 or 6. The son of the beggar can draw the beggar stick."

152. <i><sup>4</sup>xwat'ãdã <sup>1</sup>œlza <sup>1</sup>jesã <sup>3</sup>vœl,</i>	'--'-'-'-'
<i><sup>1</sup>nit'ãdã <sup>1</sup>œlza <sup>5</sup>kwã<sup>5</sup>kwã <sup>1</sup>xwe<sup>3</sup>pœl,</i>	'--'-'-'-'-'
<i><sup>1</sup>pe<sup>x</sup>uadã <sup>1</sup>œlza <sup>4</sup>kxwa <sup>1</sup>tʃ'hε<sup>3</sup>tsxœl,</i>	'--'-'-'-'-'
<i><sup>3</sup>kwafudã <sup>1</sup>œlza pũ<sup>3</sup>kã <sup>3</sup>kwã (<sup>5</sup>mõ<sup>1</sup>çœ <sup>3</sup>kwã)</i>	'--'-'-'-'-'
<i><sup>3</sup>lo<sup>1</sup>fudã <sup>1</sup>œlza <sup>4</sup>xwe <sup>3</sup>ta<sup>4</sup>twœl,</i>	'--'-'-'-'-'
<i><sup>1</sup>tʃxwãt'ãdã <sup>1</sup>œlza <sup>4</sup>xwe <sup>3</sup>fwa<sup>4</sup>kwœl,</i>	'--'-'-'-'-'
<i><sup>1</sup>tʃxã<sup>4</sup>sida <sup>1</sup>œlza <sup>4</sup>xwe sta<sup>3</sup>pœl,</i>	'--'-'-'-'-'
<i><sup>4</sup>tε<sup>1</sup>fudã <sup>1</sup>œlza <sup>4</sup>xwe <sup>4</sup>la<sup>1</sup>kwœl.</i>	'--'-'-'-'-'

(Hd 220. 2. — 10. 6. 39)

"The son of the housepainter: a pot full of colours. The son of the mason can mix the cement in the pit. The son of the gambler can carry the bag (of money) on his shoulder. The son of the widow nobody cares about

(or: dares to care about). The son of the rat can make a hole; the son of the boatman can play with the oars. The son of the theaterplayer can do stunts. The son of the secretary can become an official."

153. The adopted son:

<sup>3</sup> tʃ'hylə	kə	<sup>3</sup> kwafu,	'--'
<sup>4</sup> tɛ <sup>1</sup> slə	<sup>5</sup> jə	<sup>1</sup> k <sup>2</sup> œt	'---'
<sup>4</sup> xwədə	<sup>3</sup> julə	<sup>4</sup> t <sup>1</sup> tjɛdə	'-''--'
<sup>3</sup> sə:lə	<sup>3</sup> julə	<sup>5</sup> kxũ <sup>1</sup> tçɛdə.	'-''--'

(Hd 253. 2. November 1938)

"He has married a widow, who brought with her a son. During his life he will have somebody who calls him "father", and after death there will be somebody to cry to heaven." (<sup>k<sup>2</sup>œt</sup>: contraction for <sup>kə</sup> <sup>1</sup>œt: a son).

\*  
\* \*

### Note.

During a short stay of two weeks (September -October 1939) in a small village of Yang Kao-hsien, 陽高縣, I had occasion to note a number of those mocking rhymes, given by a young man, called Wang Ming-lien 王明簾 (± 25 years old). He is from a village on the railway line Peking-Paot'ou, between Yang-kao and T'ien-chen city, named Lo-wen-tso 羅文皂.

154.	<sup>4</sup> txwə <sup>1</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> tə	'--'				
	stʃ'h <sup>3</sup> ma	<sup>5</sup> pũ	<sup>1</sup> dzatə	'-''--'		
	<sup>5</sup> tjə <sup>4</sup> sja	<sup>4</sup> tjäləkə	<sup>pũ<sup>1</sup>tsxasə</sup>	'-''--''--'		
	<sup>3</sup> tʃhile	<sup>1</sup> xə	<sup>4</sup> jo	stʃxə	<sup>1</sup> xwasə.	'-''--''--'

"Tuo Shateng (nickname) rides on a horse, without putting his feet in the stirrups. He falls down, and takes a good spill. Standing up, he still wants to eat peanuts."

155.	<sup>4</sup> œlzeutə,	'--'		
	<sup>1</sup> fo <sup>2</sup> xwə	<sup>5</sup> pũj <sup>4</sup> ə	<sup>4</sup> txə;	'-''--'
	<sup>1</sup> joli	<sup>1</sup> xə	<sup>3</sup> ju	'-''--'
	<sup>5</sup> jəpa	<sup>4</sup> lə	<sup>3</sup> xwətsxə.	'-''--'

"Erh-jou-tan (Childname: Second Fatty) does not need coal to make a fire. In his waistcoatpocket, he still has a broken coalshovel."

156.	<sup>1</sup> sə	<sup>1</sup> papa	--'
	<sup>5</sup> tʃxə <sup>4</sup> sja	<sup>5</sup> fət <sup>x</sup> eu	'-''--'
	<sup>4</sup> pjɛ	<sup>1</sup> sasa.	--'

"San-papa (Third Little Burnscar), eats stones, and pisses sand."

157.	<sup>1</sup> pazə	<sup>1</sup> pazə	<sup>4</sup> sa <sup>4</sup> su,	'-''--'
	<sup>1</sup> tʃhœ:lə	<sup>1</sup> pazədə	<sup>1</sup> pçi <sup>4</sup> kxu.	'-''--''--'

"Patzü, Patzü (Little Burnscar) has climbed on a tree, and Patzü's fur-trousers are torn to pieces."

158.	<sup>4</sup> zeu <sup>4</sup> tã	' -
	<sup>3</sup> tʃ <sup>3</sup> hi <sup>3</sup> fã <sup>1</sup> mol <sup>4</sup> œl	' - ' -
	<sup>4</sup> feu <sup>4</sup> kxã.	' -
	<sup>5</sup> tjã <sup>4</sup> sja	' -
	<sup>5</sup> tjälakə	' - -
	<sup>1</sup> xwe <sup>4</sup> tã	' -

"Jou-tan (Fatty) was riding on a donkey very nicely. But he fell down and has become a dirty boy."

159.	<sup>3</sup> sjoxe <sup>1</sup> vava	' - ' -
	<sup>3</sup> xo <sup>3</sup> fwa <sup>3</sup> tau.	' - ' -
	<sup>1</sup> mwólã <sup>1</sup> sju:sju,	' - ' -
	<sup>5</sup> mõ <sup>1</sup> zœ <sup>3</sup> pu.	' - ' -
	<sup>1</sup> tʃ <sup>3</sup> hɸnjã <sup>3</sup> sə:	' - ' -
	<sup>4</sup> dze <sup>4</sup> jɛtsxo <sup>4</sup> tj;	- ' - ' -
	<sup>4</sup> fœ <sup>4</sup> sja <sup>4</sup> xœunjã	' - ' -
	<sup>5</sup> pũ <sup>4</sup> ts <sup>3</sup> li.	' - ' -

"The little child likes to play in the mud. It has worn out its sleeves and nobody mends them. Its own mother is dead (and buried) in the weed-field. There only remains a stepmother, who does not care for it."

### 3. Rhyming stories, etc...

This last type of rhymes which we are now going to discuss, is more of the kind, which we may call the "*Rhymes for Children*". They nearly all seem to be nursery rhymes, lullabies, rhyming stories, invented by mothers to amuse their children. Of course, the general term which we have given here does not at all signify any sharp definition nor delineation from the former kinds. The passage from one to the other is quite easy. By this heading we only mean the rhymes which children are taught by their parents or their little friends, and which they gradually learn to recite themselves. In each case, it should be difficult to state invariably whether it is a rhyme said primarily by the mothers for the children or taught to them. It is of no use to look for a sharp distinction from the other groups of rhymes. This grouping has only been made for a more easy review and understanding of some peculiar characteristics, which are apparent in most of them.

In the first place we should speak about the rhymes said *over* insects that is: the rhymes which the children recite when seeing a bee, a caterpillar etc.... Here we only have *one* example. It is recited when they can catch a grass-hopper: they hold it in the hand, and jerk it three times into the air while they say:

160. <sup>1</sup>pwə, <sup>1</sup>pwə, <sup>1</sup>pwəpwə <sup>3</sup>tʃ'hi    '-'-'  
<sup>1</sup>pwəto <sup>1</sup>sæ<sup>4</sup>njɛ                                    '-'-'  
<sup>4</sup>dze fā <sup>3</sup>ni.                                        '-'-'                    (Hd 210. 3. — 1. 9. 40)

"Jump, jump, jump, jump (into the air); jump till after three years I release you again."

As we have already noted, the most striking characteristic seems to be that they are all humorous and playfully amusing stories, or rhythmic rhymes used as lullabies to soothe the children. It is only natural that they are made in a true and real imitation of the childrens' talk, and that according to different phases in the growth of the child's language. We can follow a whole graduation from the most simple ones to others, already showing more variety in words and expressions, and even displaying a kind of artful twisting of all kinds of words, which are connected somehow in groups of ideas.

As we have seen in some rhymes (for instance n° 159) we observe a specific art of *diminutives* by repetition of the same word in

161. <sup>1</sup>kwōt'i <sup>1</sup>kwōt'i                    '-'-'  
<sup>3</sup>le<sup>1</sup>və<sup>1</sup>və.                                    '-'-'  
<sup>3</sup>tsxot'i <sup>3</sup>tsxot'i                        '-'-'-  
<sup>4</sup>sja <sup>4</sup>tætæ                                '-'-'                    (Hd 241. 1. — 6. 1. 42)

"Little, little cock, come and jump on the hen. Little, little hen quickly lay a little egg." (<sup>3</sup>le<sup>1</sup>və is an expression for mating of the chicken. Although this expression is *one* and in ordinary language indivisible, the element <sup>1</sup>və has been repeated in analogy with <sup>4</sup>sja <sup>4</sup>tætæ, where the word <sup>4</sup>tætæ is still felt to be an independent word; cfr. n° 117.)

This rhyme can be compared with the variant found in *Ko-yao*, 12th year, fasc. 32. p. 5 (from *Lan-hsien* 嵐縣, *Shensi*):

公 鷄 累 窩 窩  
 母 鷄 下 蛋 蛋  
 十 八 老 婆 送 飯 飯  
 一 送 送 到 地 起 頭  
 打 了 罐 罐 撒 了 米  
 一 顆 一 粒 全 撿 起。

In some rhymes we find just a play with words by the repetition of a word or a series of correlated words, in all kinds of sentences without any strict logical meaning:

162. <sup>1</sup>sat'o <sup>3</sup>litxœu; ' - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>fätjœt <sup>3</sup>fwe: ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>saxu ' -  
<sup>3</sup>t'uxu ' -  
<sup>3</sup>txo <sup>4</sup>jœxu. - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>zœ dzə: <sup>1</sup>tfxu ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>sj̄f̄ <sup>3</sup>pœ sœ. ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>lœ sa<sup>1</sup>kwəzə, ' - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>tsxo <sup>1</sup>t'it̄ä. ' - ' (Hd 210. 1. — 23. 1. 41)

"In the small earthen cookingpot, they put a little water . . . An earthen pot and a winepot are put together in a chamberpot. Man's nature originally was good (sentence cited from the San-tzū-ching) ; in the broken earthen pot, they fry an egg."

In the same way we can explain the sudden jumps of the imagination, from the "bad weather" to the journey to the city on a pig!

163. <sup>5</sup>kwǎ <sup>1</sup>xǎ<sup>1</sup>fǎ - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>kwǎ <sup>4</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>mǎ - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>t<sup>1</sup>hifǎ <sup>3</sup>mudzu ' - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>sja <sup>4</sup>tstxwǎ. - ' - (Tatung-city. April 1942)

"A dust-storm is blowing; shut the front door. Riding on a sow we go to Tatung." (On the expression <sup>4</sup>sja <sup>4</sup>tstxwǎ, cfr. n° 139. This expression is never heard in the Southern region of Tatung where most of my material comes from. In these last villages "to go to the city" is said: "<sup>4</sup>t̄f̄ <sup>1</sup>tfxœ" or "<sup>4</sup>zu <sup>1</sup>tfxœ").

In other rhymes a most wildly imaginative story is told in some 9 to 16 lines, with answers and questions. Here we see clearly the aim of amusing the children. A frequent change of rhythm is due to the illogic sequence of words; more stress is put on the unexpected flood of contradictory or, at least, unrelated things than on the rhythm of the rhyme itself.

164. <sup>1</sup>xwǎ <sup>1</sup>kwǎ<sup>1</sup>t'i - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>ly <sup>3</sup>jipa, - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>jojo <sup>1</sup>pepe ' - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>kǎ <sup>3</sup>na st<sup>1</sup>hǎ ? - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>fǎ <sup>1</sup>sǎ <sup>3</sup>me <sup>3</sup>ma t<sup>1</sup>hǎ ? - ' - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>meləkə <sup>3</sup>sama ? ' - - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>me <sup>5</sup>jǎkə ' - -  
<sup>1</sup>xwǎt<sup>1</sup>hœt <sup>4</sup>madza. ' - ' -  
<sup>3</sup>dza <sup>3</sup>dzeulə ? - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>t̄gotǎ! ' -  
<sup>3</sup>dza <sup>4</sup>t'oxwǎlə ? - ' - -  
<sup>4</sup>t'it'i <sup>1</sup>dzadza! ' - ' - (Hd 210. 3. — 21. 11. 40)

"A red cock with a green tail, is waddling along ... Where do you go? Will you go to buy a horse on the mountain? What do you want to buy? — I will buy a red grass-hopper. How does it go? — It jumps! What (How) does it cry? — It chirps!" (This rhyme has the same introductory line as the riddle n° 14. It shows once more the deep connection the two kinds of rhymes have to one another in the minds of the speakers. *tʃ'hǎ*, contraction for *⁴tʃ'hy-jǎ*).

Another rhyme of the same kind is:

165.	<i>¹dʒæ xǔ¹cœt ¹dʒæ,</i>	'--'
	<i>³po ¹keke</i>	-'-
	<i>³litæu ⁴dzudakə</i>	'--'--
	<i>³lo ¹tætxæ.</i>	-'-
	.....	
	<i>³lo ¹tætxæ.....</i>	-'-
	<i>⁵tʃxǎ ³saja?</i>	-'-
	<i>⁵tʃxǎ ⁴mjeja!</i>	-'-
	<i>¹swe ³kǎdǎ?</i>	'--
	<i>³ni ¹cœlji!</i>	-'-
	<i>¹swe ¹sjadǎ?</i>	-'-
	<i>³ni ¹cœlk²œ.</i>	-'-
	<i>¹swe ¹fo³xwǎ?</i>	'-'
	<i>⁵txwǎ ³sjozǎ.</i>	-'-
	<i>¹swe ³ta⁴txǎ?</i>	'-'
	<i>⁵xǎ ³lo⁴xǎ.</i>	-'-
	<i>¹swe ¹tǎ ³swe?</i>	'-'
	<i>³ni ¹cœlk²œ.</i>	-'-
	.....	
	<i>¹tʃs ⁵jǎ³vǎ,</i>	'-'
	<i>¹ma ⁵jǎ³vǎ,</i>	'-'
	<i>³ljǎkǎ ³sjokwœt</i>	'--'--
	<i>³ljǎ ⁴pǎ ³vǎ!</i>	'-'
	<i>¹tʃusja ⁵txwǎ³sjozǎ mǎ³vǎla!</i>	'--'--'--'
	.....	
	<i>⁴fǎ¹sǎ ⁴kxǎ ⁴mu³vǎ,</i>	'--'--'
	<i>⁴mu³vǎ ⁵mǎ ⁴kxǎ¹tʃxǎ.</i>	'--'--'
	<i>¹sǎ:lǎ ⁴cœltʃxǎ ¹xwǎ ⁴pu¹pu</i>	'--'--'--'
	<i>⁵pǔ³ljǎ ³sjo sju:sju;</i>	-'--'
	<i>⁴cœsjadǎ ⁵pǔ³ljǎ ³sjo ³jǎ.ε.</i>	'--'--'--'

".....

(Hd 231. 1. — 8. 12. 40)

Inside dwells an old woman. The old woman ... what will she eat? — She will eat flour. Who will roll out (the flour)? — Your maternal aunt! Who will boil it? — Your second elder brother. Who will make the fire? — Little Baldhead! Who will break the coal to pieces? — The black

old man! Who will carry the water? — Your second elder brother. For father a cup, for mother a cup, and for the two little devils (the sons) two half cups. Only Little Baldhead has no cup! He goes up the mountain to cut out a wooden cup. The wooden cup has not yet been cut. The have bought two feet of red cloth, to mend his little sleeves, and with the rest they will mend his little seams."

The introductory line of this rhyme is of the same kind as in the riddle n° 40 (translation unknown to me). We can cut up the whole story into different parts, each having its own rhyme and rhythmic system. 1) The four first lines: introduction made as in most of the riddle-rhymes we studied before. The fifth line is the beginning of a part which the child couldn't remember. 2) Part of the story is made in question and answer, and in a new, rather regularly built rhythm. 3) From line 18 to the end: new story about the "cups". From the 22nd line: a new kind of rhythm again held up in the last four lines. (<sup>5</sup>pü <sup>3</sup>ljā: translated by "to mend" is in fact "to put against something to compare the length.")

A third example of the question-and-answer story is

166.	<sup>1</sup> kxe	<sup>1</sup> tsxāt sxā	— ' —	
	<sup>4</sup> tjo	<sup>1</sup> tsxāt sxā,	— ' —	
	<sup>3</sup> litxew	<sup>4</sup> dzuləkə	' — ' — —	
	<sup>4</sup> teu	<sup>1</sup> njānjā.	' — ' —	
	<sup>5</sup> tsxā	<sup>3</sup> saja?	— ' —	
	<sup>4</sup> sja	<sup>4</sup> teu <sup>4</sup> mje.	— ' —	
	<sup>4</sup> dzæ	<sup>3</sup> saja?	— ' —	
	<sup>4</sup> dzæ	<sup>4</sup> pāt sxwe.	— ' —	
	<sup>4</sup> kε	<sup>3</sup> saja?	— ' —	
	<sup>4</sup> kε	<sup>3</sup> pwt f'hi.	— ' —	(Hd 210. 3. — 21. 11. 40)

"Open the little window, pull up the little window. Inside dwells a little woman (as great as a bean). What will she eat? — She will eat flour. What will be steamed (as food)? — She will steam the beater (used for washing the clothes). With what will she cover herself (while sleeping)? — She will cover herself with a winnowing basket."

Here again the four first lines are completely similarly built up as in the riddle-rhymes. Thereupon follows the part with the questions and answers. In none of these questions-and-answer rhymes, which I noted, was there any indication that they were really "alternately recited rhymes" said by two or several children. All of them were said to me by *one* child; this was the drawback of the method I used in noting the rhymes, and hence, the question whether these rhymes are really in part recited alternately by two or more children cannot be answered from the notes I have now at hand.



A last example of the question-and-answer rhymes:

167. <sup>4</sup> ta <sup>4</sup> teu <sup>4</sup> ta,	' -'
<sup>4</sup> pæ̀kxε <sup>1</sup> xwa.	' -'
<sup>3</sup> k°æ̀k°æ <sup>4</sup> t'f̄ <sup>4</sup> ti,	' -' -'
<sup>3</sup> soso <sup>1</sup> d̄wa.	' -'
<sup>4</sup> meme <sup>4</sup> swō <sup>4</sup> f̄x̄,	' -' -'
<sup>3</sup> xo <sup>1</sup> d̄zāt'a.	- ' -'
<sup>1</sup> dzāt'a <sup>4</sup> ti,	' -'
<sup>5</sup> jō <sup>4</sup> ku <sup>3</sup> fwe,	' -'
<sup>4</sup> lwōlō <sup>4</sup> memedō	' -' -' -'
<sup>1</sup> xwa <sup>4</sup> kxu <sup>3</sup> txwe.	' -'
<sup>4</sup> meme <sup>4</sup> meme,	' -' -'
<sup>3</sup> ni <sup>4</sup> pj̄f̄ <sup>5</sup> kxwō,	' -'
<sup>1</sup> mj̄æ̀t <sup>4</sup> xew <sup>4</sup> pç̄f̄ <sup>3</sup> nija.	- ' -' -' -'
<sup>4</sup> fə: <sup>3</sup> ma <sup>1</sup> tfx <sup>2</sup> æ?	' -'
<sup>1</sup> xwō <sup>3</sup> ju <sup>4</sup> pæ̀l,	' -'
<sup>1</sup> ly <sup>4</sup> t'otfx <sup>2</sup> æ.	' -'
fə <sup>3</sup> ma <sup>1</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> nju?	' -' -'
<sup>4</sup> t'ε <sup>1</sup> nju <sup>3</sup> zu: <sup>1</sup> nju.	' -' -'
<sup>3</sup> zu: <sup>1</sup> njudō <sup>1</sup> njā <sup>1</sup> njā	' -' -' -'
<sup>4</sup> xwe <sup>4</sup> fu <sup>1</sup> txew.	' -'
<sup>3</sup> t'f̄h̄ε <sup>1</sup> txew <sup>4</sup> fu kə	' -' -'
<sup>1</sup> xwa <sup>1</sup> jaja.	' -'
<sup>4</sup> xew <sup>1</sup> txew <sup>4</sup> fu nə̀kə	' -' -' -'
.....	
<sup>4</sup> d̄o <sup>1</sup> tō <sup>4</sup> leu.	- ' -'
<sup>1</sup> tō <sup>4</sup> leu <sup>1</sup> tisja	' -' -'
<sup>1</sup> vō <sup>1</sup> xā <sup>3</sup> keu.	- ' -'
<sup>1</sup> xā <sup>3</sup> keu, <sup>1</sup> xā <sup>3</sup> keu	' -' -'
<sup>3</sup> ny <sup>4</sup> dzε <sup>1</sup> t'a,	' -'
<sup>3</sup> vō ke <sup>3</sup> ni <sup>4</sup> f̄ō <sup>1</sup> sā̄	' -' -' -'
<sup>3</sup> tsxε <sup>1</sup> me <sup>1</sup> xwa.	- ' -'
<sup>1</sup> me <sup>1</sup> xwa, <sup>1</sup> me <sup>1</sup> xwa	' -' -'
mō <sup>3</sup> tsxε <sup>1</sup> fx̄ō,	' -'
<sup>3</sup> tsxεtfx̄ū <sup>3</sup> ljākə	' -' -'
<sup>4</sup> ta <sup>1</sup> me <sup>1</sup> z̄ō.	- ' -'
<sup>1</sup> me <sup>1</sup> z̄ō <sup>1</sup> me <sup>1</sup> z̄ō	' -' -'
<sup>3</sup> t'f̄h̄f̄ <sup>4</sup> f̄ā <sup>4</sup> kxā,	' -'
<sup>3</sup> vōdā <sup>3</sup> n <sup>4</sup> ç̄l	' -'
<sup>4</sup> xwe <sup>5</sup> dzwā <sup>4</sup> jā.	' -'
<sup>1</sup> me <sup>1</sup> z̄ō, <sup>1</sup> me <sup>1</sup> z̄ō	' -' -'
<sup>3</sup> t'f̄h̄f̄ <sup>4</sup> sja <sup>4</sup> ti,	' -'
<sup>3</sup> vōdā <sup>3</sup> n <sup>4</sup> ç̄l	' -'
<sup>4</sup> xwe <sup>4</sup> f̄ā <sup>4</sup> pç̄i.	' -'

<sup>1</sup> me:œ	<sup>1</sup> me:œ	' - ' -
<sup>3</sup> tʃ'h̄	<sup>5</sup> tsxũ	<sup>4</sup> jʏæ,
<sup>3</sup> vɔdɑ	<sup>3</sup> nʏœl	' - ' -
<sup>4</sup> xwe	njɛ <sup>4</sup> sje.	' - ' -
<sup>1</sup> me:œ,	<sup>1</sup> me:œ	' - ' -
<sup>3</sup> tʃ'h̄	<sup>5</sup> tsxũ <sup>1</sup> t'ɛ,	' - ' -
<sup>3</sup> vɔdɑ	<sup>3</sup> nʏœl	' - ' -
<sup>4</sup> xwe	<sup>5</sup> txwɑ <sup>1</sup> sje.	' - ' -
<sup>1</sup> me:œ,	<sup>1</sup> me:œ	' - ' -
tʃ'h̄	<sup>5</sup> tsxũ <sup>3</sup> pu,	' - ' -
<sup>3</sup> vɔdɑ	nʏœl	' - ' -
<sup>4</sup> xwe	<sup>3</sup> ta <sup>3</sup> ku.	' - ' -
<sup>1</sup> me:œ,	<sup>1</sup> me:œ,	' - ' -
<sup>3</sup> tʃ'h̄	<sup>5</sup> tsxũ	<sup>1</sup> tsxã,
<sup>3</sup> vɔdɑ	<sup>3</sup> nʏœl	' - ' -
<sup>4</sup> xwe	<sup>3</sup> kæ	<sup>1</sup> lɑ!

(Hd 210. 1. — 22. 11. 40)

“The great beans are big, and burst open into flowers. The elder brother is ploughing in the field, and the elder sister-in-law is throwing the dung-balls (in the earth). The younger sister is sending them food. It's a good harvest. The whole harvest with one splash of water has soiled the flowery trousers of the younger sister. Younger sister, younger sister, don't cry! To-morrow in the afternoon we will marry you off. What kind of cart (will it be)? — One with a red stick as a trapping, or a green sedan-chair. What kind of spotted cow? — An ox and a cow. The mother of the cow can comb her hair. In front she combs it in long tangles, and behind she combs it . . . ? Light up the lamp (In the Chinese text too, it has no meaning). Under the lamp lies the yellow dog. Yellow dog, yellow dog, if the girl is at home, I will go up the mountain and pick some plum-flowers for you. Plum flower, plum flower, you are not picked already, I will pick two great go-betweens. Go-between, go-between please go and sit on the oven-bed, for my daughter can show a polite appearance. Go-between, go-between please come down, my daughter can break winds. Go-between, go-between, please go out of the yard, my daughter can spin thread. Go-between, go-between please go out of the street, my daughter can make shoes; go-between, go-between, please go out of the town-walls, my daughter can beat the drum. Go-between, go-between go out of the city (<sup>1</sup>tsxã for <sup>1</sup>tsxœ), my daughter can chase the wolf.”

In the other rhymes, which have not the alternation of questions and answers, the story flows more freely, jumping from one idea to the other without any logical connection. Every line is made in a strict parallel form, while the rhyming end of each line becomes more subordinate in importance, in order to bring out the story itself and the parallelism of the lines of the story.

168.	<sup>1</sup> jāpxə <sup>1</sup> js <sup>4</sup> lo,	'--'
	<sup>1</sup> ly <sup>4</sup> t'o <sup>1</sup> tfxə,	'--'
	<sup>3</sup> litxew <sup>3</sup> jukə	'--'
	<sup>1</sup> mo <sup>4</sup> t'ot'o.	'--'
	.....	
	<sup>1</sup> mo <sup>4</sup> t'ot'o və:	'--'
	<sup>1</sup> nə <sup>4</sup> jo <sup>3</sup> dzælla!	'--'
	<sup>1</sup> nədə <sup>3</sup> dzæł mō <sup>1</sup> xu,	'--'
	<sup>3</sup> ni <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>4</sup> t'ake <sup>1</sup> nju: <sup>1</sup> tu.	'--'
	<sup>1</sup> nju: <sup>1</sup> tu <sup>5</sup> mō <sup>4</sup> jetsxo,	'--'
	<sup>3</sup> ni <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>4</sup> t'ake <sup>1</sup> j4əpço.	'--'
	<sup>1</sup> j4əpço <sup>3</sup> pū <sup>4</sup> xwe <sup>jo<sup>3</sup>fwe,</sup>	'--'
	<sup>3</sup> ni <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>4</sup> t'ake <sup>3</sup> sjokwe.	'--'
	<sup>3</sup> sjokwe <sup>5</sup> pū <sup>1</sup> pa <sup>1</sup> mē	'--'
	<sup>3</sup> ni <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>4</sup> t'ake <sup>4</sup> ljəpa.	'--'
	<sup>4</sup> ljəpa <sup>3</sup> pū <sup>4</sup> xwe <sup>3</sup> kxā <sup>4</sup> tsxə	'--'
	<sup>3</sup> ni <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>4</sup> t'ake <sup>3</sup> kxwazə,	'--'
	<sup>3</sup> kxwazə <sup>3</sup> pū <sup>4</sup> xwe <sup>4</sup> swā <sup>4</sup> kwa	'--'
	<sup>3</sup> ni <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>1</sup> kāfə <sup>3</sup> və <sup>l</sup> !	'--'

(Hd 210. 3. — 21. 11. 40)

"The sun is sinking down. Inside in a green sedan-chair is our little Mao-chiao-chiao (毛嬌嬌; According to Ts'ao An-hua, a girl's name). Mao-chiao-chiao asks:" I want to have jujubes! My jujubes (dates) have no stones! Your mother has been given in marriage to a calf. The calf has no straw to eat at night, and your mother is going to marry the round waterdipper. The round waterdipper cannot scoop any water, and your mother has been married to a young devil. The young devil cannot guard the door. Your mother has been married to a sickle; and the sickle cannot cut grass. Your mother has been given in marriage to a (*k'ua-tzū*) man speaking the dialect of Hopei. The *k'ua-tzū* cannot tell fortunes. Let your mother elope with me!" (<sup>1</sup>nə: I, my, me. This word is not used in the village *Hsi-ch'ai-t'ien* (Hd 210), but the child being originally from the Southern mountains was in more frequent contacts with the South (*Hun-yüan* 渾源) than with the North. It is very probably a rhyme coming from *Hun-yüan*.)

169.	<sup>1</sup> sjǝ <sup>1</sup> t f'hizə ;	'--'
	<sup>3</sup> k <sup>2</sup> ək <sup>2</sup> ə <sup>1</sup> tsxəd <sup>2</sup> ə <sup>4</sup> titi.	'--'
	<sup>3</sup> ju <sup>5</sup> jədzə: <sup>3</sup> jydzə <sup>1</sup> sjəsə.	'--'
	<sup>1</sup> sjəsə <sup>4</sup> jo <sup>4</sup> titi <sup>1</sup> tsxākəł,	'--'
	<sup>4</sup> titi <sup>1</sup> tsxā <sup>4</sup> to:	'--'
	<sup>1</sup> səswə <sup>3</sup> sjoxə,	'--'
	<sup>1</sup> tsxwəd <sup>2</sup> ə <sup>1</sup> xwōsje,	'--'
	<sup>1</sup> jojo <sup>3</sup> pe <sup>1</sup> pe	'--'
	<sup>4</sup> to <sup>5</sup> s4ätxä <sup>1</sup> l.	'--'

<sup>1</sup> sjesœ	<sup>4</sup> pjǭ	<sup>3</sup> sjo	<sup>3</sup> ŋ°œ	' - -'
<sup>3</sup> ŋ°œ	<sup>4</sup> jo	<sup>1</sup> xwe	<sup>1</sup> t'atf'hy,	' - - -'
<sup>5</sup> tfxǎ	<sup>5</sup> jǎ <sup>3</sup> tjœt	<sup>3</sup> ne,	<sup>4</sup> dzelε.	' - - - -'

(Hd 210. 3. — 21. 11. 40)

"It's Sunday. The elder brother sustains the younger brother. Once they meet the teacher of the school. The teacher wants the younger brother to sing a song. The younger brother sings:" A little child of three years old, wearing red shoes, came to the village school. Teacher, don't laugh at me, I want to go back home, and suck some milk, and then I will come back again." (pjǭ: don't. It seems to be a contraction of <sup>5</sup>pǔ-<sup>4</sup>jǭ, "it is not necessary to..." or of <sup>5</sup>pǔ-jǭ, "you must not". <sup>3</sup>ŋ°œ: bookish pronunciation of 我.)

170.	<sup>1</sup> fā <sup>4</sup> pe	<sup>4</sup> xew <sup>3</sup> txew	' - -'	
	<sup>5</sup> jǎ <sup>4</sup> mjo	<sup>1</sup> kwa	' - -'	
	<sup>5</sup> kǎ <sup>1</sup> lju	<sup>kwe</sup> <sup>3</sup> vǎt	' - -'	
	<sup>4</sup> tfxwǎ	<sup>xwe</sup> <sup>1</sup> t'a.	' - -'	
	<sup>1</sup> paxǎpaxǎ	<sup>1</sup> t'ut'u	<sup>3</sup> dzwe,	' - - - -'
	<sup>sjǎ</sup> <sup>4</sup> fœt	<sup>jǎ</sup> <sup>3</sup> ljε	<sup>1</sup> pa,	- ' - -'
	<sup>4</sup> xwœt	<sup>4</sup> fǎ	<sup>1</sup> mwǎmwǎ.	' - - -'

(Hd 253. 3. — 2. 3. 41)

"Behind the house is a melon plant, (whose) stem is all curling and winding into the house. The mother-in-law has a mouth . . . . . (?), and the daughter-in-law has a face full of pockmarks. The monkey sells (them) steamed breads."

171.	<sup>1</sup> tsǎ:	<sup>x</sup> utsǎ:	' - -'	
	<sup>4</sup> pǎxu	<sup>4</sup> pǎ,	' - -'	
	<sup>1</sup> ljǎ <sup>3</sup> kxew	<sup>3</sup> fwe	' - -'	
	<sup>jǎ</sup> <sup>4</sup> twǎ	<sup>4</sup> kxǎ.	' - -'	
	<sup>3</sup> jǎfǎ	<sup>1</sup> xεzǎ	' - - -'	
	<sup>5</sup> mǎ	<sup>st</sup> fxǔ	<sup>4</sup> fǎ.	' - -'
	<sup>5</sup> jǎ <sup>4</sup> fǎ	<sup>4</sup> fǎ	<sup>dze</sup>	' - - -'
	<sup>nǎ</sup>	<sup>1</sup> mǎetxew	<sup>4</sup> fǎ.	- ' - -'
	<sup>5</sup> tjǎ <sup>4</sup> sja	<sup>5</sup> tjǎt	<sup>fxǎ</sup>	' - - -'
	<sup>1</sup> dzǎ:	<sup>1</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> pǎ.	' - -'	
	<sup>4</sup> ju	<sup>4</sup> xwe	<sup>sta</sup> <sup>3</sup> ku	' - - -'
	<sup>4</sup> ju	<sup>4</sup> xwe	<sup>1</sup> tfxǎ.	' - -'
	<sup>1</sup> tf'hε <sup>3</sup> jε	<sup>1</sup> tfxǎlǎkǎ,	' - - - -'	
	<sup>1</sup> pǎzǎ	<sup>1</sup> tf'hǎ,	' - -'	
	<sup>4</sup> xew <sup>3</sup> jε	<sup>1</sup> tfxǎlǎkǎ	' - - - -'	
	<sup>1</sup> xuti	<sup>4</sup> ma	<sup>4</sup> jεvǎ	' - - - -'
	<sup>5</sup> xǎ <sup>4</sup> jε	<sup>1</sup> tfxǎlǎkǎ	' - - - -'	
	<sup>4</sup> ta	<sup>1</sup> ftxǎ.	' - -'	

(Hd 210. 2. — 25. 1. 41)

It appears that the rhyme is not complete.

"Snoring and buzzing, husband and wife, are sleeping on the same oven-bed. The wife bears a child, and has no place to put it down. Once she put it on the beam above the door, and the child fell down and had a mouth (a jawbone) put out of joint. It can beat the drum as well as sing the songs. In the morning it sings an air of the Shansi-theater. In the afternoon it sings the play "Hu-ti insults the king of hells, (胡迪罵閻王), at night it sings the play "Ta-chin-t'ang." (打經堂).

172.	<sup>1</sup> sjä <sup>1</sup> kwæł	<sup>4</sup> tsæ,	' -'
	<sup>4</sup> t'u <sup>4</sup> ti	<sup>1</sup> sæ.	' -'
	<sup>3</sup> lolo	<sup>3</sup> t f' h <sup>4</sup> fləkə	' -' -'
	<sup>1</sup> t f' h <sup>4</sup> φ	<sup>4</sup> vesæ.	' -'
	<sup>3</sup> lolo	txo <sup>1</sup> xä <sup>3</sup> mi,	' -' -'
	<sup>4</sup> t'umə	<sup>5</sup> sä <sup>1</sup> kwät'i	' -' -'
	<sup>4</sup> t'ut'u	<sup>4</sup> t'φ <sup>1</sup> mæ,	' -' -'
	<sup>5</sup> xä <sup>1</sup> tsxa	<sup>3</sup> talə kə <sup>4</sup> paxæ,	' -' -' -'
	<sup>1</sup> sænje	<sup>3</sup> vunjə	' -' -'
	<sup>5</sup> pü	<sup>1</sup> tæ <sup>3</sup> nida <sup>1</sup> mæ!	' -' -'

"A fragrant dandelion, grows low to the earth. The old maternal grandmother invited her own sister's nephew. The old maternal grandmother is washing the hulled milletgrains. The maternal aunt is killing a cock. The maternal uncle comes into the door. (In his inattention) he swallows the wrong way and knocks his head against a nail. "In three or five years, I will not walk through your door!"

We also find rhymes, like true lullabies, in which according to the informants the lines are said in a low voice, while rocking the child up and down in the arms to the rhythm of the verses. However, the same rhyme also is recited to amuse the children, and in this case then, they rock the child up and down in a more lively way, the rhyme too is recited in a more lively voice:

173.	<sup>1</sup> fa fə		
	<sup>4</sup> foæt fə	([or] <sup>4</sup> fo fə).	' -
	<sup>4</sup> ta <sup>1</sup> æł	ke <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>4</sup> dzwə fə,	' -
	<sup>4</sup> æł <sup>1</sup> æł	ke <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>4</sup> və fə.	' -' -' -'
	<sup>3</sup> ni	<sup>1</sup> tjə <sup>1</sup> txeu <sup>5</sup> njäkə <sup>3</sup> kwe <sup>1</sup> moly	' -' -' -' -'
	<sup>4</sup> t'o	njä <sup>4</sup> ko fə;	' -' -'
	<sup>1</sup> na	<sup>1</sup> ma xä <sup>1</sup> txa <sup>4</sup> no fə.	' -' -' -'

(Hd 210. 3. & Hd 252. 4.— 21. 11. 40)

"...?... The oldest son is sitting down for mother, the second son is lying down for mother. Your father has stolen somebody else's cripple donkey. They will accuse him. Let mother settle this thing with them." (fa fə, foæt fə: none of the boys could tell the meaning of these two words. According to Ting Jui-heng (Hd 207. 1), foæt fə is also

pronounced  $fəfə$ , and should be a corruption of  $nofə$ : to make disturbance: 鬧. He explains it as being a kind of ironic imperative: "go, and do make a disturbance!" This corruption could be due to a contamination form of the initial  $f$  of  $fəfə$ . His explanation follows the general meaning of the other lines of the rhyme where accusations for theft are mentioned. According to Ts'ao An-hua (Hd 253. 2)  $fəfə$ ,  $fəfə$  could be a corruption of the words *sa* and *so*, which he explains as "to sprinkle and sweep the floor: 灑, 掃." He thinks that they take a broom and that they sweep left and right while reciting the rhyme.)

A rhyme of the same kind, and which is recited while they move the child from left to right or up and down on their knees, is used to amuse the child, to the rhythm of the word:

174.	<sup>1</sup> la	<sup>4</sup> ta't'y	' -'	
	<sup>1</sup> tʃhæ	<sup>4</sup> ta't'y;	' -'	
	<sup>3</sup> lolo	<sup>1</sup> mǎfǎ	' -' -	
	<sup>1</sup> tʃxǎ	ta'si,	' -' -	
	<sup>1</sup> pǎ	<sup>1</sup> ku:njǎ	- ' -	
	<sup>3</sup> zǎ	<sup>3</sup> nysy.	- ' -	
	<sup>sm</sup> ǎ <sup>3</sup> ljedǎ	<sup>4</sup> vesǎ	- ' -' -	
	<sup>3</sup> je	<sup>4</sup> jo	<sup>4</sup> tʃ'hy.	- ' -
	<sup>5</sup> jǎkǎ	<sup>5</sup> kwǎkwǎ,	' -' -	
	<sup>3</sup> taxwe	<sup>4</sup> tʃ'hy,	- ' -	
	<sup>1</sup> xǎ	<sup>4</sup> jo	<sup>4</sup> tʃ'hy!	' -'

(Hd 253. 2. — December 1938)

"Draw the big saw, pull the big saw! The maternal grandmother is in the door and sings a great theater song. They sent the girl back and quarreled with the son-in-law. The utterly shameless nephew also wants to go (to the theater). With a slap on his face, beat him back home! He still wants to go!"

Five different variants from very different places in China are to be found in the chinese publications of *Ko-yao-chou-k'an*: Ko-yao 2 vol., fasc. 1. p. 4:

拉大鋸  
 扯大鋸  
 姥姥家門口唱大戲  
 接閨女  
 送女婿  
 小姪姪  
 也要去

*Ko-yao* 3 Vol. fasc. 53, p. 8: 奉天, 綏中

扯大鋸, 拉大鋸  
 媧嫁門口唱大戲  
 接閨女, 喚女婿  
 小外外, 你也去  
 篩羅打麵做饽饽  
 你一個, 我一個  
 給小外外留一個  
 留一個貓吃了  
 一打貓, 貓上樹了  
 樹呢? 火燒了, 火呢水欺了  
 水呢, 牛喝了, 牛呢, 剝皮了  
 牛皮呢, 做鼓了, 鼓呢, 打壞了  
 鼓圈呢, 上天了.

Here we seemingly have a growing together of two different themes of songs.

*Ko-yao*, 4. Vol. 49 fasc. 口北歌謠.

1. 拉大鋸, 扯大鋸  
 媧媧門口唱大戲  
 搬閨女, 讓女婿  
 外甥女子也要去  
 一個耳光, 扭回去
2. 拉鋸, 扯鋸  
 媧媧家門上唱戲  
 接來不去  
 光着腳兒趕的去.

*Ko-yao* 12th year, fasc. 31, p. 7 has the same rhyme only as introductory lines for an entirely different song:

割大鋸, 拉大鋸  
 割他老娘的大槐樹. . . . .

Jablonski, also (op. cit.) p. 11, n° 79 gives another variant of that song.

175. <sup>4</sup>sjoxwæł <sup>4</sup>sjo ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>lje ta<sup>4</sup>txo, ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>jeje <sup>1</sup>pefə, ' - ' -  
<sup>4</sup>nene <sup>4</sup>njo. ' - '  
<sup>4</sup>nene <sup>4</sup>njo<sup>1</sup>jeje ' - - ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>jə <sup>3</sup>tsxo<sup>4</sup>mo. ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>jeje <sup>1</sup>natf'hi kə ' - ' - -  
<sup>3</sup>kwekwæł <sup>3</sup>ta ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>nene <sup>3</sup>fwä: ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>pæł <sup>3</sup>ta, <sup>1</sup>pæł <sup>3</sup>ta, - ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>ke <sup>3</sup>ni kə - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>nju:nju <sup>5</sup>kətræł <sup>3</sup>fwä. ' - ' - ' -'

(Hd 252. 4. — 22. 11. 40)

"Laughing with the jests, (saying) a whole string of words! Grandfather carries on his shoulder, while grandmother pisses; she pisses grandfather's hat all wet. Grandfather takes his stick to beat her. Grandmother says:" Don't beat me! Don't beat me! I'll give you a breast to play with."

In another place the same rhyme is known but from the third line on it sounds:

176. <sup>3</sup>nene <sup>4</sup>njola, ' - ' -  
<sup>1</sup>jeje jə <sup>3</sup>tsxomo. ' - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>jeje <sup>1</sup>na <sup>3</sup>kwekwæł <sup>3</sup>ta, ' - - ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>nene <sup>5</sup>fwä: <sup>1</sup>pæł <sup>3</sup>ta, <sup>1</sup>pæł <sup>3</sup>ta, ' - - ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>ke <sup>3</sup>ni kə <sup>1</sup>nju:nju <sup>5</sup>kətwə<sup>3</sup>fwä. ' - - ' - ' - ' -'

(Hd 253. 2. — December 1938)

In another rhyme, the same introductory line is found, but the story is entirely different:

168. <sup>3</sup>sjoxwæł <sup>4</sup>sjo ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>lje ta <sup>4</sup>txo ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>kwæł t'f'hi <sup>3</sup>ma ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>və <sup>4</sup>dzwo <sup>4</sup>t'o. ' - '  
<sup>3</sup>ju <sup>1</sup>zə <sup>4</sup>və: ' - '  
<sup>1</sup>kwə <sup>4</sup>ta <sup>3</sup>sjo? ' - '  
<sup>5</sup>xüli<sup>5</sup>xütəu, ' - ' -  
<sup>5</sup>pü <sup>1</sup>dzə:<sup>4</sup>to. ' - ' (Hd 207. 2. — 21. 11. 40)

"Laughing with the jests, and saying a whole string of words! An official is riding on a horse, and I sit on the sedan-chair. People ask me how great is the official? And stupidly (I answer): I don't know."

Some of these rhyming stories develop into an exercise of counting and still further into a more difficult playing with numbers:



178. <sup>4</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>æ dzε <sup>1</sup>fāfə <sup>4</sup>dzæ ' \_ \_ ' \_ '  
<sup>4</sup>æ<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>æ <sup>3</sup>fwa jə<sup>4</sup>kxwə <sup>4</sup>tæ. ' \_ ' \_ \_ '  
<sup>1</sup>sæ<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>æ tʃ<sup>1</sup>hi <sup>5</sup>jəsə <sup>4</sup>tjε, ' \_ ' \_ \_ '  
<sup>4</sup>sə:k<sup>2</sup>æ <sup>3</sup>no fā <sup>1</sup>to <sup>4</sup>pçε, ' \_ ' \_ \_ '  
<sup>3</sup>vu<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>æ <sup>3</sup>kwō jə<sup>4</sup>kxwə <sup>4</sup>tæ. ' \_ ' \_ \_ '

(Hd 215. 1. — 24. 11. 40)

“The eldest brother stands above on the roof of the house, the second one plays with an egg, the third one has scurvy all over his body, the fourth one takes a knife to attack the other, the fifth one is rolling an egg . . . ”

179. <sup>4</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>nju <sup>4</sup>t'φ<sup>4</sup>ti, ' \_ \_ ' \_ '  
<sup>4</sup>æ<sup>1</sup>nju <sup>5</sup>dʒwǎ, ' \_ '  
<sup>1</sup>sæ<sup>1</sup>nju <sup>4</sup>swō<sup>4</sup>fæ ' \_ \_ '  
<sup>3</sup>xo <sup>1</sup>dzā<sup>1</sup>t'a; \_ ' \_ '  
<sup>4</sup>sə:nju <sup>4</sup>dzwæ <sup>4</sup>ti ' \_ \_ '  
<sup>4</sup>sja <sup>3</sup>lova; \_ ' \_ '  
<sup>3</sup>vu:<sup>1</sup>nju <sup>1</sup>dzwæ <sup>4</sup>kwə, ' \_ \_ '  
<sup>3</sup>tsǎæ <sup>5</sup>kə<sup>1</sup>dza, \_ ' \_ '  
<sup>4</sup>ju:<sup>1</sup>nju <sup>1</sup>sotxwæ <sup>3</sup>txwe ja! . ' \_ ' \_ ' \_ \_ '

(Hd 75. 1. — 24. 11. 40)

“The big cow ploughs the land, the second cow throws dungballs, the third cow sends them food. It is a good harvest. The fourth cow goes around the field, a raven comes down. The fifth cow stands by the fire-kettle, and scrapes the burned clusters (from the bottom of the kettle), the sixth cow burns away her feet.” (The first four lines of this rhyme are a variant only of the beginning of the rhyme n° 167).

This playing with numbers may become a real accumulation of difficult and complicated figures as in the “jaw-breakers” — rhymes of the marriage celebrations:

180. <sup>4</sup>tā<sup>4</sup>jyæ <sup>5</sup>jəkə <sup>5</sup>dzwǎzə, ' \_ ' \_ ' \_ \_ '  
<sup>4</sup>fālə <sup>5</sup>tʃ'həfə<sup>4</sup>ælkə <sup>5</sup>pǎzə, ' \_ ' \_ ' \_ ' \_ \_ '  
<sup>4</sup>fālə <sup>4</sup>ætteu <sup>5</sup>mjǎzə, ' \_ ' \_ ' \_ \_ '  
<sup>4</sup>fālə <sup>5</sup>tʃ'həfə<sup>4</sup>ælkə <sup>5</sup>sǎzə, ' \_ ' \_ ' \_ ' \_ \_ '  
<sup>4</sup>fālə <sup>5</sup>tʃ'həfə<sup>4</sup>ælkə <sup>5</sup>kǎzə. ' \_ ' \_ ' \_ ' \_ \_ '  
.....  
<sup>1</sup>fələ kə <sup>5</sup>kǎzə, ' \_ \_ ' \_ \_ '  
<sup>4</sup>tʃxwǎlə kə <sup>5</sup>sǎzə, ' \_ \_ ' \_ \_ '  
<sup>1</sup>sələ <sup>5</sup>mjǎzə, ' \_ ' \_ \_ '  
<sup>3</sup>talə <sup>5</sup>pǎzə. ' \_ ' \_ \_ \_ \_ '  
.....

4'to 4mut'ā skā 5dzwāzə,	' - - - ' -
1dzæ't'ajo 3me 5pāzə,	' - - ' - -
1twōt' 1t'i 4ljā 5mjāzə	' - - ' - -
1fāxā 1sā fə 5dzwā 5kāzə	' - - ' - -
3vutalā 1txewfā 5dzwā 5sāzə.	' - - ' - - ' - -

(Hd 252. 4. — 22. 11. 40)

“In the middle of the courtyard is a table, on the table are put seventy two pots, and two bushels of grain, seventy-two lice, and seventy-two pigeons. The pigeon has flown away, the lice have gone to the body of another man, the grain has been spilt, the pots are broken. The carpenter must make a table, in *Cheng-chia-yao* we will buy new pots, in *Tung-ching-chi* we will buy the grain<sup>11</sup>. At the mountain of the phoenix we will take pigeons, and from the head of *Wu-ta-lang* we will take some lice.”

In this rhyme the introductory line is similar to the riddle n° 97, 98. There is a difference in the numbers on which the play is made in comparison with other rhymes. Here we find the number 72 repeated over several lines, while in rhymes as n° 78, 79 it is always a number where the units and the tens are the same, as f.i. 77, 88, 99 etc. . .

With this kind of rhyme we can compare the rhymes, which the children recite, when going to play, to divide themselves into two groups, or to count out, who is “it”.

181. 5jō <sup>3</sup> pa 1t f'hō	' - -
5jō <sup>3</sup> pa 4dzwō,	' - -
5jō <sup>3</sup> pa 3vādzu,	' - - -
5xōljū <sup>4</sup> kwō.	' - -

(Hd 219. 1. — 16. 3. 41)

“One grasp is light, one grasp is heavy. One grasp holds in his grip a . . . ? stick.”

This rhyme is still very easy to understand, but as it is clear that with that sort of rhymes the aim is more to have a *rhythmic* sentence, by which counting can be done more easily, these rhymes are often devoid of any clear intelligible sense, and can become most corrupt in their word-content. One example is the rhyme recited to count out who is “it”: “la. 1zæf”. They all make a fist, with the thumb held upright, and they grasp each others thumb so as to make a long chain of superposed fists. Then they start counting, and the ninth is “it”. In this rhyming sequence almost only the numbers are clearly intelligible. In the translation of the example, we give here, we have expressed only the ideas which the children suggested:

11) *Tung-ching-chi* 東井集 is a market-village of great importance (Cy 788), and *Cheng-chia-yao* 鄭家窰 is situated on the border of *Yang-yuan-hsien* and *Kuang-ling-hsien*, (陽原, 廣靈) right North-North-East of the city *Kuang-ling*, at a distance of some 40 li from the city of *Kuang-ling*.

182.	<sup>5</sup> jǎ	<sup>5</sup> pǎ	<sup>4</sup> æ <sup>4</sup> ŋɛ,	' - ' -
	<sup>1</sup> ljǎ	<sup>1</sup> sǎ	<sup>k</sup> xɛ <sup>4</sup> sə:	' - ' -
	<sup>5</sup> kǎpǎ <sup>3</sup> vu			' - ' -
	<sup>4</sup> tǎdzǎ	<sup>4</sup> lju		' - ' -
	<sup>1</sup> t'ǫ	<sup>st</sup> f'hǎ	<sup>4</sup> ǎpǎ,	' - ' -
	<sup>3</sup> dzǎ <sup>3</sup> t'u	<sup>5</sup> jǎ <sup>5</sup> fǎ:		' - ' -
	<sup>3</sup> sǰoto	<sup>4</sup> tato		' - ' -
	<sup>3</sup> loxu	<sup>4</sup> kxǎto		' - ' -
	<sup>5</sup> pǎsǎ	<sup>4</sup> tǫ <sup>4</sup> dzo.		' - ' -

(Hd 253. different boys on 15. 3. 41)

"One hundred and two artemisia-plants, a good three and a cripple four. The arm five reaches to six, a golden seven and a broken eight, growing to nine and one ten. A small knife and big a knife, the tiger sees the lice and the fleas."

Another method for counting out, is to put the forefinger in the handpalm of the child who counts them out, while they recite:

183.	<sup>3</sup> tjɛtjɛ		' -	
	<sup>1</sup> twǎ <sup>1</sup> twǎ		' -	
	<sup>1</sup> pɛit'f'hɛ		' -	
	<sup>3</sup> kwǎlwǎ.		' -	
	<sup>3</sup> ju	<sup>1</sup> t'f'hɛ	<sup>4</sup> dzɛ <sup>1</sup> vɛ,	' - -'
	<sup>5</sup> mǎ	<sup>1</sup> t'f'hɛ	<sup>1</sup> twǎkwǎ.	' - ' - (Hd 210. 1. — 16. 3. 41)

"Pile up, heap up, the old money rolls forth. If you have money stand outside, if you have no money, you pile (it) up (there)."

In the village *Tai-wang* (大王, Hd 253) I saw the same group of children (as in n° 182) playing while reciting alternately always the same rhyme. They formed two rows, standing hand in hand, the two rows facing each other, and by turns each of the rows had to say a line of a four-lined verse:

184.	A.	<sup>1</sup> t'it'i	<sup>1</sup> ljǫ	' -'
	B.	<sup>3</sup> pɛxo	<sup>3</sup> ma <sup>1</sup> t'fxǎ.	' -'
	A.	<sup>3</sup> mat'fxǎ	<sup>1</sup> kɛɛ,	' -'
	B.	<sup>4</sup> jo	<sup>1</sup> fwe?	-'

(Hd 253. group of children. 15. 3. 41)

"A chicken's feather, running against a horse city. The horse city opens, whom do you want?"

Then the other side (A) again, must call the name of a child of the opposite row, and this one must run against the other side as hard as possible to break through the lines.

In the *Ko-yao-chou-k'an* publications, there is a number of variants, which might be interesting for comparison:

*Ko-yao-chou-k'an*, 3 vol. fasc. 145, p. 5-7

綬中奉天, 跑馬城

馬城開, 丫頭小子給大爺送馬來

要那一個? 要紅菱

紅菱沒在家要他老歌兒三 Sua.

奉天·城東·急急聆跑馬城

馬城開, 丫頭小子送馬來.

要那一個?

要當間花花溜溜小矮個.

*Ko-yao*: 2 vol. fasc. 12, p. 7: 河北.

雞雞翎, 跑馬城

馬城開

丫頭小子送馬來.

*Ibid.* fasc. 20, p. 7:

雞雞翎, 跑馬城

馬城開, 閨女小子送馬來

小子小子要哪個

就要你老笨貨

However, there is always the same difficulty as in the variant n° 184, where the meaning of the word “*ma-tʃxə*: horse-city” remains to be explained. There is only one variant which gives a hint about the original meaning, which must have been corrupted into the form of the other above-cited rhymes. It is the variant, in “*Social Survey of Ting-hsien*”: 定縣社會概況調查, 1933, p. 331:

野雞翎

跑麻繩

麻繩開

將那小雞撒過來.

Here we understand more easily how the row made by standing hand in hand, facing one another, is compared to a *hemp-cord*, which the runners from the opposite side must break through.

Some rhymes of this kind, which I collected in *Yang-kao-hsien* (cfr. p. 270) must still be given:

185.	<sup>5</sup> jǎkə	<sup>3</sup> mudʒu	' - ' -
	<sup>5</sup> pǎkə	<sup>3</sup> nɛ.	' - ' -
	<sup>3</sup> dzeu	jǎpu	' - ' -
	<sup>5</sup> pǎ	pǎ <sup>3</sup> lɛ.	' - ' -
	<sup>3</sup> tʃ'hulə	kǎ <sup>4</sup> twōlə,	' - - ' -
	pǎ <sup>3</sup> lɛ	jǎ <sup>4</sup> dzǎlə.	- ' - ' -

"One sow, with eight teats; at every step, there are eight danglings (of the teats). Coming before a small pool, they dangle again for a time."

186.	<sup>4</sup> kxǎ	fǎ	<sup>4</sup> dzwǎləkə	<sup>3</sup> lonjǎ,	' - ' - - ' -	
	<sup>4</sup> tʃ'xǎlə	<sup>4</sup> tʃ'h'xǎlə	kə	<sup>3</sup> lojǎ,	' - ' - - ' -	
	<sup>3</sup> lonjǎ	sǎ	<sup>5</sup> tʃxǎ	kə	<sup>3</sup> lojǎ,	' - ' - - ' -
	<sup>3</sup> lonjǎ	<sup>3</sup> j'xǎto	kə	<sup>3</sup> lojǎ,	' - ' - - ' -	
	<sup>3</sup> lonjǎ	<sup>5</sup> sǎlə	kə	<sup>3</sup> lojǎ,	' - ' - - ' -	
	<sup>3</sup> lonjǎ	<sup>5</sup> tʃxǎlə	kə	<sup>3</sup> lojǎ.	' - ' - - ' -	

"On the ovenbed sits an old woman, in the stable is an old sheep. The old woman wants to eat an old sheep. The old woman pushes down the old sheep, the old woman kills the old sheep, the old woman eats the old sheep."

187.	<sup>1</sup> nǎ	<sup>1</sup> sǎtxeu	' - ' -		
	<sup>3</sup> jukə	<sup>5</sup> kxwǎskxwǎ.	' - ' -		
	<sup>5</sup> kxwǎskxwǎ	<sup>3</sup> litxeu	' - ' -		
	<sup>3</sup> jukə	<sup>5</sup> txwǎstxwǎ.	' - ' -		
	<sup>5</sup> pǎ <sup>1</sup> sǎtxeu		' - ' -		
	<sup>3</sup> jɛ	<sup>3</sup> jukə	<sup>5</sup> kxwǎskxwǎ.	' - - ' -	
	<sup>5</sup> kxwǎskxwǎ	<sup>3</sup> litxeu	' - ' -		
	<sup>3</sup> jɛ	<sup>4</sup> dzuləkə	<sup>4</sup> txwǎstxwǎ.	- ' - - ' -	
	<sup>1</sup> nǎsǎtxeu	<sup>5</sup> kxwǎskxwǎ	<sup>3</sup> litxeuda		
	<sup>5</sup> txwǎstxwǎ.			' - - ' - ' - - ' -	
	xǎ	<sup>5</sup> pǎ <sup>1</sup> sǎtxeu	<sup>3</sup> kxwǎskxwǎ	<sup>3</sup> litxeuda	
	<sup>5</sup> txwǎstxwǎ,				- ' - - ' - ' - - ' -
	<sup>4</sup> t'ɛlə	<sup>3</sup> vu <sup>1</sup> fǎ	<sup>5</sup> kwǎskwǎ.		' - ' - ' -
	<sup>5</sup> pǎ <sup>1</sup> sǎtxeu	<sup>5</sup> kxwǎskxwǎ	<sup>3</sup> litxeuda		
	<sup>5</sup> txwǎstxwǎ.				' - - ' - ' - - ' -
	xǎ	<sup>1</sup> nǎsǎtxeu	<sup>5</sup> kxwǎskxwǎ	<sup>3</sup> litxeuda	
	<sup>5</sup> txwǎstxwǎ,				- ' - - ' - ' - - ' -
	<sup>4</sup> jo	<sup>3</sup> ni	<sup>3</sup> vu <sup>1</sup> fǎ	<sup>5</sup> kwǎskwǎ,	' - ' - ' -
	jɛ	pǎ <sup>3</sup> ke	txǎ	<sup>5</sup> kwǎskwǎ,	' - ' - ' -
	<sup>3</sup> fǎtxwǎ	<sup>3</sup> taləkə.	<sup>5</sup> kxwǎskxwǎ.		' - ' - - ' -

"One the top of the Southern mountain is a little hole. In that little hole is a little baldhead. On the top of the northern mountain is also a little hole, and in that little hole also dwells a little baldhead. The little baldhead of the little hole on the top of the Southern mountain and the little

baldhead of the Northern mountain, have borrowed five pints of grain. The little baldhead of the little hole of the Northern mountain-top, and the little baldhead of the little hole of the Southern mountain-top wants from you five pints of grain, and they don't give them the grain, but started fighting with them till they cried."

188.	<sup>3</sup> sjō <sup>1</sup> pe <sup>4</sup> tsxε,	' - '
	<sup>4</sup> t'et'ε <sup>1</sup> xwā,	' - '
	<sup>4</sup> kōsō <sup>1</sup> tjetjε	' - ' -
	<sup>4</sup> dzō <sup>3</sup> xo <sup>4</sup> fεu.	' - '
	<sup>4</sup> tē <sup>4</sup> paxa nā <sup>1</sup> tjetjε	' - - ' -
	<sup>3</sup> t f'hy <sup>4</sup> xεu <sup>1</sup> njā.	- ' -
	<sup>3</sup> t f'hy <sup>4</sup> dzwē <sup>4</sup> xεu <sup>1</sup> njā,	' - ' -
	<sup>4</sup> pāpā <sup>1</sup> txā.	' - '
	<sup>1</sup> zæt'a <sup>3</sup> tfxō <sup>4</sup> tfxεu	' - - '
	<sup>3</sup> vō xā <sup>1</sup> t f'hō.	' - '
	<sup>4</sup> twē <sup>3</sup> t f'hi kō <sup>4</sup> fāvē	' - - ' -
	<sup>4</sup> le <sup>1</sup> vāvā....	' - '
	<sup>5</sup> kā <sup>4</sup> sja kō <sup>4</sup> kxwεzō	' - - ' -
	<sup>3</sup> sjā <sup>1</sup> t f'hō <sup>1</sup> njā.	- ' -

"The little cabbage is gradually growing yellow; I follow my father; it is just the time to gather it in. I am only afraid that my father will marry a stepmother. When he is married to a stepmother, I get the soup with only some dough-balls in it. Other people eat the thick (doughballs), and I am drinking (only) the thin (soup). I take up my eating-bowl, and I weep bitterly (and silently ...). I put down my chopsticks, and think of my own mother ... !"

189.	<sup>1</sup> t f'hō <sup>1</sup> tce <sup>1</sup> lētce,	' - ' -
	<sup>d</sup> zō <sup>1</sup> lētētce.	' - ' -
	<sup>3</sup> lotceje na	' - ' -
	<sup>5</sup> sā <sup>1</sup> zē mō <sup>3</sup> sēt f'he.	' - ' - ' -
	<sup>5</sup> sālō na <sup>4</sup> pāzō	' - - ' -
	<sup>5</sup> pū <sup>4</sup> kwē.	' -
	<sup>5</sup> sālō na <sup>1</sup> dzāfu	' - - ' -
	<sup>d</sup> zē <sup>1</sup> sjōswē.	' - '
	<sup>1</sup> t'īlō <sup>5</sup> tfxō.	' - '
	<sup>5</sup> kālō xā.	' - '
	<sup>3</sup> lōlō <sup>1</sup> tfxwē	' - '
	<sup>5</sup> zālō <sup>3</sup> txwā!	' - '
	<sup>1</sup> fo <sup>1</sup> xwōdō <sup>5</sup> tçā	' - - ' -
	<sup>5</sup> pū <sup>3</sup> sy <sup>3</sup> dzwā.	' - ' -
	<sup>4</sup> sō:fō <sup>3</sup> vu <sup>1</sup> tçε	' - ' -
	<sup>4</sup> kāpē <sup>5</sup> jā!	' - ' -

“A blue sky, a real blue sky! The old Lord of Heaven kills men without any distinction. If he kills that other man there, I don't bother! If he kills that husband there (of mine), I will feel sorrow at heart. Are you hungry, eat! Are you thirsty, drink! If you feel cold, put on your clothes! If you feel hot, take them off! A redhot iron, you may not take in your hand! Fourty-five days make a month and half.”<sup>12)</sup>

A variant of the first part of this rhyme is to be found in *Ko-yao* II, n° 15, p. 6: 塞北歌謠: 哭丈夫.

青天藍天紫綠綠天  
 老天爺殺人有深淺  
 殺了別人還罷了  
 殺了我的丈夫真可憐死了。

**Addenda:**

In the collection of Chinese riddles from Jehol province by F.F. De Jaegher en Van Durme (*Sino-Mongolica*, II, 1, p. 16 & 18, a variant is given for n° 25 and 26: *Buckwheat*:

*San k'uai wa*  
*kai siao miao*  
*li-t'ou chu-ko*  
*pai lao-tao.*

“Three tiles cover a little temple, etc....

For n° 51: *Heaven*:

*Ch'ing-shih-pan*  
*pan shih ch'ing*  
*ch'ing shih-pan shang*  
*kua i-teng.*

“A grey slate, the slate is grey; on the grey slate hangs a lamp”. (Heaven with the moon during night).

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12) The same rhyme is to be found in *Jablonski* p. 107 n° 65. It should be added that this rhyme according to the information given to me at Lo-wen-tsao, is also sometimes sung.