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Minhe Mangghuer Wedding Songs Musical Characteristics

Abstract

The musical characteristics of the noninstrumental Minhe Mangghuer wedding songs performed in the homes of the bride and groom in Minhe Hui and Mangghuer (Tu) Autonomous County, Qinghai Province, are examined. In terms of musical characteristics, there is no great leap from one note to another. Although there are many lines in some songs, there are only one or two key lines in terms of musical characteristics. Other lines are similar with limited variation. A context for each song is also provided in an appendix.

Key words: Mangghuer (Monguor, Tu)—China minorities—Qinghai—folk music—weddings—marriage—Mongolian

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his study specifically addresses the musical characteristics of songs that are an inseparable part of Minhe Mangghuer weddings. Minhe Hui and Mangghuer Autonomous County is located in the eastern portion of China's northwestern Qinghai Province and is home to approximately 39,000 of China's Monguor population,¹ which exceeded 190,000 in 1990. The Monguor reside primarily in Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County, Minhe Hui and Mangghuer Autonomous County, Datong Hui and Monguor Autonomous County, and Huangnan Prefecture, all in eastern Qinghai. Monguor also live in Tianzhu County in Gansu Province.

Various elements of the Minhe and Huzhu Monguor cultures have been introduced in a variety of recent publications, e.g., ZHU, ÜJIYEDIIN CHULUU, and STUART (1994/95) and QI, LIMUSISHIDEN, and STUART (1997). Additionally, SCHRAM (1954, 1957, 1961) and SCHRÖDER (1952, 1953, 1959, 1970) provide information about Monguor stemming from research before 1949.

This article adds to these studies by providing musical elements of this endangered culture and by furnishing students of the Monguor with detailed information, thus permitting comparative research with other, related, nationalities, as well as different groups of Monguor. A recent study (QI et al. 1997 and 1998), published in five parts in *Chinese Music*, of the Huzhu Mongghul wedding songs suggests, for example, that at least the wedding songs of the Huzhu and Minhe Monguor are very different. We know almost nothing about Monguor wedding songs in Datong Hui and Monguor Autonomous County and Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (in Qinghai) and Gansu Province.

PREVIOUS MINHE MANGGHUER WEDDING SONG STUDIES

In terms of the Minhe Mangghuer wedding, a lengthy collection of wedding song texts, sans musical notation, written in Chinese characters appeared in ZHAO (1982). WANG and STUART (1995a and 1995b) and WANG, ZHU, and STUART (1995) presented texts of various wedding songs in the original and with accompanying English translation. They did not, however, provide musical notation or comments about the music. English translations of other weddings songs appeared in HU and STUART (1992) and in MA (1990). The present study is, thus, the first study presenting the music of these songs.

For this article Zhu Yongzhong collected songs from Mangghuer living in Zhongchuan Township and in Gangou Hui Autonomous Township, both in Minhe County. The songs were recorded on cassette tape, which the first author used to write the music. Furthermore, cassette tapes of songs presented in WANG, ZHU, and STUART (1995) were also used. End notes provide additional information about collection, and the appendix briefly sketches the context of the songs. Readers may wish to consult the appendix before finishing the article.

MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Minhe Mangghuer wedding songs are discussed in terms of their musical characteristics and are divided into three categories. The first category discusses songs that have a similar theme, the second discusses songs that are thematically unrelated, and the third category contains songs characterized by free measure.

SONGS WITH A SIMILAR THEME There is one theme



and one motif in these songs:

The motif is not developed. After the motif, the theme is repeated, except in bar 1, in most of the following songs. In the first fourteen songs presented below, this theme and this motif, or development from this theme and this motif, appear. In terms of the theme and the motif, certain songs share greater similarity than others. Consequently, the songs are divided into two parts: those that are very similar and those that represent a development of the theme.

Similar Thematic Content

SONG ONE

There are three lines in Song One. The main parts are lines 2 and 3. Line 3 is very similar to line 2, which repeats the theme. The difference between lines 1 and 2 is in the rhythm of bar 1. Line 1 is sung only once.



Nails from the city of Xining, Cap from the city of Lanzhou. Take off the cap, take off the matchmaker's cap.

Song Two

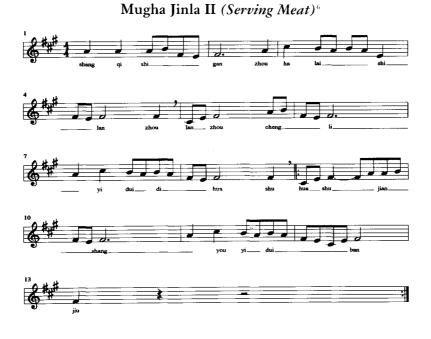
There are four lines in this song. In terms of the theme and the motif, lines 1 and 2 are complete. Lines 3 and 4 are similar to line 1. The first beat of bar 11 in line 3 changes depending on the lyrics.

Mugha Jinla I (Serving Meat)³



Go up to Ganzhou,⁴ Come down to Liangzhou.⁵ There are two birches in Liangzhou City, There are two turtledoves in birch tops. The first arrow is shot too high, The second arrow is shot too low, The third arrow is shot at the turtledoves' necks.

In a variation of *Mugha Jinla*, line 1 develops from the theme and motif. Lines 2 and 3 are similar to the theme and there is a slight change in the first beat in line 3 that alters the tune.



Go up to Ganzhou, Come down to Lanzhou. There are two birches in Lanzhou City, There are two turtledoves in birch tops.

SONG THREE

In the four lines of Song Three, lines 1 and 2 are nearly the same. If the first and the second beats of bar 4 of line 1 are removed, the following tune is the same as the theme. The motif appears in line 3. Line 4 is similar to line 1. Furthermore, in a variation, bars 10 and 11 are sung:





Fucha tea in the city of Xining, Zhuancha⁸ tea in the city of Lanzhou, Chosen from among twenty-four. Boiled in the pot, it is very black, Spooned up into bowls, it is very red, Two suguan come drink tea.

SONG FOUR

This song condenses the theme into four bars. Line 2 is similar to line 1. A difference is made by changes in measure.



SONG FIVE

Lines 1 and 2 are similar to the theme. Bar 9 is the motif. The bars that follow are the same as line 1.

Qie Zhenbin (Cutting Bread)¹⁰



We chose this day from lunar months and the lunar months from years, Searched repeatedly and chose the coldest days of winter, the third nine-day period after the winter solstice, It is a cleaver 3.5 chi long with a pine handle, The steamed cakes are so frozen that they look very white, Our palms are so painful that we cannot cut the bread.

In a variation of "Qie Zhenbin," line 1 is similar to the theme. In line 2, bar 1 is the motif and the remainder of the line is the same as line 1. The two lines are repeated three times. Line 4 is a variation of line 2. Line 5 is similar to line 2.



- *We chose this day from lunar months and chose the lunar month from years,*¹¹
- Searched repeatedly and chose the coldest days of winter, the third nine-day period after the winter solstice,

The two loaves of steamed bread are so frozen that they look very white, Our palms are so painful that we cannot cut the bread.

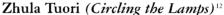
You two suguan come slice the steamed bread,

If you can, slice them into four parts with one cleaver-stroke, Slice them into eight parts in two cleaver-strokes, If you cannot, slice them into two parts in cleaver-strokes, Slice them into four parts in two cleaver-strokes. Our palms are so painful that we cannot slice the bread.

SONG SIX

Song Six combines the theme and the motif in line 1, making the line longer. There are only three bars in line 2, which is supplementary material of line 1.





Big stars in heaven mingle with small stars, There is a lamp on a table on earth, The lamp is not a lamp and the fire is not a fire.

In a second version of this song, line 3 is no longer three-four time, but becomes four-four time. Although there is a new motif in line 3, it is not developed in the following line. Thus, from line 3 there is only a significant variation in rhythm. Other elements such as pitch are almost the same as described in the above stanza.



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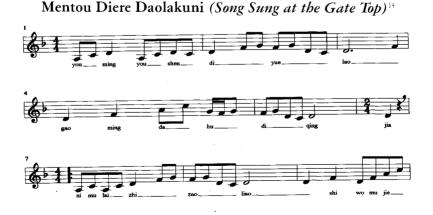


Big stars in heaven mingle with small stars,¹³ There is a lamp on a table on earth, The lamp is not a lamp and the fire is not a fire, It is Doujin City that Dou Goddess built. The matchmaker sits at the back of the kang. What people sit on the kang edge? The lamp watchmen sit on the kang edge.

Similar Thematic Development

SONG SEVEN

There are four lines in Song Seven. Line 1 develops from the theme. There is a new motif in bar 4, which is not developed in the following tune. Line 2 is condensed into line 1. Line 3 is the same as line 2, except in the motif of bar 1. Line 4 turns on the theme initially and then it continues as in bars 2, 3, 4, and 5 of line 2. Furthermore, the music of the "Song Sung at the Gate Top" and "Washing *Shuyi*" is the same. Lyrics of "Song Sung at the Gate Top" are used below:



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You are a matchmaker enjoying a good reputation, And you are the couple's parents of high repute and large family, If you come early, then we welcome you late, If you come late, then we welcome you early. Matchmaker, you take care, On our trip at a five-li¹⁵ distance, the horse-neck-bells make sounds.

SONG EIGHT

Line 1 develops from the theme. Lines 2 and 3 are similar and develop from line 1.





Let's uncover our woman's scarf, We hand what we uncover to Storehouse Granny. Storehouse Granny puts layers and layers of wealth into your rich storehouse.

SONG NINE

The motif appears in bar 1, line 1. The tune that follows is the same as the theme. Line 2 is similar to line 1. Line 3 is the same as the theme. Line 4 resembles line 3.

Xiu Huer (Embroidering Flowers)¹⁷



Embroidered flowers, embroidered flowers, Embroidered flowers on the window, Embroidered flowers, embroidered flowers, Embroidered flowers on the window, I carry the motherless child on my back,

I hold my child in my arms, I steam boluoluo lotus¹⁸ in a pot, I stew spirits as strong as fire in a spirit jug.

Song Ten

There are two stanzas in Song Ten. Lines 1, 2, 3 and 4 comprise stanza 1, which is the song's prelude. Next, many lines of lyrics are sung, but the music does not change. Lines 5 and 6 comprise stanza 2. The song develops from the theme. The theme's motif is obvious in stanza 1. This includes bars 1, 5, 6, and 7. Lines 1 and 3 are the same. Lines 2 and 4 are similar. The rhythm changes in stanza 2, which develops from stanza 1. Finally, the double meter makes the tune very active.

Boghuolinni Andige (Lower Egg)¹⁹



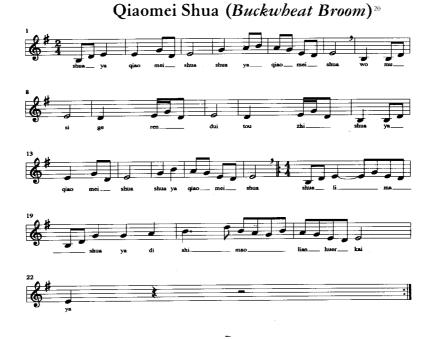
The egg in the lower place, please be lower. Yeast will be mixed with sorghum, They are put over a pan with boiling water, The liquor will be clarified in a wine jar made from sand.

SONG ELEVEN

Line 1 develops from the theme. Line 2 employs a new motif in its development. Bars 15, 16, and 17 are supplementary material of line 2. Line 3 combines the theme and the motif and the measure changes from two-four time to four-four time.

It is interesting to note that there are two stanzas in Song Eleven, which become a cadence because of variation in measure and the nature of supplementary material. There is only one line in stanza 2, which is often repeated.

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Waving buckwheat brooms, Waving buckwheat brooms, The four of us wave buckwheat brooms, By putting our heads together, What we wave are as beautiful as small lotus blossoms, We dance as well as morning star lily blossoms.

SONG TWELVE

There are two lines in Song Twelve. Line 1 is the introduction. Line 2 is the main part of the tune and it is repeated many times with different lyrics. However, here only four lines of lyrics are used as an example. When bars 3 and 9 are compared, we see that the former allows the line to continue, while the latter explains the lines' short break. Although the measure changes to three-four time, certain elements of the theme are evident in bar 1 of line 2.



The river roils and roils, Taking logs from the roiling river, After taking logs, Building a pigsty with the logs.

SONG THIRTEEN

Line 1 develops from the theme. There is a change in rhythm in this line. It is slower at first and becomes faster at the end. Initially, it is unbalanced, but it provides good preparation for line 2. The third beat of bar 5 forces the next note to appear. Although the rhythms of lines 3 and 4 are almost the same as line 2, other notes give the tune a new sound. Line 5 concludes the previous four lines.

Khara Khajighai (Black Magpie)²²



Black magpie, black magpie, You go and come making sounds, You take a message for me, You ask my grandfather, How will he arrange my younger sister's marriage?

SONG FOURTEEN

There are five lines in Song Fourteen and the structure loosens. Although it is difficult to elucidate the relationships between each line, the motif develops from the theme in the beginning of every line and every line develops from it.



Bayang Jiuye (Rich Jiuye)²³

Rich Jiuye, our official Jiuye, Oh, our Jiuye, Where does Jiuye live? Oh, our Jiuye, Jiuye lives in Xining. In Xining entertain them with what?

Songs WITH DISSIMILAR THEMES Songs 15–24 have little or no relationship in terms of theme and other musical characteristics.

SONG FIFTEEN

There are four lines in Song Fifteen. Line 2 develops from line 1. Line 3 is new material. Line 4 repeats line 2:

[//:a://+a+b+a']

Sometimes singers beat the rhythm xx /xx / with plates to accompany the song. The tune is light and lively.

Anani Moyang (Mother's Appearance)²⁴



What does mother's appearance resemble? Mother's appearance is beautiful, Mother's appearance is as beautiful as Niangniang Goddess. Beautiful, beautiful, Mother's appearance is as beautiful as Niangniang Goddess.

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SONG SIXTEEN

In Song Sixteen, the lyrics *zi mei her* appear at the end of every line. The music for these lyrics is the same. This makes every line longer. Lines 1 and 3, which are the same, are similar to line 2. Line 4 is also similar to line 2.



The action of placing plum-like-bread on the table is bai in Chinese, The action of carrying plum-like-bread on the tray is duan in Chinese, The action of seeing plum-like-bread with our eyes is nian in Chinese, The action of holding plum-like-bread in our hands is shou in Chinese.

In a variation of this song, there is only one line and the measure has changed:



The action of carrying plum-like-bread on the tray is dan in Chinese,²⁶ The action of seeing plum-like-bread with our eyes is nian in Chinese.

Song Seventeen

Line 1 is the same as line 1 of the first example of Song Sixteen given above. The rhythm of line 2 is changed. The rest note in bar 10 provides a short break. There is a very close relationship between lines 2 and 3. They are the same in the three beginning bars and then line 3 develops the remaining bars of line 2. Sometimes singers beat the rhythm xx / xx / using plates to accompany the song.

Mao Lianhuer Kai (Little Blooming Lotus)27



Black black hair, red red hairstring, Resembling a blossoming wild lotus. Where does the wild lotus blossom? It blossoms on a black cliff Pick one and come, Worship in front of Qingtian God. Pick a second one and come, Put it in the bride's hair.

SONG EIGHTEEN

There are three lines in Song Eighteen. Line 2 represents a condensation of line 1. The beginning two bars in lines 2 and 3 are the same, but the following parts of line 3 repeat the preceding two bars.

Laomei Siguo (Abusing the Matchmaker)²⁸



On today's day, The two coins that you bring, Distribute one or two fen to the girls in the Yang Family, now let's see, If everyone gets some, let her have some and, If everyone doesn't get some, let it be.

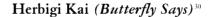
SONG NINETEEN There are two lines in Song Nineteen. Line 2 develops from line 1.

Shangdang Qila (Welcoming the Bride)²⁹

Oh, let's welcome our new lady, From the large Wen family, Mounting a horse in the precious place.

SONG TWENTY

There are three lines in Song Twenty. Bar 1 of line 1 is an introduction. Line 2 uses the same rhythm as bars 2, 3, 4, and 5 in line 1, but it has a different pitch. The rhythm and measure of line 3 are changed. This makes line 3 very different from lines 1 and 2. Also, line 3 of this song is very similar to bars 12–14 in Song Eleven.





Now you butterflies that flew freely outside just now, You answer these questions! What bad thing did you do? What bad thing did you do? You did it in the square courtyard.

SONG TWENTY-ONE

It is possible to argue that there are two stanzas in Song Twenty-One. Line 1 is an introduction and line 3 has developed from line 2. Stanza 2 begins from line 4. The music that follows is similar to lines 2 and 3, but the rest notes are absent. This alters the rhythm.

Siber Wula (Tower Mountain)³¹



Tower Mountain, What is above Tower Mountain's head? Blue-Sky-God is above Tower Mountain's head.

Song Twenty-Two

There are five lines in Song Twenty-Two. Line 3 develops from lines 1 and 2. Line 4 has compressed lines 1 and 2. Line 5 is almost the same as line 3.

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Because flowers bloom there. Because flowers bloom there. Because flowers bloom there.



²²(gnimoola) is Mabos M

Of the two lines in Song Twenty-Three, the second develops from the first.

IJ your will not mount. My aunt will not mount. If your horse doesn't have star-like eyes, If your horse doesn't have rabbit-like ears,



WINHE WVNCCHNEK MEDDINC 20NC2

SONG TWENTY-FOUR

There are three lines in Song Twenty-Four. Line 2 develops from line 1. Line 3 uses materials from lines 1 and 2 in its development.



The gate loft was built tall, The gate loft was built tall, The four loft corners are upturned, The silver lamp is hung high in the center, Those with happy fortunes live in the home.

FREE MEASURE SONGS

These songs are classified in one group because of their free measure. The motif, which does not appear often in the following songs, is:



However, this motif is not a development of the theme discussed above in "Musical Characteristics," for other music differs from it.

SONG TWENTY-FIVE

There are two lines in Song Twenty-Five. Bar 1 is a free measure introduction. The rest note of bar 9 deserves attention. Additionally, bar 2 is sometimes sung as:



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Alima, if you sit in a room of straw, Alima, the straw will stain you.

SONG TWENTY-SIX

There are three lines in Song Twenty-Six. Lines 1 and 2 are introductory and the measure is free. Line 3 is the main line of Song Twenty-Six.

Qingkuo Qing (Green Highland Barley)³⁶



Green highland barley, green highland barley, Highland barley seeds planted in the earth.

In a variation of Song Twenty-Six, the measure is four-four time. Although there is a trace of free rhythm at the end of every line, it quickly returns to four-four time. In the four lines of the song, line 3 is the same as line 1. Line 4 is similar to line 2.

SONGS TWENTY-SEVEN

Among the many songs titled simply Daola, the following three are key.

Song Twenty-Seven I

There are two lines in Twenty-Seven I. Line 2 develops from line 1.



yeo.

NBL

5

yong





DAOLA (SONG)38

Wishing that your granary is full of grain and you have silver coins in your storehouse,

Wishing that your sons' generations and grandsons' generations cannot exhaust them.

Song Twenty-Seven II

There are three lines in Twenty-Seven II. Line 1 is the introduction. This gives the song a distinct style. Line 2 is the main part of the song. Line 3 develops from line 2. Note that the measure of this song displays substantially more freedom than the others.



Daola (Song)³⁹

Let's sing, sing to you. Waiters come to the banquet and serve cups of liquor, We insignificant persons come to empty the cups. We two insignificant persons without knowledge, We two insignificant persons sing a high-pitched sound.

Song Twenty-Seven III

There are three lines in Song Twenty-Seven III. Lines 2 and 3 develop from line 1.



Daola (Song)⁴⁰

If we do not sing some sound, You will think that we don't know what a happy wedding is, If we do not sing a sound.

CONCLUSION

The noninstrumental Minhe Mangghuer wedding songs are sung in the homes of the bride and groom in the Minhe Mangghuer region. Additionally, some songs are sung when adult men drink liquor together. In terms of musical characteristics, there is no great leap from one note to another. Although there are many lines in some songs, there are only one or two key lines in terms of musical characteristics. Other lines are similar with limited variation. Nevertheless, these slight alterations impart new emotions. In Song One, lines 2 and 3 are similar and there is little change in bar 3 of line 3 because of variation in the lyrics. This provides a deft coupling of lyrics and music, leading to musical variety. Free measure is not only used in the above group of free measure songs (i.e., songs 25–27), but in other songs

as well. It often appears in long notes. After the long free measure note, the music moves in formal measures but, when another long note appears, the measure becomes free once again. Finally, there are trills in almost every song.

NOTES

1. The Monguor were officially classified as the "Tu" nationality by the Chinese government in the 1950s.

2. Ms. Shi Xiulan (b. 1958*) of Zhujiaola Village, Zhongchuan Township, sang this song to Zhu Yongzhong in December 1994 in his home in Zhujiaola Village. (An asterisk [*] after the year of birth indicates that the singer married a man from the local village—where she was not reared, but where she resided at the time she sang the song.)

3. Ms. Zhu Meilan (b. 1975) and Ms. Zhu Yinlan (b. 1974), natives of Zhujiaola Village, Zhongchuan Township, sang the song to Zhu Yongzhong in December 1994 in his home in Zhujiaola Village.

4. An old name for Zhangye, a city in Gansu Province.

5. Previously, Liangzhou referred to an area in Shaanxi and also to a city in Gansu Province that today is called Wuwei. It is probably the latter that is referred to in this line.

6. Ms. Shi Xiulan and Ms. Jin Chunhua (b. 1969*) of Zhujiaola Village, Zhongchuan Township, sang this song to Zhu Yongzhong in December 1994 in his home in Zhujiaola Village.

7. Ms. Han Jinmei (b. 1964*) of Zhujiaola Village, Zhongchuan Township, sang this song to Zhu Yongzhong in December 1994 in his home in Zhujiaola Village.

8. Fucha and zhuancha both refer to pressed bricks of tea.

9. Ms. Zhu Meilan and Ms. Zhu Yinlan (see note 3).

10. Ms. Han Jinmei (see note 7).

11. Ms. Zhu Meilan and Ms. Zhu Yinlan (see note 3).

12. Ms. Zhu Meilan and Ms. Zhu Yinlan (see note 3).

13. Ms. Qi Eryuemei (b. 1959*) sang this song to Zhu Yongzhong in her home in Yangjia Village, Zhongchuan Township in October 1994.

14. Ms. Zhu Xianglan (b. 1972), Ms. Zhu Yinlan, and Ms. Zhu Meilan, three natives of Zhujiaola Village in Zhongchuan Township, sang the song to Zhu Yongzhong in his home in Zhujiaola Village in December 1994.

15. One li is equal to 0.5 km.

16. Ms. Han Erzihua (b. 1969*) and Ms. Shi Xiulan of Zhujiaola Village, Zhongchuan Township, sang the song to Zhu Yongzhong in his home in Zhujiaola Village in December 1994.

17. Ms. Zhu Meilan sang this song to Zhu Yongzhong in his home in Zhujiaola Village, Zhongchuan Township, in November 1993.

18. Boluoluo is an onomatopoeia for boiling water.

19. Ms. Zhu Meilan (see note 17).

20. Ms. Zhu Xianglan sang this song to Zhu Yongzhong in her home in Hanjia Village, Gangou Township, in February 1995.

21. Ms. Lü Jinliang (b. 1920*) sang this song to Zhu Yongzhong in her home in Nongchang Village, Zhongchuan Township, in April 1995.

22. Ms. Ma Xichunhua (b. 1913*) sang this song to Zhu Yongzhong in her home in Nuojie Village, Zhongchuan Township, in May 1995.

23. Ms. Lü Jinliang (see note 21).

24. The text of this song was published in WANG, ZHU, and STUART (1995). Ms. Wang Xiuzhen (b. 1975) and Ms. Wang Meizhen (b. 1977) sang the song to Wang Xianzheng in Sangburia Village, Xiakou Township, in the winter of 1995.

25. Ms. Lü Jinliang (see note 21).

26. Ms. Ma Xichunhua (see note 22).

27. Ms. Han Jinmei (see note 7).

28. Ms. Qi Eryuemei (see note 13).

29. Ms. Qi Eryuemei (see note 13).

30. Ms. Lü Jinliang (see note 21).

31. Ms. Zhu Meilan (see note 17).

32. The text of this song was published in WANG, ZHU, and STUART (1995). Ms. Wang Xiuzhen and Ms. Wang Meizhen sang the song to Wang Xianzheng in Sangburia Village, Xiakou Township, in the winter of 1995.

33. Ms. Zhu Xianglan, Ms. Zhu Yinlan, and Ms. Zhu Meilan sang this song to Zhu Yongzhong in December 1994 in his home in Zhujiaola Village.

34. Mr. E Jicheng (b. 1948) sang this song to Zhu Yongzhong in Mr. E's home in Nuojie Village, Zhongchuan Township, in May 1995. Mr. E refers to himself as Nuo Jicheng. This is related to Monguor pronouncing the Modern Standard Chinese "E" as "Nuo."

35. Ms. An Wenyehua (born ca 1956*) and Ms. An Xilan (born ca 1953*), sang this song to Zhu Yongzhong in Ms. Zhu Xianglan's home in Hanjia Village, Gangou Hui Autonomous Township, in February 1995.

36. Ms. An Wenyehua (see note 35).

37. Ms. Zhu Xianglan (see note 33).

38. Mr. E Jicheng (see note 34).

39. Mr. E Jicheng (see note 34).

40. While in his home in Zhujiaola Village, Zhongchuan Township, Mr. Zhu Wenhui (b. 1946) sang this song to Zhu Yongzhong in November 1994.

Name	Singer	Place	Time	Materials	Context	Chronological order of song	in essay
Daola [Song]	Males (normally older than 18) of the groom's <i>jiawu</i> , 'residents of the groom's village, the matchmaker, two <i>xike</i> or bride-takers, and certain other relatives.	Groom's home.	After the family holds <i>gaohu</i> ² until the third day of the wedding.		Daola are the most important wedding songs. Every night during gaohu the villagers and the jiawu of the family sing daola. In the wedding, the zhihu ³ sing many daola with little time between each selection after guests sit at the banquet tables. ⁴	1	27
Daola [Song]	Residents of the bride's village and some paternal cousins (normally older than 18).	In the bride's home and in some of her <i>jiawu</i> members' homes, if they invite people from the groom's side.	From <i>gaohu</i> until the bride leaves her home (a period of 6 or 7 days).		Same as above.	2	27
Zimeiher [Plums]	All <i>aguer</i> ⁵ in the bride's home and in her <i>jiawu</i> and one or two of the bride's close friends from the bride's village.	On the <i>kang</i> [°] where the bride sits.	During breakfast on the first day of the wedding, young females in the bride's family's <i>jiawu</i> and the bride's friends sing when women of the family serve them fried bread and tea.		They sing about the bread, which includes certain Chinese expressions that serve as Chinese language instruction.	3	16

Name	Singer	Place	Time	Materials	Context	Chronological order of song	Song number in essay
Mao Lianhuer Kai [Little Blooming Lotus]	Several <i>agu</i> from the bride's home and <i>jiawu</i> .	In the courtyard.	In the morning when the bride's family invites the bride's $ajiu^7$ to sit outside in front of the main room door ⁸ and displays the bride's dowry near the <i>huayuan</i> (garden).		They describe the bride's hair as being as beautiful as a wild lotus flower. They praise the bride's clothes, shoes, and hair ornaments.	4	17
Mentou Diere Daolakuni [°] [Song Sung at the Gate Top]	Females of the bride's home and <i>jiawu</i> and, especially, certain intimate relatives.	At the room roof near the gate.	Noon, when the matchmaker and two <i>xike</i> come to the bride's for a banquet.	A water vat with water and a kitchen- broom or branches.	They scold the <i>xike</i> for being late and warn the matchmaker to be careful.	5	7
Laomei Siguo [Abusing the Matchmaker]	Young females of the bride's home, <i>jiawu,</i> and village.	Just inside the courtyard gate.	Same as above.	A bench is placed above the threshold and the females stand behind it.	They scold the groom's representatives for being late.	6	18
Xi Shuyi [Washing <i>Shuyi</i> ¹⁰]	The bride's <i>agu, ajiadiao</i> 11 and, sometimes, <i>shinajia</i> 12	Near a table by the <i>huayuan</i> .	When the matchmaker and two <i>xike</i> bring clothes the bride will wear that night on the way to the groom's home.	The <i>agu</i> hold a tray with a cup of liquor.	The <i>agu</i> go to take the clothes and sing that the clothes' quality is poor.	7	7 ¹³

Name	Singer	Place	Time	Materials	Context	Chronological order of song	Song number in essay
Maodan Kai [Blooming]	Seven or eight young <i>agu</i> .	They sit at the main banquet table where the matchmaker sits.	When the matchmaker first walks to the main banquet table.	The <i>agu</i> sit at the banquet table.	They describe the things of the banquet table as beautiful as blooming flowers. They sing that the matchmaker and others cannot have the banquet food until they offer money.	8	23
Herbige Kai [Butterfly Says]	Seven or eight young <i>agu</i> .	Same as above.	The matchmaker and the two <i>xike</i> go for a walk after having tea and bread and then return to the banquet room. ¹⁴		The <i>agu</i> sit at banquet tables. The song likens guests from the groom's side to butterflies flying freely outside. In the song's beginning, the <i>agu</i> dare them to answer, then ask what bad deeds they did when they were outside. <i>Agu</i> reply.	9	20
Boghuolinni Andige [Lower Egg]	Several young females.	On the floor of the main room near the door.	After the matchmaker and the other <i>xike</i> drink several cups of liquor.	They hold a tray with a cup of water on it.	They act as though they are serving a cup of liquor to the groom's representatives while they describe the liquor-making process.	10	10

Name	Singer	Place	Time	Materials	Context	Chronological order of song	in essay	Song number
Anani Moyang [Mother's Appearance]	<i>Aguer</i> of the bride's <i>jiawu</i> and the bride's village friends.	They sit on the <i>kang</i> and some stand on the floor of the room where the bride weeps.	When the groom's representatives come to the bride's and, when the bride starts to weep, they sing to prevent the groom's representatives from hearing the bride's laments.		The bride's mother's appearance is praised. In so doing, they detail the clothes and ornaments of Mangghuer women of decades ago that are no longer worn.	11	15	
Khara Khajighai [Black Magpie]	The <i>aguer</i> and the women of the bride's <i>jiawu</i> and some of the bride's village friends.	Same as above.	Same as above.		A tale is sung about a bride who married far from her home. She could not visit her parents' home because a big river barred the way. She missed her childhood life, her clothes, and ornaments ¹⁵ that she previously had enjoyed. One day she went to the riverside and sang this song to a black magpie so that it would take this message to her parents' home.	12	13	

Name	Singer	Place	Time	Materials	Context	Chronological order of song	in essay	Song number
Jin Guazer [Serving Watermelon Seeds]	Several <i>agu.</i>	On the floor of the main room in front of the <i>kang</i> .	At the beginning of the banquet when sunflower seeds or watermelon seeds have been served as snacks.	They hold a tray with sunflower or watermelon seeds on a plate.	They describe how they grew the watermelons and how beautiful they are. Secondly, they ask the <i>xike</i> to have seeds of these watermelons. Finally, they warn the <i>xike</i> that if they cannot eat the seeds in a proper way, they must pay others to eat them. ¹⁶	13	4	
Mugha Jinla [Serving Meat]	Several <i>agu.</i>	On the floor of the main room in front of the <i>kang</i> .	When dishes with meat are served, the <i>agu</i> may come to sing any time.	When they sing, an agu pretends to shoot the xike. Agu may make a string of manie beads with sheep droppings and put it at the end of a branch that symbolizes an arrow. Another agu carries a tray with bones. Other agu stand behind and sing.	Guests laugh. <i>Agu</i> sing how they shot a turtledove and boiled it. Finally, they ask the <i>xike</i> to have the meat. They warn them that, if they cannot eat correctly, they must pay others to eat it.	14	2	

Name	Singer	Place	Time	Materials	Context	Chronological order of song	in essay
Qingkuo Qing [Green Highland Barley]	Several <i>agu</i> .	On the floor of the main room in front of the <i>kang</i> .	When the <i>xike</i> and the matchmaker banquet with other guests that day and again that night when the <i>xike</i> come to the bride's and sit drinking liquor on the <i>kang</i> .	An <i>agu</i> holds a tray with a cup of liquor on it.	They describe the process of raising highland barley and making highland barley liquor. At last they sing that their liquor is so good that, if the matchmaker and the <i>xike</i> drink one cup, they will be drunk for one year, and if they drink three cups, they will be drunk for three years. They sing that if they are not drunk, then the <i>agu</i> do not want any money from them.	15	26
Dixiong Sange Ren [Three Brothers]	Four <i>zhihu</i> .	In the front of the main room door.	After the matchmaker and the bride's <i>ajiu</i> sing <i>daola</i> .	Standing, two <i>zhihu</i> hold liquor pots and the other two hold two liquor cups.	In Mangghuer this type of song is called <i>quzi</i> . <i>Quzi</i> can be sung between two <i>daola</i> as an interlude.	16	24
Qiaomei Shua [Buckwheat Broom]	Four agu.	On the floor of the main room near the door.	When the match- maker and the other guests are banquet- ing, <i>daola</i> are sung and then the <i>agu</i> come to sing.	Each of the four <i>agu</i> holds a buckwheat broom. When they sing the four dance with the broom to one side.	They sing that their dance is as beautiful as the blooming blossom of a morning star lily.	17	11

Name	Singer	Place	Time	Materials	Context	Chronological order of song	Song number in essay
Qie Zhenbin [Cutting Bread]	Several agu.	On the floor of the main room near the door.	When the matchmaker and the <i>xike</i> are being banqueted.	A tray holds two large loaves of round steamed bread. A cleaver is stuck into one loaf.	They ask the <i>xike</i> to slice the bread into four pieces with one slice of the cleaver and into eight pieces with two strokes.	18	5
Qieji Mieran [Roiling River]	Several <i>agu</i> .	On the floor of the main room near the door.	Same as above.		They sing about how they pulled wood from the Yellow River and then built a sty for the pig that has been butchered, cooked, and served during the wedding. At last they sing that the two <i>xike</i> are just like two dogs. ¹⁷	19	12
Ma Mao [Taking off the Cap]	Several <i>agu.</i>	On the floor of the main room near the door.	When the family has served most of the dishes to the guests, or if the matchmaker does not readily "pay" the <i>agu</i> for their songs.	A tray holding a cup of water is held by one <i>agu</i> .	Other <i>agu</i> try to snatch the matchmaker's cap. They "threaten" the matchmaker and make him hand over needles.	20	1

Name	Singer	Place	Time	Materials	Context	Chronological order of song	Song number in essay
Xiu Huer [Embroidering Flowers]	Two assertive women of the bride's <i>jiawu</i> .	On the floor of the main room near the door.	When the banquet is nearly finished.	The two each take a rolling pin and a big loaf of steamed bread. They put one end of the rolling pin into the bread, cover the bread with a scarf, and dance with it.	They describe their difficulty in rearing children. They show anger when they sing and their bread moves closer and closer toward the matchmaker and the two <i>xike</i> .	21	9
Jin Cha [Serving Tea]	Seven or eight <i>agu</i> .	On the floor of the main room in front of the <i>kang</i> .	At night when the two <i>xike</i> come and sit on the <i>kang</i> and after they are served tea.	On a tray with a cup of tea on it.	They serve <i>suguan</i> ^{1s} tea as they sing.	22	3
Alima ¹⁹ [Fruit]	Six or eight <i>agu</i> .	On the floor of the main room in front of the <i>kang</i> .	At night when the two <i>xike</i> sit on the <i>kang</i> and after they have had some dishes.	Two <i>agu</i> dress as Tibetans, two dress as Hui, and two dress as Mangghuer. They may prepare farming tools. A rope is also provided by an <i>agu</i> . As they sing, they try to pull the <i>xike</i> off the <i>kang</i> to "pick the red flowers."	They describe raising <i>honghuer</i> (red flowers) and how they use <i>honghuer</i> seeds to dye cloth for the <i>agu</i> .	23	25

Name	Singer	Place	Time	Materials	Context	Chronological order of song	Song number in essay
Siber Wula [Tower Mountain]	Four agu.	On the floor of the main room in front of the <i>kang</i> .	Same as above.		This song praises a god ²⁰ from head to toe.	24	21
Aihou Yila [Weeping Sorrowfully] ²¹	The bride.	Sitting on her kang, the bride laments this song about ten times every day starting on the first day of gaohu. Before she mounts the horse to leave her parents' home, she laments on the floor of the main room.	The bride laments when her uncles, aunts, and cousins of her <i>jiawu</i> and other relatives come to the wedding.	She sits with her head and face covered with a scarf.	She describes how her parents nurtured and were kind to her. She also says good words to older attending relatives living outside her village and to her paternal cousins and brothers, who helped with the wedding.	25	

Name	Singer	Place	Time	Materials	Context	Chronological order of song	in essay	Song number
Zhula Tuori [Circling the Lamps]	Four women who usually are the bride's sisters or <i>agu</i> of her family or of her <i>jiawu</i> .	On the center of the floor of the main room.	Just before the bride is moved to the main room before her departure.	A <i>kang</i> table is placed upside down. One oil lamp is put on the end of each table leg. Another lamp is placed on the table's center. The singers turn the table and sing.	They sing stories. At the end they sing about dividing the lamps to the gods and leaving one lamp for the bride to have a light on her way to the groom's. Finally, they sing asking for money to pay for the lamps.	26	6	
Bayang Jiuye [Rich Jiuye ²²]					This song is similar to the one above. In olden times, the singers sang this one more often, but nowadays it is seldom sung.	27	14	

Name	Singer	Place	Time	Materials	Context	Chronological order of song	Song number in essay
Shangma Qu [Horse- Mounting Song]	Several <i>aguer</i> and some young married women.	In the lane in front of the home compound gate.	When the bride has nearly finished her lamenting in the main room, the two <i>xike</i> are preparing the horse and the lantern and after one <i>xike</i> leads the horse in a propitious direction for a short distance.		They stand around the horse, hold the horse's halter, and sing to the <i>xike</i> : if the horse is deemed unworthy, they refuse to let their <i>agu</i> ²⁸ mount.	28	22
Shangdang Qila [Welcoming the Bride]	The women of the groom's <i>jiawu</i> or the groom's relatives.	At the lane near the groom's home.	When the bride has dismounted and sits on a <i>sheng</i> . ²⁴		They welcome the bride. They say that they have moved a pine from the bride's home and give good wishes to the bride and the groom's family for the marriage.	29	19
Gaitou Zheke [Uncovering the Scarf]	Women of the groom's <i>jiawu</i> and the groom's relatives.	In the <i>caopu</i> . ²⁵	After the bride is led into the groom's home and sits in the <i>caopu</i> .	One holds a tray draped with a red cloth.	They sing while taking the <i>shuyi</i> from the bride. They describe the clothes as great wealth of the family and offer good words to the groom's family.	30	8

NOTES TO APPENDIX

1. Several families who share a common paternal ancestor. *Jiawu* members assist each other when a *jiawu* member holds, for example, a wedding or funeral.

2. *Gaohu* refers to the five or six days of wedding preparations immediately preceding the formal wedding rituals. During the first day of *gaohu*, the bride's and the groom's families invite older males of their *jiawu* to their homes to discuss wedding preparations.

3. Generally, young men who sing at the wedding banquet as well as wait on the wedding banquet tables.

4. At the wedding banquet there are a number of tables at which guests sit in a prescribed order. This order depends upon age, generation, and relationship to the bride and groom.

5. Aguer commonly refers to unmarried females from approximately one year of age to the age at which they marry (17–21). In the text, aguer can mean unmarried females who sing. This term embraces some agu (father's sister and father's patrilateral female cousins) of the bride's family who recently married and left home. Because the aguer are now in their parents' home as guests, their family members and the bride's *jiawu* do not let them assist in such wedding preparation tasks as washing, cleaning, and making fires. These "visiting" aguer can generally sing better than the young females of their parents' home and *jiawu*. Moreover, in their parents' eyes, they still are "girls."

The term *agu*, which is related to *aguer*, is a term of endearment added by elder brothers to the end of their married sisters' names. Sisters-in-law refer to their husbands' younger sisters in the same manner. This appellation is also used similarly by residents of a village, especially women, to refer to young unmarried females of village homes that they visit.

6. A kang is a heatable platform for sleeping and sitting.

7. Ajiu means "maternal uncle."

8. "Main room" as used in this paper refers, generally, to the north room, which is the largest room in the home; it is where the most important wedding guests are seated.

9. It may also be translated as "Women's Song at the Room Roof Near the Courtyard Gate."

10. Clothes given by the groom to the bride for her to wear on her trip to the groom's room on their wedding night.

11. Ajiadiao refers to sisters and paternal cousins.

12. Shinajia refers to the bride's elder sisters-in-law and the wives of her elder paternal cousins.

13. This song has a melody similar to Mentou Diere Daolakuni; consequently, the music for this song was not given in the essay.

14. This provides the *zhihu* time to prepare the formal wedding banquet.

15. Earrings and other personal decorations.

16. Opening watermelon seeds in order to eat the kernels takes practice. The seed is held vertically between the front teeth and gently cracked open. The seed is then removed from the mouth and the kernel is popped into the mouth and chewed.

17. As discussed in HU and STUART (1992), a defining feature of the Minhe Mangghuer wedding is the derision that females of the bride's side heap on the representatives of the groom's side.

18. When *xike* (bride-takers) come at night to take the bride by horse they are called *suguan* by the groom's side.

19. *Alima* is "fruit" in Minhe Mangghuer. In Gangou Chinese Dialect it means "somewhere." As a song title it may denote the girl's name whose story is recounted in the song.

20. One of Buddha's Eight Great Warrior Attendants.

21. This may be understood as a song, but it is sung very slowly and, therefore, may also be considered to be a slowly spoken lament. Consequently, we did not attempt to write the music.

22. The father's ajju. Here, it refers to the two xike.

23. In this context, agu refers to the bride.

24. A *sheng* is a rectangular wooden box used to measure grain. Although the capacities of *sheng* vary, a common capacity is 7.5 kg.

25. A simple temporary "house" for the bride when she first arrives.

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