ཀརྨ་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་ཀརྨ་པཱ་ལྡེན།

ཁམས་ཕེའུ་རྒན་ཤུག་ཡིན་པའི་ཞེས་ཆོག་ཅེས་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞུས་པའོ།།

རྣམ་ཐུབ་པས།།ཆོས་ལ། ཀརྨ་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་མིང་ཅན་ཞུས་སོ།།

May All Good Things Gather Here

Life, Religion, and Marriage in a Mi nyag Tibetan Village

by

Bkra shis bzang po

བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཟང་པོ།

扎西绒布

Asian Highlands Perspectives Volume 14

© 2012 Bkra shis bzang po

ISSN (print): 1835-7741
ISSN (electronic): 1925-6329
Library of Congress Control Number: 2008944256

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, and otherwise, without express prior written permission from the publisher.

Cover: The Bkra shis rgyas circle dance concludes the annual New Year celebrations in Bang smad Village (Bkra shis bzang po, January 2010).

Citation for this work: Bkra shis bzang po (G Roche, CK Stuart, T Thurston, and E McKinlay [eds]). 2012. May All Good Things Gather Here: Life, Religion, and Marriage in a Mi nyag Tibetan Village. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* Volume 14.

e-mail: ahpjournal@gmail.com
order: www.lulu.com/asianhp
online: www.plateauculture.org/asian-highlands-perspectives

The images in this book include sacred images of *gtor ma*, *bla ma*, and mountain deities and should be treated respectfully.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Bkra shis bzang po is Tibetan and was born in 1988 in a farming community in Bang smad (Bomei) Village, Bang smad Township, Nyag rong (Xinlong) County, Dkar mdzes (Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Si khron (Sichuan) Province, China. He began learning Tibetan, Chinese, and arithmetic at Bang smad Primary School in 1995. After completing primary school in 2000, he stopped attending school and stayed at home to do housework and care for his three younger sisters. In 2002, he enrolled in Nyag rong County Junior Middle School in Nyag rong County Town. This school has three years of junior middle school classes and primary school grades four, five, and six. He enrolled in primary school grade five and in 2007, completed all junior middle school classes. He then attended the English Training Program for Tibetan students at Qinghai Normal University beginning in September 2007 where he studied English, Tibetan, Chinese, and arithmetic.

In 2009, he began researching and collecting examples of local Mi nyag culture in his home area, supported by funds from the World Oral Literature Project and private donors. Examples of the materials collected by Bkra shis bzang po discussed in this book may be found online at:

www.oralliterature.org/collections/bkrashis001.htm

and

www.archive.org/details/Minyagtibetanculturalmaterialsfrombangsmadtownshipnyagrongcounty.

CONSULTANTS

A chos ཨ་ཆོས། (b. 1968) is the best female dancer in Bang smad Village and is always a dance leader. Her father was considered a very good dancer in Bang smad Village. Both her parents taught her how to dance.

A lca ཨ་ལྕ། (b. 1949-2011) was born in a ri na Village family that has had several reincarnated *bla ma*. He was a renowned orator and frequently invited by other villages on occasions when speeches were required. He knew many dance songs and provided a wedding speech and dance songs.

A rga ཨ་རྒ། (b. 1951) was born in a traditional leader's family. She had ten children. Her first language is Nyag skad – she finds it difficult to communicate in Mi nyag.

Bstan 'dzin བསྟན་འཛིན། (b. 1953) is illiterate and the father of five daughters and one son. He organized weddings for five of his children and has rich experience with weddings. He was the only person in Bang smad Village who could give a complete traditional wedding speech in 2010.

Dpal bzang དཔལ་བཟང་། (b. 1938) served as village leader for about three years.

O rgyan dbang phyug ཨོ་རྒྱན་དབང་ཕྱུག། (b. 1957) has some competency in reading Tibetan. He injured his leg while collecting wood on a mountain in 2009. He is gifted at making jokes and dancing and is always the dance leader during celebrations. He has two wives, one in the village pasture and one in the agricultural village.

Rdo rje rgyal mtshan རྡོ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། (b. 1945) is a *bla ma* at Mtsho kha Monastery. He began studying Tibetan in 1953 with his uncle and, after several years, studied medicine with

Tibetan monastic doctors. He provided information on religion, folk beliefs, and village history.

Tshe dbang ཚེ་དབང། (b. 1940) served as the village leader in Bang smad Village for three years and worked as an accountant in the local township office for five years. He reads and writes Tibetan.

Tshe 'dzin sgrol ma ཚེ་འཛིན་སྒྲོལ་མ། (b. 1964) attended primary school in ri na Village and attended junior middle school. She has some competency in reading Chinese. She learned many folktales from her mother.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank Uncle Rdo rje rgyal mtshan for encouraging me to complete this book and answering hundreds of questions.



I also thank Bdun 'dul rdo rje, Rin chen rdo rje, Jonas Crimm, Phag mo tshe brtan, Dpal lo, 'Phags pa skyabs, Nag ru bkra shis skyabs, and Tshe dbang rdo rje.

NOTE ON NON-ENGLISH WORDS

This text includes items from Mi nyag (a little-described Sino-Tibetan language), Tibetan, Chinese, and English. Mi nyag lexical items are transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Tibetan is transliterated according to the Wylie system, and Tibetan script is given for songs and speeches. Chinese is written in *pinyin*. A non-English word list appears at the back of the book. Village and other place names written in Mi nyag appear without capitalization, e.g. ri na Village.

CONTENTS

ABOUT THE AUTHOR <3>
CONSULTANTS <4>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS <7>
NOTE ON NON-ENGLISH WORDS <9>

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION TO BANG SMAD VILLAGE

LOCATION <16>
Bang smad Township <17>
Mi nyag-Speaking Villages and Khams Tibetan <18>
BANG SMAD VILLAGE HISTORY AND LEADERSHIP <21>
VILLAGE NAME <28>
ENVIRONMENT <28>
POPULATION <29>
LANGUAGE <29>
Intelligibility <32>
Culture <33>
HOUSING <37>
FOOD AND DRINK <39>
Alcohol Consumption <40>
CLOTHING <42>
EDUCATION <43>
INCOME AND SUBSISTENCE <44>
Agricultural Cycle <45>
MODERN DISPLAYS OF WEALTH <46>
NEW RULES <46>
PHOTOGRAPHS <49>

PART TWO: RELIGION AND FOLK BELIEFS

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS RITUALS <80>
LOCAL DEITIES <83>
OTHER ANNUAL RITUALS <87>
Snang zhi <87>
Smyung gnas <87>
Spyi gto <89>
Sa bdag 'khrug bcos (Snang brgyad) <90>
G.yang sgrub <90>
Btsan mchod <91>
Gshin phud <91>
Khyi mgo lag bkru (Khyi mgo lag gtsang) <92>
Mdos <92>
ɬe ndzɛ: THE NEW YEAR <93>
The a la Ɉo Ritual <93>
Before ɬe ndzɛ <98>
ɬe ndzɛ <99>
Return to daily life <103>
OMENS AND OTHER FOLK BELIEFS <104>
Good Omens <104>
Bad Omens <107>
Others <110>
PHOTOGRAPHS <115>

PART THREE: MARRIAGE

CIRCLE DANCES IN BANG SMAD VILLAGE <178>
MARRIAGE – INTRODUCTION <180>
Marriage Patterns <182>
ARRANGED MARRIAGES <182>
Choosing a Spouse <182>
Account <184>
boŋ wɜ tɕʰə tʰu <184> 'Discussing Directly'

tɕʰe mgɔ tɕʰu poŋ, tɕʰu mgɔ tɕʰe poŋ 'Exchanging a wife' <185>
ni or *ɕa sa tɕʰoŋ tʰu* 'An Agreement Party' <185>
Before the Wedding <187>
The Groom's Preparation <188>
The Bride's Preparation <189>
The Day Before the Wedding: *soŋ wu də* 'A Party at the Bride's House' <190>
xʰʌ qa tɕʰa xʰɔ 'Go Scatter Barley Grain' <191>
Wedding Schedule for a Four-Day Wedding <193>
Wedding Schedule for a Three-Day Wedding <195>
The First Day: Sending the Bride <197>
The First Day: Greeting the Bride <198>
The First Day: *tɕi kʰɔ ʂu* <201>
A Party on the Second Day, *rtɛ tɕe* <201>
Third Day: G.yang sgrub <204>
The Third Day at the Groom's Home '*buw biŋ tɕʰə*' 'Giving Gifts to the Bride and her Entourage' <205>
Account <206>
buw bɛ <206>
The Evening of the Third Day in the Bride's Home <206>
buw ɟuw 'The Bride Returns' <207>
Giving the Dowry <207>
Account <208>
NON-ARRANGED MARRIAGES <208>
ENDOGAMOUS VILLAGE WEDDINGS <210>
Before the Wedding <210>
A Party at the Bride's Home: *soŋ wu də* <210>
A Party at the Groom's Home <210>
DIVORCE <211>
Account <211>
Widows <212>
CONCLUSION <212>

PART FOUR: SPEECHES AND SONGS

SONGS <216>
Dance Songs <216>
Wedding Dance Songs <221>
Competitive Dance Songs <222>
Songs <224>
Wedding Songs <229>
NEW YEAR SPEECH <234>
dzo̱ŋ 'WEDDING SPEECHES' <241>
Wedding Speech One <241>
Wedding Speech Two <255>
Wedding Speech Three <266>
Wedding Speech Four <276>
PHOTOGRAPHS <291>

NON-ENGLISH WORD LIST <319>

APPENDIX ONE: mə n̥æ Wordlist <347>

APPENDIX TWO: WEDDING SPEECH <355>

APPENDIX TWO: *BSANG* BURNING SCRIPTURE <363>

REFERENCES <369>

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION TO BANG SMAD VILLAGE

LOCATION

Bang smad Village is located on the eastern bank of the Nyag chu (Yalong) River in Bang smad Township, approximately thirty-five kilometers southwest of Nyag rong County Town,[1] Dkar mdze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Si khron Province, China. Nyag rong County is one of the eighteen counties of Dkar mdzes Prefecture, which are listed below:

Figure One: Dkar mdzes Autonomous Prefecture's Counties

Tibetan	Chinese
'Ba' thang	Batang
'Dab pa	Daocheng
Brag 'go	Luhuo
Brgyad zur	Jiulong
Dar rtse mdo	Kangding
Dkar mdzes	Ganzi
Dpal yul	Baiyu
Gser rta	Seda
Lcags zam kha	Luding
Li thang	Litang
Nyag chu kha	Yajiang
Nyag rong	Xinlong
Phyag phreng	Xiangcheng
Rong brag	Danba
Rta'u	Daofu
Sde dge	Dege
Sde rong	Derong
Ser shul	Shiqu

[1] Officially called Rulong Town (*zhen*) but locally called Nyag rong. Nyag rong County Town is administratively in the county's Hedong District.

Bang smad Township

Nyag rong County is divided into Hedong, Hexi, Shangzhan, and Xiazhan districts. Bang smad is located in southern part Hedong, near Hexi's eastern border. The Nyag chu River flows north to south through the county.

Bang smad Township was divided into twelve administrative villages from 1975 to 1987. As Figure Two shows, the government-designated names of these villages differs from the Mi nyag names.

Figure Two: Bang smad Township's twelve administrative villages.

Mi nyag	Tibetan	Chinese	*pinyin*
boŋ mi	Bang smad	博美	Bomei
goŋ kɜ	Gang khung	供科	Gongke
k^ha loŋ	Kha lung	卡鲁	Kalu
la ɣə	Klag pa	拉巴	Laba
la k^hu	La kha	拉卡	Laka
mɛ ba	Smad pa	麦巴	Maiba
pɜ lʉ	Bang blo	波洛	Boluo
ri na	Ri sne	仁勒	Renle
rŋa koŋ	Rnga rkang	阿古	Agu
ʁoŋ ɬi	Stong ra	杜拉	Dula
tɛ ba	Stod pa	德巴	Deba
va rə	Rba ru	瓦日	Wari

Most of these villages are connected by the Yaxin Road[2] that parallels the Nyag chu River. About one hour is needed to ride a motorcycle from Bang smad's northernmost village of la x^he to the southernmost village of tɜ rɜ.

[2] The name is an abbreviation of Yajiang (to) Xinlong. This road runs from Dkar mdzes County to the north, southeast through Nyag rong County to Nyag chu kha County.

Residents of the four northernmost villages of Bang smad Township – va rə, la kʰu, la xʰe, də tʰaw, ɕa di, la ɣə, ʁə wa, and wa tʰu – speak Khams Tibetan, locally referred to as Nyag skad, while the other eleven villages speak Mi nyag. West of the river is Ma red Township whose residents speak Nyag skad.

Mi nyag-speaking communities are also found immediately south of Bang smad Township on the eastern bank of the Nyag chu River. Yangs la gshis (fifty-one kilometers south of Bang smad Township) and Man chen townships (twenty-nine kilometers north of Bang smad Township) have villages where the most commonly used language is Mi nyag. According to the *Xinlong County Gazetteer* (1992, 370):

> Villages located in Shangzhan preserve the Mi nyag names of places, mountains, and villages, but there is already no one who can speak Mi nyag. Only a few elderly people speak Mi nyag in Guri, Jialaxi, and Maxi villages in Heping Township.

Most villages in Bang smad Township are located at the feet of mountains on the valley floor at the confluence of the Nyag chu River and its tributaries. Sometimes two villages may lie on opposite sides of a tributary valley,[3] while certain valleys have only a single village. Three villages (the Mi nyag-speaking kʰa loŋ and the Nyag skad speaking va rə and la kʰu) are unique in being located atop mountains rather than in the valleys of the Nyag chu River and its tributaries.

The first Mi nyag-speaking village of northern Bang

[3] For example, rŋa koŋ and boŋ tʰa lie on opposite sides of rŋa koŋ Valley.

smad is tɛ ba, located on an alluvial fan on the east bank of the Nyag chu River. The village is south of the second tributary south of the southernmost Khams-speaking village of la ɣə. The administrative village of ɣdzꭓ woŋ is divided into three hamlets: tɛ ba, meaning upper; mɛ ba, meaning lower (both midway up the mountain); and ɬə bə, which is situated at the foot of the mountain, near the Nyag chu River. There are twenty-six households in tɛ ba, thirty-six households in mɛ ba, and four households in ɬə bə. Residents of ɣdzꭓ woŋ speak Mi nyag with many Nyag skad loanwords, however, residents born before 1960 speak Mi nyag with many fewer Nyag skad loanwords. Some households are monolingual in Nyag skad. Villagers from tɛ ba worship at the Rnying ma Rnga rnga Monastery, located between wa t^{h}u and tɛ ba. Villagers from mɛ ba and ɬə bə worship at the Klu 'bum Bon Monastery.[4] A single Nyag skad-speaking household northeast of ɣdzꭓ woŋ Village is located atop a mountain and is referred to by the family name s^{h}ə la.

Half an hour's walk south of ɣdzꭓ woŋ is boŋ t^{h}a, which is both an administrative village and a hamlet located north of rŋa koŋ Valley. boŋ t^{h}a has approximately ten households living along the middle and lower slopes of the mountain that rises above an unnamed tributary of the Nyag chu River. The Mi nyag spoken in boŋ t^{h}a uses fewer Nyag skad loanwords than villages to the south. boŋ t^{h}a is also home to the Rnying ma Rnga rkang Monastery.

On the south side of rŋa koŋ Valley is rŋa koŋ Hamlet and administrative village. Houses are clustered close together at an altitude slightly lower than that of boŋ t^{h}a. The Mi nyag spoken in rŋa koŋ is identical to that spoken in boŋ t^{h}a; the households of the two villages at lowest elevation are separated only by the stream at the valley bottom, which is upstream from boŋ t^{h}a and rŋa koŋ, a

[4] The monastery is named Klu 'bum after the hamlet.

nunnery in rŋa koŋ Village.

kʰa loŋ is an administrative village composed of kʰa loŋ, ʢə nda, and ʢaw dʑaw hamlets. kʰa loŋ Hamlet, with thirteen households, is approximately an hour's walk uphill from rŋa koŋ Village. ʢə nda is located mid-slope on the north side of ʢə nda Valley, which is south of kʰa loŋ Hamlet. ʢə nda has only two households.

The single household of ʢaw dʑaw is atop a mountain south of kʰa loŋ, about an hour's walk from kʰa loŋ.

Bang smad Valley is south of ʢaw dʑaw. Bang smad Village lies west of a mountain at the confluence of an unnamed stream that flows along Bang smad Valley and the Nyag chu River. The village's northernmost hamlet, kʰɜ rɜ, has seven households. ba ɕu ma Hamlet is in the center of village territory with five households. The southern hamlet of ɣə rə has twenty-two households. South of ɣə rə are a stream and kə toŋ Valley. South of this stream is kə toŋ Hamlet, with two households.

A tributary valley that is a fifteen minute walk south of kə toŋ is called ri ɬi Valley. About a two hour walk east from the Yaxin County road inside the valley is kʰa ndu, an agro-pastoral hamlet with five households. Two families from kʰɜ rɜ Hamlet have homes in kʰa ndu for members who tend livestock. kʰa ndu is part of goŋ kɜ Administrative Village, whose sixteen houses are situated along the mountain located on the east bank of the Nyag chu River.

ri na Village, consisting of two hamlets, is located on the south side of ri na Valley, the next valley downriver. ri na has twenty-five households, and is the site of the Rnying ma Ra rgyal Monastery. Residents of goŋ kɜ, Bang smad, kʰa ndu, ʁoŋ ɬi, pɜ lʉ, and Mi nyag villages farther south worship at this monastery.

pɜ lʉ Village, with two hamlets and twenty-seven households, is located half an hour's walk south of ri na Village. Three kilometers farther south is ʁoŋ ɬi Village with sixteen households located in ʁoŋ ɬi Valley.

vɜ gɛ Village is located on the mid-slope of the mountains east of the Nyag chu River. This new village has thirteen houses built by the government in 2005 for the poorest families in Bang smad Township. Residents are originally from different villages, and thus Nyag skad and Mi nyag are both spoken.

tɜ rɜ Village east of the Nyag chu River has three households of Mi nyag speakers, who all worship at Ra rgyal Monastery.

BANG SMAD VILLAGE HISTORY AND LEADERSHIP

Elders say the first residents of Bang smad Village were 'Jang, an ancient ethnic group that governed all of Nyag rong and were conquered by King Ge sar.[5] Others say that the 'Jang were exterminated by Ge sar.

Earthen walls built by the 'Jang still stand in Bang smad and earth towers stand in mountains near Bang smad and nearby villages. Locals say the 'Jang built these towers to send messages from their capital to distant places using smoke from fires lit on the towers. When the 'Jang leader wanted to call a meeting, a fire was set atop a tower in the capital, which was seen by men in distant towers, who then lit fires in their towers. Thus the message was sent from tower to tower, and all then knew they needed to gather in the capital for a meeting.

Some elders say that the current village residents first lived on a mountainside called pə tsə lu, about four kilometers southeast of Bang smad Village where there were

[5] Ge sar is said to have been born in the eleventh century and to have ruled the ancient Tibetan kingdom of Gling. A phyug, an area in northern Sde dge County is said to be Ge sar's birthplace. Gling is an abbreviation of 'Dzam-gling, the name for our world.

a few households in the past. Some families were led by *bla ma,* who made all important decisions. Presently, some ruined earth walls can be seen there, though they are almost entirely covered by trees and weeds.

After King Ge sar conquered the 'Jang, pə tsə lu villagers came to live in Bang smad and built earthen houses there because of its level ground, and began opening land for cultivation.

In the mid-nineteenth century, villagers fought the army of Mgon po rnam rgyal, locally referred to as Bu long ma 'the blind one', a powerful man who conquered much of Khams but, in the end, was subdued by Bod sde pa gzhung 'the Tibetan government'. Mgon po rnam rgyal's soldiers came to Bang smad Village. Locals fought them, lost, and fled to the mountains and forests because Mgon po rnam rgyal's soldiers burnt all the houses. Villagers rebuilt their houses after Mgon po rnam rgyal's defeat.

At the time the village was rebuilt, there were nine families in Bang smad – the Chos skyong dud mgo dgu 'Nine Protector Deity Households'. Elders say those nine families were brave, energetic, and skilled warriors, which explains the name. These nine households were:

- a tʰoŋ woŋ
- tsʰe rɜ nboŋ woŋ
- sʉ boŋ woŋ
- ra ɟe woŋ
- tʂe pɔŋ woŋ
- qaw luw woŋ
- dʑoŋ pɔŋ woŋ
- tɕʰə kʰuw tuw woŋ
- tɕʰə kʰuw ɣaw woŋ

Four of those families – tsʰe rɜ nboŋ woŋ, sʉ boŋ woŋ, tɕʰə kʰuw tuw woŋ, and tɕʰə kʰuw ɣaw woŋ – have now vanished and villagers cannot explain why. Certain elders say they had

such diseases as leprosy, other say they did not have children, and others say they migrated to other areas. Rdo rje brgyal mtshan (b. 1944) gave the following account:

> A son of the tsʰe rɜ nboŋ woŋ had leprosy. He lived in a small wood house on a mountain two kilometers from our village. My parents stopped me from going near that place when I was about eight or nine.[6]
>
> When I was young, we could see some ruined buildings of the sʉ boŋ woŋ. My uncle and some elders said they did not have children.
>
> No elders know what happened to the tɕʰə kʰuw tuw woŋ and tɕʰə kʰuw ɣaw woŋ. Elders only remember the names of these family.

At some point after the disappearance of those four families, four new families (the Tsha bzhi 'Four Cousins') arrived in the village, restoring the original number of families. The Tsha bzhi moved in and lived on locals' land. New couples might have settled neolocally, patrilocally, or matrilocally, or might have also moved in with a wealthy family and worked for them as laborers. Certain locals leased fields to outsiders who annually paid them grain as rent. Some families leased land to others and their income increased as they rented increasing amounts of land. They eventually no longer needed to work in their fields, and employed other villagers as servants in their homes.

Twenty households in Bang smad now own much property and land and are consequently more powerful than other families. Such families historically gained power gradually and came to control other villagers; they became leaders whom the other villagers listened to, respected, and obeyed. These leaders made rules and those who broke them

---

[6] The ruins of tsʰe rɜ nboŋ woŋ's home were still visible in 2010.

were punished. The two most powerful households were the tɕaw woŋ and a tʰoŋ families, who governed the other villagers. The tɕaw woŋ Family was very kind and villagers loved them.

The a tʰoŋ Family contained a very powerful man, A Sha, who wanted to dominate all the villagers and treated them badly. He controlled many Nyag rong areas, and gradually grew more powerful. At that time, the Tibetan government appointed four *stong dpon* 'leaders of a thousand households' and thirteen *mda' dpon* 'leaders of several villages' to lead Nyag rong. Government officials came to Bang smad Village to choose a leader and asked the two families to throw *pa ra* 'dice' to choose a leader. The a tʰoŋ Family lost, but, being more powerful, ordered the tɕaw woŋ Family to throw the dice again. They failed a second time and the tɕaw woŋ Family thus became the village leaders and came to dominate twenty-three villages. The names of these villages, all within today's Bang smad Township, are listed in Figure Three:

Figure Three: Names of villages in Mi nyag and Tibetan controlled by the a t^{h}oŋ and tɕaw woŋ families.

Tibetan	Mi nyag
Bang blo	pɜ lʉ
Bang smad	boŋ mi
Bang stod	boŋ t^{h}a
Dbu ba	ʁə wa
Du rtag	də t^{h}aw
Gang khung	goŋ kɜ
Kag cag	ʕaw dʑaw
Kha lung	k^{h}a loŋ
Klag pa	la ɣə
Klu 'bum	ɬə bə
Ku tang	kə toŋ
Kun da	ʕə nda
La kha	la k^{h}u
La she	la x^{h}e
Mkha' 'dod	k^{h}a ndu
Phya rdeng	ɕa di
Rba ru	va rə
Ri sne	ri na
Rnga rkang	rŋa koŋ
Sbrang bo Smad pa	ɣdzʒ woŋ mɛ ba
Sbrang bo Stod pa	ɣdzʒ woŋ tɛ ba
Stong ra	ʁoŋ ɬi
Wa thung	wa t^{h}u

At some point the tɕaw woŋ Family had no children and asked a cousin, Lha mtsho, to join their family in order to continue the family line. They sought permission from the government, which replied that they should take Lha mtsho to be examined by leaders in Lha sa. The family made her wear high-heeled shoes when she went to Lha sa so she would appear taller and thus older than she actually was. The Tibetan government then approved her as a local leader.

Lha mtsho married a *mda' dpon* family member, 'Brug thar, who thus joined the tɕaw woŋ Family and became a very well-respected leader. His brother, however, wanted to usurp his authority, leading to conflicts between the brothers. During these conflicts all young village males were conscripted as soldiers for the tɕaw woŋ Family, which owned many firearms. Some villagers even lived with the tɕaw woŋ Family as bodyguards.

Many families were landless at that time. Some families lacked houses and lived with the tɕaw woŋ Family, helping them herd livestock and do housework. They were paid only food and lodging. All households paid annual taxes of lumber, butter, meat, and grain to the tɕaw woŋ Family.

In 1937, 'Brug thar was an impartial leader whom villagers loved and respected. He had two sons, Dgra 'dul and A bad. Some *bla ma* said Dgra 'dul was a Living Buddha; he was very kind, and eventually became a *bla ma* and leader of the twenty-three villages. He was an exceptional leader who owned much property. He had a large army, treated his soldiers and servants well, and grew increasingly powerful as time passed.

Dgra 'dul punished and fined anyone in the twenty-three villages if they fought with or stole livestock from fellow villagers. For example, a villager once stole livestock from another village and when Dgra 'dul discovered this, the thief was punished. He solved many such problems in the villages. All villagers obeyed his orders and were solidly united behind him. The village leader was responsible for solving all village problems, such as when villages had conflicts with other tribes over land ownership.

Only twenty households in Bang smad owned farmland and their own houses at the time of Liberation. After the Communist government implemented national laws, village land was divided according to family size, local leaders were punished, and a new local government was established in the tɕaw woŋ Family house. Afterwards, each

household had land to grow their own grain and no longer paid taxes to the village leaders.

Present-day villagers continue to respect the tɕaw woŋ Family and make an honorary visit to them during łe ndzɛ (New Year). In the past, the tɕaw woŋ Family had two large walnut trees that the government confiscated and made collective village property. Villagers returned the two walnut trees to the family in 2009.

Present-day villagers respect traditional law and seek permission from two different owners before building new houses: the original owner of the field and the owner according to current national law. New houses are not built without agreement from both parties. Whether a family owned land in the traditional social structure is also considered during the marriage process; land-owning and landless villagers seldom intermarried historically and this continues today.

Decision-makers from each household meet to choose *$s^hɜ$ pu* 'village leaders' by dividing into about ten groups of four households each. The selection is made by writing names on pieces of paper. The current village leader then chooses four pieces of paper. Those whose names are written on these papers become one group. Each group serves as village leaders for a year in turn. One male member from each household of the group acts as leader, organizing yearly rituals such as Spyi gto and Smyung gnas (see below), coordinating the start of the farming season, and protecting crops from wandering livestock; *$s^hɜ$ pu* also fine the owners of such livestock and use this money to pay for annual rituals. The *$s^hɜ$ pu* also manage łe ndzɛ as explained later.

The three village leaders chosen by the government are referred to as *las byed*. Township officials meet to choose them by asking one representative from each household to vote in the township center. The *las byed* also assist villagers to organize rituals and the agricultural cycle, and receive an annual government salary of about 2,000 RMB.

VILLAGE NAME

Two accounts explain the origin of the name Bang smad. Locals say a monastery was once destroyed in a flood, and a wood house was also washed away. After the flood receded, the lower part of the wood house came to rest in Bang smad. In Tibetan, 'wood house' is '*bang khang*', and the lower part of a wood house is '*bang smad*'. The village has been called Bang smad since that flood. The upper part of the wood house came to rest in a neighboring place, so that place was called Bang stod (boŋ t^{h}a) 'Upper Wooden House'. rŋa koŋ Village is nearby. After the flood, the feet of a *rnga khang* 'drum stand' came to rest there, hence the name rŋa koŋ.

The other explanation relates to Bang smad's location on the lower border of a grassland. In local Tibetan, grassland is '*spang*' and 'lower' is '*smad*', thus this place was called Spang smad. Over time, Spang smad came to be pronounced Bang smad.

ENVIRONMENT

Bang smad Village is located between two forested mountains on the Nyag chu River. Trees were harvested for fuel and lumber before 2001. Several trees were often cut at one time. Logs were kept for personal use and others were transported and sold in the provincial capital, Chengdu, and in other cities. However, in 2001 the government prohibited cutting trees for fuel and lumber.

Leopards, tigers, wild boars, monkeys, hedgehogs, and musk deer live in the forests.

POPULATION

There were thirty-six households and 171 people in Bang smad in 2009, including sixty-five men, seventy-six women, and thirty children. All were officially classified as Tibetan. The oldest man was born in 1924 and the oldest woman was born in 1936. The largest family had eleven members, and the smallest family had one. The average family had about four members.

Families in the past often had ten children, but nowadays policy stipulates a maximum of three children per family. Families that have only one child are monetarily rewarded by the local government.

LANGUAGE

Only about ten percent of the Mi nyag words from Kangding County listed at: http://www.khamaid.org/programs/culture/minyaklanguage/minyak_language.pdf (Thub bstan dge legs et al., 2008) appear to be similar to those in Bang smad, as shown in figures Four and Five:

Figure Four: Kangding County Mi nyag and Bang smad Village Mi nyag lexical similarities.

English	Kangding County	Bang smad Village
bad	གྭ་ཚ gwa cha	*ga tɕʰɔ*
fire	མྷི m+'i	*moŋ*
smoke	མུག་ཁུར mug khur	*moŋ kʰɜ*
valley	འབའ་ཀུང 'ba' kung	*ʔoŋ*

The short list below shows words that appear to be quite different:

Figure Five: Kangding County Mi nyag and Bang smad Village Mi nyag lexical differences.

English	Kangding County	Bang smad Village
afraid	ཐག་ཀག thag kag	*s^{h}a rə*
bowl	ཨི་ཐོང i thong	*qɜ*
four	རུ་ལོ ru lo	*ɬa*
head	འ་ལོ 'a lo	*ʁə boŋ*
hear	ཁུ་སེ་ང khu se nga	*mə*
house	ཅེ ce	*ɣoŋ*
ice	འཇེ་ཀུ 'je ku	*vɔŋ*
laugh	རིང་དུ་རམ ring du ram	*qa*
pig	ཞིག zhig	*va*
road	རབ rab	*tɕi*
sickle	སོ་ལེ so le	*ɟə*

Bang smad villagers generally think their language is only spoken in rural villages and is useful when discussing things they do not want others to understand. Certain elders are aware that Mi nyag is spoken in other areas and comment that it is difficult for them to understand.

People from such other townships as Ma red, Jialaxi, and Heping refer to Mi nyag spoken in Bang smad Township as ɣdzʒ woŋ ki. ɣdzʒ woŋ is an old name for Bang smad Township the origins of which elders could not explain. Bang smad Township Mi nyag speakers refer to their language as mə ɳæ. Many local Tibetans who do not speak Mi nyag refer to Mi nyag as *'dre skad* 'ghost language'.

All Bang Smad villagers speak mə ɳæ with the exception of men and women who married and have moved to la k^{h}u (La kha), la x^{h}e (La she), and la ɣə (Klag pa) villages and who speak the Nyag skad variety of Khams Tibetan. mə ɳæ is spoken in three townships in Nyag rong

County: Man chen Township,[7] with four mə ɳæ-speaking villages (Ri mgo, Ri 'dabs, Yi lung, and Shes rig); Yangs la gshis Township with Ha me Village (six households, thirty-six people); and Bang smad Township, with seventeen villages where mə ɳæ is spoken.[8]

Of the thirty-six households of Bang smad Village, the wives in fifteen are originally from other villages, including five from four different mə ɳæ speaking-villages. The other ten speak Nyag skad as their first language and, though they understand most of what is said in Mi nyag, they speak it poorly, as do their children. Villagers comment that such children have an accent when speaking Mi nyag.

Some villagers speak the Sichuan Chinese dialect because they have done construction work or worked in hotels and restaurants as cleaners in the county town. Some monks can speak Modern Standard Chinese because they travel to such places as Shanghai, Beijing, and Heilongjiang to teach Buddhism to Han Chinese.

Elders said that many years ago everyone in Nyag rong spoke Mi nyag. Rdo rje rgyal mtshan said:

> All Nor khang (Lougu) villagers spoke Mi nyag and then their tribe leader married a woman who was from a Khams-speaking village. Everybody in her husband's village spoke Mi nyag, which she couldn't understand. She became very homesick. The tribe's leader then ordered all

---

[7] Man chen was combined with Rgyal rabs shing Township in 1992.

[8] ɣdzʐ woŋ tɛ ba (Sbrang bo Stod pa), ɣdzʐ woŋ mɛ ba (Sbrang bo Smad pa), ɬə bə (Klu 'bum), rŋa koŋ (rnga rkang), boŋ tʰa (Bang stod), kʰa loŋ (kha lung), ʂə nda (Kun da), ʂaw dʑaw (Kag cag), boŋ mi (Bang smad), kə toŋ (Ku tang), goŋ kɜ (gang khung), kʰa ndu (Mkha' 'dod), ri na (Ri sne), pɜ lʉ (Bang blo), vɜ gɛ (Bu ge), ʁoŋ ɬi (Stong ra), and tɜ rɜv (Ti ri).

villagers to speak Khams and that's why all Nor khang villagers today speak Nyag skad. But there are many words in their dialect that are similar to Mi nyag, especially place names.

Intelligibility

Mi nyag pronunciation varies slightly between villages in Bang smad to the extent that a Mi nyag speaker can identify a speaker's village of origin based on their speech. Residents of the same valley tend to have similar pronunciation though they may be from different villages. For example, villagers from rŋa koŋ and boŋ t^{h}a speak almost identical versions of Mi nyag, whereas their pronunciation differs recognizably from Bang smad villagers.

Bang smad villagers have significant difficulty speaking Mi nyag with people from the other two Mi nyag-speaking townships (Yangs la gshis to the south and Man chen to the north).

Figure Six: Man chen, Bang smad, and Youlaxi Mi nyag Dialects compared.

English	Man chen	Bang smad	Yangs la gshis
cloud	*ʈ̡se*	*doŋ mu*	*ʈ̡sɜ*
feather	*pə*	*pə*	*mi rɔ*
few	*dʐ̡ə mə*	*sɔ sɔ*	*sɔ sɔ*
to fly	*ɟoŋ lʌ*	*ɟoŋ loŋ*	*de*
foot	*mɔ*	*mu*	*mɔ*
grass	*ntɕʰi*	*ntɕʰi*	*xʰi*
heart	*li*	*zu*	*sʰe*
I	*ŋa*	*ŋa*	*ŋa*
to kill	*sʰi*	*sʰi*	*sʰə*
to laugh	*qe*	*qa*	*qa qa*
left (side)	*jə ku*	*jə ku*	*la ja*
road	*tɕe*	*tɕi*	*tɕə*
round	*ʁɔ rə rə*	*ʁɔ ʁɔ rə*	*ʁɔ rə rə*
to say	*xʰe*	*xʰi*	*xʰæ*
to squeeze	*le*	*cə ʈ̡uw*	*ɟə zu*
there	*tɕʰə du*	*tɕʰə me*	*a ʑi*
thick	*bə*	*bə*	*xʰi xʰi*
warm (as in weather)	*tse*	*tsi*	*lu lu*
water	*ʐ̡ə*	*ʐ̡ɔ*	*ʐ̡ɜ*
wife	*na tɕʰuw*	*ɟa sʰe*	*mi*
worm	*bə dʑa*	*bə dʑu*	*bə dʑu*

Culture

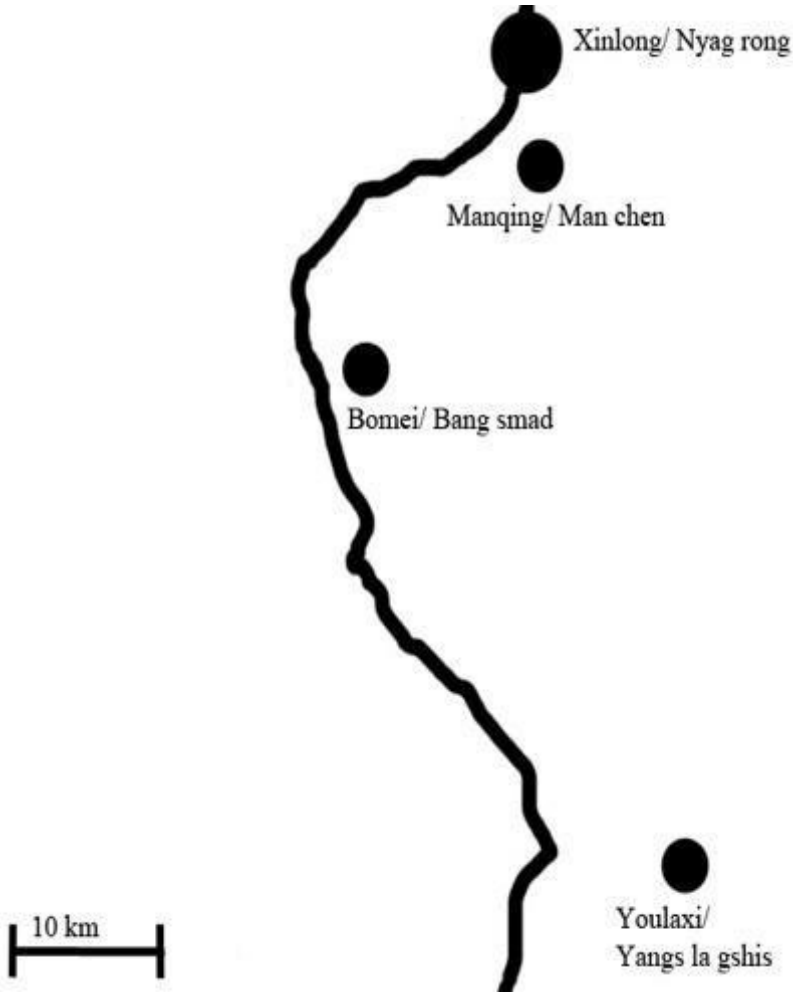
Kinship and marriage ties exist between Khams-speaking villages in the north of Bang smad Township and villages as far south as Heping Township. Mi nyag families also have kinship ties with Khams-speaking villagers living in Ma red Township on the west bank of the Nyag chu River. In Bang smad Township, Mi nyag-speakers speak Khams, though a few elders cannot speak it well. Those who speak Khams

dialect as their first language cannot speak Mi nyag. In the case of mixed marriages, children raised in Mi nyag villages speak Mi nyag. Children raised with a Mi nyag-speaking parent in Khams-speaking villages generally only understand a few words of Mi nyag. The southernmost villages of Bang smad Township have traditionally not had marriage ties with those in the north, but instead intermarried with Khams communities across the Nyag chu River in Ma red Township. There are no significant cultural differences between Khams-speakers and Mi nyag-speakers; only their language is different. Mi nyag-speakers consider themselves to be Tibetans who speak a distinct language.

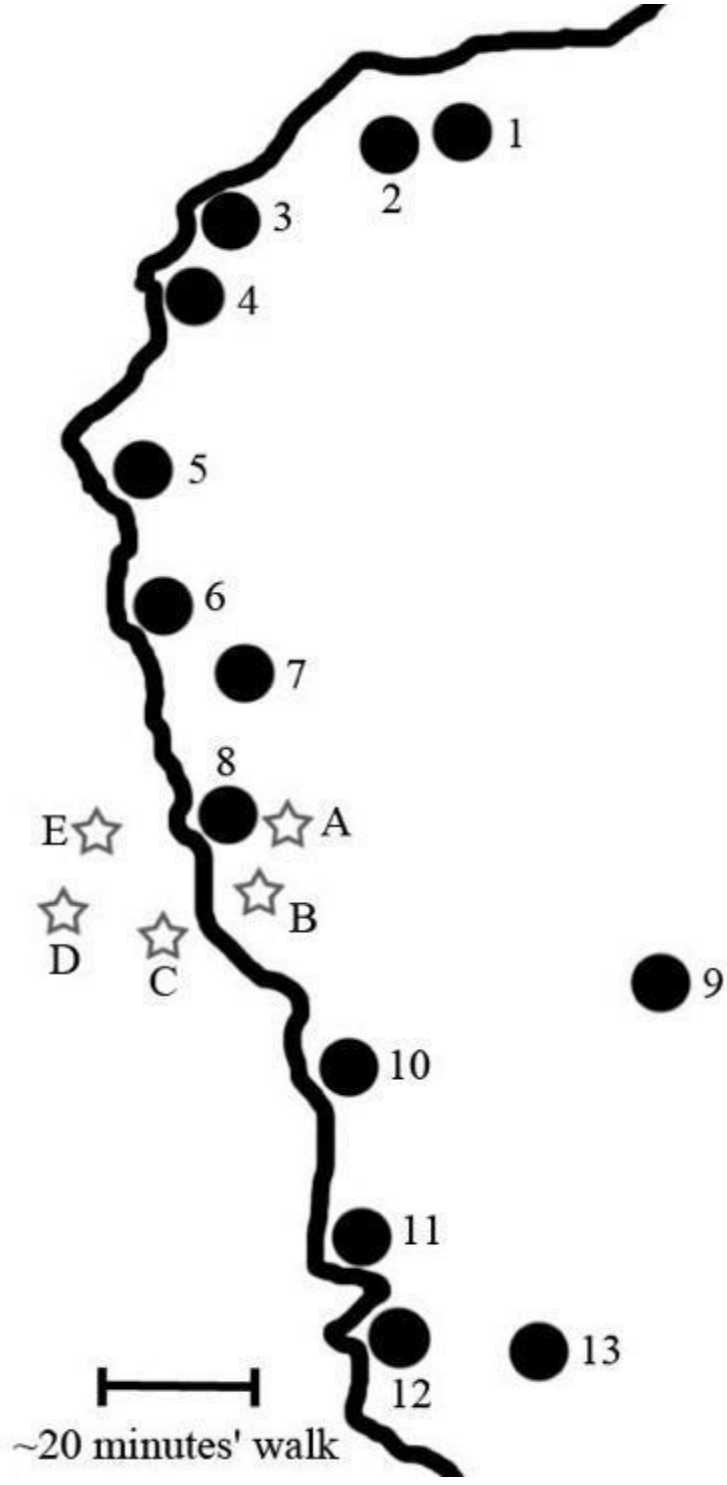
Map 1. The location of Nyag rong County in China. Sichuan is shown in white in the gray map of China (bottom right). Dkar mdzes Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture is gray in the map of Sichuan (top left), and Nyag rong County is black.[9]



[9] This map is based on a map created by Wiki Commons user Croquant: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Croquant and used under a Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Unported license.



Map 2. Mi nyag-speaking communities along the Nyag chu River in Nyag rong County.


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
E
A
B
D
C
9
10
11
12
13
~20 minutes' walk

Map 3. Administrative villages along the Nyag chu River in Bang smad Township (1-13) and the holy mountains of Bang smad Village (A-E).

1: Rba ru 2: La kha 3: Phya rdeng 4: Klag pa 5: Stod smad pa 6: Bang stod 7: Kha lung 8: Bang smad 9: Mkha' 'dod 10: Gang khung 11: ri na 12: Bang blo 13: Stong ra

A: G.yung drung spun dgu B: Sman btsun le'u sman C: Bya zas lha mo mched bdun D: G.yar ri seng ge E: Dge bsnyen po blo

HOUSING

There are two styles of house in Bang smad Village: *rtsing khang* 'stone houses' and *gyang khang* 'rammed earth houses'. Houses usually have three floors. The first floor is for livestock, while people live on the second floor, which ordinarily contains a bedroom, a kitchen, and *zɔ*.[10] The third floor is a storeroom for livestock fodder. A wooden room on the third floor is the family shrine where Buddha images and *thang ga*[11] are housed. Monks stay here when they visit;

---

[10] A small room where grain, butter, cheese, and *g.yang mda'* (see below) are stored. Only family members may enter a household's *zɔ*.

[11] *Thang ka/ga* refers to a form of primarily Tibetan sacred representation consisting of an image panel that is painted, embroidered, or appliquéd, which is often placed in a textile frame. The image panel frequently depicts such imagery as mandalas, deities, famous scenes, or prominent local religious personalities. They are hung up high in monastic halls, village temples, and family homes as objects of veneration. A piece of silk often hangs over the image to

some families also store grain in this room.

Recently, certain families have built and live in a small, one-room house alongside their large house. The big house is used if they have many guests on such occasions as łe ndzɛ,[12] religious festivals, and weddings.

A *rtsis pa* 'astrologer' is asked to choose a suitable site for a new house based on orientation to mountains, water, trees, roads, and so on. After a location is chosen, the Sa bdag 'khrugs bcos Ritual (see below) is held to appease deities that reside at, or are masters of the house site. A deity that is not appeased may plague people and livestock, inflicting disease and causing disaster.

Villagers consider it auspicious if the mountains located to the east of a house are not too high. It is also favorable if there are small mountains to the south of the house, and high mountains to the west and north of the house.

A perpendicular path above the house is believed to be a conduit for the family's prosperity. A large parallel road above the house is unfavorable, but if the house is located an arrow's shot or farther from the road, it is acceptable.

A path south of the house is favorable, for it is seen as the path of a family's *g.yang* 'prosperity deity' (see below). A path west of the house is believed to be the way of the Gshin ma 'the Person Killer' and is inauspicious. A path north of the house is considered the path of enemies and is also inauspicious.

The *phyi yi srung ma bzhi* 'four outer protectors' and *nang gi srung ma bzhi* 'four inner protectors' are associated with a house. The *phyi yi srung ma bzhi* are four symbols

---

prevent defilement by secular life, and protects the image from light and dust. In the context of village ritual, setting up images creates interior and exterior worlds mediated through the representation of the images.

[12] New Year.

that serve as protectors in the four directions outside the house. *Shar stag skya bo* 'eastern grey tiger' is usually a patch of white earth or white stones east of the house. *Lho g.yu 'brug sngon po* 'southern blue turquoise dragon' is a river or dragon-shaped mountain south of the house. *Nub bya dmar po* 'western red bird' is a red rocky mountain or bird-shaped stone west of the house. *Byang rus sbal rgyal po* 'northern king turtle' is a stone or a mountain resembling a turtle in the north. A place surrounded by all the *phyi yi srung ma bzhi* is ideal for a new building.

Nang gi srung ma bzhi are the protectors in the four directions inside the house compound. A gate in the east of a compound, water buckets in the south, a stove in the west, and a hand mill[13] in the north are also protectors.

A solitary tree upslope from a house means the family's wealth cannot increase because the tree will 'weigh down' the family and prevent its wealth from 'rising'. Conversely, a tree downslope from the house 'holds up' the family and prevents it from becoming impoverished.

Trees, water, and rocks in front of a house are fortuitous. Water, e.g., streams, lakes, a water tap, and so on to the left or right of a house, is auspicious. It is a bad omen if water emerges from a building's foundations.

FOOD AND DRINK

Bang smad villagers typically have four meals a day: breakfast, lunch, *mdza vu*,[14] and dinner. Breakfast is eaten from seven to eight a.m. and consists of *rtsam pa* 'roasted barley flour' and milk tea. Some combination of *rtsam pa*,

---

[13] The hand mill is comprised of two stones and used to grind grain.

[14] A meal between lunch and dinner.

butter, cheese, sugar, and hot tea are mixed together, and eaten while drinking milk tea. *kʰa ti*[15] or leftovers, might also be eaten for breakfast.

Villagers eat lunch between twelve and one p.m. Bread might be made for lunch by mixing wheat flour, soda, and cold water, kneading the dough into round shapes, and cooking the dough in hot ash for about fifteen minutes. Butter, *rtsam pa*, and salt are put in holes in the bread. Rice and fried vegetable dishes are also common for lunch.

Villagers eat *rtsam pa* and potatoes for *mdza vu* between three and four p.m. Potatoes are washed and boiled for twenty minutes. Leftovers from lunch might also be eaten.

A dinner of noodles or rice with vegetables is eaten from nine to ten p.m. Sometimes *ɕa kɜ*, a soup of chopped, boiled beef with *rtsam pa* and salt, is made.

Alcohol Consumption

Villagers have a profound cultural attachment to drinking alcohol. This is illustrated by the account below, given by a villager born in 1988:

> When I was about six years old, local carpenters encouraged me to drink at a party. I went home. It was my duty to feed the dogs, livestock, and fetch water. I prepared to heat some food for the dogs and then fell asleep by the stove. Mother later found me and, thinking I was seriously

[15] *Rtsam pa*, butter, sugar, and cheese are mixed in a bowl. After compacting these ingredients with the back of the hand, tea is poured into the bowl. The tea is drunk and the tongue used to lick up the dough at the bottom of the bowl. Tea is poured again and the process repeated until the bowl is empty.

ill, carried me on her back to see a doctor. She met a woman on the way who said she could smell liquor and that I was just drunk.

Later, when I was about nine years old, I had a party with three friends. We each brought two bottles of barley liquor, three *yuan*, and some food. We put up a small tent by a wood-pile near my home, lit a candle, told folktales, and drank. We went to sleep after we got drunk. The candle set the wood on fire and burned the neck of one of my friends. The fire became so large that the flames were almost as tall as the third floor of the house. My parents came out, took us from the tent, and put out the fire. Meanwhile, I crawled back into the tent and went to sleep.

In 2009, leaders of such monasteries as Mtsho kha, Rnga rkang, and Ra rgyal told villagers to stop drinking in an effort to end fighting and reduce the number of car and motorcycle accidents. The following are examples of problems the ban on liquor sought to address:

A Bang smad villager went by motorcycle to the county town with a Chinese carpenter in early 2009 to buy daily food for the carpenter. After they finished shopping, they went to a restaurant and drank liquor. They went too fast when returning to the village, crashed into an electricity pole, and the villager broke his leg. Subsequent medical treatment cost his family 9,000 RMB and he still walked with difficulty in 2010.

A villager (b. 1938) drank every day. Doctors whom he consulted urged him to quit drinking, but he did not. One day in 2005, he drank a great deal of liquor and the next morning was unable to move his right hand and right foot. He was then bedridden and very seriously ill for seven months. He still had to be carried wherever he went in 2010.

In compliance with the directive from monasteries and elders, villagers stopped drinking, took the liquor and barley wine from their homes to local monasteries, and burned it in the *gsur*.[16] Villagers also had their copper liquor distillers smelted and made into cooking pots and basins. Bang smad Village's two shops also stopped selling liquor. However, some young male villagers bought beer and liquor in the county town several months later and went to mountains or valley locations where they were not easily seen drinking.

Since 2008, Bang smad villagers no longer provide barley liquor and beer during the New Year period, weddings, and parties. Instead, they provide fruit juice. Such villages as ri na ask *bla ma* for permission to drink during the New Year and promise to stop drinking after the New Year period. Others ask for permission to drink if it is part of a social obligation related to government employment or doing business. *Bla ma* generally give permission but insist that there should be no drinking in the villages, unless it is during the New Year period (on the part of villages who have requested such permission).

CLOTHING

Villagers wear their best clothes during the fifteen-day New Year period and on such other special occasions as weddings, summer picnics, and when going to the monastery to watch *'cham*[17] and attending other religious festivals.

---

[16] Strips of cloth symbolizing clothing, alcohol, and other items that are burnt, which allows ancestors to receive and enjoy them.

[17] *'Cham* refers to a religious ritual at Tibetan monasteries. Monks wear masks and ornamented costumes, and dance accompanied by music played by monks using traditional

Clothes worn during New Year are unique. Villagers historically wore coral, tiger skin, leopard skin, silver earrings, gold earrings, fox fur hats, colorful aprons, and sashes during New Year. During weddings, only the bride, groom, and their entourage wear these clothes. At present, people do not generally wear jewelry.[18]

In 2010 New Year, villagers between the ages of ten and forty wore the decorations described above during the New Year whereas elders wore *ts^{h}a rɜ*[19] 'Tibetan robes' and did not wear such ornaments.

EDUCATION

Approximately eighty-five percent of Bang smad villagers are illiterate. Few families sent their children to school before 2003, believing that only children of wealthy families could find jobs. Finding employment required giving money to government leaders and a good social network. Recently, however, more families have allowed their children to attend school because official jobs are allocated according to examinations. Many students from rural villages have found jobs and have been able to improve the poor economic condition of their families and communities. Realizing the benefits of education, most villagers now send their children to school. There were two senior middle school students, five junior middle school students, and twenty-five primary school students in Bang smad Village in 2009.

Tibetan instruments. The dances often depict the life of Padmasambhava, the ninth century religious teacher, and other important religious figures.

[18] In 2010, tiger, leopard, otter, and other animal skins were not worn during New Year.

[19] A Tibetan robe lined with goatskin, worn in winter.

Around twenty percent of villagers aged eight to eighteen do not attend school. Families with two sons often send one to be a monk. All families encourage daughters to stay at home, do housework, and farm while sending sons to school. Daughters who finish school and cannot find official jobs are thought to be unable to do housework and farm work. Such women may go to work in restaurants or hotels in the county town. Villagers disapprove of this, because females in the county town may learn such bad habits as drinking alcohol and going to dance clubs. Poor families' daughters may go to the county town to work as waitresses and hotel attendants. Males do construction work and work as drivers.

INCOME AND SUBSISTENCE

Primary sources of cash income are migrant construction work in and beyond the county town, and the collection and sale of *dbyar rtswa dgun 'bu* 'caterpillar fungus' (*Cordyceps sinensis*) and mushrooms. Each household may earn around 3,000 RMB from collecting *dbyar rtswa dgun 'bu* in Lha ri ma and Ra gzhi, Nyag rong County, where they must pay about 200 RMB per person to locals for the right to collect on the land. Drivers may earn approximately 4,000 RMB annually.

Villagers practice subsistence agriculture, growing barley, wheat, potatoes, and peas, on about seven *mu*[20] of land per household. They also herd cows, horses, sheep, goats, and *mdzo*.[21] Most families have four or five cows and a few families also have sheep, goats, and *mdzo mo*.

[20] Certain families have thirteen *mu* and others have only three *mu*. One *mu* = 0.0667 hectares.

[21] *Mdzo* are yak-cow hybrids. *Mdzo mo* are female yak-cow hybrids.

Some families have three or four horses. Villagers do not sell butter, cheese, or wool, though horses and cows may be sold to earn extra income, which often totals around 1,000 RMB. Certain families sell potatoes in the county town to earn approximately 300 RMB a year. Some villagers need to buy a total of 250-300 kilograms of barley, wheat, flour, and rice from Dkar mdzes County Town every year at a cost of 700-800 RMB. Barley, wheat, flour, and rice can be bought in Nyag rong County Town but are more expensive than in Dkar mdzes County Town.

Agricultural Cycle

Villagers begin farming about one lunar month after ɬe ndzɛ by breaking earth clods in their fields.[22] Manure is taken from homes to the fields about ten days later. Five or six households form a group and transport manure from their houses to the fields by tractors and cars. After transporting the manure, each group holds a celebration called li coŋ 'fertilizer alcohol'. All group members visit a family, bringing rice, vegetables, several bottles of barley liquor, and about twenty RMB.[23] Candies and sunflower seeds are also offered. The dancing and singing lasts the whole day. Fields are irrigated four weeks after transporting manure, which is spread again several days later. Some households also use chemical fertilizers. After one or two days, sowing and plowing begin.

Women begin weeding about two months after plowing. Harvest is two months later. Most villagers now have their own threshing machine, although sometimes two or three

[22] Locals follow the same lunar calendar as that used in Lha sa.

[23] Liquor was brought prior to the anti-alcohol reforms. Now a non-alcoholic drink is brought.

households jointly own one. Several families often make a group and help each other thresh. Threshing and winnowing for one family usually takes five or six days.

MODERN DISPLAYS OF WEALTH

Before 2008, spacious houses were built for 150,000-300,000 RMB by wealthy families. Four to ten years is generally required to complete such a house. However, beginning in about 2008, villagers were considered wealthy if they owned nice houses, cars, and trucks (priced 80,000-400,000 RMB). Eleven families owned cars and nearly every village family owned at least one motorcycle in 2010. Two families might buy a car jointly and use it to earn money by, for example, transporting sand, cement, wood, and other construction material in Nyag rong County Town.

NEW RULES

In the 1990s, the larger Tibetan community began commenting on the number of laymen and monks from Nyag rong begging in such places as Chengdu and Xining cities and at various monasteries and nunneries. At times, laymen wear monk's robes in order to increase the amount of donations they receive. It became increasingly common for a beggar's fellow villagers to view him as successful if he returned to the village with a significant amount of cash.

In 2009, an organization named Rig gzhung dar spel tshogs pa was founded by Tshul khrims blo gros and other *mkhan po*[24] and *bla ma*. The organization has the following rules listed in a small booklet titled Blang dor gsal ba'i me

[24] *Mkhan po* are monks considered to have rich knowledge.

long that has been widely distributed among local community members:

- monks must stay in monasteries for at least a hundred days a year to study and chant,
- all villagers must gather to study and chant for at least fifteen days to one month a year,
- children must attend school,
- wearing knives is forbidden, and
- begging is forbidden.

Households that observed these rules were given a numbered, metal card beginning in 2010. Furthermore, a group of five households had to appear together at the monastery and swear that none of the five households were breaking the five rules. The result was that certain households did not receive this card.

Nyag rong residents commonly take corpses to Gser thang bla rung lnga rig nang bstan slob gling or Ya chen O rgyan bsam gtan gling[25] for sky funerals. Without the card, monks will not assist the household with funerals and other rituals.

[25] These two monasteries are the largest in Dkar mdzes Prefecture. Gser thang bla rung lnga rig nang bstan slob gling is in Gser rta County and Ya chen O rgyan bsam gtan gling is in Dpal yul County.

Figure One.
A panorama of Bang smad Village shows its location on the banks of the Nyag chu.

Figure Two.
This house is for the Khwa srung family who must fire rifles to stop crows flying above Mgon po rnam rgyal's palace.

Figure Three.
Building this *rtsing khang* 'stone house' took four years. A different part of the house is built each year, usually one floor at a time.

Figure Four.
A house under construction.

Figure Five.
The small wood structure on the left is the toilet. This *rtsing khang* has three floors.

Figure Six.
The wood rooms on the right of the top floor are *bang khang* where Buddhist images and scriptures are kept. Grain might also be stored here. Visiting monks sleep in the *bang khang*.

Figure Seven.
The house owner has a new *gyang khang* 'rammed earth house' that is larger than this house. The family now keeps their straw in this *rtsing khang*. This building is of an older style.

Figure Eight.
Painted *gyang khang* exterior decorated by Chinese workers who were paid about 15,000 RMB.

Figure Nine.
Interior of a *rtsing khang* owned by a relatively wealthy family. Completing such a house requires about four years.

Figure Ten.
Interior of a *rtsing khang* owned by a relatively wealthy family. This is the same room as in Figure Nine, photographed from a different angle.

Figure Eleven.
Villagers cook in the small house on the left. Young family members also sleep there. Villagers do not cook in big new houses, fearing that smoke will discolor the interior. They therefore live in this small house. Some families live in the small house only during winter, believing it is warmer than the big house.

Figure Twelve.
Villagers collect stones to build a house in a quarry that is a ten minute drive from the village.

Figure Thirteen.
Ramming tools remain atop the wall while workers eat lunch.

Figure Fourteen.
Women dig soil to provide enough earth for men to ram. Some men have finished ramming their assigned section and relax.

Figure Fifteen.
Women carry soil up to men ramming the wall.

Figure Sixteen.
Tho lo (b. 1967) wears his hair in the traditional style and relaxes after ramming earth.

Figure Seventeen.
These men will soon finish this section.

Figure Eighteen.
A Chinese carpenter. Four carpenters spent three months building the wooden parts of this home.

Figure Nineteen.
Two artists paint pillars, walls, ceiling, and skirting inside a *gyang khang* that was built in 2003.

Figure Twenty.
Dbang rgyal (b. 1990) in traditional clothes worn by men during ɬe ndzɛ.

Figure Twenty-One.
The back of a man's traditional clothes.

Figure Twenty-two.
Bsod nams dpal mo wears traditional clothes worn during ɬe ndzɛ.

Figure Twenty-three.
The back of a woman's traditional clothes.

Figure Twenty-four.
Manure is hauled to the fields, kept there for about a week, and then spread in the fields, which are then irrigated.

Figure Twenty-five.
O rgyan nor bu (b. 1988) needs four days to plow his fields.

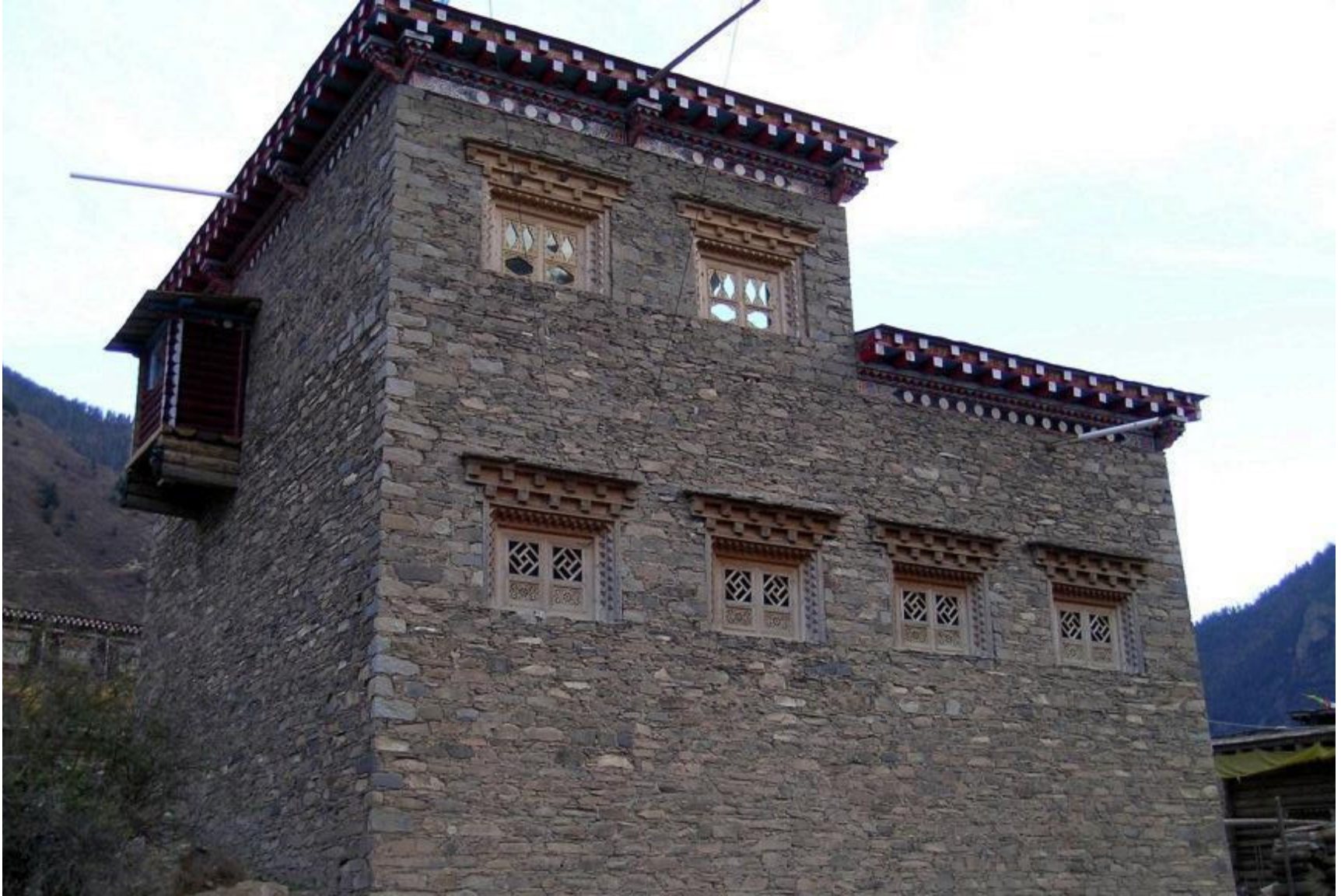
Figure Twenty-six.
Pad ma chos sgron weeds in summer.

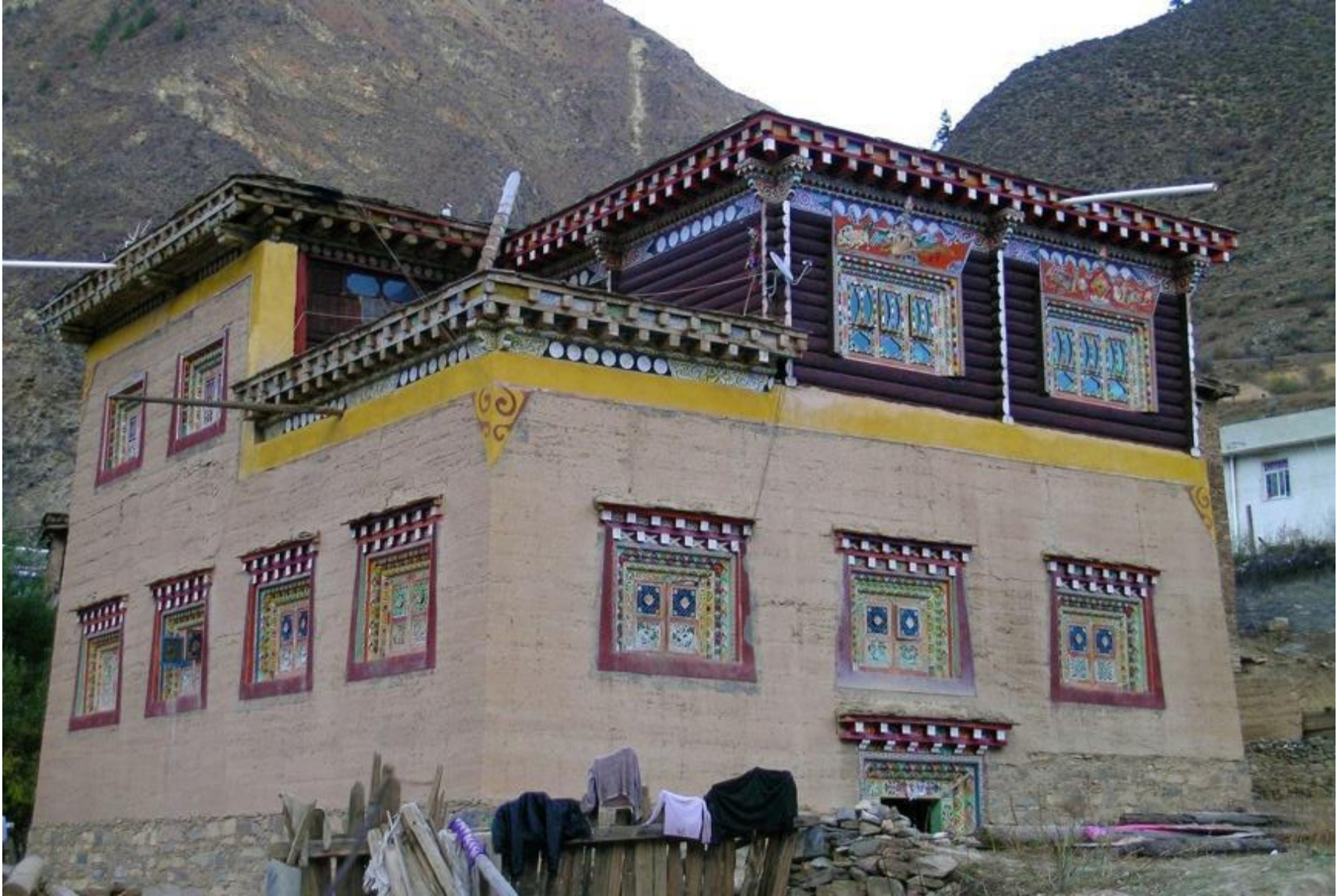


















































PART TWO
RELIGION AND FOLK BELIEFS

Villagers in Bang smad are Rnying ma pa and Bka' brgyud pa devotees, and visit Ra rgyal,[26] Mtsho kha,[27] and Rnga rkang monasteries.[28]

Seventeen monks and three nuns are from Bang smad Village. The nuns are supported by their families and reside in Gser thang bla rung lnga rig nang bstan slob gling Nunnery[29] and study such scriptures as Bsam pa lhun grub, Bar chad lam sel, Sgrol ma, and Thos grol, as well as Buddhist teachings and Tibetan grammar. Villagers respect them and invite them to their homes and give them bread, beef, and candy during ɬe ndzɛ.

A few monks stay in their family homes, where older monks teach them to read and write Tibetan. As stated previously, village monks visit Shanghai, Beijing, and Heilongjiang to teach Buddhism and earn money. Villagers do not respect monks who visit Han Chinese places because they feel such monks seek donations from Chinese Buddhists to build monasteries and then give the funds raised to their families to build new houses and buy new cars. Even though some monks donate money to monasteries, villagers suspect they keep much of what they are given for themselves.

Brag mgo Monastery is approximately 800 years old and is located a kilometer northwest of Bang smad Village on a cliff resembling an elephant's head, a site locals

---

[26] This monastery in ri na Village had 150 monks in 2010.

[27] This monastery in Ma red Township, Nyag rong County had 200 monks in 2010.

[28] This monastery in rŋa koŋ Village had sixty monks in 2010.

[29] Gser thang bla rung lnga rig nang bstan slob gling is in Gser rta County, Dkar mdzes Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

consider very auspicious. Monks do not stay year-round in this small monastery. The religious activities Smyung gnas and Gto, described below, are held there twice each year. The following account describes the monastery's history and its founder, Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan:[30]

> The founder of Brag mgo Monastery was Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan, a *grub thob* 'saint' from 'Brug yul 'Bhutan' who visited many Tibetan places. Late in his life, he settled in Bang smad and asked villagers to build a monastery on that rocky mountain.
>
> He wanted to place a lake in front of the monastery after building it and so went to Nor khang mtsho sgang Lake to fetch water. He magically poured all the lake water into two buckets that he then put on his mule. That place was called Mtsho sgang 'Lake Summit', but it became known as Mtsho skam 'Dry Lake' after Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan took the water.
>
> He walked along a road about three kilometers south of Bang smad, down ri ɬi Valley, near Bya zas Mountain, a very fierce mountain deity who wanted to prevent Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan from carrying water though her territory. Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan got angry and stomped a stone with his foot, creating a footprint that can still be seen. He then went along ri ɬi Valley and reached Mi mgo,[31] where his tired mule lay down, spilling two drops of water, thus creating two small lakes that can still be seen

[30] Personal communication with Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (b. 1944).

[31] Mi mgo is a pasture in Bang smad Village territory, a six-hour horse ride from the village. A local account suggests that long ago a conflict occurred between tribes. So many people were killed that a *lab rtse* (see below) was made with people's heads. *Mi* means 'human' and *mgo* 'head', hence the name Mi mgo.

there.

Next, he went up Bang smad Valley to Bang smad Village, and wanted to put a lake in a field at the foot of Brag mgo Monastery. The field owner objected and deliberately carried a basket full of excrement to the field where Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan wanted to put the lake, intentionally creating misfortune. When Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan wanted to create good fortune, he asked the field owner to give fodder to his mule. She then brought a basket full of noxious weeds. Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan then angrily decided not to put a lake in Bang smad Village and asked all the village monks to go with him.

In time they had to cross the Nyag chu River. Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan struck the river with his whip, causing the waters to part. They began crossing and saw gold in the water. Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan asked his disciple, Bla ma klu 'bum, to collect a bowlful of gold, which they used to adorn the central pillar of the chanting hall when they later built Mtsho kha Monastery.

When they reached Skyes bu, malicious spirits wanted to disturb Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan's journey, and caused his mule to abruptly spill a little water on the ground, forming a small lake that can be seen today.

Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan and his disciples finally reached their destination and began building a new monastery. He then poured all the water from the two buckets out in front of the new monastery, and a large lake immediately appeared. The monastery was therefore named Mtsho kha 'Lakeside' Monastery.

Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan then returned to Brag mgo Monastery where he meditated for the rest of his life.

A local monk built a new monastery named Thar ba Monastery and a stupa in Bang smad Village in 2008. Nine monks resided in this Bka' brgyud Monastery in 2010. Villagers go to Thar ba Monastery to circumambulate its

stupa on the thirteenth, fifteenth, and eighteenth days of each lunar month, believing such days to be auspicious times when chanting scriptures and performing other religious activities are especially efficacious. Villagers also do not eat meat on these days.

LOCAL DEITIES

G.yung drung spun dgu is a nine-peaked mountain north of Bang smad Village. Local residents consider the peaks to be nine brothers – the Tibetan *spun dgu* 'nine brothers' refers to the mountain's nine peaks. The *bsang* 'incense' scripture for G.yung drung spun dgu states that the mountains evolved from *btsan*.[32] The nine brothers ride different wild animals, carry different weapons, and wear distinct armatures.

Southeast of Bang smad Village, next to G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain, is Sman btsun le'u sman, G.yung drung spun dgu's wife. When Sman btsun le'u sman eloped with G.yung drung spun dgu, her brother, G.yar ri seng ge, sent all his warriors to look for her one night. While searching for Sman btsun le'u sman, sunrise came, turning all the warriors to trees, explaining the tall trees at the foot of Sman btsun le'u sman Mountain. After G.yung drung spun dgu and Sman btsun le'u sman married, G.yar ri seng ge gave some *be lɔ*[33] trees as a trousseau to Sman btsun le'u sman. *be lɔ* trees now grow among pines on the slopes of Sman btsun le'u sman Mountain.

---

[32] *Btsan* are spirit beings who follow their leader, Btsan rgod 'bar ba nag po, and have their own *btsan lam 'btsan* path'. Building a house on a *btsan lam* or otherwise blocking or disturbing it results in *btsan* retaliating by harming people with their *btsan mda*' '*btsan* arrow'.

[33] *be lɔ* are small white-timbered evergreen trees that are very hard to cut, and are often used to make axe handles.

Bya zas lha mo mched bdun Mountain is south of Bang smad Village. Villagers say that Bya zas lha mo mched bdun is Sman btsun le'u sman's assistant and believe Bya zas lha mo mched bdun is a very fierce mountain deity who even prevents birds from flying above herself.

Dge bsnyen po blo Mountain is west of Bang smad Village. Locals say he is a general who leads all the mountain deities' soldiers. Stones shaped like guns atop Dge bsnyen po blo Mountain are considered his weapons.

When villagers make *bsang* and food offerings, they summon all the local mountain deities: G.yung drung spun dgu, Sman btsun le'u sman, Bya zas lha mo mched bdun, Dge bsnyen po blo, and G.yar ri seng ge. When making offerings to mountain deities, *bsang* is offered in front of G.yung drung spun dgu. *Dar lcog*[34] are placed inside and outside *lab rtse*,[35] and *rlung rta*[36] 'wind horses' are flung in front of the *lab rtse*.

Village leaders organize families to constantly burn *bsang* throughout the summer in front of G.yung drung spun dgu to pray for protection and a good harvest. Each household offers *bsang* for one day in turn. A piece of wood is passed from one household to the next as a reminder of the obligation to burn *bsang*. When a family finishes making *bsang*, the piece of wood is given to the next family. If the designated family forgets to offer *bsang* one day, they make *bsang* the next day and then pass the piece of wood to the next family.

On the fifteenth day of the fifth lunar month, each household sends a male eighteen years or older to the summit of G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain to offer *bsang*.

---

[34] *Dar lcog* are cloth flags printed with scriptures.

[35] *Lab rtse* are religious structures of earth and stones where *dar lcog* are placed. *Lab rtse* embody mountain deities.

[36] *Rlung rta* are paper flags printed with Tibetan scriptures.

This specific offering is called s*er bsang* 'hail *bsang*' and is offered to beseech mountain deities to protect crops from storms and other natural disasters. All participants take green barley plants pulled from the fields, *dar lcog*, *rlung rta*, *bsang rdzas,*[37] *zas mar,*[38] milk, barley liquor, water, and food. They meet in the village center and leave together at seven or eight a.m. Participants burn green barley plants, *bsang rdzas*, z*as mar,* water, milk, and barley liquor with conifer sprigs on the mountain. All pray loudly for a good harvest, scatter *rlung rta*, and renew the *lab rste* by inserting new *dar lcog*.

For the remainder of the day, participants play such games as tug-of-war, hold footraces, and take turns singing solo while drinking liquor and beer and eating.

Village elders said:

> Our local mountain deity, G.yung drung spun dgu, had a conflict with some other mountain deities. One of the brothers (peaks) was cut by one of the other mountain deities, creating a canyon.

This canyon is believed to be inauspicious because ideally mountain ranges near the village should not feature canyons. The existence of this canyon is thought to explain why village elders do not live to be very old. Consequently, villagers offer *bsang* between two of the mountain peaks (brothers) in order to help elders live longer and prevent disasters.

On the twenty-fifth day of the fifth lunar month, villagers go to la dz̩ə hi Canyon to offer *bsang* and hang prayer flags across the canyon. Gaps in the mountain edifice

---

[37] *Bsang rdzas* is *rtsam pa*, butter, tealeaves, and wool. People burn *bsang rdzas* with conifer needles as an offering to mountain deities.

[38] *Zas mar* is a piece of butter encased in *rtsam pa.*

are believed to be inauspicious and hanging prayer flags across the gap completes the edifice and brings prosperity to the community.

On the fourteenth day of the seventh lunar month, each household sends a male to Skyobs 'byin seng nag Mountain,[39] where they spend two or three days making *ri bsang*.[40] Skyobs 'byin seng nag Mountain is venerated by communities throughout the entire county and is far from Bang smad Village. Villagers ride motorcycles there. *Bsang* is offered on the second day. Participants picnic and enjoy being together on the other days. va rə, la kʰu, la xʰe, də tʰaw, ɕa di, la ɣə, ɣdzʐ woŋ tɛ ba, ɣdzʐ woŋ mɛ ba, ɬə bə, rŋa koŋ, boŋ tʰa, kʰa loŋ, boŋ mi, and kʰa ndu villagers gather to make *bsang* on the morning of the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month, picnic, and enjoy themselves.

In addition to the specific, named deities mentioned above, villagers also believe in *sa bdag* 'landowners', *klu* 'naga', *btsan*, and *gzhi bdag* 'mountain deities'. These deities may be angered by people digging in wild places, dirtying water, or cutting trees on mountains, and then relatiate against villagers or their livestock and crops through disease and disaster. Villagers make offerings of *bsang* to *sa bdag, klu,* and *gzhi bdag* to avoid such calamities.[41]

---

[39] This mountain near va rə and la kʰu villages (Bang smad Township) is venerated by all Nyag rong County residents.

[40] *Ri bsang* 'offering *bsang* on mountains' is done annually on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month.

[41] These deities consume odors, hence offerings are burned.

OTHER ANNUAL RITUALS

Snang zhi

Snang zhi is held for one day in the fourth or fifth lunar months and is organized by villagers. The date for Snang zhi may change annually depending on when villagers are free. Each household donates 2.5 kilograms of butter, about 2.5 kilograms of grain, twenty RMB, and firewood. A large tent is pitched in p^{h}u Gu, at the foot of G.yung drung spun dgu, and village monks and *bla ma* are invited inside. Villagers provide three meals a day to monks. The monks and *bla ma* chant scriptures throughout the day as villagers offer *bsang* with much grain, butter, *rtsam pa,* fruit, and salt to their *yul lha* 'territorial deity', *srung ma* 'protector deities', *gzhi bdag*, and *yi dwag* 'hungry ghosts'. The *bsang* ash is collected at the end of the ritual and divided among villagers who sprinkle it in their fields, believing it increases field productivity. The ritual beseeches the deities to protect crops in summer and autumn, and protect residents and livestock from diseases and disaster.

Smyung gnas

The entire fourth lunar month is auspicious because Buddha Shakyamuni was enlightened and died during this month. Smyung gnas is held during this time and is organized by the four *s^{h}ɜ pu*, who collect about 7.5 kilograms of grain, five kilograms of butter, and fifty RMB from each household, and also invite all the village monks and *bla ma* to Brag mgo Monastery. A male or female representative from each household assists village leaders in making food for the monks and *bla ma*. The ritual lasts eight days. Each household assigns a person to attend the ritual each day, and village leaders fine absentees ten RMB per day.

Two monks blow white conch shells at about six a.m. summoning all participants to gather at Brag mgo Monastery to receive the *bla ma's* teaching. A monk gives participants water to purify their mouths when they reach the monastery gate. The *bla ma* and monks chant scriptures for about half an hour, and the *bla ma* then gives Buddhist teachings. Participants gather at the *ma Ni* pile[42] afterwards to circumambulate. Others gather at the *ma Ni khang*[43] to turn *ma Ni* wheels and chant scriptures. Most attendees chant *ma Ni* but otherwise avoid speaking in order to emulate a *bla ma's* virtuous behavior. This is called *ngag bcad*. Participants gesture when communication is needed.

The white conch blares again at noon. Participants rinse their mouths and then spit out the water before eating. Much melted butter and *rtsam pa* are often eaten at this time. Participants avoid getting up during the meal because doing so means they may not eat again that day. Thus, they sit and eat until full. *Lan chags*[44] is made from leftover food, taken to the monastery where monks and *bla ma* purify it, and is then scattered around the monastery as an offering to hungry ghosts and other spirits. Participants go to the monastery in the afternoon, chant with monks for about an hour, and then return home.

Some participants drink one or two bowls of tea at night, which is called *smyung phra*. Those who need to take medicine do so the next day when they have meals as usual, though they must rinse their mouths again before eating.

---

[42] The *ma Ni* pile is made of thousands of stones inscribed with *ma Ni* and other sacred writings.

[43] The *ma Ni khang* is a hall with scriptures and a large *ma Ni* wheel that people turn while chanting.

[44] *Lan chags* is made from leftover *rtsam pa* and other food. It is squeezed in the hand and has no specific shape. It is offered to hungry ghosts and other Hell beings.

Village elders circumambulate the *ma Ni* stone pile and *ma Ni khang* during the other days of the fourth lunar month.

Spyi gto

Spyi gto is held three days after Smyung gnas concludes to avert sickness and disasters in the coming year, and to dispel misfortune and obstacles. Villagers pray to the deities to protect them and their livestock.

Villagers contribute clothes and food to make effigies of a monk and a married couple with a son and daughter. Village carpenters and youths use wood and clothes to make the effigies, which are offered to *rgyal mdon*, evil spirits that attack and take away a person's soul. Effigies are offered as substitutes for humans.

On the ritual's final day, the *s^{h}ɜ pu* ask villagers to drive their tractors and cars to escort the effigies to a site two kilometers southeast of Bang smad Village where the Nyag chu River flows swiftly. This is a fixed location chosen by a local *bla ma*. The last day of the ritual exorcises all sickness and bad luck. Approximately ten tractors and five cars escorted the effigies in tractor-trailers in 2010. Participants travel in cars, chanting and setting off firecrackers enroute.

Planks and wire are used to make several rafts. Each effigy is placed with grain and clothes on different rafts, which are then placed in the river and carried away. A disaster-free year is portended when the river swiftly carries the effigies away. It is a bad omen if the rafts return to the shore or if an effigy faces the village. The rafts are quickly pushed back into the stream with long poles in such cases, and stones are thrown near them to make the rafts move away or turn.

While returning to the village, three stones and several pieces of wood are placed at the crossroads, creating

effigies called *t^{h}u* that are about a meter tall and resemble a standing person. *t^{h}u* prevent disasters, sickness, and evil spirits from returning to the village.

Sa bdag 'khrug bcos (Snang brgyad)

This three-day ritual is held during the fourth and fifth lunar months on a date chosen by local *bla ma*. The name means 'to eliminate the *sa bdag's* anger'. Three or four monks are invited to hold the ritual and chant scriptures.

At the end of Sa bdag 'khrug bcos, a young householder asks all village children to come to a place local residents consider to be the home of *klu*. Monks or *bla ma* chant scriptures for about an hour, make *bsang*, and offer milk, steamed barley, wool, and bread. The children chant sid+dhi[45] together loudly and then sit in a large circle. Households give candy, steamed barley, a small loaf of bread, and steamed rice to each child.

G.yang sgrub

Each village household enshrines their *g.yang* and *g.yang mda'*[46] in a *zɔ*. Villagers invite five or six monks to hold this ritual for two or three days during the fourth and fifth lunar months and during wedding parties. Monks chant scriptures, add more cloth to the *g.yang mda'*, and pray for a bountiful harvest and for the family's wealth to increase.

---

[45] Repeating this mantra of Padmasambhava – oM aHhU~M` badz+ra gu ru pad+ma sid+dhi hU~M`: – is believed to exorcise evil and sickness.

[46] The *g.yang mda'* is considered the *g.yang's* body and is an arrow with pieces of yellow, green, blue, white, and red cloth tied to it.

Btsan mchod

If illness comes after building a house or digging in a wild place, a monk may be asked to hold a *btsan mchod* '*btsan* offering' that requires about two hours to complete. This ritual is also held during Gto. A monk makes a *gtor ma*[47] resembling a house, chants scripture, and offers grain, bread, and meat, symbolizing thousands of yaks, sheep, and goats and abundant grain. Villagers consider k^hɔ ɟa boŋ rə and ʁɔ ɟa boŋ rə – two small peaks near the village – to be part of G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain and to be inhabited by *btsan*. A male from the home takes the *gtor ma* to one of the mountains at the end of the ritual. Half the village families take *gtor ma* to k^hɔ ɟa boŋ rə and the other half goes to ʁɔ ɟa boŋ rə, where the *gtor ma* are discarded.

Gshin phud

Every household invites a monk to perform Gshin phud when a villager dies. Gshin ma is responsible for every death and goes to other village homes to attack other householders after killing someone.

Monks repel Gshin ma by chanting scriptures and scattering peas in a house from roof to gate. A boy goes with the monks, and when monks sprinkle peas in a room, he stays above the monks on a ladder to stop Gshin ma going upstairs. The boy who follows the monks brings ash from the family stove. The gate is closed after the monks and boy exit. The monks then draw ×× on the doorstep and a half circle on the ground in front of the door with ash given by the boy and then chant for a short time. Gshin ma now cannot enter the home. The monks depart and the boy opens the gate to return home.

[47] Monks and *bla ma* make *gtor ma* from *rtsam pa*.

Khyi mgo lag bkru (Khyi mgo lag gtsang)

Khyi mgo lag bkru 'washing the dog's head' is a ritual to purify unclean people. Those who touch a human corpse or a dead dog or horse may not make such offerings as *bsang*, until a monk performs Khyi mgo lag bkru. He makes a dog's head from *rtsam pa*, puts it on a flat stone, and chants scriptures over it for about half an hour. The polluted person washes their hands and then shakes them nine times above the effigy, which the polluted person then carries nine steps away before discarding it. This person may make offerings again after finishing Khyi mgo lag bkru. Those who do not hold Khyi mgo lag bkru will weaken and eventually lose their *lus lha*,[48] and are then easily attacked by ghosts and other evils.

Mdos

It is believed evil spirits are trying to take away the spirit of an ill person if medicine proves ineffective. A monk is then asked to hold Mdos. The monk makes a *rtsam pa* effigy resembling the ill person, chants scriptures for about three hours, and then tells the householder to discard the effigy outside the house. The effigy is thus given to the spirits as a substitute for the ill person.

[48] Every person has their own *lus lha* 'body deity' on their head protecting them from harm.

ɬe ndzɛ: THE NEW YEAR

The a la ɲo Ritual

Villagers hold the a la ɲo fourteen days before ɬe ndzɛ on the evening of the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh lunar month. Those aged eleven to thirty from each household make bonfires, burn straw torches, and circumambulate the village to expel ghosts, sicknesses, and other evils.

The ritual begins between six and seven in the evening, when four *s^hɜ pu* go to na gɔ, a field in the village center. They announce the ritual's commencement and visit each household, asking participants to come to na gɔ. About fifty young villagers then gather in the field wearing old clothes and bringing tied bundles of wheat straw from their homes.[49] Since 2005, many families began using threshing machines instead of threshing by hand and thus lack long straw because the threshing machine breaks straw into short pieces. Thus they may collect and store straw especially for a la ɲo. Others may ask neighbors for bundled straw.

Once the families are gathered, village leaders record the names of families not represented and later ask them to pay a fine of ten or fifteen RMB. The young participants collect wood from shrubs at the field's edges, make a pile about three meters high in the middle of na gɔ, and light a bonfire when darkness comes. Participants then use the bonfire to ignite their straw bundles, and begin yelling, "*a la ɲo, a la ɕe*!"[50]

Participants circle the bonfire once holding their torches, then circle the village. On the village outskirts they shout, "*a la ɲo, a la ɕe, ɲa bɔ s^hu $tʂ^h$ɛ nə qɛ*" "*a la ɲo, a la ɕe*, pay straw tax to the king!" and then continue yelling "*a la ɲo*,

---

[49] Straw has been saved for fodder since harvest.

[50] This phrase has no lexical meaning.

a la ɕe!" while running around the village and asking families for more straw bundles to burn. Families throw bundles from the roofs of their houses, which participants scramble to collect. Some families recently began setting off firecrackers from the roofs of their houses as participants circumambulate the village.

Participants walk with their torches towards a field called rə ndzə near the field where the ritual began. Prior to participants' arrival at rə ndzə, families from that village section have collected wood, brought straw bundles to the field, and stacked it. Participants light these bundles to make a second, final bonfire. As the bonfire burns low, most participants jump over it, in the belief that this removes impurities and sickness accumulated during the past year, and is also thought to help avoid sickness and bad luck in the coming year.

Finally, participants remove their shoes, take a handful of straw from unburned bundles, put it inside their shoes, take several steps after putting their shoes back on, stop, remove the straw, and then burn it, to further ensure removal of bodily impurities.

Ritual participants stay by the bonfire and chant sid+dhi for ten minutes. The fire gradually burns out and participants go home, collecting stones and twigs near the path, and putting about four stones and three pieces of wood at crossroads throughout the village, creating one-meter high effigies called *tʰu* that resemble a standing person. After placing the *tʰu*, participants say, "*ŋa ne tsʰa sʰɔ, te nde tʂə sʰɔ, tʰa ʝe ɬa tsʰɔ pʰa ri də ʃɔ* May all bad luck go far away to the opposite shore of a boundless ocean, do not return to this *tʰu*."

The a la ɬo ritual is completed in about two hours. Historically, youths between twelve and eighteen years of age then held parties. Four or five boys and girls chose a family and stayed with them that night. Each took a piece of meat, uncooked rice, and a bottle of barley liquor. They

danced *skor bro* 'Tibetan circle dances' and modern dances, sang, and ate together. Such parties are no longer common in Bang smad Village.

Facing page: The following map of Bang smad Village was drawn by Ban de tshe ring (male, b.1988). The lines and fires represent activities associated with the a la ɟo ritual.

G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain

Before łe ndzɛ

Before restrictions were placed on liquor consumption, women previously prepared for łe ndzɛ by making liquor by boiling barley and water in a large pot. After boiling, clear liquor was added and the mixture put in a warm place (e.g., a storeroom) for fifty days. The liquid was then boiled again in a large iron distiller, and the liquor collected using a tube running into a bucket.

Men and women clean their home ceilings on the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh lunar month. Kitchen utensils, buckets, and bedding are moved out of the house. Furniture is covered by plastic to prevent dust from soiling it. Male family members use wheat flour to decorate the inside walls, doors, and posts with *bkra shis rtags brgyad*.[51] Water buckets, teapots, and bowls are decorated with *phra tog* 'small, flat discs of butter', symbolizing luck.

Most families slaughter a yak before the New Year and make sausages from yak meat and intestines. *Khrag rgyu* 'blood sausage' and *rtsam rgyu* '*rtsam pa* sausage' are made. Villagers visit Nyag rong and Dkar mdzes county towns to buy cigarettes, candy, fireworks, peanuts, vegetables, and clothes. In the past liquor and beer were purchased. A household typically spends about 3,000 RMB on łe ndzɛ preparations.

The night of łe ndzɛ Eve is called *a qa ɻɔ*, a term without particular meaning. As stars appear, a person from every family fetches water in the belief that it will be purified and sanctified by starlight. Such water is called *skar chu* 'star water'. Adult male household members mix this water with roasted barley flour to make *ɻə mdzu*, small

[51] *Bkra shis rtags brgyad* (the Eight Auspicious Symbols) consist of the parasol, a pair of gold fish, a treasure vase, a lotus, a white conch shell, an endless knot, a victory banner, and the gold wheel of the *dharma* (Beer 1999).

sculptures shaped like mountains, for each family member. They then make two larger sculptures for G.yung drung spun dgu, and one for the *g.yang* and other local mountain deities.

Every family member eats their *ɹə mdzu* on the first day of ɬe ndzɛ. The two other large sculptures are burned in *bsang* on the mountain as offerings to G.yung drung spun dgu. The final large *ɹə mdzu* is put in the *zɔ* as an offering to the *g.yang*. The family eats the sacred *ɹə mdzu* after ɬe ndzɛ is finished.

Every family member should be at home on ɬe ndzɛ Eve. Women prepare steamed meat-stuffed dumplings, noodles, fried vegetables, and rice. The whole family feasts together between about nine and ten p.m. and then goes to bed.

ɬe ndzɛ

All girls over eighteen years old and all female heads of households (usually the mother or wife) get up at five to six a.m. on the first day of ɬe ndzɛ, go to the main room of the home that serves as both kitchen and sitting room, and spread out carpets on the *χɔ ɦɛ*, a heated bed and sitting platform. Tables are placed by the *χɔ ɦə* and covered with dishes of food, e.g., *dzɻɔ cə* 'twisted bread', boiled yak meat, sunflower seeds, bread, candy, and, in the past, bottles of liquor. A female household member burns a juniper sprig inside the house and takes it to the courtyard gate to greet King Ge sar, who locals believe visits every home on the first day of ɬe ndzɛ. The family whose matriarch gets up earliest is believed to be the first visited by King Ge sar and consequently village women compete to receive this prestigious honor. The woman says:

[1]ལྷ་རྒྱོན། ལྷ་རྒྱོན། ཐྲིང་སེང་ཆེན་རོར་བྱ་དགྱ་འདུལ། ལྷ་རྒྱོན།།
[1]Come, come. King Ge sar, come

while standing at the gate, inviting King Ge sar to visit the home, and then puts the smoking juniper above or next to the household gate.

All family members are up by around seven a.m., have a breakfast of *rtsam pa* and milk tea, and then put on their best clothes, which are worn until łe ndzɛ ends. Villagers above the age of eighteen wear traditional Tibetan robes while young villagers wear modern pants and jackets. A male older than ten or eleven makes an offering of *bsang* on the stove after dressing. This offering is called *thab bsang*[52] and is to a family's *thab lha* 'stove deity' and to local mountain deities. The male performing the *thab bsang* makes an offering of *bsang* in the *bsang khang* '*bsang* altar' of the home. He prays loudly for the family, crops, and livestock to be protected from illness and disasters:

[1]བླ་མ་ཡི་དམ་དཔའ་བོ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་ཡུལ་ལྷ་གཞི་བདག་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ།།
[2]ལྷ་བསང་ངོ་།།
[3]བདག་ཅག་མི་རོར་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ་ལ་མགོན་སྐྱབས་སྡོང་རོགས་མཛོད། དཔའ་ཡ་
དང་དཔུང་རོགས་མཛོད།།
[4]ལྷ་བསང་ངོ་། བསང་ངོ་མཆོད་དོ།།
[1]*Bla ma* (the superior one), *yi dam* (tutelary deities), heroes, *dakini* (goddesses), guardian deities, local deities, and all deities.
[2](I make) a pure offering to you.
[3]Protect and help all humans and livestock by preventing sickness, disaster, and misfortune.
[4](I make) a pure offering, a pure offering to you.

[52] *Thab bsang* 'stove incense'.

Every family renews the *lab rtse* on the roof of their house, unless someone in their family has died during the previous year. All family members have bread, boiled beef, *ʁə mdzu,* and milk tea after the *bsang* offering. At around eleven a.m., able male family members go to G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain on horseback, where *bsang* and *rlung rta* are offered to G.yung drung spun dgu on a stone platform. Four *sʰɜ pu* invite about ten local monks who come with a drum, bells, two conch shells, and scriptures. After the monks finish chanting scriptures, everyone prays loudly, reciting the same prayer as during the *bsang* offering.

Monks ask all village men to swear in front of the *bsang* platform to abstain from killing wild animals, drinking alcohol (beer, wine, liquor), and smoking tobacco for the year following the ɬe ndzɛ celebration. Making this oath on the mountainside started in about 1967. The oath was taken in Ra rgyal, Mtsho kha, or Rnga rkang monasteries before the Cultural Revolution. These monasteries were damaged or destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, and villagers secretly offered *bsang* and took the oath on G.yu drung spun dgu Mountain.

Bsang is offered again and then men sit in a circle by the *bsang* platform. The *sʰɜ pu* and elders make rules regarding ɬe ndzɛ, e.g., they might stipulate that men should not wear knives during ɬe ndzɛ in order to avoid violence, warn that fighting and disobeying a village leader will be punished, and discuss how many days the villagers will celebrate ɬe ndzɛ indoors and outdoors. Villagers generally spend the first two days of ɬe ndzɛ indoors and the next four days outside, though this may change yearly according to the decision made the first day.

Men and boys ride horses back through the village after finishing activities on G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain. Other villagers wait along the path. Most families are very busy because they invite relatives to their home on the afternoon of the first day of ɬe ndzɛ. They give fried

bread, a piece of beef, and candy to each relative. Some families invite monks to chant scriptures and make *gsur* for relatives who died one or more years previously.

Every family visits other households on the second day of ɬe ndzɛ. Villagers invite neighbors and friends to eat, watch television, and chat. All household members except for the frail, the very young, and new mothers, visit other households the entire day. Some men may return home as late as eleven or twelve at night.

Three-year-old children are taken when visiting. The child's hair is braided with a white silk scarf in which coral and turquoise beads and protective amulets are tied. During this visit, called *pʰə və*, all relatives give gifts to the three-year-old child. A child's senior *a ɣɔ* 'maternal uncle' gave a horse to his niece or nephew in the past, but now gives 500 to 1,000 RMB. Other relatives give fifty to 100 RMB.

Villagers have a horserace on the fifteenth day of the twelfth lunar month. A male from each household – about thirty participants in all – competes. Each household must have a participant in the horserace or pay a 100 to 200 RMB fine. Some families go to other villages to borrow horses for the race. In 2010, fewer families owned horses and owned cars and motorcycles instead. Elders and village leaders decided that each family must buy a horse in 2010. Some families may need to break in young horses before the horserace and ask other male villagers to help.

Every villager puts on their finest clothes and jewelry to display their wealth on the day of the horserace. During the race, some riders perform handstands while riding, or jump to the ground and then back onto their galloping horses. After three races, the riders and villagers dance *skor bro* while the horses rest. Racing and dancing alternate for the rest of the day. Before village dancers finish the last dance, an elder makes a speech praising the famous mountains, rivers, and monasteries in Nyag rong County, and

praising local mountains, rivers, fields, and people. Dancers are rewarded with *dzɟɔ te* 'cash'. The orator names the people who provided such cash donations.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth days of the twelfth lunar month, elders mingle and relax outside their homes. Other villagers meet at na gɔ in the village center to dance, sing, and perform comedies. All dancers again dress in their best clothes and jewelry on the eighteenth day of ɬe ndzɛ. In the afternoon before the final dance, an orator repeats the same speech he gave at the horserace, and then all participants dance in a large circle for about an hour, concluding ɬe ndzɛ.

Gto is held three or more days after ɬe ndzɛ concludes, although there is no set date. Most families hold Gto to pray for luck and prosperity in the coming year after ɬe ndzɛ finishes. Households invite about ten village monks to their homes, who make *gtor ma*, and then chant scriptures for two days. On the second and final day of the ritual, an adult male from the household carries a *gtor ma* out of the house to a nearby field and burns it in a fire positioned relative to their household members' zodiac signs;[53] locals believe each zodiac animal lives in a different direction. A lama then tells a family precisely where they should burn the *gtor ma*.

Return to Daily Life

Villagers wear ordinary clothes, eat everyday food (*rtsam pa*, bread, rice, and fried vegetables) and resume work after ɬe ndzɛ. Some male family members prepare to leave to work outside the community. Others collect firewood from

[53] The zodiac signs are the rat, ox, tiger, rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, rooster, dog, and pig.

the mountains, slide it down frozen streams, and then use tractors to take it home for new building projects or to burn as fuel. Farming begins in the second lunar month and villagers are then busy in the fields until after harvest in the ninth lunar month.

OMENS AND OTHER FOLK BELIEFS

Omens are discernible from people, animals, dreams, and various natural phenomena. A *bla ma* is consulted when a bad omen occurs.

Good Omens

- It is auspicious to hear the first cuckoo of spring when in a good mood and relaxed, but it is a bad portent if it is heard when in bed, going to the toilet, doing hard work, or hungry. This blessing is sung when the first cuckoo is heard:[54]

  Literary Tibetan

  [1]བྱ་ཁྱོད་ཁ་དོ། མི་ང་ཚེ་རིང་།།
  [2]ཁྱོད་ཨ་དགུང་དགུང་ནས་གྱགས་ཤེས་ཤོག།
  [3]ང་ཨ་གཤོང་གཤོང་ནས་ཉན་ཤེས་འོང་།།
  [4]ཁྱོད་ད་ལོ་ལས་སང་ལོ་མཇུག་ས་ཤོག།
  [5]ང་ད་ལོ་ལས་སང་ལོ་སྐྱིད་ར་ཤོག།
  [6]ཁྱོད་ད་ལོ་ལས་སང་ལོ་རྒྱས་ར་ཤོག།
  [7]ང་ད་ལོ་ལས་སང་ལོ་རྒྱས་ར་ཤོག།
  [8]སང་ལོ་ད་ཚོང་ཚད་རེད།།
  [9]ཟས་མར་བཙུ་གསུམ་འཛོམས།།

[54] Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (b. 1945).

Oral Tibetan

[1]བྱ་སྐོ་ཁ་དྲྭ། མེ་ང་ཚོ་རེད་།།
[2]སྐོ་ཨ་དགོང་དགོང་ནས་གཏམ་ཤེས་རོག།
[3]ང་ཨ་གཤིང་གཤིང་ནས་ཉན་ཤེས་འབྱང་།།
[4]སྐོ་ད་ལོ་ཡིས་སང་བད་མཁྱོགས་པ་རོག།
[5]ང་ད་ལོ་ཡིས་སང་བད་སྐྱིད་པ་རོག།
[6]སྐོ་ད་ལོ་ཡིས་སང་ལོ་རྒྱས་པ་རོག།
[7]ང་ད་ལོ་ཡིས་སང་ལོ་རྒྱས་པ་རོག།
[8]སང་ལོ་ད་ཚོད་ཚད་སྐྱེག།
[9]ཟས་མར་བཅུ་གསུམ་མངོ།།

[1]I hope that you and I will be long-lived.
[2]You sing from the sky,
[3]I listen from the valley,
[4]I hope that (next year) you will come sooner than this year,
[5]I hope that (next year) I will be happier than this year,
[6]I hope that (next year) you will be more prosperous than this year,
[7]I hope that (next year) I will be more prosperous than this year,
[8]Next year,
[9]I hope you will have thirteen *zas mar*.

- It is a good omen when food or tea boils over.

- Losing a hat means to lose all one's bad luck.

- A person with large, thick ears will become rich.

- A magpie heard in the morning portends good news will come that day.

- Success will come if a person carrying a full bucket of

water or children wearing nice clothes are encountered when leaving the village to do seasonal work or business.

- Dreaming of something burning means the mountain deity is protecting you.

- Dreaming of falling from a very high place means you are growing taller.

- Snow on the first day of ɬe ndzɛ is auspicious, as encapsulated in the local adage, "*Lo sar kha ba gser las dkon* New Year snow is rarer than gold."

- Finding a rope is very auspicious even if the rope was used to carry a corpse (a person may use a rope to transport a corpse on their back).

- Rainbows signify good luck. If the two ends of a rainbow are on rocky mountains, rain will continue to fall until the rocky mountains have disappeared. If one side is on a river, rain will only stop when the river becomes dry.

- Seeing a rabbit while beginning a journey is a good omen. Locals say, "*A bu ri bong bsam pa dkar bo* A good-hearted rabbit."

- It is a very good omen to see others carrying a corpse at the start of a journey.

- A child will become a high reincarnate *bla ma* if there are wrinkles in the shape of the moon, sun, a mountain, or an ocean on his tongue.

- Accidentally wearing clothes inside out suggests good things will be received from others.

- A mole under the mouth suggests the person will have much food to eat and will never be hungry.

Bad Omens

- People believe dogs can see demons at night, and will howl if they see a demon, a very ominous portent.
- It is ominous to hear a colt neighing at night.
- It is inauspicious to hear an owl hooting or to see an owl perched atop a house.
- It is ominous if a grouse perches atop a house.
- It is ominous if wild birds or animals come to a house or village.
- It is ominous to see a monkey riding a musk deer.
- It is a very bad sign if a snake is seen eating a frog, bird, or any other animal.
- It is believed that snakes show their feet when beaten. It is a bad sign to see snakes' feet.
- It is ominous to see a bird with a snake in its claws.
- It is ominous to see snakes between the tenth and twelfth lunar months and to see otters in summer. An adage states: "*Dbyar sram dgun sbrul* Summer otter, winter snake."
- Finding a piece of gold bigger than one's finger is very ominous because such gold is thought to have been

provided to pay for one's funeral. To find *gzi*[55] or coral is inauspicious, while finding turquoise or a conch shell is fortuitous.

- It is very ominous to give birth to a child without hands or visible sex organs, with three legs, with extra fingers or hands, or if the child is blind or dumb.

- It is considered a bad omen for someone if a rat chews part of their clothes.

- It is inauspicious to give birth to a female in the same zodiac year as the mother, who will fall ill after delivering. However, good fortune is portended if she gives birth to a boy in the same zodiac year as her own.

- It is bad luck to see people having sex during the daytime. The viewer then shows their genitalia as this sends the misfortune back to the couple. If this is done, monks should be asked to hold a ritual. The person who purposely displayed their genitalia then puts a stick into the earth where the people were having sex to avoid misfortune.

- It is inauspicious and rude to give a guest a chipped bowl or cup.

- It is inauspicious to sweep the house soon after a person leaves, especially if they are leaving on a long journey. To do so means they will encounter misfortune on the journey. Sweeping is done the next day.

- People never keep a hat they find even if it is very

[55] *Gzi* are rare, precious agate beads considerd to be animate.

valuable. To do so brings the wearer all of the hat's previous owner's bad luck.

- Dreaming about a damaged house or a house being damaged particularly by the house owner is a sign of misfortune.

- Those who dream of running about naked will soon lose their reputation.

- It is inauspicious to dream of losing a tooth or cutting trees.

- Dreaming of the setting sun or of a butter lamp that is nearly extinguished portends one's imminent death.

- A person with a mole under their eye will often cry.

- It is very inauspicious for livestock to give birth to offspring with two heads or five feet.

- You will be cheated by others if you wear two hats at once.

- A solar or lunar eclipse occurs because the sun or moon have been eaten by Sgra gcan, an enormous demon. Long ago, a solar eclipse continued for many days. A *bla ma* then used his *rdo rje* 'thunderbolt' to pierce Sgra gcan's throat and the sun emerged. Sgra gcan can now no longer swallow and everything pours out of his throat. Buckets of water are brought outside during the eclipse, because the sun or moon fighting with Sgra gcan can be seen reflected in the surface of the water. Villagers make butter lamps, fire guns, and recite the mantra of Padmasambhava to help the sun or moon quickly emerge from Sgra gcan's throat. Villagers believe solar or lunar

eclipses are unfavorable for *bla ma* and leaders who have high positions.

- The number nine is unlucky and people never go out to work in groups of nine. When leaving the house to work, eight or ten loaves of bread are taken, never nine.

- A crow defecating on a person's body signifies approaching illness. The afflicted person then begs for grain at each village household. This grain is roasted with some of their own grain. Children then are invited to their courtyard to recite the mantra of Padmasambhava for about an hour and given some of the roasted grain to eat.

Others

- A lost tooth is wrapped in wool and tossed heavenwards while praying to have a new tooth, saying, "*kʰɔ dʑə va dʑə ɟɔ rɜ dɜ xʰɔ, tɕaw dʑə tɕaw mi lə rə nə ɬa* Dog tooth and pig tooth go away – give me a metal tooth."

- Itching feet suggest imminent travel.

- A cat washing its face by licking its paws and running them over its face suggests guests will come.

- To remove a wart from a hand, the person extracts blood from the wart and secretly puts the blood on their *a ɣɔ* (maternal uncle)'s hands.

- It is believed that the mother of a child with a big mole on its body stole a hide when she was pregnant. If a pregnant woman walks by someone softening a hide, it is believed the pregnant woman may steal the hide,

meaning the hide cannot be softened well.

- The mother is believed to have stolen dye when she was pregnant if a child has a red mole on their body. Dye seen by a pregnant woman will be ineffective.

- A lost tooth should not be seen by a pregnant woman, because she steals teeth for her unborn infant and the person who lost the tooth will be unable to grow a new tooth.

- The mountain deity is happy and will protect whoever sees flowers in winter and whoever sees wildlife at any time of the year while circumambulating a sacred mountain.

- Rubbing the eyes with a *skya ka* 'bird's gallbladder' allows one to see ghosts and gods at night.

- Tea is drunk after eating meat at night in fear of being reincarnated as a wolf.

- No reply is made if your name is called at night until it has been called three times. Ghosts call people's names to lure them away, but never call three times – only people do.

- Before selling livestock, soot mixed in butter is put on the animal's face, and hair is cut from the tip of the tail to prevent a decrease in the family's *g.yang.*

- Cobwebs on ceilings of the first floor are never swept away. Doing so prevents a family from becoming rich.

- Pouring a cup to overflowing indicates that the guest is unwelcome. Locals say, "*Mi dga' ja blug* (If you) dislike

(someone) pour (much) tea."

- Starting a journey on an inauspicious date bodes ill. Astrologers or *bla ma* are asked to choose an auspicious date for travel. Those who must leave on an inauspicious day choose another auspicious date before the actual departure date and pretend to leave by taking luggage, saying goodbye to their family members, going outside the house, and walking several meters. They then return and leave on the inauspicious day.

- *Gzi* can magically move away from people. If *gzi* are found, they should be stepped or spit on, thus polluting them before picking them up, or they will be taken by *mi ma yin*.[56]

- Many snakes coiled together in a ball is a good omen. Atop all the snakes will be one with a golden horn. If this snake is given a piece of yellow or blue cloth it will give its golden horn in return. However, it is very inauspicious to see snakes emerging from a ball of snakes.

- A child may change sex after birth. Such changes are most commonly male to female and caused by *'dre mo*[57] 'witches'. A baby changes sex if a *'dre mo* visits a mother who gave birth in the past several months. Sex change may also result if mothers eat food prepared by a *'dre mo* or a widow. Mothers therefore avoid eating food from other homes and visiting other families for three weeks after giving birth.

---

[56] *Mi ma yin* are formless spirits or hungry ghosts.

[57] A *'dre mo* is a woman who stays at home at night but is seen by others outside her home in the village.

- One's *lus lha* is offended when walking under a ladder, resulting in illness.

- People are protected by a lamp on each shoulder and should never look back when out at night. Doing so extinguishes the lamps and then the person with extinguished lamps will see ghosts, who then attack at night.

- Swallowing saliva when a shooting star is seen helps revive one's memory.

- A child that rides dogs will be a bed-wetter, which is why parents stop children from riding dogs.

- Marriage between relatives separated by less than three generations is taboo. Such marriages are thought to produce deformed children.

- Hands are swept with a broom during a solar eclipse to remove warts.

- Nail clippings are never discarded in the open, in the belief that nail clippings eaten by a bird make it become mad and die. In turn, the dead bird will be eaten by a dog that will become mad and bite a person, who in turn, will also go mad.

- Hair is collected after combing or cutting and kept in a ball that is disposed of in a high place or burnt. If it is left in a low place, it may be stepped on, offending one's *lus lha*.

- Second-hand clothes or one's own clothes that others have worn are held over burning incense to purify them. Others' quilts or clothes may be trampled or spat on for

the same purpose.

- Snakes and frogs are embodiments of *klu*. Beating snakes or frogs results in livestock giving little milk.

- Drunks do not cross rivers because doing so increases the degree of their inebriation.

- As people can see snakes shed their skin, it is believed that horses can see people shed their skin.

- A person who beats the grassland will soon experience some heart-wrenching calamity and will therefore beat their own chest.

Figure One.
Brag mgo Monastery is 800 years old and situated on a rocky mountain 500 meters from Bang smad Village.

Figure Two.
Mtsho kha Monastery and the lake created by Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan.

Figure Three.
Thar ba Monastery and a *mchod rten* built in 2008.

Figure Four.
G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain is east of Bang smad Village.

Figure Five.
Sman btsun le'u sman Mountain is southeast of Bang smad Village.

Figure Six.
G.yar ri seng ge Mountain is southwest of Bang smad Village.

Figure Seven.
Bya zas lha mo mched bdun Mountain is south of Bang smad Village.

Figure Eight.
Dge bsnyen po blo Mountain is west of Bang smad Village.

Figure Nine.
Effigies made by monks and laymen.

Figure Ten.
Effigies of a mother and her daughter made by monks and male villagers with villagers' donations.

Figure Eleven.
During the Spyi gto ritual, villagers gather and send off effigies and offer much grain in order to exorcise sickness, disasters, and bad luck.

Figure Twelve.
Young villagers put effigies on tractor trailors.

Figure Thirteen.
Villagers in cars, motorcycles, and tractors escort effigies to the Nyag chu River.

Figure Fourteen.
Young male villagers divide into three groups at the riverbank. Each group makes a raft.

Figure Fifteen.
A raft is made using wood and wire.

Figure Sixteen
Male villagers use metal wire to tie effigies to a raft.

Figure Seventeen.
Male villagers tie wire to the front of the raft and direct it using this wire after pushing it into the water.

Figure Eighteen.
Male villagers push the monk effigies away.

Figure Nineteen.
Male villagers throw stones near the effigies to cause them to flow away. It is considered ominous if the effigies turn back or stop.

Figure Twenty.
Grain and clothes are put on the rafts with the effigies, which

the river carries away. As the rafts move away, villagers say, "Take away all sickness of people and livestock. Please go to the opposite side of a boundless ocean, where many people dance and sing and where there is much delicious food and many nice clothes."

Figure Twenty-one.
Tshe dbang dpal 'byor puts effigies on a raft.

Figure Twenty-two.
The effigies are carried away by the Nyag chu River. It is a good sign when the effigies float smoothly away.

Figure Twenty-three.
Male villagers push the last effigies away. Some wood is left from making the raft, which is not taken back to the village in fear that it may bring bad luck.

Figure Twenty-four.
Villagers drive cars, tractors, and motorcycles back to the village after sending off the effigies.

Figure Twenty-five.
Tshe dbang chants scripture and offers grain, bread, and meat to *btsan*, symbolizing thousands of yaks, sheep, goats, and much grain.

Figure Twenty-six.
This small peak, named ʁɔ ɟa boŋ rə, is considered part of the G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain and is thought to be inhabited by *btsan*.

Figure Twenty-seven.
On the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh lunar month, all a la ɟo participants hold wheat straw bundles, wait for the village leader or an elder to light the bonfire, and then light their

torches from the bonfire.

Figure Twenty-eight.
All participants circle the bonfire with their straw torches prior to circling the village.

Figure Twenty-nine.
Two a la ɟo participants wait for a family to throw straw from their roof.

Figure Thirty.
Pad ma rgyal mtshan (b. 1964) makes *ɹə mdzu* on the night of ɬe ndzɛ Eve for G.yung drung spun dgu, the family *g.yang*, and for family members.

Figure Thirty-one.
Tshe ring mtsho mo displays fruit juice, candy, peanuts, etc. on the night of ɬe ndzɛ Eve.

Figure Thirty-two.
Pad ma rgyal mtshan makes *thab bsang* on the first day of ɬe ndzɛ.

Figure Thirty-three.
Pad ma rgyal mtshan offers *bsang* on the roof of his house while praying loudly.

Figure Thirty-four.
All households offer *bsang* on their houses roofs on the first day of ɬe ndzɛ. The *lab rtse* is renewed by raising new *dar lcog*. All villagers stand on the roofs of their houses on the first day of ɬe ndzɛ and offer *bsang* to mountain deities.

Figure Thirty-five.
Family members eat together on the first day of ɬe ndzɛ. This image includes the author (b. 1988, center); his mother, Tshe

'dzin sgrol ma (third from right); his father, Pad ma rgyal mtshan (b. 1964, second from right); his uncle (father's brother), Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (b. 1944, far right); and his three sisters Tshe ring mtsho mo (b. 1990, third from left), Rdo rje dbang mo (b. 1995, second from left), and Ye shes sgrol ma (b. 1992, far left).

Figure Thirty-six.
Male villagers offer *bsang* and *rlung rta* to G.yung drung spun dgu.

Figure Thirty-seven.
These three *lab rtse* are renewed by the village's three hamlets on the first day of ɬe ndzɛ. k^{h}ɜ rɜ renews the left one, ɣə rə renews the right one, and ba ɕu ma renews the middle one.

Figure Thirty-eight.
Male villagers, including village leaders, sit on the side of G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain, discuss rules and regulations during ɬe ndzɛ, and drink homemade fruit juice.

Figure Thirty-nine.
Rin chen mtsho (b. 2008) is p^{h}ə *v*ə during ɬe ndzɛ in 2010 and receives cash gifts from relatives.

Figure Forty.
A mdo (b. 1966) breaks in a horse that will race in the ɬe ndzɛ horserace.

Figure Forty-one.
Riders offer *bsang* before the race and pray to the mountain deities for protection during the horserace.

Figure Forty-two.
Two riders race from left to right while those performing

stunts ride separately.

Figure Forty-three.
Sangs rgyas (b. 1978) performs a stunt on a running horse, dismounting and remounting it. A bag of gunpowder hangs under the three poles in a configuration called *ʔa dʑa*. Village leaders ignite the gunpowder after the horserace.

Figure Forty-four.
Riders and villagers dance in a big circle after three races, while the horses rest during the third day of ɬe ndzɛ. All male and female dancers stand in order of age from eldest to youngest. Youth wear their best clothes and jewelry. All dancers follow two leaders who move clockwise, the direction of Buddhist circumambulation.

Figure Forty-five.
Mtha' phyug (b. 1954) makes a speech before villagers' last dance of the horserace day, naming people who provided cash donations to dancers. He delivers the oration from the center of the circle prior to all villagers dancing the final dance. He offers *dar dkar*[58]to the two dance leaders.

Figure Forty-six.
The actors on the right perform as Tibetans, while those on the left perform as Han Chinese. They act out a marriage. The man with the microphone asks the Han Chinese, "Who is the bride?"

Figure Forty-seven.
Bla ma (b. 1975, standing) makes a wedding speech in a mixture of Tibetan and Chinese, which the audience finds

[58] *Dar dkar* are white silk scarves that symbolize auspiciousness and are usually offered to *bla ma* or guests to show respect.

hilarious.

Figure Forty-eight.
Actors perform disco dances in a way that amuses villagers.

Figure Forty-nine.
Monks make *gtor ma* during the Gto ritual. They each have different tasks. The older monk (right) makes *gtor ma* requiring much detail.

Figure Fifty.
Tshe ring bkra shis (b. 1985) makes *gtor ma* resembling houses, deities, food, and animals as offerings to the deities. *Gtor ma* are made with a carved wood mold locally known as *glu shing*. Deities, wild animals, tools, and people are carved on the mold used to make the *gtor ma*.

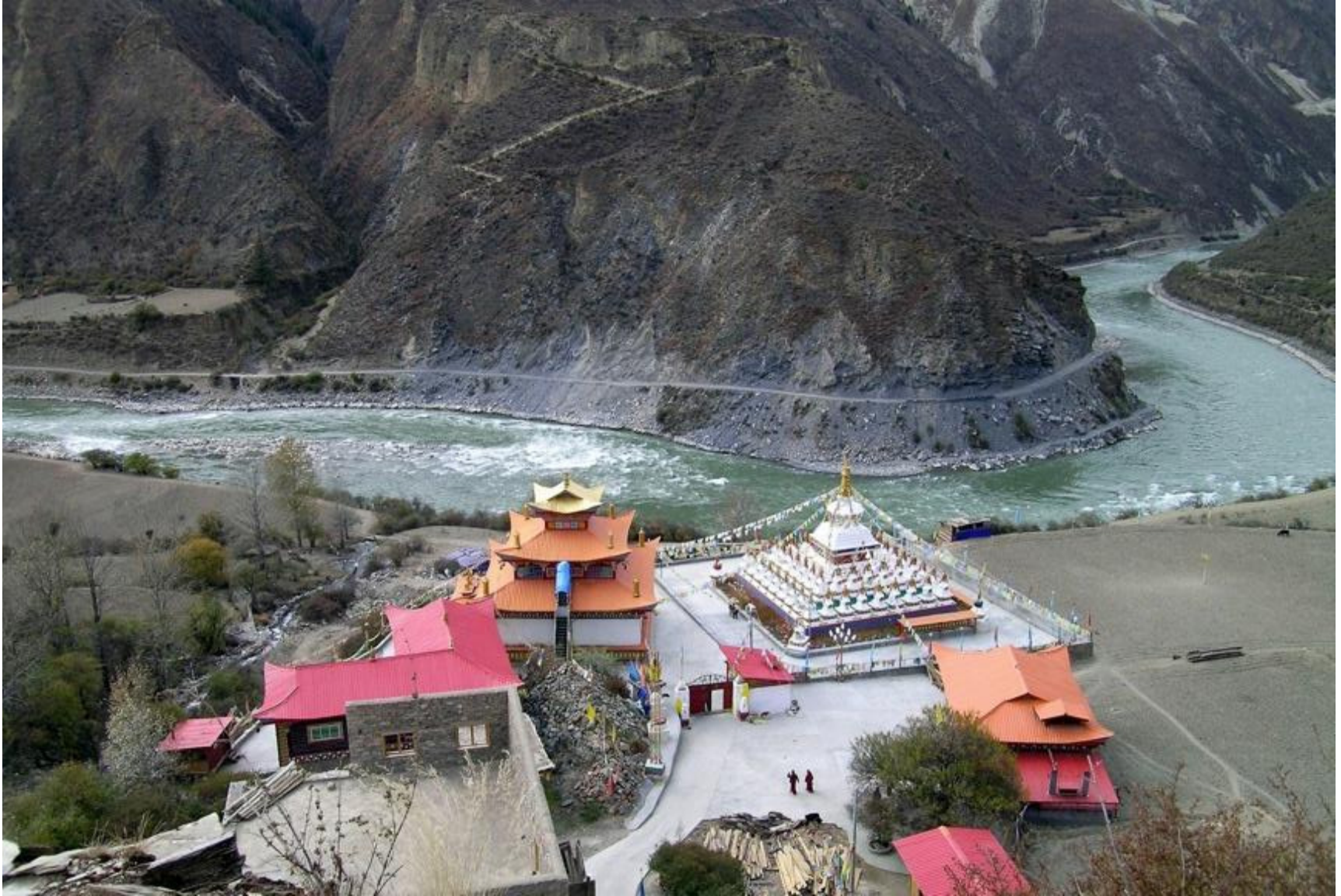
Figure Fifty-one.
All *gtor ma* are ready to be offered to deities during Gto.

Figure Fifty-two.
Myi nag are *gtor ma* believed to remove bad luck and sickness. *Myi nag* translates as 'black person' (*myi* = people, *nag* = black).

Figure Fifty-three.
Monks chant scripture and offer *bsang* to mountain deities on the second day of the Gto Ritual.

Figure Fifty-four.
Logs are slid down a frozen stream originating at a spring.









































































PART THREE
MARRIAGE

CIRCLE DANCES IN BANG SMAD VILLAGE

Local dance performances are described first in recognition of their key role in marriage celebrations. Circle dances, *skor bro* in Tibetan, are performed during ɬe ndzɛ celebrations, at festivals, weddings, parties, and at the end of a long day's communal labor such as when villagers construct buildings. Participants sing and dance in a big circle and may continue from sunrise to sunset. Males line up from oldest to youngest on one side and women do the same on the other side. Each group has a leader, usually an older person who knows the song lyrics and is a skilled dancer.

The males begin by singing a verse consisting of vocables and do not dance. Female participants repeat the males' song. Next, all male dancers dance in place while singing. When they finish, the males move several steps in a clockwise direction. The females repeat. This continues until two to four verses of a song have been completed. Women begin the next round of dancing that is essentially the same as the process just described. A third round begun by the males completes the dancing.

Participants stand in two lines in a big circle and step from left to right. Men and women wear long-sleeved robes. Men's long-sleeved clothes are white or orange, while womens' clothes are white or red. Each group of men and women has two lead dancers. There is no specific number of performers. Dances are usually performed in fields or in the kitchen on the second floor of a house. To lead the dancers requires great skill at dancing and singing. The leaders are called *bro mgo* 'dance head' in Tibetan. Dance leaders say the lyrics to the dancer next to them who repeats the lyrics to the next person, and so on. Some younger dancers do not know the lyrics and just follow the dance movements.

Dance tempos are divided into slow, medium, and quick rhythms. Performers wave their sleeves to resemble eagles spreading their wings throughout the dances. Men's

movements should be expressive, whereas women's movements should be subdued. Sometimes the dancers dance hand in hand while singing. Each dance has different movements.

Village leaders now put candy and fruit juice in the center of the circle, but before the new community rules were made, highland barley liquor and beer were also put in the center.[59] When one side is dancing, one of the village leaders offers barley liquor to men, fruit juice to women, and gives candy to children.

The dance songs' lyrics praise people, places, and local religion, and the vocal rhythm is associated with various movements. Some older dance songs have fixed lyrics, rhythms, and movements. Certain dance songs use the same rhythm but different lyrics.

Dancing always concludes with a song called Bkra shis rgyas. There are two Bkra shis rgyas songs: Bkra shis che ba 'Long *bkra shis*' and Bkra shis chung ba 'Short *bkra shis'*. Bkra shis che ba is danced at the end of a wedding, ɬe ndzɛ, and at the conclusion of celebrations that last several days. Bkra shis chung ba is danced at the end of a day or night of dancing.

Dance competitions or *gtugs bro* are common at gatherings. Participants may dance the whole night and day. Women and men form two lines with five or six performers per line and stand in a circle. There is no certain number of people required. If there are not enough men or women, women and men may form a line together. Then the dancing begins. Song lyrics are never repeated when dancing *gtugs bro*. The two leaders must be gifted at both dancing and singing.

---

[59] In the following description, weddings are described as they took place when liquor was still an integral part of such celebrations.

MARRIAGE – INTRODUCTION

Marriage brings a new member into a household and the village community, and expands local social networks by creating new bonds between two families.

Arranged marriages are the most common marriage form, and are planned by parents or matchmakers as early as infancy, a practice called *tɕuw nbə k^{h}a tsu.* Some families may arrange marriage for unborn children. A mediator may arrange a marriage between two families who are in conflict to ensure peace between them.

Non-arranged marriages are rare. Two youths, having fallen in love, may elope and hide outside the village for several months, during which time the girl may become pregnant. The couple may be found by family members who search for them, or they may choose to return. After this period of cohabitation, the parents may allow the couple to marry or may continue to object, especially if there is a large disparity in the social status of the two families or if one of the young lovers has a pre-existing arranged marriage. The two families might also arrange a marriage between the young lovers.

Five Bang smad households practice polyandry. Each family has two brothers that share one wife. Children in such families call the elder brother *a pa* 'father' and the younger brother *a kə* 'uncle' regardless of paternity. One family practices polygamy with two sisters sharing one husband. One sister remains in the pasture with the family's livestock and the other lives in the village home to tend the family's fields. The husband alternates between the two households. Villagers view such arrangements favorably for they suggest solidarity and intimacy between siblings.

Villagers marry between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. A family may ask their child to marry at the age of eighteen or twenty because they need a laborer. In such cases, two students may marry, with the boy continuing his

education while his wife quits school to help his family. If a parent passes away, the family may need a young laborer and thus may ask their child to marry.

Weddings are held during the New Year or soon afterward because villagers are at home during this time, are relatively free, and have prepared food for New Year that can also be used for the wedding. Weddings typically lasted three days until about the year 2000. Two-day weddings were typical in 2010, with the wedding process and activities becoming increasingly simplified.

An endogamous wedding between two Bang smad families may be very simple, taking one or two days. A few families hold no formal wedding. Instead, they ask a *bla ma* to choose a date for the bride to go to the groom's home. She may carry a bucket of water to the groom's home and then permanently live in the home. Such a wedding is called *ɟa ŋa buw muw* 'farming tool bride'.

Wedding speeches are a critical part of marriage rituals. A guest who returns home from a wedding is typically asked, "How were the wedding speeches?" Orators must praise both families equally and at length. A good orator can do so without repetition. A poor orator may be unable to orate for long, or may praise the families unevenly, lauding one family, for example, and forgetting the other. Two Bang smad men are skilled wedding orators. Bstan 'dzin gives wedding speeches and is locally known as an adept mediator and matchmaker. He gives speeches in many local villages and also knows numerous proverbs. Mtha' phyug is also well known locally as a gifted orator, especially for giving the speech at the conclusion of village circle dancing during the New Year. He knows many folktales and is so eloquent and loquacious that he is locally called 'Television'.

Every wedding requires both the bride's and groom's families to have an orator. If they cannot find a relative to orate, they invite orators from other villages.

Marriage Patterns

The wives in fifteen of the thirty-six families in Bang smad Village are from other villages. Five families have exogamous wives from four Mi nyag-speaking villages and the other ten have wives from Nyag skad-speaking villages. Twenty-one families have wives from within the village. Four daughters in two families have married Han Chinese men. Twenty people – fourteen women and six men – married into four different Nyag skad-speaking townships and eleven Nyag skad-speaking villages, as well as eight Mi nyag-speaking villages.

ARRANGED MARRIAGES

Choosing a Spouse

Arranged marriages are usually decided upon by parents or a matchmaker, who may be an uncle, aunt, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, a mediator, or a close family friend. The matchmaker is generally male, though they may be female.

Marriages are arranged under various circumstances. A matchmaker may think their relatives' child, having reached twenty to twenty-five years of age, should marry to expand the family's social network. Two old friends may decide that their grandchildren should marry as a mark of their friendship. As mentioned earlier, a parent may pass away, and then the family needs a young woman to milk livestock and cook, or a young man to do such work as plowing. In other cases, a matchmaker or a youth's parents may discover that two youths are in love and then arrange their marriage. Finally, sometimes after mediators settle a dispute between two families, a matchmaker may make an arranged marriage between the two families to ensure continued harmony.

The matchmaker's criteria for choosing a suitable couple includes the social status of the two families. Villagers esteem those with government jobs and lineages including *bla ma* or *sprul sku* 'Living Buddha' and *mda' dpon* or *stongs dpon* 'traditional leaders' (described above).

Wealth and social influence are also important. It is particularly good to marry children into a large family with many descendants and an extensive social network. Such families have a larger labor force and greater influence in village affairs.

Family name is an important consideration. Certain indigenous families have their own *də nmi* 'family name'. Such families are esteemed whereas more recent migrants lacking family names are less respected.

A family's health history is also considered. Partners are reluctantly chosen from families whose current members or ancestors are known to have or have had epilepsy or leprosy. Laziness and being short-tempered are thought to be transmitted from mother to daughter; thus a woman with such characteristics has difficulty finding a partner for her daughter.

A matchmaker who finds a partner meeting these criteria asks both families about a marriage. Parents refuse the matchmaker's requests if they have other aspirations for their son,[60] but generally accept if they do not. After accepting, the parents generally ask their child. If the child approves, the marriage proceeds. If not, the matchmaker cannot force the marriage. In certain cases, parents do not ask their children but simply make the decision themselves.

After the matchmaker receives approval from both sets of parents and the couple, they conclude the marriage

---

[60] Marriage negotiations are typically initiated by the boy's family. Brides typically marry and move into their husband's home.

agreement, though the marriage is not announced until one or two months later.

Account

> Ga krug and Sgrol ma decided to arrange a marriage between Rnga ru ma's son, A tshe, and the qaw luw family's daughter, Nang ga. Sgrol ma is Rnga ru ma's brother's daughter. Sgrol ma's husband, Ga krug, asked his older brother, Bstan 'dzin, "What would you think if one of the qaw luw family's' daughters married Rnga ru ma's son?"
>
> He replied, "I don't know, but I'll find out." One of Bstan 'dzin's daughters had married into the qaw luw family and another of his daughters was her close friend. Also, Bstan 'dzin's daughter's husband's father had died and Bstan 'dzin was now the family head.
>
> Bstan 'dzin asked his daughter, Bsod nams dpal mo, to discuss the marriage with her friend, Nang ga. When Bsod nams dpal mo asked, Nang ga replied, "I agree to Bstan 'dzin's request." Bstan 'dzin then talked to Rnga ru ma and the two families agreed to the arranged marriage.

Figure Six: The three matchmakers' relationship to the groom

Matchmaker	Relationship to Groom
Bstan 'dzin	Father's brother's daughter's husband's brother
Sgrol ma	Father's brother's daughter
Ga krug	Father's brother's daughter's husband

boŋ wɜ tɕʰə tʰu 'Discussing Directly'

The parents from both families might discuss and reach an agreement themselves instead of using a matchmaker. The

arrangement, called *boŋ wɜ tɕʰə tʰu*, is kept secret for one or two months.

tɕʰe mgɔ tɕʰu poŋ, tɕʰu mgɔ tɕʰe poŋ 'Exchanging a Wife'

If a betrothed female finds a lover and this is discovered, her parents, the parents of the future groom, or a matchmaker may insist that her younger sister marry in her place. This is known as *tɕʰe mgɔ tɕʰu poŋ*. If the bride-to-be is exchanged for an elder sister, this is called *tɕʰu mgɔ tɕʰe poŋ*.

ni or *ɕa sa tɕʰoŋ tʰu* 'An Agreement Party'

One or two months after the marriage has been decided, or sometimes as much as one year later, both families choose an auspicious day to hold *ni,* 'the agreement party'. The groom's uncle, brother, and brother-in-law, as well as the groom himself, bring a yak haunch, barley liquor, and fruit juice to the bride's home. The bride's family may ask two youths to visit each household and invite their relatives to the party. Most families send one or two representatives to the party, while relatives may send their entire family. Approximately thirty people attend the party where everyone drinks together and jokes. One relative or matchmaker from the groom's side makes a speech in Mi nyag.

The next day, a bride's side representative makes a speech in Mi nyag to all the guests, introducing the matchmakers and praising the bride and groom's families. They might say, for example (Bstan 'dzin):

> *O ya*! Everyone, I will give a short talk! Yesterday, Stobs ldan already gave a speech. Such parties as this have been held for many generations – this is our custom. Thus, I must give a speech. I do not have much to say. The qaw

luw Family is one of the Chos skyong dud mgo dgu, one of the loyal aids of the tɕaw woŋ Family. If they were deer in the old days, there now remains deer hair, because the Chinese government implemented laws and destroyed the high and helped the low. If I tell more about the history of this family, many youths would not understand, although some elders might. The groom's family is, in their village, like eyes on a *mdzo's* head. All relatives and friends are here. Stobs ldan and I arranged this marriage. In some other places they traditionally give a dowry at this time, but we did not prepare one. However, we will do something like this: if I speak in front of people, people will listen. If I put meat in front of people, they will eat. In the end, we hope the boy, A tshe, and the girl, Nang ga, have a happy life and have children.

At the end of the party, the bride's parents or uncles ask one of the bride's brothers and the groom to swear *gnyen mna'*, an oath that they will not break the arranged marriage. If the bride lacks brothers, her father may take the oath. This oath, however, is no longer a common feature of the agreement party.

Additionally, certain families fix a wedding date during the party, depending on the family's need for labor. If a family has enough members, they may wait several years to make the decision, especially if the betrothed are relatively young. Males never marry nineteen year old females, because this brings misfortune to the male's family. A female's family never lets a woman who is twenty years old marry into other homes, believing she will take her natal family's good fortune to her new home.

Guests drink and eat until the middle of the night after a decision has been reached. At this party, villagers of

the *tsʰɔ ʑə pɔ*[61] historically gave a dowry, which the groom's family took when they left.

Before the Wedding

The betrothed begin cohabitating after parents and relatives fix a wedding date. Alternatively, if one or both of the betrothed have a lover they wish to marry instead, they may go to another county for several months and cohabitate. Both families search for them. They invite three or four mediators if they cannot locate them, and the family whose child eloped with their lover must pay at least 5,000 RMB in compensation to salvage the other family's reputation. Not honoring a marriage agreement is a serious loss of face.

The families jointly consult a *bla ma*[62] to choose a propitious date for the wedding, which is usually during or after the New Year. The two families agree on how many people and cars will escort the bride. The *bla ma* is also asked to decide who should help the bride pour water when she washes her hair. Two or three older women are chosen to help the bride braid her hair, as are *bag rogs* 'the bride's helpers.[63] The *bla ma*'s decisions are based on zodiac signs.

---

[61] *tsʰɔ ʑə pɔ* refers collectively to four villages (goŋ kɜ, ri na, pɜ lʉ, and, ʁoŋ ɬi) in Bang smad Township.

[62] *Bla ma* from Rnga rkang and Mtsho kha monasteries are typically asked.

[63] These helpers assist the bride by preparing her meals and helping her dress.

The Groom's Preparation

The groom's family spends about a month preparing for the wedding. They ask relatives or villagers who own cars to use their cars to greet the bride and her entourage. The family also slaughters a yak. Rich families may slaughter two or three yaks. Male family members go to the county town and purchase liquor, beer, candy, vegetables, and sunflower seeds. Wealthy families may spend 20,000 RMB while poor families spend 2,000 to 3,000 RMB.

About a week prior to the wedding, the groom's family asks close relatives and friends in other villages to invite relatives and friends to the wedding. Two or three days before the wedding, the groom's family asks female villagers to make many *buw muw dzə nʉ*[64] and *dʐɔ cə*, while others clean the groom's home and prepare food. Kitchen utensils and clothing are also borrowed from villagers.

The groom's family chooses four or five relatives or local elders to be *na pu* 'property managers',[65] and asks a *bla ma* or *rtsis pa* to choose a *bag rogs*.

The groom's family asks a person from each household to come to the groom's home the day before the wedding. Barley liquor, beer, and dinner are offered to everyone. The groom's father asks all villagers to help, and the *sʰɜ pu* and *las byed* assist in organizing the wedding party by telling people to stop work and send at least one person per household to help the groom's family.

The groom's family invites three or four monks to chant and holds G.yang sgrub. The monks stay at the groom's home until the wedding finishes.

---

[64] *buw muw dzə nʉ* refers to triangular-shaped food made from wheat flour eaten in daily life. It is smaller than *dzə nʉ*.

[65] *na pu* are responsible for the financial management of the wedding. Funerals also require *na pu*.

The Bride's Preparation

The bride's family also spends about a month preparing for the wedding. They buy boxes of liquor, beer, fruit juice, candies, seeds, vegetables, and meat. Some wealthy families slaughter two or three yaks. The house, cushions, tables, and so on are cleaned. The bride's family borrows such ornaments as *ŋi pu, ʂe rna, dzu̯w, pʰe pʰe, ʂe cuw tʰuw , ʂe ɦɜ ju, dɔ ʁi, ʑɜ goŋ, tɕʰa ma, paw ku, la lu,* and *ra tuw* from relatives and villagers.[66] The family then asks relatives to discuss who will accompany the bride in her entourage, usually comprised of eight to ten brothers, uncles, and other close male relatives. The bride's family asks these people to prepare ornaments, which they may need to borrow from relatives, and to discuss who will make speeches at the party. The bride's family also asks five or six families who own cars to escort the bride. Prior to the year 2000, the bride's escort consisted of five or six people mounted on horses.

The bride rises and washes her hair after sunrise on the day before the wedding. A girl chosen by a *bla ma* or *rtsis pa* pours water on the bride's hair. Her hair is then put into many braids.[67] Some brides cry while their hair is being washed, in which case older women console them saying, "Don't cry, the (groom's) village is very near your village. Your groom is a good person. You have parents, you should be happy."

---

[66] Photographs of these ornaments are featured in Part Four.

[67] When a bride is washing her hair it must be a sunny day, suggesting a successful marriage. If the weather is bad – snowing or windy – villagers believe that the bride's future with her partner is bad. For example, if it is snowing, the bride leaves black footprints when she leaves her home, which is *ɕi naw* ' black print'. If the bride stays at the groom's home and it is snowing (*ɕi gaw*) it suggests they will have a successful marriage.

The Day Before the Wedding: *soŋ wu də* 'A Party at the Bride's House'

The bride's family holds a party the night before she leaves home. All her relatives and some villagers come to her home and help prepare food and clean the house. In the afternoon, the bride's family sends a person to every village household, especially the bride's peers, to invite them to the party. Most families send someone to the party, though all household members may come if they are close relatives of the bride.

Male villagers sit from oldest to youngest on the *χɔ ɟɛ*. A table covered with bottles of beer, barley liquor, and fruit juice, candy, sunflower seeds, cold dishes,[68] and *dzᵚɔ cə* is in front of the *χɔ ɟɛ*. Female villagers sit by the stove and the bride's family provides fruit juice, sunflower seeds, and candy for them.

sʰɜ pu help the bride's family organize this party and invite people to dance and sing. The youths dance modern Tibetan dances in a big circle in the living room for around two hours while other guests watch and drink. Then adult men and women dance traditional dances for five or six hours, with some youths joining later. Other youths only watch. Meanwhile, some young male helpers encourage guests to drink barley liquor.

The bride does not participate in these dances. She stays in her room with her helper and friends, weeping. Women serve a supper of rice or noodle porridge because it can easily feed many people. The bride, clad in a new Tibetan robe, sits by the central pillar of the house after supper. The *a ɣɔ* stands in front of the bride holding a *dar dkar*, blesses her with a speech, and gives her a *dar dkar* and

[68] This might include cut up cucumbers seasoned with chili and salt; fried or boiled peanuts; cold, seasoned noodles; seasoned seaweed; mushrooms prepared in various ways; chicken; tinned meat; pork chunks; and so on.

100 to 300 RMB. All the villagers then give blessings in turn, for example, "*xʰə bɔ deŋ moŋ tsʰɜ ri nɛ me, bə ɟə tsʰa sʰoŋ dzam*. May you have a happy life, and a wonderful family."

After the money is given, women and men dance traditional dances for about two hours. Village leaders then ask some people to sing folk songs. Elders sing from their seats and sometimes two people sing in unison. Young villagers stand by the room's central pillar to sing. Some young females sing folk songs from their seats. Students sing modern Chinese songs and Tibetan songs, and then youths perform such dances as *sko bro* and disco. Adults leave at around midnight and only youths remain. The bride dances with them until her parents ask her to go to bed. The youths then dance modern Tibetan and Chinese dances until morning.

xʰʌ qa tɕʰa xʰɔ 'Go Scatter Barley Grain'

This ritual was done in the past but is no longer performed. The groom's family sent someone to scatter barley grain when the bride left her home for the groom's home. This man accompanied the bride and her entourage to the groom's home and stayed there for three days. After arriving at the bride's home, he gave about ten RMB to the bride's mother as *sɜ mi tɕʰoŋ qa sʰɛ* 'fee for separating mother and daughter' and ten RMB to the woman who braided the bride's hair. He scattered barley grain to the sky before the bride left her home and said:

[1]ཉེ་མ་དེ་རིང་ཐན་ཆན་ང་ཚང་ཡིན།། ཁང་སྟིང་བསང་ཁང་མན་ཆན།། སྨོ་ཁ་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ཡན་ཆན།། སྟིན་མཁན་སྟིན་ཐག་ཆོད་པ་ཡིན།། ཟ་མཁན་ཟ་ཐག་ཆོད་པ་ཡིན།། ཏ་རྒྱང་ཚ་གསུམ་འཛོམས།། ཚ་ཨ་ཞང་མདོ་ལུ་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་རྐེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན།།

[1]From today on you (the bride) own our property totally[69] to give away or use as you decide. May you have great sons and daughters in our home.

Some women from the bride's family snatched the man's hat, pulled off his shoes, pushed him, and said, "You will take away our girl." These women then hid his hat and shoes. Some of the bride's relatives helped him persuade the women to return what they took. He needed to give fifteen or twenty RMB to the group of women to retrieve his hat and shoes.

As mentioned above, weddings have been simplified and shortened. Below, we give schedules for three- and four-day weddings:

[69] Literally, from the *bsang khang* to the dog's bowl, indicating the household in its entirety.

Figure Seven: Wedding Schedule for a Four-Day[70] Wedding

Time	Activity	Site
First day	▪ bride leaves her parents' home escorted by her entourage ▪ villagers dance enroute ▪ a speech is made by bride's side representative ▪ groom's side greets bride's side and bride's side representative makes a speech ▪ a short speech is given upon arrival at groom's home by bride's side representative	▪ bride's home ▪ enroute to groom's home ▪ about a kilometer from bride's village ▪ about a kilometer from groom's village ▪ groom's home
Second day	▪ relatives of the bride and groom visit groom's home ▪ bride's side and groom's side make speeches ▪ villagers dance at groom's home ▪ guests give gifts to groom's family ▪ bride, her entourage, and groom are invited by all households in groom's village	▪ groom's home

[70] Locally, residents say two nights and three days (three-day wedding) or three nights and four days (four-day wedding).

Third day	▪ villagers dance ▪ G.yang sgrub is held ▪ relatives of bride and groom visit groom's home ▪ villagers have a party with money given by bride's side	▪ groom's home
Fourth day	▪ groom's family gives gifts to bride and her entourage ▪ bride and her entourage leave groom's home to return to bride's home ▪ villagers and bride's side dance ▪ a speech is given by bride's side representative enroute to bride's home; groom's side escorts bride	▪ groom's home ▪ enroute to bride's home

Figure Eight: Wedding Schedule for a Three-Day Wedding

Time	Activity	Site
First day	▪ bride leaves her parents' home ▪ villagers dance on the way ▪ a speech is made by bride's side representative ▪ groom's side greets bride's side and bride's side representative made a speech. ▪ a short speech is given upon arrival at groom's home by bride's side representative	▪ bride's home ▪ enroute to groom's home ▪ about a kilometer from bride's home ▪ about a kilometer from groom's village ▪ groom's home
Second day	▪ relatives of bride and groom visit groom's home ▪ villagers dance ▪ a speech is given by bride's side and groom's side representative ▪ guests give gifts to groom's family ▪ bride, her entourage, and groom are invited by all households in groom's village ▪ G.yang sgrub ritual is held	▪ groom's home

Third day	▪ villagers dance ▪ groom's family gives gifts to bride and her entourage ▪ groom's villagers and bride's side dance ▪ groom's side escorts bride's side ▪ speech by bride's side representative enroute to bride's home	▪ groom's home ▪ about a kilometer from the groom's village

A three day wedding is assumed in the normalized description that follows and, where necessary, certain speeches and other activities are noted that might relate to the more traditional four-day wedding.

The First Day: Sending the Bride

The bride's mother and some villagers help the bride dress at five or six a.m. She puts on such ornaments as *ŋi pu, ʂe rna, dzu̯uw, pʰe pʰe, ʂe cuw tʰuw , ʂe ɦɜ ju, dɔ ʁi, ʑɜ goŋ, tɕʰa ma, paw ku, la lu,* and *ra tuw* in her bedroom. Her entourage, wearing many ornaments, comes to her home. After she finishes dressing, she and her entourage prepare to leave at a time previously stipulated by a *bla ma*. They take about ten kilograms of barley liquor, a yak leg, and some candy as gifts for the groom's family. They come to the living room before they leave and the father says such beatific words as, "*xʰə poŋ de mɔ, tsʰɜ ri nɛ me.* We hope you will have a wonderful new family," and puts a *dar dkar* around her neck. He then leads his daughter to circumambulate the central pillar, goddess[71] of the house, three times to prevent the bride's family's *g.yang* from leaving with the bride. At this time, most village households send a representative and all the bride's relatives come to accompany the bride's entourage to a point about two kilometers from the village.

Those escorting the bride cannot say goodbye, and when the bride reaches the groom's home, people cannot give a greeting; both are bad luck for the bride. Those who have assembled follow her from the courtyard gate to a waiting car. Many women and the bride's relatives cry. Close male relatives may also weep. Parents never send their

[71] Villagers believe that the goddess lives in the central pillar of their home and put *dar dkar* on this pillar after building a house.

daughter off because this is bad luck for her.

When the bride leaves her home, youths collect stones in piles, and place full buckets of water and cushions by the road.[72] This is called *buw muw la tse*. Villagers wait near the *buw muw la tse* they have constructed and when the bride's car passes by, two of the bride's entourage scatter one or five RMB notes and candy from the car window.[73] If residents from other villages know the bride and her entourage will pass by, they may also make *buw muw la tse* and stand by the road.

If villagers send a bride to the north from Bang smad, the bride and her entourage stop at a site called gə nda mu for an hour. If villagers send a bride south of Bang smad they stop at tʰoŋ ɟɯ poŋ. The *a ɣɔ,* bride, and her entourage sit in a line while about ten villagers perform the *ʂi dzɻ̩* 'sending dance' in a large circle.

After they finish dancing, one of the entourage gives a speech and gives about fifty RMB to the dancers as *dzɻ̩ te*, and then the bride and her entourage leave. Nowadays, some families no longer do this.

The First Day: Greeting the Bride

Meanwhile, on the same morning as when the bride leaves her house, the groom's family asks two close relatives to go to each household to invite villagers to the groom's home.

---

[72] It is bad luck for the bride to see people carrying empty buckets while enroute to the groom's home. It is very good if she sees people carrying full buckets or carrying a fire, e.g., carrying coals or embers from another home in a metal bucket to their own home to make a fire in the absence of matches.

[73] Certain people may fall seriously ill if they encounter the bride enroute to the groom's home. This is called *baw na ji*.

About twenty adult villagers and relatives drive five or six cars to a point approximately two kilometers from their village to greet the bride. They prepare barley liquor, beer, and fruit juice, and put cushions in a line on the ground. When the bride arrives, greeters lay out a piece of white felt with a *g.yung drung*[74] 'swastika' by her door before she steps out of the car. The groom's side's *bag rung* helps the bride. If her ornaments are too heavy, the *bag rung* holds her hand and ornaments as she steps out of the car and onto the white felt.

The bride and her entourage walk to the prepared area and sit in a line in the following order (left to right): *a ɣɔ*, bride, bride's helper, and the remaining entourage. Greeters provide barley liquor and beer for the *a ɣɔ* and the bride's entourage, and fruit juice for the bride and her helper. The greeters dance in a big circle once and drink barley liquor with the entourage for about an hour. The bride's side gives a speech after they finish dancing, after which the bride's side's cars and the groom's side's cars leave together for the groom's home.

The groom never comes out to welcome the bride when she reaches his home because this is considered embarrassing. This reflects the general discretion between husband and wife. After a family arranges a marriage, the youth feels embarrassed if someone says their future spouse's name in their presence. Once married, the young husband and wife do not talk to each other in front of other family members for one or two months and they might not sleep together for a few months. In 2010, some new couples sleep together after they marry in a small room in the home.

Some households in Nyag rong make *bsang* when the bride, her entourage, and the groom's side reach the groom's

[74] The *g.yung drung* is made with grain and at other times, with black yak hair permanently pressed into the felt.

home and may also hold a *khrus* ritual.[75] This ritual and making *bsang* may upset the bride's side, because it suggests that the groom's family has a higher position than the bride's family. At the groom's home, the bride circles a full bucket of water containing a sprig of juniper that stands before the door. An *a ɣɔ* then takes the juniper sprig from the bucket and sprinkles water three times on the bride's head to purify her. The bride then passes through the gate. At that time, a person ten to twenty years old with a zodiac sign compatible with the bride's, chosen by a *bla ma* or *rtsis pa*, stands to the right of the gate holding a silver ladle and a wood bowl lined with silver containing milk. The bride performs a *mchod*, aspersing the milk three times with the silver ladle in her right hand, and then sips from the bowl three times after entering the gate. The *a ɣɔ* scatter one or five RMB notes and candies to the crowd outside the groom's home and onlookers scurry to collect them.

The bride and her entourage then go upstairs to the living room. At this time, one of the groom's relatives takes the *dar dkar* given by her father from the bride and puts a new *dar dkar* around her neck. He then puts the bride's father's *dar dkar* around the room's central pillar. The bride's helper holds the bride's hand and they circumambulate the central pillar three times. Next, the bride and her entourage sit on the *χɔ ɟɛ* in the order (left to right) of *a ɣɔ*, bride, bride's helper, and other entourage members. The bride sits on white felt featuring a *g.yung drung*. *Phye mar* is placed before the bride.[76] A table covered with sunflower seeds, candy, beer, liquor, and fruit juice is placed in front of the bride and her entourage. Helpers offer them food and drink.

---

[75] A monk or *bla ma* chants and sprinkles water to purify polluted people and such things as clothes and food.

[76] *Phye mar* is considered auspicious and is made of *rtsam pa* and butter (see photographs).

The First Day: *tɕi kʰɔ ʂu*

After the bride and her entourage finish eating, a bride's side orator stands beside the central pillar of the main room, gives a short speech, and puts a *dar dkar* on the central pillar.

The bride watches villagers' traditional dances for one to two hours in the living room. Then helpers ask the bride and her entourage to go to a prepared room, where the bride's ornaments are removed and put in a wood box that is placed beside an elder such as her *a ɣɔ*. They then relax, sing together, and joke. The groom's family makes much good food for them such as dumplings, rice, and cold dishes. Meanwhile, all the villagers dance and sing together in the living room until morning. In the recent past, however, the process was more complex: after watching the dancing for some time, speeches were also given by orators from both the bride's and groom's sides. Only one such speech was given by an orator from the bride's side in 2010. Traditionally, speeches and dances continued until the next morning, but presently the bride and her entourage sleep in the room prepared for them.

A Party on the Second Day: *rtɛ tɕe*

The next day, many guests from such villages as va rə, la kʰu, də tʰaw, ɕa di, la ɣə, ɣdzʒ woŋ tɛ ba, ɣdzʒ woŋ mɛ ba, rŋa koŋ, kʰa loŋ, boŋ mi, goŋ kɜ, ri na, pɜ lʉ, and ʁoŋ ɬi visit. The groom's family asks their relatives to help house the guests. The *na pu* decide where guests should stay and which helpers should go to designated homes. Helpers accompany and serve the guests all day. Guests reach the groom's home at ten or eleven a.m. on motorcycles and in cars. Village helpers greet them when they arrive, help carry any bags or boxes they have brought, and once the guests are inside, they pour tea and urge them to eat. Guests stay at the groom's

home for one to two hours, and then helpers ask them to go to the other prepared homes. Some villagers stay at the groom's home and dance all day.

The guests, villagers, and the bride's entourage gather in the groom's family's living room at noon. Some villagers perform traditional dances in a circle around the home's central pillar for three or four hours and the groom's relatives ask the bride's side to watch. The groom wears his best clothes and such ornaments as *ʂe cuw tʰuw*, *ʂe ɦɜ ju, dɔ ʁi, ʑɜ goŋ, paw ku, ra tuw,* and *qa vɜ*.[77] The groom's relatives encourage the bride and groom to dance with villagers. The groom stands next to the leader of the male dancers and the bride stands next to the female dance leader.

They dance for about twenty minutes and then an orator gives a speech. The orator is typically the bride's *a ɣɔ*, but may be anyone gifted at speechmaking. The speech lasts fifteen to twenty minutes. It begins by describing the creation of the world and then moves on to praising local places, including famous mountains, rivers, and grasslands; local history and leaders; village houses and fields; both the groom and bride's families; and finally praises the *dar dkar*. The orator gives *dar dkar* to the bride and groom after he finishes his speech. He also gives *dar dkar* to the two lead dancers, and gives 100 to 200 RMB to dancers as *dzʂɔ te*. After the speech, villagers and guests dance and sing.

Two orators representing the two families made speeches in 2002. The orator from the groom's family spoke first, followed by the orator from the bride's side. This was no longer done in 2010.

In the afternoon, guests from other villages give gifts to the groom's family one by one. The groom's family asks someone who can write Tibetan or Chinese to record a short description of the gifts and who gave them. Some guests bring five to ten kilograms of barley liquor or fifty to 300

[77] See the photographs after Part Four.

RMB, while others bring fifteen to thirty kilograms of barley or wheat grain as gifts. After the guests finish presenting gifts to the groom's family, a member or relative of the groom's family thanks the guests for coming. The groom's family then gives gifts to each guest; a piece of meat, a loaf of bread, candy, and three or four *buw muw dzə nʉ*.

Figure Nine: Gifts given in 2006 at Tshe dbang dpal 'byor and Bsod nams dpal mo's wedding.

Family	Cash RMB	Barley (kgs)	Grain (kgs)
'Chi med	30		
A bzang			30
A g.yang	100		
A hung	100		
A tshe			25
Blo gros	50		
Bsod nams dar rgyas	50		
Bsod nams dpal mo		20	
Bsod nams rdo rje			30
Bsod nams tshe ring		20	
Bzang po		25	
Dbang ldan		15	
Gra ling	200		
Mtha' phyug	50		
Nyi ma 'od zer		20	
Nyi ma tshe ring	200		
O rgyan			20
O rgyan dbang phyug		25	
O rgyan tshe ring	100		

Pad ma rgyal mtshan	200		
Pad rdor		20	
Rdo rje	30		
Sangs rgyas	100		
Sha phrug	30		
Skar bzang rgyal mtshan	50		
Tshe dbang 'gyur med			30
Tshe dbang rgyal mtshan		25	
Tshe ring		20	
Tshe thar		20	
Tshul khrims bzang po	100		

The groom's family provides a bowl of melted butter with rice and cold dishes with boiled rice for all the guests at about five p.m. After eating, some guests and relatives from far away stay at the groom's home or at other homes. Helpers escort guests as they leave, carrying their bags and gifts consisting of bottles of barley liquor, beer, or fruit juice to drink on the way; this is called *lam rag*. Guests finish the *lam rag* together before arrivgin home. At certain weddings, the bride, her entourage, and the groom are invited to visit all the households in the groom's village.

Third Day: G.yang sgrub

The groom's family holds the G.yang sgrub ritual during the wedding. On the second or third day of the wedding, the bride and groom are decorated with many ornaments and come together to the family shrine where several monks and *bla ma* have been chanting since the first day of the wedding. Monks chant for about half an hour in front of the bride and groom, who each hold a *g.yang mda'*. After the chanting finishes, a monk draws a line using wheat flour on the

ground from near the bride and groom to outside the shrine. Then a helper brings smoldering juniper and leads the bride and groom, each carrying a *g.yang mda'*, to the *zɔ* on the second floor of the house. Once in the *zɔ*, the groom's parents help the bride and groom take the *g.yang mda'* and place it on a table, thus introducing the family's *g.yang* to the new couple.[78]

The Third Day at the Groom's Home: '*buw biŋ tɕʰə*' 'Giving Gifts to the Bride and her Entourage'

The bride and her entourage stay at the groom's home for three days. A relative of the groom makes a short speech while displaying *buw biŋ*[79] on the last day of the wedding party. The groom's family gives gifts to the bride, bride's brothers, *a ɣɔ*, and other entourage members. Sometimes the dancers from the groom's village then hold a small party with the money given to them as a reward by the bride's entourage.

At four or five p.m., the groom's family gives bottles of liquor, a yak leg, and *buw muw dzə nʉ* to the bride's entourage, after which the bride's relatives prepare to leave. Many villagers and relatives walk with them several meters from the home and villagers dance together. An orator makes a speech and gives 100 to 200 RMB to dancers as *dzɻ̩ɔ te*, then the entourage dances with the villagers. Afterwards they leave for the bride's home. Three or four of the groom's

[78] The groom's family puts the *g.yang mda'* in the *zɔ* and the *bla ma* then closes the *zɔ* after chanting scriptures for the *g.yang*. The family must not open the *zɔ* for three days, otherwise they believe they will lose their *g.yang*.

[79] *buw biŋ* are gifts for the bride and her entourage.

relatives go with bride for *buw ɟuw*,[80] and stay at the bride's home for one or two days.

Account

> A mchun married into the Dgo mchun Family in 2009. The Dgo mchun Family gave five silver coins to the bride to make a ring for her, a horse to the bride's brother, 500 RMB to the *a ɣɔ*, and 300 RMB to each of the other members of the bride's entourage as *buw biŋ*.

buw bɛ

buw bɛ occurs after the wedding when the bride stays for three or four days in the groom's home. She does not leave with her entourage, but remains in the groom's home and begins helping with family work. *buw bɛ* is uncommon in Bang smad Village.

The Evening of the Third Day in the Bride's Home

The bride's family invites all their relatives and villagers to a party after the bride and her entourage return home. Almost every home sends a representative. Youths dance and sing all night. The bride removes her ornaments and dances with the young villagers. Each household sends a person to the bride's home with gifts. They drink barley liquor and make jokes. An orator gives a speech, then representatives from each household take turns presenting gifts of barley liquor,

[80] *buw ɟuw* is held after the wedding. Three or four of the groom's relatives go with the bride and stay at her home for one or two days. The bride returns to the groom's home one or two months after the wedding is held.

money, and twenty kilograms of barley or wheat grain, though now people commonly give cash. Such close relatives as uncles and aunts give 100 to 300 RMB, while unrelated villagers may give twenty to fifty RMB. A literate person records all gifts. After receiving gifts, the bride's family gives gifts to each villager: a piece of meat, a loaf of bread, or three or four *buw maw dzɜ nʉ*.

buw ɟuw 'The Bride Returns'

The bride returns to the groom's home one or two months after the wedding is held. Her return is called *buw ɟuw*. The interval of time depends on the groom's family, and their need for laborers.

The bride's father typically accompanies her to the groom's home and stays two or three days. They take gifts of about fifteen kilograms of meat and ten kilograms of barley liquor for the groom's family.

Giving the Dowry

Several months or sometimes years after the wedding, depending on the groom's family's request, the bride's family gives *ki vʉ* 'dowry' to the groom's family on a date decided by a *bla ma* consulted by the bride's family. At that time, the bride's family invites such close relatives as uncles and aunts to discuss what should be given. They must give ornaments, livestock, money, fields, and clothes. Wealthy families gave items totaling 100,000 RMB, while poor families gave 10,000 RMB in the early twenty-first century. The groom's family must give cash to the bride's family, totaling half the value of the dowry.

Speeches are given while displaying the dowry. The orator praises the two families and the bride and groom, and

enumerates all the items in the dowry one by one.

Account

> A mchun moved into Dgo mchun's home in 2009. A mchun's family gave such ornaments as *ʂe rna, dzu̯w, pʰe pʰe, ʂe cuw tʰuw, ʂe ɦɜ ju, dɔ ʁi, ʑɜ goŋ, tɕʰa ma, paw ku, la lu,* and *ra tuw,* Tibetan robes, five Tibetan cushions, kitchen utensils, quilts, a chest, two *mu* of fields, three cows, one horse, and farming tools.

NON-ARRANGED MARRIAGES

If two young people love each other and agree to marry, they may give each other rings or other symbols of their intention to marry. If their families object, the boy or girl asks a friend to help organize a secret meeting. They may later elope to another county town or perhaps as far away as Lha sa, where they stay six months to a year. They return home after the girl becomes pregnant or a child is born. Their families then have little choice but to permit them to marry. Both the girl and boy's sides give buckets, clothes, money, livestock, fields, and jewelry to the couple and may help them build a new house.

If the boy's family has only one son, the new couple lives in his home and does not build a new house. If the girl's family has only one girl and no son, the new couple lives at the girl's home. If the girl and boy both have siblings then the new couple lives neolocally. Such new families are referred to as *lɔ tsʰɔ su.* The families of the bride and groom give them money, clothes, cushions, and farming implements.

If a couple marries against their parents' wishes, they may not be treated very kindly, e.g., the bride's parents might not give her a dowry, nor help the couple when they

have economic difficulties. This new couple would not have a special wedding party; they would only invite relatives and friends to their new house and have a banquet several months after they began living together.

As mentioned earlier, financial compensation is demanded if a family fails to provide the intended spouse in the context of an arranged marriage, as illustrated by the following account:

> A sne (b. 1980) loved Sgrol dkar (born 1983). He often visited her brother and stayed in their home. Their love blossomed over time. The girl's family noticed their relationship and did not end it. However, the boy's family did not approve. The couple then eloped to Xinduqiao County,[81] and lived with one of Sgrol dkar's relatives. A sne's relatives searched and seven months later, located them, by which time the girl was pregnant.
>
> A sne had five sisters and no brothers. Sgrol dkar thus came to live in his home, because she had five brothers and two sisters, thus her departure did not cause a labor shortage in her family. The relationship between the two families improved over time.

> In another case, Bsod nams dpal mo (b. 1984) and A tshe (b. 1988) eloped from Bang smad Village. Marriage had been arranged for both of them, and both families consequently disagreed with their choice. Members of the two families quickly found and beat them. Both families apologized and gave 3,000 to 4,000 RMB to the families with whom they had previously arranged marriage. After a year, A tshe married his arranged partner, and Bsod nams dpal mo also married her arranged partner.

[81] Xinduqiao County, Dkar mdzes Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province.

ENDOGAMOUS VILLAGE WEDDINGS

Before the Wedding

An endogamous village wedding – one in which the two families live in the same village – may be very simple. The two families discuss and hold a simple wedding if both sides agree. The groom's family asks a *bla ma* or *rtsis pa* to choose a wedding date. They spend one to two days in preparation, buying liquor, beer, sunflower seeds, candy, vegetables, and cold dishes.

A Party at the Bride's Home: *soŋ wu də*

In the afternoon, the bride's family asks older relatives to be *na pu*. Villagers help them manage the wedding party, and ask male villagers to assist guests. Also that afternoon, the bride's family sends members to invite all their relatives and all the villagers to their home for a banquet that evening. Most relatives come and most households send at least one representative. People dance and sing before supper. Afterwards, villagers individually give cash to the bride one by one. Each elder gives a blessing and gives *dar dkar* with cash. Some close relatives may give up to 500 RMB, while young villagers give five to ten RMB. A female friend or relative stands by the bride and records the names of the participants and the amount of money each gives the bride.

A Party at the Groom's Home

The next day the bride, her brother, her uncle, and two or three male relatives go to the groom's home. The bride is decorated with *ŋi pu, ʂe rna, dzʐuw, pʰe pʰe, ʂe cuw tʰuw, ʂe fiɜ ju, dɔ ʁi, ʑɜ goŋ, tɕʰa ma, paw ku, la lu,* and *ra tuw.*

Others, however, do not decorate themselves with gold and silver; instead they wear new Tibetan robes. The group then walks together to the groom's home. The groom's family invites villagers to their home and hosts a wedding party during which villagers dance and sing together. A relative of the bride gives a speech. At six or seven p.m., the bride's relatives return home. Afterwards, all the villagers give barley liquor, money, and barley or wheat grain to the groom's family, who gives gifts to a person from each household: a piece of meat, a loaf of bread, and three or four *buw maw dzɜ nʉ*. Some elder villagers leave at around midnight while most young villagers dance and sing all night. The bride comes to the groom's home and begins doing housework several days after the wedding.

DIVORCE

After several months or years of marriage, some people divorce because the husband's parents dislike the wife or because the wife treats her parents-in-law badly, e.g., she does not provide good food and is disrespectful. Conflicts between husband and wife may arise. Sometimes the husband's brothers or sisters do not like the new wife, and sometimes the husband drinks and beats his wife. These situations may all result in divorce.

Account

> 'Chi med rdo rje (b. 1983, goŋ kɜ Village) married Dkon mchog lha mo (b. 1982, Bang smad Village). They divorced five years after the wedding, though they had a child, because the husband was an alcoholic and disliked working. The couple often argued and eventually told their parents they wanted to divorce. Their relatives agreed. After the divorce, Dkon mchog lha mo stayed with her son

at her parents' house, and the husband left and later married another village woman.

Children usually stay with their mother and the husband gives property to his ex-wife. Divorce is considered very shameful – divorced men and women both find it difficult to remarry. This is especially true for women, some of whom stay at their parents' home the remainder of their lives.

Widows

There were six widows, all of whom were grandmothers, in Bang smad Village in 2010. They have retained the same status as before in their family and community, and are respected by their family.

CONCLUSION

Before about 2005, the bride and her entourage stayed in the groom's home for three days, orators made five or six speeches during a wedding party, and villagers danced and sang the whole night and all the next day. Wedding activity was quite different in 2010, with the bride and her entourage staying only one or two days in the groom's home. Bang smad Village had only one man capable of making a complete wedding speech and he generally made only one or two speeches.[82] Since the implementation of new rules concerning alcohol in 2009, families do not offer liquor to guests but offer fruit juice instead. As a result, dancing finishes at around one or two a.m. on the night of the party

[82] Another man can make speeches after dancing but he does not make wedding speeches.

and guests then return home. Without liquor, some elders feel bored and do not stay long. Young villagers are disinterested in traditional dancing and singing and prefer to return home and watch television. Some families ask their children to come home early, because they worry about fighting. The bride and her entourage previously rode horses to the groom's home, but now most ride in cars. Wealthy families may organize a convoy of six or more cars to escort the bride and her entourage.

Certain Tibetans in Nyag rong County Town hold wedding parties that last five to six hours in restaurants. Local people describe such wedding parties as a way of collecting money, e.g., a guest not closely related to the bride or groom was expected in 2010 to give fifteen to 500 RMB when attending such weddings.

The weddings described in this book will probably not be performed much longer. They will likely be simplified, because following tradition is viewed as making the wedding process too complex, taking too much time, and requiring too many laborers. Locals prefer to hold wedding parties in restaurants where they need only to pay money and spend a few hours, and where they do not need to contribute labor. Furthermore, only a few families nowadays make arranged marriages because parents no longer prefer such arrangements. Villagers who have attended school graduate and find a job, and seek a partner who is also educated and employed. Though non-arranged marriages have become more common, elders still prefer to arrange marriages. Bstan 'dzin said, "I prefer to arrange marriages for my children, but I think my son won't agree." Rdo rje rgyal mtshan said, "It's better for people to have arranged marriages or a good person might end up married to a bad person. In such a case, the bad always affects the good, and not the other way around."

PART FOUR
SONGS AND SPEECHES

SONGS

These lyrics were sung and recorded in Bang smad Village and ri na Village in 2009 and 2010. A chos, Tshe 'dzin sgrol ma, O rgyan dbang phyug, A lca, O rgyan chos grags (b. 1972), A bzang (b. 1954), Ye shes dbang mo (b. 1967), and A dkar (b. 1958) sang dance songs, competitive dance songs, generic songs that may be sung at any celebratory gathering, and wedding songs.

Dance Songs

The following songs are sung during the New Year period and other celebratory occasions. Each song is summarized.[83]

The nice, large monastery is located on a grassland. The Buddhas of the Three Ages are like flowers blossoming on the grassland. The monastery is surrounded by thousands of monks.

[1]སྐྱིད་པོ་དགོན་ཆེ་ཁྲ་མོ་སྒང་རེ་ལ་ཁ་ཚགས།།
[2]ལྷ་ལ་ལུས་དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱས་དེ་སྒང་ལ་མེ་ཏོག་འཁྲུངས།།
[3]གྲྭ་ཚང་སྟོང་དང་དགུ་བརྒྱ་དེ་སྒང་རེ་མཐའ་ནས་རྒྱས།།
[4]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག[84]

Hundreds of deer are gathered. Gamboling fawns encircle a lake. May we be happy and have good lives.

[1]ཤྭ་རྒྱན་འདྲེམ་ཚོགས་ཁ་ལ།།

[83] We were unable to identify all terms in the speeches and songs and have therefore represented the sounds of such terms using the Tibetan syllabary.

[84] The last line of each dance song ends with a refrain expressing good wishes.

[2]ཤྭ་བ་བརྒྱ་ཡིས་གང་།།
[3]ཤྭ་བ་བརྒྱ་ཡིས་གང་ན།།
[4]ཤྭ་ཕྱུག་རྩེད་མོ་རྩེ།།
[5]ཤྭ་ཕྱུག་རྩེད་མོ་རྩེ་ན།།
[6]མཚོ་ལ་གཡས་སྐོར་རྒྱག།
[7]མཚོ་ལ་གཡས་སྐོར་རྒྱག་ན།།
[8]བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས།།
[9]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The sun shines on a golden bucket brimming with gold. May we be happy and have good lives.
[1]ཉེ་མ་ལ་ཤར་ལུང་ཤར།།
[2]གསེར་ཟོ་ཁ་ལ་ཤར(སོང)།།
[3]གསེར་ཟོ་ཁ་ལ་ཤར་ན།།
[4]གསེར་ཟོ་གསེར་གྱིས་གང་(བྱུང)།།
[5]གསེར་ཟོ་གསེར་གྱིས་གང་ན།།
[6]བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས།།
[7]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The sun shines on a silver bucket brimming with silver. May we be happy and have good lives.
[1]ཉེ་མ་ལ་ཤར་ལུང་ཤར།།
[2]དངུལ་ཟོ་ཁ་ལ་ཤར་(སོང)།།
[3]དངུལ་ཟོ་ཁ་ལ་ཤར་ན།།
[4]དངུལ་ཟོ་དངུལ་གྱིས་གང་(བྱུང)།།
[5]དངུལ་ཟོ་དངུལ་གྱིས་གང་ན།།
[6]བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས།།
[7]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

All trees that grow are sandalwood and all birds that fly are peacocks. All goodness is gathered here.

[1]སྤྲོད་ཆུ་གར་ལྗང་ར་གོང་མ་ན།།
[2]ཤིང་ཡར་སྐྱེས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཙོན་དན་རེད།།
[3]བྱ་མར་འདབ་ཐམས་ཅད་རྨ་བྱ་རེད།།
[4]ཤིང་བཟང་ཡོ་བྱ་ཡག་ཤིང་འཛོམས་རེད།།
[5]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།།

Good trees and birds are gathered in a happy place.

[1]སྤྲོད་ཆུ་གར་ལྷགས་རི་གོང་མ་རེད།།
[2]ས་སྐྱིད་ཡོ་ཙོན་དན་སྐང་སྐྱིད་རེད།།
[3]ཤིང་བཟང་ཡོ་བྱ་ཡག་ཤིང་འཛོམས་བྱུང་།།
[4]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།།

The sun and full moon are in the same sky. Though they appear at different times, they travel in the same direction.

[1]ཨ་སྤྱོན་དཀྱིལ་གྱི་ཉེ་མ།།
[2]ཚེས་བ་བཅོ་ལྔའི་དུང་སྐ།།
[3]དེ་གཉིས་གནམ་ཕྱགས་གཅིག་པ།།
[4]འགྲོ་(ཤར)ས་ཉིན་མཚན་ཁ་ཁ་རེད།།
[5]འགྲོ་(ཤར)ས་མི་གཅིག་མ་བསམ།།
[6]ཨ་སྤྱོན་དཀྱིལ་ནས་སྤྱོགས་འགྲོ།
[7]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།།

May religion flourish.

[1]རང་ཚོང་གསེར་གྱི་པ་ཏྲ།།
[2]གསེར་གྱི་ཆུ་གློང་རང་གྲགས།།
[3]གསེར་གྱི་ཆུ་གློང་མ་རེད།།
[4]རང་ཚོང་ལྷ་ཡུས་བཟང་ཡོ་རེད།།
[5]རང་ཚོང་ལྷ་ཡུས་བཟང་ཡོ།།

[6]ཚོས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར།།
[7]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

May there be good weather and bountiful harvests.
[1]དགུང་ཨ་ཇོན་གནམ་ཕྱེ་སྤྲིན་ཕྱེ་རེད།།
[2]གནམ་ཕྱེ་ཕྱེ་ཉེ་མ་ཤར་ས་རེད།།
[3]སྤྲིན་ཕྱེ་ཕྱེ་སྣང་ཚར་འབབ་ས་རེད།།
[4]སྨོན་ལམ་ཡག་པོ་དེ་ཨ་འཁྲི་ནས་ལ་ཇོག།།
[5]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The sun, moon, and stars are wonderful. May they all gather together.
[1]དགུང་སྐྱིད་ཨ་ཇོན་ལོ་ཡག་ལུང་བ་རེད།།
[2]གསེར་སྐྱིད་ཉེ་ཟླ་ལོ་ཡག་སྣེ་མ་རེད།།
[3]རྒྱབ་སྐྱིད་སྐར་བཀྲ་ལོ་ཡག་འཚུ་རྩེ་རེད།།
[4]དགའ་མོ་དེ་གསུམ་འཛོམས་པའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཤོག།
[5]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

May the sky, sun, and stars gather.
[1]དགུང་མོ་ཨ་ཇོན་ཨ་སྐྱིད་སྐྱིད་ཀྱི་ས།།
[2]གསེར་ཤེང་ཉེ་མ་ཨ་འཛོམས་འཛོམས་ཀྱི་ས།།
[3]བརྒྱ་སྐྱིད་སྐར་ཚོགས་འཛོམས་པའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཤོག།
[4]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The golden mountains are the home of three golden birds. Though the three mountains are far from each other, the three golden birds may gather.
[1]གསེར་རི་ལ་རྒྱས་ལུང་རྒྱས།།
[2]གསེར་བྱ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཁ་ཡུལ་རེད།།
[3]གསེར་རི་ཁ་ཐག་རིང་བས།།
[4]འཛོམ་རྒྱ་མ་རེད་བསམ་བྱུང་།།

[5]གསེར་རི་ལས་དབང་ཆེ་བས།།
[6]མ་བསམ་རང་ཤུགས་འཛོམས་བྱུང་།།
[7]ང་རང་ལོ་ཚུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

Praise to the sun, moon, and stars.
[1]དགུང་སྐྱིད་ཞ་སྦོན་ལྷ་ཡི་ཉེ་མ་ཤར།།
[2]གསེར་ཤིང(ཁྲི་གདུགས)་ཉེ་བླ་མེ་ཏོག་ཚར་རེ་འབབ།།
[3]བརྒྱ་སྐྱིད་སྐར་ཚོགས་མེ་ཏོག་འདབ་མ་རྒྱས།།
[4]ང་རང་ལོ་ཚུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The sky is like a lake and the sun and moon are jewels in the lake, surrounded by the stars.
[1]དགུང་སྐྱིད་ཞ་སྦོན་མཚོ་ཆེན་མཚོ་ཚུང་རེད།།
[2]གསེར་ཤིང་ཉེ་བླ་མཚོ་ནང་ནོར་བུ་རེད།།
[3]རྒྱབ་སྐྱིད་སྐར་བཀྲ་ནོར་བུ་མཐའ་ནས་རྒྱས།།
[4]དགའ་མ་དེ་གསུམ་འཛོམ་པའི་སྐོན་ལམ་ཤོག།
[5]ང་རང་ལོ་ཚུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The following song, Bkra shis chung ba, expresses the wish that villagers' *g.yang* will increase.
[1]དགུང་ཞ་སྦོན་མ་རེད་གཡང་ར་རེད།།
[2]གསེར་ཉེ་བླ་མ་རེད་མདའ་དར་རེད།།
[3]གསེར་ཉེ་བླ་མདའ་དར་གཡང་འབོད་བཟོ།།
[4]གཡང་ཕྱི་ལ་མ་འགྲོ་ནང་ལ་ཤོག།
[5]ང་རང་ལོ་ཚུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The following song, Bkra shis che ba, states that the propitious mountain has a lucky horse, and the horse has a foal, saddle, and rider. The refrain, "May auspiciousness gather on the auspicious mountain," is repeated in odd-numbered lines.

[1]བཀྲ་ཤིས་རེ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
[2]བཀྲ་ཤིས་རེ་ལ་རྟ་བརྒྱ་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
[3]བཀྲ་ཤིས་རེ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
[4]རྟ་ལ་མ་བརྒྱ་བྱ་བརྒྱ་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
[5]བཀྲ་ཤིས་རེ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
[6]ཡོབ་ཆེན་ཆ་མ་ཆ་འབྲེལ་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
[7]བཀྲ་ཤིས་རེ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
[8]མགོའི་(བཞོན)མེ་བྱ་འདི་སྐྱག་སྐྱ་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
[9]བཀྲ་ཤིས་རེ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
[10]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

Wedding Dance Songs

The following two songs may be sung by the groom's villagers at any time during the wedding. This song states that the sun has arrived and all the stars have come to greet it. It expresses the wish that all the senders and greeters will be happy together.

[1]གསེར་ཤིང་ཉེ་མ་འཛོམས་པའི་དེ་ནུབ་རེད།།
[2]བརྒྱ་ཤིང་སྐར་ཚོགས་དེ་ད་ལ་བསྡུ་མ་བཟོ།།
[3]བསྡུ་མ་སྐྱོལ་མ་དེ་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས།།
[4]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

This song suggests that although the bride does not yet have close relationships with villagers, they will nonetheless help her.

[1]ལྕང་བ་ཆུང་ཆུང་རྩ་ཆུ་འཛོམས་ས་རེད།།
[2]ཨ་ཟེར་(བྱ་མོ)ཆུང་ཆུང་གོང་ལ་ཡར་ཚགས་བྱུང་།།
[3]ཨ་ཟེར་ཆུང་ཆུང་རོགས་དང་མ་མཐུན་གོང་།།
[4]རྒྱ་གོང་ལོ་ཆུང་ཁྱོད་ལ་བྱམས་ཆེན་བཟོ།།

[5]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The following two songs may be sung by the bride's villagers at any time during the wedding. This song asks the groom's villagers to care for the bride.

[1]གངས་སྟོད་མཐོན་པོ་གངས་ཀྱི་ཡར་ནང་ལ།།
[2]སེང་ཕྱུག་ཆུང་ཆུང་གངས་ལ་ཡར་ཚགས་རེད།།
[3]སེང་ཕྱུག་ཆུང་ཆུང་གཡུ་རལ་མ་རྒྱས་གོང་།།
[4]གངས་སྟོད་མཐོན་པོ་དེ་ལ་བྱམས་ཆེན་རོགས།།
[5]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

This song asks villagers to take special care of the bride until she is comfortable in her new home.

[1]གྲོང་ཆེན་གྲོང་ཆུང་གྲོང་གི་ཡར་ནང་ན།།
[2]ཨ་ཅེར་ཆུང་ཆུང་གྲོང་ལ་ཡར་ཚགས་རེད།།
[3]ཨ་ཅེར་ཆུང་ཆུང་ལོ་ཆུང་མ་འཕེལ་གོང་།།
[4]གྲོང་ཆེན་ལོ་ཆུང་དེ་ལ་བྱམས་ཆེན་རོགས།།
[5]ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

Competitive Dance Songs

Competitive dance songs are sung during circle dances at weddings and other informal gatherings, but not during New Year celebrations, which are considered too formal for this type of song.

A: There are three heads lacking brains. Tell me what they are.

[1]མགོ་གླང་པ་མེད་པའི་མགོ་གསུམ་ཡོད།།
[2]ཁྲ་སིང་སིང་ལོ་རྒྱས་ང་ལ་བཤད།།

B: Three heads lacking brains are the three heads of the statues of the Buddhas of the Three Ages.[85]

[1]མགོ་གླད་པ་མེད་པའི་མགོ་གསུམ་དེ།།
[2]སྣ་རྩོ་དོ་དགུ་པ་མགོན་གསུམ་རེད།།

A: There are thirteen grasslands where no horses run. Tell me what they are.

[1]རྟ་མ་རྒྱུག་ཐང་ཆེན་བཅུ་གསུམ་ཡོད།།
[2]ཁྲ་སིང་སིང་ལོ་རྒྱས་ང་ལ་བཤད།།

B: The thirteen grasslands where no horses run are thirteen *thang ga*.

[1]རྟ་མ་རྒྱུག་ཐང་ཆེན་བཅུ་གསུམ་དེ།།
[2]སྣ་བློ་མའི་ཐང་གა་བཅུ་གསུམ་རེད།།

A: There are thirteen lakes that nobody steps in. Tell me what they are.

[1]མཆོ་མ་སྐྱང་མཆོ་ཆེན་བཅུ་གསུམ་ཡོད།།
[2]ཁྲ་སིང་སིང་ལོ་རྒྱས་ང་ལ་བཤད།།

B: The thirteen lakes that nobody steps on are thirteen offering bowls of holy water.[86]

[1]མཆོ་མ་སྐྱང་མཆོ་ཆེན་བཅུ་གསུམ་དེ།།
[2]སྣ་བློ་མའི་ཡོན་ཚབ་བཅུ་གསུམ་རེད།།

A: There are three weapons not made by blacksmiths. Tell me what they are.

[1]མཁར་མ་རྡང་མཆོད་ཚ་རྣམ་གསུམ་ཡོད།།

---

[85] The Buddhas of the past, present, and future.

[86] Water in bowls is offered to deities in monasteries and family shrines. The water is changed daily.

[2]ཁྲ་སེང་སེང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ང་ལ་བཤད།།

B: The three weapons are the antlers of deer, blue sheep, and alpine antelopes.
[1]མཁར་མབ་བརྩངས་མཚོན་ཆ་རྣམ་གསུམ་དེ།།
[2]ཤ་ར་གནའ་ར་དགོ་ར་གསུམ།།

A: There are three weapons made by blacksmiths. Tell me what they are.
[1]མཁར་བརྩངས་བའི་མཚོན་ཆ་རྣམ་གསུམ་ཡོད།།
[2]ཁྲ་སེང་སེང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ང་ལ་བཤད།།

B: The three weapons made by blacksmiths are the tips of needles, drills, and spears.
[1]མཁར་བརྩངས་བའི་མཚོན་ཆ་རྣམ་གསུམ་དེ།།
[2]ཁབ་མགོ་འདིག་མགོ་མདུང་མགོ་གསུམ།།

Songs

One of approximately ten two-line refrains is used to conclude these generic songs that may be sung at any celebratory gathering. Six such refrains are given below.

Youths' singing will bring good fortune in their next lives.
[1]ལོ་ཆུང་ཆུང་གླུ་དབྱངས་མགུལ་རྒྱུ་དེ།།
[2]ཚེ་ཕྱི་མའི་ཚེས་ལ་འགྲུར་བར་ཞོག།

We are singing now and wish to continue singing.
[1]གླུ་ད་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།།
[2]སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་པའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞོག།

We have met this year. May we meet again in the future.

[1]དགའ་དེ་ལོ་ཅི་འཛོམས་སང་ཡང་འཛོམས།།

[2]སང་ཡང་ཡང་འཛོམས་པའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞོག།

May our singing bring good fortune and be heard everywhere.

[1]གླུ་ལེན་ལེན་ཚོས་ལ་འགྱུར་བ་ཞོག།

[2]ངག་བཀུག་བཀུག་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་གྲགས་པར་ཞོག།

I did not feel like singing but the mountains were high. I did not feel like singing, but I missed my hometown.[87]

[1]གླུ་མི་ལེན་བསམ་དུས་རི་མཐོ་མཐོ།།

[2]ངག་མི་བཀུག་བསམ་དུས་རང་ཡུལ་དྲན།།

I happily sang this song in the hope that your dreams will come true.

[1]ངས་བསམ་པ་དགའ་བའི་གླུ་རེ་ལེན།།

[2]སྐྱོད་བསམ་དོན་འགྲུབ་པའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞོག།

Examples of the songs follow.

A sandalwood tree growing on a mountain and a peacock from a distant land are fated to meet, but they do not know when.

[1]ཤིང་དགུང་ནས་སྐྱེས་པའི་ཙོན་དན་རེད།།

[2]བྱ་སྤྲོངས་ནས་འོང་པའི་རྨ་བྱ་རེད།།

[3]འཛོམས་དགོས་དུས་ཚོད་མི་དགོས་པར།།

[87] This refrain suggests that nostalgia inspired the singer to sing.

[4]ཚེ་སྡ་མས་ལས་ཀྱིས་དུས་འཕོམས་བྱུང་།།
[5]ལོ་ཆུང་ཆུང་གླུ་དབྱངས་མགུལ་རྒྱུ་དེ།།
[6]ཚེ་ཕྱི་མའི་ཚོས་ལ་འཇུར་བར་ཤོག།

Thunder can be heard on earth, thus ornamenting both sky and earth.

[1]རྐེན་འབྲེལ་བཆུ་གསུམ་མགོ་མ་ལ།།
[2]གཡུ་འབྲུག་སྡོན་མོ་དགོང་ནས་གྲགས་དང་ས་ལ་སྣ་ན།།
[3]གནམ་ས་བར་ཕྱི་རྒྱན་བྱུག་རེད།།
[4]གླུ་ད་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།།
[5]གླུ་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་གི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

All the stars are gathered in the sky and the sun shines, delighting everyone.
[1]ཨ་ཅེ་ཟླ་མོ་ཟླ་རེད།།
[2]ཨ་ཅེ་ཟླ་མོ་ཟླ་རེད་གོ།།
[3]ཚེ་རིང་ཟླ་མོ་ཟླ་རེད་གོ།།
[4]དགོང་ཨ་སྡོན་ཡག་གསུམ་ནོར་བུ་བློང་ལ་སྐར་རྒྱན་འཕོམས།།
[5]ཁྱེ་ཉེ་མ་ཤར་བ་ཡང་སྐྱིད་བྱུང་།།
[6]གླུ་ལེན་ལེན་ཚོས་ལ་འཇུར་བར་ཤོག།
[7]ངག་བཀྲག་བཀྲག་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་གྲགས་བར་ཤོག།

May everyone's life be long and happy, and may we meet again in the next life.
[1]བཀྲ་ཤིས་བའི་ཡར་སྐྱེས་ཤིང་ལྡང་འདི།།
[2]ཚེ་རིང་ཐོ་འདབ་ལོ་ས་ལ་འཕྱངས།།
[3]ཚེ་རིང་ཚེ་སྐྱིད་ཚེ་འཕོམས།།
[4]ཚེ་ཡང་ཡང་འཕོམས་བའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཤོག།
[5]གླུ་ད་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།།
[6]སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་བའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

May the sun, moon, and stars gather. They do not often gather, but today they have.

[1]ཉི་མ་རྫ་བ་སྐར་མ་གསུམ།།
[2]ཚེ་དུས་རྒྱུན་མེད་ལ་ཡེ་འཛོམས་བས་མ།།
[3]ཚེ་དུས་རྒྱུན་མེད་ལ་མ་འཛོམས་སོ།།
[4]བརྒྱ་སྐར་ཚོགས་རྒྱན་དང་འདི་ལ་འཛོམས།།
[5]ལྷུ་ད་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།།
[6]སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་བའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞོག།

When we are happily together we should enjoy ourselves, because we will separate tomorrow morning.

[1]སྐྱིད་པོ་མ་དེ་སྐྱིད་པོ་མ།།
[2]དགའ་དེ་ནུབ་འཛོམས་རྒྱུ་སྐྱིད་པོ་མ།།
[3]སྐྱིད་དུས་ན་ཁ་རྩེད་མོ་མ་རྩེད་ན།།
[4]ནངས་ཡར་ལངས་ཕྱོགས་བཞི་འཛོར་བ་རེད།།
[5]ལྷུ་ད་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།།
[6]སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་བའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞོག

May the sun, moon, and thousands of people gather.

[1]ཁྱེ་གདུགས་ཉི་མ་དགུང་ནས་འཛོམས།།
[2]དྲུང་ཆུང་རྫ་བ་བར་ནས་འཛོམས།།
[3]མི་འབུམ་ཕྲག་མཐའ་ནས་འཛོམས།།
[4]དགའ་དེ་གསུམ་འཛོམས་བའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞོག།
[5]དགའ་དེ་ཟོ་ཅེ་འཛོམས་སང་ཡང་འཛོམས།།
[6]སང་ཡང་ཡང་འཛོམས་བའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞོག།

Two people were destined to meet.

[1]རྫ་རི་བྱག་ལས་ཡར་ནང་ན།།
[2]གང་སེ་ཧོ་(ཁྱོད)་ལས་མཛོ་མེད་གི།
[3]གནའ་སྤ་མོ་རྫ་ཆུ་ལྟན་འཕྲང་རེད།།
[4]དུས་ད་ནི་རྐེན་འབྲེལ་ལས་ཀྱིས་འཛོམས།།

[5]བླུ་ལེན་ལེན་ཆོས་ལ་འཇུར་བ་ཞོག།
[6]ངག་བཀུག་བཀུག་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་གྲགས་པར་ཞོག།

A beautiful place covered in flowers delights the singer.
[1]ས་སྐྱིང་ཡོ་སྣོན་ལམ་ལ་ཁ་ལ།།
[2]གཡང་སྐྱིང་ཡོ་སྡོན་ལ་མེ་ཏོག་འཁྲུངས།།
[3]སྣང་མེ་ཏོག་མཚམས་ནས་ལྟ་དུས་སུ།།
[4]ས་མེད་ཁ་སེམས་པ་སྐྱིང་ཡོ་བྱུང་།།
[5]བླུ་མི་ལེན་བསམ་དུས་རེ་མགོ་མཛོ།།
[6]ངག་མི་བཀུག་བསམ་དུས་རང་ཡུལ་དྲན།།

Friendship is valuable.
[1]རང་ང་ནི་རོགས་གླལ་མ་འདྲིས་གོང་།།
[2]རྒྱང་ཁྲ་མོ་ར་དང་འདྲ་།།
[3]རང་ང་ནི་རོགས་གླལ་འདྲིས་གོང(བ་ན)་།།
[4]རྒྱང་ཁྲ་མོ་འཁྲུག་དང་འདྲ་།།
[5]ངའི་བསམ་པ་དགའ་བའི་བླུ་རེ་ལེན།།
[6]ཁྱོད་བསམ་དོན་འགྲུབ་པའི་སྣོན་ལམ་ཞོག།

In the morning a leader was helped to mount his horse.
[1]དགའ་ད་ནངས་ཉི་ཟེར་ཤར་དུས་ལ།།
[2]གོང་དཔོན་དཔོག་ཡོ་གསེར་སྣ་རྒྱག་བཞིན་འདུག།
[3]དཔོན་བཙོན་ཆུང་གསེར་སྣ་རྒྱབ་རོགས་རེད།།
[4]ཁ་གསེར་སྤབ་བསྟན་པ་ཡར་དར་ཞོག།
[5]དགའ་ད་ཚོ་ཅི་འཛོམས་སང་ཡང་འཛོམས།།
[6]སང་ཡང་ཡང་འཛོམས་པའི་སྣོན་ལམ་ཞོག།

We were just like wild asses scattered on a mountain before we gathered here, but now we are as close as wild ass mothers and their foals.

[1]དགའ་ངས་རྣམས་རོགས་དང་མ་འཛོམས་གོང་།།
[2]རྒྱང་ཁྲ་བོ་རི་ལ་བརྒྱབ་འདུ་རེད།།
[3]དགའ་ངས་རྣམས་རོགས་དང་འཛོམས་ནས་གོང(བ་ན)།།
[4]རྒྱང་ཁྲ་བོ་མ་ཉ(ཏུ)་ཐུག་འདུ་རེད།།
[5]དགའ་ད་ལོ་ཅི་འཛོམས་སང་ཡང་འཛོམས།།
[6]སང་ཡང་ཡང་འཛོམས་བའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཟོག།།

When monks play with words in the temple the words become clearer, and the monks' voices become more melodious.

[1]སྟེང་ཤྲ་ཁང་ནང་གི་བཙན་ཆུང་དེ།།
[2]བཙན་ཆུང་ཡི་ཆུང་ཁ་མཚར་རྩེད།།
[3]ཡིག་ཆུང་ཡིག་འབྲི་རེ་བཀྲ་བྱུང་།།
[4]བཙན་ཆུང་གསུང་སྐད་རེ་སྐན་བྱུང་།།
[5]ལོ་ཆུང་ཆུང་ཐུ་དབྱངས་མགུལ་རྒྱུ་དེ།།
[6]ཚེ་ཕྱི་མར་ཆོས་ལ་འགྱུར་བར་ཟོག།།

Wedding Songs

The following songs are sung at weddings. The next three songs are sung by the groom's villagers.

In the homeland of the sky, the sun and moon are guests, and all the stars are greeters. May senders and greeters be happy.

[1]དགུང་ཨ་ཇོན་སྐྱིད་བའི་ཐ་ཡུལ་རེད།།
[2]གསེར་ཉེ་རྩ་སྐྱིད་ཐོག་མཐོན་ཞོ་རེད།།
[3]བརྒྱ་སྐར་ཚོགས་དེ་ཡི་བསུ་མ་རེད།།
[4]བསུ་མ་སྐྱེལ་མ་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཐུན་སུམ་ཚོགས།།
[5]ངས་བསམ་པ་དགའ་བའི་གྲུ་རེ་ལེན།།
[6]ཁྱོད་བསམ་དོན་འགྲུབ་བའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཟོག།།

Buttercups grow on one riverbank, and a tree grows on the opposite bank. Though they grow in different places, they meet in the shrine.[88]

[1]ཞ་རོལ་རི་ལ་སེར་ཆེན་འཁྱང་བས།།
[2]ཚུ་རོལ་རི་ལ་ཤྲོན་ཤིང་འཁྱང་བས།།
[3]སྐྱེས་ཐ་མི་གཅིག་ལ་རི་ཡུང་།།
[4]འཛོམས་ས་ཡག་མོ་ལྷ་ཁང་ནང་།།
[5]ངས་བསམ་པ་དགའ་བའི་གླུ་རེ་ལེན།།
[6]ཁྱོད་བསམ་དོན་འགྲུབ་པའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཤོག།།

Sandalwood grows on one riverbank, and cypress grows on the opposite bank. Though they grow in different places they meet in the offering fire.[89]

[1]ཞ་རོལ་རི་ལ་ཤྲིག་ལྡོང་འཁྱང་བས།།
[2]ཚུ་རོལ་རི་ལ་ཐང་ཤིང་འཁྱང་བས།།
[3]སྐྱེས་ཐ་མི་གཅིག་ལ་རི་ཡུང་།།
[4]འཛོམས་ས་ཡག་མོ་བསང་ར་ནང་།།
[5]གླུ་ད་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།།
[6]སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་པའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཤོག།།

The following songs are sung by the bride's villagers.

When a young woman leaves her village she need not worry because all the young villagers escort her. May all the greeters and senders be happy.

[1]སྤོང་ཆེན་སྤོང་ཆུང་སྤོང་གི་ཡར་ནང་ལ།།
[2]ཨ་ཅེས་ཆུང་ཆུང་སྤོང་ལ་ཕར་འཛོ་དགོས།།
[3]འཛོ་དགོས་པ་སེམས་པ་མ་སྐྱག་ཏེ།།
[4]རྒྱ་སྤོང་ལོ་ཆུང་ཁྱོད་ལ་སྐྱེལ་མ་བཟོ།།

[88] Both plants are burned as incense offerings in shrines.
[89] Both plants are burned as incense offerings.

[5]བསུ་མ་སྐྱེལ་མ་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས།།
[6]ལྷུ་དཔ་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།།
[7]སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་བའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞོག།

Oh, blue sky-like bow and golden sun-like arrow. Please, arrow, return to your bow. Your bow will send you off.

[1]དགྱང་ཞ་སྡོན་མ་དགུག་གཞུ་དང་འདྲ།།
[2]གསེར་ཉེ་མ་མ་འཕངས་མདའ་དང་འདྲ།།
[3]མདའ་མོ་གཞུ་ལ་འཚོར་རོགས་ཀྱིས།།
[4]ང་གཞུ་མོ་མདའ་ལ་སྐྱེལ་མ་བཟོ།།
[5]ངས་བསམ་པ་དགའ་བའི་ལྷུ་རེ་ལེན།།
[6]ཚྭོད་བསམ་དོན་འགྲུབ་པའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞོག།

The sun drinks snowmelt and wears white clouds.

[1]དགྱང་ཞ་སྡོན་སྐྱེང་ལ་འགོ་བའི་ཉེ་མ།།
[2]འགོ་སྐྱིད་པོ་ཁྱེ་གདུགས་ཉེ་མ་རེད།།
[3]ཁར་འཕྱང་རྒྱུ་གངས་ཆུ་བསིལ་མ་རེད།།
[4]རྒྱབ་གོན་རྒྱ་སྟོ་ཐྱིན་དཀར་བོ་རེད།།
[5]ལྷུ་དཔ་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།།
[6]སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་བའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞོག།

The moon drinks snowmelt and wears a colorful rainbow.

[1]དགྱང་ཞ་སྡོན་སྐྱེང་ལ་འགོའི་ཟླ་བ།།
[2]འགོ་སྐྱིད་པོ་དུང་ཆུང་ཟླ་བ་རེད།།
[3]ཁར་ཟ་རྒྱུ་སྨུང་ཚར་བསིལ་མ་རེད།།
[4]རྒྱབ་གོན་རྒྱ་དར་མཚོན་སྣ་ཕྲ་རེད།།
[5]ལྷུ་དཔ་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལན།།
[6]སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་བའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞོག།

Beautiful woman, you were fated to be beautiful.
[1]མཛེས་མོ་མ་དེ་མཛེས་མོ་མ།།(མཛེས་མ་ལས་ཀྱང་མཛེས་མ་དེ།།)
[2]ལྷ་རི་ཏོ་སྐང་ལ་མཛེས་མོ་མ།།(ན་མེང་ལ་མཛེས)
[3]མཛེས་བ་མ་རེད་སྐལ་བ་རེད།།
[4]སྐལ་བ་རང་ལ་ཐོབ་བ་རེད།།
[5]ལོ་ཆུང་ཆུང་གླུ་དབྱངས་མགུལ་རྒྱུ་དེ།།
[6]ཚེ་ཕྱི་མར་ཚེས་ལ་འགྲུར་བར་ཤོག།

I never sing, but today I will sing to the sky about happiness and about leaving.
[1]གླུ་མི་ལེན་གཅིག་དང་མི་ལེན་གཉིས།།
[2]གླུ་ལེན་ན་ཙ་སྟོན་དགུང་ལ་ལེན།།
[3]དགུང་ཙ་སྟོན་སྐྱིད་རབས་བདེ་རབས་ལེན།།
[4]ཁྱེ་ཉེ་མ་འཕྲོ་རབས་འདུག་རབས་ལེན།།
[5]ངས་སེམས་པ་དགའ་བའི་གླུ་རེ་ལེན།།
[6]ཁྱོད་བསམ་དོན་འགྲུབ་པའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

The following five songs are sung by the bride's entourage in her home and express the bride's sadness at leaving her family.

Big and small mountains are leaving, but the best mountain will remain here. Do not worry, I, the bride, will offer *bsang* from a distance.
[1]རི་ཆེ་རི་ཆུང་ཟུར་ནས་འབྲེལ་(འགྲོ)།།
[2]རི་ནོར་བུ་འདུ་བོས་ཤུལ་ལ་སྡོག།
[3]ཉོ་(ཁྱོད)་ཤུལ་ལ་སྡོག་སེམས་པ་མ་སྐྱག་ཏེ།།
[4]ངས་སྡ་བསང་དཀར་བོ་རྒྱང་ནས་བཏང་།།
[5]གླུ་ད་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།།
[6]སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་པའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

I, the bride, will make *lab rtse* and offer *bsang* all along the way to the groom's home.

[1]སྒང་ཨི་འདི་སྒང་དེ་བསོད་ནམས་སྒང་།།
[2]བསོད་ནམས་སྒང་ལ་ཡར་ཡར་འཕལ(འགྲོ)།།
[3]གསེར་སེར་ཡོའི་ལབ་རྩེ་བརྩེགས་ཤིང(བཞིན)་འཕལ་(འགྲོ)།།
[4]དཀྱལ་དཀར་དོ་ཕྱི་མར་འབྱལ་ཤིང་(བཞིན)འགྲོ།
[5]ལྷུ་ལེན་ལེན་ཆོས་ལ་འགྱུར་བར་ཤོག།
[6]ངག་བཀུག་བཀུག་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་གྲགས་པར་ཤོག།

I, the bride, will pass over mountains and rest by a *lab rtse*. I will not rest because I am tired, but because I miss my village.

[1]ང་འགྲོ་སྐེད་རེ་སྐེད་ནས་འགྲོ།
[2]སྐེད་ལབ་རྩེ་ཐར་ལ་ཆད་རེ་གསོ(ངལ་གསོ)།།
[3]ངས་ཆད་གསོ་བ་དཀའ་ལས་མི་འདུག་ཏེ།།
[4]གྲོང་རྒྱ་གྲོང་དེ་ལ་ཡིད་རེ་ཆགས།།
[5]ལྷུ་ད་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།།
[6]སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་བའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

Before you disappear behind the mountain, please look back at your village.

[1]ཁ་སེལ་སེལ་དང་ཁ་ལྷང་ལྷང་།།
[2]མགོ་དབུལ་ལེབས་གྱོན་དང་ཁ་ལྷང་ལྷང་།།
[3]ཁ་ལྷང་ཕྱི་ལ་མོ་མ་གཅོད་གོང་།།
[4]གྲོང་རྒྱ་གྲོང་དེ་ལ་ཕྱིར་འགྲོར་རོགས།།
[5]ལྷུ་ལེན་ལེན་ཆོས་ལ་འགྱུར་བར་ཤོག།
[6]ངག་བཀུག་བཀུག་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་གྲགས་པར་ཤོག།

The rock and snow mountains dwell together. I, snow mountain, must leave. I do not worry about leaving, but I worry about you, rock mountain, being left behind.

[1]རྡོ་དང་གངས་རི་མཉམ་ཚགས་རེད།།
[2]ང་གངས་རི་མི་འདུག་འགྲོ་དགོས་བྱུང་།།
[3]ང་གངས་རི་འགྲོ་དགོས་བ་མི་སྡུག་ཏེ།།
[4]ཁྱོད་རྡོ་རི་ལྷག་ནས་ཡིད་རེ་སྨོན(སྐྱེ)།།
[5]གླུ་དཔའ་ལེན་དང་སངང་ཡང་ལེན།།
[6]སངང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་བའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞོག།།

A NEW YEAR SPEECH

The following is an excerpt from the speech given after Bkra shis rgyas was performed in Mtha' phyug during łe ndzɛ in 2010. The speech starts with a description of the creation of the world, praises locally famous mountains and rivers, reviews who gave *dzɔ̰ te* to the dancers, and wishes all villagers well. The speech is transcribed in literary Tibetan with a brief English summary introducing each verse.[90]

Lines contain from three to seventeen syllables. The term *da de ring* 'now, today' is repeated throughout. The speech is divided into eleven verses according to content. When giving the speech, the orator occasionally marked new verses by repeating such terms as *da de ring*, and also paused between verses to drink tea or juice. The orator spoke loudly throughout the speech, using an even rhythm that was slower than normal speech. Many proverbs, honorifics, and hyperbole were also used, for example, when describing the house as being full of property. The speech contains 144 lines and took seven minutes to orate.

The first verse explained why *legs so* is said. *Legs* means 'good' and *so* is comparable to a full stop, indicating

[90] This and the following speeches are not divided into discrete verses when delivered by local orators, however, we wrote the speech text in verses to aid reading.

that what will be said or has been said is good. It is commonly used at the beginning and end of formal speeches.
[1]འོ། ལེགས་སོ། ལེགས་སོ།།
[2]དཔལེགས་སོ་ལེགས་སོ་ཟེར་རྒྱུ།།
[3]ལྷ་བླ་མའི་ཚོས་ར་ནང་ལ་ལེགས་སོ།།
[4]གོང་དཡོན་ཡིའི་ཁྱིམས་ར་ནང་ལ་ཡང་ལེགས་སོ།།
[5]ལོ་ཆུང་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་ནང་ལ་ཡང་ལེགས་སོ།།
[6]དལེགས་སོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེ་འདུ་ཡིན་ལགས།།

The second verse described the auspiciousness of the day, on which people, deities, and all good things are gathered at the dancing ground.
[7]དའེ་རིང་།།
[8]གནམ་ལ་སྐར་མ་བཟང་།།
[9]ས་ལ་དུས་ཚོད་བཟང་།།
[10]བར་ལ་གཟའ་སྐར་དར།།
[11]མི་འཛོམས་ལྷ་འཛོམས།།
[12]ལྷ་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པལྡེའི་ཞལ་འཛོམས།།
[13]དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ནང་ལ་ལྷ་འཛོམས།།
[14]བྱམ་པའི་ནང་ལ་རྩས་འཛོམས།།
[15]དཀར་འོ་མའི་ནང་ལ་ཐམས་ཅད་འཛོམས་པའི་སྐབས་སུ།།

The third verse stated that it was time to escort out the old year and greet the new year, and that all elders, men, women, youths, dance leaders, and dancers had gathered at the dance ground.
[16]དལོ་སྐྱེད་བ་དེ་ཕར་བསྐྱལ།།
[17]ལོ་གསར་བ་དེ་ཚུར་བསུས།།
[18]དལོ་གསར་བ་སྐྱག་མོ་འདྲའི་ནང་དུ།།
[19]དཡར་ཚོས་བཟང་པོ་ཚོས་པ་བཙོ་ལྡའི་དུས་ཚོད་ལ་གཏམ་ཞིག་བཤད་ན།།
[20]སྐྱེད་གི་ཆེ་རབས་ཏན་གསུམ།།

[21]བར་གྱི་ཐ་དང་ཙམ་ལྷུ།།
[22]འོག་གི་མ་དང་ཙམ་སྟུ།།
[23]འདུ་ཚོགས་རྣམ་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས།།
[24]ཐོ་དཡོན་ཐྲུགས་རྟེ་ཆེན་པོ།།
[25]ཐོ་བ་རྣམ་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས།།
[26]འདིར་འཇོམས་པའི་སྐབས་སུ།།
[27]འཇོམས་པའི་ཚོགས་གཅིག་གཉིས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།

The fourth verse praised male dancers by describing their fox-skin hats and leather boots, and comparing them to rainbows around the sun. Female dancers were compared to rainbows around the moon. All the dancers' decorations were likened to trees in summer.

[28]དཔེ་རིང་།།
[29]ཤ་ཞྭ་ཅན་གྱིས་ནམ་མཁའ་གང་།།
[30]ཐྲུག་རྒྱང་ཅན་གྱིས་བར་སྣང་གང་།།
[31]སོག་ཤྭམ་ཅན་གྱིས་ས་གཞི་གང་།།
[32]ཕོ་གཡས་གྲལ་ལ་བཞུས་ན་ཉེ་མ་ཤར་འདུ།།
[33]ཉེ་མ་ལ་ཉེ་གུར་ཕྱེད་འདུ།།
[34]མོ་གཡོན་གྲལ་ལ་བཞུས་ན་ཟླ་བ་ཤར་འདུ།།
[35]ཟླ་བ་ལ་ཟླ་གུར་ཕྱེད་འདུ།།
[36]ལྷས་རྒྱན་ཆ་ལ་བཞུས་ན།།
[37]དབྱར་གྱི་རྩེ་ཐོག་ཤུ་བུ།།
[38]འཇོམས་པའི་ཚོག་གཅིག་གཉིས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།

This fifth verse described the creation of the world and men of differing abilities, and explained why speeches must be given.

[39]དཔེ་རིང་།།
[40]རྒྱང་ཙ་འདིང་གི་བཟླ་ཤ་གང་མཐུག།
[41]རྟ་ཤ་ལི་མིག་རྩ་གང་དམར།།

[42]སྨན་མཛོས་མའི་གླུ་དོ་གང་བདེ།།
[43]འཛོམས་པའི་དུས་སྐབས་འདི་ལ།།
[44]གནམ་འགོར་ལོ་རྩེབས་བརྒྱད་མར་ནང་།།
[45]ས་པརྦྷ་འདབ་བརྒྱད་ཡང་སྟེང་།།
[46]ས་ཆུ་གཉེས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་སྦྱོར།།
[47]ནས་འབྲུ་དྲུག་གི་སྐྱེས་ཚུལ།།
[48]ཕྱི་སྟོང་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཚགས་ཚུལ།།
[49]ནང་བསྡུད་ལེམས་ཅན་གྱི་འཁྲུངས་ཚུལ།།
[50]རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོ་མན་དང་རྟུལ་ཡན་ཚད་བར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་།།
[51]སྐྱེས་ཕོ་རབ་ཀྱིས་བཤད་ན་སྐྱ་གསུམ།།
[52]སྐྱེས་ཕོ་འབྲིང་གིས་བཤད་ན་ཉིན་གསུམ།།
[53]སྐྱེས་ཕོ་ཐས་བཤད་ན་ལེའུ་གསུམ།།
[54]བཤད་རྒྱུ་རིམ་བར་ཡོད་ཀྱང་།།
[55]ཞེ་འགྲིག་སྡུང་ཙམ་རེ་མ་བཤད་ན།།
[56]གཅིག་བཤད་ན།།
[57]ཐ་མ་ཡིན་ཀྱང་གོ་བརྡ་མི་འཚོད།།
[58]ཤར་ལྷ་རིའི་རྩེ་ནས་ཉེ་མ་ཤར་ན།།
[59]ཉིན་མཚན་གང་ཡིན་གྱི་དབེ་བ་མི་ཕྱེ།།
[60]གཡུ་འབྲུག་སྟོན་མོས་གསུང་རེ་མ་སྤྲོག་ན།།
[61]དབྱར་དགུན་ཅི་ཡིན་དབེ་བ་མི་ཕྱེ།།
[62]ང་ཚར་ཟེལ་མ་མ་བབས་ན།།
[63]ནས་འབྲུ་དྲུག་གི་མདངས་ཁ་མི་འཚུར།།

The sixth verse related the origin of Nyag rong and described the locally famous Kha ba lung ring and Skyobs 'byin seng nag mountains.

[64]ཉག་ཞ་ངོ་ཀ་རོང་གི་ཚགས་ལུགས་ཟུར་ཙམ་བཤད་ན།།
[65]ཉག་སྟོང་ཁ་བ་ཡུང་རིང་དེ་གང་ཀྱི་རི།།
[66]གངས་དེ་ལ་སེང་གེ་མ་ཏུ་ཚགས།།
[67]སེང་གེ་མ་ཏུ་ལ་གཡུ་རལ་རྒྱས།།

[68]ཞག་སྣང་རྐྱེལས་འབྱིན་སེང་ནག་དེ་ནགས་ཀྱི་རེ།།
[69]ནགས་དེ་ལ་སྐྱག་མོ་མ་བྱ་ཚགས།།
[70]སྐྱག་མོ་མ་བྱ་ལ་འཇྲོམ་བྱག་རྒྱས།།

The seventh verse discussed the origin of Bang smad and described how it is surrounded by protective mountain deities. Other virtues of the local landscape were also described.

[71]ད་གཅིག་བཤད་ན།།
[72]བང་སྣང་ཁྱུང་ཆེན་གདན་ཐང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཁྱང་བསྡུས་ཙམ་བཤད་ན།།
[73]གཞི་བདག་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཡུང་དྲུང་སྤུན་དགུ་དེ་ཐ་ཚ་ཁྱེན་གྱིས་བསྐོར་འདུ།།
[73]མདུན་དུ་དགེ་སྦྱིན་པོ་བློ་མ་ཚ་སྡུས་ཇ་ཆང་དྲངས་འདུ།།
[74]བྱ་ཟས་ཤེལ་གྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་ནི་མཐའ་མར་མེ་འགྲོ་བའི་རྟེན།།
[75]བྱང་གི་ཇ་མོང་རྩས་སྤལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་བྱང་གི་དགྲ་སྤོ་འདེད་མེ།།
[76]ད་བང་སྣང་ཁྱུང་ཆེན་གདན་སྟེང་ནི་སྟེང་འོག་བར་ཐང་གསུམ།།
[77]སྟེང་ཐང་ནི་ལྷ་བླ་མའི་ཚོས་ར་རྒྱས་ས།།
[78]བར་ཐང་ནི་གོང་དཔོན་པོའི་ཁྲིམས་ར་རྒྱས་ས།།
[79]འོག་ཐང་ནི་མ་ཚ་སྤུའི་བྲོ་ར་སྐོར་ས།།
[80]རྩ་ཕོ་གཡུང་དྲུང་གྱེན་འཁྱིལ།།
[81]གཙང་རྒྱུན་སྟོན་པོ་གྱེན་འཕྱིལ།།
[82]གཞན་དང་མི་འདུ་བ།།
[83]གང་དང་མི་མཉམ་བའི་ས་ཚ།།
[84]འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཁྱང་ཙམ་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[85]ཤར་ནི་ཉེ་སྒོ་ཐྱེ་འདུ།།
[86]སྟོ་ནི་ནོར་བུ་སྤྱངས་འདུ།།
[87]བྱང་ནི་དགྲ་སྤོ་དམ་འདུ།།
[88]ནུབ་ནི་དར་དཀར་བརྒྱངས་འདུ།།
[89]ས་ཚ་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཁྱང་བསྡུས་ཙམ་བཤད་ན་དེའེ་ལྟར་རེད་ལ།།

The eighth verse praised villagers and village leaders for their skill at dancing and horse racing and expressed the wish

that villagers would obey their leaders and continue behaving well throughout the remainder of the New Year celebrations.

[90]མང་བརྒ་མང་སྟོང་ལྷག་གི་ཅི་མེད་དུ།།
[91]འདིར་མགོ་ཁྲིད་མན་ཚད་དང་།།
[92]སྐྱེ་ཡ་དང་ལས་བྱེད་ཡ་ཚུན་ཚད་དུ།།
[93]ཚེས་ཡ་བསྒ་གསུམ་ཉིན་ལ་སྤྱི་ཁྲིམས་བཞག་ཡ་ལྡོར་དུ།།
[94]དགའ་ཡའི་ཐུ་ལེན།།
[95]རྒྱོད་ཀྱི་ཐོ་འཕྲབ།།
[96]མཁྱོགས་ཡའི་རྟ་རྒྱུག།
[97](རྩེད་འཇོ་སྣ་ཚོགས)ཚད་ལྷག་མེད་ཡའི་དུས་འདི་ལ།།
[98]ང་ཚོ་ཆན་ཐོ་ཚང་མ་སེམས་གཏིང་ནས་དགའ་སྤྲོ་ཞྱད་པར་ཅན་དེ་ལྟར་ཡོད།།
[99]ད་དུས་འདི་ལ་ཐུག་དུས།།
[100]ད་རྩང་ཐར་ལ་ཞག་མ་ཕྱ་བཞི་བྱུག་གསུམ།།
[101]དེ་རིང་གི་སྤྲིག་ལམ་ལྟར།།
[102]འདིར་ཚོགས་རྣམ་པ།།
[103]ལངས་ཟེར་ན་ཀ་ཞི་ཁག།
[104]འདུག་ཟེར་ན་ཀྱིང་ཞི་ཁག།
[105]ཆེ་ཁ་ཆུང་གིས་ཤན།།
[106]ཐོས་ཁ་ཐོས་ཀྱིས་ཤན།།
[107]ལས་ཀ་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་རེ་བ་ཆེ་གི།།

The ninth verse named the villagers who made donations to the dancers and detailed their donations.

[108]མང་བརྒ་མང་སྟོང་ཅི་མེད་དུ།།
[109]བང་སྡུད་ཁྱང་ཆེན་གངདན་སྟེང་འདི་ལ།།
[110]ལོ་ཆུང་ཐམས་ཅད་འདུས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ལ།།
[111]ཤད་ཏོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐོས་ར་མི་གཏོང་ནས་བྱེད།།
[112]ལོ་ཆུང་ཆུང་རྩེད་ར་རྒྱན་བྱེད།།
[113]དེ་ནས་རི་ནང་ནས་ཨ་བེད་དང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གཉིས་སྐོར་བརྒ་རེ།།

[114]ཐང་ཆེན་སྟེང་གི་ཞ་ཆེ་དང་ནོར་བུ་ལྟ་རྒྱལ་གཉེས་སྐོར་ཐུ་བསྡུ་ངེ།།
[115]འདིར་ཚོགས་རྣམ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ།།
[116]བང་སྤྱད་པ་ལ་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ཚུལ་དུ།།
[117]རྟ་མེད་དེ་རྟའི་ཁ་མདའ།།
[118]མཇོ་མེད་དེ་མཇོའི་སྐ་ཐག།
[119]མེ་ཏོག་ཆུང་ངུང་མཆོད་པའི་རྫས།།
[120]ལྟ་ཤིང་ཆུང་ངུང་རི་རབ་ཀྱི་རྟེན།།
[121]ཡོན་ཆབ་ཁྱང་ངུང་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཡི་ཚུལ།།
[122]དེ་འདྲ་རྣོད་རའི་རྒྱན།།
[123]དེ་འདྲ་ཡོངས་སུ་དག་པ་ཞིག་བྱེད་དུས།།
[124]ཁོ་ཚོ་དགའ་སྤྲོའི་ངང་ནས།།
[125]ད་ལོ་ཅི་འཕྲོམས་སང་ཡང་འཕྲོམས།།
[126]སང་ཡང་ཡང་འཕྲོམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ།།

The tenth verse described and praised *dar dkar*.

[127]མཇལ་དར་ཉེན་མོ་བདེ་ལེགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཤུང་ཙམ་བཤད་ན།།
[128]རྒྱ་ཡུལ་མི་མཆོག་ཁ་བདེ་ཡིས་བློ་དྲན།།
[129]རྒྱ་བཟའ་སྐ་སྐམ་སྤྲོལ་མས་ཐབས་དྲན།།
[130]ཐབས་དང་རྫུ་འཕྲུལ་གྱིས་སྐོ་ནས་དར་བཏགས།།
[131]ད་དར་མགོ་ཞ་སྔོན་དགུང་ལ་ཟླག།
[132]ཞ་སྔོན་དགུང་ལས་མཚོ་མེད།།
[133]དར་སྐེད་རྩོ་རྩེ་བག་ལ་ཟླག།
[134]ཚོ་སྤོག་རྩོ་རྩེ་བག་ལས་སྤ་མེད།།
[135]དར་འདབས་གཙོང་ཆུའི་རྒྱུན་ལ་ཟླག།
[136]མི་ཚེ་གཙང་ཆུ་རྒྱུན་ལས་རིང་མེད།།

The final verse expressed the wish that all villagers would be healthy and prosperous and that their livestock would be free of disease.

[137]ད་བང་སྤྱད་པ་རྣམས་དགའ་ཞིང་འཕྲོམས་པའི་མཐའ་མར།།

[138]མི་ལོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་སྐ་ལོ་བཅུ་བཞི་རང་ལོ་ཉེ་ཤུ་རྩ་ལྔའི་བར།།
[139]སྙིང་གི་མེ་ལ་ན་ཚ་མེད།།
[140]འོག་གི་ཟོག་ལ་གོང་ཁ་མེད།།
[141]ཡུལ་ལ་ཆག་འཇིག་མེད།།
[142]བཙན་དར་ཕྱུག་གསུམ་འཛོམས།།
[143]དར་རྒྱན་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་རྟགས་དང་ཉེན་འཛེལ།།
[144]བདག་གི་རྒྱན་དང་སློན་ལམ་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལགས།།

dzoŋ 'WEDDING SPEECHES'

Wedding Speech One

This wedding speech was performed by A lca in 2008 during Bsod nams zla ba (b. 1988, ri na Village) and Bkra shis chos sgrol's (b. 1985, ri na Village) wedding held in ri na Village. Their marriage was an arranged endogamous wedding. Their families bought a house for them, which they lived in for six months before holding a simple wedding in their new home. A lca gave this speech reviewing what the two families had given the couple. The first four verses were Tibetan and the remainder of the speech was in Mi nyag. The entire speech is transcribed in IPA.

Lines ranged between two and nineteen syllables. The orator often repeated the phrase *tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ*, a formal version of 'then' only used in orations. It was repeated in the middle and sometimes at the beginning of verses. There are thirty verses of varying length in this speech, divided according to content. The orator sometimes paused between verses, and orated loudly throughout the speech, using many Tibetan proverbs and honorifics, and frequent hyperbole. The 330 lines of this speech took fifteen minutes to orate. Before giving the speech, the orator

sat on a chair near the central pillar, and after coughing to get the audience's attention, stretched a *dar dkar* between his hands, stood, and began orating.

In the first verse the orator asked all elders, women, and men to pay attention. While speaking, he stretched a *dar dkar* between his outstretched hands and faced the men, who were seated separately from the women.

[1]wɔ nɔ pa tʰom tɕe gɜ le sʰɔ
[2]da te gə tɕʰe rə rge sʰəm
[3]ɣɔ gə ma daŋ ʔa ʂə
[4]ba gə bə sar bə mɔ
[5]diŋ tsʰu nɔ pa tʰom tɕe də
[6]tʰu rna rne ze ɟi
[7]tʰu sʰe də ɬe ze ɟi la

In the second verse the orator stated that holding the wedding on that day fulfilled both families' wishes.
[8]da de raŋ gə doŋ lə tʰu nə ɣa nə
[9]ri na sʰa den gə ti lə
[10]Gɔw ɟɔw tsʰoŋ daŋ noŋ woŋ kʰaw ni
[11]sʰam pi gə ne ne də lɔ lə sʰoŋ zə rɛ
[12]tsʰɛ pi gi gi də li la dza zə rɛ
[13]da tsʰi la tɕʰe gə gər pʰu
[14]tsʰi la daw gə tʰɔ tsi wa
[15]tam ke ɟa rɛ xʰe nə ɣaw nə
[16]xʰe rɟə mə ji ʑə də jɔ pa ta sʰɔ rɛ tɛ ne

The orator then described and praised the bride's and groom's families.
[17]da kʰaw ni gə tsʰɔ zu ruw ne nbə raw
[18]dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi kʰə tɕʰi nə ze gi də
[19]kʰaw ni də tɕʰa tɕɛ dzɔ pɔ gə ɳə
[20]pʰa zoŋ ma zoŋ gə bə ɟɜ
[21]nɔ pa zaŋ poŋ gə dʐa rɛ gə nɛ

He then stated that he would make a brief speech because he did not want to waste time.
[22]dɛ gɛ pʰɔ gə kʰa da ni ze pʰa tɕʰe mə tsʰə
[23]dɛ tam pɛ tʰen zə ndzָa ndzָa
[24]ndzָa mə na tsʰɔ kʰa da zɔ wa
[25]nɔ pæ tʰam tɕɛ gə
[26]sʰə pɔ tʰu ʁɛ tɕuw xʰe
[27]bə za bə mɔ nɔ pa tʰom tɕe gə
[28]tse ʁɛ tɕuw xʰɛ
[29]pʰa tɕʰ di tɕʰɜ jɔ wu me re la

The orator stood from the start of the speech until this point, and then sat on a chair by the central pillar.

The orator then explained that because all the wedding guests understood Mi nyag he would speak Mi nyag instead of Tibetan. He placed his hands palm-down on his thighs and held the *dar dkar* while speaking.
[30]wɔ ja
[31]da nɔ pa zָa ka dɛ
[32]bə ɕɜ ŋə ma tɕe
[33]tʰu nɔ də a rnɛ ɣɜ ʔɛ
[34]tɕʰi la tɕʰɛ gɔ ɟe ə dɜ me ŋə ma tɕe
[35]bə ki vɜ xʰɔ ri ndzi a ʁʌ də mɜ ɟi
[36]mɜ tsʰə bə ki vɜ ri ndzi də ɟa la gə və
[37]kʰu ʑə bə ki vɜ noŋ kʰa da və xʰɔ nə ŋɜ
[38]tɕʰi da ʁoŋ gə tu la gɜ və
[39]tsʰɔ ʑɜ pɔ ŋe xʰu ɣə a sʰoŋ sʰoŋ ca
[40]bə ki və ndoŋ və noŋ
[41]kʰa rdʌ nə və la gə və
[42]nə tʂʰi tə sʰe pʰa tɕʰɛ rdze mə tsʰə
[43]kʰa tɕʰə gə de də nɔ

In the next verse, the orator described and praised the bride's parents.

[44]tɕʰi da ʁoŋ gə tu la gə vɜ
[45]ɕʰi ŋɔ ma tɕɛ ri na Gɔw ɟɔw də rə noŋ woŋ nə kʰu ma
[46]tɕʰi sʰɔ pi gə nɛ nɛ də lɔ lə
[47]tsʰe pi gə gi de li la dzʌ noŋ ɣə rɜ
[48]tɕʰi nə kʰu ma ɣə kʰu ʑə
[49]xʰe xʰe xʰe ni gu nə ŋə
[50]xʰe xʰe xʰe ni gu də nɔ
[51]da Gɔw ɟɔw ə dɜ ŋɜ ma tɕe
[52]pʰa kʰu ri kʰu ɣə lɔ ɟə gɜ nɜ xʰi la gə və
[53]tɕʰɜ dɜ ɣə tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ
[54]Gɔw ɟɔw ɟa tsʰɛ ə də gə dɜ
[55]rŋa koŋ boŋ tɛ sʰa nɛ ɣə ti kʰa lu sʰa nɛ ɣə ti
[56]pʰa tsʰɛ bə ri kʰar tsʰɛ dɔ ri
[57]Gɔw ɟɔw ə də wu ŋə ma tɕɛ
[58]pʰa tɕʰi woŋ dɜ sʰe rdzɜ
[59]bə tɕʰi woŋ dɜ sʰe rdzɜ ɣə
[60]tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ
[61]a sʰɛ ɬə mɔ ruw pa ɣə
[62]tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ
[63]ɣlu ɟa ri tse dʐa ri
[64]deŋ pa woŋ gə tu la gə və
[65]tɕʰi sʰə ŋɛ nə ŋə
[66]ə də me ŋə ma tɕɛ
[67]ma kʰu ɣə lɔ ɟə nɜ xʰi la gə və
[68]tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ
[69]pʰa ri mə ndʐa doŋ ri ka boŋ
[70]doŋ tɕʰɜ ʁoŋ bə ɟi ma kʰɜ ɣə
[71]pʰa zoŋ ma zoŋ gə bə ɟɜ
[72]rnam pa zaŋ poŋ dʐa rɛ ŋɜ ɬə gə tu la gə və deŋ pa tɕʰi sʰə nɜ ŋə

He then described and praised the groom's parents.
[73]tɕʰə də ŋa noŋ ɣə a tsʰɛ ɣə
[74]pʰa kʰu nə xʰi la gə və gə wa
[75]ma kʰu nə xʰi la gə və ri na a sʰoŋ woŋ
[76]ma ri mə ndʐa jɜ ri ŋɔ pɔ

[77]jə gə ɣoŋ gɛ sʰi ma kʰɜ ɣə
[78]pʰa zaŋ ma zaŋ ɣə bə ɟə
[79]am pa zaŋ po ɣə dʐa rɛ ŋɜ ɬə dɜ
[80]ta sʰa ce ɣə rə mɔ
[81]ɟə sʰa ce ɣə lu tʰuw ʁoŋ la gə və
[82]deŋ pa tɕʰi sʰə dɜ ŋə

In this and the following seven verses, the orator described the bride's dowry…
[83]da ŋə ɣə di tse ŋə ma tɕe
[84]Gɔw ɟɔw ŋə ma tɕe
[85]mi ŋə ma tɕe mi tu nə ŋə
[86]ɕʰə ɣə la ʑə le de ka wa ki sʰɔ ne kə və lu
[87]tsʰɔ ʑə pɔ ɣə sʰa nɛ ɣə ti xʰɔ jɔ xʰɔ də ma tɕe
[88]xʰɔ ŋe xʰɔ dɜ ma tsu də ŋə
[89]tɕʰə də tʂʰɔ kʰi
[90]xʰa xʰu mu la mu də kʰə də kʰa da və xʰɔ nə ŋə
[91]tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ
[92]mi ŋə ma tɕe mi tu kɜ vɜ duw raw
[93]tɕʰə də ɣə ŋɜ ma tɕe tɕʰa
[94]ka a ki sʰɔ ne de və lu ɬa sʰɜ dɜ jɔ la gə və
[95]tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ

… including the fox-fur hat given to the bride by her family…
[96]mgɔ ʁa lə tɕʰa ni ŋə ma tɕe
[97]ʁa ja sʰe dzɔ te mu tʰoŋ sʰoŋ ta sʰe ɣə
[98]ʁa mɔ tʂʰuw sʰə ɣə ci pu
[99]tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ

…all the ornaments given to the bride by her family, including the value of each…
[100]ʑə goŋ kɛ ɟe ʁoŋ gɜ tu la gə vɜ
[101]ja kʰoŋ noŋ ɣə ni ʐoŋ kʰoŋ noŋ ɣə tʂʰuw
[102]tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ

[103]Gɔw ɟɔw ŋə ma tɕe də ɟʌ rdzə ɣə ɟə tsa dɛ ne
[104]ʑə goŋ rni mu sʰe tʰuw də gi rdzə ɣə
[105]ʑæ ʁoŋ gu ŋa rdze gi gə də ɟə
[106]ʁɔ rə ɬi tsoŋ dʑe gɜ dɜ və la gə və
[107]tʂʰə soŋ doŋ kʰa ɬuw gə pʰoŋ dan pa tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə
[108]xʰe rdzə dɜ deŋ pa ɣuw rdzə dɜ ɟə pɔ
[109]tɕʰə noŋ la la loŋ loŋ kʰa da nə və la gə və
[110]dʑoŋ ca di dʑoŋ ze ma ti nə ŋə
[111]bə ɕə ŋə ma tɕe Gɔw ɟɔw la ʑə le dɜ
[112]ki wu kə lu ɟə tsʰan ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və
[113]ʑə goŋ ŋə ma tɕɛ tɕʰa di
[114]ʑæ ʁoŋ gu ŋu sʰə də a tɕʰa də ʑə goŋ ni mu nə ŋə
[115]tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ tɕʰa di
[116]na ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və
[117]sʰə ja buw ma buw ɣə
[118]tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ deŋ
[119]na ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə
[120]tɕʰi ʑə goŋ dʑuw ʁoŋ gə tu nɛ zoŋ te
[121]dʑuw ŋə ma tɕe tʂə pa nu ʑə goŋ
[122]sʰə now du ɣə ʑə goŋ noŋ ɣə ʑə goŋ
[123]pe xɜ sʰeŋ tʰuw də gi rdzə ɣə
[124]ʑə goŋ ŋə ma tɕe pe xʰə su duw nə ŋɜ
[125]dʑuw ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və a ɬoŋ nda nuw gə dɜ ɟə
[126]deŋ pa tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə
[127]tɕʰə də noŋ ni ʑə goŋ ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və
[128]ni xʰa ʑə goŋ a duw de və ɟə
[129]pʰa tɕʰe ŋə ma tɕe sʰe naw du ɣə kɜ ɟe du ma sʰɔ tɕə sʰɔ tsi
[130]tʰæ wa zə ɬa ɟuw ʑə goŋ ge ɟe ɣoŋ gə tu la gə və
[131]deŋ pa tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə
[132]tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ
[133]ge ɟeŋ də rə tɕʰə də na ʁoŋ ʑə rə pə xʰɜ
[134]ŋə ma tɕə ndzo ji tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə

…the clothes given to the bride by her family, and the value of each…
[135]tɕʰə tʂʰe tɕʰa di

[136]gi gɔ rdze ʁoŋ gə tu nɜ zoŋ te
[137]tʂʰu ra xʰe ma tʂʰu nɔŋ gə o du poŋ tʂʰu ne
[138]tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ tɕʰa di
[139]ɟa gæ ɣə ɟi ma ɬa sʰu ɣə ʑe ma
[140]tʰe noŋ ɟa tʰə rə ra xʰe ma ʁoŋ ɬa ɟuw rdze gə
[141]da bə gɔ na rə ɣə di tse noŋ gə tsʰu tsə kʰə a ʁa də mɜ ɟi
[142]mə tsʰa tsə tsʰa ma sʰe ɣə pʰi he ʁoŋ gə tu ne
[143]gə tsʰu ʁoŋ gə tu ne deŋ pa tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə
[144]boŋ deŋ ŋə ne zu deŋ mgɔ ge ɟa pʰu boŋ deŋ xʰa tsi
[145]ʑə cə ŋa cə pʰɔ ɣə boŋ deŋ soŋ ɬa gə
[146]də lu ɟə tsʰen ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə

… the kitchen utensils given to the new couple by the bride's family...
[147]tɕʰə də noŋ ni ŋə ma tɕɛ ʔɔ mə a tɕʰa tɕʰə tʂʰɔ kʰi
[148]bi a tɕʰa ɬə bu a tɕʰa a goŋ a tɕʰa
[149]ruw sʰuw a tɕʰa ha joŋ suw a tɕʰa
[150]tɕʰɜ dɜ noŋ ni ŋə ma tɕɛ
[151]ʑoŋ zoŋ ŋə ma tɕe na zoŋ nə du rdzɔ ri gə də
[152]tɕʰə sʰə ka wa ki sʰɔ ɬaw gə tɕʰa joŋ sʰə tsʰə pa
[153]tɕʰaw tɕʰu maw tsoŋ ne ŋa nə ra ka
[154]ŋəŋ mi ŋəŋ ʤə sʰe nə ŋə
[155]xʰi a ɟə tɕʰə ma gə mə tsʰa
[156]e tɕʰe dɜ za gɔ ne da rə

… the cushions given to the new couple by the bride's family…
[157]ra bi kʰə lə sʰɔ pa ʁoŋ ra bi a tɕʰa
[158]tɕʰi pʰu ge ʁoŋ gə tu ne ne ne sʰoŋ sʰoŋ nə ŋə

… the livestock given to the new couple by the bride's family…
[159]tɕʰi gɔ zu sʰe ce ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və ŋɜ tɕʰe tɕoŋ sʰoŋ nə ŋə
[160]tɕʰi kʰa ku gə sʰe ʁoŋ la gə və tsə tsə dzָaŋ me ɣə
[161]deŋ pa gɔ lu ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə

… and the barley and wheat grain given to the new couple by the bride's family.
[162]tɕʰi rdzə sʰe tʰə sʰe ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və
[163]ka wa ki sʰɔ pʰa mi tʰi noŋ ɣə
[164]tɕʰi nə kʰu ma ɟu a nə pu ʑə nə a ŋə pu deŋ pa nə ŋə

The next verse praised the two families and summarized what each gave the new couple.
[165]nə kʰu ma tɕʰa ce dɜ pʰa ma ja raw pʰa ɟoŋ
[166]mə ja raw pʰa ɟoŋ noŋ nə ŋə
[167]rdzi ja raw nə ŋə dzu̯ pu ŋə ne sʰe te dɜ ri tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə
[168]ki vu kʰa tɕʰə χaw tɕʰaw mi kə gu ni
[169]nə kʰu ma də gɔ ge tʂʰə tsi doŋ tu ŋa re ŋa re ɬoŋ noŋ
[170]tʂʰə sʰoŋ kʰe ba le tʰoŋ nɔ ca tɕʰə xʰə noŋ
[171]kʰoŋ ti xʰe buw sɔ gə sʰe ʁoŋ gə tu ne
[172]xɔ mə sʰe ʁoŋ gə tu ne
[173]ga ɟi ɟi ma ɟi ɟi də və
[174]da ŋa nə kʰa la kʰi coŋ ɬuw gə te
[175]jɔ də jɔ a ɦə jɔ tɕʰə ma gə
[176]ɬuw ɬə da rə kʰa dzu̯oŋ ʑə də gə ɬuw gə tɜ
[177]kʰa tɕʰə gə mi sʰɔ gə
[178]tɕʰi zoŋ po ŋe pa ra ka ga tʰə gə xʰi xʰə rdzu noŋ
[179]ga dza gə a χə mi ti gə

The orator then introduced the gifts from the groom's family, first explaining that the groom's family gave half of their property to the new couple.
[180]da noŋ ʁoŋ ka wa ki sʰɔ kə lu kʰa da gə nə və la gə və
[181]sʰə loŋ da wa ɣə ka wa ki sʰɔ kə ri di tsi tɕʰa
[182]pʰoŋ raw roŋ zoŋ doŋ pɔ ci ke nə ŋə
[183]tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ tɕʰa ni

The orator then detailed the gifts given by the groom's family to the bride, beginning with the fox-fur hat…
[184]mgɔ ʁa lə tɕʰa ni

[185]tɕʰə də tʂʰɔ kʰi ʑə goŋ ʑa ʁoŋ gu ŋu rdze ma tʰa tʰa ne daw
[186]goŋ gə rə cə vɜ la gə və tʂʰə ni ne sʰɔ pʰoŋ nə ŋə
[187]da rə tʰe wa zə ɬa ɟuw

…then the clothes…
[188]tɕʰə tɕʰa ni gi gɔ ze ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və
[189]tsʰa rə woŋ gə tu ne tʂʰu woŋ gə tu ne
[190]xʰə tsʰɔ ni pu ɣə tɕa kʰa je də ɟi
[191]xʰə tsʰɔ sʰa pu ɣə tɕa kʰa je də ɟi

…the cushions…
[192]ra bi ni mu o doŋ poŋ ʁoŋ goŋ tɕa ʁoŋ a tɕʰa
[193]tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ ɣdzi̤ dzu̯ ma ʁoŋ a tɕʰa
[194]bi a tɕʰa sʰa fa a gə
[195]da tʂʰu tsʰa rə kʰa da və tuw
[196]da gi gɔ ze ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və
[197]tɕʰə tʂʰɔ kʰi tsə tsʰa ma sʰe ɣə dɜ kʰə
[198]ja kʰoŋ noŋ ɣə ni zo̤ŋ kʰoŋ noŋ ɣə tʂʰuw
[199]tɕʰe tɕʰə tsʰoŋ də da lə ŋɜ ma tɕe
[200]zə ə də ŋə ma tɕe kʰɔ xʰɔ
[201]nə ʕa le mɛ rə ti ne rə ti ŋə
[202]di tse ŋə ma tɕe tɕʰa di ɣə

…and the ornaments.
[203]sʰe ɣə luw tʂi kʰɜ ŋə ma tɕe ɟɜ tɕʰə ɟuw dzu̯ ɟə kʰə gə dɜ
[204]xʰa nɛ nu ri kʰɔ ɬə deŋ pa ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və tɕʰi sʰɜ dɜ ŋɜ
[205]bə gɔ na rə sʰa goŋ ga tɕʰi nɜ ŋə
[206]ta sʰa rə moŋ ɣɟə sʰa lu tʰuw
[207]kʰɜ ʔoŋ ʁoŋ gɔ ge ni ɟa doŋ dzo̤ tɕə dɜ ŋə
[208]tʂʰə sʰoŋ doŋ kʰa ɬaw gə rɜ vi gə tɛ ne
[209]xa ne nu ri kʰɔ ɬə ɟə tse ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə
[210]sʰe noŋ kɔ ɟə kʰə ʑə gi ʔa və a tɕɛ də jɔ vɜ tɕɜ xaw xaw
[211]raw ni kʰe gə tʰɔ noŋ ɣə raw rdzə dzo̤ ʔoŋ mi ɟə ɟə gə dɜ ɟə
[212]tɕʰə də tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕe buw ku ʁoŋ gə tu ne zoŋ te
[213]da tɕaw dɜ rə noŋ lu pa tʂɜ pa nu la tʂu woŋ də ɟi tʂʰɔ mɜ

nə ŋə
[214]ŋa nə rag a dɜ tɕʰi sʰə tʂi dɜ lɔ
[215]baw ku ʁoŋ ŋə ne kə lu ɟə tse
[216]deŋ pa tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə tɕʰi ŋə ɣə di tse

The orator next praised the two families again, stating that each family had a large kin network, and thanked all the guests for coming.
[217]ri na sʰa daŋ ɣə ti ne dza tʰoŋ sʰɔ ʁoŋ ŋə ne zoŋ te
[218]tɕʰi ŋə ma tɕe tɕʰa di da ə dɜ nɜ ʁa ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və
[219]doŋ ni ŋə ma tɕe o doŋ pɔ noŋ ni o doŋ pɔ ti gə
[220]tɕʰi da bɔ gɔ na rə ŋə ma ce
[221]dʑ̩ va ŋɛŋ te dʑ̩ lu zoŋ dʑ̩ lu sʰe gə tʰa pa
[222]tsi gi nə nɜ kʰu ma də nɛ xu tɕʰi gə
[223]jɔ zə gə ɳə xʰe zə gə tʂʰa ra ka gi sʰə gə ti tɕʰa
[224]rdzə woŋ roŋ gi ŋə nɛ ŋɔ jɔ dɛ jɔ ŋə
[225]kʰa da ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və noŋ dɛ tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə

The orator then implied that the groom's family was wealthier than the bride's as they spent 55,000 RMB purchasing the couple's house. While speaking, the orator gestured with his right arm raised and hand upturned.
[226]da noŋ woŋ gə tu la gə və xa ma tɕe rə moŋ ɟoŋ ni
[227]da ŋə ma tɕe law kʰa tɕʰa noŋ ʁoŋ də dɜ
[228]tɕʰa ce tɕʰa noŋ ʁoŋ də dɜ
[229]ʑ̩ɜ ŋə ma ce ba tɕʰe ɬe dʑ̩u ɣə kə bɛ ɬa dʑ̩e də ŋɜ jɔ tɕʰa
[230]ɣoŋ ə də ʁoŋ tʂʰə ɬa tɕʰə də nɔ noŋ ŋə ma tɕɛ
[231]ɬoŋ ɬə ʁɔ gɔ gɛ tʂʰə tsi doŋ tu ŋa
[232]tɕʰa gɔ gɛ tʂʰə ŋa doŋ tu ŋa jɔ kʰa gə də
[233]ka sʰi tʰoŋ sʰi tɕʰə də tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕe
[234]ji ɣə ŋə ma xa nɛ te sʰa tɕʰə ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə
[235]tɕʰə rdze mə tsʰa kʰa da ga tɕʰi a rdzə ɣə muw ɬuw

He then expressed good wishes for the bride and groom's

future.
[236]da bɜ xʰə ʁoŋ gɜ tu la gə və
[237]tʂa xi tsʰi tsʰi me loŋ tsʰi ni rdze pʰa tɕʰɛ mɜ tsʰə
[238]tɕʰi kʰa da ʁoŋ ŋə ma tɕɛ toŋ ɟa tsʰi ɟa ga tʰə ku noŋ
[239]ŋa nə ra ka ha tɕi kʰə nə tʂʰi tə sʰe
[240]rdze pʰa tɕʰɜ mə tsʰa a ɦə de də nɔ tɛ

The orator then stood and asked the bride and groom to approach him.
[241]tɕʰi da ʁoŋ gə tu nə di la gə vɜ
[242]ha sʰə ŋə jɔ tɕʰa tɕʰi tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ tɕʰa di
[243]ŋa noŋ ŋə ma tɕe tɕʰa di moŋ ʂe
[244]dɜ rə sʰə loŋ da wa ne ŋə ma tɕe ə me nə ɬa

An audience member then told the orator that he had forgotten to mention a part of the bride's dowry, and so the orator described the ornaments given by the bride's family that he had forgotten to mention.
[245]Gɔw ɟɔw woŋ tɕʰə dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ di
[246]loŋ loŋ ʁoŋ gə tu ne tɕʰa ma ʁoŋ gə tu ne
[247]sʰe ɣə tɕʰə sʰi ŋə ma tɕe gɔ ge tʂʰə tsi doŋ toŋ ŋa rdze xʰɔ kʰə
[248]ne tɕʰe de za ʔoŋ də kʰa da tɕʰə dɜ ɣə ɬaw rdzə
[249]sʰe tɕʰə ʂi də ŋə ma tɕe tɕʰa di
[250]kʰe sʰɔ tɕə tʰɔ pa kʰe tɔ noŋ
[251]ʑə goŋ kʰe da ka ɟe tɕʰa nə ŋə
[252]doŋ ni da ka sʰe ɣə tɕʰə sʰi ʁoŋ ɣɔ nə ŋə te
[253]ma ji nə sʰa gə ca di nə ŋə
[254]Gɔw ɟɔw woŋ sʰa gə sʰe naw doŋ nə ŋə
[255]ʑə goŋ kʰe pe tɕʰa kʰa da tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə
[256]tɕʰi pow ku ʁoŋ gə tu ne la loŋ ʁoŋ gə tu ne
[257]tsʰə ɣbɜ ʁoŋ gə tu ne xʰe ma gi pa nə ŋə
[258]tɕʰi kʰa la kʰi tɕʰoŋ ɬaw gə də jɔw
[259]tɕʰi ŋə ma tɕe tɕʰa ha dɜ kʰɜ də
[260]ɣdɔ kɔ rə dɜ tɕʰa mgɔ li tɕʰa tsʰoŋ rdzə pʰa tɕʰe mə tsʰa

[261]tɕʰi ŋə na tɕe kʰa ʔi na ʔi a χə mi ʁɔ
[262]tɕʰi ha də kʰə də kʰu ʑə ʁoŋ gə tu və deŋ pa tɕʰi sʰə də ŋə

The orator next put a *dar dkar* around the groom's neck and told him that he was now responsible for his family. He then wished that the groom would become wealthier, more powerful, and extend his kin network. He also described how the groom was a good child, and would continue to behave well in the future. While speaking, the orator faced the groom, pointed at him, and occasionally placed his hands on the groom's shoulder.
[263]wɔ ja da sʰə loŋ da wa
[264]ni tsʰa ŋə ma tɕe ʁoŋ ɟi ɣə di tse ŋə ne zu te
[265]pʰa ma ɣə kʰa lɜ ŋɛ kʰə ɣə ŋaw lə ʈʂʰə kʰɜ ɣə
[266]ɣoŋ ŋə ne zoŋ te ni tsʰa ɣə ŋə ma tɕe
[267]nə ʁa ja raw də zoŋ də zoŋ la gə və
[268]ni nu ri ŋə ma tɕe nə ʁa də zoŋ ɣə dɔ də kʰe
[269]tɕʰi pʰa ma ŋə ne xʰa ne nə ŋə ni nu ri ŋə ma tɕe
[270]dʑ zoŋ i sʰə gə və tɕʰa
[271]ni ŋə ne zoŋ teŋ dʑ sʰə dʑ ga nə ŋə
[272]nə ʁa o doŋ pɔ la ndʑi tɕʰə ʈʂʰɔ kʰi tɕʰa tɕe
[273]də lu ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və ɟə tsʰe tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə
[274]da ni tsʰa ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və
[275]ti gə ɳə ʁoŋ na tsʰa ma sʰe
[276]ɣɔ gə zu ʁoŋ gɔ kʰa ma sʰe
[277]ta ʁoŋ ʈʂʰɔ wa ma sʰe
[278]jə ʁoŋ pʰe dʑu ma sʰe
[279]bə ɟi tsʰa sʰam dzam
[280]tsʰa a ɣoŋ ndɔ lə rgen noŋ ɣɔ rə
[281]ne dza tʰoŋ sʰɔ ɣə kʰɔ sʰa te pʰu ɣə sʰe ɣə
[282]tɕʰɜ ʈʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ tɕʰa di ɣə
[283]ŋa a mi ba ca ni ʁoŋ te ndʑe me loŋ tɕʰi sʰə ŋə

The orator then approached the bride, who sat with young village females in a corner of the room. He bent down to the

bride, put a *dar dkar* around her neck, and then stood. He continued his oration by describing the bride in the manner the groom was previously described, and also stated the same wishes for her. While speaking, the orator gestured with raised arms and upturned hands.

[284]wɔ ja a ʁɔ ni ɣə a kʰa me loŋ ha gə tʰuw ne
[285]ni tsʰa ɣə ŋə ma tɕe
[286]ɣoŋ ɟi ɣə di tse tɕʰa dʑe̱ tɕʰe lu ri ɣə tsʰa mə nə ŋə
[287]nə ʁa ga tɕʰi gə zoŋ kʰuw ci kʰɔ
[288]sʰa gə mi tɕʰa ni gɔ ŋa ma tʰa tɕʰa
[289]zoŋ pu ŋeŋ pa ɣə di tse tɕʰa
[290]da ni tsʰa ɣə ti gə n̡ə ʁoŋ na tsʰa ma
[291]ɣɔ gə zu ʁoŋ gɔ kʰa ma
[292]ta ʁoŋ tʂʰɔ wa ma
[293]jə ʁoŋ pʰe dʑu ma
[294]tsʰe ri ne me de xʰə pʰe sʰoŋ tsʰam noŋ
[295]bə ɟi tsʰa sʰam dzam noŋ
[296]tsʰa a ɣoŋ ndɔ lə rgen
[297]sʰə pɔ doŋ de mɔ ɣə ti
[298]tuw de mgɔ ni la ɟə mə tɕʰe
[299]zi de mgɔ ni pe ɟə mə tɕʰe
[300]ɣə te dze̱ ʁoŋ gə tu la gə və tɕʰi sʰə ŋə

As his speech drew to a close, the orator expressed the wish that all villagers would be healthy, their livestock free of disease, and that their living conditions would improve. He approached the central pillar, ready to conclude, while speaking.

[301]ɕʰiə me ne dza tʰoŋ sʰoŋ z̡a ka tsa wa və ri
[302]tsʰɔ ʑə pɔ də kʰa tʂʰə cə tʰɔ pa
[303]tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ
[304]tɕʰe mgɔ sʰa ma tɕʰe
[305]tɕʰu ku maw ja tɕʰe ɣə
[306]tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ
[307]ti gə n̡ə ʁoŋ na tsʰa ma

[308]ɣɔ gə zu ʁoŋ gɔ kʰa ma
[309]ta ʁoŋ tʂʰɔ wa ma
[310]jə ʁoŋ pʰe dʑu ma
[311]ɳə lɔ tɕə sʰəm ɬa lɔ tɕə ʑə
[312]roŋ lɔ nɜ xə tsa ŋa ɟi ba dɜ
[313]sʰe gaw dɛ pʰe xə gaw dɛ tɕʰe
[314]ɟe xʰu doŋ ɟe sʰə ɟe da ɣə ti sʰe ɣə te dʑe̱ ŋə

The orator then tied a *dar dkar* around the central pillar.

In the final verse, the orator stated that a wealthy family owned the house in the past, and expressed the hope that the new couple would be as wealthy as the previous owners. He also expressed the wish that the new couple would become wealthier and more powerful. While speaking, the orator pointed to the central pillar and at the conclusion gestured with upturned palms to the audience.
[315]tɕʰi da ka nə mɔ de le ci kʰɔ ʁoŋ sʰu sʰe
[316]doŋ ni ŋə ma tɕe mə gə ni je gə sʰu də nə ŋə te
[317]da rə ə dɜ mə tʰɜ ne
[318]ci kʰɔ ə də ka wu ʁoŋ ŋə ma tɕe
[319]ta sʰa ka mi dɔ te sʰa ɟa ɣaw tʂʰa
[320]ŋə ɣə di tse ŋə ma ce tɕʰa
[321]ɣoŋ ə də ɣə pʰa kɜ kʰoŋ ge tʂʰa moŋ
[322]ə də ŋə ma tɕe də poŋ loŋ sʰi ŋə ma ci ɣoŋ nə ŋə
[323]tɕʰə də tʂʰɔ kʰi taw luw ɣoŋ nə ŋə
[324]ma daw goŋ sʰəm də dzɔm
[325]goŋ la nə ma də xʰa dzə ɣə ɣoŋ ŋə tɕʰa
[326]goŋ la nə ma də xʰa dzə ɣə ɬi noŋ
[327]ha ɟi kʰə də tʂa xʰi dɛ lɛ
[328]sʰə po dɛ mɔ ɣə ti sʰɛ
[329]wɔ tɕʰə də ʔoŋ də kʰa da sʰə
[330]tɕʰə sʰə a ɟə mə ɟuw nɔm pa tʰɔ tɕɛ

The audience said, "wɔ le sʰɔ."

The orator then went to a side room to drink and relax. Shortly afterwards the guests began enjoying themselves by singing, dancing, and chatting.

Wedding Speech Two

This wedding speech was given in Tibetan by Dbal chen (b. 1967) on the second day of the marriage between the bride, Dbyangs can (b. 1975, Ske ri Village), and groom Tshe dbang rgyal mtshan (b. 1980, Bang smad Village) in 2009, several weeks before the New Year. The wedding was held in Bang smad Village.

Lines contained five to twenty-two syllables. *Da* 'now' was said often, particularly at the start of verses. The fifteen verses are divided according to content, and, in the oration, were occasionally divided by pauses. The orator spoke loudly throughout the speech, employing metaphors, honorifics, and hyperbole. The 241 lines of this speech took eleven minutes to deliver.

The orator began by making offerings to local deities, to the whole world, to the three protecting lords, to the heaven of the four great kings, and to the five families of the victorious ones.

[1]དང་དེ་རིང་མཆོད་གཅིག་དེ་ས་སྟོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ལྟ་གཞི་བདག་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་
མཆོད་མཆོད།།
[2]མཆོད་གཉེས་དེ་མཛམ་གླིང་སྐྱེ་ཡི་དོན་ལ་མཆོད།།
[3]མཆོད་གསུམ་དེ་རིགས་གསུམ་མགོན་པོ་ལ་མཆོད།།
[4]མཆོད་བཞི་དེ་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་སྡེ་བཞི་ལ་མཆོད།།
[5]མཆོད་ལྔ་དེ་རྒྱལ་བ་རིགས་ལྔ་ལ་མཆོད་མཆོད་དོ།།

He then stated that the day was auspicious, and asked all

elders, women, men, and audience members to pay attention.
[6]དང་དེ་ཡིང་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་རྣེན་འབེལ་གྱི་རང་བཞིན།།
[7]མདངས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ཡག་གི་སྟེ་མ།།
[8]དང་དེ་ཡིང་གླལ་མཛོ་ལ་ཆེ་རིམ་ཏན་གསུམ།།
[9]གླལ་སྐེད་བྱ་ཚ་བྱ་མོ།།
[10]མ་ཚད་འདུས་ཚོགས་རྣམས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད།།
[11]ཐུགས་རྣ་ལྷང་ཙམ་གཡར་རྒྱུ་སྨོན་ལམ་ཚོག་གསུམ་རེ་བཏགས།།

The orator then explained why it is important to say *legs so*.
[12]འོ། ལེགས་སོ། ལེགས་སོ། ལེགས་སོ།།
[13]གསོལ་ལོ་གསོལ་ལོ་སྙ་གསོལ་ལོ།།
[14]རྒྱལ་ལོ་རྒྱལ་ལོ་སྙ་རྒྱལ་ལོ།།
[15]གསོལ་ལོ་ལན་གསུམ་མ་ཟེར་ན།།
[16]བསང་དུད་གནམ་ལ་མི་འགྲོ།
[17]རྒྱལ་ལོ་ལན་གསུམ་མ་ཟེར་ན།།
[18]རྒྱལ་ཁ་རང་ལ་མེ་འཁོར།།
[19]བསང་དུད་གནམ་ལ་མ་སོང་ན།།
[20]མ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་དགང་འདང་མེ་འབྱིང་།།
[21]རྒྱལ་ཁ་རང་ལ་མ་ཐོག་ན།།
[22]གཏམ་ཚོག་འདུ་མ་མི་འགྲིག།
[23]ཟེར་བའི་དེའེ་དེ་འདུ་རེད་ལ།།

Next, he described the auspiciousness of the day on which people, deities, and all good things had gathered.
[24]དང་དེ་ཡིང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚོག་གཅིག་སྨོན་ལམ་ཚོག་གཉིས་རེ་བཏབས་ན།།
[25]གནམ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བའི་ཉི་ཟླ་སྐར་གསུམ།།
[26]ས་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བའི་ལོ་ཡག་སྟེ་མ།།
[27]བཀྲ་ཤིས་བའི་ཆོ་ཡིང་ནད་མེད།།
[28]སྨྱེ་དེ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བའི་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་པོ།།
[29]ནང་དུག་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བའི་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་སུང་མ།།

[30]མཁའ་འགྲོ་བཀུ་ཤེས་པའི་ཡུལ་ལྟ་གཞི་བདག།
[31]ངོ་བཀུ་ཤེས་པའི་ཚེ་མར་ཟུར་གསུམ་ལ་སྟོན་ལགས།།
[32]ཤར་ཕྱི་ཉེ་མ་སྐལ་བཟང་།།
[33]རེང་གི་བླ་བ་ཚོས་གོགས་དེ་བཟང་།།
[34]སྐལ་བཟང་ཚོས་བཟང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ།།
[35]མེ་མེ་འཕོམས་ལྟ་འཕོམས།།
[36]ལྟ་ཚོ་རྒྱན་པངྒའི་ཞལ་འཕོམས།།
[37]མར་མེ་ནང་ལ་འོད་འཕོམས།།
[38]འཁོར་ནང་ལ་ཡུལ་འཕོམས།།
[39]དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ནང་ལ་ལྟ་འཕོམས།།
[40]བྱམ་པའི་ནང་ལ་རྩས་འཕོམས།།
[41]འགྲོ་བའི་ཡམ་ལ་འཇའ་འཕོམས།།
[42]བ་འོ་མའི་ནང་ལ་ཐམས་ཅད་འཕོམས།།
[43]ཟེར་བའི་དུས་དེ་ལྟར་རེད་ལགས།།

In the next verse the orator praised the dancers, comparing male dancers to the shining sun and female dancers to the shining moon. Their decorations were likened to trees in summer, their beauty a rainbow, and their voices to cuckoos'. Finally, the circle of dancers was compared to a lake.

[44]ང་དེ་རིང་ཐོར་ར་གསེར་ཀྱི་ཁྲ་མོ་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཆུང་ཙམ་བསྟས་པ་རེ་བཤད་
ན།།
[45]ཞོ་ཐམས་ཅད་དཔའ་བོ།།
[46]དཔའ་བོས་ལྷས་ལས་ཐོར་འཁྲབ།།
[47]མོ་ཐམས་ཅད་དཔའ་མོ།།
[48]དཔའ་མོས་མགྲོར་གླུ་ལེན།།
[49]དགའ་བའི་ཐོ་རེ་འཁྲབ་རྒྱུ་རེད།།
[50]སྐྱིད་པའི་གླུ་རེ་ལེན་རྒྱུ་རེད།།
[51]ལྟ་ལ་དར་ཀྱིས་གསོལ་རྒྱུ་རེད།།
[52]ལྟ་བསང་གོང་ལ་བཀོད་རྒྱུ་རེད།།

[53]བྱོ་མཚོ་བྱོ་དཔོན་གང་མཛོས་ཀྱིས།།
[54]བྱོ་སྐེད་གསུང་སྐད་སྙན་མོ།།
[55]བྱོ་འདབས་རྡུང་བྱོ་འཕྲིགས་མོ།།
[56]གཡས་ཕོ་བྲལ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་ཉེ་མ་ཤར་འདུ།།
[57]གཡོན་མོ་བྲལ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་ཟླ་བ་ཤར་འདུ།།
[58]ལུས་རྒྱན་ཆ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་རྩེ་ཏོག་གཡོ་འདུ།།
[59]གཟུགས་སྐྱེ་ལུས་ལ་བལྟས་ན་འཇའ་ཚོན་ཤར་འདུ།།
[60]ངག་སྙན་མོ་ལ་ཉན་ན་ཁུ་བྱུག་བྲགས་འདུ།།
[61]གཅིག་བྲལ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་མཚོ་མོ་འཁྱིལ་འདུ།།
[62]དུ་དེ་རིང་བྱོ་ར་གསེར་གྱི་ཐྲ་མོ་འདིའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བསྟུས་པ་ཙམ་རེ་བཤད་ན་དེ་
འདུ་རེད་ལ།།

The orator then stated that the bride's side donated 133 RMB to the dancers.

[63]བང་སྨད་བདེ་སྐྱིད་གོང་བ།།
[64]རྩེད་ར་རྒྱན་ཏེ་རྩེད་མོ་ཡག་གོ།།
[65]གེ་རི་ཆོས་འབྲུམ་ཚང་གི་སྒོར་ཁྲི་བརྒྱ་དང་བཅུ་གསུམ།།
[66]དུ་ཆེ་ཏོག་ཆུང་ཡང་མཆོད་པའི་རྫས།།
[67]སྐྱ་བཤོས་ཆུང་ཡང་རེ་རབ་གྱི་རྟེན།།
[68]ཡོན་ཚབ་ཁྲང་ཡང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཚུལ།།
[69]ཡ་རབས་བྱའི་གནས་བསྐལ།།
[70]སེར་སྐ་ཆེད་པའི་རྒྱ་རྫས།།
[71]ཡར་དགོན་མཆོག་ལྷའི་མཆོད་པ།།
[72]མར་སྨད་མོ་དགའ་བའི་སྐྱིན་པ།།

He then praised the groom's village (Bang smad) and said that females who leave this village leave their happiness behind while those who come to this village receive happiness.

[73]དེ་བང་སྨད་བདེ་སྐྱིད་གོང་པ།།

[74]སྣ་ཡར་ཟླག་དེ་རྒྱ་གར་ཁམས་ལ་ཟླག།
[75]རྒྱ་གར་རྒྱལ་དོ་ཆོས་དབྱངས་ལེན་སྣ།།
[76]སྣ་མར་ཟླག་དེ་རྒྱ་ནག་ཁམས་ལ་ཟླག།
[77]རྒྱ་ནག་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟས་གཡང་ལེན་སྣ།།
[78]སྣ་ཕར་ཟླག་དུ་ཨ་ཆེ་ཧོར་ལ་ཟླག།
[79]ཨ་ཆེ་ཧོར་ནས་རྟ་གཡང་ལེན་སྣ།།
[80]སྣ་ཚུར་ཟླག་དེ་ཁྲ་མོ་གླིང་ལ་ཟླག།
[81]ཁྲ་མོ་གླིང་ནས་མེ་གཡང་ལེན་སྣ།།
[82]བྱ་མོ་ཕར་འགྲོ་ཡི་རྒྱིང་འཛོ་སྐྱ་སྣ།།
[83]རྒྱིང་འཛོ་སྐྱ་ཤིང་ཕྱེར་བཤྱས་བཟོ་སྣ།།
[84]མནའ་མ་ཚུར་འོང་གི་རྒྱིང་མཆོ་ལེན་སྣ།།
[85]རྒྱིང་མཆོ་ལེན་ཞིང་དགའ་སྤྲོ་བྱེད་སྣ།།
[86]བསོད་ནམས་ཐོབ་པའི་སྐ་ཆ་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན།།
[87]ཟེར་བའི་དཔེ་དེ་འདྲ་རེད་ལགས།།

He then praised the three most famous holy mountains in Nyag rong: Kha ba lung ring, Skyobs 'byin seng nag, and Shang long brag dkar.

[88]རེ་ལ་གནས་པའི་རེ་བཤད།།
[89]ཐང་ལ་གནས་པའི་ཐང་བཤད།།
[90]ཆུ་ལ་གནས་པའི་ཆུ་བཤད།།
[91]ང་དང་པོ་གནས་ཆེན་གསུམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[92]ཤག་སྤོད་ཁ་བ་ཡུང་རིང་།།
[93]ཤག་སྨད་རྒྱོབས་འབྱེན་སེང་ནག།
[94]བར་གྱི་ཤང་ལོང་བྲག་དཀར།།
[95]ཤག་སྤོད་ཁ་བ་ཡུང་རིང་དེ་གངས་ཀྱི་རེ།།
[96]གངས་དེ་ལ་སེང་གེ་འཛོར་ས་རེད།།
[97]སེང་གེ་ལ་གཡུ་རལ་རྒྱས་ས་རེད།།
[98]སྐ་བླ་མ་འཛོམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།།
[99]བྱ་ཆོས་ལ་ཚས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།།

[100]ཚོས་བསྟན་པ་དང་པའི་གཞི་མ་རེད།།
[101]ཉག་སྨད་སྐྱོབས་འཁྱིན་སེང་ནག་དེ་ནགས་ཀྱི་རི།།
[102]ནགས་དེ་ལ་སྐག་མོ་འཕོར་ས་རེད།།
[103]སྐག་མོ་ལ་འཇུམ་དྲུག་རྒྱས་ས།།
[104]གོང་དཔོན་པོ་འཛོམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།།
[105]བྱ་ཚོས་ལ་ཆས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།།
[106]ཚོས་བསྟན་པ་དང་བའི་གཞི་མ་ཡིན།།
[107]བར་གྱི་ཤང་ལོང་བྱག་དཀར་ནི་བྱག་གི་རི།།
[108]བྱག་གི་རི་ལ་ཐང་དཀར་ཆོད་འཕོར་རེད།།
[109]ཐང་དཀར་ཆོད་ལ་གཏོག་སྒྲོ་རྒྱས་ས་རེད།།
[110]བྱ་རྒལ་མཆོག་འཛོམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།།
[111]མེ་ཆེན་བཞི་འཛོམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།།
[112]ཚོས་བཀའ་འཕྲུར་འདོན་པའི་གཞི་མ་ཡིན།།

He then praised the three famous grasslands of Dkar mdzes: Dkar mdzes dmar ra thang, Li thang mdo sde thang, and 'Bang nag a skya thang.

[113]ད་ཐང་ཆེན་གསུམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[114]དཀར་མཛེས་དམར་ར་ཐང་།།
[115]ལི་ཐང་མདོ་སྡེ་ཐང་།།
[116]འབང་ནག་ཨ་སྐྱ་ཐང་།།
[117]དཀར་མཛེས་དམར་ར་ཐང་ལ་འབྲུ་དྲུག་གི་གཡང་འཕོར་ས།།
[118]ཆང་བདུད་ཆོ་མི་ཆོད་པའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཐོབ་ས།།
[119]ལི་ཐང་མདོ་སྡེ་ཐང་ལ་རྒྱང་མདོ་ལྷའི་རྒྱུག་ཆེད་འགྲན་ས།།
[120]རྟ་མཁྱོགས་ན་བང་དང་རྒྱལ་ཁ།།
[121]འབང་ནག་ཨ་སྐྱ་ཐང་ལ་འབྲུ་ཨ་ཟེ་ཡི་ནོར་གཡང་འཕོར་ས།།
[122]བ་འོ་མ་མེ་ཆད་བའི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཐོབ་ས།།

The three famous rivers of eastern Tibet were then praised: Mgo log rma chu, Sde dge 'bri chu, and Nyag rong g.yu

chu.[91]

[123]དང་ཚུ་ཆེན་གསུམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[124]མགོ་ལོག་རྣ་ཚུ།།
[125]སྟེ་དགེ་འབྱེ་ཚུ།།
[126]ཉག་རོང་གཡུ་ཆུ་རེད།།
[127]ཕྱ་བྷ་མའི་ཆོས་ཇ་སྐོལ་ཆུ་རེད།།
[128]གོང་དུལ་ཡུགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱིམས་ཇ་སྐོལ་ཆུ་རེད།།
[129]མ་ཨ་སྨའི་གཉེན་ཇ་སྐོལ་ཆུ་རེད།།

The orator then described how the bride's and groom's families had consulted fortunetellers and astrologers, discussed when to hold the wedding, and chose an auspicious day.

[130]ད་གེ་རི་ཆོས་འཚོམ་ཚང་།།
[131]བང་སྡད་ལྷགས་བོ་ཚང་།།
[132]མོ་བ་ལ་མོ་འདེབས།།
[134]རྩེས་པ་ལ་རྩེས་རྒྱབ།།
[135]སྐར་བཟང་ནང་ལ་གྲོས་བཟོས།།
[136]ཆོས་བཟང་ནང་ནས་ཐག་བཅད།།
[137]ཨེ་རེད་བསམ་པའི་གཉེན་ཞིག་བཟོས།།
[138]གཉེན་དེ་ལམ་ལ་རྒྱགས།།
[139]ཨེ་འཛའ་བསམ་པའི་གོས་ཅིག་དྲུབ།།
[140]གོས་དེ་ལུས་ལ་འཛའ།།
[141]གཉེན་མགོ་དེ་ཨ་སྟོན་དགུང་ལ་བརྒྱེན་ན།།
[142]ཨ་སྟོན་དགུང་ལས་མཛོ་མེད།།
[143]ཨ་སྟོན་དགུང་ལ་ཉི་བྷ་སྐར་ཚོགས་རྒྱས།།
[144]གཉེན་སྐེད་དེ་རྩོ་རྩེ་བག་ལ་བརྒྱེན་ན།།
[145]རྩོ་རྩེ་བག་ལས་སྤ་མེད།།

[91] Nyag rong g.yu chu is an alternative name for the Nyag chu River.

[146]རྟོ་རྩེ་བྱག་ལ་ཆོད་ཕྱག་འཚོར་ས།།
[147]ཆོད་ཕྱག་ལ་གཤོག་སྒོ་རྒྱས་ས།།
[148]གཉེན་འདབས་དེ་གཙོང་རྒྱུད་ཚུ་ལ་བརྟེན་ན།།
[149]གཙོང་རྒྱུད་ཚུ་ལས་རིང་ཝེད།།
[150]གཙོང་རྒྱུད་ཚུ་ལ་ཉ་སྒམ་འཚོར་ས།།
[151]ཉ་སྒམ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཡག་རྒྱས་ས།།

He then praised the bride's and the groom's families, mentioning their wealthy relatives and famous ancestors.

[152]ལྷ་བླ་མའི་བླ་རྒྱུད་མི་ཚད་པའི་ཉག་ཅེད་སུ་ལ་ཚོང་།།
[153]གོང་དཔོན་དཔོའི་དཔོན་རྒྱུད་མ་ཚད་པའི་བང་སྐད་ལྷགས་བོ་ཚོང་།།
[154]མ་ཨ་སུ་གཉེན་རྒྱུད་མ་ཚད་བའི་གེ་རི་ཆོས་འཐུམ་ཚོང་།།
[155]ཞོ་དཔའ་བོ་དཔའ་རྒྱུད་མ་ཚད་པའི་ལ་འདོད་ཝེ་ལ་ཚོང་།།
[156]ད་རང་རིགས་ཀྱི་བླ་མ་འགྱིང་རབས།།
[157]བླ་བ་མཁས་རབས།།
[158]ཆོས་ལུགས་དང་རབས།།
[159]ཆོས་སྐྱོང་རྩོ་རབས།།
[160]མ་ཚད་རྒྱབ་རི་བྱག་ལས་སྦ་རབས།།
[161]རྩེ་མོ་མདུང་ལས་རྩོ་རབས།།
[162]བཤད་ན་བཤད་རྒྱུ་ལོས་ཡོད།།
[163]ཤར་གྱི་ཉེ་མ་ནུབ་ལ་བྱོན།།
[164]ནུབ་ཀྱི་གྲིབ་མ་ཚུར་ལ་བསུ་བ་དེ།།
[165]བར་དུ་བཤད་ན་བཤད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་དེ།།
[166]ད་བཤད་ཅི་མི་དགོས།།
[167]བཤད་མི་དགོས་བན་རྟན་གྱི་ཆོས།།
[168]བསྒས་མི་དགོས་ཇོ་མོའི་སྐྱ།།
[169]བར་མི་རང་གཞན་ཀུན་གྱིས་ཀ་ཚོ་རྒྱུ་རེད་ལགས།།

The orator then described the groom's family's house, how the family asked the advice of a fortune-teller and astrologer,

and how they dug the foundations on an auspicious day. He compared the house's four corners to taut threads and the four walls to stretched tiger skins. The house's windows, doors, ladders, cushions, tables, brazier, stove, pillars, and *lab rtse* were also praised.

[170]ངང་དེ་རིང་ཐ་ཞུ་བཟང་པའི་བཞག་གཅིག(བྱས་རྗེས)་ལོ་རྒྱས་ནུང་ཙམ་བསྟུས་པ་རེ་བཤད་ན།།

[171]ང་དང་པོ་མོ་བས་མོ་བཏགས།།

[172]རྩེས་པས་རྩེས་བརྒྱབ།།

[173]སྐར་བཟང་ནང་ལ་རྣང་བརྐོ།།

[174]ཚོས་བཟང་ནང་ལ་རྣང་བཞག།

[175]སྒྲ་བཞི་ཉོང་སྐུང་འཐེན་འདུ།།

[176]ལེབ་བཞི་སྟག་ཟུགས་བརྒྱང་འདུ།།

[177]སྤོ་ཡར་མོ་སྟག་མོ་འཁྱེལ་འདུ།།

[178]སྤོ་མར་ཕོ་སེང་གེ་འགྱེད་འདུ།།

[179]སྐས་ཁྲེད་དང་པོ་ཤྲ་ཐུ་མའི་སྐས་ཁྲེད་།།

[180]ཤྲ་ཐུ་མའི་ཚོས་ལ་གཤད་ལམ།།

[181]སྐས་ཁྲེད་གཉིས་པ་གོང་དཔོན་པོའི་སྐས་ཁྲེད་།།

[182]གོང་དཔོན་པོ་ཁྲིམས་ལ་གཤད་ལམ།།

[183]སྐས་ཁྲེད་གསུམ་པ་མ་ཞ་སྒྱའི་སྐས་ཁྲེད་།།

[184]མ་ཞ་སྒྱའི་གཉེན་ལ་གཤད་ལམ།།

[185]ས་གདན་གཉིས་འཛོམས་ཆ་ཐུབ།།

[186]སྤོ་ཟུར་དམར་པོ་གསང་འདེད་།།

[187]མེ་ར་ཆ་འཛོམས་ཆ་ཐུབ།།

[188]ཐབ་ཀ་གཡང་དྲུང་འདི་ལ་ཤྲ་འཚོར།།

[189]གསེར་གྱི་ཀ་བ་འདི་ལ་རྒྱབ་རྟེན།།

[190]ཡར་ཐབ་དེ་གསེར་ཐབ་ཐྲ་མོ།།

[191]བར་ཐབ་དེ་དངུལ་ཐབ་ཐྲ་མོ།།

[192]མར་ཐབ་དེ་གཡུ་ཐབ་ཐྲ་མོ།།

[193]ཡར་ཐབ་གསེར་ཐབ་ཐྲ་མོ་ནང་ལ་ཤྲ་ཐུ་མའི་ཚོས་ང་སྐོལ་ས།།

[194]བར་ཐབ་དཏུལ་ཐབ་ཕྱ་མོ་ནང་ལ་གོང་དེའོན་ཏེའི་ཁྱིམས་ཇ་སྐོལ་ས།།
[195]མར་ཐབ་དཏུལ་ཐབ་ཕྱ་མོ་ནང་མ་ཙ་སྤུ་གཉེན་ཇ་སྐོལ་ས།།
[196]གསེར་གྱི་ཀ་བ་དེ་གྱེན་བསྐངས།།
[197]སྤོས་ཤེལ་སེར་བོ་ཀ་ནུ།།
[198]གཡུ་ཡི་གདུང་མ་འཕྲེད་འཕེན།།
[199]ཚ་ཆགས་ས་ཡི་ས་ལྟུལ།།
[200]སྤྲིན་དུ་ར་ཡི་ཚ་ཚོག།
[201]ལབ་རྩེ་དུང་གི་ལབ་རྩེ།།
[202]ཚོ་བསོད་ནམས་འཛོམས་བའི་ལབ་རྩེ།།
[203]དེས་དེ་འདུ་རེད་ལ།།

The orator described and praised *dar dkar* in preparation to conclude his speech.

[204]ད་དར་དཀར་བོ་དྲི་མ་མེད་པ་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱས་སྐྱང་ཙམ་བསྟུས་པ་རེ་བཤད་
ན།།
[205]ད་དང་པོ་རྒྱ་ནག་ཡུལ་ནས་དར།།
[206]བཀའ་བ་སྨུག་ཆུང་དྲེལ་ལ་བཀའ།།
[207]བཀའ་མ་ཆེ་ཆུང་གསུམ་ལ་བཀའ།།
[208]དྲེལ་ཐོ་ལ་གསེར་སྐ་རྒྱབ།།
[209]རྒྱ་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ནས་འོང་བ་རེད།།
[210]ལ་མོ་བརྒྱ་དེ་ཤ་མོ་བཅད་བཅད་བཟོ།།
[211]ཐང་ཆེན་བརྒྱ་དེ་ཤེར་ཁ་ལེ་ལེ་བཟོ།།
[212]ཆུ་མིག་བརྒྱ་དང་བཅུ་གསུམ་བཅད།།
[213]བོད་ཁམས་ཕེབས་ལ་ལོ་གསུམ་རེད།།
[214]དེ་ལ་དྲི་མ་མ་འགོས་མ་ཤོར།།
[215]སེར་བོ་གསེར་དང་མཉམ་མཇལ་རེད།།
[216]དཀར་བོ་དཏུལ་དང་མཉམ་མཇལ་རེད།།
[217]རེ་མོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད་རེད།།
[218]མ་ཚོད་ནོར་བུ་ཆ་བདུན་རེད།།
[219]བུ་བསོད་ནམས་ཅན་ལགཀ་ལས་མ་གཏོགས་མི་ལོན་ཟེར།།

[220]བྱ་དབང་ཐང་ཅན་གྱི་ལག་ལས་མ་གཏོགས་མི་དར་ཟེར།།
[221]དར་མགོ་དེ་སྐྱ་ཡུལ་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་དེ།།
[222]ཚོས་བསྟན་པ་དར་བའི་རྒྱས་མཚོན་ཏེད།།
[223]དར་སྐེད་རང་གི་བཟང་རྒྱུ་དེ་རྒྱལ་ཁ་རང་ལ་ཐོབ་པའི་རྒྱས་མཚན།།
[224]དར་འདྲབས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སྐྱ་བདུན་དེ་ཐ་མ་བྱ་རྒྱུད་འཛོམས་པའི་རྒྱས་
མཚོན།།
[225]དྲི་མད་རྒྱལ་ཁ་རང་ལ་འཛོམས་པའི་རྒྱས།།
[226]རྒྱ་ཐར་འགྲོ་ལ་ཕུལ་ན་སྐྱེས་དར།།
[227]རྒྱ་ཐར་འགྲོ་ཡི་སྐྱིད་རྩེ་འདུས་ས།།
[228]རྩེ་ར་བསམ་དོན་འགྲུབ་པའི་རྒྱས།།
[229]ཐམས་ཅད་འགྲུབ་པའི་དར།།
[230]འགྲོ་དར་བདེ་སྐྱིད་འབྱུང་ས་ཟེར།།
[231]ཚོག་གསུམ་བཤད་ནས་བཤད་དར།།
[232]གཏམ་སྐྱན་པོ་ཁ་སྡེ་འགྲིགས་ཟེར།།
[233]འཆི་མེད་ཚེ་ཡི་ཚེ་དར།།
[234]ནད་མེད་བདེ་ཡི་བདེ་དར།།
[235]ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་ཚོགས་དར།།
[236]ད་དར་དཀར་དྲི་མ་མེད་པ་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཕྱོགས་ཙམ་བསྟུས་པ་བཤད་ན་
དེ་འདྲ་རེད་ལགས།།

In the final verse the orator expressed the wish that the groom's family would become wealthier, more powerful, and extend his kin network.

[237]ད་བང་སྡུད་ལྡགས་པོ་ཚང་བཙན་པོའི་མི་ཐོག།
[238]ཕྱུག་པོ་ཡི་རྒྱུ་ཐོག།
[239]གོ་སྟོང་ཐ་ཚ་ཁུ་འཛོམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ།།
[240]གོ་སྡུད་མ་ཚ་སྡུ་འཛོམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ།།
[241]བྱ་རྒྱུད་ཚ་གསུམ་འཛོམས་པའི་རྒྱས་དང་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རྒྱས་དང་སྡོན་ལམ་
དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལགས།།

Wedding Speech Three

The speech below is an example of what might be given on the second day of the wedding. It was given by A lca upon request in 2008 in ri na Village. The bride and groom's names are fictitious.

Lines contained three to twenty-seven syllables. *Da* 'now' and *da de ring* 'now, today' occurred in almost every verse, often at the beginning. The eleven verses are divided according to content, though sometimes the orator marked the divisions with pauses. The orator spoke loudly from start to finish in an even rhythm and frequently used honorifics, metaphors, and hyperbole. The 135 lines of this speech took six minutes to orate.

The orator began by explaining the importance of saying *legs so*.

[1]འདེ། ལེགས་སོ། ལེགས་སོ།།
[2]ད་ལེགས་སོ་ལེགས་སོ་མ་ཟེར་ན།།
[3]ལྷུ་བློ་མའི་ཚོས་ར་ནང་ལ་ལེགས་སོ་ཟེར་ན།།
[4]ལྷུ་བློ་མའི་ཚོས་དར།།
[5]གོང་དུསོན་ཏའི་ཁྱིམས་ར་ནང་ལ་ལེགས་སོ་ཟེར་ན།།
[6]གོང་དུསོན་ཏ་ཡི་ཁྱིམས་དར།།
[7]མ་ཨ་སྤུ་ཡི་གཉེན་ར་ནང་ལ་ལེགས་སོ་ཟེར་ན།།
[8]མ་ཨ་སྤུ་ཡི་གཉེན་དར།།

He then asked all elders, men, women, and children to pay attention, and explained that without speech one cannot be understood by one's parents and without walking one cannot cross the threshold. The orator furthermore said that if he discussed everything from the creation of the world until now, it would require a long time, so he would shorten his speech.

[9]སྟོང་ཀྱི་ཆེ་རིམ་རྣན་གསུམ།།
[10]འོག་གི་མ་དང་ཨ་སྟུ།།
[11]བར་གྱི་བྱ་དང་བྱ་མོ།།
[12]འདུས་ཚོགས་རྣམ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད།།
[13]ད་ཐུགས་རྡ་ཉོན་ཞིག་གིས་ལགས།།
[14]ཐུགས་སེམས་སྟོང་ཞིག་གིས་ལགས།།
[15]ད་སྐབས་སུ་བབས་པའི་གཏམ་རེད།།
[16]དུས་སུ་བབས་པའི་ཚར་རེད།།
[17]ད་དེ་རིང་ཚོག་ཁ(སྐད་ཆ)་ཚོག་གསུམ་མ་བཤད་ན།།
[18]དེན་ཐ་མ་ཡིན་ཡང་གོ་བརྡ་འཛོད་རྒྱ་མ་རེད་ལགས།།
[19]གོམ་གསུམ་གྱི་གོམ་པ་མ་སྤོས་ན།།
[20]སྒོ་ཐེམ་ཡིན་ཡང་ལ་མོ་བརྒལ་ཐུབ་རྒྱ་མ་རེད་ལགས།།
[21]སྤྲིད་པ་ཚགས་གི་ཚུན་ཚད།།
[22]དེ་རིང་སང་ཉིན་ཐར་རྒྱབ་ཚོད།།
[23]སྤྲིད་པ་ཕྱགས་བཤད།།
[24]སྐྱེ་བུ་མདའ་བཤད།།
[25]སྐྱེ་ཕོ་རབ་བཤད་ན་ལོ་གསུམ།།
[26]ཕོ་འཐིང་བཤད་ན་ཟླ་གསུམ།།
[27]ཕོ་ཐ་བཤད་ན་ཞག་གསུམ།།
[28]བཤད་རྒྱ་སུ་ཡི་བཞིན་དུ་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་རེད་ལགས།།
[29]ད་ཚོག་ཁ་ཉང་ན་ཉན་ཁ་བདེ་མོ།།
[30]ཡོབ་ཐག་ཐུང་ཐུང་སྐྱ་བཞོན་བདེ་མོ།།

Next, the orator described the creation of the world and living beings.

[31]ད་ཕྱི་སྟོང་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཚགས་ཚུལ་དང་།།
[32]ནང་བཙུད་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་འཕྲུངས་ཚུལ།།
[33]ལོ་རྒྱས་ཉང་བསྟུས་ཙམ་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[34]བསྐལ་བ་དང་པོ་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་རླུང་ཚགས།།
[35]བར་སྣང་ལ་རླུང་ནག་འཚུབ་མ་ཚགས།།

[36]ས་གཞི་ལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆགས།།
[37]རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལ་རྟུལ་ཆགས།།
[38]ས་གཞི་ལ་རིའི་རྒྱལ་བོ་རི་རབ་ཆགས།།
[39]གསེར་གྱི་རི་བདུན་ཆགས།།
[40]རོལ་བའི་མཚོ་བདུན་ཆགས།།
[41]འཇོམ་གླིང་དང་རྟ་ཡབ་གླིང་ཆགས།།
[42]གླིང་བཞི་དང་གླིང་ཕྲན་ཆགས།།
[43]སྟོང་འཇོམ་བྱའི་གླིང་ཆགས།།
[44]ནུབ་བ་གླང་སྤྱོད་ཆགས།།
[45]ཤར་ལུས་འཕགས་གླིང་ཆགས།།
[46]བྱང་སྒྲ་མི་སྙན་ཆགས།།
[47]རྟ་ཡབ་དང་རྟ་ཡབ་གླིང་།།
[48]གླིང་བཞི་དང་གླིང་ཕྲན་ཆགས་ཟེར་བའི།།
[49]འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་དཔེ་དེ་ལྟར་རེད་ལགས།།
[50]ད་སྟོང་རྒྱ་གར་ནི་ལྷ་ལས་མཆེད་སྐྱེས་རབས།།
[51]ལྷ་ལས་མཆེད་སྐྱེས་བའི་མི་རྒྱུད་བཟང་།།
[52]སྨད་རྒྱ་ནག་ནི་ཀླུ་ལས་མཆེད་སྐྱེས་རབས།།
[53]ཀླུ་ལས་མཆེད་སྐྱེས་བའི་རྒྱུ་ནོར་ཕྱུག།
[54]བར་གྱི་མི་དབང་གདུང་དྲུག་ནི་ཐུབ་ཆ་དགའ་དང་།།
[55]བྱག་སྒིལ་མོ་གཉིས་ལས་ཆད་པས་ལས་པའི་ཐབས་མཁས།།
[56]དམར་བོ་ཤ་ལ་དགའ་ཟེར་བའི་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་དཔེ་རེད་ལགས།།

He then described the origin of Nyag rong, and listed all of Nyag rong's famous families.

[57]ད་བོད་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་ཕྱོགས།།
[58]ཉག་ཚ་རྡོ་ཀྲ་རོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།།
[59]ཉང་བསྟུས་ཙམ་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[60]སྟོང་གྱི་མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ།།
[61]བར་གྱི་དབུས་གཙང་རྒྱ་བཞི།།
[62]སྨད་ཀྱི་མདོ་ཁམས་སྐང་དྲུག།

[63]དེའི་ནང་དུ་བོད་གངས་ཅན་སྟོངས།།
[64]ཉག་ཨ་རྡོའུ་རོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱས་བཤད་ན།།
[65]བཤད་རྒྱུ་ཞེ་ཡོད་བཞིན་དུ་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་རེད་ལགས།།
[66]ཉག་ཨ་འཇོ་ལུང་ཁུལ་རྒྱ་མོ་ཕྱི་ལོག་ནས་གངས་རི་ར་བའི་ཐེང་བ་རྒྱན།།
[67]ནང་ལོག་ནས་དཀྱུས་གཙང་རྒྱ་བཞི་ཡི་མངའ་ཐང་རྒྱན།།
[68]མ་ཚ་ཚ་ནང་གི་ཆོ་ཚོ་ཆགས།།
[69]ཆོ་བ་བཞི་གསུམ་བསྡུ་གཉིས་ཆགས།།
[70]ཉག་སྟོད་རྒྱ་རི་ཚང་ཆགས།།
[71]ཤང་གཤིང་ཆུ་སྐོ་ཚང་ཆགས།།
[72]མ་རེད་ཕ་སྟེ་ཚང་ཆགས།།
[73]བང་སྨད་སྡུགས་བོ་ཚང་ཆགས།།
[74]རི་སྟེ་འབྲ་སང་ཚང་ཆགས།།
[75]བོ་ལོ་རྒྱ་འབམ་ཚང་ཆགས།།
[76]ཐྲ་ཡུལ་དབུ་བྱ་ཚང་ཆགས།།
[77]འབབ་སྟེད་ཞ་ཟག་ཚང་ཆགས།།
[78]ཆོ་ཡུལ་འབྲོ་མགོན་ཚང་ཆགས།།
[79]ད་ཆོག་ཁ་ཉང་བསྟུས་ཙམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[80]དེས་ལོ་རྒྱས་དེ་འདུ་ཡིན་རྒྱུ་རེད་ལ།།

He continued his discussion of Nyag rong by introducing its three most famous mountains: Kha ba lung ring, Skyobs 'byin seng nag, and Shang long brag dkar.

[81]ད་དེ་ཡི་ནང་ནས་ཉག་ཁུལ་ཡུང་གི་རི་ལ་རི་བཤད།།
[82]ཐང་ལ་ཐང་བཤད་མཆོ་ལ་མཆོ་བཤད།།
[83]ཆུ་ལ་ཆུ་བཤད་དང་ནགས་ལ་ནགས་བཤད་རེ་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[84]ཉག་སྟོད་ཁ་བ་ཡུང་རིང་ནི་གངས་ཀྱི་རི།།
[85]གངས་རི་དཀར་པོའི་ན་བཟའ།།
[86]སྤྲིན་རི་དཀར་པོའི་དབུ་ཞྭ།།
[87]བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྐུལ་བ།།
[88]གཞན་དང་མི་འདྲ་གང་དང་མི་མཉམ་པའི་ཁར།།

[89]གནས་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་གཉེར་བྱེན་རྣབས་ཅན་ཡིན་རྒྱུ་དེ་ནི།།
[90]བཤད་མི་དགོས་བའི་བཤད་པ་རེད།།
[91]བགོད་མི་དགོས་པའི་གཉེར་མ་རེད་ལགས།།
[92]ད་གནས་ཆེན་ཤང་ལོང་བག་དཀར་དེ།།
[93]གནམ་ས་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་ཀ་བ།།
[94]རྒྱ་བོད་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་དམུ་རྩོ།།
[95]གནས་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན།།
[96]གཉེར་བྱེན་རྣབས་ཅན།།
[97]ཁང་བརྩེགས་བརྩེ་བདུད་འདུལ་གྱི་གདན་ས།།
[98]བཤད་མི་དགོས་བའི་བཤད་པ།།
[99]བགོད་མི་དགོས་པའི་གཉེར་མ་རེད་ལ།།
[100]ད་སྣ་བག་དཀར་རྩོ་རྩེ་དབྱིབས་མཚུངས་དེ།།
[101]དེ་ནི་མཇལ་ས་དང་བསྟ་ས་རེ་མོ་བཞིན་དུ་ཡོད་པ་སྟར་རེད་ལགས།།
[102]ད་དེ་ཡི་ནང་དུ་མ་བགོད་པའི་རྩོང་གསུམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དབེ་དེ་འདྲ་རེད་ལགས།།

The orator then described the groom's family's house, how the family asked the advice of a fortune-teller and astrologer, and how they dug the foundations on an auspicious day. He compared the house's four corners to taut threads and the four walls to stretched tiger skins. The house's windows, doors, ladders, cushions, tables, brazier, stove, pillars, and *lab rtse* were also praised.

[103]ད་བགོད་པའི་རྩོང་གཅིག་ངོ་མཚར་ཅན་སྡུགས་མདུད་འདྲུག་མོ་རྩོང་།།
[104]འདྲུག་དགའ་ཐུན་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་བེར་ནག་གི་གདན་ས།།
[105]སྣ་བཞི་སྟོང་སྐུད་འཛེན་འདྲ།།
[106]ལེབ་བཞི་སྣ་ཐུགས་བརྒྱངས་འདྲ།།
[107]གསེར་གྱི་ཀ་བ་དེ་གྱེན་དུ་བསྡུགས།།
[108]དབྱུལ་གྱི་གདུང་མ་དེ་གྱེན་དུ་ཟླགས།།
[109]སྒོས་ཤེལ་སེར་པོ་ཀ་རྩོ་གདན།།
[110]བྱུ་རུ་དམར་པོ་ཀ་ཉེ་སྒོས།།

[111]ཨ་བཀྲ་ནེ་ལེ་དེ་ཕྱག་འཚིང་།།
[112]ཙོན་དུན་ཤིང་གི་གོ་ཟོར།།
[113]ལུ་རྩ་སྦེན་མ་ཕྱག་འཚལ།།
[114]ཨ་དགའ་སའི་ནགས་ལས།།
[115]སྐྱེང་བཙེགས་ནི་ལྷའི་ཪོ་བྱང་།།
[116]ལྷ་ཚངས་པ་བརྒྱ་ཁྱེན་གྱི་གདུགས་ཕྱབས་ས།།
[117]བར་བཙེགས་ནི་ཁྱིམས་ཀྱི་ཪོ་བྱང་།།
[118]འབྱུག་དགའ་ལྡན་ཚོས་རྒྱོང་བེར་ནག་གི་ཁྱིམས་བཤད་དང་ཁྱིམས་གཏམ་བཟོ་ས།།
[119]འོག་བཙེགས་ནི་ཀླའི་ཪོ་བྱང་།།
[120]ཀླུ་འཛོམ་ཐྲ་ལ་ཡི་ཟས་གཡང་དང་ནས་གཡང་ཕབས་ས།།
[121]ད་ཁང་སྐྱེང་གསེར་མཁར་མན་ཚད།།
[122]སྤོ་རྩོས་སྤོ་མོ་ཡན་ཚད།།
[123]ལོ་རྒྱས་ཉུང་བསྡུ་ཙམ་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[124]ཁྲ་བོ་གཟི་ཡི་གསེར་མཁར།།
[125]སྟོན་པོ་མཆོང་གི་སྤོ་མོ།།
[126]ས་ལེ་སྨན་གྱི་དཀར་ཁུང་།།
[127]ཡང་མ་ར་གླའི་ཡང་ཁ།།
[128]གོ་གྱེ(མཐེལ་ཤིང)་མེ་ལོང་ཁ་སྨས།།
[129]ལག་སྐམ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྐམ་ཆུང་།།
[130]གཞི་བདག་རྒྱལ་བོའི་ཕྱེ་མར་འཛོག་ས།།
[131]ཆུ་རགས(ཆུ་རྩ)་གཡུ་མཆོ་སྟོན་པོ་ཀླུ་བཟའ་དུང་ཆུང་སྨོལ་མའི་སྐུ་འབྲུས་གསོལ་ཆུ།།
[132]སྐྱེང་ཐབ་འོག་ཐབ་བར་ཐབ་གསུམ།།
[133]སྐྱེང་ཐབ་ནི་གསེར་ཐབ་ཁྲ་མོ།།
[134]ལྷ་བླ་མའི་མཆོད་ཅ་སྐོལ་ས།།
[135]བར་ཐབ་ནི་དངུལ་ཐབ་ཁྲ་མོ།།
[136]གོང་དཔོན་དོའི་ཁྱིམས་ཅ་སྐོལ་ས།།
[137]འོག་ཐབ་ནི་ཟངས་ཐབ་ཁྲ་མོ།།
[138]མ་ཙ་སྒུའི་གཉེན་ཅ་སྐོལ་ས།།

[139]དུ་བགོངྡ་པའི་རྫོང་གཅིག་ངོ་མཚར་ཙན།།
[140]སྡུགས་མདུད་འབྲུག་མོ་རྫོང་ཡིན་མེན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེ་འདྲ་རེད་ལགས།།

He then described the auspiciousness of that day on which people, deities, and all good things had gathered, and on which G.yu mtsho and Bkra shis zla ba would marry.

[141]དུ་དེ་རིང་གནམ་ལ་སྐར་མ་བཟང་།།
[142]ས་ལ་དུས་ཆོད་བཟང་།།
[143]བར་ལ་གཟའ་སྐར་དུར།།
[144]མི་མི་འཛོམས་ལྟ་འཛོམས།།
[145]ལྟ་ཚོ་རྒྱན་པད་མའི་ཞལ་འཛོམས།།
[146]དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ནང་ལ་ལྟ་འཛོམས།།
[147]བྱམ་པ་ནང་ལ་རྫས་འཛོམས།།
[148]མར་མེ་ནང་ལ་འོད་འཛོམས།
[149]འོ་མ་ནང་ལ་མངར་འཛོམས།།
[150]སྐ་ཞ་འཇུང་སྟེང་ལ་གོས་བདེ།།
[151]གནམ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཉེ་བླ་སྐར་གསུམ་འཛོམས།།
[152]ས་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྩེ་ཐོག་ལོ་འདབ་རྒྱས།།
[153]མི་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་སྐོ་ནས།།
[154]དུ་དེ་རིང་བྱ་མོ་གཡུ་མཆོ་དང་བྱ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བླ་བ་གཉིས་བྱ་མོ་ཕར་བཏང་
མནའ་མ་ཚུར་བསུའི་དུས་ཆོད།།

He then praised the groom's and bride's parents and families.

[155]ཕ་རིགས་མི་འདྲ་དུང་རི་དཀར་པོ།།
[156]མ་རིགས་མི་འདྲ་གཡུ་མཆོ་སྟོན་པོ།།
[157]ཕ་ཆེན་རབས་མ་གཉེན་རབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཤིག་བཤད་ན།།
[158]བཤད་རྒྱ་མ་མང་ན་མི་ཉུང་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རེད་དེ།།
[159]དུ་དེ་རིང་ཆོག་ཁ་ཉུང་ཉུང་ཉན་ལེན་བདེ་མོ།།
[160]ཡོབ་ཐག་ཐུང་ཐུང་སྐུ་ལས་བདེ་མོ།།
[161]ལོ་རྒྱས་བཤད་ན།།

[162]དེ་ནས་ཐ་ལྷང་སྐེ་འདྲ་རབས་མ་ལྷང་སྐེ་འདྲ་རབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།
[163]བསམ་པའི་གཉེན།།
[164]ཚད་བའི་གོས།།
[165]ར་ཐར་དགའ་ཤིང་ལོ་ཚུར་འགྱུག།
[166]བཙན་པོ་སྐྱག་གཟིག་ཁ་སྨོད།།
[167]ཕྱུག་པོ་མར་རྩོ་ཁ་སྨོད།།
[168]མཛོས་མ་མེ་ཏོག་ཁ་སྨོད།།
[169]ཡིན་མིན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[170]ཁག་གཉེས་ཀྱི་དུད་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།།
[171]དུད་ཁ་མ་ཆེན་དུ་ཆེན།།
[172]ཐ་ལུ་བཟང་པོའི་བཞག་གཅིག(བྱས་རྗེས)།
[173]རྣམ་པ་བཟང་པོའི་དུ་རས།།
[174]ཡིན་མིན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེ་འདྲ་རེད་ལགས།།

The orator then described and praised *dar dkar*.

[175]དར་དཀར་ཉིན་མོ་བདེ་ལེགས་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཤུང་བསྡུས་ཙམ་བཤད་ན།།
[176]རྒྱ་བཟའ་ལྷ་ལྷམ་སྒོལ་མས་བཏགས་ཟེན་རེད།།
[177]ཐབས་དང་རྩྭ་འཕྲལ་སྒོ་ནས་བཏགས་ཟེན་རེད།།
[178]སྒོ་དང་རྩྭ་འཕྲལ་སྒོ་ནས་བཏགས་ཟེན་རེད།།
[179]གསེར་ཐྲུར་མགོ་ནས་ཐར་འཕེལ(འཕེལ)།།
[180]དངུལ་ཐྲུར་མགོ་ནས་ཚུར་འཐེན།།
[181]ད་ཚོང་དཔོན་ཨ་ཞང་མགྲོན་པོས་རྒྱུ་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱུ་མི་ནོར།།
[182]དོན་ཐམས་ཅད་དོན་མི་ནོར།།
[183]ད་དར་དཀར་ཉིན་མོ་བདེ་ལེགས་འདི།།
[184]སེར་པོ་གསེར་དང་མཉམ་བཀྱགས།།
[185]དཀར་པོ་དངུལ་དང་མཉམ་མཇལ།།
[186]ད་ཤེད་ཆེན་མཛོ་ལ་མི་བཀལ།།
[187]སྐྱག་རྐང་དྲེལ་ལ་བཀལ།།
[188]ལས་དབང་ཐང་ཅན་གྱི་སྒོ་ལ་བབས།།
[189]ལྷ་བྱ་མ་ལ་བཏང་ན་ཆོས་དར།།

[190]གོང་དཡོན་ཡོ་ལ་བཏང་ན་ཁྱིམས་དར།།
[191]མ་ཨ་སྤུ་ལ་བཏང་ན་གཉེན་དར།།
[192]དུ་དར་དཀར་ཉེན་མོ་བདེ་ལེགས་འདི།།
[193]དར་མགོ་དེ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད།།
[194]བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད་དེ་ཨ་སྟོན་དགྱང་ལ་ཟླག།
[195]དགྱང་ཨ་སྟོན་དགྱང་ལས་མཚོ་མེད།།
[196]ཁྱི་ཉེ་ཟླ་ཡི་སྐར་ཚོགས་རྒྱས་སུ།།
[197]དར་སྐེད་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སྐ་བདུན་དེ་དོ་རྗེ་བག་ལ་ཟླག།
[198]བག་དོ་རྗེ་བག་ལས་སྲ་མེད།།
[199]བྱ་ཆོད་དཀར་མོ་བྱ་ཡི་གཤོག་སྐོ་རྒྱས་སུ།།
[100]དར་འདབས་རྒྱ་ནག་ལྗགས་རེ་དེ་གཙང་རྒྱུད་ཚུ་ལ་ཟླག།
[101]ཚུ་གཙང་རྒྱུད་ཚུ་ལས་རེང་མེད།།
[102]ཉ་སྒམ་མ་བྱ་ཡི་འཇྲོམ་བྱག་རྒྱས་སུ།།

Next, he praised the groom's village (ri na), describing its unique landforms, plains, rivers, rocky outcrops, and grasslands. He claimed that villagers had milk to drink during summer and liquor to drink in winter. He stated that females who leave the village leave happiness behind, but those who come receive happiness.

[103]ད་དེ་རེང་ཐུགས་གཏམ་བཤད་ན།།
[104]རེ་སྐེ་སྐྱག་མོ་གདན་ཐང་ས་གནས་ཀྱི་སྐེང་ནས།།
[105]སྐེང་ཐང་བར་ཐང་འོག་ཐང་གསུམ།།
[106]སྐེང་ཐང་ནི་དགོན་ཆེན་ཚགས་ས།།
[107]སྐ་བླ་མས་ཆོས་ར་སྐོར་སའི་ཆོས་ཐང་།།
[108]བར་ཐང་ནི་སྐྱག་ཐང་ཁྱ་མོ་ནང་ལ།།
[109]གོང་དཡོན་ཡོས་ཁྱིམས་ཡིག་གཏོང་སའི་ཁྱིམས་ཐང་།།
[110]འོག་ཐང་ནི་ཐོང་ཆེན་མེ་ལོང་ཁ་སྟོད།།
[111]ཚུ་གཉེས་དེ་ཚབ་མ་གཤེབ་འདུ་ཡིན།།
[112]བག་གཉེས་དེ་མདའ་སྟོ་གཤེབ་འདུ་ཡིན།།
[113]སྟང་གཉེས་དེ་མེ་ལོང་གཤེབ་འདུ་ཡིན།།

[114]གཞན་དང་མ་འདྲ་མཁན་གང་དང་མི་མཉམ་མཁན།།
[115]དབྱར་ཟླ་གསུམ་ནི་འོ་སྐུ་འབྱིལ་སྟ།།
[116]དགུན་ཟླ་གསུམ་ནི་ཚང་སྐུ་འབྱིལ་སྟ།།
[117]མནའ་མ་ཚུར་བསུ་ཡི་སྐྱིད་གཞི་གཏང་སྟ།།
[118]བྱ་མོ་ཕར་འགྲོ་ཡིས་སྐྱིད་འཕྲོ་སྐྱ་སྟ།།
[119]ཡིན་རྒྱུ་མིན་རྒྱུ་དེ་འདྲ་རེད་ལགས།།

The final verse expressed the wish that the groom's and bride's families would be healthy, their livestock free of disease, and that the groom and the bride would become more powerful and wealthy and expand their kin network.

[120]ད་དེ་རིང་ཐན་ཚད་ཁག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྟེང་གི་མི་ལ་ན་ཚ་མེད།།
[121]འོག་གི་རྩོག་ལ་གོང་ཁ་མེད།།
[122]དེ་བྱ་བྱ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཆོ་ལ།།
[123]བཙན་དར་དང་ཕྱུག་གསུམ་འཛོམས།།
[124]དར་རྒྱས་དང་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས།།
[125]སྐྱ་གངན་སྟེང་ནས་བྲ་རྒྱུད་མི་ཚད།།
[126]གཟེག་གངན་སྟེང་ནས་དེབ་རྒྱུད་མི་ཚད།།
[127]དེ་ཐ་མ་བྱ་རྒྱུད་འཛོམས་ཚ་ཞ་ཁུ་མདོ་ལུ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད་ལ།།
[128]ད་ཡུལ་སྡེ་ཤོག་ཁ་རི་སྟེ་སྐྱ་མོ་གངན་ཐང་ལ།།
[129]མི་ལོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་སྟ་ལོ་བཅུ་བཞི་རང་ལོ་ཉེ་ཤུ་རྩ་ལྔའི་བར་དུ།།
[130]ཤེ་གེགས་དེ་ཚད།།
[131]གསོན་འགག་དེ་སྲེལ།།
[132]རྩེ་ཕྱུག་རྩེ་སྐྱིད་རྩེ་ཡག།
[133]ལོ་ཡག་ལྷང་འཁྱངས་འོང་།།
[134]ཆོས་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་བའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན་ནོ།།
[135]བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག།

Wedding Speech Four

This wedding speech was given by Bstan 'dzin in 2009 upon request. The bride and groom's names are fictitious. Such speeches are given on the second day of the wedding.

Lines contained from three to twenty-one syllables. The terms *da* 'now' and *da de 'phro ru* 'now, then' occurred frequently in the middle of verses and occasionally at the start. The fifteen verses of this speech are divided according to the content, and were occasionally marked by the orator with pauses. The orator spoke loudly throughout the speech using proverbs, honorifics, metaphors, and hyperbole. The 349 lines of this speech took eighteen minutes to deliver.

In the first verse, the orator explained why it is important to say *legs so*.

[1]འོ། ལེགས་སོ། ལེགས་སོ།།
[2]ད་ལེགས་སོ་ལེགས་སོ་ཟེར་རྒྱུ་དེ།།
[3]འཛིག་རྟེན་འདི་ཡི་གཏམ་དུལ་ནང་ལ་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་རེད་ལགས།།
[4]ད་ལེགས་སོ་ལེགས་སོ་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མ་བཤད་ན།།
[5]ཚོགས་མ་བཤད་ཡིང་ལ་འང་མེ་གོ།
[6]མ་འབྱུང་སྐམ་ཡོ་ཤིང་མི་འབར།།
[7]འཛིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་གྱི་དུལ་རེད་ལགས།།
[8]ད་ལེགས་སོ་དང་ཡོ་ནི་ཕྱ་བའི་ཚོས་ར་ནང་ལ་ལེགས་སོ་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་རེད།།
[9]ཕྱ་བྲ་མའི་ཚོས་དར་བས་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན།།
[10]ལེགས་སོ་གཉེས་པ་ནི་གོང་དང་དེའོན་དེའི་ཁྲིམས་ར་ནང་ལ་ལེགས་སོ་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་རེད།།
[11]གོང་དང་དེའོན་དེའི་ཁྲིམས་དར་བའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན།།
[12]ལེགས་སོ་གསུམ་པ་ནི་མ་དང་ཨ་སྤུའི་གཉེན་ར་ནང་ལ་ལེགས་སོ་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་རེད།།
[13]མ་དང་ཨ་སྤུ་གཉེན་དར་བས་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན།།
[14]ལེགས་སོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེ་འདུ་ཡིན་ལ།།

He then stated that it was an auspicious day, and asked all elders, women, men and audience members to pay attention.

[15]ང་སྟོང་གྱི་ཆེ་རིམ་ཏྲན་གསུམ།།
[16]སྨད་ཀྱི་མ་དང་ཨ་སྲུ།།
[17]བར་གྱི་བྱ་ཚ་བྱ་མོ།།
[18]འདུས་ཚོགས་རྣམ་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས།།
[19]གཞི་ཡི་ཐུགས་རྗེ་གཡར་ཙམ་གྱིས་ལགས།།
[20]ཐུགས་སེམས་སྟོང་ཙམ་གྱིས་ལགས།།

The orator next described the auspiciousness of that day on which people, deities, and all good things had gathered.

[21]ང་དེའི་འཕྲོ་ཏུ།།
[22]གནམ་ལ་སྐར་མ་བཟང་།།
[23]ས་ལ་དུས་ཚོད་བཟང་།།
[24]བར་ལ་གཟའ་སྐར་དུར།།
[25]མི་མི་འཛོམས་ལྟ་འཛོམས།།
[26]ལྟ་ཚོ་རྒྱན་པདྨའི་ཞལ་འཛོམས།།
[27]བྱམ་པའི་ནང་ལ་རྫས་འཛོམས།།
[28]དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ནང་ལ་ལྟ་འཛོམས།།
[29]བ་འོ་མའི་ནང་ལ་ཐམས་ཅད་འཛོམས།།
[30]འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་དཔེ་ནང་ལ་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་རེད་ལགས།།

He then described the creation of the world.

[31]ང་ཕྱི་སྟོང་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཆགས་ཚུལ།།
[32]ནང་བཅུད་སེམས་ཅན་སྐྱེས་ཚུལ།།
[33]སྐྱེས་བུ་དམ་པ་བྱོན་ཚུལ།།
[34]དགེ་འདུན་རྫ་གསུམ་ཆགས་ཚུལ།།
[35]དེ་སྲིད་ཨ་དགའ་དང་བག་སྲིན་མེ་ཆགས་དང་ཚུན་ཆད།།
[36]ཁ་སང་དེ་རིང་ཐན་ཆད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[37]ཉིན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱུ་རིམ་པ་ལྟར་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་རེད་ལགས།།

[38]བཤད་མི་དགོས་བན་ཏན་གྱི་ཚོས།།
[39]བསྒ་མི་དགོས་རོ་མོའི་སྒ་འདུ།།
[40]ཕྱི་སྣོང་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཚགས་ཚུལ་ལོ་རྒྱས་བྱར་ཙམ་ཞིག་བཤད་ན།།
[41]ད་དང་ལོ་མེའི་དགྱེལ་འཁོར་མེ་རེ་རེན་ཆེན་འབར་བ་ཚགས།།
[42]གཉེས་པ་རླུང་གི་དགྱེལ་འཁོར་རླུང་རེ་རོ་རྡེ་རྒྱ་གྲམ་ཚགས།།
[43]གསུམ་པ་ཆུ་ཡི་དགྱེལ་འཁོར་ཆུ་རེ་འཁོར་ལོ་ཚགས།།
[44]དེ་ཡི་སྟེང་དབང་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་ས་གཞི་བཀྲིང་།།
[45]གསེར་གྱི་རེ་བདུན་ཚགས།།
[46]རོལ་པའི་མཆོ་བདུན་ཚགས།།
[47]གླིང་བཞི་གླིང་ཕྲན་བརྒྱད་ཚགས།།
[48]ཤར་ལུས་འཕགས་གླིང་ཚགས།།
[49]སྐོ་འཛོམ་བུ་གླིང་ཚགས།།
[50]ནུབ་བ་གླང་སྟོང་ཚགས།།
[51]བྱང་སྒྲ་མི་སྐྱན་ཚགས།།
[52]འཛོམ་བུའི་གླིང་དང་ཇ་ཡབ་གླིང་ཚགས།།
[53]སྒྲ་མི་སྐྱན་དང་སྒྲ་མི་སྐྱན་ཚགས།།
[54]རིམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[55]ཉིན་མཚན་མཉམ་མེད་གྱི་བར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱུ་རིམ་པ་ལྟར་སོགས་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་རེད་
ལགས།།
[56]དེ་མང་ཐར་འཕེན་ཤུང་ཚུར་བསྡུས།།
[57]འཇིག་རྟེན་ཚགས་རིམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རྒྱར་ཙམ་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདུ་ཡིན་ལགས།།

The orator praised the dancers in the next verse, comparing male dancers to a shining sun and female dancers to a shining moon. Their decorations were likened to trees in summer, their beauty to a rainbow, and their voices to cuckoos'. Finally, the circle of dancers was compared to a lake.

[58]ད་དེའི་འཁོར་རྒྱ།།
[59]དེ་རིང་གི་རིམ་པ་ལ།།

[60]ཐོ་ར་ཙ་དྲ་པ་ཏྲ།།
[61]ཐོ་ར་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད་ཡིན།།
[62]བཀྲ་ཤིས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྱེལ་ཡིན།།
[63]ཙོ་གཡས་ཐོ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་ཉེ་མ་ཤར་འདུ་ཡིན།།
[64]མོ་གཡོན་ཐོ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་ཟླ་བ་ཤར་འདུ་ཡིན།།
[65]ལུས་རྒྱན་ཚ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་རྩི་ཐོག་བརྒྱན་འདུ་ཡིན།།
[66]ཐོ་ར་ཙ་དྲ་པ་ཏྲ་ཐོ་ར་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད་དེ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྱེལ་
ཡིན།།
[67]ད་ལྟ་ཞྭ་ཅན་གྱིས་ནམ་མཁའ་གང་།།
[68]ཐུགས་རྒྱང་ཅན་གྱིས་བར་སྣང་གང་།།
[69]སོག་ལྟམ་ཅན་གྱིས་ས་གཞི་གང་།།
[70]ཐོ་ར་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཞད་ན་དེ་འདུ་ཡིན་ལགས།།
[71]ཚ་ཙོ་པ་ཏྲ་ལྟ་ཡི་རྒྱན་དྲུག་ཡིན།།
[72]སེར་ཆེན་མེ་ཏོག་སྣང་གི་རྒྱན་དྲུག་ཡིན།།
[73]ཇ་མ་དཀར་བོ་ཟོག་གི་རྒྱན་དྲུག་ཡིན།།
[74]རྒྱན་རབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཞད་ན་དེ་འདུ་ཡིན་ལགས།།
[75]ད་ལྟག་གི་མི་ངན་བཞད་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ན་མཐའ་མ་བསྡུས་མི་དོ(ཐུབ)།།
[76]བྱ་ངན་འཕྱར་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ན་མཐའ་མ་འབབ་མི་དོ(ཐུབ)།།
[77]མི་ངན་བཞད་རྒྱ་ཆེན་ན་ཡར་ལུང་ཆྱང་གིས་གང་།།
[78]ཀུ་ངན་རྒྱགས་འདུར་ཆེ་ན་རྨེག་པ་ཁྲག་གིས་གང་།།
[79]ཟེར་རྒྱ་དེ་འཇིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་གྱི་དཔེ་ནང་ཡོད་རྒྱ་སྟེ།།
[80]རྣམ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་དུ་དེ་འདུ་རེད་ལ།།

The orator then praised the mountains that surround the village and stated that in the past an important leader lived in this village, whereas, at present, the local government is based there.

[81]ད་བང་སྣང་ལྷུང་ཆེན་གདན་ཐང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཞད་ན།།
[28]ཉེན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་གྱི་བར་དུ་བཞད་རྒྱ་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རེད་ལགས།།
[83]མང་ཐར་འཕེན་ཁང་ཚུར་བསྡུས་པ་བཞད་ན།།

[84]སྟེང་ནས་རེ་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་གཞི་བདག་རྒྱལ་བོ་གཡུང་དྲུང་སྤུན་དགུ།
[85]ཕ་དང་ཨ་ཁུ་ཡི་ཐོས་ར་སྐོར་འདྲ་ཡིན།།
[86]རྒྱབ་ཏུ་དགེ་སྟེན་པོ་ཟློ་དེ།།
[87]མ་དང་ཨ་སྤུའི་བྱ་ཆུང་བང་འདྲ་རེད།།
[88]བྱ་ཟས་ཤེལ་གྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་ནི་མཐའ་མར་མི་འགྲོ་བའི་གཏེར་ཡིན།།
[89]བྱང་གི་ཇ་མོང་རུས་སྤལ་རྒྱལ་བོ།།
[90]དེ་བྱང་དབུ་སྐོ་བརྟེན(རྒྱག)་མི་ཡིན།།
[91]བང་སྐད་ཁྱོང་ཆེན་གདན་ཐང་དེ།།
[92]ས་བསོད་ནམས་བསགས་བའི་ས་ཚ་ཡིན།།
[93]ས་སྟོན་ལམ་ཐོབ་པའི་ས་ཆ་ཡིན།།
[94]སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སྟེང་བའི་ཆེ་ལ་བང་སྐད་སྡུགས་བོ་ཚང་ཆགས་ས་ཡིན།།
[95]སྤྱི་ཚོགས་གསར་བའི་ཆེ་ལ་སྤེ་ཤོག་གིད་གཞུང་ཆགས་ས་ཡིན།།
[96]གནམ་ཡར་བཀྲགས་གྱི་ཀ་བ།།
[97]ས་མར་གནས་གྱི་མཇོས་རེ་ཡིན།།
[98]བང་སྐད་སྡུགས་བོ་ཚང་དེ།།
[99]བཀྲ་ལྷག་འཚོ་ཡི་རྩེ་ཙོ་ཡིན།།
[100]སྟོང་རྟ་བཏགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱར་པ་ཡིན།།
[101]ཕྱི་སྤེ་ཚ་ལ་གཏོར་འདྲ་ཡིན།།
[102]ནང་སྤེ་བཀྲ་ལྷག་འཚོ་འདྲ་ཡིན།།
[103]དེ་བང་སྐད་སྡུགས་བོ་ཚང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཟུར་ཙམ་བཤད་ན།།
[104]མདའ་དཔོན་བྱག་ཆུ་ཡི་ནང་དུ་ཡོད།།
[105]མི་སྐྱེས་ཟེན་གྱི་སྐྱ།།
[106]དགྲ་ཕར་རྡང་གི་ཐོ་བ་ཡོད་མཁན།།
[107]ཟས་ཚུར་བཟུང་གི་སྐམ་པ་ཡོད་མཁན།།
[108]བང་སྐད་སྡུགས་བོ་ཚང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཟེན་ཙམ་རེ་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལ།།
[109]བང་སྐད་ཁྱོང་ཆེན་གདན་ཐང་དེ།།
[110]སྟེང་ཐང་ཁོག་ཐང་བར་ཐང་གསུམ།།
[111]སྟེང་ཐང་ནི་སྡེ་བྷ་མའི་ཆོས་ར་སྐོར་ས།།
[112]བར་ཐང་ནི་གོང་དཔོན་དོའི་ཁྲིམས་ར་སྐོར་ས།།
[113]ཁོག་ཐང་ནི་མ་ཨ་སྤུ་ཡི་གཉེན་ར་སྐོར་ས།།

[114]དེ་འཕྲོ་བྱ།།
[115]སྡུ་བྷ་མའི་ཚོས་ར་ནང་ལ་སྡུག་གངས་ར་མོ་ཅན་ཡོད་སས།།
[116]གོང་དཡོན་ཡིའི་ཁྱིམས་ར་ནང་ལ་གཟེག་གངས་ཐེག་ལེ་ཅན་ཡོད་སས།།
[117]མ་ཨ་སྐྱའི་གཉེན་ར་ནང་ལ་བལ་གངས་དཀར་ཡོ་ཅན་ཡོད་སས།།
[118]ཤྲ་བྷ་མའི་ཚོས་དར་སས།།
[119]གོང་དཡོན་ཡིའི་ཁྱིམས་དར་སས།།
[120]མ་ཨ་སྐྱ་ཡི་གཉེན་དར་སས།།
[121]ས་ཆ་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[122]བྱ་མོ་ཕར་འགྲོ་ཡི་སྐྱིང་འཕྲོ་ཤྲག་སས།།
[123]མནའ་མ་ཚུར་བསྡུ་ཡི་སྐྱིང་གཞི་བཏེང་སས།།
[124]གཞན་དང་མི་འདྲ་གང་དང་མི་མཉམ།།
[125]བང་སྨད་ཁྱུང་ཆེན་གངན་ཐང་།།
[126]རྟ་ཕོ་གཡུང་བྱང་གྲེན་འཁྱིལ།།
[127]ཆུ་གཙོང་རྒྱུད་སྦོན་ཡོ་གྲེན་འགེལ་བཟོ།།
[128]འགྲོ་ཁྱགས་མི་འདྲ་དགོས་པ་ལེན་གསུམ་ཡོད།།
[129]དེ་འཕྲོ་བྱ།།
[130]ང་ལམ་ཡར་ཟུག་དེ་རྒྱ་གར་ཡུལ་ལ་ཟུག།
[131]རྒྱ་གར་རྒྱལ་ཡོ་ཡི་ཆོས་གཡང་ལེན་ས།།
[132]ལམ་ཕར་ཟུག་དེ་ཨ་ཆེ་ཧོར་ལ་ཟུག།
[133]ཨ་ཆེ་ཧོར་ནས་རྟ་གཡང་ལེན་ས།།
[134]ལམ་མར་ཟུག་དེ་བལ་ཡོ་ཡུལ་ལ་ཟུག།
[135]བལ་ཡོ་ཡུལ་ནས་ནོར་གཡང་ལེན་ས།།
[136]དབྱར་ཟླ་གསུམ་ནི་ཁོ་སྐྱ་འཁྱིལ་ས།།
[137]དགུན་ཟླ་གསུམ་ནི་ཚང་སྐྱ་འཁྱིལ་ས།།
[138]ཚོས་དུས་རྒྱུན་མི་ལས་ང་སྐྱ་འཁྱིལ་ས།།
[139]ཕྱི་རྩོང་ཆེན་ཁྲ་མོ་དེ་མར་ཤག་གི་གདན་འདུ།།
[140]ནང་དཡོན་ཡོ་བཟང་ཡོ་དེ་མ་མོའི་སྐྱིང་འདུ།།
[141]སྡུག་ཕར་འགྲོ་ཡི་ཇ་མ་གཙོང་ས།།
[142]ལྷ་ལྷ་ཚུར་འོང་གི་རྣ་ཚགས་བཏགས་ས།།
[143]ས་ཆ་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདུ་ཡིན་ལ།།

He then described the origin of the nine families of Bang smad Village, and named the traditional leaders' families of Nyag rong.

[144]བང་སྨད་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་དྲུད་མཁོ་དགུ་དེ་སྡིད་པ་དང་པོ་ཚགས་པ་ཡིན།།
[145]དྲུད་ཁ་ཚགས་དེ་ནས་ཚགས་སྡ་ཡིན་མཁན།།
[146]ཡར་ཁང་གི་བདག་པོ།།
[147]མར་ས་ཡི་བདག་པོ།།
[148]ཆོས་སྐྱོང་དྲུད་མཁོ་དགུ་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལ།།
[149]ཐ་ཚ་ཚ་ནང་གི་ཆོ་ཆོ་ཡོད།།
[150]ཆོ་པ་བཞི་གསུམ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཚགས།།
[150]བང་སྨད་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་དྲུད་མཁོ་དགུ།
[152]མ་རེད་ཐ་སྡེ་བྱ།།
[153]ཀྱི་རེ་རྒྱ་མཆོ་ཚང་།།
[154]སྨྲེལ་བོ་ཨ་སྨྲི་ཚང་།།
[155]གང་ཁུ་ཇག་གེ་ཆོང་།།
[156]རེ་སྡེ་འབྲི་སེང་ཚང་།།
[157]སྡང་ལོ་སྐྱ་འབོ་ཚང་།།
[158]སྡོང་ར་ཡུང་བག་ཚང་།།
[159]ཐུ་ཡིག་དཀྲ་ཆ་ཚང་།།
[160]དེའི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[161]ཉེན་མཚན་མཁོ་མེད་ཀྱི་བར་དུ།།
[162]བཤད་རྒྱ་རིམ་པ་ལྟར་སོགས་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རེད་ལ།།

Next, the orator praised Mtsho kha Monastery.

[163]ད་དེའི་འཕྲོ་ཏུ།།
[164]དགོན་ཆེན་བརྒྱ་དང་བཅུ་གསུམ་ཡོད།།
[165]དགོན་ཆུང་ཇོ་ཇོབ་གྲངས་མེད་ཡོད།།
[166]མང་ཐར་འཕེན་ཉང་ཚུར་བསྡུ།།
[167]མཆོ་ཁ་ཤུཊྚ་སྒིང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེད་བཤད་ན།།
[168]ད་ལྟ་སྐྱབས་པའི་སྐྱབས་གནས་ཡིན།།

[169]ཀྱི་མ་འདྲེན་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཡིན།།
[170]ཤི་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་རྣམ་ཤེས་སྤང་སྟེ།།
[171]གསོན་པོ་ཡི་ཚེ་དབང་སྐོར་སྟེ།།
[172]སྐྱེང་ནས་རི་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་གཞི་བདག་གཡར་རི་སེང་གེ།།
[173]འོག་ནས་མཚོ་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་ཤོ་ཁ་པ་ལའི།།
[174]སྟོད་རེག་འཛིན་ཀྱི་གདུང་རྒྱུད་མ་ཚད་པར།།
[175]བར་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་གི་ཁ་ཟྲངས་མ་ཡལ་བ།།
[176]འོག་མཚོ་མོ་ཡི་རགས་ཏ་མ་སྐམ་པར།།
[177]རྩོ་ཡར་བཙག་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་རྩོ།།
[178]ཤིང་ཡར་སྐྱེས་ཐམས་ཅད་གནས་ཤིང་།།
[179]ཆུ་མར་བབས་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་ཆུ།།
[180]མཚོ་ཁ་ཤུབྱ་གྲིང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[181]ཉིན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་པ་རེད།།

The orator then described the three most famous holy mountains in Nyag rong: Kha ba lung ring, Skyobs 'byin seng nag, and Shang long brag dkar.

[182]ད་དེའི་འཕྲོ་ཏུ།།
[183]གནས་ཆེན་བརྒྱ་དང་བཅུ་གསུམ་ཡོད།།
[184]གནས་ཆུང་རྩེ་བ་ཐུང་མེད་ཡིན།།
[185]དོད་གང་ས་ཅན་ཕྲོངས་ཀྱི་ཆུ་བཞི་དང་སྦས་དུག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[186]ཉིན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་དེ།།
[187]མང་ཐར་འཕེན་ཞུང་ཚུར་བསྡུས།།
[188]ཤར་ཕྱོགས་རྩ་རྒྱལ་སྟོམ་ར།།
[189]ཟེ་ལེང་གཡུ་ཡི་མཚོ་སྟོན་དོ།།
[190]གསེར་གྱི་འབྲུག་རི་སྐུག་དོ།།
[191]དེ་ཡི་ནང་དུ་ཞག་ཙ་ངོ་རོང་རོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[192]ཞག་སྟོད་ཁ་བ་ལུང་རེང་དེ་གང་གྱི་རེ།།
[193]གངས་ལ་སེང་གེ་མ་བྱ་ཚགས།།
[194]སེང་གེ་ལ་གཡུ་རལ་རྒྱས།།

[195]ཞག་སྣང་རྒྱབས་འབྱིན་སེང་ནག་དེ་ནགས་ཀྱི་ངེ།།
[196]ནགས་ལ་སྐྱག་མོ་མ་བྱ་ཚགས།།
[197]སྐྱག་མོ་མ་བྱ་འཇྲོམ་བྱག་རྒྱས།།
[198]ཕྱིར་ལྷས་ན་ནགས་རེ་ནག་པོ།།
[199]ནང་ལྷར་ན་ཕྱག་ན་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཡི་སྣུལ་བ།།
[200]དབྱར་ཟླ་གསུམ་ནི་སྟོན་པོ་གཡུ་དང་འདྲ།།
[201]སྟོན་ཟླ་གསུམ་ནི་སེར་པོ་གསེར་དང་འདྲ།།
[202]དགྱན་ཟླ་གསུམ་ནི་ཁྲ་པོ་གཟི་དང་འདྲ།།
[203]གང་སེ་དཀར་པོའི་དབུ་ཞ།།
[204]རྩ་རེ་སྟོན་པོའི་སྐེད་དཀྱི།།
[205]ནགས་རེ་ནག་པོའི་ན་བཟའ་ཡིན།།
[206]གཙོང་རྒྱུད་ཚུ་ཡི་མཐའ་ཤམ་ཡིན།།
[207]རྩོ་ཡར་བཅག་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་རྡོ།།
[208]ཤེང་ཡར་སྐྱེས་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་ཤེང་།།
[209]ཚུ་མར་འབབ་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་ཚུ་ཡིན།།
[210]སྐྱོབས་འབྱིན་སེང་ནག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེད་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན།།
[211]བར་གྱི་ཤང་ལོང་བྱག་དཀར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[212]ཤ་གནའ་ཆོ་གསུམ་གྱི་རྩེད་མོ་རྩེ་ས།།
[213]རྩོ་ཡར་བཅག་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་རྡོ།།
[214]ཤེང་ཡར་སྐྱེས་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་ཤེང་།།
[215]ཚུ་མར་འབབ་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་ཚུ་ཡིན།།
[216]ཕྱིར་ལྷས་ན་གང་ས་དཀར་པོ།།
[217]ང་ལྷས་ན་སྨྲན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྣུལ་བ།།
[218]དེའི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལ།།
[219]སྐ་བྱག་དཀར་རྩོ་རྩེ་དབྱིག་ཚུལ་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[220]དར་དཀར་བོ་གནམ་ལ་འཕྱར་འདྲ།།
[221]སྟེར་ནང་ཆུ་མར་སྐྱངས་འདྲ།།
[222]ཞག་ཨ་ཇིཀ་རོང་མཐའ་མར་མེ་འཕོ་བའི་རྟེན།།
[223]ཤ་གནའ་ཆོ་གསུམ་གྱི་རྩེད་མོ་རྩེ་ས།།
[224]རྩོ་ཡར་བཅག་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་རྡོ།།

[225]ཤེང་ཡར་རྐྱེས་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་ཤེང་།།
[226]ཚུ་མར་འབབ་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་ཚུ་ཡིན།།
[227]སྡུ་བག་དཀར་རྩོ་རྩེ་དབྱིངས་མཚྭངས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལ།།

He next praised the groom's and the bride's parents.

[228]ད་གཏམ་མང་བོ་བཤད་ན་ཁ་ན་སྨྲད།།
[229]ཤ་རྒྱས་པ་ཟས་ན་སོ་ན་སྨྲད་མ་གཏོགས་ཅི་ཡང་མེད་དེ།།
[230]དྲུད་ཁ་གཉིས་ལ་ཐུག་ན།།
[231]གནའ་གཅིག་གི་ཁ་ལ་མ་སོང་ན།།
[232]ཐ་རིགས་དཀར་བོ་དྲང་ལས་ཚད་རབས།།
[234]དྲང་དཀར་ཐོ་ལ་འཐུར་རྩེས་མེད་རབས།།
[235]མ་རིགས་སྟོན་ཏོ་གཡུ་ལས་ཚད་རབས།།
[236]དགུང་སྟོན་ཏོ་ལ་གས་སྨྲབ་མེད་རབས།།
[237]ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[238]ཉིན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་གྱི་བར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱུ་རེམ་པ་ལྟར་སོགས་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་རེད་ལགས།།
[239]ད་མང་ཐར་འཕེན་ཤུང་ཚུར་བསྟུས།།

The orator then praised the groom and his family…

[240]བྱ་ཉེ་མ་འོད་ཟེར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[241]དགུང་ཨ་སྟོན་ལས་ཚད་ཀྱི་གཞི་མ།།
[242]ཁྱེ་ཉེ་བྷ་བགོད་པའི་སྐལ་བ།།
[243]སྲིད་པ་ཆགས་དེ་ནས་ལོ་རྒྱས་བཤད་ན།།
[244]ཉིན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་བར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་རེད་ལགས།།
[245]ཐ་རིགས་དཀར་བོ་དྲང་ལས་ཚད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱས་བཤད་ན།།
[245]མ་རེ་ཐ་སྟེ་ཚང་གི་རྒྱུད་པ་ཡིན།།
[246]ཉིན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་གྱི་བར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱུ་རབ་དང་རེམ་པ་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་རེད་ལགས།།
[247]ཁྱེ་ཤ་གཟུགས་གཞི་མེ་འདྲ།།
[248]ཁྱེ་ཤ་གཟུགས་གཞི་འདྲ་ཏེ།།

[250]ནང་ཚ་བྱ་དགུ་མེ་འདུ།།
[251]རྣ་བྱ་མཁྲིས་དུག་འདུ་ལས་ཁ་མང་།།
[252]ཕྱི་ཤ་གཟུགས་དབྱིབས་འདུ་སྟེ།།
[253]ཕྲོ་མོ་ར་རྩེ་འདུ་ལས་རྩོ་རབས་བཤད་ན།།
[254]དགྲ་ཕར་རྡང་གི་ཐོ་བ་ཡོད་རབས།།
[255]ཟས་ཚུར་འཇུ་སྐམ་པ་ཡོད་རབས།།
[256]དེའི་ལོ་རྒྱས་བཤད་ན་ཉེན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་བར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་རེད་དེ།།
[257]ད་རྣམ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་རྩེད་གེ་ཅག་རྒྱུ་མ་གཏོགས་ཅི་མེད་དུ་ལགས།།

… and the bride and her family.

[258]ད་ཏུ་མོ་གཡུ་འབྲུག་ལྟ་མོ་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།།
[259]ད་གནའ་གཅིག་གི་ཁ་ལ་མ་སོང་ན།།
[260]མོ་རང་རིགས་ཀྱི་རིག་པ་གསེར་ཡིན་རབས།།
[261]ཕྱིར་ཤ་གཟུགས་གཞི་འདུ་སྟེ།།
[262]ནང་ཚ་བྱ་དགུ་མེ་འདུ་ལས།།
[263]ནང་ཚ་བྱ་དགུ་འདུ་ལས།།
[264]རྣ་བྱ་མཁྲིས་དུག་འདུ་ལས་ཁ་མོ།།
[265]ཕྱིར་ཆགས་གཟུགས་དབྱིབས་འདུ་སྟེ།།
[266]མཚོ་མོ་ར་རྩེ་འདུ་ལས་རྩོ་རབས་བཤད་ན།།
[267]ལོ་རྒྱས་བཤད་ན་ཉེན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱུ་རེམ་པ་ལྟར་སོགས་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་རེད་དེ།།
[268]བཤད་མེ་དགོས་བན་ཏན་ཀྱི་ཚོས་འདུ།།
[269]བསྟེ་མེ་དགོས་ཀོ་མོ་ཡི་སྐུ་འདུ།།
[270]རྒྱས་ཡོད་མདུན་ལ་རྒྱས་གཏམ།།
[271]རྒྱས་མེད་མདུན་ལ་ཕྱུག་གཏམ།།
[272]རྐུ་བདག་མདུན་ལ་རྐའི་ལོ་རྒྱས།།
[273]མཚོ་བདག་མདུན་ལ་མཚོའི་རེག་གྲངས།།
[274]བླ་སེར་མདུན་ལ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཡུང་འགྲེལ།།
[275]སྟེ་དཔོན་མདུན་ལ་ཁྲིམས་གཙོད་བྱེད་སྐྱངས།།

[276]འཇོག་པའི་མདུན་ལ་ནོར་ལྷག་འཚོ་ལྷགས།།
[277]རིང་བའི་མདུན་ལ་སོ་ནམ་ལགས་ཚས།།
[278]ཚོང་བའི་མདུན་ལ་རིན་ཐང་ཆེ་ཆུང་།།
[279]མགར་བའི་མདུན་ལ་ཐོ་བ་རྒྱག་སྟོངས།།
[280]བཟོ་བོ་མདུན་ལ་ཚོམ་བུ་ཡག་ཉེས།།
[281]ལྷག་གེ་ཉན་གེ་ཅག་རྒྱུ་མ་གཏོགས་ཅི་མེད་དུ་ལགས།།
[282]ང་གནའ་གཅིག་གི་ཁ་ལ་མ་སོང་ན།།
[283]མང་ཐར་འཕེན་ཉང་ཚུར་བསྡུ།།

The orator then described and praised *dar dkar*.

[284]ང་འཇལ་དར་ཉེན་མོ་བདེ་ལེགས་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་མ་བཤད་ན།།
[285]ལྷ་བླ་མའི་ཚོས་ལ་ཞུ་ན་དར་ལ་བསྟོད།།
[286]གོང་དཔོན་པོའི་ཁྲིམས་ལ་ཞུ་ན་དར་ལ་བསྟོད།།
[287]མ་ཨ་སྲུའི་གཉེན་ལ་ཞུ་ན་དར་ལ་བསྟོད།།
[288]དེ་ནི་དར་དཀར་བོ་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་མ་བཤད་ན།།
[289]ཁྱོད་རྣམ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐུགས་ལ་ཐན་རྒྱ་མ་རེད།།
[290]བཤད་ནི་བཞག་ན་དར་དཀར་འདི་ནི།།
[291]སེར་བོ་གསེར་དང་མཉམ་བཀྱག་བྱེད།།
[292]དཀར་བོ་དཌལ་དང་དགུ་རྐོར་བྱས།།
[293]རྒྱ་བཟའ་ལྷ་ལྷམ་སྤྲོལ་མ་གཟུགས་བཟང་ཐབས་བཟང་།།
[294]ཐབས་དང་རྩུ་འཕྲུལ་སྒོ་ནས་བཏགས།།
[295]གསེར་གྱི་ཕྱར་ཅང་ནང་ནས་བཏགས།།
[296]དཌལ་གྱི་ཐགས་ཁང་ནང་ནས་ལས།།
[297]གསེར་ཕྲུར་གྱིས་ཡར་བཀྱམ།།
[298]དཌལ་ཕྲུར་ཡིས་མར་བཀྱམ།།
[299]ཤེད་ཆེན་མཇོ་ལ་མེ་བཀལ།།
[300]སྐྱེག་རྐྱང་དེལ་ལ་བཀལ།།
[301]ཕོ་བསོད་ནམས་ཅན་གྱི་ལགས་ཏུ་ཕེབས།།
[302]ལྷ་བླ་མ་ལ་བཏང་ན་ཚོས་དར་ཡིན།།
[303]གོང་དཔོན་པོ་ལ་བཏང་ན་ཁྲིམས་དར་ཡིན།།

[304]མ་ཨ་སྒུ་ལ་བཏང་ན་གཉེན་དང་ཡིན།།
[305]བྱ་ཚ་བྱ་མོ་ལ་བཏང་ན་བཙེ་དང་ཡིན།།
[306]གཞི་ཡི་དང་དཀར་བོ་བསོད་ནམས་ལེགས་དབང་ཡིན།།
[307]ད་དང་མགོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད།།
[308]དགྱང་ཨ་སྟོན་ལ་བཏང་ན་དགྱང་ཨ་སྟོན་ལས་མཐོ་མེད།།
[309]དགྱང་ཨ་སྟོན་ལ་ཉི་ཟླ་སྐར་གསུམ་ཚགས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ།།
[310]དང་ཤེད་རོ་རྗེ་མདུད་པ་དེ་རོ་རྗེ་བག་ལ་ཟུག།
[311]རོ་རྗེ་བག་ལས་སྐ་མེད།།
[312]རོ་རྗེ་བག་ལ་ཆོད་ཚགས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ།།
[313]མེ་སྟོག་དེ་རོ་རྗེ་བག་ལས་སུ་རུ་ཡི་སྨོན་ལམ་ཡིན།།
[314]དང་འདབས་ཆུ་ཏིག་ཚ་ཟོ་དེ་གཙང་ཐོ་ཆུ་ལ་ཟུག།
[315]གཙང་ཐོ་ཆུ་ལས་རིང་མེད།།
[316]གཙང་ཐོ་ཆུ་ལ་ཉ་སྐམ་མ་བུ་ཚགས།།
[317]ཉ་སྐམ་མ་བུ་ལ་གསོན་ཤུགས་རུས།།
[318]མེ་ཚ་དེ་གཙང་ཐོ་ཆུ་ལས་རིང་རུ་ཡི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ན་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་
ཡིན་ལགས།།
[319]དང་དཀར་ཐོ་ཡི་ཟོ་རྒྱས་ཁུང་བསྡུས་ཙམ་རེ་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན།།

Next he stated that the groom and bride rewarded the dancers with 300 RMB.

[320]ད་བྱ་ཚ་དང་བྱ་མོ་ཡི་འདུས་རྟེན་རེ་མ་བཤད་ན།།
[321]ཞེ་འདི་ནང་ན།།
[322]ད་བྱ་ནི་ཉེ་མ་འོད་ཟེར་དང་བྱ་མོ་གཡུ་འབྲུག་ལྷ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས།།
[323]བྱ་ཚ་བྱ་མོའི་འདུས་རྟེན་སྒོར་མོ་སོ་བརྒྱ།།
[324]ཨ་སྒྲ་ཆུང་སྟེ་ཤ་ལྷུ་ཚང་།།
[325]མེ་ཏོག་ཆུང་སྟེ་མཆོད་པའི་རྫས།།
[326]མར་མེ་ཆུང་སྟེ་གནས་པའི་གཞི།།
[327]ལྷ་བཤོས་ཆུང་སྟེ་རེ་རབ་ཀྱི་རྟེན།།
[328]ཡོན་ཆབ་ཆུང་སྟེ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཡི་ཚུལ།།
[329]དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན།།

In the final verse, the orator expressed the wish that the groom's and bride's families would be healthy, their livestock free of disease, that the groom and the bride would become more powerful and wealthy, and extend their kin network.

[330]དང་བཀུ་ཤེས་ཚོགཿགཅིག་སྟོན་ལམ་ཚོགཿགཉིས་ཐར་ཚད།།
[331]ཚོགཿགསུམ་ཚར་རྒྱུ་མགོ་ངེ་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན།།
[332]དང་བཀུ་ཤེས་ཚོགཿགཅིག་སྟོན་ལམ་ཚོགཿགཉིས་ནི།།
[333]ཁང་སྟེང་རྒྱུ་ཡིས་གང་།།
[334]བར་གཡེ་མེ་ཡིས་གང་།།
[335]ར་བ་ནོར་གྱིས་གང་།།
[336]བཙན་དར་ཕྱུགཿགསུམ་འཛོམས།།
[337]དར་རྒྱས་ཕྱན་སུམ་ཚོགས།།
[338]བྱ་རྒྱུད་ཚ་གསུམ་འཛོམས།།
[339]ཚ་ཞ་ཁང་མདོ་ལྷ་རྒྱས།།
[340]རྟ་མ་བརྒྱ་དེ་བྱ་བརྒྱ།།
[341]རྟ་གཡང་བརྒྱ་ཡི་འདོགས་རྡང་གང་།།
[342]ལྷགཿམ་བརྒྱ་དང་བྱ་བརྒྱ་འཛོམས།།
[343]ལྷགཿཆོར་མོ་བརྒྱ་ཡི་རྡང་གང་།།
[344]འབྲི་མ་བརྒྱ་དང་བྱ་བརྒྱ་འཁོར།།
[345]འབྲི་ཐེང་ཆུང་བརྒྱ་ཡི་རྡང་གང་།།
[346]མེ་ལོ་བཙུགསུམ་ལྟ་ལོ་བཙུ་བཞི།།
[347]རང་ལོ་ཉི་ཤྲ་རྩ་ཕྱ་ཡི་བར་དུ།།
[348]སྟེང་གི་མེ་ལ་ན་ཚ་མེད་རྒྱུ།།
[349]འོག་གི་ཟོག་ལ་གོད་ཁ་མེད་རྒྱུ།།
[350]ཡུལ་ལ་འཕེལ་འགྱུར་མེད་རྒྱུ།།
[351]བཙན་དར་ཕྱུགཿགསུམ་འཛོམས།།
[352]དར་རྒྱས་ཕྱན་སུམ་ཚོགས།།
[353]ལོ་ཕྱུགས་རྟག་ཏུ་ལེགས།།
[354]མི་ནད་དང་ཕྱུགས་ནད་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱུན་ཆད།།
[355]རྟགས་ཐམས་ཅད་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གྱི་རང་བཞིན།།

[356]ཚོས་ཐམས་ཅང་འོ་ཡག་གི་སྟེ་མ།།
[357]ནང་གེགས་ཚད་ཤེ་གེགས་ཚད་གསོན་གེགས་སྲེལ།།
[358]རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཐམས་ཅང་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལགས།།

Figure One.
Cars going to the groom's home are decorated with *dar dkar*.

Figure Two.
These youths wait near the *buw muw la tse* for the bride's car to pass. They will receive money and candies from the occupants.

Figure Three.
This man scatters money and candies to those who made the *buw muw la tse.*

Figure Four.
The greeters dance once in a big circle in front of the bride and her entourage, and the bride's side gives a speech when the dancing finishes. The bride, her entourage, and the greeters then leave for the groom's home.

Figure Five.
The bride and her entourage arrive at the place prepared for them and sit in the following order: *a ɣɔ*, bride, and the remaining entourage. Greeters provide fruit juice for the *a ɣɔ* and the bride's entourage.

Figure Six.
The bride and the girl who first holds her hands when she gets out of the car. This girl is chosen by a *bla ma* or *rtsis pa*.

Figure Seven.
The bride sits next to her older brother.

Figure Eight.
After the bride arrives at the groom's home, her helper holds her hand and circles the bucket three times. They then enter the home.

Figure Nine.
The *a ɣɔ* performs *mchod* to purify the bride in front of the groom's home.

Figure Ten.
The groom's family places *phye mar* in front of the bride to symbolize auspiciousness.

Figure Eleven.
The audience listens to the orator's speech.

Figure Twelve.
Monks chant scriptures in front of the bride and groom, who hold the *g.yang mda'*, which are carried to the *zɔ* on the second floor of the house after the chanting finishes.

Figure Thirteen.
Sring sring (b. 1990) attended middle school for one year. Her family asked her to marry in 2010.

Figure Fourteen
Decorations on the bride's back.

Figure Fifteen.
'Od gsal 'phrin las (b. 1990) is a high school student who married in 2010. His family arranged his marriage because they needed a laborer. His wife helps his family while he continues his education.

Figure Sixteen.
Bkra shis bzang mo (b. 1989, left) is the bride's (right) assistant. She helped the bride dress, prepared food for her, and stayed with her for three days at the groom's home.

Figure Seventeen.
Pad ma sgrol dkar (b. 1988) finished primary school and then stayed home and helped her family farm. Her family arranged her marriage in 2010.

Figure Eighteen.
Decorations and ornaments on the bride's back.

Figure Nineteen.
The large *ʂe ɦɜ ju* 'gold ring' weighs about seventy grams, whereas the smaller one weighs approximately forty grams.

Figure Twenty.
This *ra tuw* is hung from hip to knee.

Figure Twenty-one.
tɕʰa ma is tied around the waist. *la lu* are made from silver and hung from the hip over the outer thighs.

Figure Twenty-two.
ʂe cuw tʰuw 'gold necklace' and *ʑɜ goŋ* 'coral' are hung around the neck.

Figure Twenty-three.
This *paw ku* is hung from the waist and over the outer left thigh.

Figure Twenty-four.
This dowry was worth approximately 60,000 RMB in 2011.


V 19493













































NON-ENGLISH WORD LIST

Words are listed alphabetically. Each entry begins with the term as it appears in the text, followed by translations. Tibetan terms are written in Wylie and Tibetan script, Chinese terms in both *pinyin* and Chinese characters, and Mi nyag terms appear in IPA. Terms prefixed with * indicate a proper noun or a typological translation so that, for example, *location indicates a place name, and *ornament indicates a type of ornament.

ʔ

ʔa dʑa, A bag of gunpowder hangs under the three poles in a configuration called *ʔa dʑa*. Village leaders ignite the gunpowder after the horserace.

'

'Ba' thang འབའ་ཐང་། Batang 巴塘, *location

'Bang nag a skya thang འབང་ནག་ཨ་སྐྱ་ཐང་། *location

'Brug thar འབྲུག་ཐར། Zhuta 珠塔, *person

'Brug yul འབྲུག་ཡུལ། Budan 不丹, Bhutan

'bu འབུ། *bə dʑu*, *chong* 虫, worm or insect

'cham འཆམ། *tɕʰoŋ nboŋ*, *mianjuwu* 面具舞, A religious ritual at Tibetan monasteries. Monks perform wearing masks and ornamented costumes, and dance accompanied by music played by monks using traditional Tibetan instruments. The dances often depict the life of Padmasambhava, the ninth century teacher, and other important religious figures.

'Chi med འཆི་མེད། Qimai 其麦, *person

'Chi med rdo rje འཆི་མེད་རྡོ་རྗེ། Qimai duoji 其麦多吉, *person

'Dab pa འདབ་པ། Daocheng 稻城, *location

'dre mo འདྲི་མོ། *dʑe mɔ*, *nügui* 女鬼, Witch. A *'dre mo* is a woman who stays at home at night but is seen by others outside her home in the village.

'dre skad འདྲི་སྐད། *ndʑe ki*, *guiyu* 鬼语, 'ghost language'

'Dzam gling འཛམ་གླིང་། dzɔ li, *shijie* 世界, the world

'Jang འཇང་། ɟoŋ, Jiang 绛, An ancient ethnic group who governed Nyag rong and were conquered by King Ge sar.

'Od gsal 'phrin las འོད་གསལ་འཕྲིན་ལས། Esha chile 俄沙赤勒, *person

'phags pa skyabs འཕགས་པ་སྐྱབས། Paba jia 爬巴甲, *person

'phur འཕུར། *ɟoŋ loŋ*, *fei* 飞, to fly

A

A bad ཨ་བད། Abai 阿白, *person

A bzang ཨ་བཟང་། Arong 阿绒, *person

A chos ཨ་ཆོས། Aqing 阿青, *person

A dkar ཨ་དཀར། Aga 阿呷, *person

A g.yang ཨ་གཡང་། Ayong 阿拥, *person

A hung ཨ་ཧུང་། Ahu 阿虎, *person

a kə, *a khu* ཨ་ཁུ། shubo 叔伯, uncle

a la Ɉo, A ritual held fourteen days before ɬe ndzɛ on the evening of the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh lunar month. Those between the ages of eleven and thirty make bonfires, burn straw torches, and circumambulate the village to drive away ghosts, sicknesses, and other evils.

A lca ཨ་ལྕ། Ajia 阿甲, *person

A mchun ཨ་མཆུན། Anqing 安青, *person

A mdo ཨ་མདོ། Aduo 安多, *person

a pa, a pha ཨ་པ། *fuqin* 父亲, father

A phyug ཨ་ཕྱུག Axu 阿须, *location

a qa ɲɔ, ɬe ndzɛ Eve

A rga ཨ་རྒ། Aga 阿嘎, *person

A Sha ཨ་ཧྭ། Ahua 阿华, *person

A sne ཨ་སྙེ། Anlie 安烈, *person

a tʰoŋ woŋ, *family

A tshe ཨ་ཚེ། A ze 阿泽, *person

a ɣɔ, a zhang ཨ་ཞང་། *jiujiu* 舅, maternal uncle

B

ba ɕu ma, A hamlet in the center of Bang smad Village territory that has five households.

bag gtam བག་གཏམ། *dʑoŋ*, wedding speech

bag ma lab rtse, buw muw la tse བག་མ་ལབ་རྩེ། When the bride leaves her home, youths collect stones in piles, put full buckets of water, and extend cushions by the road. This is called *buw muw la tse*. People wait near the *buw muw la tse* they have constructed and when the bride's car passes a *buw muw la tse*, two of the bride's entourage scatter one or five RMB notes and candy from the car window.

bags rogs བག་རོགས། *buw ru bannia* 伴娘, Bridesmaid. Two bridesmaids assist the bride by preparing her meals and helping her dress.

Ban de tshe ring བན་དེ་ཚེ་རིང་། Baideng zeren 白登泽仁, *person

bang khang བང་ཁང་། *nboŋ gɔ*, wood house

Bang blo བང་བློ། pɜ lʉ Boluo 波洛, *location

Bang smad བང་སྨད། boŋ mi Bomei 博美, *location

Bang stod བང་སྟོད། boŋ tʰa Bode 博得, *location

Bar chad lam sel བར་ཆད་ལམ་སེལ། *a scripture

baw na ji, The idea that certain people may fall seriously ill if they encounter the bride enroute to the groom's home.

Bcu gsum བཅུ་གསུམ། ɬe ndzɛ Shisan 十三, New Year celebrations held on the thirteen day of the eleventh or twelfth lunar month in Nyag rong. Mi nyag speakers refer to it as ɬe ndzɛ while Nyag skad speakers called it Bcu gsum.

Bdun 'dul rdo rje བདུན་འདུལ་རྡོ་རྗེ། Dundeng duoji 顿登多吉, *person

be lɔ, *be lo* བེ་ལོ། *gaoshanli* 高山栎, A small white-timbered evergreen trees with wood that is very hard to cut, and is often used to make axe handles.

Beijing 北京, *location

Bka' brgyud pa བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པ། ka ɟə pa Gajupai 噶居派, *Buddhist sect

Bkra shis bzang mo བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཟང་མོ། Zhaxi rongmu 扎西绒姆, *person

Bkra shis bzang po བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཟང་པོ། Zhaxi rongbu 扎西绒布, *person

Bkra shis che ba བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཆེ་བ། *tʂa ɕi tɕʰi vu*, 'Long *bkra shis*' is danced at the end of celebrations that last several days, for example weddings and ɬe ndzɛ.

Bkra shis chos sgrol བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཆོས་སྒྲོལ། Zhaxi qizhen 扎西其珍, *person

Bkra shis chung ba བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཆུང་བ། *tʂa ɕi da vu*, 'Short *bkra shis'* is danced at the end of a day or night of dancing and indicates that the celebration is not yet concluded.

Bkra shis rgyas བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྒྱས། tʂa ɕi ɟe, Dancing always concludes with this song, which may be sung as Bkra

shis chung ba 'Short *bkra shis*' or Bkra shis che ba 'Long *bkra shis*'.

bkra shis rtags brgyad བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད། *tʂa ɕi tuw ɟe*, *baruixiang* 八瑞相, The Eight Auspicious Symbols consist of the parasol, a pair of gold fish, a treasure vase, the lotus, a white conch shell, an endless knot, a victory banner, and the gold wheel of the *dharma* (Beer 1999).

Bkra shis zla ba བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཟླ་བ། Zhaxi dawan 扎西达瓦, *person

Blang dor gsal ba'i me long བླང་དོར་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་། *book

Bla ma བླ་མ། Lama 拉玛, *person

bla ma བླ་མ། *lamu*, *shangshi* 上师, the superior one, lama

Bla ma klu 'bum བླ་མ་ཀླུ་འབུམ། *person

Blo gros བློ་གྲོས། Luozhen 罗真, *person

Bod sde pa gzhung བོད་སྡེ་པ་གཞུང་། bɛ de pa ʑu, the Tibetan government

Bon བོན། bə bɔ, Benjiao 笨教, A Tibetan, non-Buddhist religion

boŋ wɜ tɕʰə tʰu, A method of marriage arrangement that does not require a matchmaker. Instead, the parents from both families might discuss and reach an agreement themselves.

Brag 'go བྲག་འགོ Luhuo 炉霍, *location

Brag mgo dgon བྲག་མགོ་དགོན། ʁə gɜ nbu Zhaguosi 扎果寺, *monastery

Brgyad zur བརྒྱད་ཟུར། Jiulong 九龙, *location

bro mgo ཁྲ་མགོ *dzɔ mgo*, dance head, dance leader

bsad བསད།, *sʰi shasi* 杀死, to kill

Bsam pa lhun grub བསམ་པ་ལྷུན་གྲུབ། *a scripture

bsang བསང་། *s^{h}oŋ, weisang* 煨桑 *jisi huoyan* 祭祀火烟, incense offering

bsang khang བསང་ཁང་། *s^{h}oŋ koŋ, jitan* 祭坛, *bsang* altar

bsang rdzas བསང་རྫས། *s^{h}oŋ rdze, shenxiang sizi* 神香食子, *Rtsam pa*, butter, tealeaves, and wool. People burn *bsang rdzas* with conifer needles as an offering to mountain deities.

bshad བཤད། *x^{h}i, jiang* 讲, to say

Bsod nams dar rgyas བསོད་ནམས་དར་རྒྱས། Silong daji 四龙达吉, *person

Bsod nams dpal mo བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་མོ། Silong bamu 四龙巴姆, *person

Bsod nams rdo rje བསོད་ནམས་རྡོ་རྗེ། Silong duoji 四龙多吉, *person

Bsod nams tshe ring བསོད་ནམས་ཚེ་རིང་། Silong zeren 四龙泽仁, *person

Bsod nams zla ba བསོད་ནམས་ཟླ་བ། Silong dawa 四龙达瓦, *person

Bstan 'dzin བསྟན་འཛིན། Dengzi 登孜, *person

Bstan gnyis gsang sngags gling pa yab yum བསྟན་གཉིས་གསང་སྔགས་གླིང་པ་ཡབ་ཡུམ། *person

Bstan pa བསྟན་པ། Dengba 登巴, *person

btsan བཙན། *tse, shanyao* 山妖, Spirit beings who follow their leader, Btsan rgod 'bar ba nag po, and have their own *btsan lam* '*btsan* path'. Building a house on a *btsan lam* or otherwise blocking or disturbing it results in *btsan* retaliating by harming people with *btsan mda*' '*btsan* arrow'.

btsan lam བཙན་ལམ། *tse loŋ, btsan* path

Btsan mchod བཙན་མཆོད། tse tɕa, '*Btsan* offering', a ritual to cure illness caused by building a house or digging in a wild place.

btsan mda' བཙན་མདའ། *tse mda*, *btsan* arrow

Btsan rgod 'bar ba nag po བཙན་རྐོད་འབར་བ་ནག་པོ། the leader of *btsan*

btsir བཙིར། *cə tʂuw*, *ji* 挤, to squeeze

Bu ge བུ་གེ vɜ gɛ, Wugen 吴根, *location

Bu long ma བུ་ལོང་མ། Buluman 布鲁曼, Mgon po rnam rgyal (see below) is locally referred to as Bu long ma 'the blind one'.

buw bɛ, This occurs when the bride stays for three days in the groom's home. She does not leave with her entourage, but remains in the groom's home and begins helping the family work. *buw bɛ* is uncommon in Bang smad Village.

buw biŋ tɕ^{h}ə, 'giving gifts to the bride and her entourage'. The bride and her entourage stay at the groom's home for three days. A relative of the groom makes a short speech while displaying *buw biŋ buw biŋ* – gifts for the bride and her entourage – on the last day of the wedding party. The groom's family gives gifts to the bride, bride's brothers, *a ɣɔ*, and other members of the entourage.

buw ɟuw, This refers to when the bride returns to the groom's home one or two months after the wedding is held. The amount of time depends on the groom's family, and their need for laborers. The bride's father typically accompanies her to the groom's home and stays two to three days. They take about fifteen kilograms of meat

and ten kilograms of barley liquor with them as gifts for the groom's family.

buw muw dzə nʉ, a triangular-shaped steamed bread eaten at weddings. It is larger than *dzə nʉ*, which is eaten in daily life.

bya spu བྱ་སྤུ། *pə*, *yumao* 羽毛, feather

Bya zas lha mo mched bdun བྱ་ཟས་ལྷ་མོ་མཆེད་བདུན། *ʑa za* *mountain/ mountain deity

byang rus sbal rgyal po བྱང་རུས་སྦལ་རྒྱལ་པོ། north king turtle

Bzang po བཟང་པོ། Rongbu 绒布, *person

bzhi བཞི། *ɬa*, *si* 四, four

C

ɕa kɜ sha khu ཤ་ཁུ། soup made from chopped, boiled beef with *rtsam pa* and salt

chab rom ཆབ་རོམ། *vɔŋ*, *bing* 冰, ice

Chengdu 成都, *location

Chos skyong dud mgo dgu ཆོས་སྐྱོང་དུད་མགོ་དགུ tɕʰi sʰoŋ də gɔ gɜ, These nine families are said by elders to have been brave, energetic, and good warriors.

chu ཆུ། *ʐɔ*, *shui* 水, water

ɕi naw/ *ɕi gaw*, Omens upon the bride's departure to the groom's home. If it is snowing, the bride leaves black footprints when she leaves her home, which is *ɕi naw* 'black print' in Tibetan. If the bride stays at the groom's home and it is snowing (*ɕi gaw*) it suggests the bride and groom will have a successful marriage.

D

da ད། *da*, *xianzai* 现在, now

da de ring ད་དེ་རིང་། *da bə xʰə*, *jintian* 今天, now, today

da de 'phro ru ད་དེ་འཕྲོ་རུ། *tɕʰɜ dɜ tʂʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ*, *ranhou*

然后, now, then

dar dkar དར་དཀར། *da ka*, *hada* 哈达, white silk scarf that symbolizes auspiciousness. People usually offer them to *bla ma* or guests in order to show respect.

dar lcog དར་ལྕོག *da tɕoŋ*, *jingqi* 经旗, flags with printed scriptures

Dar rtse mdo དར་རྩེ་མདོ། Kangding 康定, *location

Dbal chen དབལ་ཆེན། Baqing 巴青, *person

Dbang ldan དབང་ལྡན། Wengdeng 翁登, *person

Dbang rgyal དབང་རྒྱལ། Wengjia 翁加, *person

Dbu ba དབུ་བ། ʁə wa, Hewa 核洼, *location

Dbyangs can དབྱངས་ཅན། Yangjin 央金, *person

dbyar rtswa dgun 'bu དབྱར་རྩྭ་དགུན་འབུ *nbə*, *dongchong xiacao* 冬虫夏草, caterpillar fungus (*Cordyceps sinensis*)

der དེར། *tɕʰə me*, *zainabian* 在那边, there

də nmi, family name

Dge bsnyen po blo དགེ་བསྙེན་པོ་བློ། nge nɜ pɔlɔ, *mountain/mountain deity

Dgo mchun དགོ་མཆུན། *family

Dgra 'dul དགྲ་འདུལ། Zhade 扎德, *person

Dgung ri དགུང་རི། Guri 谷日, *location

Dkar mdzes དཀར་མཛེས། Ganzi 甘孜, *location

Dkar mdzes dmar ra thang དཀར་མཛེས་དམར་ར་ཐང་། *location

Dkon mchog lha mo དཀོན་མཆོག་ལྷ་མོ། Gengqiu lamu 根求拉姆, *person

dɔ ʁi, *ornament

Dpal bzang དཔལ་བཟང་། Barong 巴绒, *person

Dpal lo དཔལ་ལོ། Baluo 巴洛, *person

Dpal yul དཔལ་ཡུལ། Baiyu 白玉, *location

dron po དྲོན་པོ། *tsi*, *wennuade* 温暖的, warm (as in weather)

du ba དུ་བ། *moŋ k^{h}ɜ*, *yan* 烟, smoke

Du rtag དུ་རྟག də t^{h}aw Dida 地达, *location

dzꭒ cə, *guozi* 果子, twisted bread

dzꭒ te bro rten ཏེ་རྟེན། 'cash' rewards for dancers

dzꭒuw, *ornament

dzꭒoŋ pɔŋ woŋ, *family

G

Ga krug ག་གྲུག Gazhu 呷珠, *person

gad mo bgad གད་མོ་བགད། *qa*, *xiao* 笑, to laugh

gang khung གང་ཁུང་། goŋ kɜ, Gongke 供科, *location

Ge sar གེ་སར། ge s^{h}uw Gesa Erwang 格萨尔王, A king who is said to have been born in the eleventh century and to have ruled the ancient Tibetan kingdom of Gling.

gə nda mu, *location

Gling གླིང་། li, Ling 岭, *location

glu shing གླུ་ཤིང་། *Gtor ma* are made with a carved wood molds locally known as *glu shing*.

gnyen mna' གཉེན་མན་འ། An oath between one of the bride's brothers and the groom that they will not break the arranged marriage.

go ba གོ་བ། *mə*, *ting* 听, hear

Gra ling གྲ་ལིང་། Zhale 扎勒, *person

Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan གྲུབ་བླ་ཐར་བ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། Taba jiangze 塔巴降泽, *person

grub thob གྲུབ་ཐོབ། *dzꭒ t^{h}oŋ*, *zhengguozhe* 证果者, saint

Gser rta གསེར་རྟ། Seda 色达, *location

Gser thang bla rung lnga rig nang bstan slob gling གསེར་ཐང་བླ་རུང་ལྔ་རིག་ནང་བསྟན་སློབ་གླིང་། Seda Larong Wuming Foxueyuan 色达喇荣五明佛学院, *monastery

Gshin ma གཤིན་མ། *ɣə duw*, *yanluogui* 阎罗鬼, 'butcher or

tyrant' – the bringer of death (see Gshin phud, below)

Gshin phud གཤིན་ཕུད། $x^{h}e$ $p^{h}ə$, During this ritual, monks repel Gshin ma by chanting scriptures and scattering peas in a house from roof to gate.

gsur གསུར། *$s^{h}ɔ$ rə*, *jiaoyan* 焦烟 *huogong* 火供, Strips of cloth symbolizing clothing, alcohol, and other items that are burnt, allowing ancestors to receive and enjoy them.

Gto གཏོ། tu, Rangjie 禳解, A ritual for luck and prosperity in the coming year held after łe ndzɛ.

gtor ma གཏོར་མ། *tə mu*, *shizi* 食子, These *rtsam pa* effigies are often used in rituals by monks and *bla ma*.

gtugs bro གཏུགས་སྤྲོ། *tu dzo*, Dance competitions that are common at gatherings.

g.yang གཡང་། *joŋ*, *fulu* 福禄, prosperity deity

gyang khang གྱང་ཁང་། *joŋ koŋ*, rammed earth house

g.yang mda' གཡང་མདའ། *joŋ mda*, *fulujian* 福禄箭, The *g.yang mda'* is considered the body of the *g.yang*. It is an arrow with pieces of yellow, green, blue, white, and red cloth tied to it.

G.yang sgrub གཡང་སྒྲུབ། joŋ dzu, Zhaocai yigui 招财仪轨, A ritual, held during the fourth and fifth lunar months and during wedding parties, for which villagers invite five or six monks for two or three days. Monks chant scripture, add more cloth to the *g.yang mda'*, and pray for a bountiful harvest and for the family's wealth to increase.

G.yar ri seng ge གཡར་རི་སེང་གེ ja rɜ $s^{h}ɜ$ gɛ, *mountain/mountain deity

g.yon pa གཡོན་པ། *jə ku*, *zuobian* 左边, left (side)

G.yu mtsho གཡུ་མཚོ། Yicuo 益措, *person

g.yung drung གཡུང་དྲུང་། *joŋ dzoŋ*, *wanzi* 万字, Swastika.

During weddings the *g.yung drung* is made with grain and at other times, with black yak hair permanently pressed into felt.

G.yung drung spun dgu གཡུང་དྲུང་སྤུན་དགུ joŋ dzo̤ŋ pe ngə, *mountain/ mountain deity

gzhi bdag གཞི་བདག *ʑə duw*, *tudishen* 土地神, mountain deity

gzi གཟི། *Gzi* are rare precious agate beads considerd to be animate.

H

Ha me ཏ་མེ། Heming 和明, *location

Han 汉 *rgya mi* རྒྱ་མི། *ɟa*, ethnic Chinese

Hedong 河东, *location

Heilongjiang 黑龙江, *location

Heping 和平 'Ba' gshen འབའ་གཤེན། *location

Hexi 河西, *location

J

ɟa ŋa buw muw, An endogamous wedding between two Bang smad families. It may be very simple, taking one or two days. A few families hold no formal wedding but instead ask a *bla ma* to choose a date for the bride to go to the groom's home. She may carry a bucket of water to the groom's home and then permanently live there.

K

Kag cag ཀག་ཅག ʂaw dʑaw, Guajia 挂甲, *location

Kha ba lung ring ཁ་བ་ལུང་རིང་། k^ha wa loŋ ri, Kawa Luori 卡瓦洛日, *holy mountain

Kha lung ཁ་ལུང་། k^ha loŋ, Kalu 卡鲁, *location

k^ha ti, *Rtsam pa*, butter, sugar, and cheese are mixed in a bowl. Tea is poured into the bowl after compacting these ingredients with the back of the hand. The tea is drunk

and the tongue used to lick up the dough at the bottom of the bowl. Tea is poured again and the process repeated until the bowl is empty.

Khams ཁམས། Kangba, 康巴, a major Tibetan dialect

khang ba ཁང་བ། *ɣoŋ, zhuzhai* 住宅, house

$k^{h}ɜ$ rɜ, *location

$k^{h}ɔ$ ɟa boŋ rə, *location

Khrag 'thang he ru ka dpal rtsal ཁྲག་འཐང་ཧེ་རུ་ཀ་དཔལ་རྩལ། *person

Khrag rgyu ཁྲག་རྒྱུ། *və va*, blood sausage

khrus ཁྲུས། *tʂ^{h}ə, guanding* 灌顶, A monk or *bla ma* chants and sprinkles water to purify polluted people and such things as clothes and food.

Khwa srung ཁྭ་སྲུང་། A family who shoots at crows to prevent them from flying above Mgon po rnam rgyal's palace.

Khyi mgo lag bkru (Khyi mgo lag gtsang) ཁྱི་མགོ་ལག་བཀྲུ། (ཁྱི་མགོ་ལག་གཙང)། 'Washing the dog's head' is a ritual to purify those who have touched a human corpse or a dead dog or horse. Such people may not make such offerings as *bsang* until Khyi mgo lag bkru is performed by a monk.

ki vʉ, skal ba སྐལ་བ། *jiazhuang* 嫁妆, dowry

Klag pa ཀླག་པ། la ɣə, Laba 拉巴, *location

Klu 'bum dgon ཀླུ་འབུམ་དགོན། ɬə bə gɜ nbu, Lengbosi 楞波寺, *monastery

Klu 'bum ཀླུ་འབུམ། ɬə bə, Lengbo 楞波, *location

klu ཀླུ། *ɬə, long* 龙 *fanyinyizuojia* 梵音译作伽, water spirits, naga

Ku tang ཀུ་ཏང་། kə toŋ, Geduo 格多, *location

Kun da ཀུན་ད། ɸə nda, Geda 格达, *location

la dzꭓ hi, a canyon in Bang smad Village

La kha ལ་ཁ། la k^{h}u, Laka 拉卡, *location

la lu, *ornament

La she ལ་ཤེ། la x^{h}e, Nahei 纳黑, *location

lab rtse ལབ་རྩེ། *la tse*, *laze* 拉则, a religious structure of earth and stones where *dar lcog* are placed. *Lab rtse* embody mountain deities.

lam khag ལམ་ཁག *tɕi*, *daolu* 道路, road

lam rag ལམ་རགས *loŋ raw*, gifts given by the groom's family to guests as they depart

Lan chags ལན་ཆགས *nə tɕ^{h}uw*, *yuannie* 冤孽, *lan chags* is made from leftover *rtsam pa* and other food

las byed ལས་བྱེད། *le x^{h}e*, *cunzhang* 村长, village leaders chosen by the government

Lcags zam kha ལྕགས་ཟམ་ཁ། Luding 泸定, *location

legs so ལེགས་སོ། *le s^{h}ɔ*, A vocable repeated by orators and audience during speeches, indicating agreement.

Lha mtsho ལྷ་མཚོ། Lacuo 拉措, *person

Lha ri ma ལྷ་རི་མ། La ri ma 拉日马, *location

Lha sa ལྷ་ས། ɬa s^{h}u, Lasa 拉萨, *location

Lho g.yu 'brug sngon po ལྷོ་གཡུ་འབྲུག་སྔོན་པོ། south blue turquoise dragon

Li thang mdo sde thang ལི་ཐང་མདོ་སྡེ་ཐང་། *location

Li thang ལི་ཐང་། Litang 理塘, *location

lɔ ts^{h}ɔ su, The practice of nelocal post-marital residence. The bride and groom's families give them money, clothes, cushions, and farming implements.

lud chang ལུད་ཆང་། *li coŋ*, 'fertilizer alcohol'. A celebration held after manure is transported to fields.

lung ba ལུང་བ། *ʔoŋ shangu*, 山谷, valley

lus lha ལུས་ལྷ། *li ɬa*, A 'body deity' that every person has on their head, protecting them from harm.

M

ma Ni khang མ་ཉི་ཁང་འཁོར། *doŋ kʰɔ zə̨*, *zhuanjingtong* 转经筒, a hall with scriptures and a large *ma Ni* wheel that people turn while chanting

ma Ni rdo phung མ་ཉི་རྡོ་ཕུང་། *ma nə doŋ nboŋ*, *manidui* 嘛呢堆, a pile made of thousands of stones inscribed with *ma Ni* and other sacred writings

Ma red མ་རེད། Mari 麻曰, *location

Ma shis མ་ཤིས། Maxi 麻西, *location

Man chen མན་ཆེན། Manqing 蔓青, *location

mchod མཆོད། *tɕʰe*, Generally refers to offerings. During a wedding an *mchod* is made by the bride when she arrives at the groom's home by aspersing liquor or milk three times with a silver ladle in the right hand, and then sipping from the bowl three times.

mchod rten མཆོད་རྟེན། *fota* 佛塔, stupa

mda' dpon མདའ་དཔོན། *ndi pe*, *jiaben* 甲本, leader of several villages

Mdos མདོས། mde, Lingqi 灵器, A ritual held when medicine proves ineffective. It is believed evil spirits are trying to take away the spirit of the ill person and so a monk is then asked to hold Mdos.

mdza vu, a meal between lunch and dinner

mdzo མཛོ། *ɬə*, *pianniu* 犏牛, yak-cow hybrids

mdzo mo མཛོ་མོ། *zu*, *mupianniu* 母犏牛, female yak-cow hybrids

me མེ། *moŋ*, *huo* 火, fire

Mgo log rma chu མགོ་ལོག་རྨ་ཆུ། *river

mgo མགོ *ʁə boŋ*, *tou* 头, head

Mgon po rnam rgyal མགོན་པོ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། Gongbu Langjie 贡布朗杰, a powerful man who conquered much of Khams in the mid nineteenth century.

mi ma yin མི་མ་ཡིན། *mə ma ji*, formless spirits or hungry ghosts

mi མི *dzi*, *ren* 人, human

Mi mgo མི་མགོ nə mgɔ, *location

Mi nyag མི་ཉག mə ɲæ Muya 木雅, Muya, Myak, Minyak. A little-described Tibeto-Burman language spoken by Bang smad residents.

Mkha' 'dod མཁའ་དོད། k^{h}a ndu Kangduo 康多, *location

mkhan po མཁན་པོ། *kanbu* 堪布, a very knowledgeable monk

Mtha' phyug མཐའ་ཕྱུག Taxu 它须, *person

mthug po མཐུག་པོ། *bə*, *houde* 厚的, thick

Mtsho kha dgon མཚོ་ཁ་དགོན། ts^{h}ə ku gɜ nbu, Cuokasi 措卡寺, *monastery

Mtsho sgang མཚོ་སྒང་། Summit Lake

Mtsho skam མཚོ་སྐམ། Dry Lake

mu'u སྨུག *moŋ*, *mu* 亩, 0.0667 hectares

Myi nag མྱི་ནག A *gtor ma* that is believed to remove bad luck and sickness. *Myi nag* translates as 'black person' (*myi* = people, *nag* = black).

N

na gɔ, *location

na pu, 'Property managers' responsible for the financial management of weddings and funerals.

Nang ga ནང་ག Longga 龙呷, *person

nang gi srung ma bzhi ནང་གི་སྲུང་མ་བཞི། four inner protectors

nga ང་། *ŋa*, *wo* 我, I

ngag bcad ངག་བཅད། *ŋuw tɕe*, *jinyu* 禁语, silence maintained during fasting rituals

ngan pa ངན་པ། *ga ɕʰɔ*, *huaide* 坏的, bad

ni or *ɕa sa tɕʰoŋ tʰu*, 'An Agreement Party'. One or two months after the marriage has been agreed to, or sometimes as much as one year later, both families choose an auspicious day to hold *ni,* 'the agreement party'. The groom's uncle, brother, and brother-in-law, as well as the groom himself, bring a yak haunch, barley liquor, and fruit juice to the bride's home. The bride's family may ask two youths to visit each household and invite their relatives to the party. Most families send one or two representatives to the party, while relatives may send their entire family. Approximately thirty people attend the party.

Nor khang mtsho sgang རྣོར་ཁང་མཚོ་སྒང། *location

Nor khang རྣོར་ཁང། noŋ qoŋ, Lougu 洛古, *location

nub bya dmar po ནུབ་བྱ་དམར་པོ། western red bird

Nag ru bkra shis skyabs ནག་རུ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྐྱབས། luore zhaxi jia, 洛热扎西甲, *person

Nyag a dzitra rong ཉག་ཨ་རྫི་ཏྲ་རོང་། nuw a zdə roŋ, Lianga Ziru 梁阿字茹, *location

Nyag chu ཉག་ཆུ། na rɔ, Yalongjiang 雅砻江, The river that flows through Nyag rong County. Bang smad is located on the east bank of the Nyag chu.

Nyag chu kha ཉག་ཆུ་ཁ། Yajiang 雅江, *location

Nyag rong ཉག་རོང་། nuw ru, Xinlong 新龙, *location

Nyag rong g.yu chu ཉག་རོང་གཡུ་ཆུ། *river

Nyag skad ཉག་སྐད། nuw ki, Liangge 梁格, the variety of Khams Tibetan spoken in Nyag rong

Nyi ma 'od zer ཉི་མ་འོད་ཟེར། Nima ersha 尼玛尔沙, *person

Nyi ma tshe ring ཉི་མ་ཚེ་རིང། Nima zeren 尼玛泽仁, *person

nyung shas ཉུང་ཤས། *sɔ sɔ*, *henshao* 很少, few

ɲi pu, *ornament

O

O rgyan ཨོ་རྒྱན། Erji 尔吉, *person

O rgyan chos grags ཨོ་རྒྱན་ཆོས་གྲགས། Erji qizha 尔吉其扎, *person

O rgyan dbang phyug ཨོ་རྒྱན་དབང་ཕྱུག Erji wengxu 尔吉翁须, *person

O rgyan nor bu ཨོ་རྒྱན་ནོར་བུ། Erji luobu 尔吉罗布, *person

O rgyan tshe ring ཨོ་རྒྱན་ཚེ་རིང་། Erji zeren 尔吉泽仁, *person

O ya ཨོ་ཡ། an exclamation

oM aHhU~M' badz+ra gu ru pad+ma sid+dhi hU~M': ཨོཾ་ཨཿཧཱུྃ་བཛྲ་གུ་རུ་པདྨ་སིདྡྷི་ཧཱུྃ། Lianhuasheng dashi xinzhou 莲花生大士心咒, the text of Padmasambhava's mantra

P

pa ra cho lo ཆོ་ལོ། *touzi* 骰子, dice

Pad ma chos sgron པད་མ་ཆོས་སྒྲོལ། Baima qizhen 百玛其珍, *person

Pad ma rgyal mtshan པད་མ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། Baima jiangze 百玛降泽 *person

Pad ma sgrol dkar པད་མ་སྒྲོལ་དཀར། Baima zhuoga 百玛卓呷, *person

Pad rdor པད་རྡོར། Baiduo 百多, *person

paw ku, *person

pə tsə lu, *location

phag ཕག *va*, *zhu* 猪, pig

Phag mo tshe brtan ཕག་མོ་ཚེ་བརྟན། Pamou zedeng 帕某泽登, *person

p^{h}e p^{h}e, *ornament

p^{h}ə və, Three-year-old children are taken when visiting during the New Year. The child's hair is braided with a white silk scarf in which coral and turquoise beads and protective amulets are tied. During this visitation, called *p^{h}ə və*, all relatives give gifts to the three-year-old child. A child's senior *a ɣɔ* 'maternal uncle' gave a horse to his niece or nephew in the past, but now gives 500 to 1,000 RMB. Other relatives give fifty to 100 RMB.

phor ba ཕོར་བ། *qɜ*, *wan* 碗, bowl

phra tog ཕྲ་ཏོག *tʂ^{h}a duw*, small, flat discs of butter that symbolize luck

p^{h}u Gu, *location

Phya rdeng ཕྱ་རྡེང་། ɕa di, Xiadi 夏地, *location

Phyag phreng ཕྱག་ཕྲེང་། Xiangcheng 乡城, *location

Phye mar ཕྱེ་མར། *x^{h}e ma*, an auspicious offering made of *rtsam pa* and butter

phyi yi srung ma bzhi ཕྱི་ཡི་སྲུང་མ་བཞི། four outer protectors

Q

qa vɜ, *ornament

qaw luw woŋ, *family

R

Ra gzhi ར་གཞི། Rangxi 壤西, *location

ra ɟe woŋ, *family

Ra rgyal dgon ར་རྒྱལ་དགོན། zu ɟi gɜ nbu Rujisi 如几寺, *monastery

ra tuw, *ornament

Rba ru ཟ་རུ། va rə, Wari 瓦日, *location

Rdo rje dbang mo རྡོ་རྗེ་དབང་མོ། Duoji wengmu 多吉翁姆, *person

Rdo rje rgyal mtshan རྡོ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། Duoji jiangze 多吉降泽, *person

rdo rje རྡོ་རྗེ། *dɔ ʄe*, *jingang* 金刚, thunderbolt

rə ndzə, *location

Rgya rabs shing རྒྱ་རབས་ཤིང་། Jianlaxi 甲拉西, *location

rgyal mdon རྒྱལ་མདོན། *nde*, Evil spirits that attack people and take their soul.

Rin chen rdo rje རིན་ཆེན་རྡོ་རྗེ། Ren qing duoji 仁青多吉, *person

Ri 'dabs རི་འདབས། Rida 日达, *locateon

ri bsang རི་བསང་། *rə s^{h}uw*, *Ri bsang* 'offering *bsang* on mountains' is done annually on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month.

ri ɬi, *location

Ri mgo རི་མགོ Rigu 日古, *location

Ri nang རི་ནང་། zə̯ lɔ, Rulong 如龙, *location

ri sne རི་སྙེ། ri na, Renle 仁勒, *location

Rig gzhung dar spel tshogs pa རིག་གཞུང་དར་སྤེལ་ཚོགས་པ། Wenhua cujinhui 文化促进会, a local organization

Rin chen mtsho རིན་ཆེན་མཚོ། Renqicuo 仁其措, *person

rkang pa རྐང་པ། *mu*, *jiao* 脚, foot

rlung rta རླུང་རྟ། *loŋ ta*, 'wind horses,' flags of paper with printed Tibetan scripture

rnga khang རྔ་ཁང་། drum stand

Rnga rkang dgon རྔ་རྐང་དགོན། rŋa koŋ gɜ nbu, Angusi 安古寺, *monastery

rnga rkang རྔ་རྐང་། rŋa koŋ, Agu 阿古, *location

Rnga rnga dgon རྔ་རྔ་དགོན། rŋa rŋa gɜ nbu, Anansi 安安寺, *monastery

Rnga ru ma རྔ་རུ་མ། A ri ma 阿日玛, *person

Rnying ma pa རྙིང་མ་པ། ni ma pa, Ningmapai 宁玛派, a Buddhist sect

Rong brag རོང་བྲག Danba 丹巴, *location

Rta'u རྟའུ Daofu 道浮, *location

rtɛ tɕe, a party on the second day of wedding

rtsam pa རྩམ་པ། *dʑu*, *zanba* 糌粑, roasted barley flour

rtsam rgyu རྩམ་རྒྱུ། *və va*, *rtsam pa* sausage

rtsing khang རྩིང་ཁང་། *tsi koŋ*, stone house

rtsis pa རྩིས་པ། *tsi pa*, *lishujia* 历数家, astrologer

rtswa རྩྭ། *ntɕʰi*, *cao* 草, grass

ʁə mdzu, Sacred water mixed with roasted barley flour used to make small sculptures shaped like a mountain.

ʁɔ ɟa boŋ rə, *location

S

Sa bdag 'khrug bcos (Snang brgyad) ས་བདག་འཁྲུག་བཅོས། (སྣང་བརྒྱད།) tʂʰu tɕi, a three-day ritual held during the fourth and fifth lunar months on a date chosen by local *bla ma*. The name means 'to eliminate the *sa bdag*'s anger'.

sa bdag ས་བདག *sʰa duw*, *diqi* 地祈, landowner deity

Sangs rgyas སངས་རྒྱས། Songji 松吉, *person

Sde dge 'bri chu སྡེ་དགེ་འབྲི་ཆུ། *river

Sde dge སྡེ་དགེ Dege 德格, *location

Sde rong སྡེ་རོང་ Derong 得荣, *location

s*er bsang* སེར་བསང་། *mə sʰoŋ*, 'Hail *bsang*' offered to protect crops. The mountain deities are beseeched to protect crops from storms and other natural disasters.

Ser shul སེར་ཤུལ། Shiqu 石渠, *location

sɜ mi tɕʰoŋ qa sʰɛ, During the 'Go Scatter Barley Grain' ritual, the male who visits the bride's home gives cash to

women in the bride's natal home. This payment is called *sɜ mi tɕʰoŋ qa sʰɛ*.

sgor sgor སྒོར་སྒོར། *ʁɔ ʁɔ rə*, *yuande* 圆的, round

Sgra gcan ཟྲ་གཅན། luohou 罗睺, A solar or lunar eclipse occurs because the sun or moon has been eaten by the demon Sgra gcan.

Sgrol dkar སྒྲོལ་དཀར། Zhuoga 卓嘎, *person

Sgrol ma ཇུམོལ་མ། Dumu 度母, *a scripture

Sgrol ma སྒྲོལ་མ། Zhuoma 卓玛, *person

Sha phrug ཤ་ཕྲུག Xiazhu 夏珠, *person

Shang long brag dkar ཤང་ལོང་བྲག་དཀར། xoŋ loŋ dzạ kʰi, Xiong long zhaga 雄龙扎呷, *holy mountain

Shanghai 上海, *location

Shangzhan 上瞻 Nyag stod ཉག་སྟོད། *location

shar stag skya bo ཤར་སྟག་སྐྱ་བོ། east grey tiger

Shes rig ཤེས་རིག Heiri 黑日, *location

Si khron སི་ཁྲོན། Sichuan 四川, *location

sid+dhi སིདྡྷི Lianhuasheng dashi xinzhou 莲花生大士心咒, The title of Padmasambhava's mantra.

Skar bzang rgyal mtshan སྐར་བཟང་རྒྱལ་མཚན། Garong Jiangze 嘎绒降泽, *person

skar chu སྐར་ཆུ། *ka tɕə*, 'star water'

Ske ri སྐེ་རི། Geri 格日, *location

skor bro སྐོར་བྱོ། *lə*, *guozhuang* 锅庄, Tibetan circle dances

skrag pa སྐྲག་པ། *sʰa rə*, *kongbu* 恐怕, afraid

skya ka སྐྱ་ཀ *sʰa ʁa*, *xique* 喜鹊, a bird's gallbladder

skye dman སྐྱེ་དམན། *ɟa sʰe*, *qizi* 妻子, wife

Skyes bu སྐྱེས་བུ། *location

Skyobs 'byin seng nag སྐྱོབས་འབྱིན་སེང་ནག xʰa ɟi sʰu nuw, Xiangdi silang 相底斯郎, *holy mountain

smad སྨད། *me, xia* 下, lower

Smad pa སྨད་པ། mɛ ba, Maiba 麦巴, *location

Sman btsun le'u sman སྨན་བཙུན་ལེའུ་སྨན། lɜ ɣə mɛ *mountain/ mountain deity

Smyung gnas སྨྱུང་གནས། noŋ ne, Shoujixing 守饥行, A fasting ritual that is held annually in the fourth Tibetan lunar month and organized by the four village leaders.

smyung phra སྨྱུང་ཕྲ། *noŋ tʂʰa*, Some Smyung gnas participants drink one or two bowls of tea at night, which is called Smyung phra.

Snang zhi སྣང་ཞི། noŋ ji, This ritual is held for one day in the fourth or fifth lunar month and is organized by villagers. The ritual beseeches deities to protect villagers' crops during the summer and autumn, and to protect residents and livestock from diseases and disaster.

snying སྙིང་། *su, xinzang* 心脏, heart

soŋ wu də, 'A Party at the Bride's House' the night before the bride leaves her home.

spang smad སྤང་སྨད། *boŋ mi*, 'below the grassland'

spang སྤང་། *boŋ, caodi* 草地, grass

sprin pa སྤྲིན་པ། *doŋ mu, yun* 云, cloud

sprul sku སྤྲུལ་སྐུ། *tʂə kə*, living Buddha

spun dgu སྤུན་དགུ nine brothers

Spyi gto སྤྱི་གཏོ། sʰə tu, Rangjie 禳解, A ritual held three days after the end of Smyung gnas to avert sickness and disasters in the coming year, and to dispel misfortune and obstacles. Villagers pray to deities to protect them and their livestock.

sʰɜ pu spyi pa སྤྱི་པ། village leaders

Sring sring སྲིང་སྲིང་། Shengsheng 生生, *person

srung ma སྲུང་མ། *sʰoŋ ma*, *hufashen* 护法神, protector deities

Stobs ldan སྟོབས་ལྡན། *person

Stod pa སྟོད་པ། tɛ ba, Deba 德巴, *location

stong dpon སྟོང་དཔོན། toŋ pe Qianhu renzhi 千户人制 *duoben* 朵本, leader of a thousand households

Stong ra སྟོང་ར། ʁoŋ ɬi, Dula 杜拉, *location

Su la སུ་ལ། sʰə la, Sulang 苏郎, *family

sʁ boŋ woŋ, *family

ʂe cuw tʰuw, *ornament

ʂe ɦɜ ju, *ornament

ʂe rna, *ʂi dzɔ*, *skyel bro* སྐྱེལ་བྲོ། sending dance

T

tɕaw woŋ, *family

tɕʰa ma, *ornament

tɕʰe mgɔ tɕʰu poŋ/ tɕʰu mgɔ tɕʰe poŋ, Exchanging a wife. If a betrothed female finds a lover and this is discovered, her parents, the parents of the future groom, or a matchmaker may insist that her younger sister marry in her place. This is known as *tɕʰe mgɔ tɕʰu poŋ*. If the bride-to-be is exchanged for an elder sister, this is called *tɕʰu mgɔ tɕʰe poŋ*.

tɕʰə kʰuw ɣaw woŋ, *family

tɕʰə kʰuw tuw woŋ, *family

tɕi kʰɔ ʂu, Putting a *dar dkar* on the central pillar. After the bride and her entourage finish eating, a bride's side orator goes to the middle of the room, gives a speech, and puts a *dar dkar* on the central pillar.

tɕuw nbə kʰa tsu, an arranged marriage

thab ཐབ། *tʰa kʰo*, zao 灶, stove

thab bsang ཐབ་བསང་། *tʰa sʰoŋ*, *bsang* burnt on the stove

thang ga ཐང་ག *ji doŋ*, *juanzhouhua* 卷轴画, *Thang ka/ ga* refers to a form of primarily Tibetan sacred representation consisting of an image panel that is painted, embroidered, or appliquéd, which is often placed in a textile frame. The image panel frequently depicts such imagery as mandalas, deities, famous scenes, or prominent local religious personalities. They are hung up high in monastic halls, village temples, and family homes as objects of veneration. A piece of silk often hangs over the image to prevent defilement by secular life, and protects the image from light and dust. In the context of village ritual, setting up images creates interior and exterior worlds mediated through the representation of the images.

Thar ba dgon ཐར་བ་དགོན། tʰa wa gɜ nbu Tawasi 塔瓦寺, *monastery

Tho lo ཐོ་ལོ། Tuoluo 托罗, *person

tʰoŋ ɟɯ poŋ, *location

Thos grol ཐོས་གྲོལ། Jinmen Mimi 《静猛秘笈》, *scripture

tʰu, Three stones and several pieces of wood placed at the crossroads, creating effigies that are about a meter high and resemble a standing person. *tʰu* prevent disasters, sickness, and evil spirits from returning to the village.

Thub bstan dge legs ཐུབ་བསྟན་དགེ་ལེགས། *person

Ti ri དི་རི། tɜ rɜ Diri 地日, *location

Tsha bzhi ཚ་བཞི། tsʰa ʑə, Four Cousins

tsha ru ཚ་རུ། *tsʰa rɜ*, *gaoqiu* 羔裘, Tibetan robes worn in winter that are lined with goat's skin

Tshe dbang ཚེ་དབང་། Zeweng 泽翁, *person

Tshe 'dzin sgrol ma ཚེ་འཛིན་སྒྲོལ་མ། Chengzi zhuoma 成孜卓玛, *person

Tshe dbang 'gyur med ཚེ་དབང་འགྱུར་མེད། Zeweng jimai 泽翁吉麦, *person

Tshe dbang dpal 'byor ཚེ་དབང་དཔལ་འབྱོར། Zeweng bajiao 泽翁巴交, *person

Tshe dbang rgyal mtshan ཚེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་མཚན། Zeweng jiangze 泽翁降泽, *person

Tshe dbang rdo rje ཚེ་དབང་རྡོ་རྗེ། Zeweng duoji 泽翁多吉, *person

ts^{h}e rɜ nboŋ woŋ, *family

Tshe ring ཚེ་རིང་། Zeren 泽仁, *person

Tshe ring bkra shis ཚེ་རིང་བཀྲ་ཤིས། Zeren zhaxi 泽仁扎西, *person

Tshe ring mtsho mo ཚེ་རིང་མཚོ་མོ། Zeren cuomu 泽仁措姆, *person

Tshe thar ཚེ་ཐར། Zeta 泽它, *person

ts^{h}ɔ ʑə pɔ, This refers collectively to four villages (goŋ kɜ, ri na, pɜ ɬʁ, and, ʁoŋ ɬi) in Bang smad Township.

Tshul khrims blo gros ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་བློ་གྲོས། Cicheng luozhu 慈诚罗珠, *person

Tshul khrims bzang po ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་བཟང་པོ། Cicheng rongbu 慈城绒布, *person

tʂe pɔŋ woŋ, *family

W

Wa thung ཝ་ཐུང་། wa t^{h}u, Watu 洼土, *location

X

x^{h}ʌ qa tɕ^{h}a x^{h}ɔ, 'Go Scatter Barley Grain' is a ritual held in the past on the day before the bride came to the groom's home. The groom's family sent someone to scatter

barley grain when the bride left her home for the grooms' home. He accompanied the bride and her entourage to the groom's home and stayed there for three days.

χɔ ɻɛ, A heated bed and sitting platform in kitchens and sitting rooms on which carpets are laid.

Xiazhan 下瞻 Nyag smad ཉག་སྨད། *location

Xinduqiao 新都桥 Ra rnga kha ར་ངྷ་ཁ། *location

Y

Ya chen o rgyan bsam gtan gling ཡ་ཆེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་བསམ་གཏན་གླིང་། Yaqing foxueyuan 亚青佛学院, *monastery

Ya(jiang) xin(long) Road 雅(江)新(龙)路, This road runs for 200 km from the southeast of Nyag rong County to Nyag chu kha County and parallels the Nyag chu River.

Yangs la gshis ཡངས་ལ་གཤིས། Youlaxi 尤拉西, *location

ɣə rə, *location

Ye shes dbang mo ཡེ་ཤེས་དབང་མོ། Yixi wengmu 益西翁姆, *person

Ye shes sgrol ma ཡེ་ཤེས་སྒྲོལ་མ། Yixi Zhuoma 益西卓玛, *person

ɣdzʊ̈ woŋ Sbrang bo སྦྲང་བོ། Zhuwo 朱倭, an old name for Bang smad Township

ɣdzʊ̈ woŋ ki, Sbrang skad སྦྲང་སྐད། Other villagers refer to Mi nyag spoken in Bang smad Townshp as ɣdzʊ̈ woŋ ki

yi dwags ཡི་དྭགས། *jə duw*, *egui* 饿鬼, *fanyinyilibiduo* 梵音译毕哩多, hungry ghosts

Yi lung ཡི་ལུང་། Yilu 益鲁, *location

yuan 元, the monetary unit of China

yul lha ཡུལ་ལྷ། *jə ɬa*, *jiaxiangdiqi* 家乡地祈, territorial deity

zas mar ཟས་མར། *ze ma*, a piece of butter encased in *rtsam pa*

zhen 镇, *grong rdal* གྲོང་རྡལ།, town

Zi ling ཟི་ལིང་། Xining 西宁, *location

zor ba ཟོར་བ། *ɟə*, *liandao* 镰刀, sickle

zɔ, shrine for a family's *g.yang* that outsiders may not enter

ʑɜ goŋ, *ornament

APPENDIX ONE: mə n̥æ Wordlist

English	mə n̥æ
all	ʔoŋ də
and	tɕʰi
animal	gu
ashes	xɬi
at	tɕʰa
back	kʰaw tʰa
bad	tɕʰɔ
bark (of trees)	ɟa
because	tɕʰə kʰe
belly	ve
big	tɕʰi
bird	ʑa
to bite	dzr̥a li
black	na na
blood	sʰi
to blow (as wind)	la
bone	rə ra
breast	ne
to breathe	ʁə li
to burn	bə z̥aw
child (a youth)	ga di/ŋa lə
cloud	doŋ mu
cold (as in weather)	ku
to come	gə ti
to count	tsə

to cut	kə
day (daytime)	na li
to die	sʰa
to dig	nu
dirty	ʕɔ
dog	kʰɔ
to drink	tʰə
dry (adjective)	zo̰ŋ zo̰ŋ
dull (as a knife)	mi kʰə
dust	tʰi tsu/ ɬi
ear	nə ɟo
earth (as in soil)	tsʰə
to eat	dzə
egg	gu ŋu
eye	mɛ
to fall (as in drop)	tə tu
far	tʰaw ɟi
fat (noun)	ɕoŋ
father	vi, a ba
to fear	sʰa rə
feather	pə
few	sɔ sɔ
to fight	ma və
fingernail	dzə
fire	moŋ
fish	na
five	ŋe

to float	do di
to flow	nɔ və
flower	mi t^{h}uw
to fly	ɟoŋ loŋ
fog	loŋ pa
foot	mu
forest	nuw
four	ɬa
to freeze	voŋ
fruit	ɕi tu
full	goŋ
to give	k^{h}ɔ
good	tɕe
grass	ntɕ^{h}i
green	ŋɔ ŋɔ
guts	loŋ tɕu
hair	ʁə pə
hand	θa
he	tɕ^{h}ə de
head	ʁə poŋ
to hear	mə
heart	zu
heavy	lɔ
here	ə me
to hit	tɕ^{h}ə
to hold (in one's hand)	ʔa
horn	ʔɔ

how	ha
to hunt	ŋu xʰɔ
husband	dzi
I	ŋa
ice	voŋ
if	jaw ni
in	noŋ
to kill	sʰi
knee	ŋə boŋ
to know (a fact)	ha gu
lake	tsʰu
to laugh	qa
leaf	ba la
left (side)	jə ku
leg	la
to lie (as on one's side)	tɔ nə
to live	dzu
liver	sʰə
long	ɟi
louse	xʰe
man (adult male)	pʰɔ sʰi
man (human being)	dzi
many	ga ʐi̤
meat (as in flesh)	tʰoŋ
moon	rdza ki
mother	mi/a ma
mountain	ʐə ŋgu

mouth	θu
name	mə
narrow	du
near	t^haw ni
neck	ke t^ho
new	s^hɛ
night	s^hu
nose	nəŋ
not	nɔ
old	ni pu
one	a duw
other	ma ji
to play	qe
to pull	ɟə ɟɔ
to push	ze
to rain	mo ɬa
red	ny ny
right (correct)	t^hi
right (side)	tɕ^{h}ə ku
river	na ro
road	tɕi
root	ʔi tu
rope	na nɔ
rotten (as a log)	boŋ və
round	ʁɔ rɔ rə
to rub	s^hi
salt	ts^{h}u

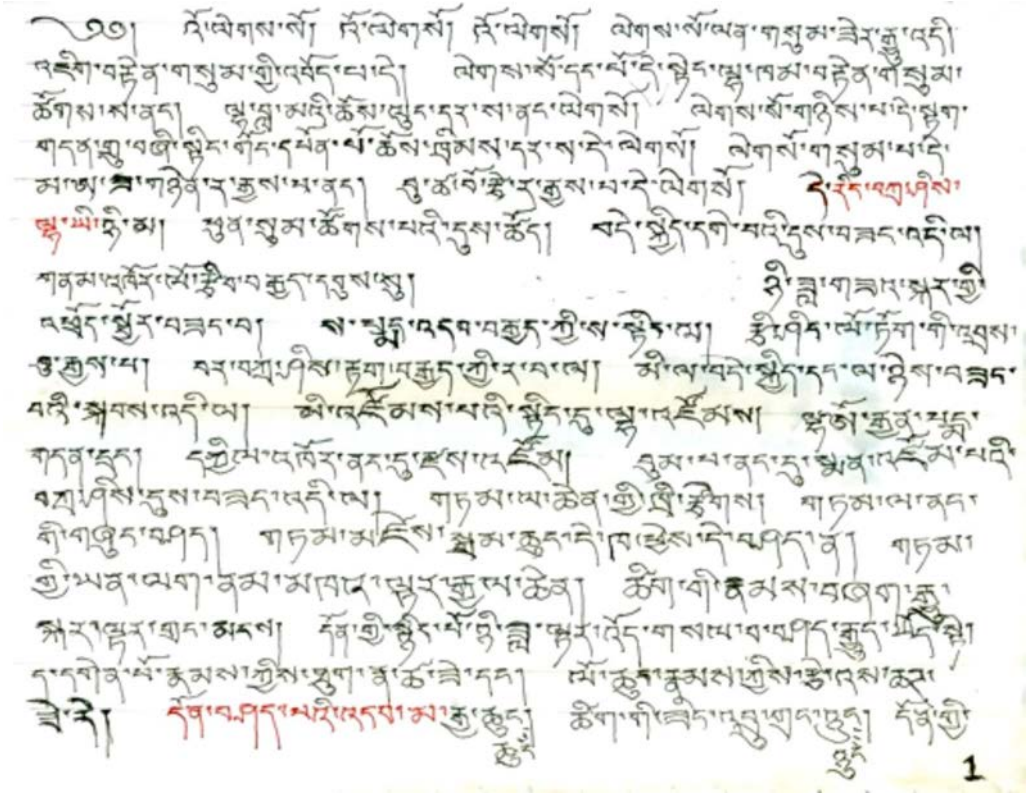
sand	pu
to say	x^{h}i
to scratch (an itch)	va χɛ
sea (as in ocean)	ts^{h}u
to see	du
seed	θo
to sew	dza rə
sharp (as a knife)	k^{h}ə
short	zi
to sing	leŋ
to sit	zdu
skin (of a person)	ɟa
sky	mə gu
to sleep	dz̩ɔ və
small	di
to smell (sense odor)	nə noŋ
smoke	k^{h}ə
smooth	ɟɔ mə
snake	$tʂ^{h}$i
snow	k^{h}a vu
some	a xu
to spit	ɟɔ ʔe
to split	$tɕ^{h}$oŋ ʔa
to squeeze	cə tʂuw
to stab (or stick)	zu
to stand	ri
star	dz̩a

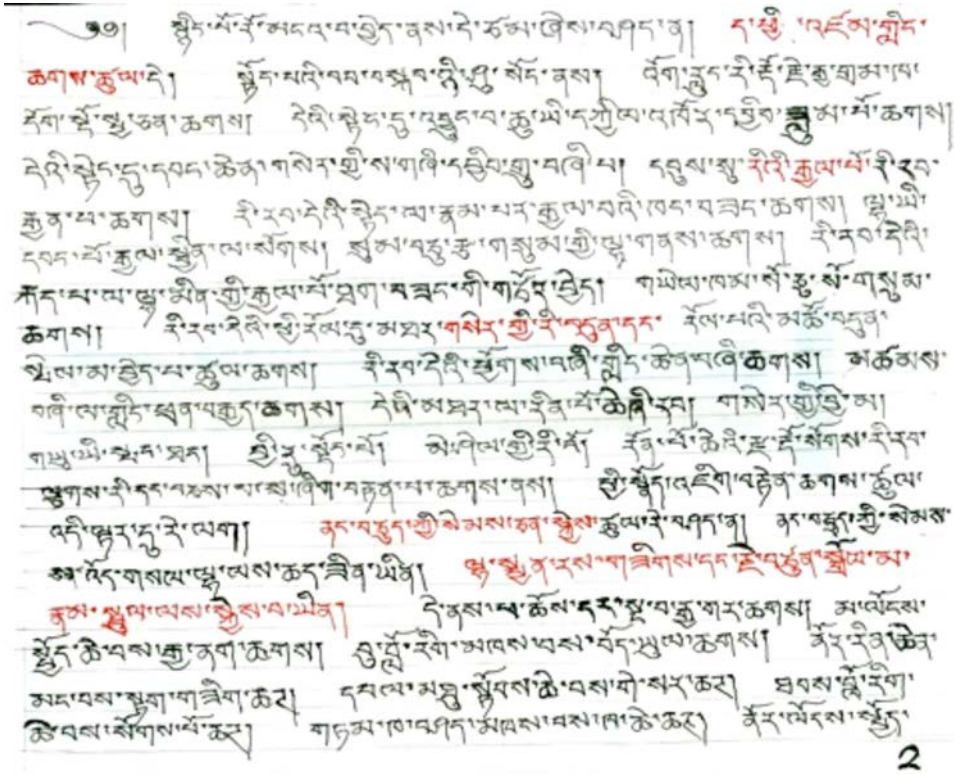
stick (of wood)	pə ra
stone	zaw
straight	dz̥^{h}oŋ
to suck	ɟə ɟɔ
sun	nə tse
to swell	z̥ɔ
to swim	tɕ^{h}ə dzi
tail	rŋa ma
that	tɕ^{h}ə də
there	tɕ^{h}ə me
they	tɕ^{h}ə ra ka
thick	bə
thin	ʂə
to think	ts^{h}ə
this	ə də
three	soŋ
to throw	qɛ
to tie	tɕ^{h}i la
tongue	li
tooth	x^{h}ə
tree	la
to turn (change direction)	nk^{h}ɔ rə
two	ne
to vomit	p^{h}e
to walk	x^{h}ɔ
warm (as in weather)	tsi
to wash	ʁi

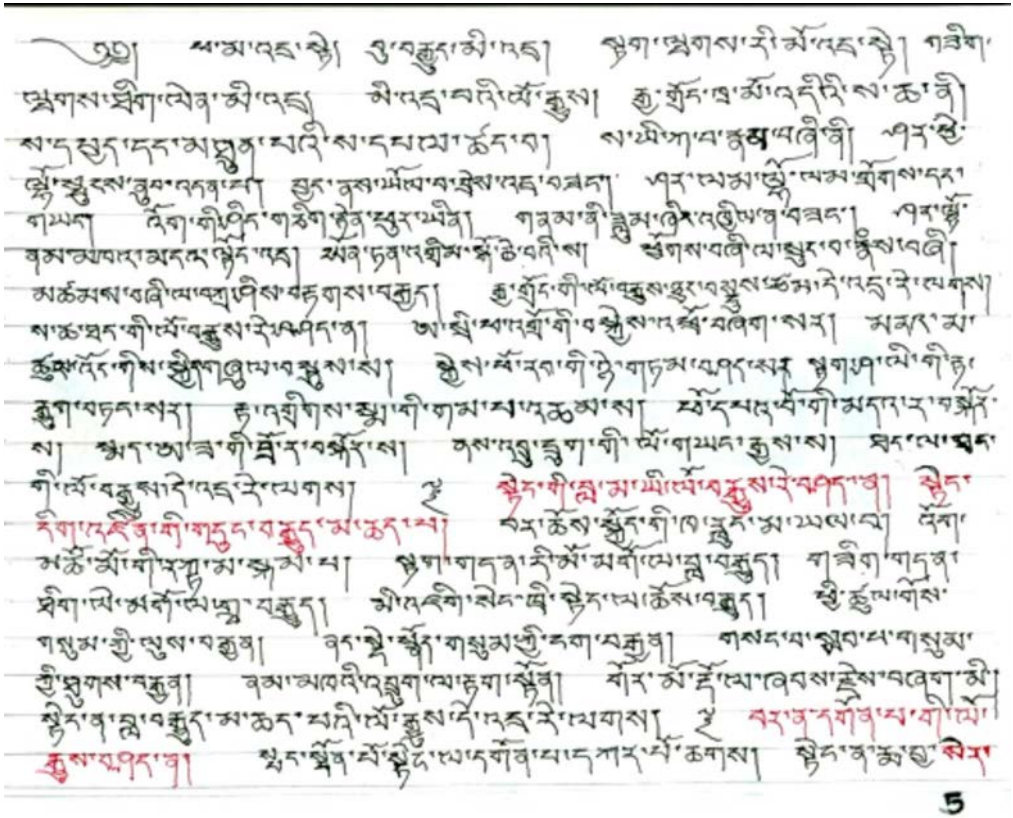
water	zʰ
we	ŋa noŋ
wet	ɬə ɬə
what	xa
when	sʰə du
where	le
white	tʂʰo tʂʰo
who	sʰə
wide	loŋ
wife	ɟa sʰe
wind (as in breeze)	la
wing	xʰə pu
to wipe	ɣdzʰə ɣdzʰ
with (accompanying)	tɕʰə pʰa
woman	mi dzi
worm	bə dʑu
year	kɛ
yellow	nɔ nɔ
you (plural)	ni noŋ
you (singular)	ni

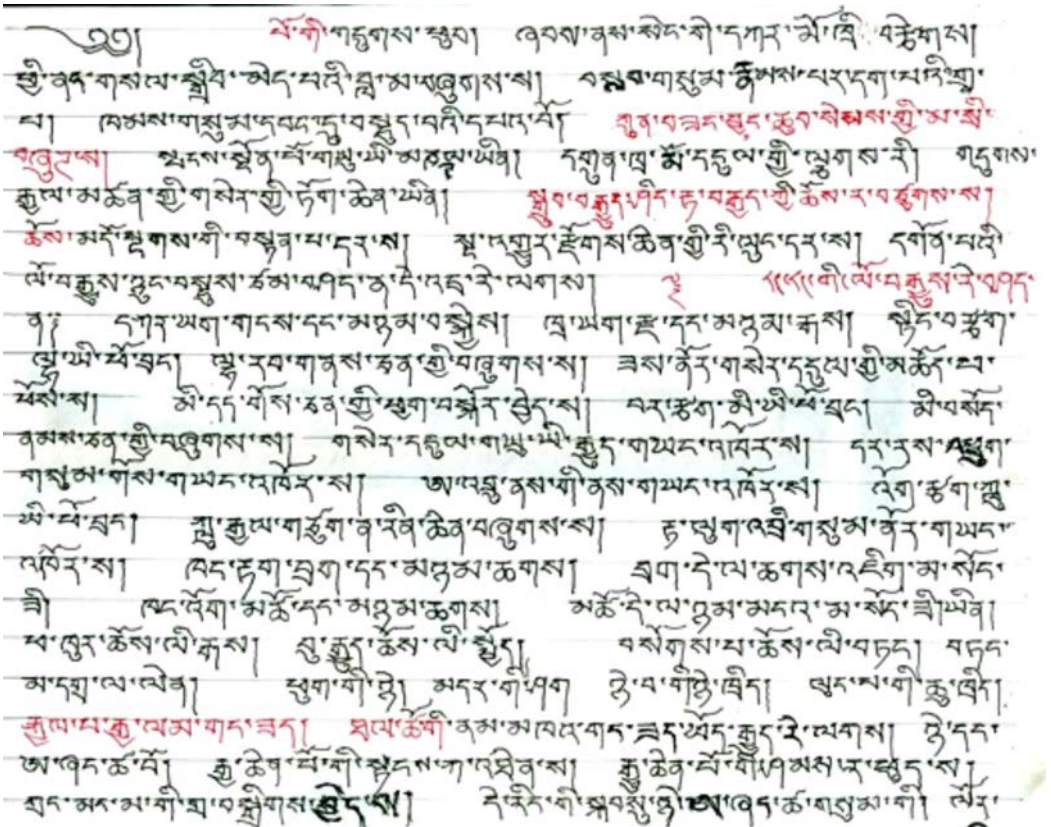
APPENDIX TWO: WEDDING SPEECH

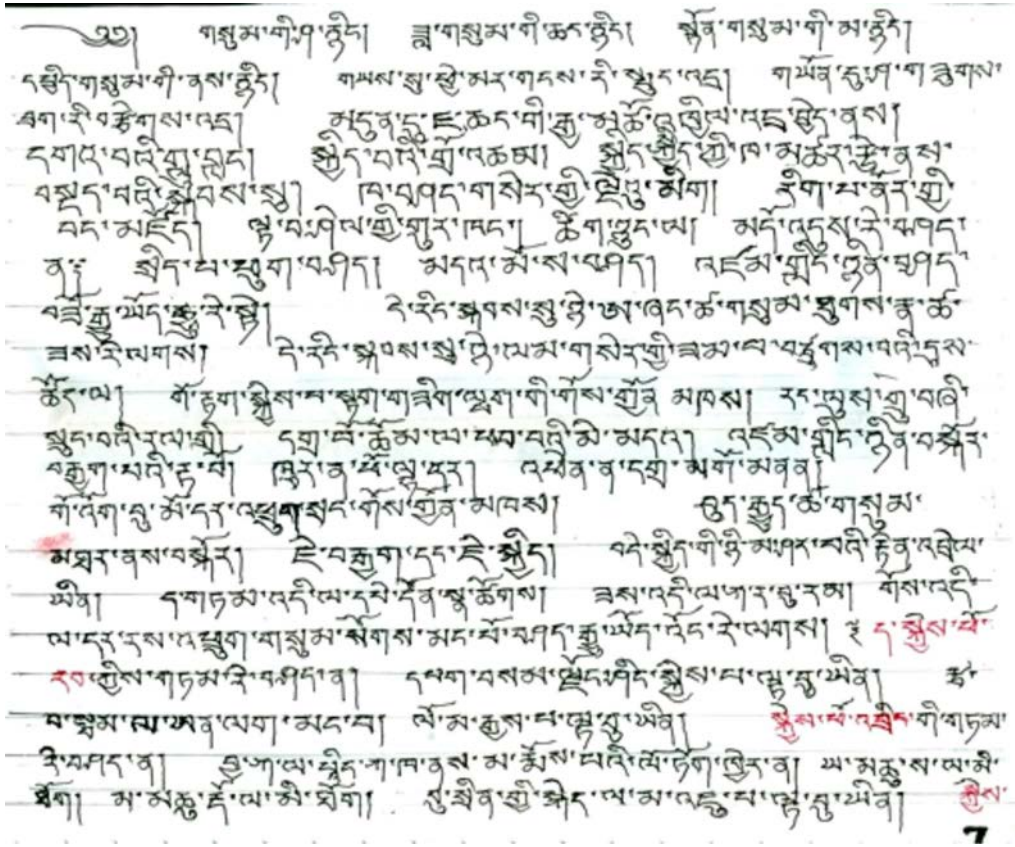
This wedding speech was written by Rdo rje rgyal mtshan, who obtained a copy of the original from a villager, made additions, and rewrote some sections.

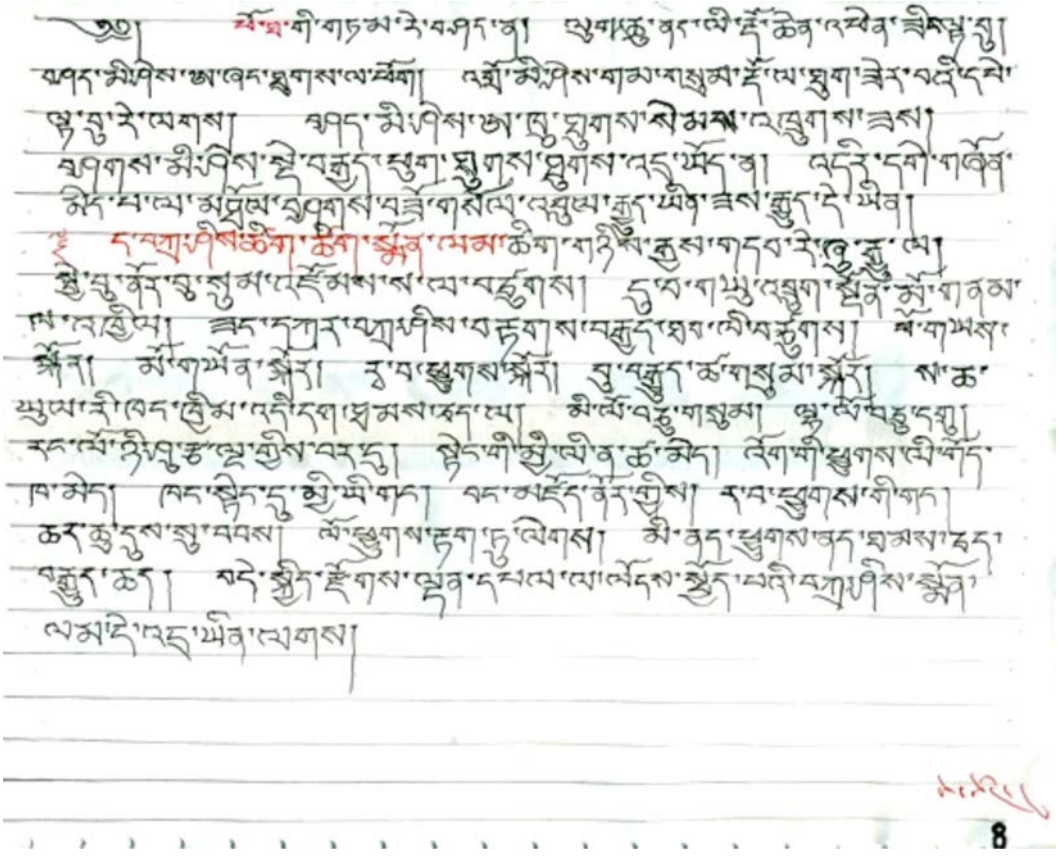












APPENDIX TWO: *BSANG* BURNING SCRIPTURE

Three different *bsang* burning scriptures for different mountain deities describe the mountain deities and ask them for help. These scriptures are usually read by monks, though sometimes laymen read them.

The first *bsang* burning scripture is for G.yung drung spun dgu and was written by Bstan gnyis gsang sngags gling pa yab yum. The village leader Bstan pa and his two sons, Dgra 'dul and A bad, asked Bstan gnyis gsang sngags gling pa yab yum to write this *bsang* burning scripture in Bstan pa's home.

The second *bsang* burning scripture is for Sman btsun le'u sman. During New Year after offering *bsang*, Bstan gnyis gsang sngags gling pa yab yum composed this *bsang yig* in the traditional village leader, Dgra 'dul's, palace.

The third *bsang* burning scripture, for Bya zas lha mo mched bdun, was written by Khrag 'thang he ru ka dpal rtsal.

REFERENCES

Thub bstan dge legs ཐུབ་བསྟན་དགེ་ལེགས། Tudeng Gele 土登格勒, Wu Bangfu 伍帮福, Tshogs gnyis ཚོགས་གཉིས། Chong Ni 冲尼, Bsod nams rgya mtsho བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། Soulang Jiacuo 索郎甲措 (eds). 2008. *Bod mi nyag skad dang rgya bod dbyin gsum shan sbyar tshig mdzod* བོད་མི་ཉག་སྐད་དང་རྒྱ་བོད་དབྱིན་གསུམ་ཤན་སྦྱར་ཚིག་མཛོད། *Muyayu zang-han-ying duizhao huibian* 木雅语藏汉英对照汇编 *Compilation of Mi nyag, Tibetan, Chinese, and English.* No publisher.

Beer, R. 1999. *The Encyclopedia of Tibetan Symbols and Motifs*. Boston: Shambhala Publications.

Lewis, M (ed). 2009. Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com/.

Li Xianghong 李向红, Liu Mingxue 刘明学, and Liu Kangfei 刘康飞 (eds). 1992. *Xinlong xianzhi* 新龙县志 *[Xinlong County Annals]*. Chengdu 成都: Sichuan renmin chubanshe 四川人民出版社 [Sichuan People's Press].