

- Remote, isolated villages (These villages are from towns, difficult to access, with little contact with the outside world.)

- Villages that maintain ancient culture (These villages preserve certain cultural distinctives and at times may be the only village left with that type of traditional culture.)

4. Choosing a Guide

The ideal guide varies according to the object of the field research.

Sixty years ago, any village within the prefecture with at least ten households preserved ancient manuscripts; our archives had over 10,000 manuscripts. From the 1960s to the 1980s, we went through the "Destroy the Four Olds," "Destroy Superstitions," "Wipe out pornography" and other movements, which forced collectors to hand over these manuscripts to be burned. Of the folk intelligentsia who had organized indigenous religious activities and were made the targets of attacks, some have already passed from this world the victims of false charges and some still have yet to be rehabilitated. Because of this, if one's field research concerns the culture of indigenous religions, one should avoid choosing a local party or government leader as guide, because the practitioners of the folk religions may not understand the party's current religious policies; in their hearts there remains a lingering fear.

Except for folk religion research, other research projects can choose the following types of people as guides: local government or party leaders, educated members of the nationality, academic colleagues, well-known personages, those connected to the researcher by marriage or ethnicity.

III. Things to Remember When Doing Field Research

"When in Rome, do as the Romans" is an indispensable rule of field research, and is something the researcher must not forget when establishing rapport with the researched group. When national leaders go abroad on official visits and when they deepen their contact with the people, they all respect the customs and mores of peoples of different lands. In 1989, when General Secretary Jiang Zemin came to Wenshan, before conducting business during his photo session with Zhuang villagers, he showed that he understood the Zhuang custom of respecting elders, which requires one to stand behind the elders, not in front of them. General Secretary Jiang Zemin stood in this way (behind the elders), and in this way connected with the feelings of the people, and



received in return the respect of the Zhuang people.

Within Wenshan Prefecture's 31,456 square kilometers live ten different minority nationalities; when listed by exonyms and autonyms, there are over one hundred different branches. As the Chinese sayings go, "travel ten miles and the sky is different" and "a man is shaped by the landscape in which he lives," so Wenshan's ancient land has given rise to a rich and colorful landscape of cultures and traditions. If one wishes to enter the Wenshan area to research, one must understand how to live in the customs and habits of different areas; every nationality, every area, every group has its own tacit but fixed taboos. Before beginning field research, one must be sure to understand their taboos.

1. Village Taboos

Festivals: In some Zhuang villages at Lunar New Year one offers ancestral sacrifices on *Sae Fax* Day, that is, 'Day of the Heavenly Emperor' meaning Nong Zhi Gao, who was born around 1025 AD. People of other nationalities are not allowed to participate; no one is allowed to speak Chinese; villagers are not allowed to bring knives, tools, or green plants into the village. During the *zoachu* and *Myehmaex* festivals, neither villagers nor outsiders are allowed to walk through the village wearing bamboo hats or carrying umbrellas.

Village Paths: In some rural villages, on the side of some of the paths, there are road signs indicating how to escape natural disasters, little wooden bridges, grass ropes hung horizontally at the entrance to the village with grass ropes to ward off evil, wooden knives, etc. However, the incantations used by sorcerers can still occur, and if this happens, one must not step over things like these encountered on village paths. When entering the jade mountain, on the mountain paths one may encounter straw markers; one should not damage such markers.

Water Springs: The Zhuang worship the water spirit, and lovingly protect water resources. One must not wash hands, feet, or drop anything foul into a spring or a well. One must not relieve oneself (even just to urinate) near a river, stream or dyke.

Mountain Forests: Even up to the present day, each Zhuang village has its own sacred mountain, sacred forest, sacred tree. One must not cut these trees, relieve oneself at the base of such trees, or dispose of waste there.

Temples: In China, minority nationality villages have occasions when they offer sacrifices to ancestors or gods of their own religions; on some of these occasions it is

forbidden for women to enter. For example, the Zhuang have “Tingsuo,” “Tingben” and other occasions when women are not allowed to come near.

Sacrifices: A sacrifice that has been placed on a village path or in the fields must not be brought inside the house.

2. Rural Household Taboos

Front Door: If one encounters a house with tree branches and green leaves or broken shoes hung on the sides of the front door (or courtyard gate), this indicates that there is a woman lying-in (before or after childbirth), or livestock giving birth. One must not enter.

Threshold: Many village households have a wooden board or stone threshold under the door; when entering the house one must not kick this, nor stand or sit on it.

Fireplace: There are some minority peoples who worship fire; one must not spit toward the fireplace or drop waste there. One must not kick the fire tripod (used for warming pots over the fire). Water cannot be used to extinguish the fire.

Ancestral Shrine (altar): Anything that is not a sacrifice for the ancestors must not be placed on the ancestral shrine (altar).

Bedroom: One must not freely look into a woman's bedroom.

3. Religious Implements

Bronze Drums: The ancestors of the Zhuang created bronze drums. Zhuang cultural development has always been intricately connected with bronze drums. Bronze drums have gradually become an essential ingredient of Zhuang traditional culture, at the same time changing into a sacred ceremonial tool. Holding on to the bronze drums has come to symbolize wealth and rights for the Zhuang. Eleven hundred years ago, the vast and profound Zhuang culture concentrated itself on the bronze drum, casting the “soul” in the shape of the bronze drum. The bronze drum thus became the sacred tool for bringing blessing and suppressing evil. Every time the Zhuang celebrate a festival they always perform a ceremony of sacrifices to the bronze drum. Other than during these ceremonies, it is forbidden to beat the bronze drums.

Leather Drums: The Miao of Wenshan Prefecture worship leather drums of their own making. These traditional Miao leather drums are only beaten during the funeral sacrifice ceremony; it is forbidden to beat these drums at other times.

Goatskin Drums: The Yao worship goatskin drums of their own making. During



sacrifice ceremonies these may be beaten, but it is forbidden to beat the goatskin drums at other times.

Those who carry on the religions of the minority nationalities collect divination instruments, tools, religious robes, masks and other ceremonial instruments. It is forbidden to fiddle with these.

4. Food and Drink

Tea: Zhuang have the habit of using a small pottery jug to roast tea leaves and then infuse the tea. The first jug of tea after the roasting of the tea leaves must first be offered to the elders and respected guests as a sign of respect. If one happens to run across the head of the house roasting tea leaves, one must not try to be the first to drink the tea.

Seating Position: When eating in a village, if the dining table is in the central room of the house, the seat that is below the ancestral shrine is considered the seat of honor. One should leave this seat to the elders or one's seniors and not rush to sit in this seat.

Dishing Out Food: When eating in a village, at the time for dishing out the food, do not be scoop food out of the middle of the pot. One must not dig a hole in the middle.

Eating Chicken: Zhuang, Yao, Yi and other minority peoples still have the custom of picking out the chicken heads and thigh bones to practice divination. If you happen to be offered chicken at a village meal, do not grab and eat the chicken parts used for fortune-telling.

5. Toilets

In minority nationality villages, village households very seldom build toilets. Each time one goes the village, while still some distance away from the village, one should relieve oneself in the countryside; then one can more comfortably enter the village. Besides paying careful attention to the objects of one's research, one must locate the village elementary school, as the schools all have toilets. If the village has no school, before dark it is essential to locate the toilet used by the villagers. Villagers' toilets can be divided into the following types: hog and dog toilet, enclosed and covered toilets, manure pit toilets, simple and easy toilets, urine ash piles.

6. Taboos of Wenshan's Various Minority Nationalities

Zhuang: Outsiders must not weep in one's house. One must not step on the threshold of the front door. One must not stand in the doorway. When hanging up laundry to dry, women must not hang the laundry on footpaths. When a woman or animal is giving birth or lying-in, outsiders may not enter the house. One must not spit toward the fireplace or stove. On the first day of the lunar year, one may not sweep the floor, do needlework, touch farm tools, or leave the house to visit others. It is taboo for a young girl and her boyfriend or husband to share a bed in the house of either's parents. In the house, one must avoid using any unlucky talk. One must not whistle in the house.

Miao: Miao named Yang must not eat animal hearts. Miao named Li must not eat animal spleens. If one sees a bamboo leaf covering on a timber pile in a village courtyard or a wooden sign bearing a stamp of a "horse rake" stuck up in front of a door, the members of that household must not go outside, and outsiders also must not enter. Some villagers have the custom that when an elderly man is in the house, the children and daughters-in-law must not go upstairs.

Yi: One must not stand or sit on the threshold of the door. One must not lift one's leg to step over the fireplace. One must not step on the fire pot tripod or nudge it with one's foot. If the older people are sitting downstairs, younger people upstairs must take care not to walk over the tops of their heads. If there are bamboo strips or branches hung in front of the door, there is a woman lying-in (about to give birth, or having just given birth); outsiders may not enter the house. From the last day of the lunar new year through the first day of the new year, villagers may not visit each others' homes, not even to go outside to get water, and one must not blow on a fire.

Yao: One must not eat dog or horse meat. For the first month after childbirth, mothers may not enter others' homes. One must not use tree branches that have leaves to beat people or horses. One must not put on a rain hat or open an umbrella inside the house. It is taboo for outsiders to weep or cry in the house. One must not break wind beside the fireplace. On the first day of the lunar year, if the master of sacrifices has not yet recited the scripture for opening the door, one must not open the front door. On the first day of the lunar new year, women may not leave the house.

Other nationalities: Hui may not eat pork, horse, or dog meat. Hui may not say "cow manure," they can only say "cow strengthener"; they cannot say "kill a cow," they can only say "butcher a cow"; they cannot say "beef" (cow meat), they can only



say "a dish of cow." Dai may not whistle in the house. They may not make their beds in a different direction than the ridge beam of the house. After eating in a Dai home, one must not put the empty bowl down upside down. If a Gelao family has an injured or sick member, outsiders may not enter the house. Mongolians consider the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month as an evil day; if there is a woman lying-in, there will be a bamboo strip or a red flag outside the door indicating that outsiders must not enter.

IV. The Language and Method of Interviews

Managing language and rapport in bilingual situations: In order to bring about a good level of communication, the interviewer and the interviewee must be fluent in a common language. Two people groups speaking different languages can only achieve a basic level of interaction; linguistic obstacles still remain. If both sides try to express to the other the content they wish to communicate, at the minimum there must be one side (ideally the interviewer) who can control both languages. If the interviewer is not bilingual, he or she must locate a bilingual guide in order to have an effective level of communication.

Dialects and academic jargon intelligibility: When entering a minority village, one will discover that most minority people speak the language of that minority group as well as the local Chinese dialect. Most do not understand Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese), so one should add to the qualifications for the guide "trilingualism": to be able to speak with the interviewees in the minority language, Putonghua and the local Chinese dialect.

During an interview, one must do one's best to avoid using academic jargon. For example "What religious beliefs do you hold?" "What traditional culture do you still preserve?" In many minority groups, the elders do not know what "religious beliefs" or "traditional culture" means. In some areas, the common people may mix up certain formal vocabulary with similar sounding words in the local dialect, for example "expert" and "thief" (*zhuānjiā* and *zuānjiā*). For this reason, while interviewing one should keep in mind the degree of intelligibility between the local dialect and academic jargon.

Taboo words: In daily life, minority people are careful to avoid using certain taboo words. For example, those are forbidden from to eat pork, horse or dog meat, also avoid saying "cow manure," "kill a cow," or "beef." They must instead say "cow strengthener," "butcher a cow," and "a dish of cow," respectively. In minority

villages, one should avoid using taboo words. In our prefecture, each minority group still has certain taboo words which they avoid.

Analogical Method: During an interview, when asking a difficult question, begin by describing another place that has a similar situation. This can lead to the interviewees discussing the same problem in their own area. For example, if you start by discussing how a different minority group in a different location makes sacrifices to a tree spirit, this may result in the interviewees telling you how they also make sacrifices to tree spirits. Discussing the beliefs of another minority in another location regarding the flood deity could result in the researched minority talking about their oral legends about the flood deity. When conducting interviews and collecting folk literature, the analogical method of questioning can produce unforeseen results and valuable discoveries.

V. Communicating with Ethnic Groups with Different Worldviews

1. Relating to Closed Ethnic Groups

The varied progress of Wenshan Prefecture's ten minority nationalities' societal development, in addition to the particularities of different living environments, has resulted in quite significant differences in the various people groups' cultures and worldviews. The ancestors of the Miao of Wenshan Prefecture first arrived here in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, when the prefecture was already filled with Zhuang, Dai, Yi, Han and other minorities. The successive Miao that migrated here could only hide in the high mountains, living off hunting. Through several hundred years of development, the layout of Wenshan's minority peoples has taken the pattern of "Zhuang live by the water, Miao live in the mountains, Yao live among the bamboo, Han live by the market." Due to various historical factors, the Miao people consider themselves a people of little power, victims of discrimination. In social activities and in daily interactions with other nationalities, the Miao are especially careful and circumspect. They normally harbor a defensive mentality and prefer to keep far from strangers. The Miao who live in remote mountain areas are a closed people group.

Along the mountain peaks on both sides of the river that forms the border between Guangnan and Xichou Counties there are four villages of the Flower Luo branch of Yi. This branch's societal development is lagging behind. In the 1980s, young men and



women still had no fixed home; unmarried men and women would arrange with members of the opposite sex to spend the night together outside. The social status for this group of over one thousand members is very low; they themselves feel they are a weak and powerless group, victims of discrimination. In social activities and in daily interactions with other nationalities, they are especially careful and circumspect. They normally harbor a defensive mentality and prefer to keep far from strangers. They are also a closed people group.

Within the borders of Wenshan Prefecture, there are still many closed people groups still live. If one seeks to do field research in the villages of this type of closed people group, it is difficult to build rapport and communicate. To build rapport with closed people groups and establish a friendship, one must become like them (in terms of hygiene, habits, beliefs, etc.), and relate to them in an attitude of respect.

2. Relating to Open Ethnic Groups

The Zhuang are rice paddy farmers. What are the technological methods that have made possible thousands of years of flourishing agricultural development? The Zhuang have a proverb that gives away the secret of their rice paddy technology, which translated basically means: "Using fertilizer is not as good as crop rotation—three years of not changing the type of grain sown will result in a fruitless autumn harvest." Paddy farming nationalities ensure an abundant paddy harvest for the next year by cultivating new strains each year. They gather strains from other areas and hybridize them with those of their own paddies. Exchanging the best strains with those of other areas requires one to seek out relatives and new friends, promoting trade and maintaining an open attitude toward outsiders. The paddy farming peoples' mode of survival has determined that they must be an open people.

Open people groups are warm and hospitable, easily admitting other people and ideas into their communities, daring to get close to strangers. Upon arrival at the village of an open people group, one can expect to have people voluntarily come up and begin conversation. One must only stand in front of the door of their homes and they will spontaneously invite you to enter. To relate to open people groups, one must treat their customs with respect.

3. Building Rapport by Becoming Like the Villagers

Many minority people in poor, backward villages do not know that bacteria and virus in food have any relation to disease, so when doing field research one will find that sanitation conditions may leave something to be desired. The villagers may give the researcher the bowl and chopsticks they have just used to eat without washing them. If one takes them and washes them oneself, they may say that you are looking down on them. If one receives them and eats with them right away, they know the researcher and themselves are of one heart and mind, and rapport will be built with them.

4. "Tobacco Paves Roads, Alcohol Builds bridges"

Minority peoples have strong sentiments. If one respects their character and wishes to build true friendship with them, when going to their homes it is appropriate to bring a gift. This will make them very happy. For small talk and breaking the ice, the easiest method is "Tobacco paves roads, alcohol builds bridges." When going to minority villages for research, if you bring some cigarettes and alcohol along, building rapport with various people groups will be easy.

VI. Fair Compensation

Wenshan Prefecture's minority nationalities, no matter to which people group they belong, have very strong affections for their friends once rapport has been established and will not give a thought to personal gain or loss. When minorities assist research and become researchers themselves, harvesting precious data, one should pay suitable remuneration for their assistance, with prudence. Even if they do not demand remuneration, the researcher must not cheat them. Often when I enter a minority village, I run across people who ask me if I know such and such a person; this person did research in their village, helped them by taking a family portrait, but now two years have passed, and he or she has never mailed the photo to them. How much does it cost to mail a photo? Firstly, the researcher tricked them, and secondly, he or she inconvenienced them. In step with the globalization of market economics, minority peoples also are beginning to recognize the value of their non-material cultural inheritance; each researcher must pay attention to the problem of fair compensation.

18 July 2005



Appendix Three

Ethnic Research in Rural China

As Seen Through the Eyes of a Foreigner

Eric C. Johnson

This article details a number of points about doing research in rural minority areas in China from the perspective of a foreigner, based on my own limited experience. This information will be obvious to experienced Chinese researchers, but to those preparing for or just beginning their research experience in China, there may be some useful information. Although much of this information is likely applicable to elsewhere in China, it is based wholly upon my experience of linguistic and cultural research among the Zhuang in Yunnan Province during the period from 2004 to the present.

I. Government Partnership

Before making research trips in rural China, we recommend establishing some sort of research partnership with some part of the local government. While travel and lodging restrictions in China are relatively few for both national researchers and foreigners (foreigners must register with the local Public Security Bureau if lodging in a private house), the rural residents one seeks to interview will be much easier to access and much more at ease with the help of the local government. Though most people in China are very friendly and hospitable to outsiders, and Zhuang people are especially so, without an official introduction or a sponsoring government *danwei* (work unit), local residents may be nervous about participating in the research. If the sponsoring agency for the research is at a higher level, e.g. national, provincial or prefecture, the sponsoring agency should make some sort of introduction (through phone, email or letter) with the local government before the foreign researcher arrives so that the local government has had time to prepare for the visit.

In planning the research schedule, adequate time for introductions to local government officials should be planned in. In China, such introductions will often include a meal together. One should not assume one will arrive at the research site and begin research within the next hour. One should also be sensitive to the many other responsibilities that local government officials have and to any urgent situations they

怎样深入中国农村少数民族地区开展研究

江子扬（美）

2008年9月

这篇文章基于作者有限的经验，从一个外国人的角度，详细列举了一些关于在中国农村少数民族地区做调查研究观点。对于有经验的中国研究员，这些信息都悉数平常；但对于正准备或刚开始在中国进行调研的研究员，这些信息至关重要。这篇文章完全基于作者2004年至今在云南省壮族人民中进行语言及民俗文化研究的经验，但其中所提供的信息在中国其它地区可能也是适用的。

1. 与政府的合作关系

在开展中国农村调研之前，我们建议事先与当地一些政府部门建立关系。虽然本国或外国的研究员在中国旅行和寄宿的限制比较少（但外国人如果住在私人民房，则必须到当地公安局或派出所登记），若你想要与村民们面谈交流，在当地政府的帮助下则会更容易安排，村民们也会觉得比较放心。大部分中国人对待来客十分友好热情，尤其是壮族人民。但如果没有政府或赞助单位的介绍，当地居民在参与调研时可能会感到紧张。如果赞助调研的机构是较高级别的，如国家级、省级，或区级的，那么这些机构最好在国外研究员到达之前给当地政府出具一些介绍证明（通过电话、电子邮件，或信件），以便当地政府人员有时间准备。

在制订调研计划的时间表时，应当为介绍活动安排足够的时间。在中国，这样的介绍通常包括一个饭局。研究员不要设想一旦到达开展调研的地方马上就可以开展调研活动，同时也要灵活看待当地政府官员其他繁多的责任及任何需要他去处理的紧急事务。

在调研过程中，外国研究员很难记住不同级别政府官员及党委官员的角色，以及他们各种各样的头衔（例如各种不同的“主任”和“秘书”），如果不能准确记住这些官员的头衔，大可称呼他们为“老师”，这在中国乡下是礼貌的。如果外国研究员能多了解当地政府的不同级别及级别之间相互的关系，这样做可以减少困惑。在中国，行政部门的不同级别因省有所差异，而且过去半个世纪以来，这些政府部门的专用名称更改了几次。无论如何，下列表格列出了中国多数地区的行政单位级别。每一级别下列出的不同单位名称都是同等级别的。

虽然不需要经常去拜访每个不同级别的官员，但拜访活动有时也是必要的，所以应当在时间表上为这些活动留出足够的时间。往往较低级别的官员也属于当地的少数民族，如自然村级、村委会级、镇乡级和县级官员，可以通过他们来了



笔者王明富、江子杨为
壮族古籍文献的依壮语注国
际标音。

Authors Wang Mingfu and
Eric Johnson transcribing the
Zhuang pronunciation of some
traditional literary works.



may have to deal with.

While it is difficult for foreign researchers to keep track of the various titles and roles of government and Communist party officials met during the research trips (for example various “directors *zhuren*,” and “secretaries *mishu*”), if one does not remember the exact title, it is polite in rural Chinese to refer to any leader as “teacher *laoshi*.” It will reduce confusion for the researcher if he is aware of the different levels of local government and how they relate to each other. The different levels of government administration in China vary to some degree by province, and the terminology has changed several times over the past half century. However, the table following this article shows the hierarchy of administrative units in many areas of China at this time of writing. At each level, the different units listed are of equal status in the hierarchy.

While it is not always necessary to visit officials at each of these different levels, at times it may indeed be necessary, so one should leave enough time in the schedule for all of these visits. The officials at the lower levels, e.g. the village, community, district and county levels, are often members of the minority ethnic groups themselves, and often are excellent sources of information about the village situations, population, road conditions, etc. Various types of useful records such as number of households in the village, number of students at various levels, income sources, etc., are kept by the local government.

解乡村情况、人口数量、道路状况等。各种各样有价值的信息，如乡村的家庭数量、不同年级的学生数量、收入来源等，在当地政府处都存有记录。

2. 交通

中国南部的雨季是夏季，通常从5月到9月。尽管县城之间的道路都是铺好的，但很多去小乡镇和村庄的路都没有铺。雨季时，这些路会变得很泥泞。因此，出发去这些地区前最好与当地官员通电话询问最近的天气状况，也尽量在调研时间表中留出一些弹性时间。在中国做调研时，并不一定要买交通工具。如果一个人带的设备不太多，可以选择坐公共汽车，在县与乡镇之间都有高效率的公共汽车系统在运转着。从乡镇到村庄则需要搭乘不同的交通工具，具体取决于各村庄的条件及当天的天气。有时从公共汽车路线可以走到一个村庄，当然在雨季时会相对困难，但一些村庄与最近的公共汽车路线之间的距离超过20公里。在这种情况下，最好从县城或镇里租一辆小型货车或摩托车（带司机）。小型货车比较安全，但有可能在乡间泥泞的路或是狭窄又陡峭的小道上很难通过。摩托车则可以通过所有乡间的路，但研究员应该自备摩托车头盔，因为摩托车司机通常只有自己戴着一个摩托车头盔。如果研究员要自己开车，必须取得中国驾照，要取得这个驾照则需要通过笔试和车试（外国的驾照在中国不被承认）。考虑到农村地区狭窄的山路，公路上大量的大型货车、拖拉机和牲畜，并且驾车习惯与其他国家不同，因此不建议外国研究员初到中国就马上在中国农村地区驾车。

3. 给农村参与者的报酬

因为大部分中国农民并没有多余的时间和金钱，因此有必要向那些花费大量时间的农村参与者提供相当形式的报酬，即使是当地政府吩咐他们这么做。中国各个地方的生活消费有着显著的差异，并且中国的经济在急剧变化，因此不能在这里提供一个报酬的标准。不过，不要付给农村参与者太少的报酬，令他们自觉受辱；也不要付给他们太多，以致他们以后会要求更多，令将来到来的研究员（尤其是没有过多赞助经费的中国博士生，或由别的发展中国家来的研究员）无法负担。一个方法就是与当地无私而有经验的人商量，参考参与者个人的资历及在调研上花费的时间来开出适当的报酬，当然还有给那些提供食宿的人合适的报酬。

如果研究员是由朋友或是某个官员介绍来的，村民就会很不好意思接受研究员金钱上的报酬。通常村民们都会按他们的风俗习惯热情地招待来客，但如果因此得到“薪水”，他们会感到很不舒服。研究员应当灵活对待此类状况，也可以寻找别的途径来感谢那些付出很多财力（比如宰杀家禽）招待研究员、司机及政府赞助者的村民。一些可行的解决方法是通过可靠的中介人把报酬传给村民，或以货代款，如送半边菜市场购买的猪肉之类的肉食菜蔬。



笔者王明富（左一）江子扬（左三）和西畴县岔河村寨老（左二）、金颂（美国籍研究者右二）、笔者的儿子（右一）在西畴县岔河村边走边吃甘蔗。

The author, a Zhuang villager, Eric Johnson, Sung Kim (an SIL researcher), and author Wang Mingfu's son enjoy sugar cane together in Penhe Village, Xichou County.

II. Transportation

The rainy season in southern China is during the summer, usually from May to September. Though roads between county seat towns are normally paved, many roads to smaller district towns and villagers are not paved and can become quite muddy during the rainy season. It is wise to ask local officials about current weather conditions via telephone before traveling to the area and to be flexible with the research schedule if necessary. It is not usually necessary to purchase a vehicle to do research in China, if one's equipment is limited to that which one can carry, as there is an efficient small bus system connecting all county seats, township and district towns. Getting from the district town to the village requires different transportation tools depending on the village situation and the weather. Sometimes the village can be attained by a hike from a spot on a scheduled route, though during the rainy season this becomes more difficult, and some villages are more than 20km from the nearest bus route. For these villages it may be necessary to rent a minivan or motorcycle (with a driver) in the county seat or district town. Minivans are safer, but may not be able to access villages on

4. 农村条件及风俗习惯

中国各地农村的生活条件相差极大,反映出了中国发展中的经济状况。在文山地区,大部分的农村都通电了,尽管不是每天24小时都有电。不过,带上手电筒是个好主意,虽然乡村有灯泡,但在晚上农村还是非常暗!除此之外,还可带上驱虫剂、一些基本药物,如止痛药、常用的抗生素,还有急救装备。很多乡村太偏僻,收不到手机信号,不过从村子里可步行的距离内一般会有个较高的位置可以接收手机信号。村民们都知道这些,他们可以带领研究员去这些位置打电话。

农村的水源情况存在着巨大的差异。一些村庄通过户外的水管从山泉或蓄水池接干净的水。另一些村庄则依赖离本村很远的积水。总的说来最好不要饮用没有煮过的水。研究员可能要带一些水瓶,包括一个可盛沸水的热水瓶,并且可以请求主人每天早晨烧水以供一天饮用。我们发现有些研究员在研究中忙得忽略了喝水,以至于到晚上出现脱水状况。这样一来,不只是增加了生活在陌生村庄的不舒适感,而且有可能使研究员的酒精耐受力也会降低。因为主人总会在晚餐时请客人喝酒(可能在其它的时候也要喝),因此,研究员应当重视饮水问题。

带着自己的食品而不吃主人提供的食物通常是不礼貌的,不过研究员也可以带一些点心与参与者及主人家分享。这些点心不要太甜、也不要太异国风味,这样的点心较合村民的胃口。如果研究员喜欢在早晨来一杯咖啡(如作者),最好带上足够的速溶咖啡与主人家分享。(中国人喜欢加咖啡伴侣和糖的咖啡。)

接待研究员的村庄领导(通常是村长或当地党委秘书)会安排研究员住在当地的某个家庭。男人和女人通常会分开住在不同的房子。主人家会提供足够暖和的被子,但如果研究员对布料有特殊的要求,或对跳蚤、蚊虫叮咬特别敏感,建议他带一个睡袋放在床上。(在壮族传统的木房子中,楼上住人,隔着一层木板的楼下放置牲畜。)

研究员应该在天黑前认清厕所方位,并带上足够的厕纸。通常村民们会提供厕纸(但是很少放在厕所)。与此同时,很多农村的房子会有看门狗,如果晚上需要出门,应该使用手电筒来探路,确保远离那些被链子拴着的狗。

中国乡下的少数民族村民十分热情,因此村民们经常坚持要款宴他们的客人。视各个村庄经济情况不同、离市场远近不同、季节不同等等,一餐农家宴有时只是简单的饮食,有时会有很多道菜肴。研究员最好每一菜都尝尝,但出于对自身健康的考虑不吃一些菜肴,而说“我不习惯吃这个”时,这样不会得罪村民们。(例如,未煮过的鸡血、鸭血是一道普通的菜肴,但考虑到亚洲的禽流感情况,不吃是慎重的)。如果研究员是一个素食主义者或者不吃猪肉产品,建议他只 在城市或信奉伊斯兰教的少数民族当中做调研,因为中国南部的非伊斯兰教人群



Chinese Administrative Units 中国的行政区划单位 (2005)

	省级
Province	省
Autonomous Region	自治区
Directly Administered Municipality	直辖市
Special Economic Zone (SEZ)	经济特区
	地级
Prefecture	地区
Autonomous Prefecture	自治州
City (Under Provincial Jurisdiction)	省辖市(市)
Banner (in Inner Mongolia)	旗(内蒙古)
	县级
County	县
Autonomous County	自治县
City (Under Prefecture Jurisdiction)	地区/自治州辖市(市)
District (Under City Jurisdiction)	市辖区(区)
	街乡级
Township (or "Urban District," grouping a medium-sized somewhat developed town and surrounding rural communities. Often there is a technical high school in a township, as well as a middle school.)	镇
District (or "Rural Township," grouping a number of rural communities. Usually there is one middle school in a district.)	乡
Nationality District (Grouping a number of rural villages, where another nationality besides Han has historically had a significant population. Usually there is one middle school in a district.)	民族乡
Subdistrict (Urban neighborhood)	街道办事处(小区、街、路)
	村委会级
Community (often just called "village/村", grouping 5 to 30 villages all of which are usually within an hour's walk from each other. Usually there is at least one elementary school per community.)	村委会(村、办事处、村公所、社系)
	自然村级
Village (or "natural village," a single conglomeration of households, 户.)	自然村(村、寨子、庄、合作社)

中,大部份是吃猪肉和猪油的,不可避免。

吸烟在中国也是十分普遍,特别在云南的男性人群中,因为烟草是云南的一个主要的经济作物。男性通常以敬烟建立友谊。研究员不用采取吸烟来促进研究(两位作者都没有吸烟),但当别人敬烟时也不应当冒犯,或发表一番关于吸烟危害的看法,不然对方会觉得他所表示的友谊被拒绝。

在中国,酒在大多数的少数民族风俗中扮演着非常重要的角色,正如它在全世界大部分的风俗当中一样。在中国乡下,村民们会在吃饭时邀请客人与他们一同喝酒来表达他们的热情。这些用玉米或大米自家酿制的白酒通常很烈,酒精强度超过80度(酒精含量40%),有时甚至超过100度。因此建议研究员在酒量上要注意,尤其是在脱水的情况下。村民们不会轻易放弃让他们的客人喝酒,尤其是男性客人——他们会用交情来压客人,怂恿他们喝酒。村民们通常用一个很小的瓷杯或玻璃杯来盛酒,但往往主人和客人一餐之中要喝光杯里的酒(干杯)很多次。乡下的男人常常喝了好几回合之后才吃饭,但如果客人想先吃饭(和吃些东西来垫垫肚子)可以请主人给他装饭,不用拘谨。通常在喝酒时,村民们还会用普通话或当地少数民族的方言玩一个数学游戏(猜码)——除非客人精通主人使用的语言,还有数学极好,否则不要轻易去尝试。如果客人选择不喝,也可以完全不用喝酒,但是他需要很坚持,并且脾气要好。客人也可以使用各种各样的策略来限制自己的酒量,如每回干杯时不要喝光杯中的酒,或拿一个茶杯(偶尔将一些酒倒入茶杯中),或把一半的酒倒在地板上,等等。

8. 结论

有机会在中国做农村调查研究,使我们感到非常荣幸。虽然数世纪以来,中国既丰富又复杂的风俗文化令外国人深深着迷,但长期以来,外国人不易进入农村地区(如文山)做调研。对于那些对地区情况感觉敏锐的研究员来说,地方政府官员的友好热情态度、数不清的文化遗产,加上现代通讯、道路状况和其他的基础设施,农村调查研究的经历会是个极具吸引力且很有价值的经验。

2008年9月



muddy roads or narrow steep paths. Motorcycles can usually access any village, but the researcher should bring along his own helmet, as the drivers usually carry only a single helmet for themselves. If the researcher wants to drive a vehicle himself, he must obtain a Chinese driver's license, which requires written and driving tests. (Foreign drivers' licenses are not legal for use in China.) Given the narrow mountainous roads, numerous large cargo trucks, tractors and livestock on the roads, and driving etiquette that differs from some other countries, it is not recommended that foreign researchers attempt driving in Chinese rural areas immediately upon arrival in the country.

III. Compensation of Village Participants

It is important to provide some form of compensation for village participants who offer a significant amount of time to the research, even if they are asked to do so by local officials, as most rural villagers in China do not have a lot of excess money or time. It is impossible to provide a standard compensation rate as costs of living vary so significantly across the country and the economy is changing at such a rapid rate. Nonetheless, it is important to neither underpay participants and thus insult them, nor drastically overpay them and possibly raise expectations to a level that future researchers (especially perhaps less well funded Chinese PhD candidates, or researchers from developing countries) can fulfill. A disinterested but locally experienced third party should be consulted to determine the appropriate rate of compensation based on the individual's qualifications and time contributed to the research, and for the lodging and board provided.

If the researchers have been introduced to the village participants through a personal contact or relative of an official, the villagers may be embarrassed to receive any financial compensation from the researchers. Often villagers feel awkward being "paid" for what they see as the type of normal hospitality that their cultural ethics require. The researcher should be sensitive to this situation, but be creative in finding ways to thank the villagers who may have made significant sacrifices (such as slaughtering poultry) to feed the researchers and their driver, government sponsor, etc. Some possible solutions are passing compensation through a reliable third party or giving useful gifts in kind, e.g. a side of pork.

IV. Village Conditions and Customs

Living conditions in Chinese rural villages vary widely, reflecting the developing

economy. In the Wenshan Prefecture area, at least, almost all villages now have electricity, though it may not be on for 24 hours per day. Nonetheless, bringing a flashlight along is a good idea as, even with light bulbs, villages can be quite dark at night! In addition, one should bring insect repellent and some basic medications such as pain relievers, topical and general antibiotics, and first aid supplies. Though many villages are too remote for mobile phone coverage, often there is a high place within hiking distance of the village where one can get reception. Villagers will know about this and can guide the researcher to the location to make calls.

Villages vary widely in terms of their water resources. Some villages have clean water supplied through outdoor faucets throughout the village from a mountain spring and reservoir; other villages are dependent on standing water sources remote from the village. In general it is best to not drink the water without boiling it. The researcher may want to bring along some water bottles, including a thermos that can withstand the temperature of boiling water, and request help from one's host in boiling water each morning for the day's use. We have found that in the midst of a day of research, it is easy for the researcher to ignore drinking water altogether and become dehydrated by evening. Not only will this add to the discomfort of work in an unfamiliar village, but it can reduce the researcher's tolerance for the alcohol that he will almost always be encouraged to drink at the evening meal (and perhaps at other times as well). Therefore, paying careful attention to one's own hydration is essential to good research.

While it is generally impolite to bring one's own food to the village and not eat the host's food, one certainly can bring snacks along to offer to the participants and host family. Usually local snacks that are neither too sweet nor too foreign in flavor will be most appreciated. Also, if the researcher is one who likes a cup of coffee in the morning (like the author), then it is good to bring enough instant coffee along to offer the hosts as well. (Chinese often prefer their coffee with creamer and sugar.)

The hosting village leaders (usually either the village mayor, *cunzhang*, or local party secretary, *mishu*) will arrange lodging with a local family. Men and women will usually be lodged in separate houses. The bedding provided will usually be adequately warm, but if one has particular needs in terms of fabrics or if one is particularly sensitive to flea or mosquito bites, one is advised to bring along a sleeping bag to place on the bed. (In traditional Zhuang houses, the livestock are penned under the wooden floor of the house which can add both warmth and fleas to the bedroom.)

Toilet facilities should be identified before dark, and one should bring an adequate



supply of toilet paper along, although villagers often will offer to provide this (but it is rarely kept in the toilet itself). Many village houses also have watchdogs, so use a flashlight and keep far clear of chained dogs if needing to go out of the house during the night.

The hospitality ethic is very strong in rural Chinese minority villages, so villagers will often insist on feeding their guests in abundance. Village meals may at times be simple or consist of quite a number of dishes depending on the conditions of the village, the proximity to the market, the time of year, etc. The researcher should, of course, try to sample most things offered, though it is acceptable to refuse some dishes on the pretext of "I'm not used to that" if the researcher fears for his health. (For example, uncooked blood of chickens and ducks is a common dish, but probably not wise anymore due to cases of avian influenza in Asia.) If the researcher is a vegetarian or does not eat pork products, he is advised to limit his research to urban subjects or to a Muslim ethnic group, as the staple meat and cooking oil in all non-Muslim ethnic groups in southern China is pork, and it will be impossible to avoid.

The smoking of cigarettes is also extremely common in China, especially among men and especially in Yunnan where tobacco is a major cash crop. Men usually break the ice with the offer of a cigarette. The researcher need not take up smoking to facilitate the research (neither of the present authors ever smoke), but one should never be offended at the offer of a cigarette, and a lecture on the dangers of cigarette smoking will effectively be a rebuff to the other's symbolic offer of friendship.

Alcohol plays a major role in many minority cultures in China, just as it does in most cultures of the world. An important way in which many rural people in China show their hospitality is to invite their guests to drink alcohol with them along with a meal. Usually in the villages this will be home-made *bai jiu*, which is a strong maize and/or rice alcohol. The alcohol content of *bai jiu* can be in excess of 80 proof (40%), sometimes even over 100 proof. Therefore the researcher is advised to exercise caution in the amount he consumes, especially if dehydrated. Villagers will not easily allow their guests to avoid drinking, especially male guests—a significant amount of friendly pressure will be applied to encourage the guest to drink. Usually the alcohol is poured into quite small ceramic or glass cups, but normally the hosts and guests empty the glass (*gan bei*, meaning "dry cup") quite a number of times during the meal. Village men typically do not eat any rice until they have drunk several rounds, but guests who want to eat first (and put some buffer in their stomachs) should feel free to request rice. Often a mathematical drinking game will also be played, either in Chinese or in the minority

language—guests should probably refrain from playing unless their language and mathematical skills are extremely good! The guest can refuse to drink at all, if he chooses, but he will need to be prepared to be persistent and good-natured. Guests can also use various strategies to limit their consumption of alcohol such as not emptying the glass for each toast, trying to nurse a tea cup at the same time (into which one can backwash some of the alcohol), spilling half the cup on the floor, etc.

V. Conclusion

It really is a privilege to be able to do rural research in China. Though the rich and complex cultures of China have fascinated outsiders for centuries, throughout most of that time rural areas like Wenshan were completely inaccessible to foreigners. For the researcher who can be sensitive to local conditions, the combination of the friendly hospitable spirit of local government officials, numerous cultures with rich heritage, and modern telecommunications, roads and other infrastructure makes research in rural China a fascinating and rewarding experience.

September 2008



古代云南壮族社会发展简表

附录四

制表人：王明富 制表时间：2008年10月18日

社会制度	社会属性	时代划分	权力机构	调查研究参考资料	备注
“包邑”制 mei ⁴⁴ hoŋ ⁴⁴	母系氏族社会 (原始社会)	中石器时代至 新石器时代早期	民主推选 “包邑”	1. 丘北县型磨盘山石器遗址; 2. 西畴县仙人洞“西畴人”晚期智人化石; 3. 滇东旧石器至晚小洞洞群石器遗址; 4. 古铜壁经《碑给坤》; 5. 壮族非物质文化遗产 ⁴³ 。	“包邑”既 “母皇” “母王”
“树邑”制 po ⁴⁴ hoŋ ⁴⁴	父系氏族社会 (原始社会)	新石器时代晚期至 青铜器时代早期	民主推选 “树邑”	1. 文山州马厂坳县平丰村洞, 西畴县洞群村, 文山县东土寨等 10 余个新石器时代遗址; 2. 湖地的 11 处 12 个点的 5300 平方米 170 幅新石器时代岩画; 3. 古铜壁经《碑给坤》; 4. 壮族非物质文化遗产 ⁴⁴ 。	“树邑”既 “父皇” “父王”
“树版”制 po ⁴⁴ ban ⁴⁴	低族联盟 (奴隶制初期)	青铜器时代	民主推选 “树版”	1. 州境入县上的青铜器; 2. 旧表古代建筑“亭架”; 3. 古铜壁经《碑给坤》; 4. 壮族非物质文化遗产 ⁴⁵ 。	“树版”既 部落酋长
“布明”制 tʃou ⁴⁴ dm ⁴⁴	部族国家 (奴隶制中期)	青铜器时代	以“布明” 为核心的 国家机构	1. 青铜器壁及青铜器器; 2. 汉代广南铁鼓资本铸造; 3. 广西古城遗址; 4. 后知州国器区的铜鼓; 5. 古铜壁经《碑给坤》; 6. 壮族非物质文化遗产 ⁴⁶ ; 7. 古铜壁经。	“布明”即 句明国王 “母波”
“布那”制 tʃou ⁴⁴ na ⁴⁴	部族联盟 (封建社会)	铁器时代 东汉至 明、清时期	以“布那” 为代表的 部族联盟	1. 广南依氏土司府署; 2. 马关县阿能占城; 3. 西畴县依氏土司住宅遗址; 4. 潘宁县依氏土司家祠; 5. 西畴县依氏土司后坟墓; 6. 古铜壁; 7. 古铜壁; 8. 地方县志; 9. 古铜壁经《碑给坤》; 10. 壮族非物质文化遗产 ⁴⁷ 。	“布那”既 “田王” “地主”

Appendix Four:

Chart of the Societal Development of the Ancient Zhuang of Yunnan

Created by: Wang Mingfu, 2008

Social System	Social Characteristics	Time Period	Organization of Authority	Research Findings	Remarks
"Myelhongz" system [nje ³¹ hoŋ ⁴⁸]	Matrarchal Society (Primitive Society)	Mid Mesolithic (Mid Stone Age) through Early Neolithic (New Stone Age) Period	Democratically elected "Myel - hongz"	1. Paleolithic archeological remains excavated at Qibei County's Heqinglong; 2. "Xichou Man" late Homo sapiens fossils from Xichou County's Xunren Cave; 3. Neolithic archeological remains in Malipo County's Xiaohu Cave; 4. The ancient Mo religious manuscript <i>Mo Ge kun</i> ; 5. The intangible cultural heritage of the Zhuang.	"Myelhongz" means "mother empress" or "mother queen"
"Boihongz" system [po ³¹ hoŋ ⁴⁸]	Patriarchal Society (Primitive Society)	Late Neolithic (New Stone Age) Period through Early Bronze Age	Democratically elected "Boihongz"	1. Wenshan Prefecture's more than ten Neolithic archeological sites, including Wooden Plover Cave near Guangnan County's Pingfeng, Xichou County's Puopiao Village, Wenshan Counties Hutuzhai, etc.; 2. Wenshan Prefecture's 5430 square meters of Neolithic cave paintings (170 images in a dozen locations); 3. The ancient Mo religious manuscript <i>Mo Ge kun</i> ; 4. The intangible cultural heritage of the Zhuang.	"Boihongz" means "father emperor" or "father king"
"Bohuhang" system [po ³¹ ɬuɐŋ ²²]	Alliance of clans (early stage of slavery system)	Bronze Age	Democratically elected "Bohuhang"	1. Bronze tools excavated in all eight of the prefecture's counties; 2. Continued construction of ancient style "Tinghong"; 3. The ancient Mo religious manuscript <i>Mo Ge kun</i> ; 4. The intangible cultural heritage of the Zhuang.	"Bohuhang" means "tribal chieftan"
"Zaepudun" system [æ7ɬoo ³⁰ dɐŋ ³⁶]	tribal nation (slavery system) period	Bronze Age	Age Nation organized around the "Zaepudun" at the core	1. Bronze period graves and tools; 2. Han Dynasty period <i>Mayi</i> wooden coffin and tomb of Guangnan County; 3. Guangnan Old Town ruins; 4. Bronze drums from the territory of the original Gaochang Kingdom; 5. The ancient Mo religious manuscript <i>Mo Ge kun</i> ; 6. The intangible cultural heritage of the Zhuang; 7. Vocabulary from the ancient Zhuang languages.	"Zaepudun" indicates King Wubo of the Gaochang Kingdom



Table Continued

Social System	Societal Characteristics	Time Period	Organization of Authority	Research Findings	Remarks
Zacupuz system [ʔc ou ⁵⁵ m ⁴⁴]	tribal alliance (feudal society)	from Age; Eastern Han through Ming and Qing Periods	A tribal alliance with "Zacupuz" as represe- ntatives	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Yamen compound of the Nong aristocratic family in the Guangnan county seat; 2. The old town of A'ya in Maguan County; 3. Ruins of the Nong aristocratic family's mansion in Xichou County's Laojie; 4. The ancestral hall of the Shen aristocratic family at Funing County's Ganchao; 5. Grave of the descents of the Nong aristocratic family at Jijie Panhe in Xichou County; 6. Ancient geographical names; 7. Ancient documents; 8. Local county gazetteers; 9. The ancient Mo religious manuscript <i>Mo Ga Kun</i>; 10. The intangible cultural heritage of the Zhuang 	"Zacupuz" means "lord of the fields" or "lord of the land"

后 记

本书的编辑完稿,虽然是笔者经过多年收集资料、学习、研究的成果,但是,书稿所收录的内容,仅局限在笔者的所见所闻。壮族人民生活地域很广,壮族历史文化博大精深,仅凭笔者的见闻,本书不能概括整个壮族的文化遗产。本书收录的资料,仅属壮族文化遗产中的小区域里的一部分,也不能代表整个云南省文山壮族苗族自治州壮族人民传承下来的文化遗产。

本书稿的壮语调查,曾经得到以下各位的帮助和支持,他们是:文山州政协副主席、州委统战部部长黄昌礼先生,云南省壮学研究会副会长何正廷先生,云南省民语委的蒙斯牧、陆保成两位老师,文山师专的赵时俊老师,以及世界少数民族语文研究院东亚部的艾磊(Bryan Allen)主任、史继威博士(Dr. Keith Slater)副主任、出版部主管谭茜玫(Cynthia Shum)、语言学者范秀琳(Cathryn Yang)、康嵩德(Andy Castro)、毕哲明(Jamin Pelkey)、Melissa Woodrum,还有世界少数民族语文研究院(亚洲区)的 Sue Hasselbring 及 Jane Johnson、吴咏琳(Philina Ng)等。没有他们的帮助,壮语调查不能完成,笔者衷心感谢上述各位领导和朋友的关注和支持。也感谢文山州的壮族人民,他们请我们进他们的家,听他们唱歌、回答我们的问题;摆姿势让我们拍照片;给我们讲故事;发音壮语单词给我们记录。壮族人民热情好客,我们终身难忘。

在壮族文化遗产图片拍摄收集过程中,十分感谢云南省人大副主任、省壮学研究会会长戴光禄,文山州原州长王永奎,文山州民委主任陆庆怀这三位领导,2006年和2007年,为了拍摄12集大型壮族文化纪录片《丽哉动僚》,他们安排笔者作制片人之一,在文山州挖掘、组织、参与策划壮族传统文化活动提供摄制纪录片,笔者才有更多的机会拍摄图片,使本书的资料更丰富。

本书的出版,还特别感谢世界少数民族语文研究院提供研究、出版经费,才有机会出版本书与读者交流。本书以中英文编排出版,因为中、英文对译有语言障碍,所以会出现不当之处,请读者赐教。

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2008年9月28日



Postscript

Although this manuscript is the fruit of years of research and study on the part of the authors, nonetheless, its content is inevitably limited to those things the authors themselves have seen and heard. The Zhuang homeland is vast and their history and culture is complex and ancient; by relying only on the authors' own impressions, this book cannot exhaustively summarize the entirety of Zhuang cultural heritage. The culture heritage described in this work is only a small sample from one Zhuang area, and cannot completely represent the cultural heritage that the Zhuang people of Yunnan's Wenshan Prefecture have inherited.

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