#### Christie Voelker

### 1. Description

### 1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family:

- Pumi, a language of China of the Qiangic language family. Divided into Northern and Southern (1)
- Often referred to as Premi. "Later, after having read all I could find published in Chinese on the Pumi *minzu*, or Premi people, as many of them call themselves..."(2, p.xiv)
- Call themselves Prmi, also referred to as Xifan by the Chinese. "Some of them explained to me that in their own language they referred to themselves as *Prmi*, and that *Xifan* was the accepted 'address by others'. 'All other peoples call us *Xifan*. So we refer to ourselves as *Xifan* when we talk to the other peoples in Chinese. Now our official name is *Pumi*. But in daily conversations people are still used to *Xifan*'"(3, 43).

# 1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com):

• pmi (Northern), pmj (Southern) (1)

# 1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):

- Southwest Sichuan Province and Northwest Yunnan Province (1)
- Approximately 26°N, 102°E

### 1.4 Brief history:

- The Pumi are thought to have migrated from Qinghai to Sichuan and Yunnan Provinces around the thirteenth century.
  - o "The language spoken by today's Prmi people is one of perhaps twelve or so languages belonging to the Qiangic subfamily of Tibeto-Burman and the other languages of this small subfamily are distributed along what is probably a historical migration corridor from the Qinghai or northeastern Tibet area... This seems to indicate that speakers of this group of languages migrated southward along this route, culminating in the Prmi, who are the southernmost Qiangic speakers" (4, 63).
  - "We learn from a variety of sources that the Xifan migrated from the Qinghai-Tibet plateau. By the mid-thirteenth century, the were centered in today's Yanyuan in Sichuan Province and living in a large area along the northwest border of Yunnan" (3, 50).

### 1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:

- Communism hit hard. During Maoism, religion was suppressed and ridiculed in an effort to stamp out "superficial nonsense." The Pumi had to conform to Chinese standards.
  - o "The burning of ritual texts, the destruction of sacred objects and religious buildings, the public criticism sessions of religious believers and clergy, the ridiculing of traditional practices, the humiliation of ritual specialists—all these events left deep scars on the memories of local communities" (2, 10).
  - o "The house was built in 1970, entirely according to the rules. But during the Democratic Reform period and the Cultural Revolution, everything had to be done in secret, otherwise we would be criticized. At that time we also were expected to go to the doctor when we were sick, but we would first secretly ask the *anji* to find out whether it was evil spirits who caused the disease or whether it was something the doctor might be able to cure" (2, 123).
- Post-Mao China relaxed its stance, but it has been a very slow return to traditional ways. "The end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976 and the subsequent Eleventh Party Plenum of 1978 heralded the end of a period of extremist policies during which most forms of religious practice disappeared from the public sphere. Nevertheless, it was not until the new constitution of 1982 guaranteeing freedom of religion and the circulation of the above-mentioned Party Document 19 the religious practice gradually reemerged into the open" (2, 8).

# 1.6 Ecology (natural environment):

• The Pumi live in a mountain region with a relatively low altitude and high humidity. "because of the lower altitude and more humid climate... there is little level land available for an expanding population. Those mountain slopes that have not yet been brought into production are very steep and difficult to access" (2, 103-104).

### 1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density

- 33,600 (8)
- Most villages are not only Pumi, but include a handful of other ethnicities as well. Villages range in population size and ethnic proportions. (5)
- Land is small and not readily available.
  - o "There is little land available for an expanding population" (103-104).

o "Although land was allocated to households in 1982, it was done on a per capita basis. When sons want to leave the parental house to set up their own, they are entitled to their share of the land, but the average of 1.2 mu per person is not enough to sustain a new family" (2, 117).

### 2. Economy

- 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):
  - Maize, rice, wheat, and highland barley. (5)
- 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:
  - Pork (pig) (5) (4, 74)
- 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:
  - No evidence found. Do not seem to be a violent society.
- 2.4 Food storage:
  - No evidence found
- 2.5 Sexual division of production:
  - Gender and age plays a large role in dividing the tasks of the household. Men do the heavy labor and hunting while women do the household chores. Younger children herd. "Only men can plow the land, and even when no man is available, women are not permitted to use the plow. Killing animals, hunting, and playing the flute are also exclusively male domains. The women perform most of the tasks at home and feed the domestic animals, while herding is done mostly by the smaller children or the younger unmarried girls. Everyone in the house helps with the harvest" (2, 119).

#### 2.6 Land tenure:

• Families do not actually own the land and cannot buy new land, but can pass their land on to their sons. "Although households did not own the land, they received long-term contracts allowing them to use it... land could be neither sold nor bought" (2, 102).

### 2.7 Ceramics:

- The offering stone is the most important part of ancestral worship. However, I found no other mention of ceramics.
- 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:
  - Households seem to provide their own food. No evidence of specific sharing patterns found.

#### 2.9 Food taboos:

- Do not eat dog meat (7)
- 2.10 Canoes/watercraft?
  - No evidence found; live in mountainous region, but there are a few rivers

#### 3. Anthropometry

- 3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):
  - Information not found
- 3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):
  - Information not found

### 4. Life History, mating, marriage

- 4.1 Age at menarche (f):
  - No specific information found, but as stated below, girls come of age when they are 13. This could reflect menarche (2, 97)
- 4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):
  - No specific information found, but if average age of marriage is around 17, then I would expect first birth to be shortly thereafter. (2, 97)
- 4.3 Completed family size (m and f):
  - Parents, ideally 3 children, grandparents
  - "The inhabitants of a Premi house in Bustling Township are usually of two or three agnatically linked generations: on older married couple with their youngest son and his wife and their children" (2, 117).
- 4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):
  - Information not found. However, since the 3-child limit is enforced, the time during which a woman is still having children must be very brief.
- 4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):
  - The traditional age at first marriage is thirteen, but today it is a little later. "The traditional age for marriage in Bustling Township, as in many other [Pumi] areas, is thirteen... [t]he current age for marrying is now slightly higher, around seventeen on average" (2, 97).

### 4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

• Divorce is not mentioned except in one instance "brothers who had moved out of polyandrous marriages, married again monogamously, and established their own houses" (2, 118). It is not distinctively called divorce, but it does imply that the man was part of one marriage, was able to leave, and marry again.

### 4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:

- There are rare cases of polygynous marriage, but polyandrous marriage is much more common, in which multiple brothers take one bride. "A prevalence of more than one-fourth of all marriages in the southern villages suggests that fraternal polyandry is a preferred form of marriage" (2, 99).
- The dominant theory for this practice is that useable land is very limited and cannot easily be split up. A parent can only pass on their land to one child, or only one marriage producing heirs. "In the highlands of Tibet, the area suitable for agriculture is strictly limited... All the sons in a family are entitled to inherit a share of the family land. In order to avoid having to partition this land into smaller and smaller shares, and because they are unable to open up new arable land, Tibetans practiced what Goldstein termed the "monomarital" marriage principle..."(2, 100).

### 4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?:

• No real dowry is paid except for a few small gifts and perhaps a very small amount of money. The exchange is that the bride will not have any claim to her new family's land. "They would not have to pay any real dowry, but their daughter would not be entitled to any share of the land. The families would exchange only a few symbolic gifts: *arje*, or homemade distilled spirits, dried pork meat, and homespun hemp cloth" (2, 98).

### 4.9 Inheritance patterns:

- Inheritance occurs through the patriline. The bride does not receive anything from her family. All sons inherit the land from their parents, but it must be split up if a brother wants to move out after being married. It is the youngest son left in the house who inherits his parent's house and remaining portion of land.
  - o "The land is divided when a brother leaves the house, and the house is usually taken over by the brother who marries last, often the youngest brother."
  - O See the second quote in 4.7 stating that sons inherit land
  - The quote in 4.8 demonstrates that without a significant dowry, women do not inherit from their parents. They also do not have any claims to their new husband's land.
- If a family has only daughters, an unmarried daughter may take over and when she gets married, her husband will move into the house. They will be part of his patriline but will carry the house name. "Women do not normally inherit, except when a household has no male heirs; in that case, the unmarried daughter takes over the house and the land rights, and when she marries, the husband can move into the house of his wife or wives. Although her continues his own patriline and the children are part of the clan of their father, the house and its inhabitants continue to carry the original house name" (2, 114).

### 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

• No evidence found

### 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

• no evidence found

### 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

Exogamy is practiced with the clan as the exogamous unit, not the village. One cannot marry another of their own clan, but it is preferred that they marry someone else in the village or close by. Since descent is only traced through the patriline, the restricted clan is only that of the father, making it only unilineal exogamy. "Among the [Pumi] in Bustling Township, the exogamous unit is established not bilaterally but patrilineally. Clan membership signifies, first of all, a factor of exclusion, determining which categories of people one cannot marry or have sexual relations with. Since exogamy is only required unilineally, and since most villages are made up of several clans, in principle, this provides villagers with enough potential marriage partners" (2, 102).

# 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized?

• Men/the male line/the clan make the bones. "Raka, or bones, is the substance that is transmitted through the male line... small parts of the raka... are all that is left in recognizable condition after cremation and will be cared for by those who also share this substance in their bodies, that it, the surviving male clan

members" (2, 108). This quote makes it seem that men contribute the most important part to their offspring, their bones, the things that hold us together and let us stand.

# 4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows")

- Women give the flesh. "Na or she, or flesh, the other constituting part of a human being, which comes from the female side" (2, 108). Together with 4.13, it seems that males give the most important part, the skeleton, while the women just give the bit surrounding the skeleton.
- If a woman has trouble getting pregnant, or more specifically, is unable to produce a son, it is considered to be her fault. It is generalized as "women's diseases," and praying to water deities is the solution. "The help of the water deities is solicited in cases of "watery" diseases, for example, ailments of the eyes or 'women's diseases' such as menstrual disorders, infertility, or the absence of male children (mostly—but not exclusively—ascribed to a deficiency in the woman)" (2, 138).

### 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?

• No evidence found

# 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape

• No evidence found

### 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)

- The Pumi prefer to exchange women with clans that they have exchanged with before and prefer to choose from their own village or those nearby. Cross-cousin marriages are therefore ideal, but do not occur frequently.
  - o "Once families in two neighboring villages have established their first marriage relationship, they will try to continue the exchange of women, and cousin marriages constitute the most obvious opportunities for such exchanges" (2, 98).
  - o "There is at least an ideological preference for cross-cousin marriages, which is also reflected in kinship terminology that makes the distinction between parallel and cross cousins" (2, 98).
  - o "As with most non-Han groups in this area, Prmi often practice patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, which itself becomes an ethnic marker in that many educated Han consider it not only barbaric but genetically dangerous" (4, 206)

### 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

- The majority of references implied no, through solid family units, a formal marriage ceremony, and the morality enforced by ancestor worship. However, in one source I did find "Some Prmi in the Lagu Lake area are matrilineal and eschew marriage in favor of matrisegment households with visiting sexual partnerships" (4, 75-76). Again, this is the only place that it is mentioned. This quote also cites matrilineal arrangements, which is not found elsewhere in references, leading me to believe that this is a somewhat isolated incident.
- Extramarital sexual relations do occur, but are not accepted or the norm.
  - "Although I did not specifically pursue the matter, premarital and extramarital sexual relations do also occur, as testified by a few unmarried mothers and persons with uncertain clan identity" (2, 97). This quote implies that extramarital offspring are not recognized, as they are not given a clan identity.
  - "Extramarital sexual relations also strictly observe the rules on clan exogamy. Therefore, when a child is born out of wedlock and when the mother does not want to disclose the father, her child should preferably marry someone from the mother's paternal clan, since this is the only clan that the child's father could not belong to"(2, 104).

# 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

• No evidence found of giving gifts. See 4.18 (above), explaining that though extramarital relations do inevitably happen, they are not recognized or considered acceptable.

#### 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

• Not directly stated. But since it is repeated everywhere that the children belong to the father's clan, I expect the children would be raised by him or a household member.

# 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females

• Information not found

### 4.22 Evidence for couvades

• No evidence found

### 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)

• In the case of polyandrous marriage, either of the brothers could be the father. The same word is used for father, father's brother, and father's sister's husband, indicating there isn't differentiation (2, 98).

### 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

• No evidence found.

### 4.24 Joking relationships?

• No evidence found

# 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations

- Descent is traced patrilineally. Once a bride joins her husband's clan, she is no longer considered part of her old clan and brings no wealth or ownership to the partnership. Land is passed to the sons in a family.
  - "The first is the exogamous unit created through patrilineal descent, called *jhü*, probably best rendered as 'clan'"(2, 94).
  - o "...clans exchange women but no material goods" (2, 98).
  - See quote in 4.8, stating that women do not have any rights to the land.
  - See the second quote in 4.7, explaining that sons inherit the land.

### 4.26 Incest avoidance rules

- People are not allowed to marry within their clan. However, since the clan is only traced on the patriline, members of the mother's family are free game. This is demonstrated through the practice of cross-cousin marriages.
  - The quote in 4.12 explains that the clan serves as a rule for who you cannot marry, as in, members of your father's clan.
  - 4.17 explains that cross-cousin marriages are acceptable, and even preferred. It is fine to marry someone from your mother's family because they are not considered your clan.

### 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?

• The marriage ceremony consists of a ceremony and a number of rituals. It lasts over the course of six days, three spent at the bride's family's house then three at the groom's. When moving to the groom's house, the bride is escorted and handed over by a brother or male relative. "...they would invite an *anji* to preside over the ceremony and perform several rituals to bless the union. The whole celebration would last six days: three days at their house and three days at the groom's house. On her journey to the house of her future husband, their daughter would be escorted by her brother and ceremoniously handed over to her new house and new clan"(2, 98).

#### 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?

- The Pumi have a house name,  $dz\dot{e}-m\dot{e}$ , followed by their individual name. The name does not come from the clan or patriline, but from the actual house in which they live. The house name is usually that of the person (patriarch) who built the house, the name of the house which previously stood on the spot, or a modified version of the father's house. Names do not go with lineages, but with houses which do not stand for more than a few generations. So, the name of a household is NOT how descent is traced.
  - o "As [Pumi] have no family names, one of the functions of house names is to make a further distinction. The origin of a house name is usually the name of the one who built the house or, if there has been a house on the same location before, the one who built the original house. Few houses in Bustling Township are more than thirty years old; therefore, this name foten refers to a close agnatic ancestor" (2, 113-114).
  - o "Baju, also called Xifan, do not have family names" (3, 50).
- This is conflicting evidence: Another book, admittedly studying the Pumi in different villages, does say that the Pumi belong to patrilineal clans, but that their name is the <u>clan name</u> plus a personal name. "Prmi, at least in Yanyuan and Muli, belong to named patrilineal clans, and an individual's name in the Prmi language consists of the clan name plus a personal name, with the personal name used alone in most circumstances" (4, 206).

### 4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)

• Marriage is preferred to be within a village or from villages nearby, though not within clans. "All of the registered marriages in Uphill and Downhill were between local men and women from nearby villages. Village clusters can therefore be considered basically endogamous" (2, 102). When a marriage partner is coming from outside the village, it is the bride, because women move to live with their husband's family in this patrilineal kinship system.

• Mary other Pumi mostly, but occasionally marry other ethnic groups in their village/area. The most preferred of other ethnic groups are the Naze. See the quote in 4.17 Relationship with Neighboring Societies, explaining how the two groups overlap, interact, and sometimes intermarry.

# 4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?

• Marriage is said to be by the choice of those getting married. However, it is actually decided by the parents when their children come of age. "...people gave the standard answer that marriages were based on free choice. In Walnut Grove, where I got to know people well enough to make such political correctness unnecessary, several people told me that parents were in charge of choosing marriage partners for their children. They usually made these arrangements at the ceremony held when the children turned thirteen"(2, 97).

### 4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

• Avoid or encourage marriage with other ethnicities in area. "Prmi patterns of intermarriage with various groups in different places vary from free intermarriage to none at all. Prmi in Muli laughed at the suggestion that anyone would even consider marrying Hmong, and I know of very few marriages with Nuoso, even though Prmi seem to have no explicit prohibition. Intermarriage with Han is more ambiguous... Between Prmi and Naze, on the other hand, intermarriage is free and frequent" (4, 207).

#### Warfare/homicide

### 4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

- There are no modern mentions of fighting or warfare. However, in histories of the region, Pumi troops are frequently mentioned coming to the aid of the chief.
  - o "In return, the new chieftain would give a substantial banquet for the 'Xifan troops'"(3, 46).
  - o "The Dali kingdom fell to the invading Mongols in 1253, and Prmi troops were reportedly instrumental in the mongol's victory in the Lesser Liangshan area" (4, 64).

### 4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

• No evidence found

### 4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:

• No evidence found

### 4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):

- The villages are not made up of only Pumi people. In any given village, there are a handful of other ethnicities with whom they interact. They are especially intertwined with the Naze.
  - "Prmi and Naze ethnicity, by contrast, is both less definitely bounded and are more contingent. Boundaries between Prmi and Naze are blurred even in terms of recognition (some people are not even sure who is who) and still more by frequent intermarriage between the two groups... Prmi and Naze thus display what I call historical and contingent ethnicity. It is likely that, in the days before the ethnic identification project, they were not only known by a variety of names in a variety of languages but also identified themselves with a variety of different collectives in different situations" (4, 193).

#### 4.18 Cannibalism?

No evidence found

### 5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

- 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:
  - Villages can range in size, usually containing a couple hundred people. Not all inhabitants are Pumi. (2,73).
  - Pumi organize themselves by household, which contains 5-10 people, depending on whether multiple siblings still live in the house. (2, 117).

### 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

• Live in permanent villages and have claims to specific plots of land. (2, 70).

# 5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):

• Technically, the area is under the power of the People's Republic of China. Counties do maintain some power. "The granting or rescinding of autonomous decision-making powers is in the hands of the Party. In addition, many of the natural resources found in the prefecture are under the control of units belonging to either the central or the provincial government... Autonomous prefectures and counties are able to retain more of their tax revenues... They are thus currently more autonomous in fiscal affairs than are ordinary prefectures and counties" (4, 77).

- The household manages itself. See 5.13. The quote explains that even the clan doesn't exert much power, and there is no "elite" clan. The  $dz\dot{e}$  is the organizing institution.
- Big government intervenes very little. Village head and council of elders make village decisions. (2, 83)

#### 5.4 Post marital residence:

- The newlyweds will either live with the husband's family (in their household, or  $dz\dot{e}$ ) or will start their own household on the husband's inherited portion of land.
  - o "After marriage, their daughter would move in with her new husband, either in his parental home or in a new house when they found some land to build on" (2, 98).
  - See 4.9 Inheritance Patterns for the exception in the case that there are no male heirs to inherit the land. In this case, the husband can move in with his new wife into her parental home.

### 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

• Villages are not strictly Pumi. They often coexist in villages with multiple other ethnicities, so there are no set boundaries to be defended.

# 5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):

No evidence found

### 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

No evidence found

### 5.8 Village and house organization:

- The  $dz\dot{e}$  is most closely translated to "household." It is a residential unit which groups people by clan and other close association for the tasks of daily life, but does not necessarily signify a group of people living in a single house. "To a certain extent, the  $dz\dot{e}$  are coterminous with the anthropological concept of households. They constitute domestic groups that share tasks of production and consumption, and they are tied together by descent and alliance. But as several anthropologists have noticed, household members are not necessarily co-residents; moreover, on house may contain several households" (2, 94-95).
- The house often contains a couple, their last married son and his wife, and their children. Polyandrous marriages will have multiple brothers married to one wife or multiple sisters married to one husband (see the special circumstance in 4. 9 Inheritance patterns). "...two or three agnatically linked generations: an older married couple with their youngest son and his wife and their children. In case of polyandrous marriages, the house might count two or more brothers married to a single wife" (2, 117).
- The head of the household is the oldest man, called *dap'u*, along with the female leader of the house, *damu*. The *dap'u* is in charge of major decisions and dealings outside of the house, while the *damu* deals with internal matters. "Each house has a "housemaster," or *dap'u*, usually the oldest man, if he is still capable of doing all the work that is expected of him, or he might have relinquished the post to his married son... He makes all major decisions relating to the house and its inhabitants, and he represents the house in its interactions with the outside world... At his side is the *damu*, the female leader of the house, usually his wife or, when she is deceased, his daughter-in-law.... The *damu* decides on the "female" side, while includes all internal matters of the house" (2, 117).

### 5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):

- No specialized village structures mentioned, as the Pumi worship and make offerings in their own house. See 6.13, explaining that there are not temples, as worship is practiced within the house because it focuses on the particular house's ancestors.
- Houses are not built in a particularly "Pumi" way, at least not externally. Building materials are those found naturally in the area. The internal arrangement of the house, however, is Pumi. All over western Liangshan, housing styles of all ethnic groups are adapted to local building materials. This means that in any particular area, houses occupied by members of disparate ethnic groups will have a superficial similarity... But floor plans, furniture, and household ritual paraphernalia distinguish the dwellings of various ethnic groups" (4, 203).

# 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

- Mention of beds (separate for men and women), and sometimes on the floor.
  - o "Along the wall on the door side are beds on which women can sleep; on the other side, the beds are reserved for men" (4, 204).
  - $\circ$  "There are basically two styles of platform. The elevated version shown in figure 3.4 is found in the south of Bustling Township and is called  $dr\dot{e}$ . In the northern villages,  $dr\dot{e}$  means 'bed'"(2, 125).

# 5.10Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:

• Though clans are organized patrilineally, the more important social organization is the house, or dzè. "The house is also a corporate unit in the sense that it 'owns' property and makes up an economic unit: the land is divided between the different houses, and the inhabitants share the tasks of working it" (2, 118).

#### 5.11Trade:

• Into/from larger nearby towns. "The presence of several men in the house makes it possible for the family to be involved full-time in agriculture as well as to transport goods and find jobs in the market towns of Yongning and Wachang or the country-town" (2, 102)

### 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

• There does not seem to be much, if any, of a hierarchy. Each household manages itself, and no clans or households are considered "elite." "Neither is the clan a corporate unit with economic or status connections: the clan does not manage any property, and descent does not seem to have any correlation with class... there was no significant internal stratification within the majority of Premi commoners" (2, 110-111).

# 6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

#### 6.0 Time allocation to RCR:

- Daily and frequent prayer and ritual offerings.
  - o "Before each meal or before drinking, people place offerings of food or wine, *che-drö*, on top of the iron tripod" (2, 125).
- Rituals for passage, coming of age, marriages, and annual festivals.

### 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

- The *hangui* is the ritual specialist, called *anji* in some pronunciations. They are the most knowledgeable of religion and conduct rituals and oversee ceremonies.
  - o "They could be seen conducting rituals when people or animals were sick, when people had died and were cremated, when ancestral spirits had to be propitiated, or when offerings had to be made to the water deities, or *lwéjabu*, in order to bring rain for the newly planted crops" (2, 5).
  - The whole community shared cosmological beliefs and traditional values, but the exact details and precise categorizations were left to the specialists, the *anji* and the *yèma*, or Bhuddist lay preist, Villagers needed specialized knowledge to identify the causes of ill fortune, consecutive bad harvests, persistent ailments, and dying livestock, and they needed this knowledge so they could perform the correct rituals, which would help them avoid or remedy recurrent adversities"(2, 134).

#### 6.2 Stimulants:

No evidence found.

### 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

- There is a coming-of-age ceremony when boys and girls turn 13, making them adults and eligible for marriage. "Boys and girls go through a ceremony called 'wearing trousers' and 'wearing skirts,' respectively" (2, 97).
- The most important village ritual, besides coming of age, is death. When someone dies, they are cremated. An *anji* along with family members complete the necessary rituals and carry the urn to a designated place. Then, the soul must be taken care of.
  - O "The cremation ceremony lasts up to three days and is the major ritual event in Bustling Township. As many ritual specialists as the family can afford will recite almost uninterruptedly and perform numerous rituals. Finally, after the corpse has been cremated, the ashes are collected in an urn together with pieces of certain bones: a piece of the skull, the hand, the hipbone, and the foot... After the pieces of bone have been placed in the urn with the ashes, the older members of the clan carry the urn to the mountain cave belonging to the clan"(2, 108).
  - o "The *me-drö* may be understood as the soul of the deceased. This *me-drö* has to be guided by the *anji* to a place where all the souls of the clan's ancestors reside. This place, which is called Jewopöjeda, is said to be an actual place far to the north of Muli where the Premi originated... This whole process during which the *me-drö* has to find its proper place among the clan's other ancestral souls is a risky time for all the living clan members. Correct rituals have to be performed so that the *me-drö* will not turn into a wandering spirit or, in the worst case, and evil wandering spirit, a *shep'a*"(2, 109).

### 6.4 Other rituals:

• Households must make offerings to the mountain deities during the New Year Period and on specified dates thereafter. "During the New Year's Period, every dzè must make one trip into the mountains with the anji

and offer three chickens to the mountain deities. This is done in order to ask protection against the evil spirits and to show respect so that the deities will not turn against any member of the house or its animals. The ceremony is called the yiz egu, which is also the name of the scripture read by the anji. Smaller ceremonies may be held, if necessary, on the fifth, fifteenth, or twenty-fifth of every lunar month" (2, 141).

- Dragon God Festival. "Dragon God worship takes place in the 3<sup>rd</sup> month of the lunar calendar. People pray for favorable weather, preparing the spring plow" (8).
- Spring Festival. "In the Changxin (taste what is just in season) Festival held after spring harvest, the people taste the new rice, worship gods and offer sacrifices to ancestors, and celebrate the good harvest" (8).

### 6.5 Myths (Creation):

• No myths found, but most are able to recite their clan genealogies back for an impressive number of generations. "The longest genealogies go back thirty-seven generation to Jiuwu Jiuda hsi, the common ancestor of the different ethnic groups, followed in the thirty-sixth generation by the first Premi, Hsidi" (2, 105).

# 6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

- Folk dances and instruments (lute and flute). "The Pumi people have many kinds of folk-dances, including traditional GuoZhuang dance with sprightly rhythm. Everybody can dance it. The Pumi people like the lute very much. Young man often shows affection to a girl by the beautiful sound of the lute" (8).
- See 2.5 for mention of the flute.
- See 6.8, quote 3. Picture or relief of deities, influenced by Buddhism.

#### 6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

• The ritual specialists *hangui/anji* are men in every reference I've read.

### 6.8 Missionary effect:

- Tibetan Buddhism has gradually taken influence over the people in this area. It is practiced in varying degrees depending on village size and isolation. For the most part, Buddhism and the *hangui* tradition coexist.
  - o "non-Buddhist religious practices seem to coexist with the strong presence of Tibetan Mahayana Buddhism... the people living here have been exposed in varying degrees to Tibetan culture. This is most obvious in the presence of several monasteries belonging to different schools of Tibetan Buddhism. Nevertheless, until today, many of these ethnic groups maintained their own cultural distinctiveness" (2, 5)
  - o "The combination of Buddhist concepts such as reincarnation and rebirth with ancestor worship has also been described" (2, 121).
  - "The Buddhist influence on Premi society can be seen in the *za bala*, a Tibetan Buddhist-inspired picture or relief placed in the corner of many houses where Buddhist deities are worshipped" (2, 122).
- The Buddhist influence is apparent in a few deities and also in some personifications of ancestors.
  - "As the names might suggest, it is possible that these deities—or at least their appellations—entered the Premi pantheon as a result of Tibetan or Buddhist influence, and those familiar with Tibetan religion will find many striking analogies to Tibetan beliefs and practices... most similarities arguably are relatively recent borrowings from Buddhism"(2, 135).

### 6.9 RCR revival:

- After the end of the Cultural Revolution and following government changes, it took a little time before traditional religion was practiced openly. However, recent years have seen a rapid revival.
  - "A hesitant revival developed into a veritable religious craze during the 1980's and 1990's. Some researchers—especially those studying Tibetan communities—explained this as a spontaneous resurrection of beliefs and practices that had been forbidden by the powers in charge but had continued to exist in people's minds" (2, 8).
  - o "Indeed, my initial worries about the imminent extinction of the *hangui/anji* tradition among the Premi and China's southwestern provinces have been proved wise of the mark. When I visisted Chicken Foot Village in ninglang County, Yunnan, in 1998, I was told that the last *hangui* ritual specialist in the village had just passed away and none of the young people in the village seemed interested in taking over his job. On my latest visit in 2006... Chicken foot Village could now claim seven practicing young *hangui* ritual specialists!"(2, 4-5).

### 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

• The deceased is guided to the land where the rest of the clan ancestor's live, if all the correct rituals are performed. Ancestors are worshipped for the prosperity of the household (see quotes in 6.3)

# 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

• No. Frequent ancestor worship is required.

# 6.12 Is there teknonymy?

• No evidence found.

# 6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)

- Ancestor worship and deism are the largest part of Pumi religion. They pray to recent ancestors of their dzè, rather than to ancient clan ancestors, as they are more concerned with their household livelihood than the whole clan, which is not as important. They also pray to deities of the water, mountains, sky, etc. Regular prayer (multiple times a day) and offerings is their form of religious practice.
  - o "The Premi have no temples in which to worship their deities or common clan ancestors, but every house constitutes its own sacred space. It enables the residents to establish and maintain relations with their ancestors and deities as well as among themselves through the practice of rituals" (2, 119).
  - o "Premi ancestor worship is largely limited to the house, as expressed in the status of the house name as the most important indicator of a person's belonging, and through the daily offerings made to ancestors who died in the house rather than to those of the whole patriline" (2, 121-122).
  - o "Besides strengthening the relations of those who share a common residence, ancestor worship also provides a powerful basis for morality in Premi society. The ancestors will protect their living descendants, if these descendants behave in an appropriate way" (2, 126).
- Religion isn't especially mystical or supernatural, but is very practical. This is how the Pumi regard spirits and deities. "We cannot see or feel them, but we accept their existence and understand that they can make us sick; if we are careful, we can avoid their harmful effects, and if the affliction is too serious to be handled on our own, we go to an expert" (2, 133).
- Deities are representative of the natural world, so in a way, their religion is animistic. They have great reverence to nature, as demonstrated in the process of building a house.
  - "In Walnut Grove, all main doors must face east, and the main roof beams must run east to west. East is the location of the river that cut the steep slope in which the village and its surrounding fields are situated... The central pillar or post in the house must be constructed and placed very carefully, so that it follows the direction of growth of the tree it was cut from. Placed in this way, it says that the house is living and growing" (2, 124).
  - $\circ$  "Having names and being ascribed with the magical power to provide its inhabitants with prosperous lives, the Premi  $dz\dot{e}$  furthermore possess animistic qualities" (2, 95).
- Note: Many Pumi also practice Tibetan Buddhism, which varies depending on village size, ethnic mix, and proximity to large villages and Buddhist temples. In pages 198-199 of reference 4, the author gives examples of villages close to the Lagu Lake temple, those somewhat close, and those distant and secluded. In the villages closest to the temple, the Pumi are fully practicing Buddhists. Those farthest and most remote only display minor Buddhist features. The middle are intermediate. (4, 198-199)
  - o See 6.8 "Missionary Effect" for more information on the Buddhist influence on Pumi religion.

### 7. Adornment

### 7.1 Body paint:

• No evidence found.

#### 7.2 Piercings

• Only mention found is that women wear earrings (5)

#### 7.3 Haircut:

- Women grow their hair long. "Winding their plaited hair... They consider the plait beautiful, the more so the bigger it is"(5).
- Younger men wear their hair long, but some shave their head, leaving a plate on top. "Adult men keep long hair, and also coil wigs around the head with silk threads. Some men shave their head bald, only leaving a small bunch of hair arranged into a plate on the top of the head" (6).

#### 7.4 Scarification:

• No evidence found.

### 7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

• Women are said to wear silver jewelry (4) (5)

#### 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

• Anji or hangui wear long yellow robes. "Often the hangui would be wearing their newly sewn, long yellow gowns" (2, 5)

#### 7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

- Women: For ceremony and special occasions, wear long pleated skirts and wrap their head in cloth or
  interweave with yarn. Influenced by the style of the village in which they live. When working, they wear
  pants and shirts common to rural Chinese areas.
  - o "In Yanyuan, Ninglang, and Muli, there is a Prmi women's outfit, which consists of a long, pleated skirt of a single color (usually blue, black, or gray), over which they tie a rectangular apron with an embroidered edge. They top this with a wise belt, usually red, of homespun hemp; wear a wool or felt vest closed with frog-buttons in the front; and wrap their head in a turban of black cloth, or in the case of young women on festive occasions, sometimes multicolored yarn. This outfit is embellished with silver or other jewelry" (4, 201).
  - o "When Premi girls become thirteen, they start wearing traditional pleated skirts as well as braiding their hair and interweaving it with black thread in the typical and recognizable style of Bustling Township" (2, 97).
  - o "In all of these places, most Prmi women usually wear pants and blouses, the ordinary Chinese rural dress, when they are working in the fields or around the house... but, like Buddhism, the clothes can be taken out of the closet when necessary, particularly on ritual occasions when it is important to display one's ethnicity" (4, 203).
- Men wear fairly plain clothes customary to the region and farming, but sometimes wear more specific traditional clothes.
  - °Pumi men wear similar clothes: linen jackets, loose trousers and sleeveless goatskin jackets"(5).
  - "Young men of the Pumi ethnic minority wear short jackets with silver buttons on the right side, and loose trousers generally in black. Over the jackets, they sometimes wear long gowns with waistbands. They wear linen leggings."(6).

### 7.8 Missionary effect:

• Wear "normal" clothes for everyday tasks and work (4)

### 7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

• Still wear "traditional" clothes for special ceremonies (4)

# 8. Kinship systems

# 8.1 Sibling classification system:

- Parents, uncles, and aunts have one title or the other, depending on whether they are part of the father's or mother's clan. "On the male side, the term *apo* is used for father, father's brother, father's sister's husband and also designates the father of one's wife, but mother's brother is called *agu*. On the female side, the women in one's mother's generation are all called *ama* except for one's father's sister, who is called *ane*"(2, 98).
- Cousins and siblings do not have different classifications, but there is a distinction between older and younger siblings and cousins. "There is no distinction between cousins and siblings: pep'ei is used for one's older brother, older sister, and older male and female cousin, while gwè gwè is used for the cousins and siblings younger than oneself, also without regard to sex" (2, 99).

#### 8.2 Sororate, levirate:

• No evidence found, but marriages are often polyandrous.

### 8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

• "Kinship terminology makes a distinction between parallel and cross cousins" (2, 98)

# 9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

- Women are "polluted."
  - Explaining how a family sites around the hearth/offering stone: "while women sit on the perimeter because they are considered ritually polluted" (2, 125).
  - "While the head of the house is away, another male household member conducts the morning prayer, but women are excluded because they are considered ritually polluted" (2, 127).
  - O Altars are on the "male side" of the house (4, 204-205).

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