

**SINGING, RITUALISED GIFT EXCHANGE, AND BRIDAL RELEASE:
NIANGHAI RITUAL IN A NORTHERN DONG WEDDING, CHINA**

YANG LING

Department of Music and Music Education, Faculty of Music and Performing Arts, Sultan Idris Education University, 35900 Tanjong Malim, Perak, Malaysia

Prof. Dr. MOHD HASSAN BIN ABDULLAH*

Department of Music and Music Education, Faculty of Music and Performing Arts, Sultan Idris Education University, 35900 Tanjong Malim, Perak, Malaysia

<https://doi.org/10.37602/IJSSMR.2026.9507>

ABSTRACT

NiangHai is a Northern Dong wedding practice in which women from the bride's family sing while presenting symbolic objects, wine, and blessings to the groom's party. Although local scholarship identifies NiangHai as a wedding-song category, less attention has been paid to how singing organises the presentation and reception of these materials within a ceremony. This article examines one NiangHai event observed in Shidong Township, Tianzhu County, on 2 October 2023. The evidence is deliberately limited to participant observation, chronological fieldnotes, one field photograph, an audiovisual record used to verify sequence, and one role-based interview with a bride-side aunt. The findings show that singing marks the movement of objects from the natal household to the receiving party and orders the final serving of rice wine. The aunt's explanation further indicates that the performance demonstrates a proper and respectful release of the bride. NiangHai therefore operates as more than decorative accompaniment: in this case, it made the transfer visible, orderly, and publicly witnessed. The article offers a small ethnographic case rather than a representative account of Northern Dong weddings.

Keywords: NiangHai, Northern Dong, wedding song, gift exchange, ritual performance, ethnomusicology

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Wedding music is often described as an expression of emotion, identity, or tradition, yet such descriptions can leave its practical work insufficiently specified. In a ritual, a song may do more than represent a relationship: it may direct attention, accompany the handling of objects, and make a change in social relations publicly perceptible. Ethnomusicology has long treated music as socially organised sound and behaviour rather than as an autonomous object (Merriam, 1964), while Small's (1998) concept of musicking redirects attention from a musical work to the relationships enacted through performing and listening. These approaches are useful for marriage ceremonies, where kinship transitions are accomplished through sequences of differentiated actions, places, objects, and participants rather than through words alone (van Gennep, 1960).

The Northern Dong communities of Tianzhu County, Guizhou Province, maintain several wedding-related vocal practices, including door-blocking antiphony, bridal lament, companion songs, wine songs, and NiangHai. The local transliteration “NiangHai” is retained throughout this paper. It denotes a bride-side ceremony in which singing accompanies the presentation of wine, clothing, shoes, symbolic cloth dolls, and blessings to representatives of the groom's family. Local studies describe its repertoire, texts, and place within wedding custom (Liu & Yang, 2019; Long, 2007; Ouyang, 2016; Wu, 2015). However, defining NiangHai as a genre or listing its objects does not fully explain how a family performs the transfer in practice. The analytical problem is therefore not only what a song means, but how sung address, spatial arrangement, gesture, objects, and recipient response are brought together.

International scholarship on Dong, often using the autonym Kam, has generated important analyses of multipart big song, participation, staging, heritage, and ethnic representation (Ingram, 2012; Ingram & Wu, 2017). That literature establishes that performance setting and participation transform musical meaning, but its main repertoire and regional emphasis differ from the monophonic and responsorial wedding practices of Northern Dong communities in Tianzhu. Scholarship on Chinese bridal lament likewise demonstrates that wedding song can be dialogic social action rather than private emotional release (Liu, 2012; McLaren, 2008), yet NiangHai is not principally a lament. It centres a material and relational transfer between natal and incoming families. A focused account is therefore needed that neither treats Northern Dong wedding song as a lesser version of Southern Dong big song nor subsumes NiangHai under the analytical category of lament.

This article has one objective: to explain how singing participates in the presentation and reception of ceremonial objects and wine during a contemporary NiangHai ceremony. It addresses one research question: How does NiangHai singing organise the presentation and reception of ceremonial objects and wine in one contemporary Northern Dong wedding? The question is answered through a tightly bounded case observed at the bride's household in Shidong Township on 2 October 2023. The article follows the sequence from preparation of the ceremonial setting to the transfer of symbolic dolls and the final serving of wine.

The value of this small case lies in close description rather than representativeness. Fieldnotes and the audiovisual record establish the order of actions; one photograph documents the spatial and material arrangement; and one participant explanation clarifies the bride-side family's stated purpose. The paper does not evaluate the historical survival of NiangHai across Tianzhu, propose a general theory of Northern Dong cultural continuity, or claim that one household represents all weddings. Its narrower contribution is to show how a specific sung practice accompanies the handling of gifts and wine as a witnessed act between two families.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Research on Dong/Kam music has been shaped by the international prominence of Kam big song. Studies of village and staged performance demonstrate that repertoire cannot be separated from participation, setting, institutional framing, and ethnic representation (Ingram, 2012; Ingram & Wu, 2017). This work is valuable because it resists treating a song as a stable object whose meaning remains unchanged across contexts. Its regional and generic centre of gravity, however, is Southern Dong multipart singing. Applying its conclusions directly to Tianzhu

would obscure the different musical texture, gendered roles, kinship address, and object-centred action of Northern Dong wedding song. The present study therefore uses this scholarship comparatively: it supports attention to performance relations but does not supply an ethnographic description of NiangHai.

Northern Dong sources offer more direct information. Local and regional publications identify wedding-song categories, describe ceremonial sequences, and preserve lyrics (Liu & Yang, 2019; Long, 2007; Ouyang, 2016; Wu, 2015). Such documentation is indispensable for recognising terminology and repertoire. Nevertheless, classification and textual collection can separate the song from the event in which it is performed. A lyric printed under the heading “NiangHai” cannot reveal when an object is displayed, who receives it, or how the families position themselves during the exchange. The gap is thus not an absence of information about NiangHai, but a shortage of event-level accounts connecting singing to material and embodied action.

Studies of oral performance help clarify why that connection matters. Performance-centred scholarship treats verbal art as an event in which delivery, audience evaluation, framing, and context participate in meaning (Bauman, 1977; Bauman & Briggs, 1990). Finnegan (1992) similarly shows that oral poetry cannot be reduced to a written verbal text. Chinese bridal-lament research applies this insight to wedding singing by demonstrating how voiced grief, dialogue, and gendered relations are performed before families and communities (Liu, 2012; McLaren, 2008). Yet lament scholarship cannot simply be transferred to NiangHai. The latter certainly marks separation, but the observed sequence was organised around the presentation and receipt of material objects, the serving of wine, and the recognition of an affinal party. An analytical framework centred only on emotional expression would understate this transactional and coordinative work.

Small's (1998) concept of musicking is the first theoretical consideration used in this paper because it includes performers, listeners, organisers, and respondents within the musical event. It makes giving, receiving, waiting, drinking, and witnessing analytically relevant rather than treating the song as an isolated text. However, the breadth of musicking is also its limitation. If every relationship surrounding music is counted without further discrimination, the concept can describe participation but cannot by itself establish why singing matters to a particular transfer. This paper therefore tests the concept against an observed sequence of display, handover, reception, and response.

Bell's (1992) theory of ritualisation provides a second lens. It directs attention to how ordinary materials and actions become strategically differentiated: dining tables are reorganised as a ceremonial field; wine is arranged for a formal sequence; bride-side and groom-side participants occupy opposed positions; and selected women initiate the exchange. This lens explains why the action is not equivalent to ordinary gift giving. Yet ritualisation theory alone can leave the specifically musical contribution vague. It identifies ceremonial differentiation but still requires ethnographic evidence of how sung address and bodily action are connected.

Mauss's (2002) account of the gift offers a third, deliberately limited, consideration. It helps identify gifts as relational obligations rather than inert property: dolls, shoes, clothing, wine, and blessings move between parties and make reciprocal recognition visible. Still, gift theory

does not show how a transfer is timed, voiced, or witnessed in this Northern Dong setting. Treating the objects as instances of a universal exchange structure would risk flattening the local distinction between natal-family release, groom-side reception, blessing, and public moral display. In this paper, Mauss is used to ask what relations object movement creates, not to replace ethnographic explanation with a general model of reciprocity.

The combined framework is justified by the limitations of each single lens. Musicking identifies enacted relationships; ritualisation explains ceremonial differentiation; and gift theory identifies the relational importance of object movement. None substitutes for observation of the event itself. The framework is therefore used modestly to ask how singing, spatial arrangement, gift movement, and public witnessing intersect in the case at hand. It is not presented as a new synthetic theory or a model for all Northern Dong weddings.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design and Case Selection

The study uses a qualitative, event-centred ethnographic case design. Ethnography is appropriate because the research question concerns how actions become meaningful within a lived sequence, not how frequently a variable occurs across a population (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). The focal material forms a small subset of a larger doctoral fieldwork corpus, but this article deliberately restricts analysis to one NiangHai ceremony held at the bride's wooden household in Shidong Township, Tianzhu County, at dawn on 2 October 2023. The ceremony followed the groom's party's arrival and banquet on 1 October and immediately preceded the bride's departure for the groom's household.

The case was selected for three reasons. First, the researcher participated as a groomsman and remained with the groom's party across the complete sequence, making waiting, object receipt, and recipient response observable from within the receiving group. Second, the event contained a clearly bounded progression from spatial preparation to symbolic-object transfer and sequential drinking. Third, it provided a small but complementary evidence set: contemporaneous fieldnotes, one selected author-produced photograph, an audiovisual record used to verify sequence, and a follow-up interview with a bride-side aunt. The case is not statistically or culturally representative.

3.2 Participant Observation and Documentary Records

Participant observation was necessary because the relevant evidence occurred at the level of micro-temporal coordination. An interview could explain what NiangHai ought to mean, but it could not independently establish whether an object was raised before, during, or after a sung phrase. Observation therefore covered not only singing but also table preparation, bodily position, gesture, waiting, gift handling, drinking, and the transition to departure. This follows the methodological principle that participation and observation should document the relation between stated norms and situated practice (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011; Barz & Cooley, 2008).

Brief jottings were made when they did not interfere with participation, and expanded chronological fieldnotes were written as soon as practicable. The expanded notes recorded the order of actions, the location and roles of participants, song texts that could be checked,

uncertainties, and preliminary interpretations. This two-stage procedure reduced reliance on unaided retrospective memory (Emerson et al., 2011). One photograph is reproduced as spatial and material evidence, not as proof that singing caused a particular response. The audiovisual record was reviewed only to confirm the order of vocal and bodily action described in the fieldnotes.

3.3 Informant and Interview Procedure

One informant was selected purposively by ritual role rather than as a numerical sample. She was a bride-side aunt involved in the family performance. In a follow-up conversation on 28 May 2025, she was asked why the family considered singing necessary and for whom the performance was given. Her explanation supplied a performer-family perspective on the natal household's purpose. The interview was conducted in the language most comfortable for her. The English rendering is an analytical translation checked against the field context; it preserves the action and relational meaning of the statement rather than claiming to reproduce every dialectal nuance (Temple & Young, 2004). Because it is one situated account, it is not treated as the view of every participant.

3.4 Data Analysis, Reflexivity, and Ethics

Analysis proceeded in three stages. First, the ceremony was divided into observable phases: preparation, symbolic-object transfer, and sung toasting. Second, fieldnotes and the audiovisual record were aligned to identify the order of object display, sung address, handover, receipt, and onward passing. Third, the aunt's interview was coded around proper release, respect, and family representation. Pattern coding and source comparison were used to separate observation, participant interpretation, and researcher inference (Miles et al., 2020).

Triangulation did not mean treating every source as equivalent. The photograph establishes that bride-side women, ceremonial objects, and prepared tables occupied a particular arrangement. The recording and fieldnotes establish sequence. The interview establishes one participant's interpretation. Claims were retained only when the source could support them; the aunt's explanation is therefore presented as a situated family account rather than a community-wide consensus.

The researcher's Northern Dong background and role as a groomsman enabled access while also shaping attention. Familiarity was therefore treated as a situated position rather than a guarantee of correct interpretation (Narayan, 1993). Observations made while actively receiving wine or objects were checked against the recording, the selected photograph, and the later conversation. The bride, groom, and their families consented to observation and photography; participation was voluntary, and individuals are identified in this article only by ritual role. The reproduced field photograph was taken by the author. Research materials are stored in controlled, password-protected files because the wider corpus contains identifiable family information.

4.0 RESULTS

4.1 Constructing a Bilateral Ceremonial Field

At dawn on 2 October 2023, members of the bride's household reorganised the central tangwu (main hall) for NiangHai. Two round tables were placed in the middle of the room. Sixteen dishes, twelve bowls of rice wine, and crossed chopsticks differentiated the setting from an ordinary meal. Women from the bride's family stood to the left holding a pair of cloth dolls known locally as A Mao, clothing, shoes, red packets, and other objects. Members of the groom's party stood on the right. Before any item changed hands, the two families were thus rendered as spatially opposed but mutually oriented groups (Fieldnotes, October 2, 2023).



Figure 1: Bride-side women sing beside the prepared tables while the lead aunt holds the paired A Mao dolls, Shidong Township, 2 October 2023. Photograph by the author.

Figure 1 documents the bride-side performance position and the material field: three women stand beside prepared tables, the principal singer holds the paired dolls, and further textiles and gifts remain available for transfer. The image does not show the entire groom-side group and cannot establish sequence on its own. Read with the chronological fieldnotes, however, it confirms that singers, objects, food, and wine were assembled as interdependent components rather than introduced separately.

An aunt initiated the singing while two other women repeated or reinforced parts of her lines. The groom's party did not answer with an antiphonal song. Its response consisted of attentive standing, receiving and passing objects, accepting wine, and drinking. The observed arrangement therefore distinguished the family that voiced and presented the materials from the party that received them, while requiring both sides for the sequence to be completed.

4.2 Sung Presentation and the Transfer of Symbolic Objects

The first recorded text accompanied the presentation of the paired A Mao dolls:

“Which honoured representative has come to receive them? We send the children to their new household.”

The English version is an analytical translation that prioritises reception and household transfer rather than rhyme. While the line was sung, the aunt displayed the paired dolls and moved them towards the senior representative of the groom's party. He accepted them and passed them onward to the groom. Fieldnotes and the audiovisual sequence show that sung address, display, handover, receipt, and onward passing occurred as one ordered episode rather than as unrelated actions (Fieldnotes and audiovisual record, October 2, 2023).

Shoes and clothing were subsequently presented with further blessings, but the present article does not reproduce or analyse the additional verses. For the bounded question addressed here, the significant observation is that the objects were introduced through a formal sung presentation before entering the receiving party's possession. The verbal act named and blessed the transfer while witnesses could see who gave, who received, and where the objects moved.

4.3 Sung Toasting and Affinal Recognition

During the final phase, the bride-side women moved towards the groom's party and sang blessings while offering the prepared rice wine. Recipients accepted bowls with both hands and drank in turn. Each person entered the sequence, completed the expected response, and allowed the action to move onward. Singing accompanied a patterned act of approach and reception rather than a casual distribution of drinks.

The combination of approach, song, bowl presentation, two-handed receipt, drinking, and return of the vessel treated the groom's companions as an incoming party rather than as people merely waiting in the hall. This is a claim about ceremonial procedure, not a legal or permanent change in kin status. NiangHai did not create the marriage by itself; it made the bride-side household's reception and release visible within the wedding process.

The wine phase shows why the sound should not be reduced to background atmosphere. The rice wine was materially present before the final approach, but its sung presentation marked the order in which recipients were addressed and served. The social significance lay in the visible combination of voice, offering, acceptance, and witnessing.

4.4 A Bride-Side Explanation of Proper Release

In the follow-up interview, the bride-side aunt said that the family sang not only for the groom's party but also “for ourselves.” She explained that singing demonstrated that the daughter was being released properly and respectfully rather than handed over without care (bride-side aunt, personal communication, May 28, 2025). Her statement links the performance to the natal household's sense of responsibility. The song addressed receivers, but it also allowed the bride's family to present its own conduct before relatives and witnesses.

This interview does not establish how every participant interpreted NiangHai. It does, however, explain why at least one performer-family member considered the singing necessary. In her account, the ceremony was not an optional display added to a completed transfer. Performing the songs was part of showing that the family had handled the bride's departure with respect.

5.0 DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

5.1 Singing as Constitutive Rather Than Decorative Action

The central finding is that NiangHai singing did not merely accompany a material transfer. In the observed ceremony, the dolls were displayed, addressed, handed over, received, and passed onward within one sequence, while wine blessings accompanied a succession of approach, receipt, and drinking. The relationship is not inferred from the cultural importance of song in general but from the documented order of voice, gesture, object movement, and response.

Small's (1998) concept of musicking helps explain why recipients and witnesses matter. The event's meaning did not reside only in a song text. It emerged through relations among the lead singer, supporting women, designated receiver, groom's party, objects, and witnesses. Yet musicking becomes explanatory here only when connected to documented actions. The case supports a limited conclusion: singing was one component of an event completed through giving, receiving, and public attention.

Bell's (1992) account of ritualisation likewise gains specificity from the ethnographic evidence. Tables, dishes, wine, dolls, and shoes were familiar materials that became ceremonially differentiated through arrangement, sequence, and restricted roles. Bride-side women voiced and presented the materials, while groom-side representatives received them. Ritual order was therefore not simply symbolised by music; it was enacted through the organised relation between singing and material action.

Mauss's (2002) gift framework illuminates the relational consequence of object movement, but the case cautions against treating exchange as self-explanatory. The objects were displayed, blessed, received through designated representatives, and witnessed by both parties. The evidence therefore supports a situated account of gifts made ceremonially consequential through performance rather than a claim that all gifts create the same obligations.

5.2 NiangHai as a Publicly Witnessed Release

The aunt's statement helps distinguish NiangHai from bridal-lament models emphasised in research on rural Chinese weddings (Liu, 2012; McLaren, 2008). Both domains can mark separation and affirm the value of the bride, but the observed NiangHai sequence was not primarily a public voicing of grief. It centred the presentation of materials, the reception of the groom's party, and the natal family's proper conduct. The phrase “for ourselves” referred to a demonstration that the family had acted respectfully.

This point is consistent with performance-centred scholarship, which locates meaning in the relation among text, delivery, setting, and audience rather than in words alone (Bauman, 1977; Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Finnegan, 1992). The aunt's explanation did not describe a private feeling detached from the ceremony. It identified a public purpose fulfilled through performance before both families. NiangHai thus made release observable and accountable within the wedding sequence.

The argument remains deliberately modest. One interview cannot establish a shared interpretation across Tianzhu. Its value is to connect the observed actions with one performer's

stated reason for singing. That limited connection is sufficient to show that the ceremony carried a family responsibility in this case without turning the account into a general theory of Northern Dong kinship.

5.3 Theoretical, Methodological, and Practical Implications

Theoretically, the case supports a constrained combination of musicking, ritualisation, and gift exchange. Musicking identifies relations, ritualisation identifies differentiated action, and gift theory directs attention to relational object movement. Used together, they clarify why voice, materials, roles, and witnesses should be analysed within one event. The implication is not a universal model of wedding music but a reminder that claims about ritual efficacy should be tied to observed actions.

Methodologically, the study demonstrates the value of matching claims to sources. The photograph establishes spatial and material configuration, not causation. Fieldnotes and the audiovisual record establish sequence. The interview establishes one situated interpretation, not a consensus. This source-specific approach is important because evocative description can otherwise move too quickly from “music was present” to “music caused the ritual transition.”

Practically, documentation of NiangHai should not preserve lyrics or objects in isolation from the ceremony in which they are used. An account of the practice should also record who presents the materials, who receives them, and how singing accompanies the sequence. This does not require treating one observed performance as a fixed model; it requires recognising that wedding songs are enacted practices as well as verbal texts.

5.4 Limitations

The article is intentionally based on one ceremony, one reproduced photograph, and one role-based interview. It cannot determine how frequently NiangHai occurs across Tianzhu or how the practice varies by village, generation, household, or singer. The researcher participated from the groom's side, which strengthened access to recipient responses but limited simultaneous access to bride-side preparation. The audiovisual material is used only to verify sequence, not to support a comparative musical analysis. These limits define the appropriate claim: a small event-level explanation of how one NiangHai performance organised a ceremonial transfer.

6.0 CONCLUSION

This article asked how NiangHai singing organises the presentation and reception of ceremonial objects and wine in one contemporary Northern Dong wedding. The evidence from Shidong Township shows a repeated relationship between sung and material action. Three bride-side women stood beside prepared tables; the lead aunt sang while symbolic dolls were displayed and transferred; and further blessings accompanied the serving of wine. The field photograph documents the singers' proximity to the objects and ceremonial setting, while fieldnotes and the audiovisual record establish the order of actions.

The bride-side aunt's statement that the family sang “for ourselves” clarifies why this coordination mattered to one performer-family member. In her account, singing showed that

the bride was released properly and respectfully. The observation and interview together support describing singing as part of the transfer rather than as an explanation added after it.

The conclusion remains bounded. One event and one interview cannot represent all Northern Dong weddings or establish the contemporary prevalence of NiangHai. They can, however, demonstrate what a close ethnographic account should record: not only what a song says, but how voice, objects, giving, receiving, and witnessing converge during a consequential moment. In this case, ceremonial materials became publicly meaningful because they were presented, voiced, received, and witnessed together.

REFERENCES

1. Barz, G. F., & Cooley, T. J. (Eds.). (2008). *Shadows in the field: New perspectives for fieldwork in ethnomusicology* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.
2. Bauman, R. (1977). *Verbal art as performance*. Newbury House.
3. Bauman, R., & Briggs, C. L. (1990). Poetics and performance as critical perspectives on language and social life. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 19, 59–88. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.19.100190.000423>
4. Bell, C. (1992). *Ritual theory, ritual practice*. University of Chicago Press.
5. DeWalt, K. M., & DeWalt, B. R. (2011). *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers* (2nd ed.). AltaMira Press.
6. Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes* (2nd ed.). University of Chicago Press.
7. Finnegan, R. (1992). *Oral poetry: Its nature, significance and social context* (2nd ed.). Indiana University Press.
8. Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2019). *Ethnography: Principles in practice* (4th ed.). Routledge.
9. Ingram, C. (2012). Tradition and divergence in Southwestern China: Kam big song singing in the village and on stage. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 13(5), 434–453. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2012.732601>
10. Ingram, C., & Wu, J. (2017). Research, cultural heritage, and ethnic identity: Evaluating the influence of Kam big song research of the 1950s. *Asian Ethnology*, 76(1), 65–93.
11. Liu, F.-W. (2012). Expressive depths: Dialogic performance of bridal lamentation in rural South China. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 125(496), 204–225. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jaf.2012.0021>
12. Liu, Z., & Yang, Y. (2019). A brief analysis of the classification and musical characteristics of Dong wedding songs in Shidong Town, Tianzhu County, Guizhou Province. *Northern Music*, (19), 29–30.
13. Long, T. (2007). *Dongzu minjian yinyue: Guizhou beibu fangyanqu* [Dong folk music: Northern Guizhou dialect region]. Tianzhu County Printing Factory. [Internal publication].
14. Mauss, M. (2002). *The gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies* (W. D. Halls, Trans.). Routledge. (Original work published 1925)
15. McLaren, A. E. (2008). *Performing grief: Bridal laments in rural China*. University of Hawai'i Press.
16. Merriam, A. P. (1964). *The anthropology of music*. Northwestern University Press.

17. Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2020). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.
18. Narayan, K. (1993). How native is a “native” anthropologist? *American Anthropologist*, 95(3), 671–686. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1993.95.3.02a00070>
19. Ouyang, D. (2016). *Research on Dong folk songs and folk culture*. Guizhou Ethnic Publishing House.
20. Small, C. (1998). *Musicking: The meanings of performing and listening*. Wesleyan University Press.
21. Temple, B., & Young, A. (2004). Qualitative research and translation dilemmas. *Qualitative Research*, 4(2), 161–178. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794104044430>
22. van Gennep, A. (1960). *The rites of passage* (M. B. Vizedom & G. L. Caffee, Trans.). University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1909)
23. Wu, S. (2015). *Northern Dong wedding songs*. Guizhou University Press.