

A Study of Gift Exchange Behaviour in the Funeral Rituals of the Jiarong Tibetan

--An Anthropological Study of a Jiarong Tibetan Village

Xiaoyu Li¹

¹ South-Central Minzu University, Wuhan, China

Correspondence: Xiaoyu Li, South-Central Minzu University, Wuhan 430074, Hubei, China.

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Abstract

Funerals are the last of the life rituals, and both the funeral rituals and the exchange of gifts during the funeral process are rich in cultural characteristics. The author explains funeral rituals' social integration and cohesion function through a fieldwork study of a village in the Jiarong Tibetan area. Then the author analyses the form and content of funeral gift exchange and its characteristics and functions from the perspective of economic anthropology. It is thus argued that the social connections of the Jiarong Tibetan village, which are linked through gifts, are consolidated and strengthened in the funeral rituals. Finally, the cultural compatibility character of the Jiarong Tibetan is revealed in the funeral rituals and their gift exchange.

Keywords: Jiarong Tibetan, funeral rituals, gift exchange, cultural compatibility

Sika village, where the author's fieldwork was carried out, is a Jiarong Tibetan village located in Zengda Township, Jinchuan County, northwestern Sichuan Province. The village is located in the hinterland of the "Eastern Women's Kingdom" and is one where the Jiarong culture is prevalent. Today, there are 85 households with 421 people in Sika village. The village has many families with both Tibetan and Han surnames, such as the "Da La Di," "Xiao La Di," "Jia Tso," "Jin family," "Yang family," and "Wang family," and so on. After the country's poverty alleviation policy benefited Sika village, the government built cement roads connecting every household, and the roads leading to the villages were all machine ploughing roads. The villagers have no shortage of water and electricity. They are free from worries over food and clothing and have access to compulsory education, essential medical services, and safe housing. In March 2021, when the author was doing fieldwork in Sika village, a highly respected old woman from the "Da la Di" family passed away after failing to receive medical treatment. At the funeral of this older woman, the author witnessed the exchange of various gifts and thus became interested in their forms, characteristics and functions. After reviewing the previous literature, the author investigated the funeral rituals and the exchange of gifts in the Sika village through observation and interviews. The author then analyses and discusses the funeral rituals and the exchange of various gifts at the funeral and their characteristics and functions. The author hopes that this paper will provide readers with a deeper understanding of the culture of the Jiarong Tibetan and that it will serve as a tribute to the memory of the deceased, who may rest in peace in heaven.

1. Literature Review

This paper involves the following two main aspects: firstly, the study of various gift exchange behaviors; secondly, the study of the funeral rituals of the Jiarong Tibetan.

1.1 An Overview of Gift Exchange Studies

The exchange of gifts is an important area of study in economics and anthropology, and there is a great deal of research in foreign countries. Firstly, Franz Boas's analysis of the potlatch can be the starting point of anthropological research on reciprocity. He argues that the potlatch is a particular type of gift exchange. Then, in Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (2016) [(Eng.) Malinowski. Chinese translation of anthropological masterpieces series *Voyagers in the Western Pacific* [M]. Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2016.03.], he found a special trade-in Melanesia called "kula," which he considered a typical gift exchange system. Later, the French anthropologist Marcel Mauss, in *The Gift* (2017) [(French) Marcel Mauss. *The Gift*

[M]. Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2017.08.] argues that the exchange of gifts is accompanied by a spirit of the gift called "hau," which prompts people to reciprocate the gift. Therefore the exchange of gifts follows a fixed procedure of "giving - receiving - returning." In addition, Moss includes the exchange of gifts in the 'total prestation system,' considering the potlatch as a kind of competitive total prestation. Karl Polanyi in *The Great Transformation* (2019) [(English) Karl Polanyi, translated by Feng Gang and Liu Yang. *The Great Transformation* [M]. Beijing: Contemporary World Press, 2019.09.], distinguishing between the three basic economic types of 'reciprocity,' 'redistribution,' and 'market exchange,' he finds exchange. The essence of a mode of social integration reveals the fundamental link between conversation and social culture. Marshall Sahlins, in *Stone Age Economics* (2009) [(US) Marshall Sahlins. *Stone Age economics* [M]. Beijing: Life, Reading, New Knowledge, 2009.10.], treats gifts and goods as endpoints at the ends of a line, and the distance of kinship is the exact measure of the moving point between gifts and goods. Gregory, in *Gifts and Commodities* (2001) [(English) C.A. Gregory; translated by Suguru To et al. *The Gift and the Commodity* [M]. In Kunming: Yunnan University Press, 2001.08.], he argues that 'gifts' are the driving force behind the reproduction of social relations and that gift exchange is an exchange of non-alienable goods between people in a position of interdependence and that gifts are also non-transferable. There are also a few studies on gift exchange in China. For example, Yan Yunxiang in *The Flow of Gifts* (2000) [Yan Yunxiang; translated by Li Fangchun and Liu Yu. *The flow of gifts: reciprocity and social networks in a Chinese village* [M]. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2000.03.], he analyses the social relations and interpersonal networks of the town of Xiapiao in terms of gift exchange and uses this to explore the structure of rural society, thus revealing the two-way mobility and non-transferability of gifts, and then classifying gifts and exchange.

1.2 Cultural and Funerary Studies of the Jiarong Tibetan

Many researchers have also focused on the funerary rituals of Jiarong Tibetan, and the author has reviewed the results of previous research. The types of research are as follows. Firstly, researchers wrote the survey reports through socio-historical investigations. Such as those compiled by researchers at the Southwest Minzu Institute in the last century [Institute of Ethnic Studies, Southwest Minzu Institute, *Survey Materials of the Jiarong Tibetan* [M], 1984.01] and the *Jiarong Tibetan Folklore Journal* compiled by Li Mao and Li Zhongjun [by Li Mao and Li Zhongjun. *Folklore of the Jiarong Tibetan* [M]. Beijing: Central University for Nationalities Press, 2011.07.], both contain detailed accounts of the funeral forms, rituals, and taboos of the Jiarong Tibetan. Secondly, the dissertation, which is rich in field materials through long-term fieldwork on the funerals of the Jiarong Tibetan area, analyses the social functions and cultural connotations of the "Ranjie" embedded in the funerals [Kang, Yuxi. "Ranjie": a study on the gift exchange behaviour embedded in the funeral of the Jiarong Tibetan [D]. Yunnan University, 2017].

Therefore, the author mainly uses these two aspects to retrace and sort out the scope of the theoretical system of this investigation while further researching the gift exchange behaviour in the Jiarong funeral rituals by combining the perspectives of economic anthropology. As the exchange of gifts in funeral rituals also belongs to the realm of culture, the author's analysis reveals the cultural compatibility of Jiarong Tibetan.

2. Forms of Gift-Giving in Funeral Rituals

A ritual is a form of attachment to traditional collective values and a form of demonstration of social relations [Mary Douglas. *Purity and danger* [M]. Translated by Huang Jianbo et al. Beijing: Ethnic Publishing House, 2008.09 p. 159.]. The funeral ritual is the last of the rituals of human life and the final ritual before a person leaves this world, and as such, it is imperative to human life. A universal way throughout human history, exchange contains a holistic and diverse existence of multiple components such as power, honour, obligation, symbolism, and emotion, expressing the social bond of solidarity and mutual trust between the exchangers [Wang Haoying. *The flow of gifts and social construction in Lao Liu Zhai Miao village* [D]. Yunnan University, 2013.]. "For every ritual, every traditional provision and custom, there is an associated material gift and return gift [(E) by Bronislaw Kaspar Malinowski; translated by Liang Yongjia and Li Shaoming. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* [M]. Beijing: Huaxia Publishing House, 2002.01.]." The exchange of gifts at funerals in the Sika village takes a wide variety of forms and can be divided into two main categories according to their form: the exchange of goods and the exchange of labour.

2.1 Funeral Rituals and Their Functions

The following is a description of the funeral ritual of an older woman that the author attended in the village of Sika. When the older woman died, her relatives would start to divide the work. Some dealt with the matters after the death; some reported the funeral to friends, relatives, and neighbours everywhere; some went to the county centre to buy ingredients, sweets, melons, peanuts, paper money, and incense. In addition to this, some also

contact the Duangong to come to the house. Duan Gong made calculations based on the time of death and played a recording of a lama chanting sutra to transcend the deceased's spirit. The next night, a ritual of opening the way and invoking the spirits of the dead is performed to bring them back to the body. At other times, Duan Gong would chant with his assistants from time to time. Whenever a condolence guest came to the funeral, the family would offer the same kowtow to the guest, regardless of their rank, status, or age.

Similarly, guests who come to the funeral will curtsy to the host and the other guests, with their palms up and their arms slightly spread out to the sides and say 'kasd' (the Jiarong language for 'thank you for your hard work') to the guests. Older people living on the same mountain will spontaneously come and sing "Mani" for the deceased. At first, there were only a few singers, but as more and more people came to offer their condolences, those who could sing joined in, praying for the deceased and saying goodbye to her. Everyone who heard the song was moved. According to Duan Gong's divination, the time of the older woman's funeral on the earth is the third day after her death time. Once the coffin is placed in the dug grave, the guests offer their condolences also form themselves into a procession to build the grave. They lined up in two columns and handed stones in turn in the direction of the grave, each person contributing his or her share, working together to build the tomb with a single stone in the shape of a mani mound, and also erecting a stone monument as the Han do. While the grave is being built, the family gives each guest a needle to "mend" the deceased's sins as a symbolic gesture. After the death is settled, the host family invites all the guests to eat together again, and when they want to leave, they have to cross the fire pit placed at the entrance. Otherwise, it is believed that there will be bad luck. The funeral ceremony the author saw in Sika village is a form of burial generally popular in the Jiarong farming area. What can be found in the whole funeral ceremony is a blend of many cultures, from the Han way of burial, incense, and paper money, to the Qiang Duan Gong, to Tibetan Buddhist scripture recitation, mani flags, sutra streamers, and also the traditional "singing of mala" of the Jiarong Tibetan themselves. There are the conventional taboos of the Chinese culture, such as people of the Chinese zodiac not being allowed to watch the ground-breaking and funeral ceremonies and the current emerging rule of wearing a mask for epidemic and fire prevention. The author still remembers Duan Gong saying this during a casual conversation with his guests at the time, "Everything has to change with the times now, and this funeral ceremony I am conducting also has to change with the times, and all the elderly, young people and children are interested in watching the ceremony I am conducting." Funeral rituals are also a cultural matter for human beings. When different ethnic groups interact and intermingle with each other, their cultures also undergo a state of intermingling, manifesting as plurality or multiple personalities within the same culture.

Ritual, in anthropology, is a significant subject of study because it unites the spirit of a community, a people, a nation, or even the whole of humanity. As the last ritual in a person's life, the funeral ceremony plays a critical social function. It brings emotional comfort, but it also serves as a form of cultural existence that can be better passed on. In addition, the gifts exchanged in funeral rituals create a vast network of social relations and integrate social ties between people. It seems like the "the Pattern of Difference Sequence" proposed by Mr. Fei Xiaotong, which occurs in social connections such as kinship and geo-relationships, centred on the deceased and his family. It is a social pattern that pushes out like water ripples, farther and farther away, thinner and thinner, and can be released and retracted. It produces different circles according to the changes in time and space in which it is located. The author believes that the social network of the Jiarong Tibetan, linked by the flow of gifts at funerals, also follows the pattern of differential order.

2.2 Gift Exchange

The first thing guests do when they enter a funeral is finding the gift-keeper at the receiving table and register the gifts and cash they have brought. There are numerous gifts in material form exchanged at funerals in Sika village, and the author divides the gifts into the following two categories by their function. The first type is used to bid farewell to the deceased, for example, fish oil, longda, mani flags, ghee lamps, wreaths, incense, and paper money. The second type of gift is for the host family, including bacon, sugar, clothes, and cash, intended to express comfort and gratitude. Among them, bacon and sugar are food given to the host family. The deceased's peers give clothes to the younger generation who supported the deceased to express gratitude for their hard work supporting the elderly. In addition to this, the exchange of cash is also critical. Whatever the criteria by which gifts were classified, the essence of the gift was the same - "All commodities are temporary money, money is a permanent commodity [Marx, Marx and Engels, *The Complete Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol. 46 [M]. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1980: 94.]. All the gifts listed above were to be recorded in detail in a gift book so that the host family could return the gift later on.

2.3 Labour Exchange

In addition to exchanging physical gifts at a funeral, there is also the exchange of labour, locally known as 'help.' The people who "help" at funeral ceremonies are mainly close relatives and neighbours. The principal acts of "helping" are washing dishes, cooking, recording gifts received, carrying coffins, and building graves. The word 'help' seems to have gone beyond the simple meaning of 'helping others' to imply favors and face. It is not only an exchange of labour but also a 'favour.' The exchange of labour does not need to be recorded in the gift book, but the family remembers who has helped precisely. When it comes to giving the deceased a beautiful funeral, it is in terms of the smoothness of the process, the number of people who come to "help" the host family, and the "face" they give them. Such favors are vital to Jiarong Tibetan.

3. Forms of Gift Return in Funeral Rituals

According to Yan Yunxiang's classification in *The Flow of Gifts*, return gifts can be divided into timely return gifts and delayed return gifts according to the length of time they take to return [by Yan Yunxiang; translated by Li Fangchun and Liu Yu. *The flow of gifts: reciprocity and social networks in a Chinese village* [M]. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2000.03.]. Among the forms of funeral return gifts in Sika village, they can also be classified.

3.1 Timely Return Gifts

Timely return gifts also take various forms, but the main one is a banquet. A feast is required during the funeral ceremony, especially the two meals before and after the burial. In Sika village, the food is not too different from the usual, primarily home-cooked dishes, but there are so many that the whole round table can be filled. The purpose of the feast is to express the host family's gratitude to the guests who have traveled a long way to pay their respects to the deceased.

In the old days, when transport was difficult, if someone died in the mountains, it was common for people from other places to travel overnight to attend the funeral. When the funeral was over, the host family would prepare streaky pork and road wine for the departing guests to have enough energy for the journey home.

In addition to this, it is also common in the Jiarong Tibetan region for the host family to give some change to the lama, which gives the change a sacred meaning by chanting a sutra and then returns it to the guests in cash, ranging from 1 to 50 RMB. The host uses this way of returning the gift to show good luck and blessing to the guest.

3.2 Delayed Return Gifts

A time-delayed gift will need a gift book to keep precise records of the amount or value of the gift to be returned. The gift exchange of labour is also a delayed return gift, but it must not be kept in the gift book. There is inevitably a recipient for every funeral, usually two, one who repeats the gift that the giver has reported and one who keeps a detailed record of it in a gift book. It is also known as a "favor book" and is extremely important to the host family, as when someone else dies, they will refer to the number of gifts and cash given by others to determine how much they give. In other words, the gift book is proof of the delayed return of the gift. As a result, the recipient's responsibility for the gift is also fundamental. At the end of the funeral in Sika village, the two recipients were very anxious when they found that the final accounting of the gifts did not match up because every name and number in the gift book was a proof of the exchange of gifts and any mistake would affect the relationship between the two families. After several comparisons, the two recipients were relieved when the number of gifts matched the gift book.

3.3 Interpersonal Connection After the Funeral

There is still a custom in Sika village that if someone dies that year, the family cannot celebrate the new year or have a banquet in their own home during the Spring Festival. Before the Spring Festival, all the families on a hill meet to miss the deceased at her grave. Then, all the families on the same hill would take the initiative to invite the family to spend the Spring Festival at their homes in turn, until the end of the New Year, namely the Lantern Festival. The neighbours are very welcoming, and even though they are not relatives, they have lived on the same mountain for decades, and in a way, they have already crossed the line of mere geographical ties.

4. Characteristics and Functions of Gift Exchange in Funeral Rituals

Gift exchange is an economic act and an essential part of human behaviour. The exchange of gifts in funeral rituals plays an economic and social role. The exchange of gifts at funerals in Sika village exhibits many characteristics. Throughout the funeral gift exchange, the author believes that there are several characteristics.

4.1 The Diversity of Gift Forms

The gifts exchanged at funerals are diverse. In Sika village, gifts generally include bacon, fish oil, longda, mani flags, sugar, clothes, ghee lamps, and cash. As the author mentioned above, gifts are also given in various forms. It is not only in the physical form but also in the form of labour and favors. There are also a variety of forms of return gifts, ranging from timely ones such as banquets to delayed ones recorded in a gift book. The variety is also reflected in that both young and old, male and female, can offer gifts at funerals.

4.2 The Two-Way Reciprocity of the Exchange of Gifts

"To refuse to give, not to invite, is like refusing to accept, which is tantamount to declare war, for it is a refusal of union and sharing [Marcel Mauss. *The Gift* [M]. Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2017.08.]". For Moss, a gift has a power called "hau," which will always follow its owner, thus prompting the recipient to act in return in order to make the "hau" back to its owner. Otherwise, misfortune will befall the recipient. The flow of gifts at a funeral centres on the deceased is also two-way. The recipient inevitably reciprocates the gift, allowing the gift to flow and the social network to be linked.

4.3 Non-equivalent Gifts in Exchange

In the Jiarong Tibetan area, people do not usually give gifts of equal value but add a little to the gifts given by others. For example, in Sika village, where the author conducted my fieldwork, family B gave family A two pieces of bacon when family A held a funeral a few years before, then when family A held a funeral, family B gave family A three pieces of bacon. Moreover, it was as if this extra number of gifts was the price paid to make up for a time. As society progressed, the same gifts were different over time, as if the extra amount of bacon had to be used to maintain the social relations between the two families.

4.4 Differentiation of Gifts

Generally speaking, the number of gifts flowing at a funeral reflects the closeness of the social relationship between the deceased with his family and the gift-giver. For example, in Siha village, the brother of the deceased offered a set of traditional Jiarong Tibetan clothes, two boxes of ghee lamps, two bags of paper money, a bunch of sutra streamers, a box of longda, and a gift of RMB 1,500; the neighbours who came to 'help' offered gifts of two sticks of bacon, two bags of sugar, a bottle of fish oil, and RMB 300; A colleague of the deceased's grandson offered a gift of RMB 200. Regardless of the size of gifts offered by givers, the families of the deceased reciprocated the same promptly, but the differences in the reciprocation were mainly in the delayed gifts. In short, the differences in the gifts offered to reflect the Pattern of Difference Sequence, with the deceased and his family at the centre of the circle [Fei Xiaotong. [From the Soil: The Foundations of Chinese Society [M]. Beijing: Life, Reading, and New Knowledge, 1985.06.], the more distant and thinner they are pushed, the less the flow of gifts between them, comparatively speaking.

4.5 Temporal and Spatial Restrictiveness of Gift Exchange

The flow of gifts at funerals is generally restricted in time and space [Guo Zhihe. *The flow of gifts embedded in funerals: the example of the flow of gifts in Naxi funerals in Nanxi village*[J]. *Journal of Original Ethnic Culture*, 2012, 4(01):74-79.] For the Jiarong Tibetan in Siha village, the time interval for gift-giving is between learning the death time and the time before the burial of the deceased. The place for gift-giving is next to the hearth of the deceased. Therefore, it is crucial to arrive on time to offer the gifts. Time is more important than a place, as the family will not accept any gift if the deceased has already been buried, so time is of the essence in funeral gift offering.

Similarly, if it is impossible to arrive at the funeral site, the giver can bring the gift by proxy. Still, the social relations between the two families are not well consolidated, which shows the spatial constraints. In addition to this, the form of the gift is also restrictive. For example, the offering of gifts such as long and paper money can only be returned on the same occasion, i.e., at the funeral, and not through other types of ceremony.

5. The Cultural Compatibility of the Jiarong Tibetan

5.1 The Cultural Compatibility of Jiarong Tibetan

The exchange of gifts at the funerals of the Jiarong Tibetan in Siha village builds, consolidates, and strengthens their social network. What is embedded in the Jiarong social network is the Jiarong culture, which shapes the exchange of gifts at funerals.

The Jiarong Tibetan are a farming group that lives on both sides of the Dadu River, with the Han culture to the east and the Tibetan culture to the west. So they are right on the edge of the two centres of civilization, belonging to the *Tibetan-Yi Corridor*, which lies in the 'middle circle.' The people living in the Jiarong region are also

diverse. Their origins, history, language, and culture display the *Tibetan-Yi corridor's* intermingling, complexity, mobility, and ambiguity. According to Wang Mingming, cultural compatibility is a state where cultures are mixed and diverse rather than a single culture. As said by the author's above description of the funeral rituals of the Jiarong Tibetan and their gift exchange, it is easy to see that both the content of the funeral and the formal content of the gift exchange are like a melting pot of cultures. Namely the culture of the Jiarong Tibetan, Tibetan culture in Tibet, Han culture, Qiang culture, and the combination of traditional and modern culture. Therefore, the author believes that the culture of the Jiarong Tibetan has a distinct compatible cultural character.

5.2 Reasons for the Cultural Compatibility of the Jiarong Tibetan

The funeral rituals and the exchange of gifts of the Jiarong Tibetan reflect the compatible nature of Jiarong culture, namely the composite nature of time and space, the combination of traditional and modern culture, the combination of local, Tibetan, and Han culture, and the culture of the surrounding ethnic groups. In the author's opinion, the reasons for this can be considered in terms of historical, economic, geographical, and modern networks.

Firstly, there are historical reasons. During the period of the Qing Dynasty, the famous Battle called "Da xiao Jinchuan" broke out. Because of this war, the number of Jiarong Tibetan declined sharply. Many recruited Han emigrated to the Jurong region, together with the Han officers and soldiers stationed there. As a result, the local people had commonplace exchanges and interactions with Han and other groups nearby.

Secondly, there were economic reasons. After the Qianlong emperor fought Jinchuan, the emperor learned that salt and tea were as expensive as gold to the

Jiarong Tibetan, so he raised the "tea and horse market" policy of governing the border here again. During the Qing Dynasty, the 'tea trade' system replaced the 'tea and horse market' system. Due to the development of transportation and economy and the increase in Sino-Tibetan exchanges, the variety of commodities entering along the ancient tea horse route increased significantly. It can be seen that the Jiarong Tibetan region in history has become not only a military control of Tibetan well-being but also the ancient influence of the cultural exchanges between the western frontier and the mainland economy.

Thirdly, the geographical reason for this is that the Jiarong area is precisely on edge between the centre of Han culture and Tibetan culture, with the Jinsha River and the Dadu River. The Min River formed a natural barrier for thousands of miles in the southwest of the motherland, which has become an essential place for soldiers to fight and a bridge for friendly exchanges between Tibetan and Han throughout history.

Finally, the author believes that the modern internet age has also shaped the cultural compatibility of Jiarong Tibetan. The internet has made it possible to communicate across time and space, bringing together traditional space and cyberspace, the physical and the virtual [Dong Yunsheng. Evolution and reshaping: Changes in the living space of Chinese farmers[J]. *Jiangsu Social Science*, 2018(06):43-49.]. For example, at the funeral in Sika village, friends and relatives who could not attend the funeral could indicate their presence in the "present cyberspace" utilizing WeChat phone calls. Similarly, gifts could be exchanged and recorded using WeChat transfers. Therefore, the internet has made it possible for people to communicate across time and space. It has also enriched the culture of the Jiarong Tibetan.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, the funeral ceremony and the gift exchange during the ceremony in the Jiarong Tibetan village of Sika have demonstrated their characteristics and functions. This exchange and flow of gifts play an economic role and a social and cultural one. The social network of the Tibetan Gyatso villages, linked by the flow of gifts, is also strengthened by the funeral rituals. In addition, the funeral rituals and the exchange of gifts belong to the category of culture. Therefore, their form and content reflect the cultural compatibility of the Jiarong Tibetan society. As a result, a comprehensive study of the funeral rituals and the exchange of gifts in the rituals from an economic and anthropological perspective reveals the compatible character of the Jiarong culture. The author hopes that this essay will deepen the reader's understanding of the Jiarong culture. At the same time, the author takes this opportunity to express my remembrance of the deceased and my hope that the deceased will be free from illness and pain in heaven.

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Notes

Note 1. Wang Mingming divided the Chinese civilization system into three circles - the core circle, the outer circle, and the central circle. The core circle refers to the area directly ruled by the Han-dominated central dynasty; the outer circle refers to the vassal states that formed tribute relations with the imperial court; and the middle circle refers to the common border between the core circle and the outer circle, which is a transitional zone of "half literature and half wilderness." The "Tibetan-Yi Corridor" is a zone within the middle circle.

Note 2. The "Tibetan-Yi Corridor" is a concept proposed by the famous Chinese ethnologist Fei Xiaotong. It refers to a corridor roughly delineated to the east and south, with Kangding as its centre. This corridor is where the Six Rivers Basin and its tributaries are located, where many ethnic minorities live, and where these peoples or ethnic groups have long migrated or moved outwards along a particular natural environment.

Note 3. "Cultural composite means that the different social communities are "one in you and one in me." Its internal structure generates interconnections with external social entities, and its culture is a hybrid, a structured form of the relationship between self and other, manifesting itself as a plurality or multiple personalities within the same culture. The existence of such a structure suggests that no culture is a self-generated, self-contained monolith, but is always in constant contact and interaction with other cultures." -- Wang Mingming, Shu Yu, ed; Wang Mingming, ed. *Cultural Complexity: Ritual, Personality, and Exchange in the Southwest [M]*. Beijing Union Publishing Company, 2015.12.

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