

## **Ha Shengcheng Interview**

Ha Shengcheng 哈生成, b. 1943, was born in Hawan Village, Tianzhu County, Gansu.

This interview was recorded in September 2009 at Ha Shengcheng's home in Tianzhu County Town (Huazangsi 华藏寺). Despite speaking perfect Mongghul, he spoke the local Chinese during the interview.

The interview focuses on the first migration of the Hawan Ha Clan from Huzhu County to Hawan. Ha shengcheng talks about the reasons that resulted in the family's migration and the situation after the family's arrival in Gansu, including periods before, during and after the Cultural Revolution. This interview contains the most detailed information on the history of the Ha Clan in Hawan.

## **Interview with Ha Shengcheng**

By Ha Mingzhu and Ha Mingzong

### **Summary**

Ha shengcheng 哈生成 is my granduncle. He had been working as a leader in a local Forestry Commission Bureau for a long time before going into retirement a few years ago and is one of the few people from the Hawan Ha clan, who had governmental jobs. Ha Shengcheng was born in Hawan in 1943, one year after his grandfather Ha Nangsuo moved his family finally to Hawan, and currently lives in Tianzhu county town. Immediately at the beginning of the interview he mentioned that his uncle, i.e., my great-grandfather, Ha Yangde 哈养德 had told him about the early stages of the clan's migration.

His grandfather Ha Nangsuo was the one who initiated and led the migration. Ha Nangsuo had six sons, which in birth order were: Ha Mingde 哈明德, Ha Quande 哈全德, Ha Youde 哈有德, Ha Yangde 哈养德, Ha Changde 哈常德 and Ha Shoude 哈守德. Before the departure from Xihajia village in 1918, Ha Mingde and Ha Youde were adopted each by one of Ha Nangsuo's brothers.<sup>1</sup> The youngest son Ha Shoude was very small and still attending a local private primary school in Xihajia, so Ha Nangsuo led the other three sons and their families and embarked on an

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<sup>1</sup> It is worth to note that at that time in China adoption of sons between brothers have been common, e.g., a brother who didn't have any sons adopted a son of his brother who had more sons.

east-ward migration into the Gansu province in order to flee the heavy tax imposed on them by the warlord and his conscription policy.

According to Ha Shengcheng, the procession didn't have a clear destination. They abandoned their homeplace secretly at night and being in a hurry were barely able to even take anything with them. They moved from place to place and lived from hand to mouth doing chores at people's homes and monasteries with an ultimate goal to find a suitable place to settle down eventually. When they came to Que'ergou 雀儿沟, which is in today's Gucheng Township of the Tianshu Tibetan Autonomous County, they stayed for some time. It is said that they had even built new homes for themselves and grown crops for some time before a distant relative named Grandpa Gurshjia, who was originally from Gurshjia Village in Huzhu but migrated and settled down at the time in a valley which was to be named Ha Valley later, suggested that they should join his family in the valley. Ha Nangsuo accepted the suggestion and moved his family and settled down eventually in Hawan village in 1942.

For the following two years, Ha Nangsuo's family worked alongside with the Gurshjia and Lighua families who had come earlier to the valley from Huzhu and tilled barren lands into cultivable fields. According to Ha Shengcheng, almost all the fields in Hawan village today were tilled by these families, while only a small number were tilled when some other families came and joined them in the village later. Since the region belonged to the local Tiantang Monastery, residents had to pay a certain amount of grain as tax every year after the harvest. Gradually they had accumulated enough extra from the harvest and that has finally conditioned to their permanent settlement in the village. At about that time, more Ha clan families came and joined Ha Nangsuo and his family in the village, including his two previously adopted sons Ha Mingde and Ha Youde, and his brother's family. Interviews 2 and 3 partially present in this work relate to these later migrations, concretely the moves of Ha Youde and Ha Baode's families. Since already by this time a majority of the people in the village surnamed Ha, the village has naturally become known as Hawan or Ha(-clan) Valley. Ha Nangsuo, also a *kurdien* or the deity possessing body of the powerful Heavenly Mule King,<sup>2</sup> who was already a known person as the "Nangsuo" or chamberlaine of Rgonglong Rgongba<sup>3</sup> even before the migration and was a friend

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<sup>2</sup> More see Ha and Stuart, 2008.

<sup>3</sup> Rgonglong Rgongba, in Chi. 佑宁寺Youning si, is a monastery in Huzhu.

of and had the support of the highly respected Songbu Lama of Rgonglong Rgongba, became a leading figure in the village. In light of this special connection to the Rgonglong Rgongba and Songbu Lama, the local Tiantang Monastery didn't give Ha Nangsuo so much trouble as they did to other people nearby. Ha Nangsuo, along with his sons who all had wives by that time, seized the opportunity and soon accumulated a large supply of grain and were better off.

During the heyday of the family since its migration, it had 23 members, and everybody lived together in a big compound with rooms built in every direction of the courtyard. It was said that the house was built so nicely that even the monks from Tiantang monastery who own the whole region at that time were green with envy. One time they even tried to knock down the house saying, "even we don't have such nice houses in the monastery, how dare you have built such a nice house?" At that time the family had grains stocked in several rooms, had more than 100 sheep, some yaks and several mules too.<sup>4</sup>

The family had more than enough food and was developing promisingly when a small businessman from a neighboring village of Chagantai查干台 introduced opium to Ha Nangsuo and from then on he remained addicted to opium and that cost him not only his health but also of being the privileged "possessing body" of the Heavenly Mule King. He died on February 9<sup>th</sup>, in the year of ox (1949) according to the Chinese calendar. After the funeral in Hawan, his body was carried to the family's original homeplace in Xihajia village on the backs of two donkeys after not being approved by Tiantang Monastery to be buried in Hawan and interred him in the end in the family's cemetery *Maoyuanzi xin fen* 毛院子新坟 or Maoyuan New Cemetery.

The prosperity and wealth of the family at that time also attracted the attention of local bandits, who laid raids on the family from time to time. One day in 1958, when the Chinese Liberation Army soldiers were attracted to the village to "encircle and annihilate" the local bandits, they saw the bandits, who actually came to rob the family, leaving the house, and mistakenly thought that the family was collaborating with the bandits and without a thorough investigation we were

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<sup>4</sup> Today the house doesn't exist any more, but Ha Nangsuo's eldest son Ha Mingde's descendants live in the same courtyard. The house was confiscated in 1958 when the local government mistakenly labeled the family kulaks, but was returned in 1972, when the government has restored the family's innocence, even though part of the house had already been destroyed by then. The house was later divided by Ha Nangsuo's six sons.

convicted of conspiring with the bandits and labeled as kulaks or Funong 富农 in Chinese. That was not true, because the family up until that time didn't have any fields that would belong to them but rented fields of the monastery. The soldiers took the head of the family of the time, who was my father<sup>5</sup>, and confiscated all our possessions, including our house. According to my mother's words, "they took away almost everything, even sewing needles of the women." In the wake of that, the family has once again fallen into penury.

In 1972, the government redressed the miscarriage of the justice by returning all the remaining parts of the family's house and inviting my mother<sup>6</sup> and some other members from the family and treating them in a restaurant in the township town. They were given several hundred renminbi, several brick teas and several khadag, a Tibetan ritual scarf, and were apologized for the injustice and thus the government has finally restored the family's innocence. My father however could never return home even though he was also posthumously rehabilitated, and might well have died in the early 60s in a work farm called Xinhua Nongchang 新华农场 near Jiuquan. We went to look for him and later his body twice, but we didn't find him, so we just burned some paper money<sup>7</sup> and later made his *shenzhu* or "spirit tablet" and buried it in the graveyard in Hawan.

#### Transcription:

A: Ha Shengcheng

B: Ha Mingzong

C: Ha Shengcheng's wife

Original - Qinghai Dialect	English – translation
A: Zhege zaofuohao jiusi nizi taiye geinao xuanhazi bai.	A: Actually I am told all this by your great-grandpa.

<sup>5</sup> Ha Shengcheng's father, and Ha Mingzong's great-grandfather.

<sup>6</sup> Ha Shengcheng's mother.

<sup>7</sup> The burning of *zhiqian* 纸钱 or 'paper money' is a ritual to remember and worship ancestors.

<p>B: Naozi taiye?</p> <p>A: Beizigao guo a si... hudu kunnan.</p> <p>B: Nai sihou ao? Zaojiu Nangsuo Taiye bai, jiusi sa, Adi? Negao Shoude taiyeha zhizha yanghazi bai?</p> <p>A: Mao, naigao jiaha naiha yanghazi a.</p> <p>B: Ao, nemenghao liuge yiguaha lingzhe ma?</p> <p>A: Mao, liuge jia maoyou a. Zaoshuohao, Kanzhuozi aaba, dingdiaozi bai, xiao yangjuan.</p> <p>B: Kanzhuozi aaba?</p> <p>A: Alai...</p> <p>(Interference from 00:01:22 until 00:01:45)</p> <p>A: Kanzhuozi aabaha dingdiaozi lia, Xiangyangjuanli.</p> <p>B: Negao laoda bai, jiusi sa?</p> <p>A: Ai laoda bai.</p> <p>B: Ao, nai sihou jiu mao lingguolai zhao bai?</p> <p>A: Ai, jiamen jialili bai, yijing dingdiaozi zhai zai.</p> <p>Nizi aadee lia yiyang, nide aadee geinidi taiyeha dinggeizi bai na.</p>	<p>B: My great-grandpa?</p> <p>A: Yeah. (They) had a pot (with them) and... (They were) very poor (back then).</p> <p>B: At that time? It was Great-grandfather Nangsuo who actually (moved), right, Grandpa? Great-granduncle Shoude was born here, right?</p> <p>A: No, he was born there.</p> <p>B: Oh, then he took all six with him (when he moved here)?</p> <p>A: No, not all six of them. Actually, Kanzhuo's father was adopted (by a family), in Xiaoyangjuan.</p> <p>B: Kanzhuo's father?</p> <p>A: Yeah.</p> <p>B: Kanzhuo's father was adopted (by a family) in Xiangyangjuan.</p> <p>B: He was the eldest one, right?</p> <p>A: Yeah, he was the eldest.</p> <p>B: Uh, so at that time, he wasn't brought over here, right?</p> <p>A: Yeah, he was in their home, and was already adopted. Like your grandpa, he was adopted by your step-great-grandfather.</p>
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<sup>8</sup> A measuring unit in China.

<sup>9</sup> Aigulong Monastery or Rgonglong Rgongba is the biggest monastery in Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County.

<sup>10</sup> Fala: a mediator between deities and the ordinary people.

<sup>11</sup> Lingling is the son of my paternal grandfather's sister's son.

<p>B: En.</p> <p>A: Shenghui zi abaha ye dingdiaoze bai.</p> <p>B: Ah, dinggei fiizhe lia?</p> <p>A: Ah, jiu ai-taiye geixi.</p> <p>B: Ai taiyeha, nai sihou ?</p> <p>A: Nangsuo laosan bai.</p> <p>B: Kanzhuodi aaba si laoda, da taiye geixi dingdiaoze bai?</p> <p>A: Ai, Shenghuizi aba ai'taiyeha dinggeizi bai.</p> <p>A: Lingzhezi jiusi... zao fuohao naozi aaba, Shengcai zi aaba, nizi taiye. Jiu zhe sangao renha lingshangzhao guolaizi bai.</p> <p>B: Aadee, naomenzi taiyeha jiaozi Quande ma, Yangde a?</p> <p>A: Yangde.</p> <p>B: Quande lao'ai bai ao?</p> <p>A: Quande si naozi aba.</p> <p>B: Jiu sangao renha lingshangzhao guolaizi bai?</p> <p>A: Kanzhuozi aaba si laoda Ha Mingde. Naozi aaba si Quande bai, laosan si Shenghuizi aaba si Youde,</p>	<p>B: Yes.</p> <p>A: Shenghui's father was also adopted.</p> <p>B: Uh, he was adopted by whom?</p> <p>B: Uh, by the secold great-great-granduncle.</p> <p>A: Yeah, the secold great-great-granduncle, at that time?</p> <p>A: Nangsuo was the third brother (in line).</p> <p>B: Kanzhuo's father was his eldest son and was adopted by the eldest great-great-granduncle (i.e. Ha Nangsuo's eldest brother)?</p> <p>A: Yeah, Shenghui's father was adopted by the second great-great-granduncle (i.e., Ha Nangsuo's second eldest brother).</p> <p>B: He brought with him, actually in fact, my father, Shengcai's father, your great-grandfather. Yeah, actually brought only these three over here.</p> <p>A: Grandpa, your great-grandpa was called Quande or Yangde?</p> <p>A: Yangde.</p> <p>B: Quande is the second (eldest), right?</p> <p>A: Quande is my father.</p> <p>B: Oh, he actually took with him only three (of his sons) and came over here?</p> <p>A: Kanzhou's father is Ha Mingde, the eldest. My father is Quande, the second. Shenghui's father is</p>
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<p>nizi taiye si Yangde, Shengcaizi aaba si Changde, zha muchanglizhi si Shoude bai.</p> <p>B: Eh.</p> <p>A: Naihu lingzhaozi jiusi naozi aaba, nizi taiye, Shengcaizi aba sangao ren. Jiuba zhejigaoha lingshangzhao guolailiao bai. Shengde aaga hai nianshuzhalia.</p> <p>B: Xihajialibai? Jiaha houte kao lingqi liao bai?</p> <p>A: En.</p> <p>B: En, jiu sangao wawaha lingshangzhao Langshidang goulisa guolai liaobai? Jiu chongzhe zouzhe bai, jiusisa?</p> <p>A: Jiusi, jiu chongzhe zouzhebai zai!</p> <p>B: Nai sihuo cong xihajialisa zoukaizhao jiu yicixing daoliao Qiao'aigouli liao ma si?</p> <p>A: Meiyong, chongzhe zouzhe.</p> <p>B: Sijian changliao ma?</p> <p>A: En, sishangmen lingsuihuomen juli, zao xianzaizi hualia dagongli, daqiang li, dao tukuai li, dangyang li...sahuodu ju. Zuihou chongzhe zouzhe Qiao'aigouliliao, Guchengli qiliao bai.</p>	<p>the third, called Ha Youde. Your great-grandfather is Ha Yangde, and Shengcai's father is Changde. Here Muchang Aadee is Ha Shoude.</p> <p>B: Right.</p> <p>A: At that time, (Nangsuo) brought my father, your great-grandpa, Shengcai's father. Just the three of them. Shoude Uncle was still going to school.</p> <p>B: In Xihajia Village? Right. (People from here) went for him again later, right?</p> <p>A: Yeah.</p> <p>B: Oh, (he) brought his three children and came here through Longshidang Valley, right? He was actually moving without a clear destination, right?</p> <p>A: Yeah, they went forward without a clear destination.</p> <p>B: After they left Xihajia, did they go directly to Qian'aigou or...?</p> <p>A: No, they went without a clear destination.</p> <p>B: Did it take long to get there finally?</p> <p>A: Yeah, on the way, they did various works for people, in monasteries, today people call this "dagong" or "labour work", building wall for others, making sun-dried adobe bricks, herding sheep for others... did all kinds of work, for food.</p>
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	In the end they reached Qiao'aigou, in Gucheng township.
B: Adi, dai naimiansa zouzhao Qiao'aigou hao negao dagai duochang sijian qiliaohao zhidaoli bao?	B: Gandpa, how long did it take to get to Qiao'aigou from that side (=Xihajia), do you know?
A: Ai, negao sansi nian qiliao, sansi nian ma siwu nian, naimen xiangxizi zai buzhidao.	A: Three or four, even four or five years. On the way we did many kinds of work. As for the details, I am not very clear either.
B: Eh, zaisi, wunian a qiliaobai? Zai zahuo ye zuzhebai, jiusa?	B: Oh, spent around four, five years? And doing all kinds of work for food?
A: Eh, zaijiu zahuo ye zuzhebai zai.	A: Uh, for food, they were willing to do any work.
B: Qiao'aigou li qizhe...?	B: After they came to Qiao'aigou, then...?
A: Ye yinian zuoliao ma, jiu yica Zhangjia ma sa gao jiu namengao fuzhai.	A: (We also spent) about one year there. I heard we had only one harvest or...
B: Yica zhangjia ao?	B: Harvested only once?
A: En. Zuihou zhegao Hawanli amen daoliao fuhao, zaofuhao zhegao Mei Chenghaizi taiye – Gurjia Adi jiaozheliao.	A: Yeah. If you ask how we ended up here in Hawan at the end, that was because of Mei Chenghai's grandpa. He was actually called Gurjia Aadee.
B: Sa? Gurjia?	B: What? Gurjia?
A: Gurjia hao jiusi Halazhigou youge Gurjia fuzhao zhuangzi lia.	A: Gurjia is actually a village in Huzhu Halazhigou.
B: Jia nai zhazi ma?	
A: Jiusi, naige lao'aaye jiusi naizhaziren, zha lai zhe jiu jiao Gurjia Adi zhe lia. Jiamen lapanzhe jiu	B: Oh, so he is from there?
	A: Yeah, that old man was from there, and that was



Hawanli lai fuzhao.	why we called him Grandpa Gurjia. Actually it was
	because they recommended us this place, so we
	came here.
B: Ao, jia jiaohazi oh.	B: Oh, I see, so he actually advised us to come
	here.
A: Hawanli zi naixie di, Hawan lian Hagou	A: As for the fields in Hawan, you know, the fields
fengzhao Shengcai habaoli yougao lengganlia. Ai,	from the small valley in front of Shengcai's house
naigaosa yishang zao jiu naomen: Hajia, Tongjia,	all the way up belong to Ha clan, Tong clan and
Gurjiazi di bai. Dabufeng jiu zhegao sanjiazi	Gurjia. The majority belonged to these three
kaihazi a. Zai Zhang Dexingmen kaiyadi ye youlia.	families. Otherwise, Zhang Dexing had a little and
Zhancangmen Baghar, ai, ye you.	Zhancang from the Baghar family also had a little.
B: Eh. Zhancang men kao Baghar ma?	B: Uh, Zhancang belonged to the Baghar family?
A: Zhancangzi Aba jiao Baghar zhe bai. Tuhua	A: Zhancang's father was called Baghar. It is his
mingzi a.	Mongghul name.
B: Oh...	B: I see.
A: Naigao jijiazi kaihazi a. Houte Baodi Agamen	A: Yeah, like that, they started tilling the fields and
laizhe kaihazi di a. Zai haiyou zhegao Shimenlizi	cultivating crops. Then uncle Baode newly tilled
Agu fuzhao, negao agu yuanlai Hawanli zuozhelia.	some fields. And then the aunt from Shimen, she
	actually lived in Hawan as well.
B: Shimen lizi?	B: From Shimen?
A: Jiu Cun'ai jiazi. Cun'ai zi nainai a.	A: Yeah, from Cun'ai's family. Cun'ai's
	grandmother.

<p>B: Eh.</p> <p>A: Jiamen yuanlai Hawanli zuozhe bai. Houtou zouzhe jiu Shimengen li liao bai.</p> <p>B: Eh.</p> <p>A: Naixie diha zhuyao jiu Hajia, Meijia, Tongjia zia. Haiyou Qijia zi liaosi, Zhangjia zi liaosi, Zhancangmen liaosi, ai Baode Aagamen houte youkailiao xie bai.</p> <p>B: Dailaizi sihou, Hawan YingSan jiushi yipian si huangdi bai?</p> <p>A: Genggeng qianqianzi jiu kaihazi youlia. Yuanchuzi jiu yigua mao kai hazhao a.</p> <p>B: Eh.</p> <p>A: Zhegao di nao geini mao xuanguo ma, Tiantangsi Jiwanangzi di di a.</p> <p>B: Oh. Aadee, naigedi kaizhe si niu ma luozi a?</p> <p>A: Renlia wa zhe a zai. Zaijiu niulia zhong bai.</p> <p>B: Aadee, naigao huangdi naomen qizhao dagai kailiao jinian na? Niannian kaizhe ma si, yinian yigua? Niannian kai bai?</p> <p>A: Jiusi, niannian kaizhao, jiu liangsan nian kailiao</p>	<p>B: Oh.</p> <p>A: They were in Hawan Before, later they moved to Shimengou.</p> <p>B: Oh.</p> <p>A: The fields mainly belonged to Ha clan, Mei clan, Tong clan, Qi clan, Zhancang, and Zhang family. Later people tilled more fields for cultivation.</p> <p>B: When we came here, the south slope of the village was completely barren, right?</p> <p>A: Yeah, people tilled some fields near the village, but farther away on the slopes, there were no fields.</p> <p>B: Oh.</p> <p>A: Those fields belonged to Jiwar Nang of Tiantang Monastery.</p> <p>B: Oh, Grandpa, when you tilled the fields, did you have oxen and mules for help?</p> <p>A: No, we people dug over the land themselves for cultivating, but used oxen to sew seeds.</p> <p>B: Oh, by your very hands? How long did it take? Did you finish them all at once in a year or little by little every year?</p> <p>A: Year by year, it took us around two to three</p>
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<p>a!</p> <p>B: Liangsan nian oh. Aadee, nai sihou sangao taiyezi suifu dagai amendigao youlia?</p> <p>A: Zao dagai aishiji ma! Zao zhegao anzhao sijianzhao suanhao jiu suanchulai ha lia, jiapushang kanhao jiu.</p> <p>B: Oh, jiusi.</p> <p>A: Nao guji jiusigao aishiji, aishi qiba, sanshi, keneng naozi aaba zaojiu keneng sanshi guoliao.</p> <p>B: Sanshi guoliaohao na nai sihou han mao jiehunha zhao ma na?</p> <p>A: Yijing jiehunliao a na!</p> <p>B: Niha zheli guolaizhao cai...?</p> <p>A: Ai, naoha zheli yanghazi a na!</p> <p>B: Naimen hao sangao ren busi bai, tainainai han youli bai?</p> <p>A: Jiusi, youlia kao! Nizi tainainai han you lia.</p> <p>B: Naozi taitai ye youlia oh?</p> <p>A: Jiusi, zaijiu Shengcaizi aama ya youlia kao.</p> <p>B: Ao.</p> <p>A: Zhe Muchanglizi taitai jiu zha quhazi a.</p>	<p>years.</p> <p>B: Two to three years? At that time, how old were our great-grandpa and uncles?</p> <p>A: They were in their twenties or... If we counted, we would figure out, I mean according to records in the clan's genealogy.</p> <p>B: Yeah, that is right.</p> <p>A: I think they were about twenty seven, eight or thirty. My father was probably more than thirty.</p> <p>B: More than thirty, but he was not married?</p> <p>A: Already married.</p> <p>B: Then, you were born here, right?</p> <p>A: Yeah, I was born here.</p> <p>B: In that case, there were not three members (of the family who came over), the great-grandma was also there, right?</p> <p>A: Yeah. Then your great-grandma was probably there, too.</p> <p>B: Mine great-grandmother also?</p> <p>A: Yeah, and there was Shengcai's mother also.</p> <p>B: oh.</p> <p>A: The great-grandma from Muchang got married to (Shoude) here.</p>
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<p>B: Jiusi bao?</p> <p>C: Naimuhao nizi taitai han maoyou oh, ta houte laihazi bai.</p> <p>B: Ao?</p> <p>A: Zai nao ye buzhidao, naimen xiangxizi.</p> <p>B: Ao.</p> <p>A: Nai sihou quhazhe, zaijiu Hajiali pihaliao ma si amuliao hao, zai buzhidao, naimuzi zai mao xuanguo, xiangxi. Shenghuizi aaba dai aama lia guolaizi sihou, zao zhen zhegao Shimenlizi Cun'aizi aaneezi yuanzi a. Xianzai Gafusan zuozhazi yuanzi zhenjiusi Shimenlizi aagu nainaizi yuanzi a.</p> <p>B: Ah, zhegao si Aagu nainaizi yuanzi bai, oh.</p> <p>A: Jiusi, jiamen guolaihao si jiu lao'ai zutaiye dai zunainiaha taidiao, jiu zheha guolai liao bai.</p> <p>B: Oh.</p> <p>A: Sazi, Kanzhuozi Aaba qizhao Xiaoyangjuanlizi datayeha dinggei zhao zuo zhao mao zuochu ha, mao zuochuhazi yuanyinsi yanghaliaogao aizi a, Zhide jiaozhe lia. Yanghaliao gao aizi hao Kanzhuozi Aabaha jianbudeiliao, maozuochuha jiu</p>	<p>B: Oh, really?</p> <p>A: Oh, I think your great-grandma was not here. She came later.</p> <p>B: oh?</p> <p>A: Otherwise, about the details, I myself am not very sure.</p> <p>B: Oh.</p> <p>A: At that time, maybe they got married already, but she was left behind in Xihajia, but we didn't talk about that much, so I don't know about the details. When Shenghui's father and mother came over, they stayed in the courtyard, where today Gafushan lives.</p> <p>B: That was the courtyard of the great-granduncle from Shimen, I see.</p> <p>A: Yeah, they came over here after the second eldest great-great-grandpa and grandma passed away.</p> <p>B: Oh, I see.</p> <p>A: In fact, Kanzhou's father couldn't get along well with the family, and the reason was that his step parents had a son named Zhide later and didn't pay much attention to him any more. Then he didn't want to stay any longer and moved here.</p>
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<p>gangshang guolia liao.</p> <p>B: Oh, guolai liao bai o.</p> <p>A: Gangshang guolai, dingzhao baodiaoze lia, zaijiu houtou jiu, ai, Nangsuo Aadee jiu fuzhao, zao na laoda lailiao bai, zao zha zuobuhaya, Shengeitingshang zuo geiliao a yuanlai.</p> <p>B: Ao, Shenggeiling hao adieli li dai?</p> <p>A: Aitaishang guoqihao nagao lingtoushangli bai zai.</p> <p>B: Oh, naizha ?</p> <p>A: Zhegao jiusi Haisan zi taiye a.</p> <p>B: Oh.</p> <p>A: Zai nizi taiye, Shengcaizi Aaba a yili qizhao bangmangzhao jiu beifang zhemenjia sanjian na, zhemmen liujian ma qijian, zhehalisi Hajia, zhehalisi Jiajia.</p> <p>B: Oh.</p> <p>A: Tamen zhongzhezi jiusi Jiajiazi di a. Jiayang menzi di a.</p> <p>B: Eh, jiusi. zai, jiamen jinian zuoliao a nai zha, ban zhao Hawanli hao?</p> <p>A + C: Jinianliao sa....qi ba nianliao ba. Houtou taiyeha zhuadiao zhao, zaijiu banzhe halailiao fu</p>	<p>B: Oh, so he actually came over.</p> <p>A: After he came, well, at that time, he was already adopted, so Grandpa Nangsuo said, well, you can't live here and settled him in Shenggeiling in the beginning. They lived with the Jia family.</p> <p>B: Oh, where is actually Shenggeiling, I can't recall now?</p> <p>A: That is the hill over there, behind Aitai Village.</p> <p>B: Oh, there, I see.</p> <p>A: This is actually Haishan's great-great-grandpa.</p> <p>B: Oh.</p> <p>A: Your great-grandpa, Shengcai's father and all the people went and helped build his house, three rooms on the northside of the courtyard, six or seven rooms on this side, so the Ha family was on this side and the Jia family was on the other.</p> <p>B: Oh.</p> <p>A: They grew crops on the fields of the Jia family actually, Jiayang's family.</p> <p>B: Oh, right. How long time did they stay there before they moved to Hawan?</p> <p>A: Let me think, about... about seven or eight years. Later our great-grandpa was arrested, and</p>
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<p>bai. Maoshou zhao yigua Shengeilingshang a maoshou qiliao fu zhao.</p>	<p>after that he moved down here. I heard that the officials went to confiscate at his house also.</p>
<p>B: Oh. Naizha maoshou qi zhao zaijiu banzhe Hawanliliao bai o?</p>	<p>B: Oh, I see, so after they went to also confiscate there, he moved here, right?</p>
<p>C: Banzhe halaizhe zaijiu Kanzhuo zuozi nagao yuanzi zuozhe bai.</p>	<p>C: After he moved down here, he has lived in the courtyard where Kanzhuo lives today since.</p>
<p>A: Na jia laodaya, jia zhan beifanglia ni.</p>	<p>A: Of course, because he was the eldest son.</p>
<p>A: Yuanlai naomenzi nagao yuanzi, jiu xianzai Kanzhuomen zuo zi naigao bai. Zha Beijing, Dongfang ye you lia, Xifang ye you lia, zhege nanfang yiliuzi jiu Jian ma sa gao.</p>	<p>A: Our old courtyard was where Kanzhuo's family lives now. At that time, we had rooms in the north side of the courtyard, also rooms on the west and east sides. On the south side, there were about nine rooms.</p>
<p>B: Beifang lai?</p>	<p>B: How about on the north side?</p>
<p>A: Beifang jiu sanjian, Kanzhou zuoliaozi negao, busima?</p>	<p>A: On the north side, three rooms. Kanzhuo still lives in the rooms, doesn't he?</p>
<p>B: Ao.</p>	<p>B: Oh.</p>
<p>A: Zai nanfang ceizhe jiu xianzai nimendi negao fangzi yigua nanfangshangdi a.</p>	<p>A: Later after we knocked down the rooms from the south side, (from the woods) you built your house.</p>
<p>B: Ao.</p>	<p>B: Oh.</p>
<p>A: Zaijiu zhege beifang sanjianha laodaha fenggei liao bai. Kanzhuozi aaba bai. Xifang sanjianha naoha fanggei liao bai, naozi aba si lao'ai bai. Laosanha dingdiaozhe bai. Nidi taiye si laosi bai,</p>	<p>A: The eldest son was given the three rooms from the north side. That was Kanzhuo's father. The rooms from the west side were given to me. My father was the second eldest. The third son was</p>

<p>jiaha jiu nanfang zhege jijianha fenggeiliao bai.</p> <p>Yigua busi a. Zhuyao jijian jiu nimen ceidiao liao.</p> <p>Haiyou juezi lia. Kanzhuoha liuhazi zheyigao juezi bai. Waiqianzi zhegaoha Shengcaizi aabaha fenggei liao bai. Ao, Dongfangha Shengcai ceidiao liao. Ai, Shoude Aaga jia waiqianziha ceidiao liao.</p> <p>B: Oh. Naiyungao a youli ma?</p> <p>A: Youlia na. Waitou haiyou sanjian mapeng lia.</p> <p>B: Oh, naomen mapeng na youli ma?</p> <p>A: Ai, mapengha zai maoshoudiaoliao a zai houtou.</p> <p>A: Ai, zha youge damen lia, hudu da ya. Nai sihoudi datieche neng jinlai a, jiao lu tiechaimenzhe lia.</p> <p>B: Oh, waitou ye youli ma?</p> <p>A: Houtou naigao fangzi, damen yigua Shoude Aaga ceidiao liao. Jia maidiao liao a.</p> <p>B: Jiusi bao? Zai na Gahu'ai jiazi taiye kao gai liao fangzi liao ma si?</p> <p>A: Mao a. Jia zuozi fangzi jiusi Shimenli</p>	<p>adopted. The fourth son was your great-grandpa, and he was given the rooms from the south side.</p> <p>Not all the nine rooms. He had the three bigger rooms, and probably a corner storage room as well.</p> <p>I had a corner storage room as well. Kanzhuo had this one probably. The outer courtyard was given to Shengcai's father. Oh, no, Shengcai's father had the rooms from the east side of the courtyard and the outer courtyard was given to Shoude Aaga.</p> <p>B: Oh. There was an outer courtyard as well?</p> <p>A: Yeah, of course. There were three stables in there.</p> <p>B: Oh, we had some stables as well.</p> <p>A: Yeah, the stables were confiscated later.</p> <p>A: Right, here we had the courtyard gate. It was very big, big horse carts of that time could come through easily. It was called The Big Green Gate.</p> <p>B: Oh, so there was an outer (courtyard) as well?</p> <p>A: Later all the outer courtyard and the gate were all given to uncle Shoude. He sold it.</p> <p>B: Right? Then Gahu'ai's grandparents built a new house when they came?</p> <p>A: Oh... No, I've told you that they didn't have to</p>
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<p>Aagunainaimenzi fangzi a jia. Naige jiusi Haisanmenzi bangli maoyou ma!</p> <p>B: Oh, jiamen laizhe jiu danlinzhe bai?</p> <p>A: Jiusi kao.</p> <p>B: Zai houtou naomenzi fangzi yiguaha maoshoudiao liao bai?</p> <p>A: Jiusi, yiguaha. 1972 nian pingfan zhao jiu, caifuzi ba zhaxie fangzi huangei a. Hai zhizhazi sanjian zai mao gei shang a zai.</p> <p>B: Oh, maoshou diaozi sihou si ayinian na?</p> <p>A: 1958.</p> <p>B: Ao, zhemeng changliao ma?</p> <p>A: Nizi zutaiyeha jiu naisihou zhuadiaozi bai. 1958 nian na kao. Zaijiu yizhi maolai a kao.</p> <p>B: Zai maolai bai?</p> <p>A: En, zai dagai gei jiamen laodongzhe ya kao. Zuihou Zhangye Xinhua muchangli sidiao zibai.</p> <p>B: Zai dagai ahuai maoyoudiaozi a?</p> <p>A: 1961 nian.</p> <p>B: Zai naizha shuiya mao kanqiha bai?</p> <p>A: Quliao yi hui. Kujia sidiao zhe bai zai. Zai nao</p>	<p>build any houses. They stayed in your great-granddaughter's house, the one from Shimen. Haisan lives in the house today.</p> <p>B: Oh, so from the beginning they lived separately?</p> <p>A: Yeah, right.</p> <p>B: Later, all our houses were taken by the government, right?</p> <p>A: Yeah. All of them. The government returned these rooms to us in 1972, but not these three stables. (Maybe people from Jialong knocked them down and took away the wood and so on.)</p> <p>B: Oh, which year the houses were taken away?</p> <p>A: In 1958.</p> <p>B: oh, for such a long time?</p> <p>A: Actually in the same year, my father was arrested, in 1958, and since then, he never returned home.</p> <p>B: He never came back?</p> <p>A: Yeah, he did labor work and died probably in Xinhua Muchang in Zhangye.</p> <p>B: In which year did he pass away?</p> <p>A: In 1961.</p> <p>B: Then no one was able to visit him during that time?</p> <p>A: I went there once, but he had already died. In</p>
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<p>jiu zai naigao huangsa tanli shaoliaogao zi bai.</p> <p>Naimu duozi fengtan, ayigao hao waye wa buqing zhao. Zaijiu si naizha shaoliaogao zizhe jiu huilai liao bai.</p> <p>B: Nani yigeren qiliao ma?</p> <p>A: Naomen qizi ba'ai duozhe lia. Zhegao Ai'tai shangzi Yangdi, Tong Date haiyou Guo Qiling zi taiye..tamenzi aabaha ye si 1958 nain zhuadiao zia.</p> <p>B: Jiamen jianliao bao?</p> <p>A: Maoma, yijing sidiao liao a zai. Zai naomen zai Zhangye chaizanshang mailiaoxie shaozi jiu naizha shaodiao Zhao jiu huilailiao a.</p> <p>B: Oh, nazai Shenzhu maoli ma?</p> <p>B: A yinian dai?</p> <p>A: Jiu 1962 ma, 1963 hao...nao jizhe naohai heizili touzhe qiliao a. Wanshengli lao beishangzhe Kualakoushang qiliao a. Nagao jing haisi Bei Gonggkai Aaka nianhazi a.</p> <p>C: Naigao sihou, jiu zhema dazi mantou</p>	<p>the grave field, there were so many mounds, and I didn't even find out which one was his. In the end, I just burned him some paper money and came back.</p> <p>B: Did you go alone?</p> <p>A: I also had some partners. One from Ai'tai, named Yangde. One was Big Head Tong. Another is Guo Qiling's grandpa. Our fathers were all arrested in 1958, and taken the same year to Zhangye.</p> <p>B: Did the others see their fathers?</p> <p>A: Oh no, their fathers had died also by that time. Then we just brought some paper money from the Zhangye bus station and burned them, and then came back.</p> <p>B: Oh, did you make Shenzhu (spirit tablet) for him?</p> <p>B: Which year was that?</p> <p>A: In 1962 or 1963 maybe, I think...I remember that I did it secretly during night. That night, I took it to Kulake village, and a Lama named Bei Gongpai did the ceremonial cleaning chanting for me.</p> <p>C: At that time, we made some very small bread,</p>
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zhengshangzhe qiliao a, nizhangma bunizhanghao!	we were so poor back then!
B: Zhegao Shenzhu? Azha laihazi a?	B: About the shenzhu, uh.... where...?
A: Naigo jiu naomen juhazi baizai. Naigao jiusi yigao mubanban a. Nagao juqilai hao hudu fuza.	A: I made the spirit tablet. Actually, it was made from a wooden board with the deceased's name on the front, and there was a hole on the back to put wheat, flour, silver and so on inside. And then we took it to the Lama to have it religiously purified, and then buried. Yeah, it was called Shenzhu.
Jiangjiu gouxiezi mu banbanshang minzi xieshang, zai hougian wahagao caocao, zai limian ba liangshi, zangmian, yingzi zhuanggei, zaijiu nazhao aakazi naizha jing nianqiliao bai.	C: After the Lama's chanting, we buried it like a tomb. We did all that at night. If it had been during the day, it would have caused us big big problems.
C: Zai jing ninwanzhe jiu zangliao lebai. Han heizili zangliao a, baitian zanghao zaijiu douli bai.	B: Oh. The chanting ceremony was all done at that lama's home?
B: Oh, jiu jing jiamen jiali nianlaio bai?	A: Yeah, that was done at the lama's home during night. At that time, we didn't even dare to make the grave mound big. It was very small, and then much much later, when my grandmother passed away, we finally made him also a normal size grave mound.
A: Jiusi azai. Heizili jiamen jiali nianliao a zia. Zai houtou naozi nainai maoyoudiao zhe, caifuzi ba yigua fengduizi juqilailiao a.	B: Oh, really?
B: Oh, jiusi bao?	A: Yeah.
A: Jiusi a na.	B: Then, if we go back further a little, before we came to Hawan from Qiao'aigou, after the great-grandpa from the Mei family invited you, you all came directly to Hawan, right?
B: Aadee, naimenghao, zai wanghou tuiyigua, nasihou Qiao'aigoulisa naigao Meijjazi taiye yijiang zhao nimen Qiao'aigoulisa zhijie banshang lailiao bai?	A: At that time, I was not born yet, so I don't know
A: Naigao sihou naohai mao yanghazhe a, namen	

<p>xiangxizi nao buzhidao a. Nao tingzhe jiamen Zhuchalidu zuoguo yizhengzi fu a.</p> <p>B: Ao.</p> <p>A: Yingjie geiji jiuzhe yingzi wazhe chulaizhe, Beifang negao geixie xiuhazhe, jiu jiaohaliaogao Yingjie. Jia bi nao dazhao yisui a. Nao amen zhidaolia?</p> <p>B: Ao, nao zhido ni naisihou hai maoyou a. Nao jiu xiangzhao lia, ni tingjian guo ma mao fu zhao. En, aadee, ni naomenzi aadeesa da zhao jisui dai?</p> <p>A: Nao liangsui dazhe lia. Ta fu gou zi a, nizi Maotuo aadee fu yang zi a. Nao tasa shi'ai sui ma shisansui dazhe lia. Nizi aadee zili haiyou Jingdi's ama lia zai.</p> <p>B: Shi'ai ma shisan lia? Nani fu sa zi a?</p> <p>A: Nao fu hou zi bai. Zai nao shi'aisui dazhelia zai.</p> <p>B: En.</p>	<p>that much for sure, but I heard that they stayed somewhere in Zhucha township for some time also before they came to Hawan Village.</p> <p>B: Oh.</p> <p>A: (In Hawan) when Yingjie was born, well, when we were building the rooms on the north side of the courtyard, now in Haisan's home, we found some silver from the ground, and Yingjie was born at the same day, so we named her the Silver Sister. I am one year younger than her. How could I know anything more than that?</p> <p>B: Oh, at that time, I know that you were not born yet. I am just wondering if you heard anything more about it! Ah, then Grandpa, how many years are you older than my grandpa?</p> <p>A: I am two years older than him. He was born in the year of dog, and then your Maotuo Aadee was born in the year of sheep. I am twelve or thirteen years older than him. Oh, after your grandpa, there was Jingdi's mother.</p> <p>B: Twelve or thirteen years older than him? In which animal year were you born?</p> <p>A: I was born in the year of monkey. Yeah, I am twelve years older.</p> <p>B: Right.</p>
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<p>A: Zhuchali zuoliaohao na jiuzai Xiakema yangwa nai yidao zuoliao.</p> <p>B: Oh, Xlake Yangwali o.</p> <p>A: Weisa Xlake Yangwali zuoliao fuhao, Kanzhouzi aaba banguolaihao Kanzhouzi weiye aabamen jiu Ca'aigouli zuoliao a, jiu naigao gougouli. Cha Maanii fuzhao, zaofuhao si Kanzhouzi weiye. Nianjing mazhelia.</p> <p>C: Jiusi, nai sihou jiu guaigonggao daoshangzhao jiu zouzhe bai.</p> <p>B: Oh, aadee, zaini jizhe bao? Kanzhuomen ahuai banguolaizi?</p> <p>A: Oh, nagao jiu maojizhe. Fanzheng naomen zuohazhe tamen cai banguolai liao a. Zaonaojiu jiushiqi liaobai, naomen banguolaizhe jiushiba nianliao bai, zao ni suan sa.</p> <p>B: Oh, naimen gao ma!</p> <p>A: Naigaozi qianli jinian zhuoliaohao, zaijiu buzhidao a. Naihuai Meijiazi kao zhazha buzuoliao. Zai...</p> <p>B: Na? Naige jiusi jiamen banshangzhe zoudiaozhao kao banshangzhao lailiao ma?</p>	<p>A: If it is true that we stayed in Zhuchu, then that must be around Xlake or Yangwa village.</p> <p>B: Oh, around Xlake or Yangwa, I see.</p> <p>A: If you ask why I think we probably stayed around Xlake or Yangwa, when Kanzhou moved here, his maternal grandfather was living in that valley. He was called Cha Mani, and was blind.</p> <p>C: Yeah, (he must be old by then,) because already at that time, he was walking with a stick to get around.</p> <p>B: Oh, then do you remember when did Kanzhou's family move to here?</p> <p>A: Oh, I don't remember that. Anyway, I do remember that they moved here after us. I am sixty-seven years old this year, and it's already been sixty-eight years (since we came here), yeah, if you count.</p> <p>B: Oh, it's been a long time already!</p> <p>A: I don't know much about those who had lived here before us. Later, the Mei family did not want to stay here any more. And...</p> <p>B: Then? Then you mean that they did not want to stay here, and they moved away, and again they</p>
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<p>A: Mao a, jiamen jiu banshangzhao</p> <p>Lapaizhangshang qiliao a, zai shenghou kunnanzhe jiu kao banshangzhao halaihazi.</p> <p>B: Ao, na namen qizi sihou Tongjia ye youli bai?</p> <p>A: Youliazai. Tongjia he Meijia zai qinqi a zai. Jiamen huxiang lapanhazi a.</p> <p>B: Oh, Nangsuo taiye zai Hawanli laizhe Kurdien hai danglai sa?</p> <p>A: Naige fazhe sijian bu chuang. Jiusigao yi'ai nianma si... jia weisa bufaliao, Warma xuanzhezi dai nomen tinghazilia kao buxiang. Jiafuhao Xiaosongbu daozi geishangzhao chishangliao a. Nizi taiye fuhaoma jiusi renjiali qizhao kangshang tangzhelia, guazhegao daozi a, ai haokanzi hen na, xinli jiu ai, zhege daozi hao a fu zhao, ai, jiamen jiali chizhao huoba, fazhaohalai jiu... Ai, zoudiao liao, jiali qihao jiu, zuilijia xiiqiangzhao liaobude a, jieguo fazhao halai yangjiliao hao jiaba daozi tuchulai liao.</p>	<p>moved back later.</p> <p>A: No exactly, they didn't move away, just temporarily moved to Lapaizhang, and then moved back when they encountered difficulties in life there.</p> <p>B: Oh, then how about the Tong Family? Were they living here before we moved here?</p> <p>A: Yeah, they were here. Actually the Tong family and the Mei family were close relatives, and they came kind of after each other.</p> <p>B: Oh, after Nangsuo moved to Hawan, he remained as a deity mediator, right?</p> <p>A: Yes, but that didn't last long. Maybe for one or two more years. He then stopped being a mediator. What Warma said and I heard were a little different. Warma said last time that the Lama Xiaosongbu gave him (Nangsuo) a knife, and he swallowed it. However, our grandpa said that he went to someone else's home, and was lying on their Kang and saw a beautiful nice little knife hanging on the wall. He then thought to himself, if only I could have that knife, it is so beautiful. Then he summoned the deity and did the ritual and went home. After he came home, he felt that he had blood in his mouth, (didn't know why,) so he asked</p>
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<p>B: Ao?</p> <p>A: Zhege jiusi renmen xuanzhezi bai, namen xiangxizi zai buzhidaoa.</p> <p>B: Jiusi.</p> <p>A: Zhe jiusi yige yuanyin. Xiangzhe maosa zuzi jiusidiao liao. Ren hudi zhi a. Zhengzhi, dafang, gansui, zaofuhao jiu Nangsuo Taiye, ai hudu gansan, jiu namenjiazhao jia Songbu foye kanshangzi yuanyin na. Fanggeizi nangsuo, bansiqinghao you lisuo. Ai, zhesi yigao yuanyin sa, zai yige yuanyin jiusi nai sihou Hawanli zhuangjia chengzhe fude hao a. Yili zhongzisi qinkuo bai. Nasihou dazhezi liangshi duoma buduohao jiu zhe dongfang juezili manzhebai. Jiu nage zaolia bianhazi cangzili manzhe bai. Zai jializi guangying jiu haohaliao. Naozi aaba, nizi taiye, Shengcaizi aaba, dusi zidangren bai. Jiali renshou ye duohaliao. Zaijia jiu mao chikai yapian ma. Zaofuhao jiusi Wang Shenghua...</p>	<p>the deity to possess him and asked for help and vomited the knife out.</p> <p>B: oh?</p> <p>A: That is just what people were gossiping about, actually who knows what exactly happened.</p> <p>B: I see.</p> <p>A: Anyway, this is the reason. He thought this was worthless, can't even figure out what himself is doing, and said that it was no good and gave up the tradition. He was very straightforward, generous, decisive, yeah, our great-great-grandfather Nangsuo, yeah, he was a very capable man. That is the reason why Songbu Lama liked him, he was skillful at dealing with social matters, and was named the Nangsuo (chamberlaine) in the monastery. This is one reason. Another reason was that we had a lot of fields and were growing barley, had good harvests, because people tilled the fields new and the harvests of rapeseeds were very good. As I have already told you, imagine how much barley seeds we had, we had the corner storage room (in the old family house), the whole room was filled with barley seeds, and yeah, that is why, the family condition became better and better, we have inner courtyard and out courtyard as well.</p>
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<p>B: Wang Shenghua?</p> <p>A: Jiusi nizi aabazi yifu, nizi weinainaimen zimei busi ma?</p> <p>B: Ao.</p> <p>A: Jiamen daodong hazi a, si gao maimairen na, jia daodongzhao jiu yidian yidian chikaizi. Ai, zaijiu fala zaijiu bufaliao.</p> <p>B: Oh, nazai naomn jiali famahazi sihou, jiali you duoshao kezi renlia?</p> <p>A: Ao, Jingdeizi amaha suanshanghao. Naozi aaba nizi taiye ....yigua ai'shisan kezi renlia.</p> <p>B: Jiusi bao?</p> <p>A: 58 nianzi sihou, maoshouzi sihou jiali sigao luozi lia. Wugao ma jiugao ma lia. Fanzheng yang</p>	<p>And also, at that time, my father, your geat-grandfather and Shengcai's father, all of them were in their good ages, and were great laborers. The family condition was really good and then he started smoking opium. As I heard why he started smoking that, it was because Wang Shenghua's father.</p> <p>B: Wang Shenghua?</p> <p>A: He is your father's (he meant my mother) maternal uncle, and his wife is your maternal grandmother's sister.</p> <p>B: oh.</p> <p>A: Yeah, he had a lot to do with that. He was a seller and sold opium to Nangsuo and that was why he started smoking opium slowly. After that, he stopped being a deity mediator.</p> <p>B: oh, I see. You said that time our life was better, how many sheep and yaks we had? How many were there in the family at that time?</p> <p>A: Oh, at that time, at the peak, including Jingdei's mother, my father, your grandpa....there were totally twenty-three people in the family.</p> <p>B: Is that so?</p> <p>B: In 1958, during the confiscation, we had four mules, five or six horses, more than a hundred</p>
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<p>ye yibei guoliao a. Lian jiala suanshanghao yibei sansi shigao shangliao a. Jiulaoda dangzhebai, jiu Haisanzi aadee dangzhe lia. Niuye qibagao you lia.</p> <p>B: Ao, zai 58 nian jiu diha maoshou diaoliao bai, jiusi sa?</p> <p>A: Jiusi, naomen jiali duhai haozhelia, zhengce wabuqing, geinaomen fenggeidi funong bai, dansi naomen du maodi bai. Di yikua shi Tiantangsi Jiwa menzibai. En, caijiu ba suoyouzi diha moshou diaoliao bai houtou, zai 72 nian pingfanzi sihou jiu fenggeizi shang zhongnong bai. Jiu zhege Liu fujimen daiha tezi bai. Hai qizi ren dou a, Cai haiyou shuilihao zaijiu wabuqing a. Oh, nizi taiye qiliao, naozi aama qiliao, Shengcaizi aama ye youlia, naigao Kanzhuozi aama ye qiliao a, jiaozhao Tiantang qizhao, yirenha yiwan huicai a rou ye youlia, qingzhao chigeizhao jiu nemen pengfandiaoliao bai.</p> <p>B: Ao, siwuge ren li bai?</p>	<p>sheep, including goat more than one hundred thirty or forty. Haisan's grandpa was herding the sheep at that time. Oh we had seven or eight yaks and cows..</p> <p>B: Oh, then government took away all from us in 1958, right?</p> <p>A: That year, they labeled us "kulaks", actually they misunderstood the policy, because all the fields belonged to Tiantang Monastery. Yeah, they didn't really understand the policy and took away all our things. Later in 1972, when the government reversed and redressed the miscarriage of justice, we were labeled as "middle-upper class farmer". If labeled as "middle-upper class farmer", then you can't confiscate, and returned some of the things to us accordingly. Liu Yanyu, now he is the county party leader, led us during the campaign. A lot of people went with him, don't really know all the details, but your great-grandfather, Shengcai's father, my mother were invited (by the government) to Tiantang and treated each of them a bowl of soup with various vegetables and with meat, and reversed the case like that.</p> <p>B: Oh, totally there were about four or five people, right?</p>
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<p>A: Jiusiakao, nagao sihou Tiantang shehazhaogao gongshe, ai, gongsheli qizhao yigao renha yibeikuai qia'ai ya, yibao ca, yigao bei'ai mianzi jiu pingfan diaoliao bai kusa. Zhegao zao qi'ai nian ma qisan nianliao a.</p>	<p>A: At that time, in the township town, Tiantang, there was a commune, yeah, they were invited there and each was given a hundred RMB, a brick tea and a quilt cover. That was how they reversed and redressed the miscarried of the justice. That was in 1972 or 1973.</p>
<p>B: Qishi si Jiwa nangzi zi bai o?</p>	<p>B: Actually the fields belonged to the Jiwa Nang (of the monastery), right?</p>
<p>A: Jiwa nanghao waqingzhe sa, nao niha fuguo bai, yuanlai.</p>	<p>A: You know what Jiwa Nang means, right, I have told you once.</p>
<p>B: Jiu siguanhuizi namengao bai, jiusi sa?</p>	<p>B: Nowadays it is like a monatory collegiums, right?</p>
<p>A: Ai, ye jiu namen gao a... Zao nagao a zai a menjia fulisa, zaojiu tiantangsizi zhuyao banshizi namengao jigou.</p>	<p>A: Yeah, something like that. Now how you define that, it is like an institutional committee of the monastery that handles all social matters.</p>
<p>A: Jilongli ye youxie diliao, naxie jiusi Lan Shengshoumenzi dai Gamei aagumen, Zhan Linwamenzi di-a. Zhege liaojiazi Hawanli yeyouxie di lia. Tamen zhongzhezi yesi Jiwamenzi dibai. Jiamen youliao, jiusi naozi ani lapanhazibai.</p>	<p>A: There were some fields in Jialong also... Two families, one was Lan Shengshou, and the other was Amei agu or Zhan Linwa, the fields they had also belonged to Jiwa Nang of the Tiantang monastery. Those two families had some fields also in Hawan. They tilled some fields on the top of the hill actually.</p>
<p>B: Aadee na nai sihou naomen Hawanli dikaizi sihouli, Hagouli amenzigao qingkuang a?</p>	<p>B: Grandpa, at tha time, when we were tilling fields in Hawan, what was the situation like in Hagou?</p>

<p>A: Negao nao wabuqing. Hagoulizi di dai Hawanlizi di lia buyiyang, naxie di kao ayigao nanglizi di hao, paghar nang ma si, agao nang hao...</p> <p>B: Tiantangsi chuliao Jiwa Nang hao, haiyou qita nangli bai o?</p> <p>A: Youli ma ni, ni kan o, Jiayi fouye hao, Jiayi Nang lia. Awan fuye you Awan Nanglia. Paghar fuye fuhao, Paghar Nang you lia. Ai, nage Nangqian duo, shijigao lia.</p> <p>B: Oh, nazai Tiantang Siyuanmen jiu dabai?</p> <p>A: Jiusi, Jiunage huotanzi naizhasa shangmian renjia youlisa nazha daoze lia. Naxie yigua si simiaobaizai. Zuiduozi sihou, huoshang sanqian duo shangdiaozhai.</p> <p>B: Ao.</p> <p>A: Zai Xuelongli Zangganlizi di Tiantangzi di busi a! Zai hatouzi yiguasi Tiantangzi di a. Jiamenzi disi.</p> <p>B: Na jiamenzi disi azhazi a?</p> <p>A: Nagao si Cuowanlizi di, jiujiaozi Qing Shiyu,</p>	<p>A: Oh, that I don't know. The fields in Hagou and in Hawan were not the same. The fields in Hagou belonged to some other Nang from the monastery, maybe Paghar Nang, maybe some other Nang...</p> <p>B: In Tiantang monastery, except Jiwa Nang, they had other Nangs, right?</p> <p>A: Of course, look, Lama Jiayi had his Jiayi Nang. Lama Aman had his Aman Nang. Lala Paghar had his own Paghar Nang. There were more than ten Nangs in the monastery.</p> <p>B: The monastery was big at tha time, right?</p> <p>A: Yeah, it's true. The monastery was very big at that time. It reached all the way to the river bank, where there are now households, right. At its peak, there were more than a thousand monks.</p> <p>B: oh, I see.</p> <p>A: The fields in Xuelong and Zanggan villages didn't belong to the monks in the monastery, otherwise from there downward, all the fields belong to them.</p> <p>B: Oh, who owned the fields (in Xuelong and Zanggan villages)?</p> <p>A: Their fields belonged to the Caowa (= Tibetan</p>
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<p>Ma Gazang, Ma Rendie jiamen jige zangmin, jiamen si nazhazi tou'ai baini. Jiamenzi di bai.</p> <p>A: Zhegao Hagoulizi di amenhazihao zai wabuqing. Danfuzisi yidou yisheng di hao ni zhong yishengzi di hao jiu geijia jiao yishengdi juzi a. Haiyou jiao aishengzi.</p> <p>B: Hawanlizi di lai?</p> <p>A: Hawanlizi di yishengdi a. Zhongzhao nizhegao dizhang da yisheng haojiu geijia jiao yishengzi juzi.</p> <p>B: Zai birufu naomenzi nagao di si shiliusheng hao jiu geijia jiao shiliushengzi yaoli bai.</p> <p>A: Ai. Hawan zao haina nemenjia maojiaozhao ma. Wu shengna, liu shengna, ba sheng fuzhao.</p> <p>A: Ai, ni shiliusheng hao jiu geijia jiao shiliushengdi juzi a, zhuangjia dahaliao jiu geijia tuozhao jiaoqi bai.</p> <p>A: Busi naimen jia zhonghao huabulai, nikan sa, yuanlai kaizi sihou sa, jiu zhemadie bai, zhegao bianzi maokaihazhao bai. Ai, ni liangdiao a, ai,</p>	<p>community), belonged to the leader, like Qing Shiyu, Ma Gazang, and Ma Renjing and who else, several Tibetans, they were the leaders of the Caowa.</p> <p>A: As for the fields in Hagou, I am not very clear whom they belonged to. Anyway, if you used one <i>sheng</i><sup>8</sup> of grain seeds to in the field, you had to give the monastery one <i>sheng</i> of the grains at the end of the harvest. There were cases when you had to give two <i>shengs</i> as well.</p> <p>B: What about the fields in Hawan village?</p> <p>A: The fields in Hawan belonged to the first, (we paid only) one <i>sheng</i> (from a one <i>sheng</i> field).</p> <p>B: Oh, for example, one of our fields is a sixteen-<i>sheng</i> field, so we had to pay sixteen <i>sheng</i> of grains to the monastery (as a tax), right?</p> <p>A: Yes. We still use this measurement in Hawan, right? Some still call their fields, five-<i>sheng</i> field, six-<i>sheng</i> field, eight-<i>sheng</i> field.</p> <p>A: Yeah, if you field was a sixteen-<i>sheng</i> field, you had to pay sixteen-<i>sheng</i> (of grains) to them after the harvest.</p> <p>A: If you had it like that, it would not make you much profit. Look, when people first tilled fields, the fields were probably just this big, and the</p>
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<p>zhengao si shi'ai sheng, wo zaiba zhengao kuoda shangxie, wode zhedie hai shi'aisheng suanzhe, kuodahazi zai maosuanzhao a.</p> <p>B: Busihao yuanlaizi namenjia suanhao duochangbushang bai o?</p> <p>A: Ai. Hawanlizi di dai Hagoulizi di bihao, Hawanlizi dizi dizhang bi Hagoulizi dazhelia. Ai, jiu zhan nagao pianyizhe lia.</p> <p>B: Ao, zai zhehui daohao na nomen Hawanren di duo fuzhao o?</p> <p>A: Ai, jiu nemenha zi, zai yuanlisa jiu yizhi maobian bai.</p> <p>A: Nai sihou Meijia dai Tongjia yijing zhazha youlia. Qijia zai houtou laihazia zai. Meijia zhazha laizhe haofuzhe jiu Qijiaha lapan shangzhe laihazi. Nage Qi Silongzi aaba, Sershidang, huazangsi zhuzhezi nage jiushi Meijiazi nuxua zai.</p> <p>A: Zhang Dexinmenha shijishang si naomen lapanzhe laihazi. Naozi aama he Zhang Dexinzi aamalia zai zimei bai. Zai Hawanli jiu zheme sansi jiazi bai.</p> <p>A: Hagouli jiu Kongjia dai Dongjiazi youlia, zaizi</p>	<p>monks measured them according to the original sizes, but then people would expand their fields, made them bigger.</p> <p>B: Right, if you paid tax like before, you wouldn't make much profit (growing crops), right?</p> <p>A: Exactly. (That is why), if you compared fields in Hawan and fields in Hagou, our fields in Hawan measure much bigger than the official size. Yeah, we have that advantage.</p> <p>B: I see, that is why people now say why we the people from Hawan have more fields, right?</p> <p>A: Exactly, that is why. The official sizes of the fields remained the same as they measured it the first time.</p> <p>A: At that time, when we first settled in Hawan, let me know, there were the Mei family and the Tong family. The Qi family came later. The Tong family said that the place was good and asked their close relative family the Qi family to come.</p> <p>A: Actually we attracted the Zhang family, because Zhang Dexin's mother and my mother were sisters. Yeah, there were only these three or four clans in Hawan.</p> <p>A: There were only two clans in Hagou, the Kong</p>
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<p>houtou laihazi a. Nage Jialongli ye yiyang jiu liasanjiazi, Lanjia dai wangjia, zaizi ye houtou laihazi bai.</p> <p>B: Jiusibao!</p> <p>A: Zhexieren yili Qinghairen bai zai. Weisa nazhasi wang zhizha baolia, najiushi Ma Bufang zhuabingzhe buxing na zai. Zhesi yigao, zai yigao jiushi mingong, geini paihaqiliao fuhao, nimen jializi jigao renhao jiu geinao dang mingong qi, qianna mao geizhao. Ma Bufang jiu nemanjiazhao, renmen paozhe lia, yili.</p> <p>A: Weisa Tianzhu zhezha gangzhao lailiao fuhao?</p> <p>B: En?</p> <p>A: Oh, Tianzhu jiazi zhengao difangsi Caowa, Zangmin difang hao, jia maozhuazhao a. Nidan nemenha, jia geishang yigaoli ma jigao niuli hao jiu dinggeiliao a. Renkiji buzhuazhao qi a.</p> <p>A: Qiao'aigoulisa wang Hawanli banzi yuanying, ye jiuizhege, Qiao'aigou nasihou fuyu Yongdeng xianna, ai, ye zhuabing, yao mingong, ai nijiuyao jin nagao yiwudi yao lia. Ai, jiunagao sa haipazhao jiu banzhao Hawanliliao. Hawanli laihao ai Tianzhu defang sa.</p>	<p>clan and the Dong clan. And in Jialong, there were several families of the Wang clan and Lan clan.</p> <p>Yeah, that was all.</p> <p>B: oh, I see.</p> <p>A: Actually all these were originally from Qinghai (now a province), because at that time, Ma Bufang was forcing men into his army. This was one reason. Another was that he forced people to work for him, the so-called "daily laborers". If you were called, you had to work for him, and people were not given any payment. Yeah, because of Ma Bufang, people started to escape from the place.</p> <p>A: If you asked why people ran all the way here?</p> <p>B: Right, why?</p> <p>A: Because Tianzhu, this place was a Tibetan place, he (Ma Bufang) didn't catch soldiers from here. Even if he did, people from here would give him one or some yaks and that would do. He didn't take people.</p> <p>A: The reason why we moved to Hawan from Qiao'ai Valley. It was the same reason. Qiao'ai Valley belonged to Yongdeng County at that time, yeah, he conscripted soldiers from there as well, forced people to become daily laborers for him. Yeah, out of fear, people moved to Hawan. Yeah,</p>
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<p>(Unrelated...)</p> <p>B: Aadee, nesihou naomenzi Nangsuo Jutaiye zhalaizhaosa, zai Tiantangsilisa jiaha zai zhiwumen fenliao bao ?</p> <p>A: Mao.</p> <p>B: Houtou jiu Jiwalizi diha zhongzhao jiu nemenjia haohazi bai, jiusi sa?</p> <p>A: Negao sihou jia Nangsuo Aadee jiu lihaizi hen. Nao geini mao xuanguo ma, yici jia sangao huoshangzhao, jia tailiaogao tuotonggongzhao jiu ba talianggao nianchuqiliao fuzhao. Houtou nailianggao qizhao Jiwa laoyegexi, Jiwa laoye hao zaojiu sannian xuanzhao yihui, quan Tiantangsi...</p> <p>B: Ai, quan Tiantang si o?</p> <p>A: Xuanjuzhe bai zai. Xuanshanghao hai daikezhe lia.</p> <p>A: Ai, qi Jiwa laoyeha huibao gei. Jiafu, ni negaoha</p>	<p>Hawan belonged to Tianzhu.</p> <p>(Unrelated...)</p> <p>B: Grandpa, later when our great-great-grandpa Nangsuo moved here, did the monks from Tiantang monastery give him any other titles?</p> <p>A: No.</p> <p>B: He then grew crops in the fields that belonged to the Jiwa Nang of the monastery and got better and better, right?</p> <p>A: At that time, our great-great-grandpa was very powerful. Haven't I told you already, once two or three monks came to our house, and they talked too much. He (Nangsuo) grabbed a pole and chased the two out of our house. The two monks then went and reported to the leader from Jiwa Nang. The leader from Jiwa Nang was elected once in three years, everybody from Tiantang Monastery.</p> <p>B: Oh, elected by everybody from Tiantang Monastery?</p> <p>A: Like an election actually. Once the person was elected, he would have a banquet to host everybody as well.</p> <p>A: The two (monks) then reported (the incident) to</p>
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<p>bao rai, negao ha raihao, negaozi houtai Songbu silia fuzhao.</p> <p>B: O, hehe...</p> <p>A: Ai, Aigulongsi shangzi Songbu fuye si lia.</p> <p>A: Ai zhesi yigou, zai yige jiusi Ma Gazangzi taiye, Ma Renyue fuzhao jiaozhelua. Nagemen jiu Xuelongli maozuozhema, Caowalizi toutoumen a, yici gao Nangsuo aadee dali fuzhao, naige ye haipazhao jiaha bugan rai. Zainikansa, Nangzuo aadee nesihou, naosi aaba, nizi taiye, Shengcaizi aaba, Shoude aaga negou sihou funianbazhao jiali lailiaohao, zai shenghuizi aaba banzhao qiliaohao, wuliugao erzi lia, ni jiagexi raiguo halima ni. Jiaba ni, negao sihou fudajiuda bai ni, jiang daolizi azhazilia. Lihai, Hajia Nangsuo fuhao, Kuola gouli...</p> <p>B: Jiusi, nao Xihajiali qiliaohao Hajia Nangsuo, Hajia xianseng fuhao zai fei a zhidaozhe lia.</p> <p>A: Alai. Zai youxie zai qingchuli zai wabuqingna.</p>	<p>the leader of Jiwa Nang. He said, “you can’t make that man angry. That man is a powerful man. He has Songbu Lama as his supporter.”</p> <p>B: Oh, I see, hehe...</p> <p>A: “Yeah, his supporter is Songbu Lama from Aigulong Monastery<sup>9</sup>”.</p> <p>A: This is one reason. Another was that Ma Gazang’s grandfather, called ma Renyue, his children now live in Xuelong village. He was the leader of the Tibetan community. Once Nangsuo Grandpa wanted to beat him, and Ma dared not to confront. Look, Nangsuo Grandpa had, at that time, my father, your great-grandfather, Shengcai’s father, Shoude Uncle, who had finished schooling and returned home, and Shenghui’s father, who moved to Hawan as well, he had five or six sons. How could anyone dare to confront him, right? At that time, you know people were not trying to talk sense into each other, fightings happened just as they wished. Yeah, he was very powerful, his name was big everywhere in the whole Koula Valley.</p> <p>B: Right, when I went to Xihajia, and talked about Ha Nangsuo and Ha Xianseng, everybody knew about them.</p> <p>A: Of course. Otherwise, I don’t know anything</p>
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<p>B: Tingzaizi zao tingjianguo bai.</p> <p>A: Hajia Nangsuo si, zao ni qiliao bai, Danmasa wangha Halazhigou jiaozhe lia, wangshang Zelin, neyidao Huo'ai, Hajia Nangsuo fuhao negao yigao goulizi ren feidu zhidao a. Ai, zhesi yigao, zai Hongnaizigou ni mao qi, ye yigao gou a, shangbangouzi ren Hajia Nangsuo a ye fei a zhidao a. Ren jiu hudu gansa, lisuo, bansiqing gongdang, gancui, ai, zai yigao fala fazhao jiu...</p> <p>B: Aadee, na nesihou Nangsuo jutaiyeha na zhemian maomaizhao na amen nemian guodiaogeiliao?</p> <p>A: Na negou sihou ni jia zhezha bujiao mai a, Tiantangsi jia.</p> <p>A: Jushangzi si jinxia, guancai si guancai, guancaili kaoba jinxia zhuanggeiliao, zuihou maizi sihou dao, ba negao xiakixi jiu zhuangzhao guancaili. Ni nemenjia bujushanghao, yigua guancaili zhuanggei wang Qinghai nehajia, lvshang tuozhelie, dianzhelie, qianli yigao lv, houtou yigao lv, guancai shang lianggao chuanzi zhemian banggei, jiu nemenjia guodiaogeiliao a. Zouzha nazha yougao</p>	<p>more than that.</p> <p>B: But you have heard about them.</p> <p>A: Ha Nangsuo is famous in the whole valley, I mean, now you have been there, you know, from Danma town to the lower part is Halazhigou, upper part are Zelin and Huo'ai, yeah, Ha Nangsuo is famous in all these places, in the whole valley. Otherwise, there is another place called Hongnaizigou, it is also a valley, yeah, he is known also in this whole valley. He was a very respected man, skilled in handling different matters, straightforward, yeah, and also for being a <i>fala</i>.<sup>10</sup></p> <p>B: Grandpa, why then great-great-grandfather Nanguo was taken back and buried over there, why not here?</p> <p>A: Tiantang Monastery didn't allow us to bury him here at that time.</p> <p>A: We have made him a coffin and another smaller box for fixing his body in the coffin, later when we buried him, we put the box in the coffin. If you didn't do like that and put the body directly in the coffin, (it wouldn't be okay) to carry him all the way to Qinghai on donkeys' backs. We tied the coffin the fix the ends of the ropes to donkeys which were in the front and back and carried him</p>
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<p>mengangdian lia, jialisa zouzhao</p> <p>menggangdianlizhao zuoliao yiwaxi, di'aitian daoliao Hajialiliao a.</p> <p>B: Zai songqizi ren duobao?</p> <p>A: Zai jiu naxie ren bai zai, duomashaohao feizhidaoliao. Qizhao nehali you juliao jingsiliao, guoliao shiqingliao.</p> <p>B: Zheyici qizhao nao qiliao a.</p> <p>A: Zao nao kan shengzhao jigao a fenggutuzi, yigao a lianggao a, sangao a, sigao a, jiu wugao ma si sigao...</p> <p>B: Sigao jiu xianxian jianlian, negaozi qiantou hai yigao ma lianggao youlia, tadiaozheliao.</p> <p>B: Nasigao feimenghao nizhidaoli bao?</p> <p>A: Shenghui aaba aama sa, naomenzi Nangsuo aadee sa, na Ha Wudezi aaba hai youli bai ni.</p> <p>B: Aadee, negao Ha Wudieha nasihou maokanshangzi yuanyin si...?</p> <p>A: Jiu naomenzi taiyezi fengha waliao fuzhao. Ta negao sihou dai Qiansanli lia, ta guolaihao ciliao. Ta tingzhaojiu Nangsuo jiu famazihen fuzhao, guancaili haodongxi zhuanggeizheli fuzhao, zhegao</p>	<p>there. On the way, when we reached a place called Menggangdian, we stayed overnight and the next day we arrived Xihajia village.</p> <p>B: Were there a lot of people at that time?</p> <p>A: We were altogether that many people in the clan, who knows how many went to the burial. Over there, people did the burial again, people came to pay their condolences.</p> <p>B: This time, I went there to the graveyard.</p> <p>A: Let me see, how many graves there are today. That is one, two, three, four, maybe five or four...</p> <p>B: There are four that you can clearly see, but two which were in front of them have sunk into the ground.</p> <p>B: Whose graves should the four be, do you know?</p> <p>A: Shenghui's father and mother, our Grandpa Nangsuo and Ha Wude's father.</p> <p>B: Grandpa, the reason why people from our clan didn't like Ha wudie back then was...?</p> <p>A: For the reason that he dug our great-grandfather's grave. He was over there at that time, and heard that Ha Nangsuo was very rich and thought that there must be a lot of valuable things</p>
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<p>si yigao, zaiyigao jiusi, you yifu nianjingzilia, najiusi quliao nagaoliaozhao, feng wadiaoliao fuzhao.</p> <p>B: Xihajiazi ye zhemmen xuanzhelia kao.</p> <p>A: Ye zhemmen xuanzhe ma? Jiu ta waliao.</p> <p>B: Jiamen jige zixun youlia?</p> <p>A: Kuozhuozi aaba dinghazi si daye, zai Xiaoyangjuan zuozhelia, Hajiazi houte nagao sanli zuozhelia. Jiayangha liaogao aizi jiao Zhide zhai, zhesi daye. Shenghuizi aaba dinghazi si aiye. Nangsuo si sanye, laosan. Ai, Ha Wudezi aaba si laosi, Gangbangmenzi aadee si laowu. Negao sihouli nige taiye youzi sihouli jiu wuba wuba fuzhao jiaozhelia. Jiamen zixiong wugao ren.</p> <p>B: Aadee, Anyuandi si xihajiazi ma donghajia zi dai?</p> <p>A: Anyuanzi, xihajiazi you, Donghajiazi ye you.</p>	<p>in his coffin, and dug out his grave. Another reason is that he later wore a pair of Ha Nangsuo's glasses. That was why also we assumed that it was him that dug Ha Nangsuo's grave and took the glasses.</p> <p>B: People from Xihajia village were also talking about this this time.</p> <p>A: Oh, there were also saying like this. Yeah, (I am sure) he dug it.</p> <p>B: How many brothers did he have?</p> <p>A: Kanzhou's father was adopted by the eldest (brother of Nangsuo). They lived in Xiaoyangjuan. It is behind Xihajia in the hills. He later had his own son, who was named Zhide. Shenghui's father was adopted by the second eldest (brother of Nangsuo). Nangsuo was the third and Ha Wude's father was the fourth and Gangbang's grandfather was the fifth. At that time, when your great-grandfather was alive, he always called (Gangbang's grandfather) Fifth Uncle. Yeah, they were five altogether.</p> <p>B: Grandpa, those Ha families in Anyuan belong to the West Ha clan or East Ha clan?</p> <p>A: There are families from the West Ha clan and also the East Ha clan.</p>
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<p>B: Na Xidatan lai?</p> <p>A: Xidatanzi Xihajiazi busi a. Donghajiazi.</p> <p>B: Na Hachengmen lai?</p> <p>A: Ha Chengmen Xiaoyangjuanlizi, naigemen naomenlia mao qinqizhe.</p> <p>A: Xiaoyangjuanzi naomenlia yigao Hajiazi busi a, mao qingzhao.</p> <p>A: Naomenlia qinzhezi zhegao Shimen Datangli you jijiazilia. Dakeshidanzi Ha Shengfu, zao fuhao Linglingzi guiye yesi naomen hajiazi.</p> <p>B: Datong nazhaye hajia youlisa? Qibashi jiazilia fuzhao?</p> <p>A: Jiusi, youlia. Na Lanzhou haqihao Qingchuan jichang naizha ye you Hajia lia, duo a, Hajiazui fuzhao, ye you qibashihu renjia lia. Danshi naomenlia yige hajia busia.</p> <p>B: Datongzi naomenlia yigao Hajia fu a. Zheyici nao qizhao jiamen fuzhelialia, Datongzi jiapu fenlailiao fuzhao.</p> <p>A: Tamenzi Xihajiazi jiapu yigua houtou juhazi,</p>	<p>B: How about the ones in Xidatan?</p> <p>A: The ones in Xidatan are not from the West Ha clan, but the East Ha clan.</p> <p>B: How about Ha Cheng?</p> <p>A: Ha Cheng's family is from Xiaoyangjuan, but is not related to us.</p> <p>A: Ha clan from Xiaoyangjuan is not the same as us. They are not related to us.</p> <p>A: There are several Ha families in Datang, Shimen town, and also in Dakeshidan, for example, Ha Shengfu. He is actually Lingling<sup>11</sup>'s uncle (aunt's husband).</p> <p>B: There are Ha families also in Datong county (Huzhu County), right? I heard that there are about seventy or eighty Ha families.</p> <p>A: Yes, there are. And also there is a village near the Qingchuan airport near Lanzhou called Hajiazui. In the village there are also about seventy or eighty Ha families, but we are not from the same family.</p> <p>B: The Ha families in Datong and we are from the same Ha clan. When I was in Xihajia this time, they said that people from Hongzhong came to copy our genealogy.</p> <p>A: The family chronicles in Xihajia and Datong</p>
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naomenzi jiapu Hongzhong, Tai'aisi nail juhazi a. Ni kanliao mao.	were composed later. Our chronicle was made when we were in Hongzhong, near Kumbum, did you see our family chronicle?
B: Aadee, ni nemenzigao tingjianguo bao, jiamen fuzhelia nasihou Donghajia dai Xihajia fenzi sihou Donghajia fenhazi Niangniang a, Xihajia fenhazi Jiapu a. Dangha dai Xihajia si yigou Niangniang fu a.	B: Grandpa, have you ever heard this, they said that when the West Ha clan and the East Ha clan first parted ways, the East Ha clan had Niangniang and the West Ha clan had the family chronicle. They said that the two Ha clans actually share a common Niangniang? Is it so?
A: Negao buzhidao, jiu nemenjia fuzhelia...	A: I don't know about that, but people say like that...
B: Jiamen fuzhao xiongdini Niangniangha nadiaoliao a, gaogaoni jiapuha nadiaoliao fu a. Aadee, naomenzi zhengao jiapu si laojiapu sa, jiamen kao fuzhao yiqian bi naomenzi laozi haiyou yigao lia, Datongzi nashang zoudialiao fu a.	B: The said that the younger brother took the clan's Niangniang and the older brother had the clan's family chronicle. Grandpa, our family chronicle is the oldest one, right? But they also say that there was even an elder version of the family chronicle, and the Ha families from Datong took it first.
A: Negao nadiaoliaohao a chuangli, fanzheng naomenzi zhengao Xihajia laizi sihou jiu juhazhelia. Ta nadiaozi a naomenzi zhengaosa zaobuha.	A: Maybe they took it, but our family chronicle was made before we moved to Xihajia even, so (I think) even if they took some version, it shouldn't be older than ours.
A: Negao jiapu jiu sijian changliao, negaoha wubanian jiu cadian shaodiao a.	A: Our chronicle is really old, it was nearly burnt in 1958.
B: Aadee, nazai jiapu dai zongnanlia amenzigao qubie zhao?	B: Grandpa, what is the difference between the chronicle and the <i>zongnan</i> ?

<p>A: Zongnanhao yibeizi yibeizi renzi xiang huahazhe lia.</p> <p>B: Nesihou jiapu dai zongnan yigua youli bai o?</p> <p>A: Zongnanha zai houtou shaodiaoliao a. Jiu zhemen yizhang bu a, shangmian renzi xiang huahazheliao, xiangzi dili renzi mingzi xiaha zhelia.</p> <p>B: Aadee, zongnan nagao sihou dabuda ya?</p> <p>A: Da ya, jiu yijian fangzili guanmanzhe bai, xifangli. Nao jiu yunyunhuhuzigao jizhai. Yigua jiu puke dazi nemenzi xiang a.</p> <p>A: Zao ni naomenzi zhegao laojiapushang kanhao, Muchanglizhi aadeemen si liushizu, naomen si qishizu a, nimenhao jiusi, nizi aabamen si bashizu, nimen si jiushizu a.</p> <p>A: Zai wangshang tuihao, naozi zutaiye si Ha Chengxian bai.</p> <p>B: Ha Chengxianhao jiu Ha Xianseng sa?</p> <p>A: Busi, jiu naozi zutaiye. Jiapushang jiu youli bai, niannian naomen jiu naogao Ha Chengxiangixi fanchulaizhe bai.</p>	<p>A: <i>Zongnan</i> is something like (a piece of cloth) on which there were drawn portraits of family members from one generation to the next.</p> <p>B: Oh, at that time, we had both, the family chronicle and the <i>zongnan</i>?</p> <p>A: Yeah, we had both, but <i>zongnan</i> was burnt later. It was actually a piece of cloth, on which people's portraits were drawn and their names written below.</p> <p>B: Grandpa, was the <i>zongnan</i> big at that time?</p> <p>A: It was very big, hung all over the walls of a room, the west side room. I have seen it, but now can barely remember it. All the portraits were about the size of cards today.</p> <p>A: Now if you look into our old family chronicle, you will find out that the (great-)granduncle from Muchang's generation is the sixth, ours is the seventh, your father's is the eighth and yours is the ninth.</p> <p>A: If you go back, my great-grandfather was called Ha Chengxian.</p> <p>B: Oh, Ha Chengxian was Ha Xiansheng, right?</p> <p>A: No, I am talking about my great-grandfather. We have it in our family chronicle. Every year, during the Spring Festival, we open the page where</p>
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<p>A: Dezi bei shangqihao, Zhanzi bei bai, zai shangqihao Chengzi bei, tamen si sishizu a cai.</p> <p>B: Aadee, Ha Xiansengzi zhenmingziha sa jiaozhehao zhidaoli bao?</p> <p>A: Buzhidao. Ha Xiansheng zhegao ren kao Ha Zhancangmenlia qinzhelialia.</p> <p>B: Ha Zhancang naomenlia ye qinzhe sa?</p> <p>A: Ai, suanzhao zuihou hao yeqinzhe lia. Xihajiali you lianggao da hangdao, zao jucheng amenzigaozhehao, ai, tamen si zuihatouzi a. Naomen zui shangzhuang bai.</p> <p>B: Aade, naomenzi negao jufenshang jiu yihangzi yihangzi maihazi hudu duo a, negao jiu keneng nasihou ahuigao naomen Hajiaren jiu hudu duo a namiangao ?</p> <p>A: Ao, nezha a qiliao ma?</p> <p>B: Na houtou Nangsuo zutaiye banguolaizi sihou namian ren buduo fu bai, nagao keneng amenjia wangeiliao yigua ya o ?</p>	<p>his life was recorded for people to worship (as he was considered as our first ancestor).</p> <p>A: The generation above the generation with its name De is Zhan, and above Zhan is Cheng, so he belonged to the fourth generation of the family.</p> <p>B: Grandpa, do you know the real name of Ha Xiansheng?</p> <p>A: I don't know. But he is a close relative of Ha Zhancang (from our village).</p> <p>B: Ha Zhancang is actually also close to our family, right?</p> <p>A: Yes, if we go further back, then we are also close relatives. Xihajia village is actually divided (into three parts) by two roads. He is from the lower part and we are from the upper part.</p> <p>B: Grandpa, in our old graveyard, there were rows and rows of graves, so I assumed that some time ago back in Xihajia, there were many many Ha clan members?</p> <p>A: Oh, you have been there as well.</p> <p>B: Then later when great-great-grandfather Nangsuo left the place, I heard that there weren't so many Ha clan families, maybe some time before that something happened and a lot either died (or</p>
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<p>A: Buduo sa lia, duozhe lia, na ni sangao zhuangzi lia. Zhongzhuang, shangzhang, hazhuang.</p> <p>A: Nagao siwu shigao wuliushigao a youlia.</p> <p>B: Ao, youlia, youlia.</p> <p>A: Negao fengtān jiū dà, nǎzhā nǎo qí a mǎo qíguó, nǐ nǎizhāmén qílǎo ma?</p> <p>B: Qílǎo a, nǎ nǎo yígua pǎishāngliǎo bái.</p> <p>Niāngniānghā jiāmén bānsānpóli jiāogānhā zāihǎzhào wáiqián liǎ. Niānsi nǎzhā rén shǎozǐ qízhào sǎ, cǎo yígua gāndiǎo, yígūan cǎo yíngzhuózhào jiāogan yígua shǎodiǎnzhe liǎ.</p> <p>Jiāogan zǎo jiāogan chéngzhǎzheliǎ, hēhē...</p> <p>A: Fúfā yě bùyíyáng, zhégāo zǎijiū sījīan chángzhào, nǎomen Dōnghǎjiǎ and Xīhǎjiǎ.</p> <p>Fānzhēng guīgēndǎodi sì dìxióng liánggāo rén lǎoliǎo, yígāo rén zuózhào dōngmiāngǎoliǎo a, yígāo rén zuózhào xīmiāngǎoliǎo.</p> <p>B: Āadee, nǎo zhēyíci qízhào, pēngliǎo yígāo rēnnǎ, jiǎ āadeehā rēndì zheliǎ, jiǎfú jiǎ yíqián</p>	<p>moved away), right?</p> <p>A: Not that many, I think there were a lot, imagine the village was divided into three parts and remained big. There were the middle part, upper part, and the lower part.</p> <p>A: There must be more than forty, fifty or even sixty graves.</p> <p>B: Oh, yeah, there are, there are.</p> <p>A: That graveyard is really. I have never been there though. You have been there?</p> <p>B: Yes, I was there this time, and I filmed all that as well. They have put the Niāngniāng's sedan pole outside and erected it on a hill slope. Last year, when people went to worship in the winter, somebody mindlessly set fire to the dry grass around the pole and it was partly burnt. The sedan pole has now become a burnt pole, hēhē...</p> <p>A: There are many sayings, about the origins of our West Ha clan and the East Ha clan, and they all differ. But anyway, in the beginning, two brothers came, one settled down on the east side (of the river in Danma) and one on the west side.</p> <p>B: Grandpa, this time when I was there, I met a man, he knows my grandfather. He said that he</p>
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youzhengshang ganguo fu a.	used to work in the post office.
A: Ao, you namengao a, songxingzhe bai.	A: Oh, right, yes, there was a man like that. He was delivering mails.
B: Jia nasihou Xining qizhao pengliao yigao renna, xing Hazi fu a, xiangxi wenliaohao, Nanjingzi fu a.	B: He said that once he went to Xining and met a man surnamed Ha and when asked about his origin, he was told that the man was from Nanjing.
A: Jia Xihajiazi ren zanjing, Donghajiazi ren laoshixie. Donghajiazi nayibang jiuba Xihajiazi nayibang mazhao zengtouzi fuzhao, jiao'aozi hen fuzhao.	A: People from Xihajia (or the West Ha clan) were more capable than the people from Donghajia (or the East Ha clan). And people from Donghajia would say that people in Xihajia are proud and like to show off.
B: Donghajiali sanshi duohu, a Xihajiali qibashihu jiangjin bashihulia Hajia.	B: There are a little more than thirty Ha clan families in Donghajia village, and in Xihajia village there are more than seventy, nearly eighty Ha clan families.
A: Donghajia ta quanbu suidiao Tuminliao. Jiamen tuhua fuzi ren duo, Xihajiazi futuhuadi ren shao. Jigao laohanzi busihao maoyou.	A: The people in Donghajia village followed the Mongghul, and more people there speak Mongghul, but in Xihajia only a few old men speak Mongghul.
B: Nao zheyici qizhao jianliao, jiu Wude gaihazi nesanjian fangzi hai jiu nema pizhai. Zai waiqian Youde taiyemenzi weiqiangyuanzi jiandilia, zai naomenzi negao Nangsuo jutaiye gaihazi negao zai kanbulai a, dagaigao busihao, jiamen zhong sayu zhong liangshizhe lia. Wude gaihazi fangzi hai jiu nemazhe a.	B: This time when I was there, I also visited Wude's old courtyard. The three rooms he built still stood. Outside, great-granduncle Youde's courtyard remained only a little. We can see only part of the yard walls. Nangsuo's old courtyard, which is also our old yard was no where to be seen. People grow potatoes and wheat there. Only



<p>A: Zao Wudezi negao youxie qingkuanggixi.</p> <p>Wudegixi qianli yougao yatoulia, zehuzidai negao Heizhuanglia. Huzhuxiansa wangshang wang Beimuxiazi zheli, Heizhuang jiaozhai. Ai zhegaozi mingzi jiaogao Fushengjie, bi naomen dazhelia.</p> <p>Negao zao youhao a qishiliao ma qishi yi'ai shangliao.</p> <p>B: Nemian zai yatou wawa maoyou ma?</p> <p>A: Zai maoyou.</p> <p>B: Wude taiyeha shihua nemian hai xifaigao youli bai, negaozi houtouzi zai tingjian guoma mao tingjian guo a?</p> <p>A: Jiu ne yigao yatou busihao zai maoyou.</p> <p>B: Jiu ne yigao o, o...</p> <p>A: Zai houtaou laizhao zhezha laizhao yanghazi, zao fuhao shengcaizi aama yanghazi Mei'ai fuzhao, zhegao ni keneng jidiilia.</p> <p>B: Jiu nimen zheyici Huzhu qizhao zuohazi negao jiasa ?</p> <p>A: Negao si Mei'aizi yatoujia.</p> <p>B: Ao, jiusi, jiusi.</p> <p>A: Mei'ai si dai Caizigou lia. Caizigouhao jiu zheng Tongjiarenmenzi nagao difangzi.</p>	<p>Wude's rooms still stood.</p> <p>A: As for Wude, he had a daughter there. Now she is in a village called Heizhuang. It is on the way to Beimuxia from the county town. His daughter's name is Fushengjie. She is older than we are. If she lives, she must be more than seventy, maybe seventy-one or seventy-two.</p> <p>B: Except that one, did he have any other children?</p> <p>A: No more.</p> <p>B: Great-granduncle had a first wife over there, did you hear anything about that wife's offsprings?</p> <p>A: He had only one daughter over there.</p> <p>B: Only that one, oh, I see.</p> <p>A: After he came here, he had another daughter named Mei'ai, with Shengcai's mother. You might remember this one.</p> <p>B: Is it the one at whose house you stayed this time when you went to Huzhu?</p> <p>A: That was Mei'ai's daughter.</p> <p>B: Oh, right, right.</p> <p>A: Mei'ai is in Caizigou valley. Caizigou valley is actually the place from where the Tong clan originated...</p>
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<p>B: Aadee, nao zoulia. Guo Qilin zehui fangxueliao.</p> <p>A: Ta ba tazi fangqi geilai...</p>	<p>B: Grandpa, I have to go. Guo Qilin has finished his classes.</p> <p>A: Let it be, so what?</p> <p>(Afterwards, I explained to my granduncle that I had to have dinner with my cousin Guo Qilin and left his house.)</p>
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